

CHANGING IDENTITY OF PUBLIC SPACES:
GÜVEN PARK IN ANKARA

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GÜVEN PARK IN ANKARA**

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ABSTRACT

CHANGING IDENTITY OF PUBLIC SPACES: GÜVEN PARK IN ANKARA

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Place identity changes and transforms in relation with changing social conditions and physical environment. Social conditions change the place identity by changing people's perceptions and experiences in the space, while, at the same time, they are affected by these perceptions and experiences. Thus, place identity is in a state of flux in time with individuals, objects and societies. This thesis aims to study the evolving identity of public spaces by focusing on the case of Ankara, specifically the example of Güven Park which was developed as a part of the public space strategy of creating a modern, westernized and secular capital city of newly-founded Turkish Republic. Therefore, as far as Ankara is concerned, beside 'place identity', the notion of 'national identity' becomes prominent. This research examines the changes in the identity of Güven Park in relation to the shifts in the identity of Ankara, and the analyses on the public space are carried out regarding three criteria **-form or physical setting, activities and meanings attached to the public space-** in different time periods.

Keywords: Place identity, national identity, sensation, perception, public space, Güven Park, Ankara

Öz

KAMUSAL MEKANLARIN DEĞİŞEN KİMLİĞİ:

GÜVEN PARK, ANKARA

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Yerin kimliği, değişen fiziksel çevre ve toplumsal koşullarla ilişkili olarak değişir ve dönüşür. Toplumsal koşullar, yerin kimliğini insanların mekan hakkındaki algı ve deneyimlerini değiştirerek etkiler. Aynı zamanda, toplumsal koşullar, bu algılar ve deneyimler tarafından etkilenir. Bu anlamda, yerin kimliği zaman içinde bireyler, nesneler ve toplumlarla birlikte değişim halindedir. Bu tez, Ankara’da özellikle Güven Park örneğine odaklanarak, kamusal mekanlarda değişen kimlik konusunu incelemektedir. Güven Park, yeni kurulan Türkiye Cumhuriyeti’nin modern, batılı ve laik başkentini yaratma hedefi çerçevesinde belirlenen kamusal mekan stratejisinin bir parçası olarak geliştirilmiştir. Dolayısıyla, Ankara söz konusu olduğunda, ‘yerin kimliği’ yanı sıra, ‘ulusal kimlik’ kavramı da öne çıkmıştır. Bu araştırma, Güven Park’taki kimlik değişimini, Ankara’daki zaman içerisinde ortaya çıkan kimlik değişimine paralel olarak incelemektedir. Kamusal mekan üzerindeki incelemeler üç ana ölçüte – **fiziksel veya mekansal ortam, etkinlikler ve kamusal mekana atfedilen anlamlara**– bağlı olarak ve zaman içerisindeki değişimi gözlemek amacıyla yapılmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Yerin kimliği, ulusal kimlik, duyum, algı, kamusal mekan, Güven Park, Ankara

To my dear family...

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 PROBLEM DEFINITION

Natural, historical, economic, social, cultural and spatial factors or processes change identity of cities in time. Likewise, new technologies, bringing about mass communication and mass transportation, and mass culture and mass movement, also affect cities' and places' identities. Along with the advances in new technologies over the last three decades, globalization has caused homogeneity in the world and loss of local identities. Relph (1976, p.79-80) calls this loss of place identity as 'placelessness' and explains the reason why placelessness occurs as follows:

Placelessness does comprise look-alike landscapes that result from improved communications and increased mobility and imitation, behind these lies a deep-seated attitude that attends to the common and average characteristics of man and of place. This 'inauthentic attitude of placelessness' is now widespread – to a very considerable degree we neither experience nor create places with more than a superficial and casual involvement. (Relph. 1976, p.79-80)

While placelessness creates 'homogenized', 'standardized' and 'uniform' environments, it also affects users and be affected by users. Places get meaning and character by the images that are created in users' perception. In the time of globalization, significant places with their unique identities disappear and diversities in places are replaced by uniformity. This uniformity creates meaningless and characterless places which cause people to lose their roots to place.

People give meaning to a place with their cultural and personal attitudes that their experiences create. There used to be a local culture of people that was formed with the help of local place identity. However, now mass culture is dominant that is created by mass production, mass marketing and mass consumption. This kind of a mass culture makes people feel not belonging to a place and lack of attachment. Because of the lack of significant places, people become disoriented and suffer from the lack of place identity.

Even though every individual has its own perception, experiences and subjective feelings, a common perception and a common identity for a place are created through social relations. However, now, in modern era both places and social relations change with globalization, capitalism and mass culture. Big cities which are the spaces of heterogeneity in terms of activities, people, communications, relations, have turned into homogeneous spaces through globalization and hegemony of power. Public spaces are one of the important places where this change becomes evident. Both spatial and social changes in public spaces affect the identity of these places that have been created collectively.

In Turkey, changes in place identity can be observed most clearly in Ankara, because it is not only the capital city of Turkey, but also the capital city of the newly-established regime in Turkey. After the proclamation of the Republic, the most radical decision in the modernization period of Turkey was the selection of Ankara as a capital city. Every capital city is important, since it has to act as the

leader or to be exemplary for other cities of the country. Ankara was developed not only to be the capital city of a new regime, but also to be exemplary for all other Turkish cities of the new Republic. Therefore, it was planned to create a new identity not only for Ankara, but also for this new country, new nation and new regime.

From the 1920s to the 1950s, the Republican ideology sought to create a new, modern and contemporary identity for Ankara and its citizens as the testimony of the newly-established regime and country. After the 1950s, because of the rapid urbanization, changing ideology of administrators and new planning understanding based on economic necessities, the identity of Ankara changed. Especially after the 1980s, Ankara's identity has significantly changed along with outward-oriented economic policies in Turkey, globalization and neo-liberal policies. Behind this change, especially over the last two decades, there has been an insensitive (or, maybe, 'deliberate') approach towards changing the identity of Ankara as the capital city, blurring the symbols, meanings and images of the national identity and increasing homogenous spaces that can be seen in many globalized city nowadays. All these attempts have led to Ankara's loss of identity as the capital city of the new Republic and its regime.

One of the most significant areas that these changes can be observed is public spaces, since collective images, memories and identity are formed in such common spaces. While the public places in Ankara, such as squares, parks, boulevards, streets and pedestrian roads, have been physically changing, people's attitudes, manners and behaviors in public spaces have also changed. The newly developed quasi-public spaces, such as shopping malls, have recently become important for people's daily life, whereas some other public places have lost their importance and identity. The latter public spaces, however, have been the meeting, gather, interaction and socialization places of different people. They have been the places for the production of common identity. Now, while they have been getting smaller and smaller, they have turned into passage ways, transition points or transportation hubs of cities without any interaction.

Public spaces are always important for political authority and power, since they are the major places representing and disseminating their ideology. Any design intervention on the spatial organization of a public space changes not only its identity, but also how it is perceived, used and appropriated by its users. In this sense, Güven Park in Ankara is a significant example, as it is one of the major public spaces that created the collective identity and collective memory of the city. It is also important in terms of examining all the changes in the identity of Ankara. It has shown all the changes that Ankara has passed through, since the city was declared as a capital city. These changes can be also evidently observed in the evolving identity of Güven Park.

Güven Park was originally built as one of the most prominent parks and squares of the capital city that would present the ideology of the new Republic. Its design, character, functions and activities, meanings of Güven Park and Güven Monument were rigorously planned and designed not only to be a part of an open space network of the city, but also to serve a comforting, clean and modern place that would be mostly used by Ankara's bourgeois (or middle) class and to create and strengthen the new, modern and contemporary national identity. Güven Park's identity has changed along with the changes in the city and city's identity. Especially the planning and design interventions over the years have significant impacts on this change. The park which was specifically designed to promote the nation identity lost its identity while Ankara was changing with new ideologies and policies. As a part of this new understanding, it has become smaller and smaller, and it has been turned into a mostly hard-landscaped public space by a number of refurbishment projects. The original park character, thus, its identity, have started to disappear, while new design features which sought to beautify and embellish the park have become more dominant. It is not a park that different kinds of people gather and produce collective images and memories anymore. It is rather a transition point and a transport hub rare green area.

1.2 AIMS AND OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

This thesis aims to study 'place identity' in relation with 'national identity'. It seeks to understand how national and place identities change in time. The research examines the concept of 'place identity' with respect to the relation between place, individuals and community. It seeks to investigate how people sense and perceive the environment, how 'place image' and 'place identity' are generated. Besides, it seeks to examine the term 'national identity' and how it is related to 'place identity'. Finally it tries to understand the debates on the recent changes in place identity and the problems related to place identity. To pursue this end, this research makes a wide literature review on these questions and issues.

Based on this theoretical framework, this research aims to investigate the evolving relationship between place identity and national identity by focusing on Ankara as the capital city of a new nation and regime and Güven Park as one of the major historic public parks that was developed to enhance the national identity. As mentioned above, the identities of both Ankara and Güven Park have been changed in time. Thus, the research seeks to analyze the changes in the identity of Ankara as the capital of Turkish Republic from the early modernization period of Turkey to today in relation with the changes in the identity of Güven Park.

The major research question of this research is: How far the original identity of Ankara and its main public space -Güven Park- has changed in time? As noted above, public spaces are the place of common identity. Investigating a public space is one of the strategies of this research. The study seeks to understand this change and answer this question:

1. by investigating the modernization project in Turkey and the dynamics of creating Ankara as the capital city of the newly-established republic;
2. by examining the changes in the identity of Ankara in accordance with the development history of the city since its declaration as the capital city of Turkey to today;
3. by studying the changes in the identity of Güven Park, which is one of the most important public spaces of Ankara from its establishment as the capital city to today.

1.3 METHOD OF THE STUDY

Single-case study is used as the research method of this study. The units of analysis are both Ankara and Güven Park. The park -one of the major historic public spaces in the city centre of Ankara- was designed as a part of a public space policy which aimed to build the symbols of the newly-established Turkish Republic. Since public places are important in terms of creating a collective identity, the case study area was chosen as one of the most important public places of Turkish Republic. Among many urban parks in Ankara, Güven Park is one of the most prominent examples to trace and understand the identity changes in Ankara from the very early Republican period to today. Historically, it is one of the oldest public spaces of Ankara. Currently, it does not only function as a park, but also as a square (meeting and gathering places), a playground for children, a passage way, a public transportation hub, a political place where marches and protests take place, a religious place where Ramadan dinners (iftar) take place, and a performance stage where concerts, celebrations, light shows take place. Presently, however, it is not used as a public space to serve the public in the national holidays to remember and celebrate national history, as foreseen by its original design. Güven Park has been one of the most highly-used public spaces in Ankara because of its central

location in the city. This gives it a high degree of publicness. The park is not as popular as before among Ankara citizens. The park has been severely suffered from loss of its identity and image degradation among citizens. Thus, it is an important example to examine and understand how far the identity of this public space has changed in relation with the evolving identity of Ankara.

This research examines the changes in the identity of Güven Park along with the changes in Ankara in two parts. In the first part of the analysis, the research examines the modernization project of Turkey, the historical urban development of Ankara as a capital city of Turkish Republic, and the morphological development of the city through the urban development plans from the 1930s to the 1990s. It also studies the evolving identity of Ankara as the capital city from the 1920s to today by tracing the changes in the public spaces and public buildings, neighborhoods, architectural features and styles, public artworks and their meanings. In the second part of the analysis, the research focuses on the case of Güven Park, studies the historical development of Güven Park, and the changes in the identity of the park regarding *its form or physical setting, activities in the park* and *meanings attached to this public space* in different time periods. Besides, focusing on the current state of the park, the research seeks to understand today's identity of the park in the mind of its users.

The research uses all written documents, interviews and direct observation as the sources of evidences. Semi-structure interviews were conducted in two phases. In the first phase, 15 interviewees were selected to present a range of the park users from different age, gender and professional groups. Some interviewees are only the users who pass by the park, some are the regular users who come to the park to spend their lunch time, and some are those who work in or around the park (street traders, both minibuses and bus drivers, kiosk owners). In the second phase, semi-structured interviews were conducted with 10 more people (mostly senior citizens) who used to use the public areas of Ankara actively in the past, and have knowledge about Ankara's history. The interview questions and the other details on the research methodology are explained in Chapter 3.

1.4 THE STRUCTURE OF THE STUDY

This thesis consists of six chapters, including Introduction. **Chapter 2** sets the theoretical framework of this research. It aims to define the terms 'place identity' and 'national identity'. It first explains the difference between *space* and *place* to define place identity. Second, it seeks to explore why and when a space gets familiar to people and how it becomes a place. Then, it investigates two important concepts - sensation and perception- to answer the questions of how people sense and perceive the environment. Fourth, it investigates in-depth the terms 'place image' and 'place identity' which are already related to each other. Beside place identity, it examines the terms 'national identity'. And last, it discusses the recent changes on place identity and the problems related to place identity. **Chapter 3** explains the research methodology used by this study. **Chapter 4** examines the modernization project of Turkey, the historical development of Ankara as a capital city of Turkish Republic, and the morphological development of the city through the urban development plans from the 1930s to the 1990s. It also studies the evolving identity of Ankara as a capital city of Ankara from the 1920s to today. **Chapter 5** is dedicated to the case of Güven Park. It studies the historical development of Güven Park, and its evolving identity in different time periods. Then, it examines today's identity of the park in the mind of its users by focusing on the current state of the park. **Chapter 6** is conclusion which summarizes the research findings and makes a discussion on the importance on the delicate balance between conserving and changing identities of public spaces, despite strong economic, social, political forces.

CHAPTER 2

GENERAL OVERVIEW OF THE CONCEPTS RELATED TO URBAN IDENTITY: SPACE, PLACE, SENSATION, PERCEPTION AND IDENTITY

This chapter aims to investigate the concepts that are related to and used to define 'urban identity'. This chapter has defined place identity and national identity. In order to define place identity, it first explains the difference between *space* and *place*. Besides, it seeks to explore why and when a space gets familiar to people and how it becomes a place. For this reason, this research has opted to explain *place identity* rather than *space identity*. Then, two important concepts - sensation and perception- are investigated to answer the questions of how people sense and perceive the environment. The third part of this chapter seeks to investigate in-depth the terms 'place image' and 'place identity' which are already related to each other. Therefore, in this chapter, these three themes (*sense* and *perception*, *environmental image* and *place identity*) are studied in relation to each other. Beside place identity, national identity is also important for this research, because Ankara –as the capital city of new regime and new country- is of great importance in terms of national identity of Turkey. And last, the recent changes on place identity and the problems related to place identity are discussed in the last part of this chapter.

2.1 SPACE AND PLACE

It is important to define 'space' and 'place' as the concepts that are produced and reproduced with social relation that creates identity. On the other hand, it is also important to define and conceive the difference between 'place' and 'space'. Why a familiar space becomes place? And why the identity of 'place' is often issued rather than the identity of 'space'?

Space is seen as a production of human behaviors and relations. In this sense, for the production of space, perception of memories of users is important. Therefore, space simply can be defined by Löw's statement as follows:

Space is constituted in a synthesis of social goods, people and places. It is constructed through anticipation, through perception and through memories. Moreover in special places space is psychologically constructed by spacing and physically by placing goods (building, erecting) and people (survey) in relation to other goods and people.

In everyday life spaces are produced in routinely behavior. Spatial structures are reproduced in repetitive actions. Spatial structures are a variant of social structures, like those they are embedded in institutions. With the reproduction of spatial structures these institutions are replicated and thus repeated persistently. (Löw, 2001, cited in Psenner, 2010, p. 204)

In many years, space has been seen as a geometrical subject, and then it began to be defined as a social phenomenon. While space is defined as a social subject, the effects of societies on spaces and the effects of spaces on societies also are examined and debated. Therefore, even though for many

years, space is seen just as a physical issue, now it is analyzed in a social sense. Lefebvre shows the social aspect of space as follows:

Not so many years ago, the word 'space' had a strictly geometrical meaning: the idea it evoked was simply that of an empty area. In scholarly use it was generally accompanied by some such epithet as 'Euclidean', 'isotropic', or 'infinite', and the general feeling was that the concept of space was ultimately a mathematical one. To speak of 'social space', therefore, would have sounded strange. (Lefebvre, 1991, p.1)

Therefore, now on, space is not just related with the location, it has relation with human beings. So, the sense and perception of people is important to define space. Since our experiences are evaluated by our senses of smell, touch, taste, visual and audio perceptions, it is also affected by our emotions and thoughts. Experiences are important as they affect our perception and organization of space.

Human spaces reflect the quality of the human senses and mentality. ... Human beings not only discern geometric patterns in nature and create abstract spaces in the mind; they also try to embody their feelings, images, and thoughts in tangible material. The result is sculptural and architectural space, and on a large scale, the planned city. (Tuan, 2001, p.16)

It is not just people who affect and define space; but space also reshapes people's way of living. In the process of creating a space, senses, physical needs of body, social necessities are taken in consideration. However, while space is shaped according to human necessities, then it begins to shape their life too. As Tuan (2001, p.102) emphasizes, "man-made space can refine human feeling and perception". He (2001, p.102) also states that "Architecture teaches. A planned city, a monumental or even a simple dwelling can be a symbol of the cosmos".

Similarly, while symbols, rites, myths affect the society; space also has an effect on the creation of symbols, rites and myths. In primitive societies, spaces are shaped according to rites, but now symbols are losing their powers and changing their meanings. Symbols are not only profane anymore, and verbal symbols have displaced material symbols. Modern skyscrapers can be as an example of this new kind of a symbol, a 'symbol of power'. Therefore, creating, producing, shaping the space and society are two-sided actions.

In this sense, Lefebvre's (1991, p.26) phrase "(social) space is a (social) product" explains the interaction between space and society. It is a product of thought and action, and therefore it also means control, domination and power. Social space can be used as a tool to analyze the society since it is a product of social action of both individuals and societies. As Lefebvre (1976, p.186) states, "Space is permeated with social relations; it is not only supported by social relations, but it also is producing and produced by social relations".

Lefebvre (1991) thinks that social space is a social product and he explains four implications of his statements. The *first implication* is that even though natural space has not vanished totally, it is disappearing, it is becoming a décor. Everyone wants to protect the nature, yet at the same time harms it, and it becomes only a raw material that form particular space of the productive forces of a variety of social systems (Lefebvre, 1991, pp.30-31). *Second implication* is that every society produces its own space. The ancient city was not just a collection of people and things in space, it had its own spatial practice, forged its own appropriate space (Lefebvre, 1991, p.31). Moreover, without appropriate space to specific conditions, intended society cannot be established. As Lefebvre (1991) indicates, the slogans of 'Change life!' 'Change society!' cannot be possible without proper space. Lefebvre (1991) explains the reason of failure of Soviet by blaming Soviet urban planners who could not achieve to produce social space. Therefore, as mentioned earlier, every society needs its own space and produces its own space.

The *third implication* is that “if space is a product, our knowledge of space must be expected to reproduce and expound the process of production” (Lefebvre, 1991, pp.36-37). Object should be the production of space rather than things in space. Also, it should be reproduced in present time with present need whether it leaves traces from the past (Lefebvre, 1991, pp.36-37).

Finally, the *fourth and last implication* of the hypothesis is that if there is a production, then there exists history as an important notion. Lefebvre (1991, pp.46-47) gives an example of Renaissance town and its spatial arrangement, and argues that the code of spatial arrangement of Renaissance town began forming in antiquity. Therefore, space is generated during time and through changes, and it is planned and organized according to those changes.

Therefore, it is possible to come up with the following definitions of space:

- *the construction of space is a social and procedural phenomenon;*
- *space is a relational arrangement of living beings and social goods;*
- *space is produced through the interactions between acting and structures, it is conceived under pre-structured conditions;*
- *spaces are normally produced in repetitive actions, in routinely behavior* (Löw, 2001 cited in Psenner, 2001, p. 194).

As for place, it also has been defined as a geographic issue at first, while, later on, it was understood that it is also a social phenomenon which is a subject of environmental psychology. Lukerman (1964; cited in Relph, 1976, p. 4) defines place as complex integration of nature and culture that develop in particular locations and that are linked by flows of people and goods to other places.

In geographical manner, James (1954; cited in Relph, 1976, p.2) says that “Geography is concerned with the association of things that give character to particular places”. On the other hand, Relph (1976; cited in Seamon and Sowers, 2008 p.44) argues that the unique quality of place is its power to order and focus human intentions, experiences, and actions spatially. Therefore, while place is a geographical issue, it is also related to human senses, experiences, perceptions.

In the same way, Norberg-Schulz (1971; cited in Relph, 1976, p.42) defines place as a focus where we experience the meaningful events of our existence. Relph (1976) interprets that a place is a centre of action and intention. While actions and intentions affect the place, place also is affected by them. Moreover, he refers to meaning to explain the relation between men and object that is defined by place. Therefore, “places are ... basic elements in the ordering of our experiences of the world” (Relph, 1976, p.43).

The character of places changes through time, since buildings and landscapes are changed as well as our attitudes and perceptions. Time is also related to social content of the place, and this is explained in the section 2.3 of this chapter. Briefly, since our geographical and social knowledge changes, place also changes. Even though it stays still because of this changing knowledge, perception and attitude, it changes. Time is related to human experiences that are the reason why it affects the place.

There is one other issue about place that is discussed in the section 2.3 of this chapter. Both Tuan (2001) and Relph (1976) try to understand why a particular place is special and it gives a feeling of safety, comfort, confidence like home, whereas why some places make us feel fear, anxious. In this sense the term “sense of place” is occurred which is explained in the section 2.3 of this chapter. The complex characteristic of place can be explained by Relph as follows:

In our everyday lives places are not experienced as independent, clearly defined entities that can be described simply in terms of their location or appearance. Rather they are sensed in a

chiaroscuro of setting, landscape, ritual, routine, other people, personal experiences, care and concern for home, and in the context of other places". (Relph, 1976, p.29)

Moreover, one other social issue of place is related to two-sided identity relations of people and place. How places are shaped according to physical and social characteristics of human or what are the other factors that affect to form the place. The other way around is also questionable: How people's attitude changes and impacts on places. These questions are also discussed in the section 2.3 of this chapter. Without understanding human significance, it is hard to understand the place. Likewise, without perceiving the place, human cannot be analyzed accurately.

To sum up, with taking into consideration of both geographical and social aspect of place, Lukerman (1964) reveals six major components to analyze the concept of place:

1. *The idea of location, especially location as it relates to other things and places, is absolutely fundamental. Location can be described in terms of internal characteristics (site) and external connectivity to other locations (situation); thus places have spatial extension and an inside and outside.*
2. *Place involves an integration of elements of nature and culture; "each place has its own order, its special ensemble, which distinguishes it from the next place" (p.170). This clearly implies that every place is a unique entity.*
3. *Although every place is unique, they are interconnected by a system of spatial interactions and transfers; they are part of a framework of circulation.*
4. *Places are localized-they are parts of larger areas and are focuses in a system of localization.*
5. *Places are emerging or becoming; with historical and cultural change new elements are added and old elements disappear. Thus places have a distinct historical component.*
6. *Places have meaning: they are characterized by the beliefs of man. "Geographers wish to understand not only why place is a factual event in human consciousness, but what beliefs people hold about place It is this alone that underlies man's acts which are in turn what give character to a place". (Relph, 1976, p.3)*

After defining space and place, it is better to clarify the relations and differences between space and place to understand how place can creates attachment, familiarity while space does not. Moreover, they are familiar words which define each other.

Human beings need both place and space since they have complementary meaning with each other. They require space, because space offers freedom to people. It is a symbol of freedom in Western culture. However, being open and free, and being exposed and vulnerable at the same time, space gives the impression of threat. It has no trodden paths and signposts. Being open, space suggests the future and invites action. Human beings, however, also need for place that is an enclosed and humanized space. Therefore, while people need for space because of its freedom, they also are required to place as it gives the idea of attachment. As Tuan (2001, p.54) claims, "a healthy being welcomes constraint and freedom, the boundedness of place and the exposure of space". In contrast to be required, space and place can be threatened by themselves. While a claustrophobic sees small and tight spaces as oppressive, an agoraphobic is terrified by open spaces.

Being open and enclosed is not the only differences that space and place have. Also, space is differentiated by being abstract than place. According to Tuan (2001, p.18), space is an abstract term comprising a set of complex ideas. People from different cultures produce different spaces, as they differ from each other in terms of their biological and social needs (Tuan, 2001, p.18). On the other hand, "an object or place achieves concrete reality when our experience of it is total, that is, through all the senses as well as with the active and reflective mind" (Tuan, 2001, p.18).

One of the reasons behind this difference lies on another duality of place and space: the movement of space and the stability of place. Space symbolizes a freedom and an ability to move that provide one with the opportunity to experience the space (Tuan, 2001, p.52). It is abstract, since it is developed from these experiences and movement (Tuan, 2001, p.52). However, place is a pause in movement, since it satisfies certain biological needs at a locality (Tuan, 2001, p.52).

Place represents a static concept, since there needs to develop a sense of place. Space, however, represents freedom, and it has an ability to move. For that reason, it is differentiated in different cultures that make it abstract. On the contrary, place is a pause in movement so that it can get a sense of place through the experiences that are gained in this stabile settlement. However, Madanipour (1996) claims that, on the one hand, place can be defined as an enclosed and particular space that has a static nature; but, on the other hand, it is open and porous. It is because identity of place can change through social relations.

Moreover, “when space feels thoroughly familiar to us, it has become place” (Tuan, 2001, p.73). As space is free and abstract, it can have an identity but it cannot give one the feeling of ‘being home’. On the other hand, place is static and enclosed, it can create an emotional area that gives a sense of home. Tuan explains the process of turning the concept of space to place as follows:

We are in a strange part of town: unknown space stretches ahead of us. In time we know a few landmarks and the routes connecting them. Eventually what was strange town and unknown space becomes familiar place. Abstract space, lacking significance other than strangeness, becomes concrete place, filled with meaning. (Tuan, 2001, p.199)

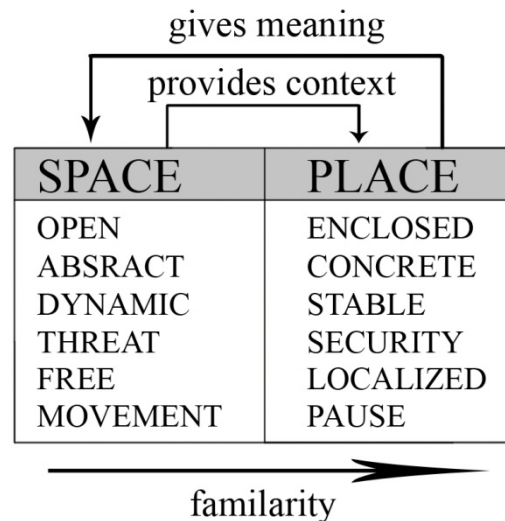


Figure 2.1 The differences and relations between ‘space’ and ‘place’

As Madanipour (1996) explains, this familiarity is about the characteristics of space and place. Since place refers to security and stability, it can be defined as a center of felt value. On the contrary,

space refers to freedom and openness which prevents to establish a bond. The differences and relation between space and place is shown in Figure 2.1.

While place and space have a complementary relation, they also define each other. Relph (1976, p.8) clarifies this relation as follows: "In general it seems that space provides the context for places but derives its meaning from particular places". Susanne Langer (1953; cited in Relph, 1976, p.23) refers to this relation by means of architecture, stating that architects deal with created space. At the same time, within the context of created spaces, she mentions the ethnic domain as a basic abstraction of architecture which is a place made visible, tangible and sensible.

The architect's task is thus to express this cultural and symbolic complex of the ethnic domain, and to achieve self-consciously and deliberately the creation of significant places within the context of existential space. (Langer, 1953; cited in Relph, 1976, p.23)

Norberg-Schulz (1984) introduces an alternative perspective of space, place and character. He linguistically analyzes these notions, since meaning is directly related to language. Places are specified by nouns (Norberg-Schulz, 1984, p.16). This implies that they are considered real "things that exist" (Norberg-Schulz, 1984, p.16). Space, on the other hand, is designated by preposition, as it is a system of relations (Norberg-Schulz, 1984, p.16). In our daily life, space is not talked about directly rather the things that are over, under, before, behind, at, in, within, on, upon, to, from, along, next to them are talked (Norberg-Schulz, 1984, p.16). Character, finally, is indicated by adjectives that define the place. Since character is a complex totality, single adjectives cannot be sufficient to define the place (Norberg-Schulz, 1984, p.16).

To sum up, both place and space can be defined in order to understand the identity of place and space. In the meanwhile, place and space should be discussed in terms of relations between each other, since they define each other. While they have great similarities in terms of their meanings, they also have contrasts that make both of them necessary. Because of their characteristics, space does not give any expression of locality. Therefore, it can be mentioned about sense of place as place has a stabile character. However, this does not mean that space have not an identity. On the contrary, both space and place have their identity that shape the society and produced and organized through the identity of society. This is explained in the section 2.3 of this chapter.

2.2 SENSATION AND PERCEPTION

Human spaces reflect the quality of the human senses and mentality. The mind frequently extrapolates beyond sensory evidence. (Tuan, 2001, p. 16)

In order to evaluate the environmental image of the space, both sensation and perception should be understood since they are the key foci of it. Moreover, images affect the identity of place through our senses and perceptions. First of all, it is necessary to define the sensuous (or sensory) quality that refers to look, sound, smell, and feel of a place (Lynch, 1991).

There is no clear distinction about where sensation ends and perception begins. However, Carmona et al. (2010) state that perception involves gathering, organizing and making sense of information about environment, whereas sensation refers to the simple biological experiences elicited by environmental stimuli. Carmona et al. (2010) describe the four most valuable senses -vision, hearing, smell and touch- in interpreting and sensing the environments as follows:

- **Vision** – *The dominant sense, vision provides more information than the other sense combined. Orientation in space is achieved visually. ... vision is active and searching:*

'We look; smells and sounds come to us.' Visual perception is also a highly complex phenomenon and relies on space, distance, colour, shape, textural and contrast gradients, etc.

- **Hearing** – *While visual space is sectoral – our arc of vision involves only what lies before us – 'acoustic' space is all-surrounding, has no obvious boundaries, and, in contrast to vision, emphasizes space rather than objects in space While vision is information-rich, hearing is information-poor. Hearing is nevertheless, emotionally rich – screams, music, thunder arouse us; the flow of water or the wind in the leaves soothes us*
- **Smell** – *As with hearing, the human of smell is not well developed. Nevertheless, while even more information-poor than sound, smell is emotionally richer than sound.*
- **Touch** – *Much of our experience of texture comes through our feet and through our buttocks when we sit down rather than through our hands. (Porteous, 1996, pp. 3, 33, 35, 36; cited in Carmona et al., 2010, p.111)*

Lynch (1991) indicates that the motor action of the body and their interchange with the environment like breathing, eating, eliminating, and maintaining body temperature and rhythm, affects the sensory environment. The data of ergonomics which is the definite standards to fit the environment to these functions is the base for sense of environmental image.

In fact, Tuan (2001) denotes as the main substance of organization of space as a sight that is expanded and enriched by other sense. He explains the cycle of sensing and building environment by means of experience and awareness. First, builder needs to know where and how to build and then, physical effort is the next step. For these processes, builder benefits from his muscles, senses of sight and touch to built structure, then the building or architectural complex that stand in the environment have a capability of affect the people who live in it (Tuan, 2001, p.102). Therefore, building the environment through our sense and shaping by the sense of this built environment is a two-way process.

We understand the environment through our senses. Meanwhile, what feeling that it gives is another issue. Lynch refers it as follows:

What one can see, how it feels underfoot, the smell of the air, the sounds of bells and motorcycles, how patterns of these sensations make up the quality of places, and how the quality affects our immediate well-being, our actions, our feelings, and our understanding. (Lynch, 1991, p. 8)

The process of sensing and perceiving is a study of psychology (Lynch, 1991). While the physiological process of sensation is mostly understood, the process of thinking is still a mystery. In this sense, Neisser (1978; cited in Psenner, 2004, p.191) proposes the perceptual cycle model that sees perception as a continuous activity. Since then, observer is seen as a modifiable by experience and what is being observed. Apart from the experience, the position of the observer can also affect the perception. For example, being a driver or pedestrian at the same road can give a different perception for the same individual.

Therefore, perception is an interactive process that must be analyzed by including the perceptible features of environment and its capabilities, values and situations of its perceiver. In this sense, the perception of an individual is affected by both what is there to be seen and the way that people see it. 'Seer' and 'seen' must be considered together, since quality of sensed environment is evaluated by means of particular group of people (Lynch, 1991, p.9).

Perception refers to complex processing and understanding of environmental stimuli. Ittelson (1978) identifies four dimensions of perception as follows:

- **Cognitive** – involves the thinking about, organizing and keeping of information about the environment. In essence, it enables us to make sense of the environment.
- **Affective** – involves our feelings, which – in turn – influence our perception of the environment; equally, our perception of the environment influences our feelings.
- **Interpretative** – encompasses the meaning or associations derived from the environment. In actively processing information, we rely on memory of past stimulation for comparison with newly experienced stimuli.
- **Evaluative** – incorporates values and preferences and the determination of ‘good’ or ‘bad’ elements in the environment. (Ittelson, 1978; cited in Carmona et al., 2010, p.112)

As Psenner (2004) emphasizes, perception can be learned and trained. Because visual perception is connected with anticipation of perception, curiosity, reflexes, exploration and actions under the use of all senses. He also denotes that visual perception is not only the matter of visual sense, but also evolves from other senses, since what is seen is related to what is expected to be seen (Psenner, 2004, p.192). ‘Cognitive mapping’, originally discovered by Lynch (1960) is one of the major tools to understand the perception of individuals about environment. It is clearly explained as follows:

Cognitive mapping is as abstract term that covers cognitive or mental abilities that allow us to pick up information about our spatial surrounding, to arrange, to store, recall and to process it. These abilities can be developed and improved (Downs and Stea, 1982; cited in Psenner, 2004, p.192).

According to this model what people see depends on:

- *The mental anticipation they develop (related to the schema and to the cognitive map)*
- *The perceptual exploration they carry out (peripheral vision, eye movement, haptic exploration, the use of other sense, ...)*
- *The information they find available (by the use of all senses. (Psenner, 2004, p.192)*

Lynch (1990) claims that people firstly create mental map to understand the layout of the city. Mental maps are a mental representation of city’s layout according to individuals. Even though every individual has a unique picture of image, they can be overlapped as a public image in a city. These mental representations of a city contain five elements: paths, edges, district, nodes, and landmarks.

- **Paths:** Paths are the channels along like streets, walkways, transit lines, canals, railroads that the observer customarily, occasionally, or potentially moves. Since along these paths the other environmental elements are arranged and related, people observe the city while moving through it.
- **Edges:** Edges are the boundaries between two phases, like shores, railroad cuts, and edges of development, walls and at the meantime not used by the observer like paths. Edges can be barriers, more or less penetrable that close one region off from another, or they may be seams, lines that two regions are related and joined together.
- **District:** District is conceived as a two dimensional extent that are the medium-to-large sections of the city. Observer only mentally enters inside of, and recognizes some common, identifying character. Therefore, they are always identifiable from the inside, but can be an exterior reference if visible from outside.
- **Nodes:** Nodes are points that the strategic spot in a city which an observer can enter. They may be junctions like places of a break in transportation or a crossing or convergence in

paths, or moments of shift from one structure to another. Or the nodes may be concentrations, which gain their importance by being condensation of some use or physical character.

- **Landmarks:** Landmarks are another point reference that observer perceive from external. They are mostly defined physical objects like building, sign, store, or mountain while used as signs to make journey familiar to observer.



Figure 2.2 Lynch's elements of city images (Resource: Lynch, 1990, pp. 47-48)

Orientation in space and time is the base of the cognition that is related to our ability to recognize places and to integrate them into mental images. People take delight in physically distinctive, recognizable locales and attach their feelings and meanings to them that is why orientation is important (Lynch, 1991, p.13). Node, path and district, as the elements of the environmental image, are the objects of man's orientation and create good environmental image that give people the sense of security. Otherwise, if the system is weak, it becomes hard for people to create images about the space, and it makes people feel lost. People need to orient themselves in their environment. Orientation in space is necessary in order to feel people safe and secure; and belong to specific place. Otherwise, people feel insecure and cannot create an identity for place.

Thus, it is possible to conclude that perception of environment is a very complex process including sensation and perception. Two facts are important in terms of perception:

- *Perception is constantly evolved by experience*
- *Perception is an active process that combines and interweaves the picking up of external information, thinking and acting, so that they correlate with each other. (Koffka, 1990; cited in Psenner, 2004, p.192)*

People perceive their environments through the five elements -paths, edges, district, nodes, and landmarks- and they create mental maps as a consequence of their perception. Moreover people understand and give an identity to their environment through this perception with the help of their sensation.

2.3 IDENTITY

2.3.1 PLACE IDENTITY

This section explains the notion of 'place identity' first by examining how it is created and which factors lie behind its creation. Second, it explains the components of place identity and the ways they are found; and last, it specifies the features of place identity.

What is 'place identity'?

'Identity' simply can be defined as *distinguishing character or personality of an individual that includes a persistent sameness and unity at the same time*. Sargin (1989, p.63) also defines 'identity' as *the particularities which determine one from other in terms of physical and social context*. Therefore, identity is not just about **physical characteristics**, **social conditions** are also important. In this sense, 'identity' can be defined as ***a character that shaped through experiences and subjective feelings which are affected by social relations***. Relph (1976) describes the identity based on not only the individual person or object, but also culture that they belong. In this sense, identity can change according to circumstances and attitudes; and this makes it defined as not static and unchangeable. Also, it has several components and forms that make it defined as not uniform and undifferentiated.

Beside the definition of identity, the main issue of the thesis is '*place identity*'. Here, while explaining the term 'place identity', the aim is to explain the reasons of why some particular places are important to someone, while other places are not. Another aim of this section is to find out the answers of the following questions:

- how place identity is formed,
- what features affect the formation of place identity,
- how place identity affects people.

Watson and Bentley (2007, p.6) define '*place identity*' as "*the set of meanings associated with any particular cultural landscape which any particular person or group of people draws on in the construction of their own personal or social identities*". This definition is very informative, underlining two major factors -culture and people- affecting place identity. These factors are explained in the next part.

What are the factors affecting place identity?

Place identity is determined through three major factors: **culture, people and time**. Place identity changes from one culture to another. "People of different cultures differ in how they divide up their world, assign values to its parts, and measure them" (Tuan, 2001, p.34). There are two facts that affect the spatial organization: One is posture and structure of human body; and the other is the relations between human beings. Thus, the organization of space and identity differ from one culture to another according to experience with individuals' body and others, biological needs and social relations of people.

Culture affects place identity since it creates common identity by collecting individual identities. Wagner (1972; cited Relph, 1976, p.44) claims that, even though places and landscapes are unique in terms of content, they are the products of common cultural and symbolic elements and processes. Therefore, identity of place is related to the appearances of buildings that are a function of inter-subjective intentions and experiences; and it refers both distinctiveness of individual places and

sameness between different places. We experience almost the same objects and activities; and we are taught to look for certain qualities of place that are shaped by our cultural groups. Either self-consciously or unselfconsciously, every individual assigns an identity to a particular place. These identities are combined inter-subjectively as a common identity.

Besides culture, **time** is another factor that affects place identity. Since individuals create place identities, then obviously different people, at different times, for different reasons, create different narratives of belonging that make place images as user-determined, polysemic and unstable through time (Ashworth and Graham, 2005). Therefore, place identity is a dynamic concept, as it is reconstructed by people and changes according to people and time. In this sense, while different actors interpret representations of place differently, there can be different identities at the same place. In other words, it is not right to mention 'the' identity of a place; a place might have more than one identities. Therefore, with time aspect, the plural character of place identity is presented.

Besides culture and time, another important factor that creates place identity is **people**. Individuals affect the environment by regulating it, while physical environment has an influence on their identity and self-perception. Krupat (1983) explains this relation with men and indicates this by saying

The concept of place identity makes explicit the key role that a person's relationship to the environment plays not simply in terms of a context for action or in facilitating certain forms of behaviour, but in becoming 'part of the person', of being incorporated into one's concept of self". (Krupat, 1983; cited in Dixon and Durrheim, 2000, p.36).

Moreover, when attachment grows, people identify themselves according to the place and social references that refer to physical places where people live (Hauge, 2007). Therefore, while environment helps to individuals define their own individual identity, places are also influenced by people's identities.

What are the components of place identity?

Another important issue in this part is the components of the place identity. Relph (1976) identifies three components of place that are: the **physical setting**, the **activities**, and **the meanings** (Figure 2.3).

First, **physical setting** is important to create place identity. Physical features of the place contribute to make places legible so that place becomes identified, organized and navigated by people (Ujang, 2010). *Legible places* make people to orientate themselves in the environment with the help of paths, edges, districts, nodes and landmarks. Lynch (1960) also mentions the term *identification* and in this sense he specifies that identity of place provides place individuality from other places and support the recognition as a separable entity. Each place has a unique address that makes it identifiable, and also helps one understand the environment (Lynch, 1960; cited in Relph, 1976, p.45). Likewise, the relationship between men and environment starting from the childhood leads individuals to develop perceptual schemata which include all features of their environmental perception. With the help of this schemata, people are able to orient themselves in the environment, as well as to identify the environment and objects in it, as Relph (1976) explains below:

The child grows up in green, brown or white spaces; it walks or plays on sand , earth , stone or moss, under a cloudy or serene sky; it grasps and lifts hard and soft things; it hears noises, such as the sound of the wind moving the leaves of a particular kind of tree; and it experiences heat and cold. Thus the child gets acquainted with the environment, and develops perceptual schemata which determine all future experiences. The schemata

comprise universal structures which are interhuman, as well as locally determined and culturally conditioned structures. Evidently every human being has to possess schemata of orientation as well as identification. (Relph, 1976, p.21)

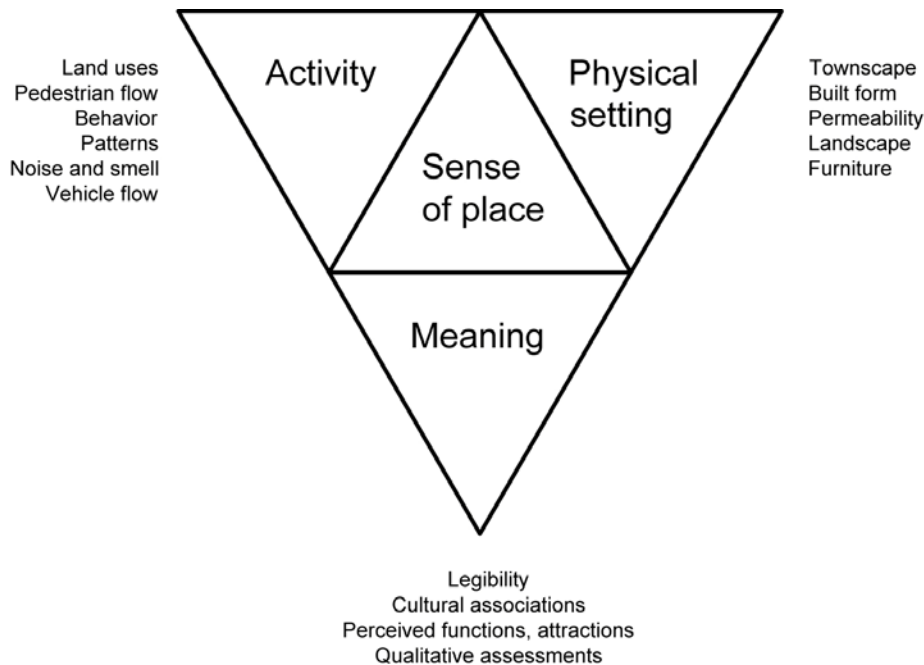


Figure 2.3 Components of sense of place (Resource: Punter, 1991, pp. 24-27)

Physical setting of the place can be analyzed in two categories. One is the physical setting of a natural place, and the other one is the physical characteristic of a man-made place. Physical components of natural place can be understood simply by comprising earth, sky and sea. As such, Norberg-Schulz (1984, p.37) claims that “through the interaction of surface, relief, vegetation and water, characteristic totalities or places are formed which constitute the basic elements of landscape”. For example, the variation of surface, such as plain, valley, basin, ravine, plateau, hill and mountain, form the physical settings of places. Also, the texture and color material substance of the ground which consists of sand, earth, stone, grass water, and vegetation as a part of surface relief are all other elements which characterize the physical setting and thus contribute to the identity of place.

Some places get their identity from a particularly interesting location, whereas the man-made components are rather insignificant. Others, instead, may be situated in a dull landscape, but possess a well-defined configuration and a distinct character. (Norberg-Schulz, 1984, p.179)

The second category - man-made place - is translation or interpretation of natural environment by means of *visualization*, *complementation* and *symbolization*. These three ways of translation and interpretation also affect the image of the city by means of creating an identity. As Norberg-Schulz (1984) explains, man first wants to visualize his understanding of the nature, and expresses his existential foothold. In order to achieve this, he builds that he is visualized by taking nature as a

reference. Second, he complements the things that are missing during visualization of nature. And, then he symbolizes his understanding of nature by giving a meaning to it according to his experience. While this process shows how people sense their environment, it also shows how individual and community create image and identity of their surroundings. Norberg-Schulz (1984) also indicates the important of appearance as follows:

Whether place is understood and experienced as landscape in the direct and obvious sense that visual features provide tangible evidence of some concentration of human activities, or in a more subtle sense as reflecting human values and intentions, appearance is an important feature of all places. (Norberg-Schulz, 1984, p.31)

The second component of place identity is **activity** which is related to movement of people. Activity is important for place identity, since different actions need different places with different character such as a protective place for dwelling, practical place for office, festive place for a ball-room and solemn place for a church (Norberg-Schulz, 1984, p.14).

Public places are the most vital spaces where diverse activity and movement can be observed. **Vitality, diversity** and **movement** are some of the key attributes of place activity. As Jacobs (1961) and Montgomery (1998) specify, **liveliness, energy and enthusiasm of a place** result in atmosphere, pedestrian intensity and movement. **Diversity**, on the other hand, makes urban setting vital by mixing different things, providing a degree of choices and reaching different kind of people (Bentley, 1985; cited in Ujang, 2010, p.64). **Movement** is the most fundamental thing to understand. How places function and what movements a public space contains are the issues at the heart of an urban experience (Carmona et al., 2010). It is important where people want to sit or linger, how they act in a space or how they move in it. The attributes of activity are shown in Table 2.1.

Table 2.1 Attributes of activity

ACTIVITY		
VITALITY	energy	
	enthusiasm of place	
	pedestrian intensity and movement	
DIVERSITY	Different places	Different choice
	Different people	
MOVEMENT	heart of experience	
	pace of people	
	how people move	
TRANSACTION	economic transaction	
	socio-cultural transaction	

Best streets are those with a vibrant atmosphere through a diversity of people and activity (Ujang and Dola, 2007). It is important because both on-going activities and places that can sustain vitality create a strong attachment to a place. Similarly, different kind of activities in public spaces helps to develop a place identity, since it is a transaction area for different kinds of people. Therefore,

though images are the result of personal experiences, it is filtered with their experience through their perception. Lynch also thinks in the same way and says;

Environmental images were the result of a two-way process between the observer and the environment: the environment suggested distinctions and relations, from which observers selected, organized and endowed with meaning what they saw. (Lynch, 1980; cited in Carmona et al., 2010, p.112)

Even though images are in the mind of observer, they are not created by absorbing environmental stimuli; but, they are created by filtering through cultural and personal values (Carmona et al., 2010) (See Figure 2.5). Place images are ‘... not just selective abstractions of an objective reality but are intentional interpretations of what is or what is not believed to be’ (Relph, 1976; cited in Carmona et al., 2010, p.112). Therefore, images of a place are the experiences of individuals or groups and their intentions toward that place. This is one of the reasons that every individual has a different place image for the same environment.

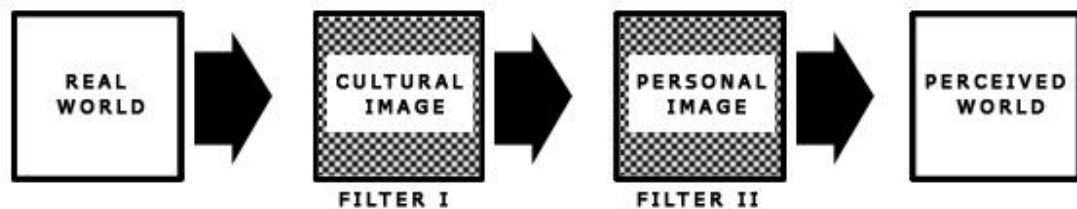


Figure 2.5 The process of perceiving environment (Resource: Rapoport, 1977, p. 38; cited in Abaci, 2009, p.84)

Lynch (1990) also analyzes the environmental image with its three components: **identity**, **structure**, and **meaning**. He argues that, first, there needs to identify an object that makes it distinct from other things and that is recognized by itself which gives its own identity. Second, the image should contain the spatial or pattern relation of the object to the observer and to the other object that creates its structure. And last, this object has to have a meaning for observer that can be practical or emotional.

Images of places are structured **vertically** and **horizontally** (Relph, 1976). They are structured vertically via experience, while they are structured horizontally through a social distribution of knowledge of place within and between individual, groups, and the mass (Relph, 1976, p.56). Thus, while image is formed by received information, it is emerged according to knowledge.

Also, place images can be classified under three categories: individual images, group's images and mass images (Relph, 1976). Relph (1976, p.56) defines **individual images of place** as follows: "Within one person the mixing of experience, emotion, memory, imagination, present situation, and intention can be so variable that he can see a particular place in several quite distinct ways". Therefore, the same individual can see the same place in different ways, according to different experiences, purposes, times and identities. For example, an image of the street can be quite different for the same person as a pedestrian and as a driver. However, even though place can have different identities, since there exist features of place that are agreed upon, then these agreed features can be used as a reference point. Additionally, perception of images can be changed from

person to person according to identity and organization through long familiarity. For example, one can find an object easily in accordance to others because of this familiarity. An object has a strong structure or identity to a person again because of this familiarity (Lynch, 1990, p. 56).

Group or community images of place are defined by Lowenthal (1961; cited in Relph, 1976, p.57) as a common social image of place that brought together by diverse personal images. But, this does not mean that all individual images are independent. On the contrary, "individual images have been and are being constantly socialized through the use of common languages, symbols, and experiences" (Berger and Luckman, 1967; cited in Relph, 1976, p.57). Lynch (1990) also defines group images as an image of grouped observer of homogenous classes of age, sex, culture, occupation, temperament, or familiarity. Therefore, different groups and communities have different identities which make them to perceive image differently (Relph, 1976). Even though every individual creates a different image for an environment, there exist public images that are formed by common mental pictures of large numbers of a city's inhabitants. These inhabitants share a common culture and common mind construction of memory. Therefore, both collective memory and common culture of particular environment can affect perception of people that creates the common images, despite their own personal perceptions. Five physical elements of Lynch (1990) -paths, edges, districts, nodes and landmarks- are also about the public image of the city, and they show that every individual can operate successfully within same environment if city is imageable for common.

Besides individual and group or community images of place, Relph (1976) defines **consensus and mass images of place** that is a common ground of agreement about the identity of place despite the different identities of different groups. He (1976) mentions two forms of that common identity: the **public identities** and the **mass identities**. **Public identities** can be defined as common identities that are agreed on physical features and other verifiable components of places of various communities of particular society. Relph (1976) defines public identities as a consensus since it has developed with free opinion and experience of groups and individuals. On the other hand, **mass identity of places** has developed by opinion makers that are provided ready-made for the people rather than free opinion of group and individual. They use mass-media, especially advertisements, to create selective identities for place.

Since the image is defined, lastly the relation between the image and place identity is explained before discussing about place identity. Nairn (1965, cited in Relph, 1976, p.45) states that "there are as many identities of place as there are people", since identity isn't just about physical appearance of the city or landscape, it is also experience, eye, mind, and intention of the beholder. Environment influences human beings as people create an image when they observe the environment. However, environmental image is also affected by culture, since culture influences the perception. Therefore, people from different social background perceives environment differently. On the other hand, every individual from the same society can also perceive environment differently, as shown in Figure 2.6. Tuan (2001) explains it as follows:

As we look at a panoramic scene our eyes pause at points of interest. Each pause is time enough to create an image of place that looms large momentarily in our view. The pause may be of such short duration and the interest so fleeting that we may not be fully aware of having focused on any particular object; we believe we have simply been looking at the general scene. Nonetheless these pauses have occurred. It is not possible to look at a scene in general; our eyes keep searching for points of rest. (Tuan, 2001, p.161)

Therefore, people can keep a different image in different time and can see different ways with different purpose in the same environment. That is what makes every image unique and cause different place identities for the same environment.

Since environmental images created and valued differently by each individual, it can be said that image is the result of personal experiences and values that filter the environmental stimuli. Montgomery (1998, cited in Carmona et al, 2010, p.112) distinguishes identity from image by defining place identity as what a place is actually like but more importantly what common elements of beholders' individual place images. Therefore, image is the combination of place identity and individual's perception of place. Also, like place identity, place images are also a product, since people reduce reality to a few selection to make sense of their surroundings. As Pocock and Hudson (1978, cited in Carmona et al., 2010, p.112) describe, such images are partial (i.e., not covering the whole place); simplified (i.e., omitting much information); idiosyncratic (i.e., each individual's place image is unique); and distorted (i.e., based on subjective, rather than real, distance and direction).

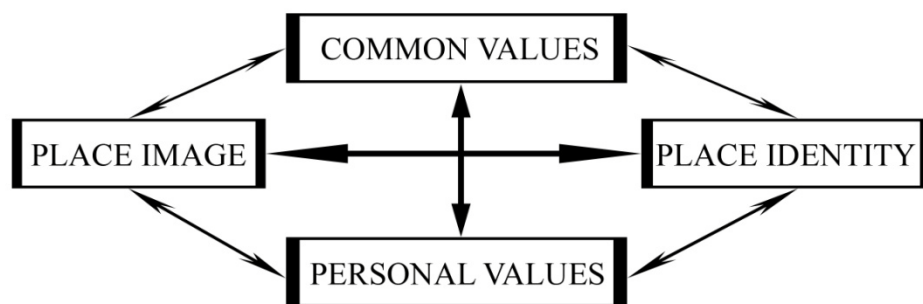


Figure 2.6 Relations between place image and place identity

In this sense, the image of a place is its identity and in order to understand the identity of something it is essential to understand social structure of its images (Relph, 1976). People can visualize the place where they visit for the first time and develop an image of that town but it is misleading (Relph, 1976). In order to create an identity of place, there need observation and experience of one and stable image.

Besides, image creates a **meaning** through the sense and perception of users. Meanings can change and be transferred according to both objects and observers. Both 'how object gets a meaning' and 'how people perceive it' are important facts to understand meaning. Therefore, meaning is more complicated than other components since it involves both individual and cultural variations which reflect particular interests, experiences and viewpoints (Relph, 1976, p.47).

Hershberger (1974; cited in Barlas, 2006, p.26) identifies two broad categories of meaning: **representational meaning** and **responsive meanings** (Figure 2.7). The **representational meaning** is percept, concept, or idea that is represented in the human organism in the architectural environment. The **responsive meaning** consists of internal responses that can be *affective*, *evaluative*, or *prescriptive* in nature. The representational meaning can be also categorized as **presentational meanings** and **referential meanings**. **Presentational meaning** involves the perception of shape and form of an object, while **referential meaning** is a meaning of an object that perceived as something else than what actually it is, such as the idea of passing through of an object. **Responsive meaning** is also categorized as **affective meaning**, **evaluative meaning**, and **prescriptive meaning**. **Affective meaning** is the result of likes and dislikes; that is, another kind of learned response based on experience. **Evaluating meaning** is about judgments one makes about

phenomena or objects. There is no clear distinction between evaluating meaning and affective meaning, except in evaluating meaning individual's purposes, worldviews and values are central to his/her evaluation. **Prescriptive meaning** is often accountable to all other mentioned meanings, since it has been affecting from representation, evaluated both representations and their affect (Barlas, 2006, pp.26-28).

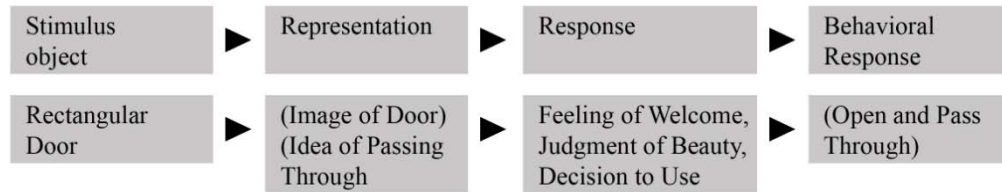


Figure 2.7 Hershberger's model of the process of formation of architectural meanings (Resource: Barlas, 2006, p.27)

On the other hand, Norberg-Schulz (1984) groups the **natural meaning** in five categories that are *thing, cosmic order, character, light, time*. Because the meaning of man-made places is produced by interpretation and translation of natural environment, it is necessary to understand the natural meaning. *Man is a thing* among thing that lives among mountains and rocks, rivers and trees and uses and has to know them. *Man also lives with cosmic order* -the course of the sun and the cardinal points that are not only directions of compass or geometry, but also qualitative realities for man. *Man is related to the character of things*, since he develops a correspondence between his own psychic states and the forces of nature that establishes a personal friendship with things and experience the environment as meaningful. *Man also lives with light and tuned by light* and even though man concentrated his attention on the sun as a thing rather than general concept of sun. Lastly, *man lives in time* which means that he lives with the changes of other four dimensions by the rhythms of day and night, with the seasons and in history. Therefore, it can be said that while thing and cosmic order are spatial, character and light refer to the general atmosphere of a place. Finally, time makes space and character parts of living reality that is dimension of constancy and change (Norberg-Schulz, 1984, p.169). Since men shape his world by means of natural environment that they recognize at the same time built himself while building nature.

These three components are interrelated and have dialectics that constitutes the identity of the place.

Physical context and activities combine to give the human equivalent of locations within the 'functional circle' of animals; setting and meanings combine in the direct and empathetic experience of landscapes or townscapes; activities and meaning combine in many social acts and shared histories that have little reference to physical setting. (Relph, 1976, pp. 47-48)

Therefore, these three components are the raw materials of the identity of places, while dialectical links are elementary structural relations of that identity.

Genius Loci (spirit of place, sense of place)

Besides the components of place identity, Relph (1976) mentions another concept that is more tangible than these components and serves to link and embrace them. This concept is **genius loci**, also known as *spirit of place*, *sense of place* or *genius of place* and it refers to *character* or *personality*. By means of genius loci, it is important to have a good relationship in both physical and psychic sense. In order to do so, it is necessary to experience the environment with its definite characters. Norberg-Schulz (1976, p.18) gives ancient Egypt as an example, stating that "...the country was not only cultivated in accordance with the Nile floods, but the very structure of the landscape served as a model for the lay-out of the "public" buildings which should give man a sense of security by symbolizing an eternal environmental order". In other words, in order to create 'genius loci', it is necessary both to understand and experience the nature entirely and settle and live according to it.

In addition, **genius loci** involve *topography* and *appearance*, *economic functions* and *social activities*, and *particular significance deriving from past events* and *present situations* that give identity to a place. Therefore, genius loci are differentiated from the identity of place by being persistent in spite of the changes in the components of identity (Relph, 1976, p.48). In other words, despite the significant social, cultural and technological changes, many places maintain some essence of their place identity. Rene-Dubos explains this as follows:

Distinctiveness persists despite change. Italy and Switzerland, Paris and London have retained their respective identities through many social, cultural and technological revolutions. (Rene-Dubos, 1972; cited in Relph, 1976, p.48)

Since the genius loci are also related to the perception of people, the term constitutes individuality and uniqueness of place. Lawrence (1964) explains it as follows:

Different places on the face of the earth have different vital effluence, different vibration, different chemical exhalation, different polarity with different stars; call it what you like. But the spirit of place is a great reality. (Lawrence, 1964; cited in Relph, 1976, p.49)

One important issue for genius loci is preservation. Because environment changes through the impact of practical, social and cultural changes, Norberg-Schulz (1984) asks the questions of "how the *genius loci* can be preserved under the pressure of new functional demands", and "what happens for instance when new or larger streets become necessary". For him (1984), changing or getting lost is not necessary for genius loci, the stability can be provided in two ways. One is that, if place has a capacity of receiving different contents in certain limits, then it can be more flexible for changes. Second one is that interpret the place in different ways since the conservation and protection of genius loci means concretize its essence in different contents (Norberg-Schulz, 1984, p.18).

Insideness and outsideness

Relph (1976) also argues that these three components not simply apply to a place, it is rather found in some forms in places. Besides these components, the essence of a place lies on the experience of an inside which is a distinct from outside (Relph, 1976, p.49). In this sense, '*insideness*' and '*outsideness*' are two other terms to identify the place. Tuan (1976) mentions the concepts of '*insideness*' and '*outsideness*' that give a different meaning in terms of place identity. The sense of insideness and outsideness is conceptual term and mental space defined by our intentions. People put themselves in to the centre. For example, if the focus is home, then beyond the home is outside, or if the focus is local district, then beyond that district is outside and so on. Thus, people's intentions change the boundary between inside and outside, since they carry these zones and

boundaries with them by being centre of their perceptual space (Tuan, 1976, pp.49-50). Therefore, boundaries between inside and outside give the opportunity of passage from one to the other; and like geometry, inside and outside are ready to reverse.

The sense of an inside and outside is emotionally a distinct concept, because one gives a sense of intimacy and represents private life and other gives a feeling of exposure and connotes public space. By being inside, one feels to belong to place, identifies that place; and feels stronger with the identity that place provides. Inside can be described as a house that offers man shelter and security by being enclosed and well-provided. On the other hand by window as an opening to outside, inside becomes an experience as a complement to the outside. Therefore, since inside makes the feel of luminous and warm in contrast the sense of cold and darkness of outside, silence of inside has a potential for sound (Norberg-Schulz, 1984, p.8, 9).

Relph (1976) defines inside as knowing where you are and separated from the outside by senses of safety rather than danger, cosmos rather than chaos and enclosure rather than exposure. Simply the difference is 'being here' rather than 'there'. From outside, one looks upon a place as a traveler. On the other hand, by being inside, one experiences a place, while surrounding by it and part of it.

In order to clarify the distinction between inside and outside, different levels of insideness and outsideness should be explained by means of experience. Peter Berger (1971; cited in Relph, 1976, p.50) distinguishes three levels of insideness: first one is "behavioural-engaging in the activities of the culture while remaining a dispassionate observer"; that is, *physical presence in a place*; second one is "empathetic-involving emotional as well as behavioural participation, while retaining an awareness of not being a full member of the culture"; that is, *involves emotional participation in and involvement with a place*; and last one is "cognitive or 'going native', in which case it ceases to be possible to do cultural anthropology"; that is, *complete and unselfconscious commitment to a place*. Relph (1976) adds four levels of insideness to Berger's classification: *vicarious insideness* that is experience of place through novels and other media; *incidental outsideness* that perceive places as a background for other activities; *objective outsideness* gives the sense of concept and locations for places; and *existential outsideness* involves alienation from all places.

In addition, Rowles (1983) distinguishes three levels of sense of insideness, based on different expressions of his respondents. One is *physical insideness* that refers body awareness of environment of self that gives knowledge of the physical details of place. The other one is *social insideness* that provides the sense of connection to a local community, makes integrated in social fabric, like knowing others and known by others. And last one is *autobiographic insideness* that gives idiosyncratic sense of rootedness to one that is emerged by individuals' transactions within a place over time (Dixon and Durrheim, 2000, p.29).

It is possible to define the notions of 'public' and 'private' according the terms of insideness and outsideness. *Private inside* refers to the identity of an individual that gathers its meaning by personal experiences; whereas *public outside* refers to communal life that gathers its meaning by social interaction. This leads us to clarify the concept 'home' as "a private inside" and the concept 'social space' as "a public outside". 'Home' symbolizes the birth family dwelling and family relationships and life courses that take place in those spaces (Mallett, 2004, cited in Taylor, 2010, p.43). It is an intimate place with familiar things in it whose memory strengthens the attachment. Even in sickness, one looks for security of home; that familiarity gives and feels comfort in their moment of frailty and dependency.

To dwell between heaven and earth means to settle down in a man-made place (Norberg-Schulz, 1984). "Settling down" has a meaning not only in terms of economic relationship, but also in symbolic terms. Norberg-Schulz (1984), for example, argues that, when a man-made environment is meaningful, then man feels at home. Since man creates a place to express the essence of being and

reflects the understanding of natural environment, home is personal attitudes of individual towards environment.

Home and dwelling are important in most individual's lives, because they influence the identity and give a meaning to place attachment. **Place attachment** is a feeling of familiarity towards places. It is also called as the '**feeling of belonging to a place**' that is hardly separated with the term of place identity. As Korpela (1989, cited in Dixon and Durrheim, 2000, p.29) states, "place-belongingness is not only one aspect of place identity, but a necessary *basis* for it. Around this core, the social, cultural and biological definitions and cognitions of place which become part of the person's place-identity are built". Thus, home helps to maintain self-coherence and self-esteem of individual.

Public outside, however, is more than an agreement of individual homes (Norberg-Schulz, 1984). Public buildings, for example, are rather concrete form of shared understanding which makes communal life possible and meaningful (Norberg-Schulz, 1984). Barlas (2006, p.63) points out the importance of streets, stating that "while the individual identifies himself/herself with the house (that is, the house as a symbol of the self), the community identifies itself with the street (that is, the street as a symbol of community identity and thus the self)". Streets are the symbol of stages of life; they are the major components of urban fabric that socialization starts (Barlas, 2006, p.63). People constitute ritual by the help of face-to-face interactions; including social occasions, such as social gatherings and by the help of these face-to-face interactions public spaces become more meaningful (Barlas, 2006, p.63). Therefore, both streets and social spaces create the sense of community (Barlas, 2006, p.63).

Table 2.2 Types of identities of place in terms of experiences (Resource: Relph, 1976, pp.61,62)

<i>Existential insideness</i>	Place is lived and dynamic, full with known meanings and experienced without reflection.
<i>Empathetic insideness</i>	Place records and expresses the cultural values and experiences of those who create and live in it.
<i>Behavioral insideness</i>	Place is ambient environment, possessing qualities of landscape or townscape that constitute a primary basis for public or consensus knowledge of that place.
<i>Incidental outsideness</i>	The selected functions of place are what is important, and its density is little more than the background for those functions.
<i>Objective outsideness</i>	Place is reduced either to the single dimension of location, or to a space of located objects and activities.
<i>Mass identity of place</i>	An identity is provided more or less ready-made by the mass media, and remote from direct experience. It is superficial and manipulated identity, which undermines both individual experiences and the symbolic properties of the identities of places.
<i>Existential outsideness</i>	Where identity of place represents a lost and now unattainable involvement; places are all and always incidental, for existence itself is incidental.

Moreover, the image of the city can be defined by the public spaces, because they are natural meeting areas for people in their everyday life. They are freely accessible and important places of social life for people. The detailed design of public spaces is important, since these details are affected by different user choice and give different meanings for these different users. While public space is natural meeting area for different imagined communities, it is important that its details are important to develop a sense of inclusive trans-culturality that supports different choice of different cultures (Watson & Bentley, 2007, pp.264-265). To conclude, **home is important for individual's place identity, while public space is essential for communal identity.**

The characteristics of place (based on physical settings, activities, and meaning) result in the generation of different kinds of place identity. However, the experience of place can make this place unique for individuals and create different types of place identities. Relph (1976) classifies these experiences by means of insideness and outsideness as mentioned as shown in Table 2.2.

Characteristics of place identity

After explaining place identity by means of its components and the ways that it is found, this section concentrates on the features of place identity. Identity of a city depends on identity elements that result from **natural and artificial surrounding, spatial components of these elements, city's history, cultural values, architecture, social structure, geography, civilizations that have lived there, local customs, living style, citizens who currently live, every phase that is passed from first settlement, topography, vegetation cover, climate, geopolitical condition, being eastern or western city, linkage of sea and land route, openness to other cultures, economical structures, species that live in it, invasions and wars throughout history, earthquakes, being capital city ever, etc.** (Topçu, 2011, cited in Lynch et al. 2011, p.1052). In other words, identity of a city can change according to different variable; it depends on many qualities of place and people in it. Groote (2000) and other researchers agree on six aspects of place identity that can be defined as characteristics of place identity.

First, **place identity is a social construct** that is not something to wait to be discovered. In other words, place identity is something that is attributed to a place by people rather than being a natural given object. Thus, the process of attributing an identity to a place refers to the construction of place identity. Identity of place cannot be limited or bounded by the characteristics of a group of people. It is rather a social construction that is related with all people and groups. Also, it is a dynamic process, since different group members ascribe different meanings to a place. Likewise, place identity depends on time, as well as the social and cultural conditions of a place. For example, giving a name to a place that distinguishes it from other spatial entities is one of the basic activities of the construction process of a place identity. Because, with this given name, a place can be distinct from another location; and also, that name might give an additional meaning that refers to another feature of the place. In this way, the place identity is reinforced.

People create place identity through talk and allow them to connect to place and guide their actions. The main actors of this social construction are individuals. So, the relation between both individual-environment and individual-place identity plays a crucial role in place identity. Approaching the term in a psychological way, Korpela (1989; cited in Dixon & Durrheim, 2000, p.28) defines 'place identity' as "individuals' attempts to regulate environment". People are able to create and sustain a coherent sense of self and to reveal themselves to others especially in terms of sense of belonging. "The place is the concrete manifestation of man's dwelling, and his identity depends on his belonging to places" (Norberg-Schulz, 1984, p.6). For environmental psychologists, the answer of the question of "where place identity is" is in the heads of individuals, since place identity is derived from the engagement of individuals' with their material contexts of action and interaction (Dixon, 2000).

The second aspect of place identity is about **characteristics of the place**. Identity is attributed to a place by people who are in their organizational setting like households, businesses, institutions and

attributed to achieve their implicit or explicit goals. While chosen identity depends on goals of these people, the success of their goals also depends on perceived features of the place through place identity (Ashworth and Graham, 2005, pp.21-22).

In this sense, the meaning of '*character*' can be explained to understand the concepts of both meaning and place identity. 'Character' is determines how things are and how they help to observe the everyday world. On the other hand, space denotes the three-dimensional organization of the elements which make up a place, while character denotes the general atmosphere which is the most comprehensive property of any place"; but, at the same time, they "can employ one comprehensive concept, such as lived space" (Norberg-Schulz, 1984, p.11). Character is both more general and more concrete concept than space; because it indicates both a general comprehensive atmosphere and concrete form of the space defining elements (Norberg-Schulz, 1984, p.13).

The third aspect of place identity is related to **the past of a place**, since the future of the same place is unknown. Place identity is mostly about the characteristics of the place that was perceived in the past. In this sense, the past of a place is one of the most important issues of the place identity, accompanied with a discussion about its preservation with the help of personal and collective memory that it creates.

Tuan (2001) briefly explains the relationship between time and experience of place by underlining three following dimensions:

- 1- *If time is conceived as flow or movement then place is pause. In this view human time is marked by stages as human movement in space is marked by pauses. Just as time may be represented by an arrow, a circular orbit, or the path of a swinging pendulum, so may movements in space; and each representation has its characteristic set of pauses or places.*
- 2- *While it takes time to form an attachment to place, the quality and intensity of experience matters more than simple duration.*
- 3- *Being rooted in a place is a different kind of experience from having and cultivating a "sense of place." A truly rooted community may have shrines and monuments, but it is unlikely to have museums and societies for the preservation of the past. The effort to evoke a sense of place and of the past is often deliberate and conscious. To the extent that the effort is conscious it is the mind at work, and the mind—if allowed its imperial sway—will annul the past by making it all present knowledge. (Tuan, 2001, p.198)*

Therefore, as Tuan (2001) mentions, cult of the past that is provided by establishment of museums and preservation the old buildings, helps to create a rootedness to place. Because by providing rootedness, people subconsciously try to identify themselves with certain locality, which make them feel home and home of their ancestors. Although the preservation of historic places give people the sense of rootedness, museums cannot achieve to act as the places to be rooted, sacred and inviolable. Because they consist of displayed object that are torn from their cultural matrices and put in the alien environment. Nevertheless, they can still provide the memory.

Preserving old buildings raises the question of how much to preserve. Giving a man as an example by looking at his/her life. Tuan (2001) seeks to find out an answer to this question. The house of a fifty-year old man who has lived in the same apartment for many years is cluttered with both new and old stuffs that are comfortable mementos of his past. When he decides to throw away some old stuff, he should evaluate his own past that he had to decide what he wishes to remember. Finally, he evaluates the old things in terms of their value to him and kept things that have a memory and that support of his sense of self.

In the same way, city authorities and citizens have the same question: "What facets of the city's past should be preserved". Tuan (2001) argues that the evidences of societal failure, such as old prisons, mental hospitals, and workhouses, can be removed, whereas nature of history, art treasures and book should be kept in galleries and libraries. However, preserving the old houses that once belonged to important personages, and malfunctioning department stores with architectural merit is debatable in terms of current needs and aspirations, because they occupy much bigger city space, unlike precious pictures and books. Even though past and heritage is important to support the sense of self, it is necessary to pay attention to today's needs and actual identity of today's residents. Therefore, there can be new designs or applications that is done to continue the memories of the past and preserve the concepts of the past, but today's necessities should be take in consideration.

Ashworth and Graham (2005) point out to the relation between past and physicality of places, and seek to explain it in terms of reconstruction of the past. Past has a relation with both individual and communal representations of identity and provide meaning, purpose and value to human existence. People can be cut off from their past through migration or by destruction, deliberately or accidental like war, and often rebuilt or recreate for the sake of the past. Thus, people need to recall the past to make their existence valuable. Even though the past is destroyed, they try to rebuild it.

Lowenthal (1985; 1996) notes four traits of the past that help to make it useful to a people:

First, its antiquity conveys the respect and status of antecedence, but more important perhaps, underpins the idea of continuity and its essentially modernist ethos of progressive, evolutionary social development. Secondly, societies create emblematic landscapes – often urban – in which certain artifacts acquire cultural status because they fulfill the need to connect the present to the past in an unbroken trajectory. Thirdly, the past provides a sense of termination in the sense that what happened in it has ended, while, finally, it offers a sequence, allowing us to locate our lives in linear narratives that connect past, present and future". (Lowenthal, 1985; cited in Ashworth & Graham ed. Ashworth & Graham, pp.8-9)

Past is also important regarding its relation with personal and collective memory. Places are important sources of identity that have symbols, meanings and significance to people. In this sense, places represent personal and social memories that have permanent meanings, since there is an interaction and time issue. Fadigas (2004, p.143) also emphasizes the importance of memory, stating that "Cities are made of stones, bricks, iron, sand, light and memories". Relationship between men and landscape by means of individual and collective stories, experiences and ways to use and transform the natural and artificial resources form the city history. Therefore, cites are made by culture rather than construction materials.

Memory is related to place identity because of two reasons: first, it is a reproduction of personal and communal perception, and second, it is spatial. People have a memory of general notion of the subject, since it is hard to reproduce all the events in detail mentally (Halbwachs, 1992). That is why, people try to fill the gap by recollecting data of today and the impression of childhood which make memory changeable according to time and person. Thus, the presence of people who holds the memory about a place is important, because they reproduce it according to continual relationship with environment and their identity.

Even though individual personality is respected and people are free to live and think according to their identity, they have a face-to-face relation with people and they are the part of the society so that they develop themselves as social being and reproduce their memory according to their society. Individual memory is a part or an aspect of group memory. Because society affects our perception and fills the gap with other's memory. "The individual would forget if others did not keep their memory alive for him" (Halbwachs, 1992, p.182).

According to Crinson (2005), the term 'memory' includes two closely interlinked aspects: the first one is residue of past experience that has stuck or active in mind, while others have been forgotten; the second one is ability to recollect the past. He (2005, p.xiii) also mentions Halbwachs' opinion about memory that is linked with collective experience, by stating that "Memory, for Halbwachs, bound groups of people together, recharging their commonality by reference to the physical spaces and previous instances, often a founding moment, of that collective identity". So, while memory is related to people who recollect it, it is also spatial. In other words, as Hebbert (2004) argues, "the shaping of space is an instrument for the shaping of memory." Especially common spaces, like streets, hold collective memory stronger through architectural order, monuments and symbols, commemorative sites, street names, civic spaces, and historic conservation. Therefore, both national commemorations in the street and everyday life symbolism of streets can be a tool for collective memory. Furthermore, as Connerton (1992) claims, the importance of writings, arts, ceremonies and bodily expressions also reconstruct the collective memory.

In this sense, memory is socially constructed around some concept of space, since people discover the past in the present with the help of the stability of spatial imagery. People recollect the data from spaces according to perception that they gain by the help of place identity, and reconstruct their memory with these data. Besides, while people reconstruct their memory, community helps to fill the gap of their memory as an individual. To sum up, **both memory and collective memory helps to create place identity and place identity helps to reconstruct memory or collective memory.**

Fourth, place identity is debatable, since every society involves different actors with different goals and they attribute different identities to a place. While place identity is open to debate, the dominant place identities are generally imposed by powerful actors in terms of authority and/or resources.

The fifth aspect of place identity is about context that is attributed within, and characterized by. It is possible to identify at least two contexts: the first one is *spatial context* or *location* that can also be defined as the classic socio-geographical term situation; the second one is *socio-cultural context* that consists of prevailing norms and values of the society. While spatial planning is related to the structure and function of places, socio-cultural condition is related social and economic circumstances and relationships.

The sixth and final aspect is about continuing process of identity attribution of place identity by new actors with new goal and ideas. While identities are constructed, it is also reconstructed in the process of certain path. Along that path, there exist identity markers, characteristic objects and events that give a shape to place identity. There are two ways of constructing future place identities: one is *evolutionary* and the second one is by *unexpected events*, the substance of which, by their very nature, cannot be known. Even though future of a place is determined by evolutionary path, there needs to be a balance with the existence of unexpected developments (Groote et al., 2000, cited in Ashworth and Graham, 2005, pp.22-23).

2.3.2 NATIONAL IDENTITY

As mentioned earlier, collective identity is related with the dominant group behavior of individual that one can part of it or reject it. National identity can be a great example of collective identity. As Leach (2005) mentions, national identity is a common way of life that is created by a certain group of people through various rituals and practices that hold the community together. In order to define national identity, first, a nation, i.e. a group of people that shares particular historical-cultural characteristics or imagine themselves to do so, should exist. Nationality is a situation of belonging to a nation that helps to classify people socially to know who they are and who others are. Verdery

(n.d.) defines two components of national identity: one is collective identity that refers to national characteristics and national traits, including things such as language and style of dress; and the second one is identity that is shared by the members of the national community that makes self identification to individual, such as being Turkish (cited in no author, 2012, p.vi)

National identity is also defined with reference to homeland, or attachment to homeland. People see their homeland as a mother that nourishes them, as an archive of memories that inspire the present, and as a permanent place that gives a confidence to them (no author, 2012). Attachment to homeland is a common emotion, but the strength of this emotion varies according to different cultures and historical periods. As Tuan (2001) claims, if ties between individual and place are stronger, then emotional bonds get stronger too. Therefore the elements that make stronger the image of the homeland, such as myths, rites, and monuments, increase the attachment to homeland. To increase the awareness of place and attachment to a homeland, landmarks that can features of high visibility and public significance, like monuments, shrines, a hallowed battlefield or cemetery, are necessary. If homeland is a familiar place, and if it assures the nurture and security with the memory of sounds and smells, of communal activities and homely pleasures accumulated over time, strong attachment to the homeland can emerge.

Guiberau (n.d) defines five key elements of national identity which are closely interlinked. These are:

- *Psychological: consciousness of forming a community*
- *Cultural: sharing a common culture*
- *Territorial: attachment to a clearly demarcated territory*
- *Historical: possessing a common past*
- *Political: claiming the right to rule itself* (Guiberau, n.d.; cited in author, 2012, p.vii).

National identity involves the shared memory of common past of people who have never seen and talked to each other, but still have bond because of this memory (no author, 2012, p.ix). Both remembering and forgetting are important to create national identity and to reconstruct the national identity of common future. This can be provided by the help of “national histories, monuments (war memorials, heroic statues), commemorations (anniversaries and parades), sites of institutionalized memories (museums, libraries and other archives) and representative landscapes.

Ashworth and Graham (2005) also mention the importance of archetypal national landscapes that have an influence on geographical imagery, memory and myth. They (2005) also underline the importance of city as a national landscape that embodies official public memory and that constitutes the ceremonial axis, the victory arch, monuments, statuary and street names. Therefore, in order to define the identity of a particular nation, it is necessary to create a landscape that acts as spatializations of power and memory. This is provided by iconographic landscape, heritage (that is used as a tool for commodification mostly), statues and national architecture, language, myths, rites and festivals and street names.

Iconographic landscape gives the most powerful image for the identity of a nation. It is mostly seen in the case of grand, empire building projects and cities designed under the dominance of dictatorial control (Whelan, 2005). Both natives and foreigners understand the distinctive national past through these landscape images that can be defined as objectified of the everyday lives of people to the physical settings. While this representative landscape shows the shared past of the nation, it acts as a reference to people to understand where they belong to. Especially in nation-states, iconographic landscape has a strong image, since it is a tool for visualizing the national heritage. It is exemplified

the iconographic national landscape as “quaint thatched cottages in pastoral settings (England), cypress trees topping a hill that has been grazed and ploughed for an eternity (Italy), dense village settlements surrounded by equally dense forests (Germany), and high-hedged fields with occasional stone villages (France)” (no author, 2012). And he believes that these give a great impression of European rural landscape. Therefore, if the landscape reflects the past of the nation, then it gives a sense of belonging to individual within the landscape.

As shared common past, heritage is also important for national identity. It serves as a tool to bring the past to the present. At the same time, heritage uses the past to support the contemporary consumption. This makes it the most important resource for international tourism (Sack, 1992; cited in Ashworth and Graham, 2005, p.7). Therefore, heritage is an economic resource that promotes tourism and economic development by using values of the past. It is also a cultural product and political resource. Likewise, regional identities that may be historical or contemporary can be used as a product which leads to produce both place and place identity. According to Simon (2005, p.32), there exist different parameters, such as “how actors apply regional identities in the selling of products, what their motives are for this usage, and which symbols, activities and products are developed herein”.

Power and ideology have a great influence on buildings, environments, place identity and national identity. In fact, buildings and environments themselves can be the symbols of power and ideology. As Lynch (1991) claims, the sense of place is also a political fact that depends on who controls it and also it is used to reinforce the political fact. Place identities are affected by power, since dominant ideologies create specific place identities that support the state structures and political ideologies. As Kenny (1992; cited in Whelan, 2005, p 66) states, “a planning document, possibly more than any other written text, articulates the ideology of dominant groups in the production of the built environment”. City forms have been planned and manipulated in order to represent power and ideology of nation. As Cosgrove (1989) emphasizes, city forms represents different ideologies, by stating that:

features such as squares and road patterns, whether axial, orthogonal or grid iron, contribute to a geometry that is radically different from the curves and undulations of the natural landscape but which represent human reason and the power of intellect (Cosgrove, 1989; cited in Whelan, 2005, p 66,67).

Power form the national identity by means of symbols. Buildings and environments are the most important tools for the creation of symbols for national identity. Not only government, even individual and social groups show their power with the help of place. For example, large office blocks symbolize financial strength and influence. Here, the place does not only used for representation, but it is also a field for competition in terms of power. Many totalitarian and imperial/colonial regimes express their political power by means of the built environment. Therefore, architecture is not just a product of culture, but it is also a product of politics that reflects the interest of political powers by means of laws, codes, standards and regulations (Knox, 1984, p.116; cited in Carmona et al., 2010). Therefore, one of the duties of geographers is to read and understand cities to reveal the meanings and politics that are formed by buildings (Whelan, 2005). “Issues of location, architectural style, function, design, ornamentation and iconography, the type of building material employed and the ceremony and ritual associated with their construction and opening, along with how their function changes over the course of time” are important, because they all include meanings that shape the national identity.

During the process of making and changing the environment, power is the key element that uses buildings as a symbol. The source of this symbolization of power has changed over time – from royalty and aristocracy, through industrial capital to present-day big government and big business –

the purpose has always been the same: "...to legitimize a particular ideology or power system by providing a physical focus to which sentiments could be attached" (Knox, 1984). If the structures and the presentation of power can penetrate into everyday life, then they become more effective and less questionable (Dovey, 1999; cited in Carmona et al., 2010, p.118). Dovey (1999; cited in Carmona et al., 2010, p.118) indicates the slippery and ever-changing character of power since it naturalizes and camouflages itself and dimension of power determines the choice of the mask.

Other than being used as a symbol of power, buildings and environments are also very important elements of national identity. As Smith and Bender (2001) mention urban design is not only a method of representing cities in the postcolonial nation, it is also used as a technique for turning cities into fields of social, cultural, and national identity production. National identity strengthens the coherence of society. On the one hand, it uses myths and legends that bring past to the present as a tool of the narrative method; on the other hand, it uses art and architecture as a concrete tool. While myths and legends are intangible tools to reflect the past, national buildings have a great importance as a tangible tool for national identity (Van Der Aa, 2005, p.129). Especially monumental buildings have a power to create a national identity, because "national governments recognized their key role as foci for collective participation in the politics and public life of villages, towns and cities" (Whelan, 2005, p.63).

National identity is shaped by certain objects, such as national buildings, public monuments and statues (Leach, 2005). The relation between national identity and object is a two-way process: a nation ascribes a meaning to the environment, then reads itself back into that environment (Leach, 2005, p.181). For example, public monuments that commemorate an individual or a historic event reflect the identity of dwellers, while turning neutral places into ideologically charged spaces. Whelan (2005) exemplifies the meaning given to an object with an Ancient Greek public monument that is used to honor the esteemed members of society and also to celebrate a nation's past. Therefore, statues are also important objects that strengthen the national identity and the established regimes. For this reason, they are placed in the collective places where they have power on people. Moreover, statues and monuments help to create a collective memory and make us a part of our individual existence, as stated below:

...mark deeper, more enduring claims upon a national past as part of the present...monuments may become both historical symbols of nationhood and fixed points in our contemporary landscape. (Withers, 1996; cited in Whelan, 2005, p.64)

Being political symbols, war memorials are also used as the tools of national identity. Switzer (2005) explains their contradictory meanings in the two contexts. In the context of nationalism, war memorials are seen as commemorations of meaningful fight and sacrifice; whereas, in the context of grief and mourning, they act as the places that the mourning and grief of people are legitimized. Both kinds of memorials embody the meanings about power and ideology of the past. But, they are also built in present, because memory is also an interpretation of the past at the present time. Switzer (2005) also mentions two important issues about the war memorials: location and inscription. War memorials are generally located in public places (and sometimes inside the army bases and police stations); and the inscription on the memorials has an archaic language that glorification of sacrifice is expressed (Switzer, 2005, pp.125-127). In this sense, while myths and legends are important to create a national identity by means of bear the trace of the past, war memorials act as a tangible way to concretize this memory.

Language is the very important media that transmits meaning and gives an identity to a nation, along with other basic elements, such as religion and social mores. In parallel with national identity, meaning can be produced and reproduced with the help of language. Like language, myth and legends also support to create national identity by recalling the shared past and create the sense of

belonging to a place. This kind of shared identities creates a collective memory that constructs the society as a whole and helps community to hold together.

In parallel with myths and legends, rites and festivals are also significant in terms of creating national identity. A city draws attention to itself, achieving power and eminence through the scale and solemnity of its rites and festivals (Tuan, 2001). In ancient time, ritual centers, especially religious ones, are highly important with their splendid architectural settings. However, in time, ceremonial centers attracted secular population and activities. Religious identity merged with the economic functions and religious identity turns into the secular sphere with its new kind of architecture and urban design (Tuan, 2001, p.173). In contemporary time, while cathedral, churches, mosques serve as the places for religious rites, public places, like streets and squares, serve as the festival areas for activities of social group or nation. Therefore, public places increase the attachment in nation by means of rites and festivals at both local and national scales (such as local-scale sport tournaments, graduation, charity sale, as well as celebration of national festival or national events).

Another important issue is the naming of towns, cities and, streets. Giving a name to a place means to take an ideological position of nation and it affects the process of creating a national memory. Street names, which commemorate past events and figures, are also used by political regimes to legitimate and consolidate their dominance and reinforce their authority (Whelan, 2005). Street names began to be important in political sense in the second half of the nineteenth century (i.e., in the age of modern nationalism, colonialism and empire building) (Whelan, 2005, p.65). Many communities give a great importance to road names, since they reflect the local identity, memory, shared history and heritage. Dominant powers used street names to create a sense of collective identity of their ideology. By naming streets, they used shared past, official and authorized versions of history that served their purpose.

Commemorative street names, like their alphanumerical counterparts, provide locational information, but they also have the function of perpetuating, reifying and constructing a view of the past. (Azaryahu, 1996; cited in Whelan, 2005, p 65)

Naming streets is important in terms of remembering the past. Sometimes, by naming streets, authorities use the past events and persons to impose their ideology. Using the past as a tool, ruling power names streets as a political procedure that shows political powers. Sometimes, citizens show their oppositions to the street names imposed by a higher authority; and they rename the streets (Whelan, 2005, p 65). According to Van Dam (2005), naming a place is one of the most important activities that construct place identities; because it is a part of the process of attaching meaning to one's surrounding; and it acts as an information source. Place names also help create collective heritage by gathering the historical development, events, episodes and memories (Van Dam, 2005, p.113). Besides, street names help the recognition and communication since they have local identities. Therefore, Power (or, authority) shapes the nation and uses the past to create collective identity. Naming places by dominant power help the preserving the memory of the past and the creation of a national identity.

To sum up, national identity is important especially in nation-states, because they shape the society in both local and broader senses. Moreover, both working and living are human rights; national identity is a right of nations and societies (Güvenç, 2009, p. 35). The process of creating nation memories is essential for members of a nation, since shared past enables people to strengthen their attachment to a nation and it creates collective memory that gives them a self-identification. Even though shared past is the most important issue to create attachment to a nation also, activities or tangible structure (such as architecture and statues) are also the representations of the past. Narrative way of connecting a shared past can be done by the myth and legends that help to keep community together. Another way of creating national identity is done by activities, such as rites and

festivals. Religious rites in the ancient times lie at the roots of these activities; and they create an identity by the help of the common belief and culture. By the time religious rites began to turn into secular activities, they turned into national festival activities. Finally tangible representation for national identity appears as the public monuments, war memorials, architectural and urban design artifacts, street names or other symbolic features. All these tangible ways of representing the past help to create national identity. Political authorities use them to impose their political ideology and to create a collective identity, especially in a nation-state. Therefore, the most important issue, here, is not only related to memory of the nation, but also the way it is produced or reproduced to create a national identity. Likewise, it is also important who forms this identity, because the dominant power shapes the nation's identity. Through these collective and shared identities, people can define themselves and become a part of community rather than being as an individual.

2.3.3 IDENTITY TODAY

Globalization, which is shown as the major resultant of the 'identity' problems of today's cities, has basically two outcomes: the first is a homogenized world that is more accessible to certain groups; and the second is the growing concern for the local, the familiar and the distinctive which has been the response to the first outcome. There appears a sense of dislocation, loss and anxiety rather than a sense of freedom, progress and choice because of increased mobility, competition between various cultures, and standardizing impulse of global capitalism. Moreover, in a modern era, a nostalgic focus on place has emerged, since memory has become more and more important for people to create a sense of belonging to a place. In order to deal with the growing concern on place memory, people look for solutions in archives, museums, history theme parks, heritage tourism and television. However, the loss of identity, the disorientation in place and the end of historical values that are characteristics of the identity problems of today's cities are some of the important results of the globalization.

'Loss of place' began to happen after the World War II when new towns were constructed; or the old ones were reconstructed. The qualities of the traditional human settlements were corrupted or lost and they looked different from the past ones. Norberg-Schulz (1984, p.189) explains the loss of place in terms of both natural and man-made environments. In terms of spatial arrangement, he (1984) criticizes new settlement for not possessing enclosure and density. In new settlements, the buildings were placed freely; and streets and squares were no longer designed in a traditional sense (Norberg-Schulz, 1984, p. 189). He (1984) claims that the figure-ground relationship in these settlements did not exist anymore; the continuity of landscape was interrupted; and this damaged the coherence of urban space. Nodes, paths and districts were lost their identity; coasts lost their imageability. All these factors resulted in the loss of both place and meaning in natural and man-made environments. Beside, the character that can be described as monotony in present day and if any variety exists, it is a left-over element from the past (Norberg-Schulz, 1984, p.189).

In a modern environment, buildings are located in nowhere. They are neither related to landscape, nor coherent or differential from the whole. They give the feeling of 'nowhere', since they are 'neutral spaces'. In other words, if all qualities are lost, then it is hard for people to orient themselves in the environment; and this poor imageability causes emotional insecurity and fear for human. For this reason, Norberg-Schulz (1984) defines environmental crisis as a human crisis. That is, if a place loses its identity, then people also lose the identity of their surroundings.

According to Tuan (2001), by articulating the social order and influencing both people and society, architectural space plays an important role in the loss of place identity in today's cities. Architecture has still a direct impact on people's senses and feelings. Human body responds to the basic features of design and to its signs and posters. What we call as symbol became a sign in modern world; and

rites and ceremonies have been lost. Before, people used to build their own houses; they used to participate to the construction processes of public monuments which were done through rites and ceremonies. In modern architecture, however, houses have been no longer encoded by the rules of behavior; that is, they have not been transmitted through generations; and beliefs and ideologies change their meaning in place (Tuan, 2001, pp.116-117). Verbal symbols have taken material object's place; i.e., the value of physical environment and meaning of a culture (Tuan, 2001). Since there exist no symbols that make place distinctive, there needs for signs to distinguish places such as gas stations, motels and restaurants. Even though symbols still exist in modern architecture, they require explanation and interpretation, like modern skyscraper (Tuan, 2001). For some, modern skyscrapers are aggressive, arrogant and monolithic, whereas for others, they are daring, elegant and lithe. Therefore, places do not have meaningful symbols that organize everyday life and places are no longer shaped by natural necessities. Modern environments need a sign to define itself, but still give different meaning for every users.

Place identity is produced through a long-term relation between place and people. It is produced by people's lives and experience. This long-term relationship also creates a sense of belonging to a place. Traditional societies used to have this long-term relation with the place. However, in a modern society, to attain this long-term relation between place and people is rare, because people now are much more mobile than before. They have no longer a connection with particular settings. Thus, these places do not have an identity that produces a lifestyle or identity for individuals anymore (Eckardt and Kreisl, 2004, p.22). In contemporary society, people are no longer tied to neither places nor people; and they do not let traditions shape their lives. On the contrary, they make sense of their own life by themselves and shape their lives by themselves. Place identity, however, is important for people, because they define themselves with regard to the meanings of place. The loss of place in modern society creates personal meaningless, and threatens the identity of individual. Besides, in modern society, new types of place identities have emerged that is constructed in terms of opportunity and choice. Moreover, people use goods that they can buy, to give a meaning to their identity and they associate their lifestyle through with these goods Eckardt and Kreisl, 2004). However, both these new place identities and individuals' self-identity are more fragile in modern society, because they do not have deeper roots. Therefore, although the formation of place identity improves the personal identity of people, it is flexible because of mobile way of life of modern people (in contrast to the traditional life of people that create a sense of belonging to place).

This discussion on traditional and modern life and urban space brings about the term of 'placelessness'. **'Placelessness'** is defined as inauthentic attitude to place rather than authentic place of pre-industrial and handicraft cultures that produce sense of place (Relph, 1976). It can be described as homogenized, standardized and uniform environment that undermines the local character of pre-industrial societies (See Table 2.3). Placelessness is also defined by exemplifying tourist landscapes, commercial strips, new towns and suburbs and the international style in architecture. It creates uniformity in environment as described below:

Variety is disappearing from the human race; the same ways of acting, thinking, and feeling are to be met with all over the world. This is not only because nations work more upon each other and copy each other more faithfully, but as the men of each country relinquish more and more the peculiar opinions and feelings of a caste, a profession, or a family, they simultaneously arrive at something nearer to the constitution of man, which is everywhere the same. Thus they become more alike, even without having imitated each other. (Tocqueville, 1945; cited in Relph, 1976, p.79)

Table 2.3 Manifestations of placelessness and the classification of characteristics of placeless
(Resource: Relph, 1976, pp.118-119)

A. <i>Other-directedness in places</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Landscape made for tourists • Entertainment districts • Commercial strips • Disneyfied places • Museumised places • Futurist places
B. <i>Uniformity and standardization in places</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Instant new towns and suburbs • Industrial commercial developments • New roads and airports, etc • International styles in design and architecture
C. <i>Formlessness and lack of human scale and order in places</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Subtopias • Gigantism (skyscrapers, megalopolis) • Individual features unrelated to cultural or physical setting
D. <i>Place destruction (Abbau)</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Impersonal destruction in war (e.g. Hiroshima, villages in Vietnam) • Destruction by excavation, burial • Destruction by expropriation and redevelopment by outsiders (e.g. urban expansion)
E. <i>Impermanence and instability of places</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Places undergoing continuous redevelopment (e.g. many central business districts) • Abandoned places

In this sense, placelessness is defined as an environment without significant places and the underlying attitude which does not acknowledge significance in places (Relph, 1976, p.143). It is the absence or loss of meaning in place (Carmona et al., 2010). Because people cut their ties with the past, reduce the symbols and replace the diversity with uniformity, there occur placelessness and alienation from places. The preservation of old places or traditional ways of place-making are not the way of maintaining and reviving the people's sense of place (Relph, 1976). On the contrary, present placelessness is bad, because making places in the old way is a wrong understanding. This kind of fixing is too simple. Landscape is not only an aesthetic background for life, but it is also the setting that expresses the cultural and social attitudes and activities. It used to give man a pace, variety and orientation. However, the secularization has led to the loss of diversity, as explained below:

Dislodges ancient oppressions and overturns stultifying conventions. It turns man's social and cultural life over to him, demanding a constant expenditure of vision and competence... A secular civilization needs not to be monochrome or homogeneous. But the character lent by diversity cannot be left to chance. Like everything else in the secular city variety must be planned or it does not happen. (Cox, 1965; cited in Relph, 1976, p. 145)

Relph (1976) also defines the term of placelessness as an inauthentic attitude towards places that is transmitted mostly by media and weakens the identity of places where all make the same feeling to people, even though they do not exactly look the same. He (1976) identifies five factors which lead to placelessness: *mass communications, mass culture, big business, powerful central authority and the economic system*.

Mass communication can be discussed in relation to mass transportation, such as roads, railways and airports that are imposed to landscape, rather than developed with it (See Table 2.4). Snow (1967; cited in Relph, 1976, p.90) depicts the old road as a definite place that people had to travel slowly and used to communicate with other travelers. New roads, however, are indefinite, starting from everywhere and leading to nowhere. Beside mass transportation, mass movement of people with all their fashions and habits also encourage the placelessness (Relph, 1976). Also, the increasing advances in telecommunication and information technologies (TV, the Internet, mobile phones, etc) which interconnected the world resulted in centralized decision-making, standardized economies and efficiencies (Carmona et. al., 2001). They have led to reduce the necessity of face-to-face communication, and thus to reduce the necessity of place-based communities. While place loses its importance as a means of communication, there appears homogenized places with an international style of architecture that has no local feature and seeks to address to everyone. Briefly, mass communication creates homogenous and uniform places that have encouraged the general and standardized tastes and fashions.

Mass culture is the second factor that leads to placelessness (See Table 2.4). It is the result of globalization and it has been emerged by the process of mass production, mass marketing and mass consumption. It is also related to mass movement of people and ideas in a culture of mass values. There exist masscult fashions and designs that are formulated by manufactures, governments and professional designers and these masscult fashions and designs are formed through the media. Therefore, mass culture leads to create homogenous, standardized and uniform cultures, products and places, while destroying local cultures (Relph, 1976, p.92; Carmona et al., 2010). Disneyfication, museumisation and futurisation -as the outcomes of mass culture- cause the creation of the landscapes of tourism, subtopia, and the other-directed places (Relph, 1976).

'Other-directed places' is resulted from mass tourism that makes everywhere look the same without local identity as described below:

...tour buses; tourists hotels (from cheap to elegant); the commercial seductions called 'souvenirs'; entertainments ranging in style and appeal from pinball arcades, through Las Vegas-type gambling and show business, to art and history museum; recreational resorts, again existing in a dazzling range from camping in national parks to luxurious idling in plush hotels set in handsome natural settings in the mountains or by lakes or oceans (Eckbo, 1969; cited in Relph, 1976, p.93).

Other-directed places has led to the destruction of the local and regional landscape because of mass tourism that is resulted from three major phenomena: disneyfication, museumisation and futurisation. The term 'disneyfication' is a product of Disneylands that are super colossal amusement parks. They are absurd and synthetic places of surrealistic combination of history, myth, reality and fantasy and have a little relation with actual geography (Relph, 1976). "Disney World is a world without violence, confrontation, ideological or racial clashes, without politics" (Ferritti, 1973; cited in Relph, 1976, p.95). Therefore, Disneylands are the products of imagined history without any ideology and with a lack of reality. Being isolated from the real world, they are the commercialized places in which people are nice and happy. Disneylands have no references to the locality. They are only excitement and amusement places with a historyless characteristic. Therefore, these kinds of places

create loss of identification, since they have no character by means of place, history, locality, ideology and so on.

Other kind of manipulation of history is *museumisation* that contains preservation, reconstruction and idealization of history. Since it is a more realistic place containing a history, it is misleading people because of its idealized character. However, history is a need for people, as described below:

Neither by the public, nor by those who have the care of public monument, is the true meaning of the word restoration understood. It means the most total destruction a building can suffer: a destruction out of which no remnants can be gathered: destruction accompanied by a false description of the thing destroyed... . There was yet in the old some life, some mysterious suggestion of what it had been, and of what it had lost; some sweetness in the gentle lines which rain and sun had wrought. There can be none in the brute hardness of the new carving.” (Ruskin, n.d.; cited in Relph, 1976, p.103).

On the other hand, museumisation contains a plastic past that is recreated as a dream image that misleads the individual and that gives a false identity. This brings the criticism to Ruskin’s quotation by Nairn (1965) “no identity is better than false identity” (cited in Relph, 1976, p.103).

And the last reason of other-directed places is *futurisation*. Relph (1976) defines it similar to the concept of museumisation, but looking ahead rather than past and more earnest and deliberates that disneyfication. Futurisation refers to form a place that is futurist and innovative, looking for new techniques and international styles. It sees technology as a gift to reshape a place and uses it without looking the local demands. The places which are created are very timeless and placeless surroundings. While futurism is a form of placelessness, it destroys the continuation of place in the time by ignoring the past and by looking new techniques and styles. The idea of international places with new technology and styles make copied places that are introduced by trend setters and also create places in the middle of nowhere. They are designed freely, without looking environmental necessities. After designing a geodesic dome with pods and elevated walkways above the lake which looks like an Archigram montage in Toronto, Jackson (1973) explains the discomfort of this placeless design can as: “It will hopefully, change our cities because, after Expo (*referring to Expo 67*), they look ugly, untidy, even uncomfortable.” (Relph, 1976, p. 105).

Nairn (1965) introduces another concept ‘*subtopia*’ which means ‘mindless mixing up of all man-made objects without any pattern of purpose or relationship’. By this term, he (1965; cited in Relph, 1976, p.105) refers to everyday landscape of suburbia and urban fringe areas that constitute ‘other-direction’, ‘commercialization’ and ‘disneyfication’. Subtopia is an endless subdivision of identical houses that create no sense of place due to the lack of specific character of the locality. Although subtopia creates identical places, it can be in different forms in different countries. For example, in England, the houses are semi-detached, the signs are more forced and have fewer plazas, whereas, in France, there are identical public housing apartment blocks in everywhere (Relph, 1976). In both countries, however, the design of these sites does not acquire a specific local character. All these sites, whether in England or France, look alike, give the feeling alike and have the same spatial arrangement. In this sense, they suffer from the lack of place identity. As Relph (1976, p.109) describes, subtopia is “a set of apparently randomly located points and areas, each of which serves a single purpose and each of which is isolated from its setting, linked only by roads which are themselves isolated from the surrounding townscape except for the adjacent strips of other-directed buildings”.

Big business is another major reason that creates the landscapes of mass tourism and subtopia (See Table 2.4). Both spatial characteristics are the products of big business and reflect their needs. The space production of big business is motivated by profit and seems like it can only affects goods and buyers directly; however it affects the landscape since they are part of it. Before the nineteenth

century, industries and businesses were local; they used to have small concerns, they fit in their particular settings both in terms of design, scale and construction. Because of transportation limitations, most buildings were constructed by local materials and the structural principles and construction techniques of buildings were limited (Watson and Bentley, 2007). These gave the environment, localities or regions a character or an identity (Relph, 1976, p.109). With the industrialization, however, the transportation cost of construction materials through canals and railways became inexpensive. So, buildings began to be constructed by new materials, and new construction techniques which weakened the local identity and produced placeless environment. Besides, with industrialization, modern mining, manufacturing and business enterprises ruined places. That is, they caused the standardization of the space production through the construction of high-rise and similar looking buildings. While the new urban space acquired uniformity and order, they lacked place identity.

Mass production, which is designed as a response to mass culture, creates a culture of uniform taste and fashions (Relph, 1976, p.114). Big businesses have replaced local and small initiatives and businesses. The gigantic scale and uniformity of space result from the space management policy of big business affects the places. For example, all office buildings of big companies are designed according to international architecture style and caused uniformity in urban space (Relph, 1976). Even the skyscrapers with distinctive architectural characters offered the same kind of feeling and the same identity. Besides, the selling places of franchise companies, such as Shell, Holiday Inns, Coca Cola, McDonalds, Burger Kings, have similar spatial characteristics as a part of advertisement to reduce the possibility of travelers' confusion. Therefore, they do not provide distinctiveness for localities; they give the same feeling in every place in the world.

A strong **central authority** is another reason of placelessness (See Table 2.4). There is a similarity between big business and central authority in terms of the way they produce the built environment. Although the state does not consume the product of private sector actively, it functions like big business in terms of public housing development and resource management (Relph, 1976). Through legislation, the state exercises its authority on business control and consumer preferences, and it creates standardized and uniform housing estates that look like each other (Relph, 1976). Centralization of power leads to uniformity, as explained below:

... every central government worships uniformity; uniformity relieves it from inquiry into an infinity of details, which must be attended to if rules have to be adapted to different men, instead of indiscriminately subjecting all men to the same rule. (Tocqueville, 1945; cited in Relph, 1976, p. 115)

Therefore, democracy leads to the central authority to create uniformity and standardization, and this results in the rise of placelessness in modern-day environment.

The fifth and last factor which creates placelessness the **economic system** that is not just a matter of production, distribution and consumption, but also a complete way of life (Relph, 1976) (See Table 2.4). Both big businesses and governments control and manipulate the market; and this affects individuals within the economic system and every moment of their individuals' life. People's life changes according to both economic conditions and the effects of these conditions. Economic system also creates uniformity in urban space, since it controls the market by means of efficient operation and maximum profit and without the concern to specific needs of every individual.

If the chosen strategy of investment is successful, developments will spread from the growth centres to their hinterlands until all the territory is brought into a unified economy. Such an orderly development should lead to more even distribution of population, production and income and perhaps even a closer approximation to the theoretical landscape ... than is presently true of most advanced countries. (Morrill, 1970; cited in Relph, 1976, p.116).

Therefore, the intention of making a growth in economy is followed by the creation of uniform strategies, and finally develops and organizes uniform and placeless environment.

Table 2.4 Media and systems transmitting placelessness (Resource: Relph, 1976, p. 120)

A. Mass communication and modes of diffusion of mass attitudes and fashions of kitsch
B. Mass culture of dictated and standardized values; maintained by but making possible mass communications.
C. Big business and multi-national corporations: these encourage standardization of products and needs to ensure economic survival, and they supply the objects of kitsch through the application of technique.
D. Central authorities: these encourage uniformity of places in the interests of efficiency and through the exercise of a uniform power.
E. The economic system: the abstract system, dominated by technique, which underlies and embraces all of the above

Table 2.5 Inauthentic attitude to place (Resource: Relph, 1976, p 121)

A. Attitudes relating to technique, in which places are understood to be manipulable in the public interest and are seen only in term of their functional and technical properties and potentials.
B. Attitudes relating to kitsch, in which places are experienced and created only in terms of stereotyped, contrived, superficial and mass values.

Besides Relph's definition of placelessness, Carmona et al. (2010) also discuss three interrelated processes of placelessness: *globalization*, *mass culture* and *loss of territory*. The first process of placelessness is **globalization**. As mentioned earlier, advances in communication technologies and mass transportation means have turned the world inter-connected, have resulted in centralized decision-making and standardized economies and efficiencies (Carmona et al., 2010). As the world economy has become more and more global, it has created global tastes and fashions, while undermining local values, local cultures and local spaces. Along with the rising global tastes and fashions, local values lose their importance in cultural and spatial senses.

...a world of restless landscapes in which the more places change the more they seem to look alike, the less they are able to retain a distinctive sense of place, and the less they are able to sustain a public social life (Knox, 2005; cited in Carmona et al, 2010, p.124).

On the other hand, global culture has not necessarily occurred, while the economy is globalized (Entrikin, 1991). In some cities, globalized, standardized and unified places have appeared, while, at

the same time, there are still the places of diverse culture with different and distinctive way of spatialization (Entrikin, 1991; cited in Carmona et al., 2010, p124). Urban design and architecture have lately played a new role in terms of rescuing the local against the global forces and threats. However, while trying to rescue the local values, they are still economic concerns regarding place-making. The urban environment is still being used for commercial purposes, such as the efforts of marketing and promoting local environments as safe and attractive places for tourists. Therefore, while globalization leads to the destruction of local values, cultures or places, and causes the loss of identification in place, at the same time, it helps the growth of global economy by marketing and promoting some local values, cultures and spaces.

As Watson and Bentley (2007) emphasize, regionally distinctive built form does not happen by default. It is a question of choice, rather than a necessity of regional character. Place identity used to be a result of design attitude towards natural and man-made environment. It becomes a design concept that aims to attract tourists. However, before, place identity used to emerge naturally regarding the necessities of environment, people and society. Now, it becomes a commodity in worldwide scale. Place identity has been recently created, or manufactured purposely by promoting the past of the places and their historic heritage to create distinctive and different places primarily for tourists. Thus, while McDonaldization creates uniformity in space, the recent trends of world economy also create regional identity as a reaction to globalization. Because globalization is "interrelationship between different places that evolve through common processes of economic, political, cultural and environmental change, has led to increase mobility of people, goods and information" (Huigen and Meijering, 2005, p.20). They also indicate that since world of global economy creates unstable and uncertain world, it also increase the feeling of insecurity of people since information about other places and people increases. Therefore the process of globalization creates the need of stable, secure and certain places that can be point of reference in people's own environment and because of that regional identity becomes necessity. Still even though individuals live a local life, they are part of global world since every experience of them is tied to other places with the help of mass communication.

The second process of placelessness is **mass culture** that is also the result of globalization. It has emerged through the mass production, mass marketing and mass consumption. Mass culture is a homogenous and standardized culture, which mainly disregards local cultures (Carmona et al., 2010). Sometimes, the result of a mass culture can be copying formula that create sameness and uniformity, such as China towns in many cities around the world that looks like a cloning with the same national and international brands (Carmona et al., 2010, p.124).

The third and last process of placelessness is **loss of territory**; that is the loss or absence of environment. Carmona et al. (2010) refer to the term 'existential outsidersness' (introduced by Relph (1976)) which means that people no longer care for their environment, since they do not feel to belong there. Auge (1995; cited in Carmona et al., 2010, p. 125) mentions two different types of places: *places of organic society* where people have long-term relations and communications for functional purposes and *non-places of contractual solitariness* where individuals or small groups relate to wider society with limited and specific interactions. The main reason behind the loss of territory is the mobility of people and the increasing advances of communication technology that creates a mobile society. Because of this mobile society, individuals have limited communication; they have a lack of attachment to other people and places; and all these create a loss of place.

To conclude, people need to associate with significant places. If we ignore these needs it allows to placelessness which create disorientation in environment and lack of identity to people. On the other hand, as long as we respond to these needs, we can manage to transcend the placelessness and create places with local character.

2.4. CONCLUDING REMARKS

The main theme of this chapter is to define the place identity of Güven Park by and to search its components. To this end, first the difference between the space and place will be specified and in this differentiation the place identity will be scrutinized; second the sensation and perception of people to the identity of the place will be analyzed and lastly the components of the place identity will be outlined.

The aim of specifying the difference between the space and place serves to understand the existence of term place identity rather than space identity. In doing so, the question why place is more familiar to us rather than space tried to be answered. Another related issue to define the place identity is the sensation and perception of people to the place identity. People affect and be affected the identity of place through their sensation and perception. In this sense before mentioning identity how people evaluate their environment through sensation and perception is explained.

After explaining the space and place, touching upon the sensation and perception of people to the identity, the third task emerges as to define the components of place identity in the analysis of Güven Park. First, the definition of the park by means of its form, its design and its characteristic is recognized and it can be described as an identity of the park. Second, the relationship between the park and users is analyzed, such as the accessible for everyone or not, or can be used by everyone or selected community. And lastly, image can be analyzed with its meaning for every user.

Güven Park is one of the great places to evaluate the identity of Ankara since it is one of the public places at the center of Ankara. However, on the other hand the issue of place identity is not enough to understand identity of Ankara because it is a new capital city of new government. Therefore, defining national identity is another necessity of this chapter. Finally, changes in term of identity in the recent times are discussed. These changes and loss of identity are also essential to analyze Güven Park in a timeline. Therefore, the overall purpose of this chapter is to form a basis for analysis of Güven Park (to analyze Ankara) and research the identity of Güven Park at the past and today.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This research primarily seeks to relate the national identity and place identity, and to understand how the national and place identities change in time. Employing the case study as the research method, it investigates Ankara as the capital city of a new nation, and Güven Park as one of the major historic public parks, that was developed to enhance the national identity and Republican ideology. Thus, the research aims to analyze the changes in the identity of Ankara as the capital city of Turkish Republic from the early modernization period of Turkey to today in relation to the changes in the identity of Güven Park.

The major research question of this research is: How far the original identity of Ankara and its main public space -Güven Park- has changed in time? The study seeks to understand this change and answer this question:

- first, by investigating the modernization project in Turkey and the dynamics of creating Ankara as the capital city of the newly-established republic;
- second, by examining the changes in the identity of Ankara in accordance with the development history of the city since its declaration as the capital city of Turkey to today;
- third, by studying the changes in the identity of Güven Park, which is one of the most important public spaces of Ankara from its establishment as the capital city to today. Güven Park is currently the major urban park frequently used by a large number of people primarily due to its central location in the city.

The following sections explain the reasons of selecting Ankara and Güven Park as the unit of analysis of this research, the method of analysis, sources of evidence, interview questions and the interviewees' profile.

3.1 THE REASONS TO CARRY OUT THE CASE STUDY ON GÜVEN PARK IN ANKARA

Güven Park is situated in Kızılay which is currently one of the major commercial centers of Ankara. The park is originally a triangular-shape park; yet its shape was distorted due to the development of bus station and minibus (dolmuş) ranks. Kızılay Square, Gazi Mustafa Kemal Boulevard and Ziya Kemal Avenue are situated to the north of the park. To the east, Atatürk Boulevard is located. To the south, there is a street connecting Atatürk Boulevard to Milli Müdafaa Avenue, which bounded the park to the west (Figure 3.1).



Figure 3.1 Güven Park and its surroundings

Among many urban parks in Ankara from the early Republican period, Güven Park is one of the most prominent examples to trace and understand the identity changes in Ankara from the very early Republican period to today. It is a suitable case for different reasons. Historically, Güven Park is one of the oldest public spaces of Ankara. Functionally, it has functioned not only as an urban park, but also as a square. Its central location in Ankara is another important aspect, increasing its publicness and giving a special feature to the park. Güven Park has been one of the most highly used public spaces in Ankara, since the very early years of its construction to today. As mentioned earlier, public spaces play very important roles in terms of creating and observing the collective life of citizens (collective identity and memory) and identity of cities. In this sense, Güven Park is of importance for observing Ankara's identity, and the changes in the city's identity from the early Republican years to today. The changes in its design, functions, activities and meanings have changed its identity. These changes, in fact, are in accordance with the changes in the city's identity. In this sense, Güven Park is one of the most suitable case study areas to observe the place identity of Ankara from the Republic era to today.

As Dinçer (2006, p. 12) argues, there are four meanings, visions and aspects dominant about Ankara's identity: i) being *symbol of national struggle, independence, modernization, civilization and secularity of Turkey as a capital city*; ii) being *a center in the fields of higher education, culture, art and health*; iii) being *an agricultural and industrial center of production of Middle Anatolia*; and iv) being *a symbol of Turkish politics*. The changes in the modernization of Turkey in relation to

economic, political and social contexts reflect on the national identity, as well as the identity of Ankara, and its public spaces. As will be explained in detail in Chapter 4, it is possible to identify four major periods of modernization from the 1920s to today. In the first period (*the 1920s – the mid-1940s*), a ‘radical modernity project’ was put into practice. A new legal and institutional framework of one-party regime was established. Declaring Ankara as the capital city of the newly-founded Republic was one of the major results of the radical modernity project. The Republican ideology sought to modernize Turkey in terms of its urban and rural planning, architecture, and all other aspects of life (clothing, music, dance, language and other cultural necessities). The second period (*the mid-1940s – the 1960s*) presents a ‘populist modernization’ period. The third period between the 1960s and 1980s is characterized by a rapid urbanization, the institutionalization of a planned economy, widespread recognition of the field of urban and regional planning. The last period (*after the 1980s - today*) is characterized by the corrosion of the modernization project, while Turkey has become a part of global economy and the economy has started to be dominantly operated through the neo-liberal policies.

These four different phases can be perfectly traced in the case of Ankara. After its declaration as the capital city in 1923, Ankara was built as the modern example city of the newly-established Turkish Republic. Until the 1950s, the city was planned and developed; and a new social identity was developed as the exemplary for other cities. After the 1950s, the modernization project in Turkey began to lose its original stand because of the changing ideology of political power and new economic policies. Ankara also changed accordingly during the multi-party regime until the 1980s. After the 1980s, Ankara’s urban growth was significant. The city was decentralized and it has significantly sprawled during the late-1990s and 2000s. While Ulus (the historic centre) and Yeni Şehir (new city centre) have been experiencing and facing different degrees of decline, the new CBD and commercial and business strips have developed along the east and south corridors of Ankara (i.e. Eskişehir road and Konya road).

Güven Park is an important historic public space in Ankara that created collective identity and collective memory of the city. It was originally built as one of the most important parks and squares of the capital city according to the radical modernity project. The spatial design, character, functions, activities, meanings of Güven Park, thus its identity, changed in time. Suggested by the Jansen Plan, it was not only designed as a component of an open space network of the city and as a comforting, clean and modern place that would be mostly used by Ankara’s bourgeois (or middle) class, but it was also built to create and strengthen the national identity. Especially Güven Monument is one of the major symbols of the newly established Republic ideology. Both with its function and its appearance, it was one of the most important places that created the collective, modern Republic identity in Ankara.

Along with the changes in the city and city’s identity, Güven Park’s identity has changed. With the increasing importance of Kızılay as the government, commercial and business center of Ankara in the 1950s, Güven Park became a gateway of Ankara, and Güven Monument became a significant landmark (or, a reference point) of the city. Güven Park became a heterogenic place after the 1950s. In the 1970s, with the emerging of new sub-centers, such as Tunalı Hilmi and Bahçelievler, it began to lose its importance. During the metro construction in Ankara, Güven Park was significantly harmed. Since the 1990s, the Republican symbols of the park have been under threat, while an Islamic identity has been imposed into the identity of the park. Thus, the recent efforts to change its design, activities and meanings appear to be threatening the original identity of this public space. All these implications show that studying the changes in the identity of Güven Park is worthwhile to understand and define the changes in the city identity.

3.2 THE METHOD OF ANALYSIS

The units of analysis of this research are both Ankara and Güven Park. In the first part of this analysis, the research investigates the modernization of Turkey and the dynamics and reasons behind the development of a totally new capital city for a new nation. It also studies the changes in the identity of Ankara in relation with the development history of the city since its declaration as the capital city of Turkey to today the development history of Ankara. This investigation is carried out based on the narrations in different written documents and visual documents from archives. Within a historic perspective, the identity of Ankara and its changes are described by tracing the changes in the public spaces and public buildings, neighborhoods, architectural features and styles, public artworks and their meanings, along with the urban development history. Thus, it seeks to put Güven Park in a wider context, and to set the relation between the place identity and national identity focusing on the case of Turkey and Ankara.

In the second part of the analysis, the research focuses on the identity of Güven Park. In this part of the analysis, the research introduces Güven Park by describing its location in the city, it studies the historical evolution of the park identity from the early-1920s to today regarding its ***form or physical setting (design)***, ***activities in the park***, and the ***meanings attached to this public space in different time periods***. Also, focusing on the ***current state of the park***, the research seeks to understand the ***present identity of the park in the mind of its users***.

Therefore this research examines the place identity regarding three criteria: *physical setting* (i.e., physical features of natural and man-made place), *activities* (i.e., vitality, diversity, movements, and economic and socio-cultural transactions) and *meanings* (i.e., images which come to the mind of the people through their sense and perception).

3.3 SOURCES OF EVIDENCE

This research examines changing identity of Güven Park historically and the current identity of the park based on the three criteria –physical setting, activities and meanings. It uses qualitative and quantitative data which are based on four major sources of evidence: documents, direct observation, interviews and desk-based spatial analysis.

The first source of evidence includes ***documents***, constituting written reports, books, articles, researches, formal studies or evaluations of the same site under study, articles appearing in the media and websites related to Güven Park. Particularly this source of evidence is used for the first part of the analysis which includes the historical development of Ankara, the changes in the identity of the city and the park before the current state of the park. A number of secondary resources were used in this part of the analysis, such as Batuman (2009), Keskinok (2009), Memlük (2009), Ertuna (2005), Özdemir (2007), Ayoğlu (date) as well as journal '*Planlama*', and the documents in the website of Chamber of City Planners.

The second source of evidence is ***direct observation***. Güven Park was visited several times and photos were taken to identify and to document activities taking place in the park, how people use and behave in the park and how the design of the park affect their activities and behaviors. In addition, Güven Park is analyzed through the urban design analysis tools, including several maps.

The third source of evidence is **interviews** held with the current users of the park to collect data about, and to understand people's memory, thoughts and images about the past and current state of the park. Since structured interview is more formalized and directive, the interview questions were prepared semi-structured and open-ended. Such questions have given the opportunity to gather a much wider perspective. The interviews were conducted in two stages. First, 15 people with different ages were interviewed in Güven Park. Following the analysis of these interviews, 10 more interviews were conducted. This time, the interviewees were not selected in Güven Park, but from the people living or working relatively closeby neighborhoods, such as Kızılay, Gaziosmanpaşa, Bahçelievler. In this way, the researcher sought to understand the views of people who may not visit Güven Park all the time, but who have ideas, memories and images about it.

In the first 15 interviews, interviewees were selected according to their ages. The views of different age groups sought to be presented (Table 4.1). Three interviewees are between the ages of 15-20, five people are between the ages of 20-30, three people are 30-40 and lastly four people are over 40. As one of the aims of the study is to understand the changes in their perception about Güven Park from the past to today, the answers of the different age groups (their memories and emotions) were important. Interviewees from different age groups referred to different time span of Güven Park, indeed. The personal information about the interviewees is shown in Table 3.1 and Table 3.2 to evaluate the variety of interviewees in the first phase.

Table 3.1 The first-run interviewees according to their age and gender

AGE	NUMBER OF INTERVIEWES	
	WOMEN	MEN
15-20	3	-
20-30	2	3
30-40	2	1
40-50	-	3
over 50	-	1
TOTAL	7	8

Table 3.2 The first-run interviewees according to their birth place

LIVING PERIOD IN ANKARA	BIRTH PLACE	
	ANKARA	OUT OF ANKARA
NONE	-	1
0-10 YEARS	-	3
10-20 YEARS	3	1
20-40 YEARS	2	3
OVER 40 YEARS	-	2
TOTAL	5	10

The interview questions aim to understand the current use of Güven Park and the experiences, memories, image and knowledge about the past and current states of Güven Park and Güven Monument. Five questions are about how the users of Güven Park use the park (for which activities), how far they spend time in the park and how they feel about it. These questions are:

- *How often do you come to Güven Park?*
- *How long do you spend in Güven Park?*
- *What purpose do you use Güven Park for?*
- *Do you like to spend time in Güven Park? Why?*
- *Do you think Güven Park is safe in every hour of a day?*

Two interview questions are asked to understand the knowledge of the interviewee about the past of the park and Güven Monument:

- *Do you know the history of Güven Park?*
- *Do you know the history of Güven Monument?*

Most of the time, the interviewees did not understand these questions, and probe questions were asked, such as “*Do you know when the park was planned and constructed or why it was planned?*”; “*Do you know who designed Güven Monument? When was it? Why was it constructed?*”.

Also, one of the questions is related to both their past and current experiences:

- *Do you observe any changes in Güven Park?*
 - *Physically (spatially)*
 - *Social (by means of people behavior)*

And lastly, two interview questions are related to meaning that interviewees attach the park:

- *What is the meaning of Güven Park for you?*
- *What is the meaning of Güven Monument for you?* (See Appendix A and Appendix B for interview questions).

After the first-round interviews, the second-round interviews were conducted with the people who do not currently and regularly use Güven Park, but who have a particular ‘*urban culture*’ or ‘*urban sensitivity*’, as Tankut (1993) describes. The major reason behind this second-round interviews was to grasp data about the experiences, memories, meanings of the citizens of Ankara. Güven Park is one of the oldest parks of Ankara and everybody should have some ideas, experiences and meanings about it. Thus, by conducting interviews with the second-round interviews, we sought to grasp opinions of Ankara citizens. Ten interviews were conducted in the second round. In this way, data about the experiences, meanings and memories of a wider range of interviewees was achieved. In other words, we did not limit the interviewees only with the park users, but we tried to expand the range of the interviewees with those who do not regularly use the park, but who know this park. In this sense, we tried to gather a wider and richer range of ideas, experiences, memories and meanings about the past and present of the park. Table 3.3 and Table 3.4 show the variety of interviewees in the second-round interviews.

Table 3.3 The second-run interviewees according to their age and gender

AGE	NUMBER OF INTERVIEWEES	
	WOMEN	MEN
20-30	2	-
50-60	3	3
over 60	1	1
TOTAL	6	4

Table 3.4 The second-run interviewees according to their birth place

LIVING PERIOD IN ANKARA	BIRTH PLACE	
	ANKARA	OUT OF ANKARA
20-30 years	2	-
40-50	-	5
50-60	2	-
OVER 60 YEARS	1	-
TOTAL	5	5

Some interview questions were changed for the second-round interviews. The questions about their knowledge regarding the past of the park, the changes taken place in the park and the meaning of Güven Park and Güven Monument were asked to them. The question of “How often do you use Güven Park?” was asked to every interviewee. And the following questions were added for those who do not use Güven Park regularly nowadays:

- *Why do not you use Güven Park?*
- *Is there any time that you use Güven Park regularly? When? For what purpose?*
- *Nowadays when you go to Güven Park what purpose you go for?*
- *Do you think Güven Park is safe in every hour of the day nowadays? (See Appendix B for the second-round interview questions)*

First-run interviews were conducted different times of day and week. That is, they were conducted: 1) weekend days, 2) working hours in week days, 3) rush hour in week days, and 4) after rush hours. In this way, different type of interviewees tried to be captured. Also, direct observations (therefore the spatial analysis) were carried out during the time spans described above. In this way, it is possible to capture the users' behaviors and activities taking place in Güven Park in different times of week days and weekend.

In addition to these three sources of evidence, ***spatial analyses***, carried out by the researcher, is the last source of evidence used by this research. Maps and other visual documents are analyzed to find out the past and current physical features of the park and its surroundings, and activities which took place in the past and those which take place currently. Computer softwares, such as Photoshop and MS Excel are used to present these spatial analyses.

CHAPTER 4

AN ANALYSIS ON THE TRANSFORMATION OF IDENTITY IN ANKARA AS A CAPITAL CITY OF TURKEY

Tankut (1993) argues that capital cities are founded and constructed as a symbol of world-view of countries' governments and governors. Since they keep their function for long time, they go through different construction phases in terms of physical environments, architectural style and life style. The image of the capital cities emerges from juxtapositions of these changes in time. On the other hand, there exist capital cities, like Canberra, Ankara, Brazil and Islamabad that emerged in the 20th century from scratch for different reasons. For example, Ankara was declared as a capital city as a symbol of modernization to other Turkish cities, along with the emerging new Republic, new system and ideas in Turkey. Besides, as Uludağ (2009) puts forth, capital cities have leader characters which have a mission of constructing national identity, national and social unity, continuity of this unity.

Therefore, to decipher the old Ankara becomes prerequisite to understand the modernization period of Turkish Republic and Ankara. Because, as Kılınc (2009) claims, Ankara would not only serve to itself; it would be a modern city that would be an archetype to other cities. Moreover, since the new government was based on a nation-state policy, Ankara would be an image of the whole nation. As a result, Ankara was the first city in Turkey where urban life-style became modernized in both physical and cultural terms. Therefore, Ankara needs to be analyzed not only as a city, but also as an icon in terms of its physical, social and economic structures, its enlightenment and the visions of the early political figures who invited the most important architects and urban planners of the world and who raised the conscious and awareness of citizenship to be exemplified to the whole nation (Cengizkan, 2002). In this sense, this chapter seeks to find answer to the questions of how Ankara was created as a capital city throughout the modernization era of Turkey, and how the identity of place and identity of nation were generated in this modernization process till globalization. Last, this chapter also studies the changing identity of Ankara, when the modernity project has got corrosion with the globalization and other changes in whole world.

4.1 MODERNIZATION PROJECT IN TURKEY AND THE TALE OF CREATING A CAPITAL CITY FOR THE NEW REPUBLIC

Declaring Ankara as a capital city was one of the major results and important parts of the modernity project in Turkey. The Republican ideology aimed to modernize Turkey in terms of its urban and rural planning, architecture, and all aspects of life style, including clothing, music, dance and other cultural necessities. Tekeli (2001, pp.10-11) explains modernity with its four dimensions. The first one is ***economic dimension*** that is defined by capitalist relations, industrialized society, commoditized product, paid labor, and institutionalized liberal property relationships. The second one is ***attitude towards information*** that leads to make objective sociology to represent social facts accurately. While language was seen as a neutral and transparent means to disseminate information in society, social values tried to be shaped based on universal morality and law codes. The third one is to raise a new generation made up of '***modern rational individuals***', who could think, make decisions and act

themselves with their reason and rationale, detached from the conventional way of community. These individuals would be less dependent to particular territory, more mobile, aware of information about distant places; i.e., more educated. Besides, they would be the citizens of modern society, rather than traditional one; and they would be equal in this bigger, homogeneous community. The fourth and the last one is **new organizational structure** based on nation-state and democracy. This became necessary, since there emerged such kind of an economic relation and individuals. This new organization needed national identities in order to constitute communal relations that would be anonymous by means of place and time. At the same time, it needed the principles of democracy to create equal individuals that could assess what was better for them.

In Ottoman Empire, Tekeli (1998, p.2) defines five important changes in economic and institutional means through the process of modernity. The first one is *the emergence of central business district, as well as markets and bazaars in the old center*. Moreover, in order to adapt the world capitalist economy, there emerged new economic activities (thus, land-use activities), such as banks, insurance companies, commercial complexes and hotels, in new city center. These new relations needed new infrastructures, including railway stations, harbors and waterfronts, warehouses and post office buildings. In addition, due to the new organizational structuring of the government, there needed new office buildings at the center that expanded the city center and diversified the land-use functions. The second important change is about *transportation* that used to be available for pedestrians, and changed with the use of cars and public transportations, such as tramways, ferries, suburban trains. The third change takes place in *the social classes*. New social classes emerged because of new economic relations and new way of organization. The fourth important change is the *suburbanization* that was developed with the advances in transportation, over-population in inner city and the generation of new social class. The last important change is the *emergence of new types of social spaces in cities*, since modernity offered new life style and new social relations between the members of community.

The primary aim of the modernization in Turkey was to create a dynamic and secular society with the help of technology and science. Western countries were seen as models in the process of innovation. New republic tried to get rid of Islamic identity and to establish a new nation. Since they had a lack of resources, they proceeded through three steps (Atalay Franck, 2010, pp.254-255). First, they established a new nation-state with organizations and structures. Second, foreign experts were invited to Turkey to advice on the fields of infrastructure of administrative buildings, industry, transportation, media and communication, and also to teach the principles of modernization to new generations. Third, a new generation was developed. Even though the help of foreign experts in the field of social and science is accepted, imperialism of them is rejected. Besides, taking an external assistance from the west and avoiding from pressure of them at the same time create a contradiction.

Tekeli (1998) describes the modernity project in Turkey regarding five periods. He defines the first period as a '*shy period of modernity*' that started in the second half of the 19th century of Ottoman Empire, and continued until the proclamation of the Republic. The second period covers the duration between proclamation of the republic and Second World War. In this period, a '*radical modernity project*' was put into practice. A new legal and institutional framework of one-party regime was established in this period when the urbanization rate was low. The third period starts from Second World War and continued to 1960. The modernity project in this era can be defined as '*populist*'. The fourth period is between 1960 and 1980. This period which started with a rapid urbanization is characterized by the search for a planned economy. Another feature of this period is the emergence and widespread recognition of the field of urban planning. Institutions were re-organized to respond to the rapid urbanization of this period, and its concomitant effects. The last period is the duration after 1980 that is the beginning of corrosion of modernity project, as Turkey has become a part of global economy and the urbanization rate has slowed down in cities (Tekeli, 1998, pp. 1-2).

Especially after 1927, the modernity project in Turkey changed its character. The period is characterized by the practice of a radical modernization project. The best statement that can express this new approach is "westernization despite the west" (Tekeli, 2001, p.24). One of the most radical decisions in this period was the development of Ankara as a capital city, instead of Istanbul (Tekeli, 2001, p.74). Declaring Ankara as a capital city was compulsory to succeed the modernity in Turkey.

There were several reasons to choose Ankara as a capital city. First, a new capital city that would be the symbol of the new Republic and the new regime was needed. A new symbol of a new regime is generated by collective memory and collective identity (Yalim, 2009). A collective memory is produced by the perception of society. In other words, a collective memory creates a collective identity that makes every individual in the society perceive certain things similarly, since they share the same past and values. This society establishes different relations with the past in every period. As a result of these relations, the society rebuilds a collective memory by remembering and forgetting some elements (Yalim, pp.160-161). Collective memory and national identity are related to each other.

In the case of Turkey, a new system based on a nation-state was established. To create a nation-state, a new national identity and a new collective memory were necessary. In this sense, carrying the capital city from Istanbul to Ankara was a part of the process of forgetting the old system and recreating a new image for the nation-state. Besides, since the nation-state model aimed to create a homogeneous Turkish identity against the heterogeneous Ottoman identity, there needed to redefine the past for the future of this new Republic. Therefore, choosing Ankara as a capital city instead of Istanbul was a way of refusing the cultural, institutional and religious identity of Ottoman Empire and a way of creating the new nation, Republic and regime by means of modernization. New capital city was against the colonism, imperialism and orientalism (Akpınar, 2010). It was the symbol of a nation-state, a secular government, legal and cultural reforms. Therefore, with the proclamation of the Republic, the new regime tried to reshape the society according to this new approach to westernization, secularization and civilization. In this process, the new regime deliberately chose to alienate from Ottoman identity and to integrate with western identity (Gür, 2010, pp.75-76). Ankara provided a new image for the creation of a secular civil society and a new nation, as against Istanbul which represented urban cosmopolitanism, a heritage of Ottoman Empire and its past. Likewise, it would be extremely hard to reshape Istanbul according to new attitude of modernization. Thus, it would be much better to create a new capital city that deeply rooted in Anatolia. This new state aimed to localize the global values and globalize the local values. By synthesizing East-West societies, it developed a new capital city in Anatolia that would contain both Anatolian identity and Western civilization norms.

The second reason to choose Ankara as a capital city was related to the military advantages of Ankara. With its central location in Anatolia, it has been used as a military base since Roman period. As Tankut (1993, pp.16-17) explains, Ankara was both close to the west of Anatolia that was the battle field in those years, while, at the same time, it was protected from the direct interventions of external powers. Moreover, Ankara became the administrative center of the Independence War thank to the advances in transportation and communication technologies of the 19th century. It was easy to reach at Istanbul from Ankara by train and telegraph. Since the 1910s when Ottoman Empire lost many battles and when Istanbul was under the threat of occupation, the idea of carrying the capital city of the empire to one of the Anatolian cities was discussed. Being near the coast, Istanbul was also under a significant threat because of the weak naval force of the Empire. Anatolian cities, such as Konya, Kütahya and Kayseri were among the alternative names of the capital city. Despite these alternatives, Ankara was chosen as a new capital city, due to some military reasons and purposes (Tekeli, 1998 pp. 4-11).

The third reason is related to Ankara's economic, cultural and political potentials as a regional center throughout the history, as well as its physical advantages. These potentials made it suitable to be a modern capital city. In economic terms, Ankara was an important city of trade and production, since it was a granary. Besides, the railway between Istanbul-Ankara and telegraph as the communication means improved the economic potentials of Ankara. Moreover, the presence of markets, bazaars and caravanserais throughout history made Ankara's trade life very lively and vivid. In cultural sense, Ahi culture was dominant in Ankara. Since the end of Seljuk era, Ahi community lived in this city. Ankara used to be managed and regulated by Ahi government that was based on an election system, rather than a system which was transferred in a descendent manner from father to son. Moreover, Ahi government had a humanist understanding that emphasized the production, working and labour, and this was very suitable for the Republic's ideology. Last, there was a descent social life based on a strong family tradition in Ankara. There was no polygamy and no hassle for girls and women. While traditions about marriage and preparation of wedding were so detailed, Ankara was also rich in terms of traditions and culture, since there were much folklore, folk songs and belly dance music. Ceremonies after harvesting of ploughman, sending young boys to the army, sending prospective pilgrims to pilgrim's journey, etc. were very detailed and impressive. Also, in the late-19th century, there were significant improvements in education (such as the construction of new schools), as well as the improvements in art with frequent mobile theatre (Dinçer, 2009, pp. 11-14).

To sum up, with the necessity of new capital city for new government, military efficiency and economic, cultural and political improvements of Ankara through history are the main reasons to choose Ankara as a capital city of Republic of Turkey. In other words, both Ankara and citizens of Ankara were ready modernization with their history, beliefs and cultural background. Now, four meanings, visions and aspects are dominant about Ankara's identity: first one is being *symbol of national struggle, independence, modernization, civilization and secularity of Turkey as a capital city*; second one is being *a center in the fields of higher education, culture, art and health*; third one is being *an agricultural and industrial center of production of Middle Anatolia*; and fourth one is being *a symbol of Turkish politics* (Dinçer, 2006, p.12).

4.2 URBAN DEVELOPMENT HISTORY OF ANKARA

The historic development of Ankara can be explained in four periods: 1) Lörcher Plan Period, 2) Jansen Plan Period, 3) Yücel-Uybadin Plan Period, and 4) the period covering 1990 Ankara Master Plan and after 1990 Ankara Master Plan.

4.2.1 LÖRCHER PLAN PERIOD

After 27 December 1919 when Atatürk and his fellows arrived at Ankara, the process of using it as a capital city virtually started. Then, in 13 October 1923, Ankara was officially declared as a capital city of Turkey. After that law draft, an immediate action and a master plan for the spatial organization of Ankara became urgent. Because, while Istanbul's population shrunk, Ankara's population was growing with newcomers, like soldiers, civil servants and jobseekers. The first organization of Ankara municipality was completed in 16 February 1924. There was still an urgent need for an action plan which would consider: 1- the reorganization of municipality, 2- obtaining a master plan of the city, 3- solving the problem of sewage system, 4- solving the water problem, 5- illumination of city, 6- construction of housing, 7- construction of streets and main streets, 8- local transportation, 9- communication by telephone, 10- budget (Cengizkan, 2002, pp.38-40).

Ankara's first plan was designed by a German architect, Dr. Carl Christopher Lörcher, who planned the city both according to its local necessities and the 19th-century city planning movements, pioneered by Haussmann's approach, as well as other concepts such as industry city, linear city,

garden city, city beautiful movement (Figure 4.1). Tankut (1993) also mentions the two interesting points of Lörcher plan. The first one is its irreparable effects on the future plans of Yenışehir with its streets' design and with its negative resulting applications. The second interesting point is that the name of the architect was mentioned in 1930 for the first time after taking Jansen to court.

Lörcher prepared a very pragmatic plan. Nevertheless, he also gave an importance to semantic construction of the city. That is, while this plan envisaged the near future of Ankara, it also aimed to design a new capital city for the new Republic (Cengizkan, 2009, pp.225-226). Lörcher prepared two plans; one for the old city and the other one for the new city (*Yeni Şehir*). Re-organizing the old city was hard due to the small plots. That is why, for the old city, he opted to leave it as it was, but to make some small modifications by introducing new roads and squares. During the plan-preparation process, he put forth the concept of 'citizenship' (*hemşehrilik*) that was exemplary for other cities. He also suggested the transfer of 25% of developed sites to the people whose lands were levied by the government. Since his proposal to the old city included new road and axis, zones and urban space quality with sequential green areas, beautiful castle, zoning decisions, spatialization of squares, searching and proposing a meaning to urban space, his main decision in this planning is development of New City (Cengizkan, 2002, p.45). Tankut (1993) also explains the most impressive two aspects of Lörcher approach. The first one was his sensitivity to public opinion about ugliness of the city, and the second one was the laws about levying private lands for the development of the capital city that were developed through a public debate. The members of the parliament discussed about both the aesthetics of Ankara, and the transfer of privately-owned lands under public ownership, and they positively contributed to the decisions on both issues. Therefore, not only Lörcher Plan, but also the parliament members' opinions had impacts on the development of Ankara's spatial organization in those days.

Yeni Şehir started to shape through the development of: 1) *public buildings*, including General Directorate of Health for Borders and Coasts (*Hudut ve Sevalih-i Sıhhiye Müdüriyeti*) in Sıhhiye, 2) *infrastructure investments, education buildings and commercial functions*, and 3) *residential sites*. The idea of 'garden city' was promoted by the city governors and the Republic government as the development model for residential neighborhoods, and private investors were encouraged to construct residential buildings, especially houses with gardens. Lörcher tried to preserve the existent spatial organization of the old city. Yet, he designed a linear boulevard between the Central Station, the old Parliament building, Ulus Square and Ankara Castle. Likewise, he designed another linear boulevard for Yeni Şehir between the Castle and the new Parliament building to strongly connect between the old city and Yeni Şehir (Cengizkan, 2002, pp.49-50). Along this boulevard, a number of squares and Administrative District would be located. For Lörcher, the linear axis between the train station and the Castle would represent the relation between the city and modern transportation, the power that reflected to the city and the old culture coming from the past. Cengizkan (2002) defines this relation as an urban metaphor, and also emphasizes the 'beautiful castle' concept proposed by Lörcher who considered the castle as the representation of cultural richness of the past. He used the same urban metaphor in Yeni Şehir, by creating another linear axis (or boulevard), which he personally named it 'Strasse der Nation' (Nation Street).

Nation Street would accommodate a series of squares -namely, Sıhhiye Square, Zafer Square, Millet (Ulus) Square, Cumhuriyet or Kurtuluş (Kızılay) Square, Lozan Square, Cebeci Square and Tandoğan Square. Cumhuriyet or Kurtuluş (Kızılay) Square was originally designed within a low-density and low-rise urban setting, accompanied by sequential green areas. However, later, in Jansen plan, its design was changed and turned into a square within a higher-density built environment without sequential green areas. Sıhhiye Square was designed as an octagonal form, contrasted with the organic form of Old City. This octagonal-shaped square was successful in terms of connecting several roads with different directions together. Zafer Square was designed as a gathering place of both a theater and a cinema. Its name comes from a sculpture situated in the middle of the square. Millet

(Ulus) Square is a square-shaped open space that connects Tuna Street (a street to the western part of the Atatürk Boulevard) to Selanik Street (a street to the eastern part of Atatürk Boulevard). Its name comes from its location. It is situated in the middle of Nation Street axis. Lozan Square was an ellipsoid-shaped square that intersects Sakarya Street with Mithatpaşa Street and took its name from the Treaty of Lausanne. Tandoğan Square is a square-shaped square. As it was divided diagonally by the roads, it was hard to perceive its square form physically. Last, Cebeci Square started to be constructed but never completed. There is no useful information about it (Cengizkan, 2009, pp.230-236).

Thus, Cengizkan (2009, pp.226-229) specifies four positive aspects of Lörcher Plan to Ankara. First, it *identified the main contemporary and modern land-use activities of the city*. The plan described the zones for industrial sites, government building sites, residential sites, urban recreational and cultural sites, cemeteries, urban farm lands, hospitals, prisons, as well as a site for holiday houses to the south of the city and the garden city to the west. This garden city, modeled from Ebenezer Howard's garden city, would contain houses, as well as schools, open spaces for sports, gardens, and a bazaar. Second, the plan *identified the main arteries, boulevards and streets* that connected the districts. The main boulevards did not only form the traces and partitions of blocks, but also created the semantic relations and urban metaphor, as explained above. Third, the plan *identified the main green corridors* of Ankara, as well as the main valleys and creeks, such as İncesu, Bent Creek and Hatip Creek. The garden city and the area of summer houses to the south of the city were planned in relation to this open space system. Fourth, the plan *defined the main squares and open spaces of the city*, even though those places were later considered as the empty spaces to be filled by buildings.

Günay (2005, p.67-69), however, underlines the negative aspects of Lörcher Plan, arguing that it left irreparable traces and it negatively affected the future plans of Ankara. The first negative aspect is related to Atatürk Boulevard. Even though both the west and east sides of the boulevard were designed to fit to grid plan and they were attached to the boulevard with an angle, the grid plan of a western-city model could not be achieved due to this plan. Besides, Atatürk Boulevard is the only urban spine between Ulus and Kızılay and it is the only option. Moreover, Mithatpaşa and Necatibey Streets that start from Sıhhiye Square and be the foci of Yeni Şehir, became two spines with an indefinite ending because of these negative aspects of the design of Atatürk Boulevard. One other negative aspect is the lack of policy about the future growth of city, as the priority of the plan was to define the locations and forms of public buildings and housings in this period. Last but not the least, the Lörcher Plan envisaged the development of villa-type housing in Yeni Şehir. When Kızılay refunctioned as a business district, both street network and density of the district envisaged by Lörcher Plan failed to satisfy the needs and demands of later years, and that caused the start of the demolish-rebuilt process of Kızılay.

In the later periods, the urban fabric envisaged by Lörcher Plan was lost in both physical and conceptual senses. Especially the plan decisions were ignored in three districts of Ankara; i.e. Cebeci, Kurtuluş and Sıhhiye. Lörcher Plan continued to be implemented until 1928. After that, Cebeci was not developed according to the principles and policies of Lörcher Plan. Similarly, Kurtuluş was designed as a residential neighborhood by Lörcher Plan, but again, the details of the plan were not implemented. Especially the design of Sıhhiye was disregarded by Jansen. Beside the changes in the spatial organization of Lörcher Plan, Cengizkan (2002, p.54-56) also mentions the semantic shift in Lörcher Plan made by the further plans. Lörcher aimed to create a new capital city to the new government by some associated meanings to his plan. In Ulus, Taşhan district developed and created Bankalar Street through south part with Maarif Vekaleti, İş Bankası Umum Müdürlüğü, Erkek Sanat Okulu, Postane, İnhisarlar İdaresi Umum Müdürlüğü, Osmanlı Bankası, Emlak ve Eytem Bankası Umum Müdürlüğü. Therefore, the city was designed in an alignment, starting from Ulus Square, continued through firstly Bankalar Street and then Cumhuriyet Street and opened to Endüstri Street, and finalized in Mustafa Kemal Street in Yeni Şehir. In this respect, community health was

emphasized as a prerequisite for the creation of a healthy modern society by Sıhhiye Square in Sıhhiye, meaning 'health or well being'. Collective memory regarding 30th August 1922 which represent 'Victory Holiday' was refreshed by Zafer Square. Moreover, the founders of the Republic were emphasized by the street names and Cumhuriyet Square,. The organization of the safety and security of the civil society was represented by Emniyet Monument, which is currently called Güven Monument (Cengizkan, 2002, pp. 54, 55). This hierarchical arrangement which was designed to create a meaning with the help of the name of the streets and squares which was also changed. Changing names of the streets and squares are shown in the Table 4.1. Cengizkan (2009) emphasizes the importance of reading the city both with its semantic meanings and with its all multi-layer, otherwise it misleads implementer.

Table 4.1 The name of streets and squares which were changed in time (Resource: Cengizkan, 2002, p.55)

First Naming	Changing Names	Today's name
Cumhuriyet Square	Kurtuluş Square; Havuzbaşı	Kızılay Square
Taşhan	Hakimiyet-i Milliye Square; Millet Square	Ulus Square
Kazım Paşa (Özalp) Street		Ziya Gökalp Street
Dikmen Street		Necati Bey Street
Manevra Upgrade		Milli Müdafaa Street
Necati Bey Street		Gazi Mustafa Kemal Boulevard
Millet (Ulus) Street	Gazi Mustafa Kemal Street (north from Kızılay); Atatürk Uranı	Gazi Mustafa Kemal Boulevard
Çankaya Street (south from Kızılay)		Atatürk Boulevard
Dikmen Street		Atatürk Boulevard
Süleyman Sırrı Bey Street		Milli Müdefaa Street
Dr Refik Bey (Sağlam) Street		Süleyman Sırrı Street
Ataç Street		Sağlık Street
Abdülhalik Bey (Renda) Street	Adakale Street	Ataç Street
Tuna Street		Dr Mediha Eldem Street
Selanik Street		Selanik Street
Devrim Street		İnkılap Street I
Sedd-ül Bahr Street		İnkılap Street II
İsmat Paşa Street		Mithatpaşa Street



Figure 4.1 Lörcher Plan (1924-1925) (Resource: Ali Cengizkan's archive, cited in Keskinok, 2009, p.41)

4.2.2 JANSEN PLAN PERIOD

Günay (2005, pp. 69-70) defines this period as the 'period of comprehensive planning' which was seen necessary in the 20th century due to the desire to create a western city model for Ankara. Both the changes in transportation technologies and the industry with their services led to the restructuring in the center, while, at the same time, developing the city towards the periphery of the city for due to create neighborhoods for white collar employees. While the new problems of the 20th century brought about a necessity for new comprehensive plan, this plan aimed to design the city according to social and economic factors that were revealed by scientific research and analyses. This plan that put into force between 1940 and 1960 included the decisions about land-use functions and transportation, and sought to find an ideal form for the city. In this respect, Jansen's efforts included supplying the public health and joy with physical surroundings, tendency to develop green areas inside and outside the city; striking a balance with traffic era fearfully, consciousness on the importance of industry, emphasis on the housing districts of labor class, and it is regarded as both progressive and conservative aspects of the Jansen Plan (Tankut, 1993, p.67). She also specifies the principles and goals of Jansen plan are in accordance with the report of plan also emphasizing that his attitudes are urban aesthetic, economy and health, urban land use and transportation, reserve areas to growth of city and density.

With taking into consideration these plan decisions, Jansen proposed a city that surrounds the castle and the northwest worker's neighborhood, the northeast long term development area for dwellings. At that time, the population of Ankara was 75.000 and expected to grow up to 300.000 in 50 years. He had a simple schema, he proposed a commercial area between the station and the city, as Lörcher did. Today's Maltepe was proposed as industry zone and starting from the Lörcher plan Cebeci and İskitler were arranged as the two urban districts apart from Yenışehir. City was tried to be improved as a major form that surrounds the castle, districts were divided by green belt and in terms of transportation only spine between old and new city is Atatürk Boulevard. On the other hand, the other roads were designed not according to center but with the idea that supports the circular form. At the north, today's Aydınlikevler and Siteler were reserved for the future housing development and in the Kavaklıdere and at the back of Çankaya the garden houses were thought to be designed (Günay, 2005, pp.70-72).

However, there were some changes in the application phase; the commercial district around the station was abolished and main developing areas of the city were settled at the south of the station. Industry zone at the west side of the Yenışehir that was previously started to structuring by menas of Lörcher plan was taken to alongside of the railway and Maltepe was converted to housing zone. The east side of the Yenışehir remained as an education zone, also the south part of the back side of the Çankaya was remained as a zone for garden houses. The most important change applied in the macro structure of the city. Instead of a circular form, it was designed as a linear urban structure to reach to the south, to the west and to the east. Through this change Yenışehir envisaged with the function of central business district and the problematic transportation system included two spine which intersect in Kızılay (Günay, 2005, pp.72-73). Günay (2005, pp. 74-78) summarize the Jansen plan process as:

- *Some of the worker's house that was proposed to be constructed at the north of the city was done at the İskitler and the efforts of the conservation of Kazıkıçı gave no result and the neighborhood become an area of irregular industry use.*
- *The old fabric at the west side of the castle, surrounding Hacıbayram and outside of the castle in Ulus was renewed. This attitude was an extent of Lörcher plan which was still a source of the problem of Doğanbey and İstiklal district. As a result, high and continues*

structuring was emerged at the street alongside the periphery of old fabric while the interior part turned into a corruption area.

- *The main change according to Lörcher plan was about the attitude towards the central station. Yeşil Kama- placed between station and Ulus- which was a central business district at that time, was isolated from the center in contrast to the European attitude.*
- *Inside of the yeşil kama, which was constituted as an extent of Atatürk Orman Çiftliği including Hipodrum, Stadium and Gençlik Parkı, the placement of the education and health functions with parks afterwards provided the continuity of the green spine.*
- *The main contribution of the Jansen plan was the development of Maltepe and Cebeci. Even though Maltepe was designed as an industry zone on the paper, it was developed as a housing zone with a green spine at the center, and Cebeci was developed as an extent of Yenışehir at the east side. The education functions which were proposed in Cebeci were supported with Law, Political Science and Medicine Faculty of Ankara University.*
- *As a result of these processes at the west Gazi Mustafa Kemal, at the east Ziya Gökalp street created a new spine and also created a base designed to be Ankara's new central business district for Kızılay where this spine and Atatürk Boulevard intersected. By moving the Bakanlıklar*
- *Kavaklıdere and back side of the Çankaya represented as Master Plan Schema, so that the main urban spine of the city reaching to Köşk from Çankırı Street was clarified while the transportation system to assist this new plan couldn't be designed (See Figure 4.2).*

Besides the macro form of the city, the most important places in terms of Jansen plan can be discussed were Ulus, Yenışehir and Atatürk Boulevard. These can be counted as the most important places since the major changes were taken place at those areas. At that time Ulus Square was called as Taşhan Square and Taşhan was the biggest accommodation place in old Ankara. The commercial place of the Ankara began from the Zincirli Mosque and Karaoğlan - near side of Ulus - and continued to Çıkırıkcılar Yokuşu, Ulucanlar and castle's skirt. Since Ulus and its surrounding was the natural center of the Ankara and of the Republic, the development and structuring began there. In this regard, Ulus Square and Anafartalar Street was not only the image of t Ankara but also they were the images of the Republic in the first forty years of the Republic. Afterwards the lack of commercial place that was stemmed from the dispossession of Ulus and Karacaoğlan in 1959, forced the construction of a new office block and shopping center at Ulus. At that period commerce activities was shifting from Ulus to Yenışehir and Ulus and Anafartalar Street lost its importance with the growth of the city and became not only a district but also the center of the Ankara of Yenışehir (Dinçer, 2009, pp.18-21). Yenışehir was the first modern settlement of Kızılay at the direction of the station where Kurtuluş, Sıhhiye, Ankara Station part of the Ankara railway. First years of the Republic Yenışehir was designed as a place where the new residential areas and administration buildings of the capital city were sided together. Therefore, it was developed according to the necessities of the district rather than the commercial, education and health places to satisfy the needs of all cities (Dinçer, 2009, p.22). (See Figure 4.2)

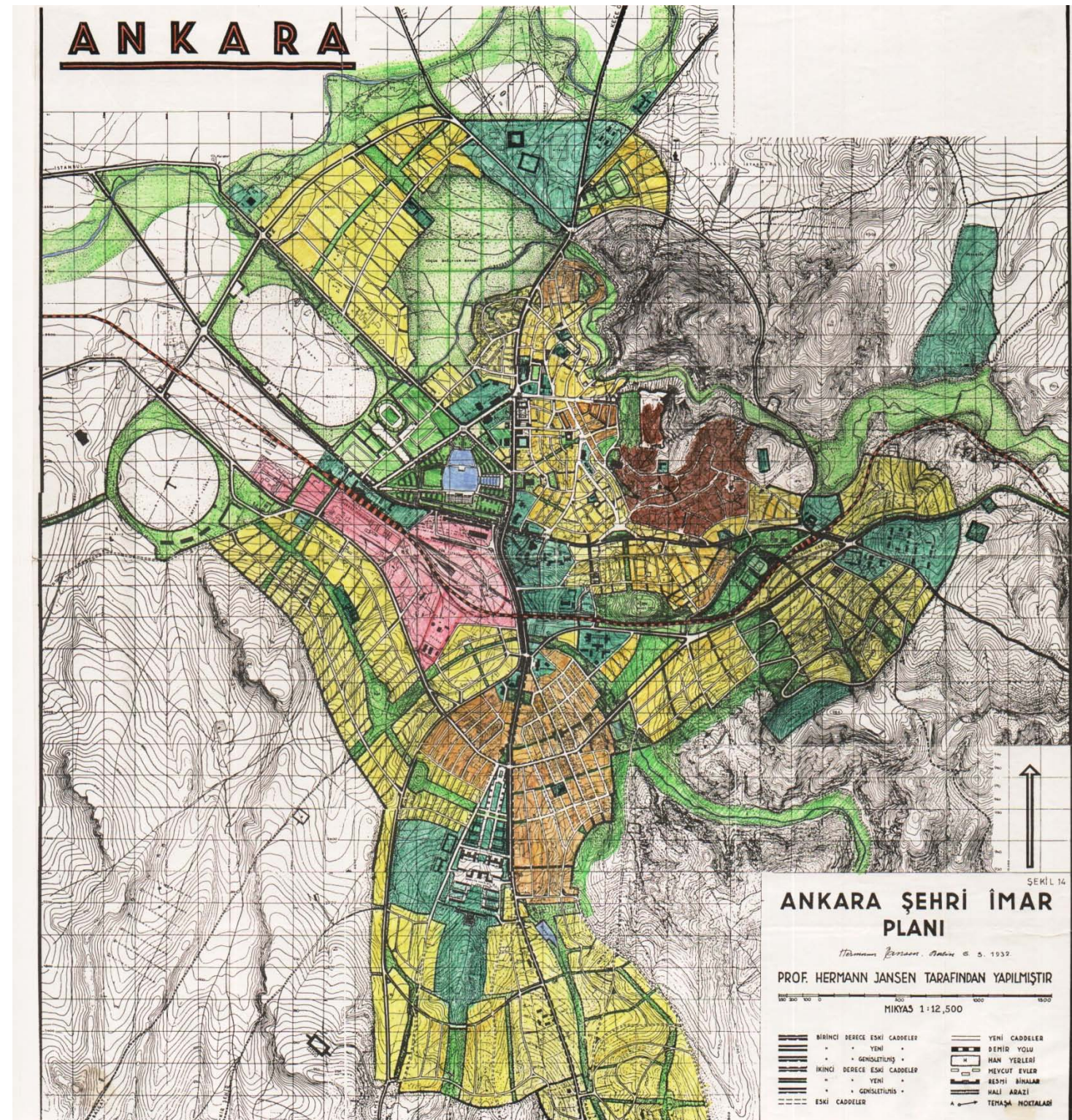


Figure 4.2 Jansen Plan (Resource: Çağatay Keskinok's archive, cited in Keskinok, 2009, p. 42)

One of the important designs of the city was Atatürk Boulevard with all its important buildings, green areas, squares, roads and streets where people communicate and share a collective identity. Dinçer (2009) explains the basic decisions behind the planning and construction of the Boulevard as; firstly connecting the Yenışehir with the first center of the city and its surroundings and also integrating old and new city; secondly constructing the most beautiful structures on the new built boulevard from Ulus to Çankaya and designing green areas and monuments around boulevard. Dinçer (2009, pp.25-26) indicates that the structures and green areas at the boulevard from Ulus Square to Yenışehir are important since they are the representation of Republic:

At the Ulus to Gençlik Park crossroad; Merkez Bank, Ziraat Bank, Etibank, building that belongs to Vakıflar, Ottoman Bank, Posta Sarayı, Emlak Kredi Bank, Vakıflar Başmüdürlüğü Building.

From Gençlik Park crossroad to Opera crossroad; institutions of municipality (fire station, hospital), İller Bank, Faculty of Law (now Vakıf Eserleri Museum), Sergi Evi (now Opera Hall).

From Opera Crossroad to Sıhhiye; Türk Hava Kurumu, Radyo Radyoevi ismet Paşa Kız Enstitüsü, Faculty of Languages, History and Geography, bus garage of municipality (now Abdi ipekçi Park), Ambarlar Roads (today Adalet Sarayı), Hububat Silosu that demolished later and Tekel Warehouses.

Old Ankara-Samanpazarı direction of boulevard in between the Opera and Sıhhiye; Gazi High School, Ticaret High School, Kız High School, Numune Hospital, Türk Ocağı (Halkevi), Etnoğrafya Museum, Hava Kuvvetleri buildings.

In between Sıhhiye and Kızılay; The ministry of Health, apartment blocks at the two side of the road in between Sıhhiye and Kızılay (today commercial buildings), Orduevi, Daniştay, Kızılay Buildings, Zafer Park and monument.

In between Sıhhiye, Kızılay and Koley; one and two storey dwellings, Hıfzısıhha School and facilities, Türk Eğitim Derneği Schools.

In between Kızılay and Bakanlıklar; Güven Park, Güven monument, Bakanlıklar settlement, Ministry of Agriculture and TBMM.

In between Bakanlıklar and Kavaklıdere; in place that is reserved for embassies there existed embassies of Russia, Germany, Italy, Bulgaria, Hungary, Egypt, Yugoslavia, Poland, Czechoslovakia and USA.

Other buildings in Yenışehir; Harp School Buildings in the road of Dikmen, Yedeksubay Schools, Police Collage in Anıttepe and Military Police Facilities, Sarar Elementary School, Namık Kemal Elementary and Secondary School, Mimar Kemal Elementary School, Atatürk High School

Prediction about the growth ratio of Ankara was wrong. Besides Jansen plan was inflexible for this growth and was not suitable for expand. Moreover, transition of government policy form statist to liberal policies at the end of the 1940s affected the planning process. In 1950s the transportation system according to highways started, hence the periphery roads and connects of outskirts were strengthened. At the same time, since previous plan process upon the Ankara periphery, the new plan for Ankara became necessary. Therefore, in 1955 the duty was given to Raşit Uybadin and Nihat Yücel as a result of a competition.

4.2.3 YÜCEL-UYBADIN PLAN PERIOD

Tekeli (2001, pp.27-32) analyzes modernization in five periods as mentioned and third period according to him is between 1950 and 1980. The third period witnessed the transition from single party to multi party system and populism gained popularity as a government policy. On the other hand, the fast urbanization, insufficient infrastructure and construction of housing that caused squatting were the major problems of the period. Moreover the problems of integration of people who moved from rural to urban areas emerged leading to the immigration problem. While it was demanded garden house previously, the need for high density created infrastructure and traffic problems. Lastly, an advantage of the period underlined by him was the independent education of urban planning from architecture.

While urbanization in Ankara in this period was the result of the government policy which based on liberalism and populism, it was also the result of Yücel-Uybadin plan addressing the problems of fast urbanization till that time. However, Yücel-Uybadin plan wasn't successful in general respect since it aimed to arrange the growth and have an economical concern rather than shaping the city and urban life. Because of this attitude, benefits of rent advantage rose especially in city center while image of the city was in decline. Günay (2005) also mentions that previous plans of Lörcher and Jansen had a concern of searching for a form and style such as squares, urban green areas that have continuity, bring into prominence of hills. However, Yücel-Uybadin plan proposed roundabout ways and rectangular city blocks with low storey detached buildings. This plan was two dimensional plan based on city blocks and roads, included Yenimahalle, Etlik, Keçiören, Aydınlikevler at the north, Bahçelievler, Balgat-Dikmen, Çankaya, Gaziosmanpaşa, Seyran Bağları and Abidinpaşa at the south part of the city. In the north part Kazıkıçı Bostanları which was protected in Jansen plan was structured while Kavaklıdere was developed as a continuation of Yeni Şehir. Moreover, it neither has a policy for the growth of the city, nor determines an approach about squatting.

In 1950s the lack of transportation facilities resulted in the over-density and over-structuring at the city center. Moreover, because of the development approach based on rent opportunities caused demolishing of Yeni Şehir. Public places on Atatürk Boulevard were in a threat spatially and also relations between structures and roads were destructed. While at the end of 1940 increase in floor was implemented with the purpose of ruining of low-storey buildings and the aesthetic of the Boulevard, in 1950s they increased floors without any needs for reasons. With the promotion of development rights in Yeni Şehir, Ulus was getting unimportant space and left on its own. However, again one of the most negative process began with the speculations on the land with the fast growth of urban and immigration from rural areas, and continued with the appearing of squatting areas and the increase in the application based on urban rent (Keskinok, 2009, pp.54-55). Because of the lack of knowledge about planning technique even in 1960s, the population reached to 650.000 and a new plan became a necessity. In response, the administrator and development committee enacted Region Floor Regulation Plan rather than making new plan since they agreed on Yücel-Uybadin plan which has two dimensional structures (Günay, 2005, p.81). While this plan defines the different floor number in different regions, floor number of buildings in the Boulevard increased in 10 floors that destroyed the image of garden city concept in Yeni Şehir. Nihat Yücel criticizes the implementers by arguing that they don't try to understand the idea behind the plan, they only apply their policy (Cengizkan, 2002, p.207). Günay (2005) also criticizes the period since it caused the demolish-built process in Ankara, all structures in the city was demolished and reconstructed in this process. The city that was constructed as low density, was reconstructed. Especially Kızılay and Kavaklıdere which were chosen as a place of modern and central business district, were reconstructed all over again (Figure 4.3).

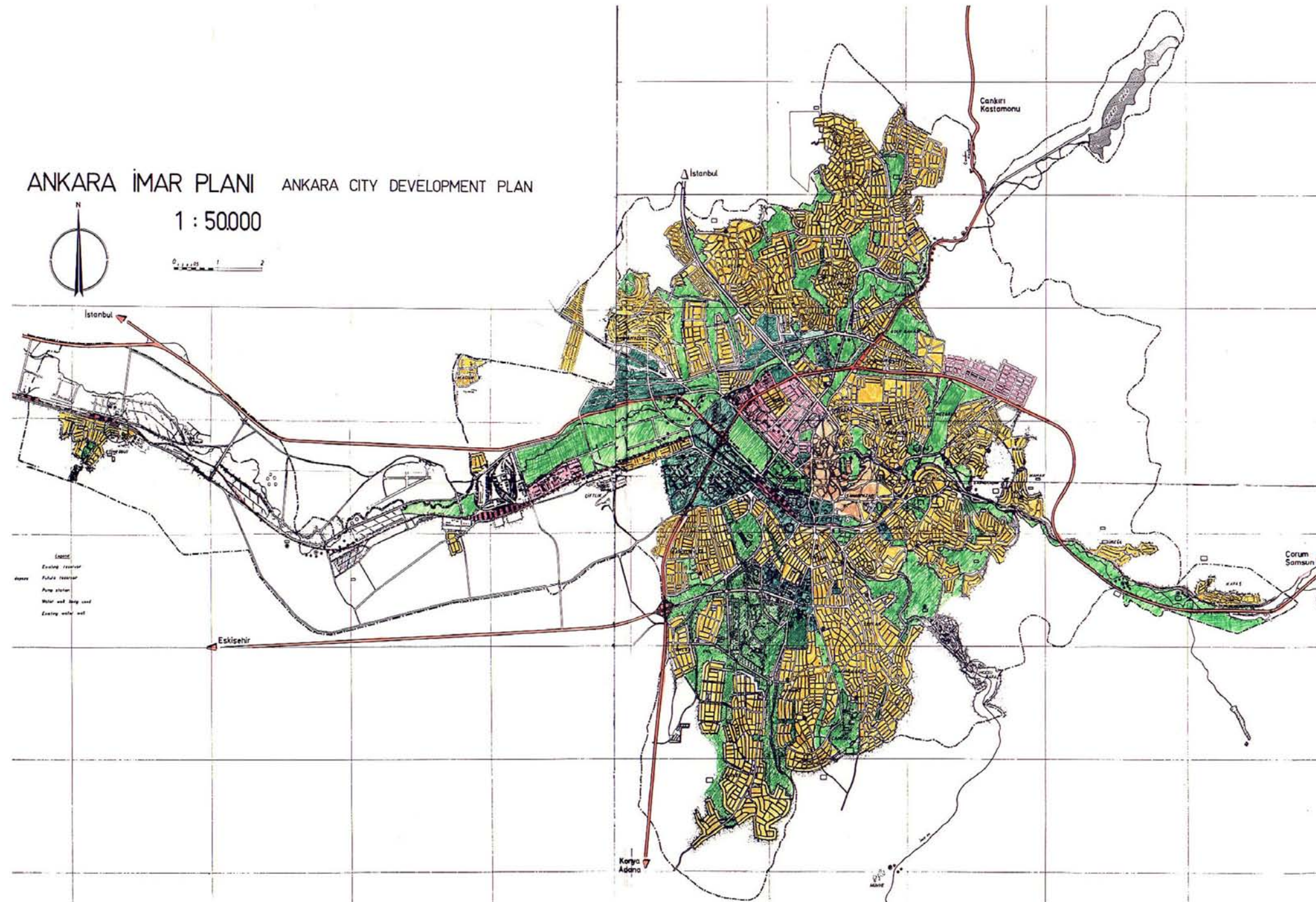


Figure 4.3 Yücel-Uybadin Plan (Resource: Baykan Günay's archive)

Tekeli (1998, pp.13-14) mentions two negative processes in housing at this period: squatter-housing and property developing. People who did not have a regular job with low income, couldn't effort the legitimate construction of housing and emigrated from rural area, constructed houses that can be rebuilt when it demolishes near to business district at the beginning then at the places that have unsuitable topography. Since government couldn't provide them a house in legitimate way and the necessity for labor increased, the owner of the squatter housing could be considered as reasonable. Besides since government saw them as a potential voter, they protected their existence as an owner of squatter housing. Günay (2005) also indicates that existing squatting areas of Altındağ, Yenidoğan, Mamak and Kayaş was later planned as developed land, and this was the base for the recovery plan of 1980s. Also he mentions one of the most negative aspect of Region Floor Regulation Plan as the ignore of the Demetevler. By leaving Demetevler out of the boundary, they should tolerate the unplanned structuring that were shanty and unhealthy. On the other hand, because of fast urbanization and lack of development area, the price of the land increased and opportunity of middle-income group to construct a house was on decline. Therefore, people began to share a land and tried to own a floor in apartment blocks and then it continued with the emerging of property developing way of construction and cooperative housing (Tekeli, 1998, p. 14).

As mentioned above, the most dramatic change of the 1950s on spatial terms was the loss of role of the Boulevard as the life center alongside the loss of visual taste of the Boulevard. The expansion of roads in Kızılay Square and the Boulevard initiated, most significant structures of Republic era were demolished and high-raised buildings were constructed. Moreover with the permission of dispossession of Ulus and Karacaoğlan commercial center, central commercial district of the Ankara shifted to Yenışehir and with high-raised structures that mentioned the characteristic of Kızılay and Boulevard were lost. Incompatible changes from Ulus to Kavaklıdere can be listed as:

- *Two row shops at the beginning of boulevard in Ulus that were demolished in dispossession in 1959.*
- *Disharmonious two buildings near Ziraat Bank.*
- *Demolishing of Posta Sarayı and construction of uncharacterized multi-storey building instead.*
- *Uncharacterized and ugly addition of Emlak ve Kredi Bank.*
- *Another ugly building near İller Bank.*
- *Unsuitable structure behind the Ministry of Culture.*
- *Ill-fitted addition near the Radyoevi.*
- *Demolishing of Hububat Silosu and Tekel Ankara that was situated today Ankara Adalet Sarayı. And with the Adalet Sarayı the density and speed of human traffic increased because of function.*
- *Demolishing old Daniştay that was near Orduevi and constructing multi-storey building.*
- *Constructing underground closed shopping center at the Daniştay side of Zafer Park and also constructing building top of it, so that destroyed the most of the park.*
- *Attempt of constructing parking plot and underground garage in front of Zafer Park however it was prevented by Daniştay.*
- *The elegant building of Kızılay was demolished and constructed office blocks instead, that also caused of demolishing the most beautiful park of Kızılay.*
- *At the green space that is continuation of Güven Park new construction was built by Ministry of national education and also in some parts it is created a station for buses and minibus of Dikmen and Çankaya, so that the park was getting smaller and neglected.*
- *The construction of high-raised building in Kızılay and in time only beautiful parts of the building that are reliefs of Kuzgun Acar and Selçuk Milar were gone.*

- *Loss of values of the site that Presidential Palace located with the construction of additional building, multi-storey mass housing and facilities and Palace lost in beauty, elegance and calm character because of these applications. (Dinçer, 2009, pp.33-36)*

4.2.4 THE PERIOD COVERING 1990 MASTER PLAN AND AFTER 1990 MASTER PLAN

In the beginning of the 1970s, Yenışehir became a city center that competes with Ulus. There are four main reasons of Yenışehir why it emerged as a second center. First was the new location of Parliament Building in Bakanlıklar. In addition, the public agencies and branches of banks were opened in Yenışehir increasing the prestige of the area. Second was the emphasis of the north-south axis becoming a main artery of Atatürk Boulevard. Third was the low-income class that bought houses in Ulus. On the other hand, middle and high income classes were preferring more prestigious places. Forth and last reason was that the inability of Ulus to expand with its existing physical and social structure. Therefore, specialized central activities moved to Yenışehir (Bilgen and Özcan, cited in Aksel Gürün, 2000, p.93).

At the mean time, Ankara Metropolitan Area Master Plan Offices (AMAMPO) were tasked to prepare the urban development plan. The 1990 Master Plan took the structural plan techniques as its base.

Structural plan proceeded in two levels. At the first level, it included written reports and main scheme which defines the land-use and development policy. Structural plan was also called as the strategy plan since it is not only used to produce land use but also to produce strategic decisions about elements of urban such as physical surrounding, population and labor, residential areas, working areas, transportation network, social services. At the second level, the local plans were produced for a determined area. Therefore, it aims to organize district plans that include comprehensive plan of city's part; action area plan for problematic areas that need short term solutions; and subject plan for particular subjects regarding city (Günay, 2005, p. 94).

AMAMPO was directed by Haluk Alatan and Özcan Altaban who were architect origin city planners in between 1970 and 1975.

In 1970s, the core area of the city pressed in because of the topographical boundaries at the north, east and south. Besides, peripheries of the core areas were surrounded by squatting areas. In this sense AMAMPO aimed to develop city through the periphery, while controlling the planning of core area. Priority while developing the west corridor was given at the north side of the İstanbul road in Batıkent region and at the west side surrounding of Ayaş road. The settlement of Etimesgut and Sincan and also the construction of suburban train was prominent idea with the Batıkent subway idea. The west corridor was not only developed as a settlement but also the development was supported with the industries that are at İvedik, Ostim, Şaşmaz, İstanbul road and Osmaniye (Günay, 2005, pp.97,98).

Both Batıkent and Sincan were necessary developments for the population growth of the city but at the same time were developed to prevent squatting housing at those areas. In Sincan case the idea was creating other foci for the city by developing both industry and residential zones by taking European cities as an example. On the other hand Batıkent was developed with its subway system that connects Batıkent to Ulus and Kızılay and with intense cooperative process to target middle and high-middle income group. However, the result of the application was criticized by authorities since the center of the settlement couldn't be created so that residential buildings couldn't be integrated at the settlement. Two new settlements that are Eryaman and Elvankent in between Sincan and Batıkent affected the development of Ankara's periphery. While Eryaman settlement was constructed successfully, Elvankent settlement has uncharacterized urban fabric since they constructed it according to investor's choice rather than Behruz Çinici's choice. Besides Batıkent and Sincan, Çayyolu was developed since high income groups also will to settle at the peripheries. Even

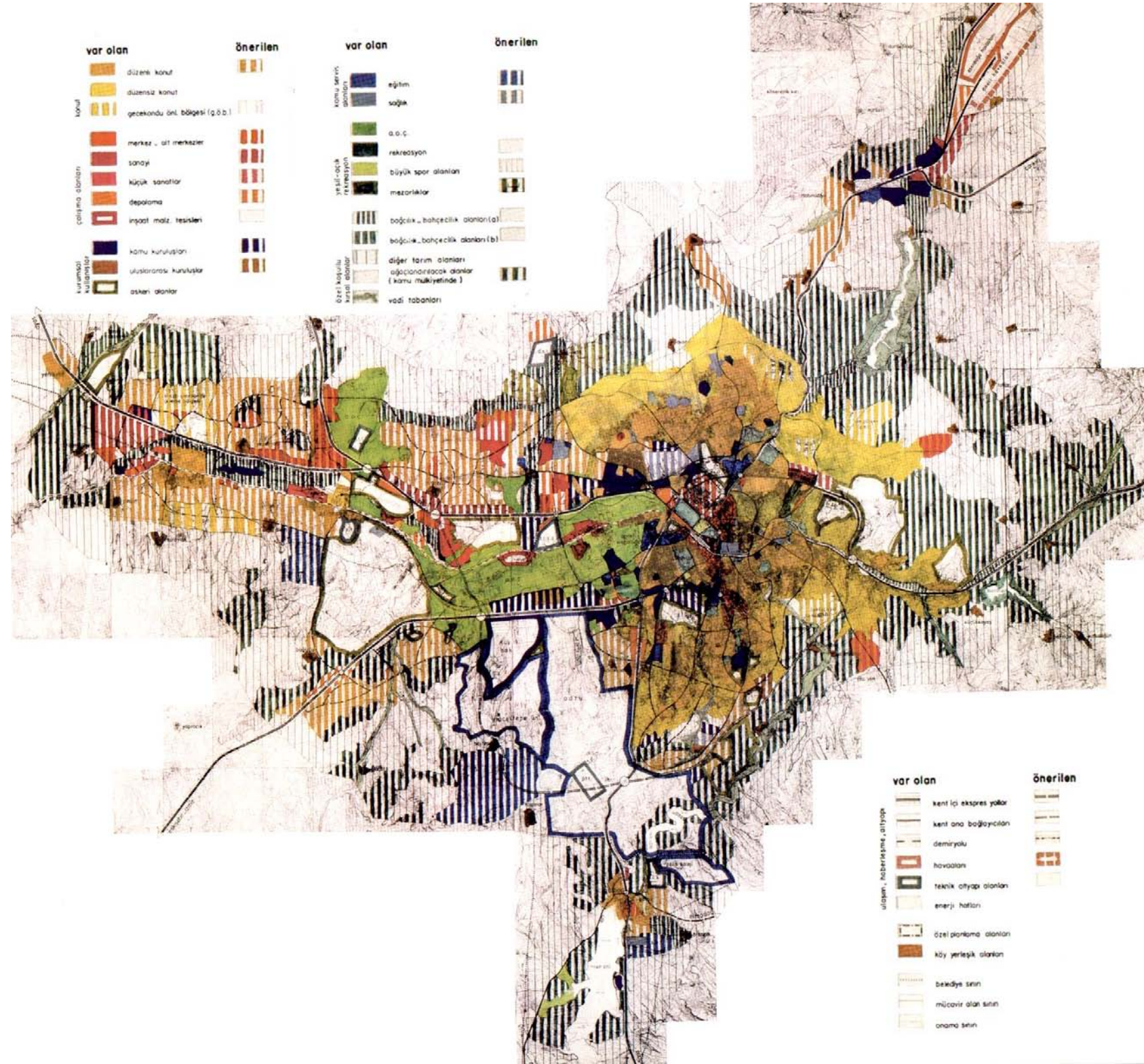


Figure 4.4 1990 Master Plan (Resource: Baykan Günay's archive)

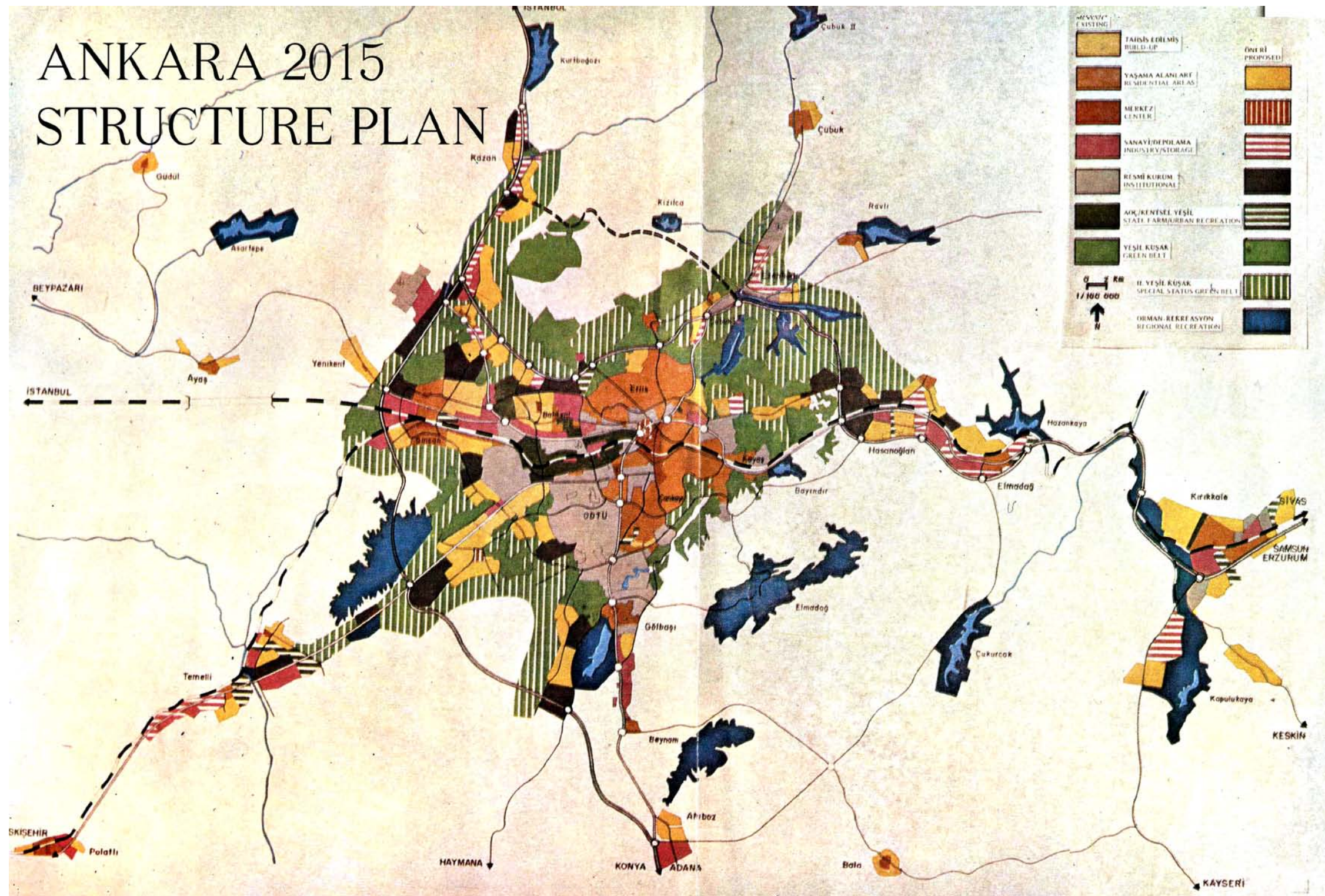
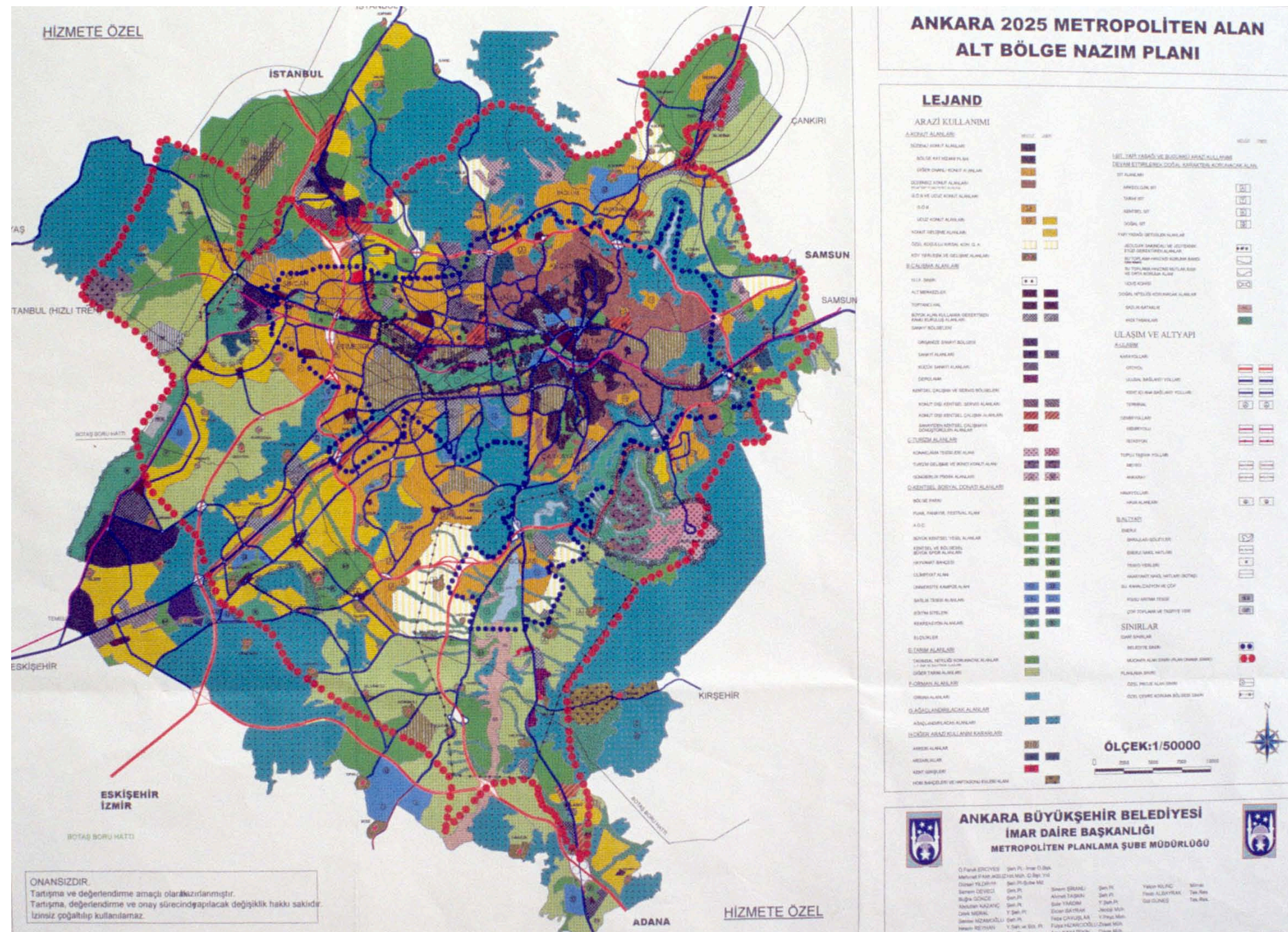


Figure 4.5 2015 Master Plan (Resource: Baykan Günay's archive)



though Çayyolu was designed as a whole and buildings were in a harmony, after the era of Ankara Metropolitan Area Master Plan Bureau it was created disharmonious urban settlement with an excuse of difficulty of land consolidation (Günay, 2005, p.99). Lastly, the land of AOÇ, METU and Hacettepe University that had been excluded from plans, was a part of the green belt in 1990 Master Plan. Green belt was completed at the north, east and south of the city and the core area was isolated totally (Günay, 2005, p.105).

At the end of 1970s the center consisted of three sub-centers that are Ulus, Kızılay and Tunalı Hilmi Street that was developed alongside Kavaklıdere-Çankaya. The functions of these sub-centers developed parallel with the status of dwelling groups, while retail commercials were mostly in Kızılay, wholesale commercials were mostly in Ulus, and also most of the printing houses and some kind of production and reparation functions were at the Kızılay too. In this sense, Ulus continued to serve to low-paid workers, civil servant and tradesman while it started to be a center includes cheap hotels, local characterized kebab shop and eating house. Meanwhile, Kızılay undergo a transformation since restaurants and patisseries that served to intellectuals closed in 1960s and bars that served to large mass of people quickly, buffets that sold kebabs and sandwiches, restaurants and coffees were opened instead. The style of the places and music in that areas changed arabesk type of music was emerged on the streets. Third sub-center which is Tunalı Hilmi turned out to be a center including banks, cinema that shows foreign films and patisserie like function and also become center of professional service (Osman, 1998, pp.146-147). (Figure 4.4)

Despite the great success of Ankara Metropolitan Area Master Plan Bureau by means of periphery development and west corridor decision, it was closed in 1983.

Two master plans are prepared after 1990 master plan by considering the properties of period that are 2015 master plan and 2025 master plan. 2015 master plan proposed policy and principles for macro form of city by analyzing the city from 1990 master plan.

Günay (2005, pp.108-110) also describes 2015 master plan starting with the population assumption that is 5.000.000 in 2015 so that planners chose multi-corridor system rather than developing a new macro form. In this multi corridor system they proposed double veined transportation network instead of single one. As a result, the design of highway changed and turned to ring road around Ankara, and also multi corridor development strategy stayed as an idea since the growth in population decreased. (Figure 4.5)

After 2015 master plan 2025 master plan was prepared by Directorate of Construction Affairs of Metropolitan Municipality of Ankara with chairmanship of Raci Bademli in between 1989 and 1994. First works of 2025 Master plan showed that ring highway that surrounds Ankara created new speculation area and there exist lots of local plans as well as 1990 Master plan that exclude the integrity of the city. Moreover, according to law that was made in 1984 squatting areas were demolished and developed with detached apartment blocks in square city blocks rather than rehabilitation of these areas. There in these old squatting areas high-rise buildings that are uncharacterized, have weak public space and are located in steep slope were emerged. While rehabilitation plans and transformations caused high dense population of middle and high-middle income groups in the bowl, high income groups spread to south west periphery of the city and these ruined the equalitarian attitude of 2015 master plan. Moreover, after Galeria was opened in İstanbul in 1987, Atakule and Karum were opened in Ankara in 1989 and 1991. Spreading from the center was supported with new foci that are created by shopping malls, while some of the shopping malls were in local level some of them were served to all city but in any way they were decrease the power of center (Günay, 2005, p.110-115). (Figure 4.6)

Also both in these periods the most important incident in production of structure is refreshment in mass house constructions that is appealing to middle-high and high income groups. They act as a

settlement by themselves with social facilities they include and they have high standards with high prices as Sey (1998) mentions. Besides as Osmay (1998) indicates in both periods the production based services are getting dense the consumption based services began to be outside the city. The reason to spread of facilities to new sub centers is the mass housing construction that is mentioned, both with mass housing and consumption facilities the city center is shifted. Also as Ekinci (1998, pp.196-197) said the regulations that allow the structuring based on rent while remitting the squatter houses and illegal structuring; shutting down the master plan bureaus so that leaving the idea of master plan and passing the period of speculative subscale partial plans; in the process of privatization, marketing by means of being zoned for construction of public management that should serve to public benefit; allowing to illegal development of municipalities and governorate; and using in speculative purpose of natural-historical-archeological protected area create the basis of illegal urbanization.

4.3 IDENTITY OF ANKARA AS A CAPITAL CITY OF TURKEY

The character of Ankara's identity can be studied under two historic periods: The period before the 1950s and the period after the 1950s. Jansen and Lörcher planned Ankara as the capital city of the newly founded Republic. They tried to create a 'modern', 'secular', and a western-modeled city with all their successful and unsuccessful plan decisions. However, after the 1950s, the modern image of Ankara changed. The following sections seek to explain the changing identity of Ankara in time.

4.3.1 IDENTITY OF ANKARA IN MODERNIZATION PERIOD (1923-1950)

Tankut (1993) claims that there are other factors, like political, economical and social forces, than physical ones in the spatial development of capital cities. Capital city is a leader city of a country where the leading people of government, national politics, arts and science meet, and where important decisions are taken. In her book called "Bir Başkentin İmarı Ankara: 1929-1939", Tankut (1993) mentions four cities (Ankara, Canberra, Islamabad and Brasilia) which became the capital cities in the 20th century. The most impressive common ground of these cities is that they are the products of political decisions and acts. Therefore, being capital city is a political act; there is no economical advantage of developing a new capital city; on the contrary, it is a heavy duty for a government. In these four capital cities, the major aims were to create a new symbol for a new regime and to accomplish the socio-political acts; i.e., independence, national unity, nationalization, and modernization (Tankut, 1993). Even new capital cities are the symbols of new regime. Being a symbol is not the only expectation from capital cities; they are also expected to satisfy all the necessities of a new world understanding and to reflect its suitable life style.

Tekeli (2001) states that every political regime, especially single-party regimes, uses architecture as one of the tools to represent their ideology. In this sense, urban design and architecture have close relation with politics. Especially, architecture and urban design in capital city is a great symbol of existing ideology of government. As Batuman (2009) quotes from Lefebvre, the communal existence of production relations depends on spatial existence of it, it only exists by reflecting itself to places.

Tekeli (1998) explains the aim of developing Ankara as a capital city of Turkey while it was a little settlement in the middle of Anatolia as "constructing an example city to constitute a modern and civil life; leading to other cities of Anatolia for urbanization with these new norms that are developed in this new urban area and most importantly symbolizing the successes of the Republic in this new capital city".

Likewise, Türkoğlu (2009) claims that the main aim behind creating a capital city was to develop a model to other Turkish cities, with its streets, squares, parks, government buildings and private

structures. At the same time, leading to Turkey by modernizing the society and making people experience both social and cultural aspects of the modern life was another target for the creation of an exemplary capital city (Türkoğlu, 2009). In the 1930s, a modern city life tried to be developed despite all problems of the period (Uludağ, 2010). Being first big city of the modernization project, Ankara was considered as the symbol of the new ideology and the success of the new regime (Uludağ, 2010).

As Habermas argues, to create a capital city of democratic regime and modern society, public spaces were the most important tools (Sargin, 2009, p.11). Public space design represents the democratic identity and enlightenment era. Besides, public arena and modernization are mutually related with each other, since public space is important for pluralism and democratic scene. Also, Cengizkan (2002) claims that the identity of individuals in the nation state is developed in communal spaces, such as coffee shops, art galleries, theatres, concert halls, publishing houses, social clubs, academies and universities. Celebrations, acts, concerts, and shows enhance the social interactions which result in the development of urban identity (Özdemir, 2009, p.145).

According to Kılınç (2009, pp.123-124), the development of public spaces in Ankara was vital for the new republic ideology and its representation in two reasons. First, public places would be the urban spaces which would make Ankara a real modern city, just like European capital cities, with its modern streets, large boulevards and modern citizens, by fulfilling the needs of modern life. There existed new kind of an urban organization with new economic and social relations. Even though traditional life continued, it could not be at the centre of the social life. The second reason is related to the metaphoric relations between the public and the social, cultural and communal project of the Republic ideology, such as the development of *Sihhiye* as a metaphor of 'health'. This was important for the Turkish modernization, which aimed to create not only a new government, but also a new life style from society to family (Kılınç, 2009, pp.123-124). Inspired from Sitte, Jansen considered the public places of Ankara as the outputs of the efforts to create the city as an aesthetic and art object (Kılınç, 2009). Because, re-creation of spiritual values and excitements that hold community together can only be possible through public places.

Both Lörcher and Jansen were under the influence of Sitte's approach that emphasized on the concepts of 'aesthetics', 'city health', 'healthy city' in designing cities and places. Based on both the importance of public places for the development of a national identity, and the dominant city planning approach of Sitte, Ankara was developed with a system of public space, including squares, streets, parks and other open spaces. Both Lörcher and Jansen Plans included green spaces, reaching to the main roads and green canals, as well as the pedestrian roads and the 'garden city' concept. As Yalın (2009, p.195) mentions, in the first years of Republic, green areas in the city was of great value in the modernization project of the Republic, because they were the resting and walking areas that created modern-life images. Besides, as Keskinok (2009) claims, apart from being symbol, Ankara needed to create places with new regime, administration and new life. Therefore, both Lörcher and Jansen tried to develop the places of socialization and public usage to transform the traditional society to a modern society. Gençlik Park, Culture Park, Community Park, Nation Park, and Community Center Park were named on purpose, because these were the places of entertainment, resting, exercising, but at the same time, they were the places of social and cultural activities. Urban parks, as other public places, were the prestigious places that reflected the Republic ideology and national ideals of the capital city (Özdemir, 2009). While they provided the society with an opportunity to fulfill their recreational needs with their modern image, they were the places of socialization and the places to participate into city life. While Ankara left the image of rural savannah area, it embraced the new urban image, conscious of being citizen and new socialization goal with the help of the parks. Republic Parks were the common places for all genders and cultures. In contrast with the past, they were located in the center of the city to strengthen this unification

attitude. Therefore, like other public places, parks and public gardens were placed in the middle of new daily life of Turkey (Keskinok, 2009, pp. 47-48).

In this respect, Abdi İpekçi Park, Zafer Park, Kızılay Park, Güvenpark, TBMM Garden and Assembly Park, Embassies' Parks, and most importantly, Gençlik Park were of great importance for the modernization process. Abdi İpekçi Park is a symbol of the contemporaneity and determination of Republic revolutions with sprinkler of Remzi Savaş¹ and Hands sculpture of Metin Yurdakul² that were one of the first civil plastic elements of Turkey. Zafer Park, on the other hand, includes the statue of Atatürk, placed in the middle of it. These parks were the resting places for those who walked on the boulevard or had some business somewhere on or around the boulevard. Especially in summer, they were used as the spaces for pleasure with the sprinkler. Kızılay Park was one of the most important parks that modern life occurred. There was a pool with sculpture in this park; and that is why it was called 'Havuzbaşı' (Figure 4.7). Güvenpark had a square-park character (today, Kızılay Square). It was one of the leading parks of the new Republic ideology. However, it lost its identity and appearance in time which will be examined in Chapter 5 in detail. TBMM Garden and Assembly Park were designed by Clemens Holzmeister with the sense of the public space of new ideology. Also, Embassies' parks, which were located the area from Kuşluköy corner to the Presidential Palace, were designed to enhance the modern image of Ankara (Memlük, 2009, pp.83-85).



Figure 4.7 Havuzbaşı (Resource: Memlük, 2009, p.76)



Figure 4.8 Gençlik Park (Resource: Keskinok, 2009, p.157)

Last, probably the most important park of Ankara is Gençlik Park, as it was build to operate as the new kind of communal place, and to represent the ideology of new regime and the spirit of the society. It was located on a very large site. The beautification of the city and the need for recreation cannot be enough to explain the bigness of this park. There were lots of opinions behind the idea of designing Gençlik Park (Figure 4.8). One of them was to calm people after the period of war, since the opening of Güven Park was the big news of those days that gave way the anxiety of people after the war. To provide ideal places for modernization of both daily and social lives, the boulevards and modern structures were not enough. There needed space for all people without segregating them in terms of gender, status and ethnicity. Gençlik Park was developed to this end. In the fist years, it served as a recreation area, meeting place and activity center in all seasons. All citizens - women, men and children - rested, entertained, and exercised. Even the visitors from other cities first came to Gençlik Park. In this sense, Gençlik Park not only changed the daily life of Ankara citizens, but it also acted as a symbol which strengthened the Republic regime and its power. Gençlik Park was the social place where radical social, cultural and political reforms took place. It was a big part of the modernization project that sought to change the traditional life style and to generate a new 'modern' and 'contemporary' life style. Before Ankara became the capital of the Republic, there had been few recreation places, including only vineyard houses, gardens and plateaus. But, after the development of Gençlik Park, it became the most important recreation, meeting and activity area of Ankara that symbolized national ideology, power and regime as a public place (Uludağ, 2010, pp. 157-162).

Beside urban parks, the development of Atatürk Boulevard – stretching from Ulus Square to the Presidential Palace- is another important urban element which represented new life style of the Republic regime (Keskinok, 2009, p.ix). Atatürk Boulevard that was developed according to modern life style was important element of planning and designing of Ankara as a capital city. The city and the boulevard had to be shaped according to modern life style and civilized citizens. In this sense, the Boulevard was planned as the major artery along which both important public buildings and open public spaces were located for citizens to socialize with the help of cultural, artificial and aesthetic

elements. Important public and government institutions and buildings were located along the Boulevard as the testimony of modern, secular and contemporary Republic. They were some vital components of modern life that was tried to be imposed by the Republic ideology. The activities that were located on the Boulevard aimed to create new, modern citizens nurtured by the ideas of new culture, and gave a meaning to place. Atatürk Boulevard was the result of the concerns about the shaping of the city and generating of new, modern citizens in the early years of the Republic. These concerns resulted from a political attitude that overlapped with the planning and designing understanding of the regime, rather than city planners. Therefore, the Boulevard was the space where power and government relations were shaped and manifested; that is, the regime used the Boulevard as a tool to represent their ideology (Keskinok, 2009, p. 55-56).

Besides, cultural and art activities, as well as food and entertainment places along Atatürk Boulevard changed the life style in Ankara, and shaped the social life and the identity of Ankara (Figure 4.9 and Figure 4.10). This social life was nourished in cinemas, theaters, music facilities, book shops, libraries, art clubs, Yenişehir sport clubs, specialist shops with high-quality ceramics and china, patisseries, kiosks, restaurants, hotels, night clubs and culture clubs. Evening walking on the boulevard became a tradition for residents of Yeni Şehir. Therefore, with these facilities and activities, Atatürk Boulevard became a place of educated people and students who met each other, had fun, and relaxed; and this created the identity of Ankara in that period (Dinçer, 2009, pp. 32-33).



Figure 4.9 Ankara Yenişehir Chorus in Havuzbaşı (Resource: Keskinok, 2009, p.99)



Figure 4.10 29th October Festival in 1939 in Hakimiyet-i Milliye Square (Resource: Keskinok, 2009, p.136)

Districts located around Atatürk Boulevard were designed, planned and even named in order to enhance the identity of Ankara as the capital city of the new regime. For example, Sıhhiye was designed as the representation of a healthy capital city, comprising a healthy society and healthy individuals both in literal and metaphoric senses. In order to produce healthy individuals of Turkish Republic, there needed to develop a healthy spatial organization. Thus, Sıhhiye was designed as the urban quarter of health facilities, and at the same time, the most important spot that aimed to create healthy individuals, a healthy society and a healthy city. The architecture of the quarter strengthened this identity. For example, one of the most important public agencies was Public Health Institute (*Hıfzısıhha Enstitüsü*). On the façade of the institute building, there was a fresco of a half-naked mythological character, representing hygiene, sanitation and health (Figure 4.11). With this figure, the image of Turkish women was also recreated as contemporary, socialist and responsible to the state.

Naming places and districts were also important to create Ankara as the modern, secular and civic capital city of the Republic, because place names helped to clearly show the ideology of government, and the civic and cultural modernization of Turkey. Similar to Sıhhiye's story, Ulus was named to identify the creation of a new, healthy nation from scratch. While Ulus was the place that a successful national battle was achieved and the Republic was founded, Kızılay was named to represent the place where the Republic was institutionalized and the government became independent (Kılınç, 2009, pp.123-139).



Figure 4.11 Hygieia sculpture on the façade of Public Health Institute (Resource: Keskinok, 2009, p.170)

Yeni Şehir was developed as a new part of Ankara, representing the new modern life style during the single-party regime period (1925-1945). During these years, without wearing a tie, a man was not allowed walking in Yeni Şehir. Also, in these years, Yenişehir was associated with the new bourgeoisie identity (Batuman, 2009, pp.48-49). With the participation of foreign employees of embassies and high-level bureaucrats, tea parties and balls of Yenişehir villas produced a new kind of bourgeois life style in Ankara. While streets in Yenişehir were the places of formal march of the past, they became the stages for the new bourgeoisie with their costumes and rituals. Havuzbaşı (today, Kızılay Square) in Yeni Şehir was the major public space of this part of Ankara. Güven Park, which was an urban park mostly visited by families, accommodating a Zabit monument to secure the safety of the park (Batuman, 2009). It will be studied in detail in Chapter 5. Kızılay was a tidy and clean area with plenty of green areas. The dwellers of Yenişehir used to walk or spend time at the cafés after work. Thus, Yenişehir was a clear testimony of a modern neighborhood of the Republic regime, with its public spaces, inhabitants, activities and life style.



Figure 4.12 Ziraat Bank (Resource: Hasol in www.mimarlikmuzesi.org)

New architecture styles and buildings types also enhanced the new identity of Ankara. This can be seen by the architecture of the major public buildings located from Ulus to Sıhhiye. For example, in the 1940s, İş Bankası Headquarter was constructed next to Sümerbank in Ulus as a magnificent castle of the revolution and a symbol of industrialization of country. Central Bank of Turkey (*Merkez Bankası*) was built and opened in 1932 to replace Ottoman Bank in order to represent the country's independence. Also Ziraat Bank (Figure 4.12), Tekel Headquarter, Bank of Provinces (*İller Bankası*), Emlak Eytam Bank were built to create an independent economy. Community center (*Halkevi*) located on Namazgah Hill, was another important building with its architecture. People could see and watch Atatürk Boulevard from this building. Being open to replace Turkish Hearths (*Türk Ocakları*) (Figure 4.13) with their Islamic character, community center operated as the center of national, secular and cultural development. Exhibition Hall (*Sergi Evi*) was built to exhibit art works, as well as gave information about the development and products about settlement, nourishment, textile and industry. Stating that "the most genuine guide in life is science", Atatürk put a great significance on education. A number of educational institutions, mostly located in Sıhhiye, were founded in the very early years of the Republic. For example, in Turkish Aeronautical Association (*Türk Hava Kurumu*), young people from all over the country were trained in modeling courses. Polytechnics were established to teach applied arts and sciences to the new generations of the Republic. Following the clothing reform of Atatürk, a politechnic for young women was built in Sıhhiye to teach fashion styling, tailoring, sewing, etc. Next to this polytechnic, Faculty of Linguistics, History and Geography of Ankara University was built to provide a higher education in Ankara. A quarter for public health, including The Ministry of Health, Public Health Institute, Medicine Schools, and Numune Hospital, was also developed in Sıhhiye. Also, Kızılay Headquarter was built in the district, to the further south of Sıhhiye, and gave its name to this district. The wife and daughter of casualties were educated in this institution, and they were employed in health facilities, or others were sent to women polytechnics. By giving them qualified skills and job opportunities, young women of the new Republic were prepared to struggle with the problems of modern daily life. A skyscraper (*Emekli Sandığı Gökdeleni*) was built in the early-1950s in the Kızılay Square. The fresco of

Kuzgun Acar¹ on that building manifests the industrialization and developed economy of the early Republic and represents the great value given to culture and art in these years (Erkan, 2009, pp.4-7).



Figure 4.13 Community Centre (old Turkish Hearths) (Resource: Hasol in www.mimarlikmuzesi.org)

The setting of a space, the structures and buildings and activities (affected by life style) are important in terms of the creation of individual and collective images, and thereby collective memory. For example, modern images about new Ankara were nurtured by the following elements of Hakimiyet-i Milliye Square (*today, Ulus Square*): 1- public and formal structures in the square, 2- changing body language of bourgeoisie by imitating the western cultural codes to be an example to rest of the citizens, 3- square and station street, 4- the usage of green areas in the square, 5- victory monument in the middle of the square (Yalim, 2009, p. 182). These elements helped the creation of the new collective memory of Ankara and Republic citizens. Various meetings and celebrations, commemorative ceremonies also helped to reproduce and transfer the collective memory of nation-state (Yalim, 2009, p. 182).

Monuments are also important to build the new images of Ankara and to produce the collective memory. They have primarily symbolic value, rather than functional value. Moreover, they are the means for remembering the past and for developing the future, by creating direct and powerful impacts (Yalim, 2009). In Ottoman Empire, 'monument' in public spaces was an alienated concept to Ottoman culture. Monuments were not replaced in public spaces until the modernization period of Ottomans. These monuments, which were commissioned to sculptors in Ottoman culture, were associated with both religious and non-religious activities. They were generally placed in the middle of green areas, around which people walked and took a rest. Likewise, in religious ceremonies, prayers in open space used to take place around these monuments. However, in the Republican period,

¹ A contemporary Turkish sculptor lived between 1928 and 1976.

except for few examples, monuments were located on the sites along the main urban artery of Ankara. The monuments of the early Republic included the sculptures of national and political leaders. In other words, they were generally the testimony of the new Republic authority and power.

To sum up, Ankara's identity was associated with the clean, modern and planned city of a secular, Westernized and contemporary Ankara with its buildings, architecture, public spaces, public artworks and the policies behind its urban plans until the end of the 1950s. After the 1950s, with the changing demographic, economic, social, and political conditions in both Turkey and the world, the identity of Ankara began to change, as will be explained in the following section.

4.3.2 IDENTITY OF ANKARA AFTER THE 1950s

The changes in the identity of Ankara after the 1950s can be analyzed under two periods. The first period starts with the multi-party regime (1946) to the 1980s. This period is characterized by the changes in economic policies, planning understanding of Nihat Yücel and Raşit Uygur. The second period starts with the 1980s when the neo-liberal policies and globalization have become dominant in the Turkish economy. After the 1950s, the identity of Ankara as the modern, secular and western-model city of the Republic's modernization project- changed. The changes which took place in public places, such as squares, parks and pedestrian roads, public buildings, commercial places and residential areas, have led to change in the identity of Ankara. Thus, the life style in the city has also changed accordingly.

The period between 1950 and 1980

Between the 1950s and the 1980s, Yücel-Uygur Plan led to rise building and population densities in the city, especially in Yeni Şehir. This started a new period for Ankara: a demolish and re-built process through which many buildings in Yeni Şehir primarily built in the early years of the Republic were knocked down and the new and higher apartment buildings were constructed. Thus, both the urban landscape and urban image of the former plans were lost in this period. This period is also characterized by the increase in the commercial functions in Kızılay. Yücel-Uygur Plan also changed the major approach to the public spaces. While the city started to be dominantly planned for the circulation and accessibility of vehicular traffic, pedestrians were undermined, as opposed to the approach of the previous period. Thus, the squares of the early Republic which operated as the major public and social spaces of the city started to lose their significance. Even some squares, like Havuzbaşı (now, Kızılay Square) became the major crossroads of the city arteries. The sculptures in these squares, which were built as the symbols of the new Republic, started to be seen as the obstacles hindering vehicle traffic, and moved to other places. Therefore, the new spatial arrangements in squares, boulevards and streets according to the effective vehicular traffic circulation and the fast movements of people led to the loss of identity of the public spaces of the Republican ideology. In the new streets, boulevards, and parks, people did not walk, sit down, spend time as much as they used to do. The open public spaces of the 1960s and 1970s were not dominant places of public life of Ankara anymore.

During the multi-party regime, the bourgeoisie lost their power and hegemony, while urban space started to be produced through demands of mainly migrants (i.e., working class). The populist policies of Democrat Party led to the development of illegal housing neighborhoods in these years in Ankara. In the 1960s and 1970s, Kızılay started to change and turned into the lively city center of Ankara, after the regulation in 1952. This regulation helped the organization of the ground and basement floors of the newly developed high-storey buildings in Kızılay as the shopping arcades and their upper floors for the commercial functions, such as fashion houses, photographers, hair dressers (Batuman, 2009, pp. 53-54). Advertisement companies, insurance and real estate firms, local and

foreign travel agencies and the branches of the banks started to be located in Kızılay (Batuman, 2009, pp.53-54). Luxury hotels and restaurant in Kızılay also increased in this period (Batuman, 2009, pp.53-54).

With the growth of commercial activities, the job opportunities increased in Kızılay. These jobs were employed by the migrants, mainly inhabited in the periphery neighborhoods. The need to commute between illegal squatter neighborhoods and the city center led to the emergence of minibus (*dolmuş*) in these years. Consequently, different from the earlier years when Kızılay was the place of elite groups only, it became an area of heterogeneity, not only in terms of activities, but also social user groups to get together, interact and intermingle. This heterogeneity could be clearly seen in Kızılay, which functioned as the service place for luxury consumption of bourgeoisie, the commercial center for big capitals, the political stage for workers' protests, and a place which helped the inclusion of squatter inhabitants to urban life (Batuman, 2009, pp.56-64).



Figure 4.14 Emek Office Building (Resource: Keskinok, 2009, p.206)

In these years, two projects of Democratic Party (DP) became prominent. One was Kocatepe Mosque as the extension of the religious dimension of DP's ideology; and the second one was Emek Office

Building as the representation of the capital's power (Figure 4.14). Therefore, while heterogeneity in social groups and land-use functions began to appear in Ankara in the 1960s and 1970s, the ideology of power changed the space, people behaviors and life style accordingly. Before that, Yenışehir was formed physically according to the Boulevard axis from old center to Çankaya. In these years, Güven Monument was the major landmark of Kızılay. However, after the 1970s, Mithat Paşa Avenue that starts from Sıhhiye and ends with Kocatepe Mosque became an important artery of the city. On the other hand, new skyscraper of Emek Office Building emerged as a new symbol that surpassed the Monument. This skyscraper introduced a new iconography to the city. It had a homogenous floor plan with open offices which represented new capitalist era. Besides, with shopping facilities at three floors, it collected the consumption facilities in itself (Batuman, 2009, pp. 56-59).

In these years, important urban problems appeared in the crowded and heterogeneous city center of Ankara, such as the loss of urban manners, inadequate public services, increasing crime rate and prostitutions. The squatter housing neighborhoods and inhabitants were seen as the major responsible groups for these problems. Consequently, indoor public spaces, such as Ülkü Alan Arcade, Kocabeyoğlu Arcade, Büyük Bazaar, Zafer Bazaar, emerged in this period to provide sterile environment in this polluted, crowded and unsafe city. These indoor public spaces used to be placed in the ground of the high-rise buildings. Thus, bourgeois classes found or invented new indoor shopping places for themselves. This, however, significantly damaged the original approach of the Republic towards open public spaces in Ankara, and the identity of Ankara as the city of social, lively open public spaces. Along with the neglect of open public spaces in the city by the municipality, people unfortunately could not find the public places in Ankara to express themselves (Batuman, 2009, pp.64-68).

While Kızılay gained importance in these years, Ulus lost its political and economic significance, and daily dynamism. It became a commercial center for low-income groups. Especially the buildings representing Republican People's Party, like Ankara Palace, lost their prestige in the 1950s, following the election victory of Democrat Party. Ulus Square also lost its significance due to the new green area proposals of the municipality. This municipal policy negatively affected Ankara's identity. Undermining or neglecting Ulus Square meant the loss of the importance of the role of this public space in Ankara, thereby its disappearance in the collective memory and the identity of Republic Ankara. Likewise, the construction of 100th Anniversary Shopping Center (100. Yıl Çarşısı) by Ulus Square crossroads between the years 1965-1967 was another important municipal intervention which led to the loss of the character of the square (Yalim, 2009, pp.209-212).

The period after the 1980s

The coup d'état of 12 September 1980 and the economic decisions of 24 January were the turning points of Turkish history. From a welfare-state approach, Turkey's economy tried to be re-structured according to the neo-liberal approach and globalization. Both the capital and cities have been re-structured since the 1980s. This restructuring process has been fed by two processes of population and capital. While urban population has increased particularly through the migration, the labor changed place. The insecure conditions in East Anatolia also increased the migration from rural areas to urban places. On the other hand, capital changed its spatial arrangement because of three economic policies of that era. The first one is that the state abandoned the inward-oriented industrialization model and adopted the outward-oriented growth with exportation. The second one is that the state gave importance to telecommunication investments as an infrastructure policy to increase the integration with world market and to take place in globalization period. The third one is that the state opted to develop new institutions that global economy needed, such as constitution of capital market, liberal trade and production zones and making important reforms in banking sector.

After 1985, the functions of central business district (CBD) in Ankara moved from Kızılay to Gaziosmanpaşa. Local and international prestigious services, such as Hilton and Sheraton, also moved to Gaziosmanpaşa. The first shopping mall of Ankara, called Atakule, was built in Çankaya and opened in 1989. Similar to its counterparts in the world, Atakule has had an iconic architectural style and it has been a multi-functional complex with offices, conference hall, shopping and entertainment services. Following the construction of Atakule, Çankaya has become another attractive place for CBD functions. Residential developments for high income groups, along with business centers and prestigious shops, have spread to the south-east direction towards Köroğlu Avenue in the 1990s. The second important extension of CBD has started to develop through İnönü Boulevard and along Eskişehir Road after the 1980s. Besides, in the 1990s, the head offices of press institutions, like big newspapers and TRT were constructed on the ring roads (Osmay, 1998, p. 149).

Regarding the retail sector, the department stores, such as Çarşı, Beğendik, and Gima, was first placed in Kızılay in the 1980s. After a while, shopping malls started to open in Ankara. The very first ones are Karum and Atakule (located in Gaziosmanpaşa and Çankaya, respectively), Galleria and Bilkent shopping complex in outer city. In the late-1990s and the 2000s, many shopping malls were built in the periphery of the city on the major arteries of the city. Armada, Cep A, Kentpark, Gordion on Eskişehir road, A City on the old İstanbul road, and Forum near the ring road are some of these shopping malls turning Ankara into a consumption-oriented city. These shopping malls have attracted retail and other businesses from the city center, and have led to the decline in the economic vitality of both Ulus and Kızılay. As they do not operate only for shopping, but also for entertainment, they have become attractions for people in different ages, income and gender in Ankara. The development of shopping malls outer city has caused a significant decrease in the visits of Ulus, Kızılay, Gaziosmanpaşa and Çankaya for shopping purpose. However, the development in the metropolitan cities is arbitrary rather than planned; because of this big shopping malls that affected the macroform of the city by choosing location in it. As Osmay (1998) indicates, while necessities in transportation and parking lot caused traffic jam, intense competition caused increase in unearned income. On the other hand, employment structure and land-use in the city changed in the city.

The residential developments in the periphery of the city, especially suburbanization, started to the north-east of Ankara, in Batıkent and Eryaman, and to the east, in Bilkent, Beysukent, Ümitköy, Çayyolu and Yaşamkent. The employees mostly locate in the northern part of Ankara; also in the southern part of Ankara they reside in Çiğdem, Dikmen, Oran and Öveçler. On the other hand, most of the employers reside around Tunalı. Other than Tunalı they locate in Bahçelievler, Emek and Çayyolu district on the south, Tepebaşı, Gümüşdere, Subayevleri, Şefkat, Ekin on the south. Self-employed people locate in Ulus and environs also with Bahçekapı, Eryaman and Sincan (Aksel Gürün, 2000, p.102).

After 1980, the aim is not protecting form the west. The aim is rather become integrated with west and compete with them. Also in this period most of the population lives in urban area. Even though, these people are benefited from all opportunities of urban area, the expecting cultural transform of modernization cannot be achieved. Rather than cultural transform, this period produces its own culture like arabesque music (Tekeli, 2001, pp.32-33). In other words, two different cultural structures in cities began to seen. Besides, the business and commercial activities of Kızılay relocated to GOP and Çankaya. At the same time with new CBD development in Eskişehir Road, Kızılay becomes mediocre city center. As a result of these changes, even though Kızılay protects its heterogeneous structure, it has not modern and decent identity of Republic era anymore.

Briefly put, from the very first years when Ankara was chosen as a capital city, Ankara and the citizens of Ankara changed radically. In these years, Ankara had been just plateau in Anatolia, then was developed as a capital city of the new regime. It was developed as the exemplary for other

Turkish cities, as the testimony of the modernization, secularization and westernization of Turkey. Consequently, not only the spatial organization of the city, but also the institutional structure, the society, the culture were shaped and developed to achieve modern, secular and western-model country, society and culture. In Ankara, the new life style was emerged by the help of new buildings with different architectural styles, public places and public artworks. However, after the 1950s, Ankara's characteristics manifesting its identity as a capital of modern Turkey began to disappear, be neglected or undermined. Between the 1960s and the 1980s, both ideology of the power and economic understanding changed with the multi-party regime. The Yücel-Uybadin Plan also impacted on this outcome due to its planning approach whose focus was shifted from social conditions to economic necessities. But, especially after the 1980s, most dramatic change began to happen with the advances in technology and communication in both the world and Turkey. Concomitantly, the identity of Ankara radically changed. Public places such as squares, parks and pedestrian roads, public structures and commercial places, and residential areas are changed in identity so that identity of Ankara changed spatially. At the same time behavioral pattern of human so that identity of citizens also changed. Public places in Ankara aimed to collect people in different ages, cultures, sexes and create a democratic field through with communication. However, after 1980 public places are recreated as a part of a mass culture of global world. Moreover, public areas are recreated as a part of consumption. For example, Atatürk Orman Çiftliği was designed with the function of agriculture, production, recreation and green area. These functions served the planning attitude of the Republic era. People could produce and communicate in there. However, now it is recreated as a gigantic zoo and loses its identity as it is mentioned as Disneyfied places. In the same way, Ulus is redesigned with renovation projects, so that while it loses its identity, it becomes a part of a global consumption. It serves as a place for tourist as it is mentioned in museumised places. Therefore, after 1980 with the semantic shift in public spaces, identity that was formed in Republic era was lost.

CHAPTER 5

EVOLVING 'IDENTITY' OF GÜVENPARK

This chapter aims to analyze the changes in the identity of Güven Park from its construction period to today. It studies the historical evolution of the park, regarding its form or physical setting (design), activities in the park, and the meanings attached to this public space in different time periods. Secondly, this chapter focuses on the current state of the park, and seeks to analyze the park based on the same criteria. Spatial analyses through visual documents, direct observations and the interviews are used to assess the current identity of the park.

5.1 THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF GÜVEN PARK AND ITS EVOLVING IDENTITY

5.1.1. THE PERIOD BETWEEN THE 1920s AND THE 1950s

Between the years of 1925-1945, while villas were constructed in Yeni Şehir, life was getting diverse and citizens of Ankara began to get together in Kızılay Park in front of Kızılay Building. There was a pool with sculpture in this park. The most attractive public place of that time in the city was Kızılay Park which lost its importance following the construction of Güven Park in the 1930s as a new attraction for Ankara's bourgeoisie. Güven Park was constructed in front of Kızılay Park. The narrow side of the park faced to Sıhhiye-Ulus direction. This triangular-shaped park was located in Vekaletler District in Jansen Plan (see Figure 5.1). Austrian architect Clemens Holzmeister, who designed lots of buildings in Ministries (Bakanlıklar) District in the early Republic era, was commissioned for the design of the park (Ertura, 2005, p.6). The park was first named 'Emniyet Park (*Security Park*)' due to a monument called 'Emniyet monument' (Şenyapılı, 2004; cited in Ayoğlu, 2010, p.86). Then, the names of both the monument and the park were changed to Güvenlik (meaning '*security*', but in a new Turkish). Last, the name of the park was verbally shortened and turned into Güven Park, referring to the famous statement of Atatürk that was placed on the monument "Turk: Proud of Yourself, Work Hard, Trust Yourself" (*Türk, Öğün, Çalış, Güven*).

Güven Park was a part of a green system, based on Jansen Plan, which proposed to locate it on a land of 22000 m² (2.2 ha) and to have a '*square park*' character because of its central location. An invisible axis had an important role in the plan of the park. The bisector of this triangular axis divided Güven Park, Güven Monument, pools in the park, and the square known as 'Public Forum' (*Halk Forumu*) into two sections. The park was located behind the Ministry of Interior into two equal parts and this invisible axis reached to Ankara Castle as an important urban and historic landmark. This invisible axis also defined the geometrical placement of structures from Ankara Castle to Ministries District by passing through Güven Park (Keskinok, 2009, p.49) (Figure 5.1 and Figure 5.2). Many ministry buildings were located around the pedestrian road which was built along this symmetrical axis of Güvenlik Monument (Memlük, 2009). The area was ended with Turkish Grand National Assembly. However, nowadays, the pedestrian road does not exist anymore; it was demolished by the main vehicular roads (Figure 5.1 and Figure 5.2).

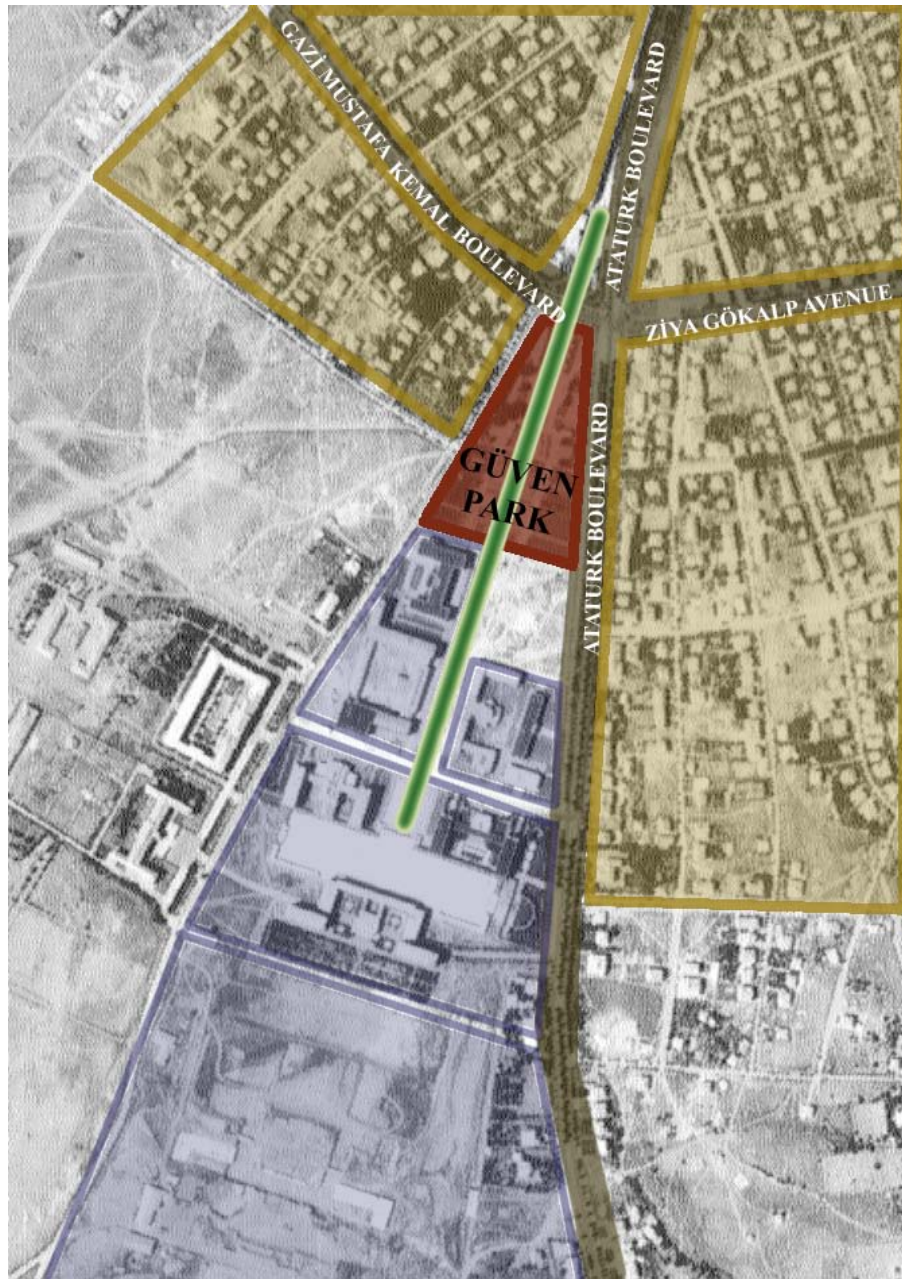


Figure 5.2 Güven Park in 1942 (Resource: drawn by author, on air photo of 1942 from Baykan Günay's personal archive)

Being a comforting place for the public officers of the new Republic and their families, Güven Park was a showcase of the new Republic ideology (Ertuna, 2005). Even though it was located in the new center of Ankara (i.e., Yeni Şehir), it was the gateway to the center of the Republic, especially for the people who used to come from Ulus, or outside of Ankara from the direction of train station. From the mid-1930s on, it served to support the modernization process of the Republic and its citizens. The crowd, who sat next to Havuzbaşı, watched the evening show of the city band, and rested after having a walk on the boulevard. Especially, after the construction of the Monument, Güven Park became a new focus of Ankara as a communal space (Ayoğlu, 2010). In the late-1930s and the 1940s, the Monument became a main destination of school trips; and in summer night, young people began to meet at Güven Park with their guitars and accordions (Ertuna, 2005). In those days, making noise and shouting of street sellers were forbidden before 8 am in order to protect Güven Park's decent image (Aksan, 2001; cited in Ayoğlu, 2010, p.91).



Figure 5.3 Güven Park in the 1930s (Resource: http://www.cankaya.bel.tr/oku.php?yazi_id=161)



Figure 5.4 Güven Park in the 1930s (Resource: [Keskinok, 2009, p. 203](#))

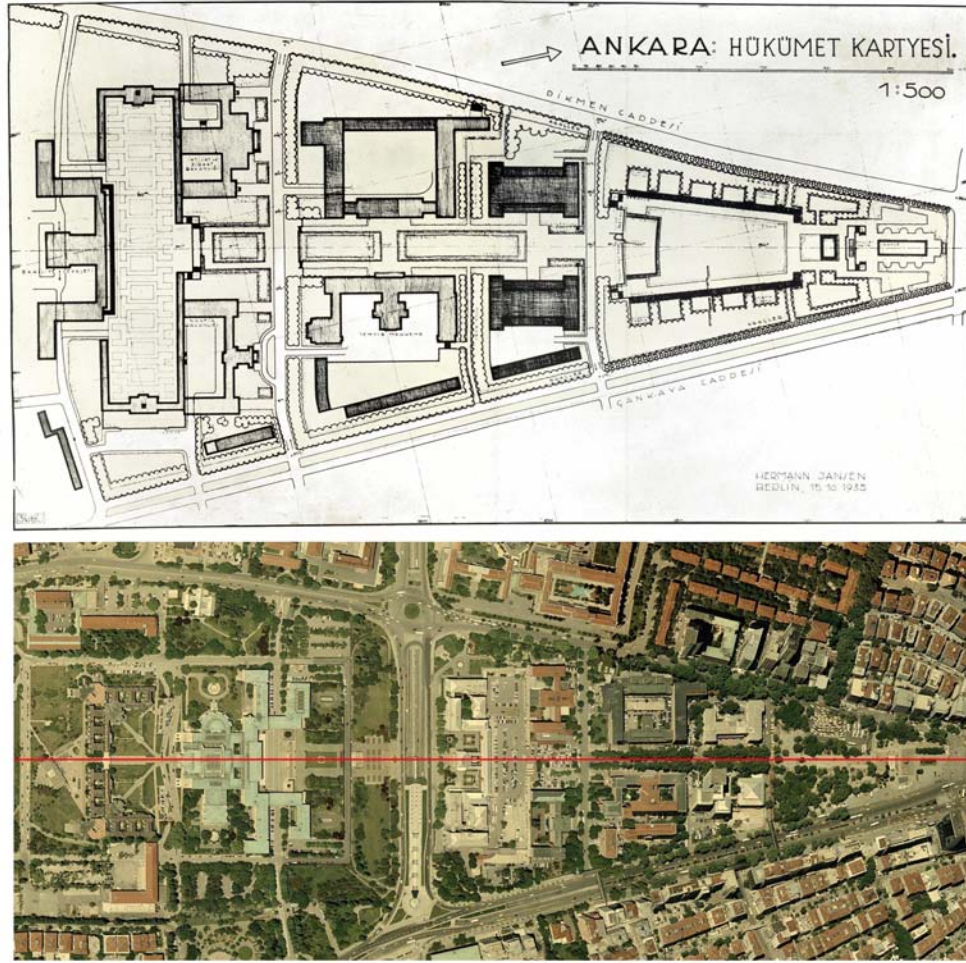


Figure 5.5 Güven Park in Jansen Plan (Resource: Baykan Günay's archive)

Beside the plan of the park, 'Güvenlik' Monument or 'Güven' Monument (also called 'Zabita' Monument before and during the construction) was of great importance for the identity of Ankara. Holzmeister designed the platform and set up the original idea of Güven Monument. For him, this work of art should be designed to reflect the idea of security and defense, and trust of the society in the state authority. The monument and the freskos that would express trust in police and gendarmerie would strengthen the Republic ideology, and reinforce the citizens' love and respect for Atatürk, and for new forces who would sacrifice their life for their duty (Ertuna, 2005, p.6). The Austrian famous sculptor, Anton Hanak, (1931-1934) was commissioned to design the group of sculptures and freskos of Güven Monument. But, he died before the completion of the Monument. After his death, Josef Throak (1934-1936), took over the work and he completed the Monument (Keskinok, 2009, p.49).

Hanak's position in the construction of sculpture is particularly important. He was 56 years-old when he joined the project and he did not have a public art project with such a large scale. So, the sculpture was not only the representation of republic ideology; but, for Hanak, it was also a means to show his talent and himself. His wishes about sculpture were limitless. He gave his full energy to this project, despite his economic and health-related problems.

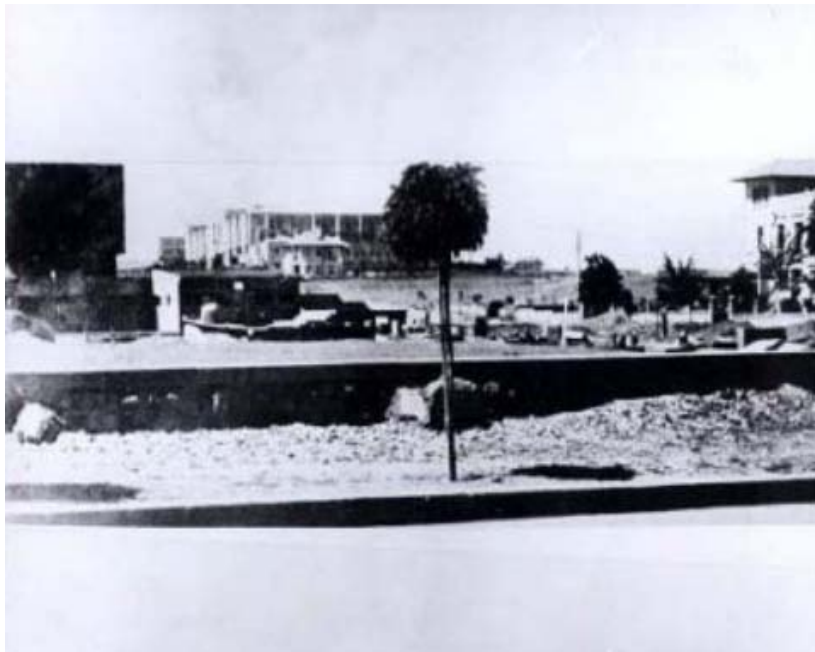


Figure 5.6 The construction of Güven Monument's platform (Resource: Ayoğlu, 2010, p. 89)

As for the expectations from Hanak about the sculpture, it should be depicted stable base that Turkish Republic raised on, order and security of the young Turkey, fearless construction workers checking out every stone of road which reach to happiness of Turkish society, and Turkish society's power that follow Atatürk in the future. Based on these expectations, Hanak narrated his first opinion about sculpture in 1931 as two giant bronze figures that represented Turkey with its old and young people which gush out from lava and sparkle inside the lava. It was written in his notes (*that was found later*) as: *"The sculpture should be the sign that address the society and leading for future. Both concept and the form of the sculpture should show the base of the Turkish Republic. It should be stone architectural work in front of the two giants that rose from the volcano and sparkle from the not dying fire of the metal. Both the symbol of thousand years old Turkey and the young Turkey that straighten above the stable base of Turkey should be represented. These two symbols stand together and constitute a whole. At the back side of the main wall dignified, safe and full life of Turkish people who struggle against the danger are represented by fresco figures and their movement that were carved"* (Ertuna, 2005, pp.7-8).

Hanak turned the police and gendarme to human figure that had symbolic meanings. The sculptor was approved with few changes. Especially people figures looking like Turkish were one of the important aspects that the commissioners paid attention. Hanak looked for a material for his sculpture in the travels to quarry with Holzmeister; and finally, he decided to use Ankara stone. His final drafts were approved. Just after the construction of the sculpture platform started, he finalized his sculptures in the notes at the budget proposal. He described the monument as giant figures that would represents army forces in the defense will and sanctity and kindness of Turkish people. Freskos would be located in both left and right sides of the bronze figure that was in front of the monument and which were 7 meter height and 6 meter long would depicted the police and gendarme, while they are doing their dangerous duty of save people. At the back side of the big block of the monument, it would be Atatürk as a genius who is a protector and savoir of the security of people and guiding people. And lastly, at the bottom fresco, the society was depicted with the figures of farmer, industrialist, weaver, craftsman, writer, artist working in peace (Ertuna, 2005, p.9) (Figure 5.6, Figure 5.7 and Figure 5.8).

After sending drafts, the writing of security was added to front elevation of the monument and besides they wanted depiction of army since they thought that army has an important role of salvation of nation and protection of freedom. However, Hanak refused to put army figure and proposed to make an abstraction of two main figures of police and gendarme, depicted them without clothes only with their arms would represent the whole army forces. Hanak decided to make these figure naked and in an ideal proportion of human beings. He also wanted to show the change in Turkey by showing new Turkey via a young man with a moustache, while showing old Turkey via a figure of an old man with beard, beret and shalwar. It was planned to represent police and gendarme by making sculpture half-naked. These half-naked sculptures represented not just police, gendarme and army, but also all citizens that fought for the defense of the country.

In those days, critics raised about the last drafts of the Monument. One was about covering the sexual organ of the young men figures, even though Hanka used these sexual organs to represent the energy, pluckiness and power. The other critics was about taking off the traditional cap of old man; and the last one was about the figures of Turkish people and the holding type of arm of young man (Ertuna, 2005, pp.9-10).



Figure 5.7 Güven Monument to the north direction in 2012 (Resource: Author's personal archive)



Figure 5.8 Güven Monument to the south direction in 2012 (Resource: Author's personal archieve)



Figure 5.9 Güven Monument in the 1930s (Resource: Ertuna, 2005, p.10)

Hanak died before finishing the monument. His student, Josef Thorak, was commissioned to complete the Monument. Holzmeister also helped Thorak to complete the frescos. He made some changes: he put cloak on Atatürk figure with sullen face and in the middle of four men in smaller scale than Atatürk (Ertuna, 2005, p.12). And finally, the monument is used in two directions at the north and south by both vertical and horizontal use of blocks with its platform. The platform of the monument is 37-meter long, middle block is 8 meter, side wings are 2 meters and bronze figures are 6 meters. At the one side of the composition, there exist old and young Turkish figures that represent past and future which is located apart from the main block. At the bottom of the main block, the writing of “Türk: Öğün, Çalış, Güven” (meaning, *Turk: Proud of Yourself, Work Hard, Trust Yourself*) was placed. The representation of old and new Turkey by means of young and old people figures were thought as a musician and Hanak’s interest in music had an effect on this. For some thoughts, however, instruments at the hand of human figures were interpreted as stick and gun. In the lower frescos, it is depicted the Turkish countryman who carries gun to the front line, health team that work at the back side of the war area during the war, security officer’s attempt to provide the community’s safety, and artist, philosopher, various occupation clusters, ironsmith, miner, craftsmen like potter who are seen as a part of the new development of Turkish Republic (Ayoğlu, 2010, p. 89).

The comments on the Monument were mostly positive in that era, despite some negative thoughts. In *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* newspaper dated 29th October 1934, Fali Rıfkı Atay wrote that it was the first work of art that had international importance. Also, Sadri Ertem from *Vakit* newspaper wrote that monument showed the superiority of Ankara stone that could be used as a material for high technologies (Ertuna, 2005, p.12). On the other hand, in *Ar Magazine* dated May 1937, the monument was criticized by being the part of the Munich aesthetic so that it did not fit to Turkish reforms and this theatrical work could not suit Ankara (Ayoğlu, 2010, p. 90). With all positive and negative aspects of the monument, it became a landmark and a reference point for Ankara after its completion in 1935. Also, as mentioned earlier, the Monument and the park completed each other to create an impressive public space, urban identity and collective memory.



Figure 5.10 Writing on Güven Monument (Resource: Baykan Günay's archive)



Figure 5.11 Wooden sculpture in Güven Park in 2012 (Resource: Author's personal archive)

Beside Güven Monument, another symbolic element in the park is the wooden sculpture on the top of the tree trunk (Figure 5.11). Today it is hardly noticeable for those who pass by in the park. There is no specific design for this sculpture to highlight it (Ayoğlu, 2010, p. 92).

5.1.2. THE PERIOD BETWEEN THE 1950s AND THE 1980s

In the 1950s, Ankara was growing very fast; Kızılay became the new city center in 1952, and Güven Park's importance increased and its identity gained new meanings among the society. In those years, Jansen Plan was put aside; and Yücel-Uybadin Plan became effective. Yücel-Uybadin Plan foresaw dense urban areas with high-rise buildings nearby Güven Park. The urbanscape and image of Yenışehir was recreated in these years: Kızılay became a commercial centre; Kızılay Park turned into the major crossroads, prioritizing vehicular circulation, and undermining the significance of the Republic's early squares, boulevards and parks; and some public artworks as the symbols of the new Republic were removed to give way vehicular access and rapid car circulation. In the new streets, boulevards and parks, people did not walk, sit down, spend time as much as they used to do. The open public spaces of the 1960s and 1970s were not dominant places of public life of Ankara anymore.

Nevertheless, in the 1960s and 1970s, Kızılay turned into a lively city center with the rise of high-storey buildings, the ground and basement floors of which were organized as the shopping arcades and the upper floors were filled with commercial functions, such as fashion houses, photographers, hair dressers. New functions, such as advertisement companies, insurance and real estate firms, local and foreign travel agencies and the branches of banks, moved to Kızılay. Luxury hotels and restaurants were open in these years. While Kızılay became a lively, vital commercial centre of Ankara, its users profile changed from a homogeneous society (middle-income) to a more heterogeneous society (including low-income inhabitants, migrants commuting between the periphery neighborhoods to Kızılay). Kızılay became a heterogeneous city center, functioned as the service place for luxury consumption of bourgeoisie, the commercial center for big capitals, the political stage for workers' protests, and a place which helped the inclusion of squatter inhabitants to urban life. In these years, both Güven Park and Kızılay Square became the central places for the political protests, marches, and meetings (Ayoğlu, 2010, p. 92)

Beginning from the mid-1970s, the prestigious character of Kızılay and Yenışehir left their place to other sub-centers that were Bahçelievler and Tunalı Hilmi Street. While these new sub-centers became new decent places with their stylish stores, restaurants and cinemas, wealthy people stopped going to Güven Park in the late-1970s (Ertuna, 2005, p.13). Moreover, the construction of Kocatepe Mosque and Emek Office Blocks changed their meaning and importance with their surroundings. Güven Park and Güven Monument were negatively affected from their construction. While Güven Monument was a landmark in Kızılay, with the construction of Emek Building this skyscraper became a new symbol of Ankara. On the other hand, Kocatepe Mosque was another iconographic structure that was located at the end of the new axis which started from Sıhhiye. Therefore, Güven Monument and Güven Park which was a representation of Republic area started to decline in the 1970s. Emek Building and Kocatepe Mosque became new symbols in Kızılay with their representation of capitalist and Islamic ideology of Turkey. At the meantime, Güven Park became an unsafe and dangerous place to pass by at night, and a notorious public space with the corruptions, prostitutions and illegal works.

Güven Park was renovated during the mayorship of Vedat Dalokay (1973-1976). The corruption, illegal works, prostitution in the park were cleared out; and a bus station and minibus parking lots

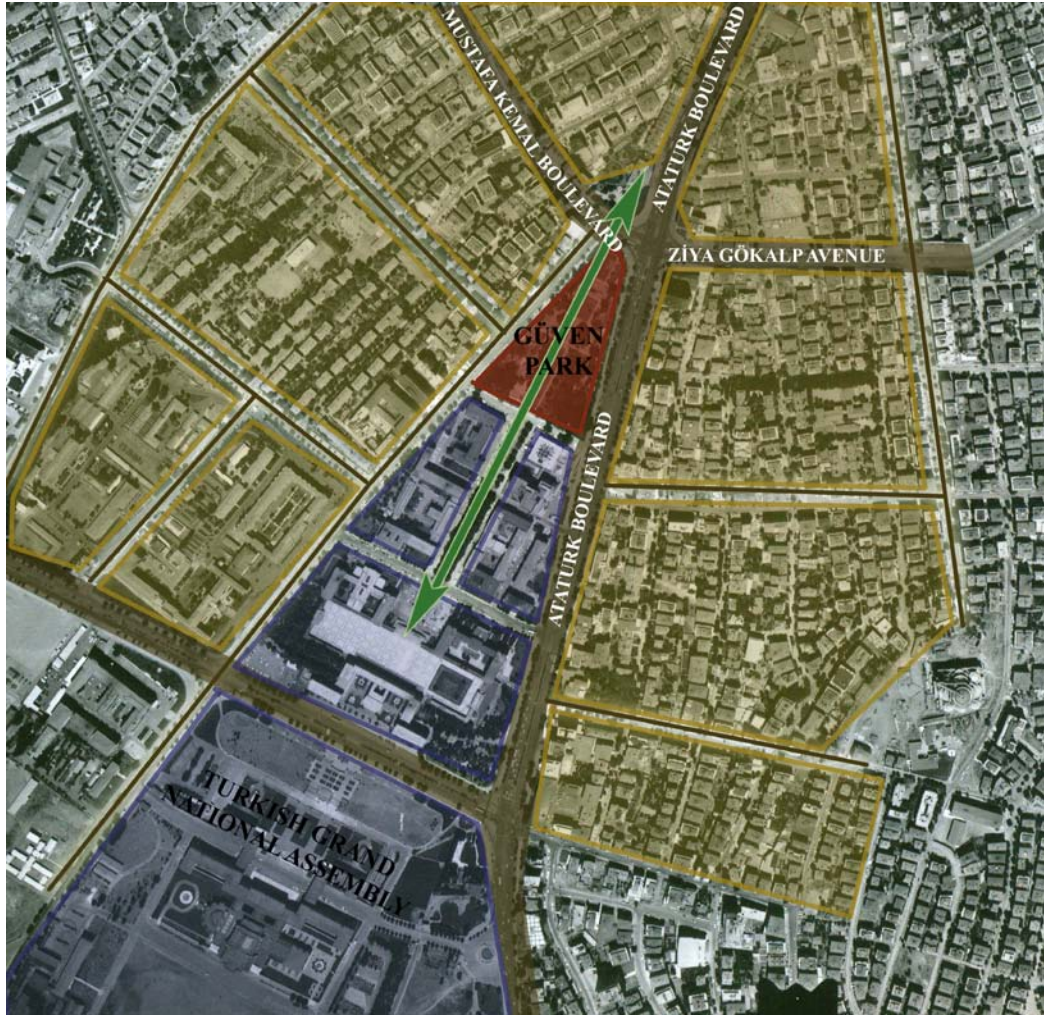


Figure 5.12 Güven Park in 1971 (Resource: drawn by author, on air photo of 1971 from Baykan Günay's personal archive)

were developed by sacrificing a part of the park site (Memlük, 2009) (Figure 5.13). Güven Park lost some of its greenery. With the development of bus station and minibus ranks, it became an entrance door to the city center, rather than a resting place (Batuman, 2009).

In the late-1970s, Ankara Municipality proposed a number of pedestrian zones projects, including Güven Park (Ertuna, 2005). The proposed project for Güven Park aimed to turn it into a public space, rather than a crossroad of city center. Due to the Coup d'état of 12 September 1980, this project was abandoned; and the chance of turning Güven Park into a pedestrian district and solving traffic, scale and function problems of the site and its surroundings was lost again. Güven Park continued to be seen as an economically very valuable area (Ayoğlu, 2010, p. 93).



Figure 5.13 Bus station and minibus parking in Güven Park after its renovation in the 1970s

5.1.3. THE PERIOD FROM THE 1980s TO TODAY

After the Coup d'État of 12 September 1980, Kızılay Square, which used to be a public space with its political and social roles, became a crossroad controlled by security; and Güven Park turned into an insecure place at nights and a controlled place by security forces during day time with an intentional neglect (Batuman, 2009, p.68). In that period, two big projects came up to the agenda of Güven Park. One of them was a renovation project prepared by an architect, Sezar Aygen, in 1985; and the other one was the construction of a metro line project between Söğütözü and Cebeci. Both projects threatened the physical and social *raison d'être* of Güven Park.

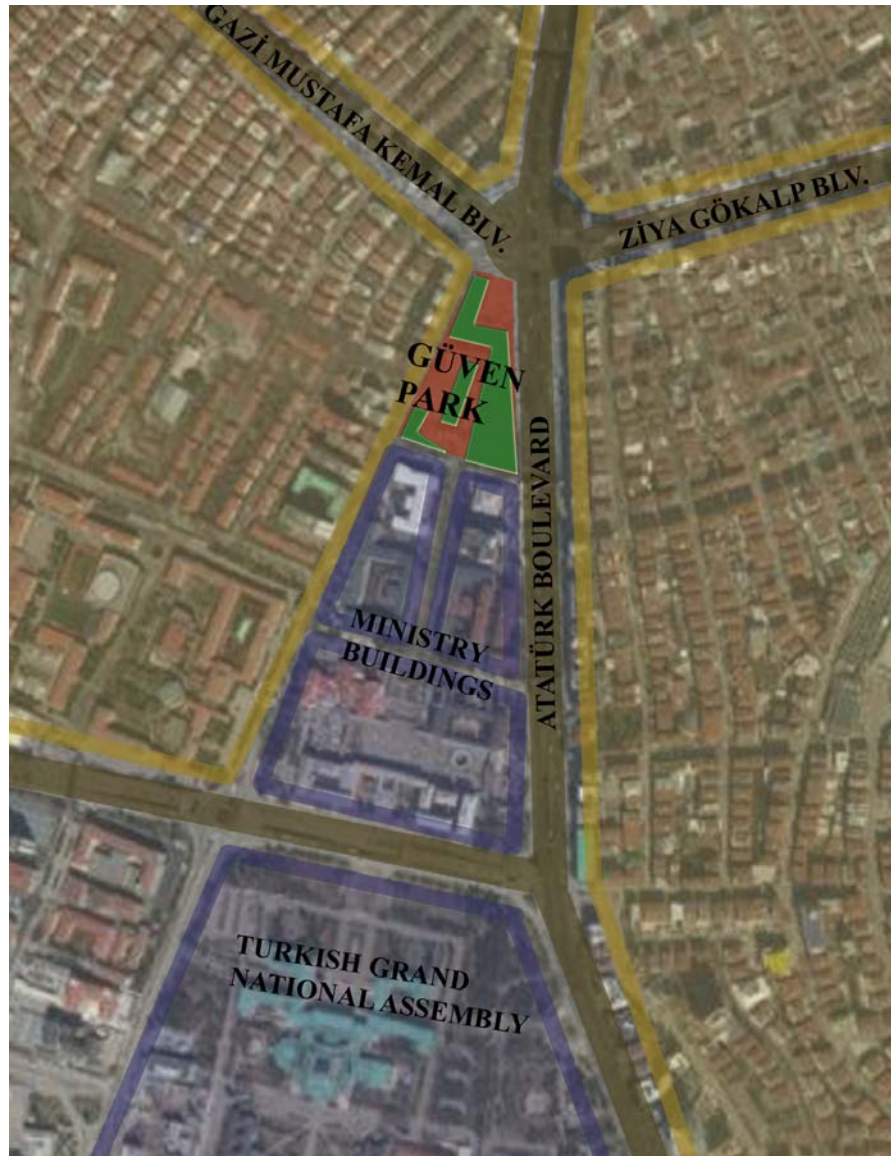


Figure 5.14 Güven Park today

Regarding Güven Park Renovation Project, it aimed to shift the physical and symbolic foci of the square to the traffic roundabout (i.e., Kızılay Square) and to construct a shopping mall and a two-storey car park under the park, while removing the historical content of the area. The project envisaged the construction of a car park with a capacity of 1500 vehicles under the shopping mall. The mall was foreseen to include 160 shops, a supermarket, banks' branches, a post office and cafés. This project envisaged a 20 meter-deep excavation which would harm all the greenery and trees in the park. It also included some proposals for the surrounding of the park, such as changing the place of Güven Monument so that it would face towards Kızılay Square (or roundabout), constructing an amphitheatre at the back of Güven Monument, and erecting a clock tower in the place of the Monument. The project also envisaged a figure of a famous 'Seymenler of Ankara'¹ that could be moved accompanied by an airplay (a particular song) to be placed over this clock tower, and a model of Ankara Castle to be placed in the park (Batuman, 2009, p.68).

Güven Park Renovation Project, however, had many shortcomings. Although the Municipality called this plan as a "useful plan for city", it missed a crucial point that Güven Park was a green area, whereas a shopping mall and a car-parking area could not be considered as a green space (Erim, 1988, p.11). This raised the need to change the master plan. On the other hand, a project with such a large scale required a seriously and comprehensively handled feasibility report, which was missing at that time. Besides, the project proposed no solution about the bus station in Güven Park. More important than all these, the project sought to change the identity of Güven Park with all its suggestions, removing Güven Monument from the focus of the public space while turning the park into a commercial site with local traditional symbols (i.e., a clock tower with Seymenler figure).

In these days, sensitive citizens came together and were organized as a civil society organization called *Environmental Sensitivity Dissemination Group* (Çevre Duyarlılığı Yayma Grubu), opposing strongly to the renovation project and the destruction of Güven Park. They decided to start a campaign in order to attract public attention to this project and to act against the project to stop it. They also decided to take legal actions. They sued the project. While a court case was run, their opposition campaign against the project gathered a great amount of support from different groups with social and political backgrounds. People were organized street protests with "No car-park, but Güven Park!" slogan. This campaign can be considered as one of the most important social movements against the local authority in Ankara's history. Consequently, the project was stopped by this strong opposition of civil initiative, Ankara citizens demanded right to have their says for the future plans of their city and their social environment. They therefore protected publicity of the Republic and its spatial demonstrations (Batuman, 2009, p.69).

Other project related to Kızılay Square and Güven Park was the construction of a metro-line. As a part of the public transport plan of Ankara, Kızılay was foreseen as one of the major exchange station between metro, light-rail line, Güven Park bus station and minibus ranks. The project envisaged the underground metro station not only as exchange stops, but also a potential for creating a commercial site (a mall) controlled by security guards, cameras and regulations. The construction process of the metro stop turned Güven Park into a building site or a left-over place. Güven Park, which was saved to be demolished by the help of civil initiative, was harmed by the insensitive metro station plan. Metro entrances and air ducts were constructed with no concern on the original design of the park. Serious number of trees were removed from the park during the construction process; and they were never planted again (Batuman, 2009, pp.70-71).

¹ Seymenler is a traditional group of Ankara with their traditional costume and performance. Their origins go back to 7th century as a warrior.

From the second half of the 1990s, the identity of Ankara has tried to be changed under the dominant Islamic view which has deliberately attacked, harmed and changed the symbols of the Republic. During the 1990s, Kızılay (and Güven Park, as well) became an informal market place with the invasion of peddlers, hucksters and street traders. Additionally, along with the populist policies of the Metropolitan Municipality with an Islamic conservative stand, Güven Park has been considered as an empty area that one can get unearned income in the city center (Ertuna, 2005, pp.14-15). Every year, during Ramadan, the Municipality sets up a large tent and organizes Ramadan dinners (called 'iftar') for a month in Güven Park. Hundreds of people have dinner for a month in this park (Figure 5.15). The tent is decorated by an oriental style, such as ornament with wooden arches in 1998. Later on, this idea was abandoned to expand the tent's capacity.



Figure 5.15 Iftar tent in Güven Park in 2012 (Resource: Author's personal archive)

Although the organization of Ramadan dinners is of importance to strengthen the unity and solidarity of a society, the selection of Güven Park as the place for this Ramadan dinners is not appropriate with its original identity. Such an important park which was built to represent the modern, secular and contemporary Turkish society and the Republic ideology is undermined and harmed by such religious-based organizations, events and traditions. In other words, this new Islamic identity in Güven Park has been tried to be legitimate in the mind of its users. While Güven Park was a symbolic focus of the capital city and the Republic regime, now it is the place that Islamic identity has been imposed and a religious-based identity has become legitimized.

As the social usage of public spaces changes, the collective memory of places also starts to change. Thus, the usage of Güvenpark for Islamic rituals will certainly change its perception by the public and ultimately its collective image which represents for its users. One should also note that, the temporal iftar tents also become a visual obstacle for the perception of the monument. (Yalçinkaya, 2012: p. 90)

The current organizations and events in the park do not include any activity or effort towards remembering the original identity of the park, the days of early Republican period, the modernization efforts of the Republic ideology. For example, in Güven Park, there is not celebration in the national holidays, or remembrance organization for people died in Independence War like in

early years of Republic era. Beside the religion-based organizations, popular music concerts are organized in Güven Park in summer days in front of the Monument. The platform of the Monument and the park are turned into a dancing floors, a performance stage or a place to locate speakers and amplifiers (Batuman, 2009, pp.73-74; Yalçinkaya, 2012). As Ertuna (2005, p.15) says, in these special days, the monument was blasted and writings were written with spray paint as a result of enthusiasm intertwined with vandalism. Güven Monument is not only the physical expression of ideology of Republic regime or Hanak's biggest artwork, it is also one of the historical testimony of the development of Ankara as the capital city of the Turkish Republic from scratch. As it is of great importance regarding the identity of Ankara, it should be carefully protected. Such carelessly organized events disregard and undermine the identity of Güven Park and the monument, as well as their publicness. As Yalçinkaya (2012: p. 91) states, *using the public space of Güven Park like an empty area or like a tribune for activities affects the collective memory of the place and the monument, and ultimately may lead to lose its symbolic and spatial meaning.*

The declining and neglected state of the park has been pointed out by civil and professional organizations, one of which is Ankara Branch of Chamber of City Planner (CCP). CCP underlined various aspects of this decline in 2003 through their website. Emphasizing that Güven Park is a Grade I-natural conservation site and is one of the most important symbols of Ankara, they indicated the decline and neglect of the park and blamed Ankara Metropolitan Municipality for not taking actions against this deterioration. For CCP, there was an urgent need to take action to conserve Güven Park as one of the oldest elements giving the city its identity, and one of the most important green open spaces in the city center for people to rest and relax. They also emphasized the risk of abandoning the park to minibuses and bus station, as they did not damage the park seriously, but also risked people's safety of life, claiming that the bad design of bus station and minibus ranks caused many traffic accidents, the injuries and even the death of pedestrians. They also underlined that the dominant use of Güven Park by the bus station and minibus ranks has given the city an ugly and untidy look. CCP argued that the recent planning policies have given pedestrians and the use of public transportation a priority in all modern city centers, while restricting the private-vehicle use. However, such an important open space should be used as a square and park, as it used to be. CCP asked to:

- applying of Metropolitan Municipality of Ankara the current plan and resolution of assembly and court that propose the bus station and minibus ranks to be relocated to somewhere else.
 - redesign Güven Park dominantly for the use of pedestrians;
 - remove the advertising signs, sales units and car parks in the sites around Güven Park (which were not in conformity with the master plans in effect).
 - redesign the Park according to its original plan of the 1940s.
- (http://www.spo.org.tr/genel/bizden_detay.php?kod=56&tipi=2&sube=0).

In 2010, the Metropolitan Municipality prepared a renewal project for Güven Park (Yalçinkaya, 2012: p. 89). The project, namely "Visual Show in Güvenpark", foresaw a complete renovation of the park by the Municipality (Gökçek, 2010; cited in Yalçinkaya, 2012: p. 88). *"The project proposes the renewal of the pools, sidewalk pavements, landscape elements and lightening of the park"* (Yalçinkaya, 2012: p. 88). With this project, the Municipality claimed that Güvenpark would gain a "completely new face" and would create a "secure" place for the public with colorful light shows, new visual and active sprinklers, pavement elements and environmental regulations (Gökçek, 2010).

Yet, the renewal project of Güven Park has had no action towards restoring or protecting Güven Monument and other natural assets of the park (Yalçinkaya, 2012: p. 89). The lightening scheme within this project seems to be one of the best decisions to improve the security and safety of the park (Yalçinkaya, 2012: p. 89). The project also suggests the colorful lightening of the pool and its

surroundings which might be competing with the visibility of the Monument (Yalçinkaya, 2012: p. 89). Also, in 2011, the Metropolitan Municipality redesigned and renewed the pool of the park with newer and higher sprinklers which were able to carry out water dance shows that can be performed day and night in Güvenpark (Ankara Büyükşehir Belediyesi, 2011, cited in Yalçinkaya, 2012: p. 89)). Yalçinkaya (2012: p. 89) argues that the project's approach to the problems of Güven Park was very shallow, and explains it as follows: *"It seeks to beautify the park through the lightening and water shows, while it has not addressed several important problems of this public space, such as the needs to protect natural and historic heritage of the park, to find out solutions for the chaotic minibuses and bus stations which endanger pedestrians and passengers' safety, or to turn Güven Park into a more social and safe public space by peopling the place during day and night time"*.

Besides, there are other temporal installments in Güven Park. In 2010, a giant gorilla sculpture (with the Metropolitan Municipality's emblem on its shoulders) was installed by the Municipality in the middle of Güvenpark for a national holiday for children (23 April National Independence and Children's Festival) (Yalçinkaya, 2012). It was surrounded by security barricade.

For some children and people, it was perceived rather scary. Nevertheless, it is questionable why this kind of a symbol (especially for a national holiday representing the opening of Grand Assembly of the Republic) was used to welcome Children's Festival without organising an event in Güvenpark (Yalçinkaya, 2012: p. 90).

In 2012, the Metropolitan Municipality installed giant dinosaurs in different parts of Güven Park. Although these dinosaurs attracted the public attention and a high number of people to the park, these installations have had nothing to do with the park's identity (Figure 5.16). As Yalçinkaya (2012: p. 91) states, *"Unfortunately, the Municipality has not shown any effort to make the Republican public artworks to be seen as much as these electronic screens or billboards, or the temporary installations"* (Figure 5.17).



Figure 5.16 One of the temporary out of content application in Güven Park in June 2012 (Resource: Müge Akkar Ercan's archive)

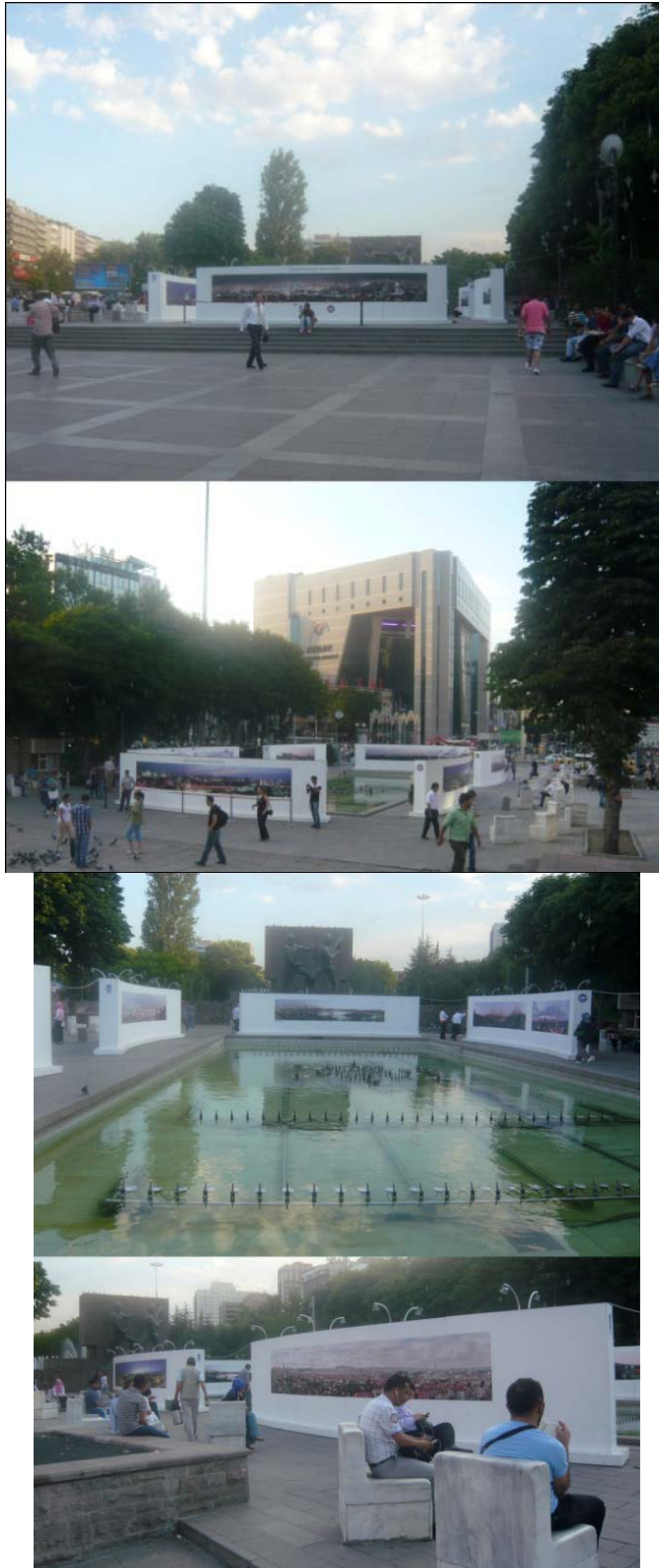


Figure 5.17 Temporary application installed in July 2012 in front of Güven Monument, which create an obstacle against the Monument (Resource: Author's personal archive)

To sum up, neither the projects of the 1980s and 1990s, nor the recent projects of the Metropolitan Municipality for the Güven Park have not attempted to find out genuine solutions for this area's major problems. Although Güven Park has needed a comprehensive conservation schemes that would protect this important green space with natural and cultural heritage, the recent projects of the metropolitan municipality have been concerned with the renewal of the pools and their sprinklers and lightening as a part of the aesthetic improvement of the public space or the installation of the temporary structures or popular figures which undermine the place identity of Güvenpark (Yalçinkaya, 2012: p. 99). All these strategies of the Metropolitan Municipal show that the local authority has not been seriously cared about Güven Park as one of the major public spaces of Ankara and its identity. With their shallow projects, they have not tried to solve the major planning problems of this park, but they have rather led to blur the symbolic meanings and images of this public space in the mind of the society.

5.2 THE CURRENT STATE OF GÜVEN PARK'S IDENTITY

5.2.1. PHYSICAL SETTINGS AND ACTIVITIES

Güven Park occupies a large area which can be divided into four distinct sub-zones according to the activities taking place and users. These are:

- i. **First zone** – the zone including Güven Monument and the pool in front of the Monument.
- ii. **Second zone** – The zone dedicated for mostly recreation; the greenest part of the park with pedestrian paths
- iii. **Third zone** – playground for children
- iv. **Fourth zone** – an open space with hard landscaped but surrounded by greenery and trees (Figure 5.18).

In these four sub-zones, not only spatial organization, but also the activities, the way that people use the space and their behaviors differ from each other. Apart from the zones in Güven Park, there are two parts next to the park which affect its identity. To the south of the park, there are flower market and one minibuses rank along the street which provides the south boundary of the park. To the west, there are minibuses ranks and a bus station, which acts as the west edge of the park, as shown in Figure 5.18.



Figure 5.18 The current layout of Güven Park, the zones within the park and its surrounding zones

First zone of the park

The first zone of the park includes Güven Monument, its front side and a pool. There is a little green area in this zone, mainly located at the border of the park on the side of Milli Müdafaa Street. This zone is mostly covered with hardscape elements. For this reason, this zone does not act like a part of a park; it rather looks like a square. Although there are still few people who sit on benches, and some who sit or lie up on the platform of the monument in the first zone, this is mostly used as a 'transition area'. Because of its location, many people use this zone to pass by and sometimes they spend a few minutes to wait for, and meet their companions. Therefore, in that zone, people are more likely on the move rather than stay stabile. Since the zone is open to Atatürk Boulevard and Gazi Mustafa Kemal Boulevard, this area is used in larger time span than the rest of the park. While the most crowded time of the area is in weekend days, it is also used intensely in week days. In week days, especially during rush hours, people use this zone for passing by. When it gets dark, this zone is also used not as a recreation area but as a transition area. Therefore, it acts a part of Kızılay Square, rather than part of the park (Figure 5.20).

This part of the park is also used for special events and organizations. Currently, the national holidays are not celebrated in Güven Park. However, some days, concerts take place in Kızılay Square also affect this part of the part. As explained above, people climb on the Monument's platform and this part of the park gets very crowded, and acts as a dance floor. Likewise, light and water performance.



Figure 5.19 Güven Monument (Resource: Baykan Günay's archieve)



Figure 5.20 Güven Monument and the pool in Güven Park in 2012 (Resource: Author's personal archive)

Second zone of the park

The second zone can be defined as a recreation area of the park (Figure 5.21 and Figure 5.22). While this part of the park is the greenest space of the park, even in this place there are a few people that use green spaces to sit or walk through it. From the playground to Güven Monument, the density of greenery decreases. In the middle of this highly dense green area, the metro entrance emerges (Figure 5.23). Because of the metro entrance and ventilation ducts, trees in the Güven Park were cut off, and the density of green areas were getting lower (Figure 5.24). Besides, the buffer zone between the park and the bus station on Milli Müdafaa Street is also densely green area. Apart from the surroundings of the middle part, this part of the park is mostly covered with hardscape elements. Green areas are too small to sit on and trees are like a barrier to avoid people to stand on it. There are few people on the park that spend time on green spaces. They rather sit down on triple-seated benches. People in Güven Park mostly spend their time alone or with their one or two companions. There are not many places for group activities. Since the time spending places are mostly hardscape places, people do not use the park for long time. People mostly either pass through the park or spend only a short time in the park. Usually, a few people who sit on the grass spend more time on the park and can sit as a group.

The most crowded time span of this zone of the park is weekend days. Even during weekends, there are not many people sitting on the grass, whereas benches are generally full of people. The park in the week days is not as crowded as in weekends. Yet, during working hours of week days, and especially in lunch hours, lots of people pass through the park or sit down on benches. After rush hours, the number of people using the park begins to decrease. After it gets dark, there are few people in the park. And it becomes even more solitary and insecure than minibuses and bus station.



Figure 5.21 Recreation areas in Güven Park in 2012 (Resource: Author's personal archive)



Figure 5.22 Recreation areas in Güven Park in June 2012 (Resource: Müge Akkar Ercan's archive)



Figure 5.23 Subway entrance in Güven Park in 2012 (Resource: Author's personal archive)

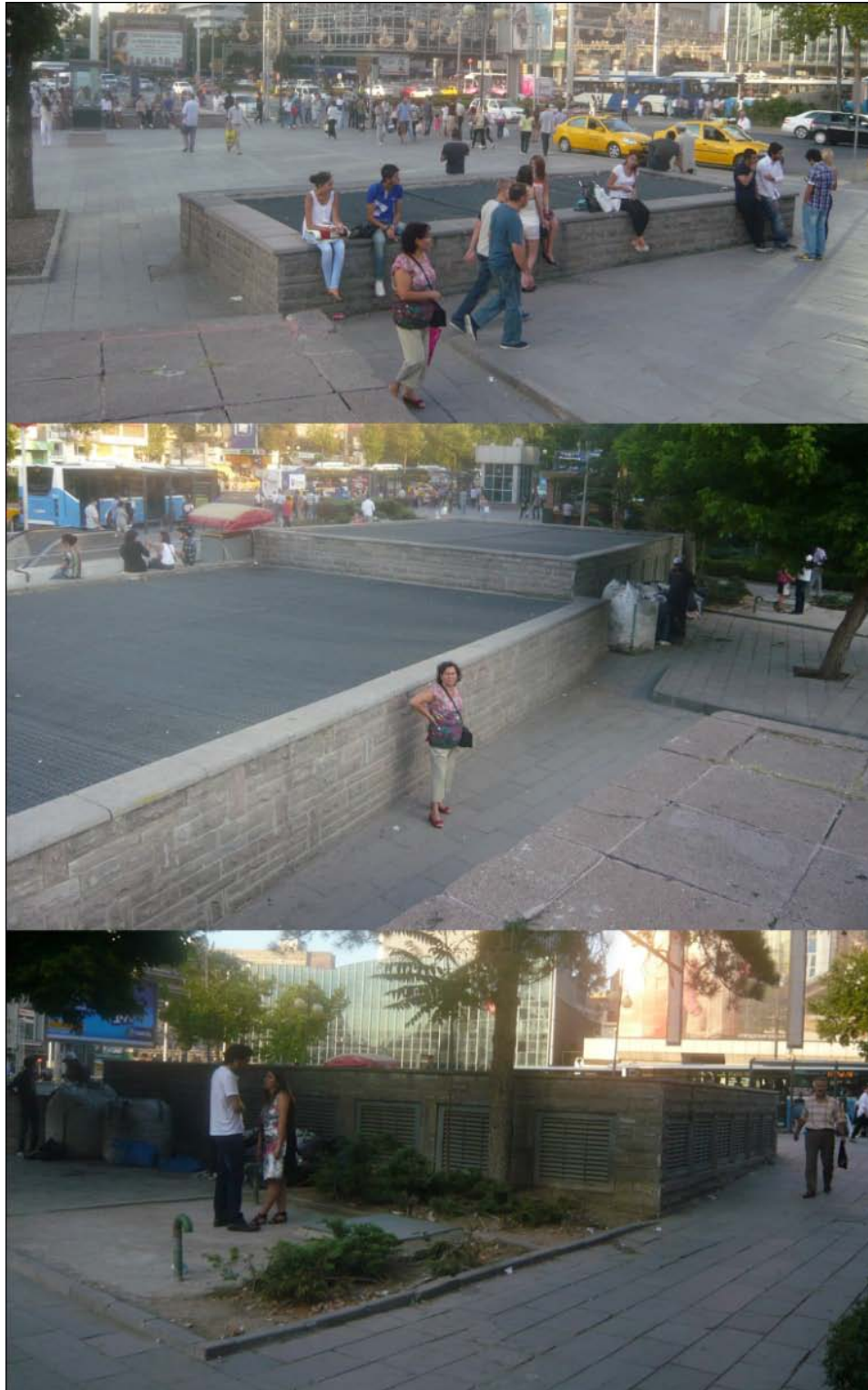


Figure 5.24 Air-duct of subway in Güven Park in 2012 (Resource: Author's personal archive)

Third zone: Playground

The playground is not used very densely by children, but the area is used as a resting place by adults who sit down on benches in this part of the park. This is one of the greenest parts of the park (Figure 5.25).



Figure 5.25 Children's park in Güven Park in 2012 (Resource: Author's personal archive)

Fourth zone:

It is not the greenery part of the park. This zone is also used for Ramadan dinner once every year. The political protests and meetings also take place in this part of the park. For this reason, a group of police permanently stay near flower market, close to this zone (Figure 5.26).



Figure 5.26 Forth zone of the park in 2012 (Resource: Author's personal archive)

Flower market and minibus ranks

One of the edges of the park constitutes a public street that connects Atatürk Boulevard with Milli Müdafaa Street. This street is located to the south of the park, facing the Ministry of National Education. It contains a small flower market, a minibus rank, and some street traders. The part of the street, which is close to the boulevard and where a flower market is located, is pedestrianized. Near the pedestrianized side, a group of police waits and stands on the sideway of the route. The rest of the street contains a very narrow sidewalk (almost sufficient for an adult), and a vehicular road. As this street connects Atatürk Boulevard with the park, minibus ranks, bus station and Milli Müdafaa Street, many pedestrians use it intensively, especially in rush hours and weekends. Its users decrease a little bit during working hours in week days, compared to these rush hours. As it gets dark, the number of users is very few. Especially after minibuses and buses stop working, almost nobody remains in this area.

This street is one of the access ways to Güven Park, and is of importance for its identity. While this flower market gives a positive identity to the park, its location, and the design of stalls and partitions for every florist shop do not suit the surroundings, and thereby Güven Park. It narrows down the pedestrian route, and it constitutes an impediment to access to the park. Additionally, florists do not use the space carefully and rigorously. They empty the waste water on the pedestrian path, and do not keep the street clean (Figure 5.27). They occupy the walking path, narrowing down the walking path of pedestrians, impeding their circulations and movements on the street (Figure 5.27). Sometimes, the customers of these florists also block the pedestrian route (Figure 5.28). This walking path, connecting the pedestrian overpass to the park and minibus ranks, is blocked because of this flower market. This part of the park becomes packed certain times of the day (especially peak hours in the morning, late-afternoon and evening). In this chaotic and disordered space, some visual aesthetic elements (such as flowers) and artistic values become insignificant and undistinguished (Ayoğlu, 2010, p. 94).

Besides, the other side of pedestrian route is also occupied by street traders, and florists' service cars. One interesting point is that there exists a sculpture in this area; however it is hard to notice it. Because it is used as a display tool for a street trader (Figure 5.27), as they hang their commodity on the sculpture or used it as a stall. To sum up, by using the public space as they like, parking their car, sitting and chatting with each others, this part of the street is totally occupied by florists and street traders.



Figure 5.27 Sculpture used as a display tool for a street trader on the street near Güven Park in 2012
(Resource: Author's personal archive)



Figure 5.28 Flower Market nearby Güven Park in 2012 (Resource: Author's personal archive)

Other side of the street is mostly occupied by two minibus ranks, each has different destinations. The road is mostly occupied by minibuses, which park and wait for passengers (Figure 5.29). There is a very narrow sidewalk on both sides of the vehicular road. It is mostly used by the minibus passengers queuing to get in a minibus (Figure 5.29). There is almost no space for pedestrians walking and passing by the street. Many of them walk on the vehicular road by watching out minibus (Figure 5.29).



Figure 5.29 Minibus ranks in Güven Park in 2012 (Resource: Author's personal archive)

Minibus ranks and the bus station

The last zone is occupied by a bus station and the ranks of minibuses. This park constitutes the west edge of the park. This zone is divided into two unequal parts. The bus station occupies a larger site, whereas minibuses ranks occupy a smaller area (Figure 5.13). The site is very badly organized and managed. It is very hard to walk in this zone. It is a very chaotic, polluted, and disordered area with the sudden, careless, unorganized movements of buses, minibuses and passengers. It is also crowded, noisy and polluted till night with exhausts of vehicles, dusts, as well as mugs when it rains or shows. Especially bus and minibuses drivers behave as they are the owners of the place. Especially pedestrians are under a high risk of traffic accidents. People should walk very carefully there to avoid from accident. Neither minibuses ranks, nor bus station do not have a direct connection with Güven Park.

The bus station and minibuses ranks are mostly used in rush hours. They are so crowded in rush hours that even it is hard to walk in there (Figure 5.30). Although it is not as crowded as in rush hours, the area is still highly used in weekend days. During working hours of week days, few people pass from there, except from drivers and some passengers (Figure 5.30). After rush hours, the number of passengers and people passing by diminishes and this site becomes quiet (Figure 5.30). Especially after minibuses and buses stop working, the site becomes insecure to some extent.



Figure 5.30 The bus station in Güven Park in 2012 (Resource: Author's personal archive)

5.2.2 MEANINGS AND IMAGES

5.2.2.1 Interviews and interviewees

As explained in Chapter 3 in detail, some research data regarding the meanings and images of the current users of Güven Park was gathered by the semi-structured interviews conducted in two phases. In the first phase, 15 interviews were conducted with the current users of Güven Park. In the second phase, 10 interviews were carried out with the senior citizens who know Güven Park well, but who do not visit the park often. In the first phase, the interviews were conducted with the people who do not know the researcher. For many reasons, they did not intend to spend much time for interview questions. The interviews took 2-5 minutes. For the second phase of the study, the interviews took place at home, in a warmer and more welcoming environment where the interviewees felt comfortable and they were eager to talk to the researcher about Güven Park. In this sense, the researcher got the opportunity to gather a much more sincere feelings and thoughts about Güven Park. The interviews took longer. Interviewees in this section are coded according to phases and their ages as Ph(n)-(a). For example, Ph1-26 refers to an interviewee in the first phase who is 26 years old.

5.2.2.2 First-run interviews

As explained in Chapter 3, the interviews were conducted with the people from different age groups. The age groups of interviewees are: three people between the ages of 15-20, five people between the ages of 20-30, three people between the ages 30-40 and four people over 40. Besides the age groups, in order to evaluate their bond to Ankara and Güven Park, the interviewees are also grouped according to time period they live in Ankara. Only one interviewee is a visitor of Ankara; but the rest interviewees live in Ankara for varying time periods: three of them live in Ankara for 2-10 years; four of them for 10-20 years, five of them for 20-40 years and two of them over 40 years.

One of the aims of the first-run interviews is to analyze *the user's frequency of use the park, the time period that they spend in the park* and *what activities they do in the park*. While 8 interviewees claim that they spend time in Güven Park every day, one of the interviewees says that she does not spend time in Güven Park at all. On the other hand, Ph1-49 is a visitor of Ankara. He claims that whenever he comes to Ankara (that is, 10-15 days a year), he comes to Güven Park. Besides them, two interviewees say that they come to the park two or three times a week; one of them claim once a week; one of them once in two weeks; and one of them once in a month. Information about the frequency of use is shown in Table 5.1.

Table 5.1 User's frequency of use the Park

FREQUENCY	INTERVIEWEES			
everyday	Ph1-26	Ph1-50	Ph1-16	Ph1-24
	Ph1-34	Ph1-28	Ph1-36	Ph1-37
2 or 3 days in a week	Ph1-22		Ph1-66	
once in a week	Ph1-19			
once in two weeks	Ph1-25			
once in a month	Ph1-15			
10-15 days in a year	Ph1-49			
not much	Ph1-54			

Table 5.2 Time span that the first-run interviewees spend in Güven Park and the activities they carry out in the park

INTERVIEWEES	TIME SPAN	ACTIVITIES
Ph1-15	4 to 5 hours	sitting, having fun with friends
Ph1-22	1 to 3 hours	meeting with friends
Ph1-16	1 to 2 hours	meeting, sitting, eating, spending time with friends
Ph1-19	max 2 hours	for waiting
Ph1-25	min. 1 hour	resting, listening myself
Ph1-49	1 hour	resting
Ph1-28	half an hour	spend some time, <i>transition route</i>
Ph1-50	half an hour	resting in lunch break, <i>transition route</i>
Ph1-26	10 to 20 minutes	resting, <i>transition route to work</i>
Ph1-36	10 minutes	resting, <i>transition route</i> , smoking
Ph1-24	5 minutes	<i>transit to public transport</i> , smoking
Ph1-34	5 minutes	resting, <i>transition route</i>
Ph1-54	none	resting, <i>transition</i>
Ph1-37	none	<i>transition</i>
Ph1-66	none	<i>transition route</i>

As for **how long they spend in the park**, off the interviewees, 3 of them (21.1%) claim that they spend no time in Güven Park, four interviewees (26.6%) spend time changing between five to ten minutes; two interviews (13.3%) spend for half an hour. While six (40%) interviewees claim that they spend time changing between one to five hours. As for **the activities they do in the park**, people who do not spend time in the park, use it as a transition route. People who spend time between five and thirty minutes intentionally stop off the park, have a cigarette, lunch, or rest, while going to

somewhere else, or having their lunch break in the park. The rest (generally young people between 15-25 years old) claim that they spend long hours in the park, sit, meet friends, and have fun with friends. Detailed answer of the interviewees related time spent in Güven Park and all activities that they carry out are shown in Table 5.2. While 10 interviewees (66.6%) indicate that Güven Park is on the way to home, work and public transportation. Also 9 of these 10 people use the word ‘transition’, so Güven Park is a place necessary to pass through to go from one place to another.

The interviewees are asked **whether they like spending time in the park**. While 9 interviewees (60%) say that they like it, whereas 6 of them (40%) claim that they do not like it. The reasons why do they like spending time in Güven Park are that it is easily accessible park with its central location, a green and calming place away from noise and pollution, a decent place with a variety of users (Table 5.3). On the other hand, the reasons why other 6 interviewees dislike the park are that it is crowded and uncomfortable place (Table 5.3).

Table 5.3 Reasons why 9 first-run interviewees like spending time in Güven Park

INTERVIEWEES	REASONS THEY LIKE SPENDING TIME
Ph1-15	<i>it is easy to reach to park</i> , it is a place to hang out with friends,
Ph1-24	<i>it is central, it is easy to access the park</i> , most known place in Ankara
Ph1-50	<i>it is central</i>
Ph1-49	<i>it is close to everywhere, it is a green area, calming place, away from the city's noise</i>
Ph1-37	<i>it is a green area, it is calm place</i>
Ph1-66	<i>it is a green area</i>
Ph1-16	<i>it is calm, it is out of traffic</i>
Ph1-25	every type of people can be seen here
Ph1-22	it has different atmosphere, it is decent place

Table 5.4 Reasons why 6 first-run interviewees do not like spending time in Güven Park

INTERVIEWEES	REASONS
Ph1-26	<i>it is crowded, it is much frequented place</i>
Ph1-28	<i>it is not a comfortable place</i>
Ph1-36	<i>I am disturbed by barrowmen</i>
Ph1-19	<i>it is not a comfortable place</i>
Ph1-34	<i>I am disturbed</i>
Ph1-54	<i>not only the park, I don't like living in a city</i>

Therefore, the interviewees who like spending time in the park specify especially three qualities of the park. The first one is that Güven Park is a **green area in the city and they want to spend time in green areas**. The second one is that it is a park, it is a **place to avoid from the city's noise and crowd**, and they define this quality of the park by using the word “calm”. Thirdly, the location of the Güven Park is also important. Because of **its central location** and **surrounded by public transportation means and stops**, the park is **easily accessible**. Especially Ph1-15 and Ph1-16 who are high school girls say that Güven Park is close to their home and their friend's home. Because of the comfort in the access to the park, it is a **meeting spot** for them. On the other hand, except for one interviewee,

they use words of 'disturbing', 'uncomfortable' and 'crowded' to explain their feelings about the park. While one of them specifically indicates that she is disturbed by peddlers, one is disturbed by the crowd. However, even they define Güven Park as a disturbing and uncomfortable place, 4 of these 6 interviews use Güven Park everyday from 5 minutes to half an hour, since it is a transition site for them and one of them uses the park once a week for waiting.

One of the concerns about the park is related to **security issues**. Interviews are asked whether they feel safe in Güven Park all day long or not. One interviewee finds Güven Park unsafe all the time, 7 (46%) interviewees find Güven Park as a safe place, whereas 7 other interviews (46%) find it safe in day time, but they do not feel secure after it gets dark. 3 interviewees state that they do not know whether it is safe at night or not, since they do not use it at night. One of the interviewees, Ph1-37, claims that "*it is safe since police is here every day, but at the same time it is debatable whether they trustful or not*". While Ph1-66 also finds Güven Park as a secure place, but he also adds that "*...however sometimes it occurs political protests, in such times security can be a problem with the unnecessary police intervention*".

Regarding the **knowledge of the users about the past of Güven Park**, the interviewees are asked whether they know the history of Güven Park and Güven Monument. To explain this question, the interviewees are asked whether they know when the park and the monument were planned or constructed or what purpose they were built. Since Güven Park is one of the oldest parks of Ankara, and its history was related to the development of Ankara as the capital city, their knowledge about the past of the park is important. Unfortunately, none of the interviewees know the history of the park. As explained before, monuments generally have direct relations with history of a place, and especially a nation, because one of the major aims of constructing monuments is to transmit the history to future. In this sense, the knowledge of the park users about the past of Güven Monument is important. Nevertheless, only one interviewee -66 years-old- could manage to reply this question, telling that:

It was made as a symbol of the Republic. It also symbolizes modernization and democratization. In the sculpture, there are different kinds of people that represent togetherness and equality of the Republic. (Ph1-66)

Regarding the **awareness of the users about the current or recent past of the park**, the interviewees are asked whether they have observed any change in Güven Park. This question is asked to understand their relation regarding both the past and current experience. This question has two parts: one is about spatial changes and the other is related to social changes. Spatial changes are explained to the interviewees as the physical changes in the design of the park; and the social changes as the changes in human behaviors. To understand their interest and concern about the physical setting of the park and how far they observe the physical changes in the park is important, since it also gives an idea about **their awareness of their surroundings**. In **physical sense**, 7 interviewees tell that they did not see any difference; 6 interviewees mention some recent changes; 2 of these 6 interviewees indicate that the park has got much better and more beautiful, the maintenance and the security of the park have been improved. On the other hand, two interviewees underline the recent, but negative changes in the park, as follows:

Sitting areas, water and green areas were used to be bigger in Güven Park, green areas getting smaller now. Also subway was added here and it made green areas smaller too. Besides, there were not so many minibuses, these minibuses affect Güven Park badly. (Ph1-54)

Minibus stop is damaging the image of the park. (Ph1-49)

Regarding social changes in Güven Park, the interviewees are asked to understand their opinions about other people's behaviors. The interviewees give mainly three types of answers: some do not see any changes; some observe positive changes, while others observe negative changes. 7 interviewees do not observe any change in terms of human behaviors. Among these 7 people, one interviewee did not make any comment, claiming that he does not use Güven Park anymore. Another interviewee also did not want to make any comment, saying that: *"I am not against anybody, I do not communicate anyone or observe any bad behavior"*. Positive and negative changes that other 6 interviewees observe are listed in Table 5.5. Those who note positive changes in the park claim that the park has become calmer, modernized and political protests have decreased. Those who underline negative changes note the increase in anti-social behaviors, unwanted people (such as beggars, street traders), political protests and police intervention in the park has increased.

Table 5.5 Positive and negative social changes in Güven Park

POSITIVE	NEGATIVE
It is getting calm. Regarding to past one-two years, I am not disturbed. (Ph1-36)	Ill-mannered people increases. (Ph1-19)
It is getting modernized. (Ph1-50)	Beggars increase. (Ph1-16)
Political protests are decreasing. I am more fresko now in this sense. (Ph1-25)	Political protests are increasing and unnecessary interventions make me uncomfortable. (Ph1-66)

One of the most important issues of this research is related to **meaning of Güven Park and Güven Monument**. Their answers are important in terms of understand both how they see Güven Park and what kind of close relation or bond there is between them and Güven Park. When the meaning of Güven Park for the interviewees is asked, they give four types of answers (Table 5.6). Some mention the meaning of the park regarding its **physical appearance**. This group describes the meaning of the park by underlining its current physical characteristics or importance. The second group also describes the meaning of the park by referring to the **current activities** which take place in the park. The third group indicates Güven Park's meaningful past; they explain its meaning by referring to **its history**. The last group expresses the meaning of the park by referring to their **personal memories** in Güven Park. Sixty-six year-old interviewee tells:

When I first came to Ankara, I liked sitting in Güven Park and watching the sculpture and the pool. There was Kızılay Building in here and the park was a symbol of Ankara. (Ph1-66)

Besides that both Ph1-37 and Ph1-25 also mention that Güven Park is a place that people can spend time out without spending money.

This kind of green areas is necessary for low-budget people, such kind of places are mostly out of the city. Therefore, people need more parks in the city. (Ph1-37)

Güven Park is one of the rare green area in the city. It is an alternative for people who don't want to spend money at the outside. Sometimes I do not want to go to a café and Güven Park is an alternative for cafés. (Ph1-25)

Table 5.6 Meaning of Güven Park for the first-run interviewees

GROUP 1 Meaning by means of physical definition	GROUP 2 Meaning by means of activity	GROUP 3 Meaning by means of history	GROUP 4 Meaning by means of past personal experience
green and open area (Ph1-26)(Ph1-34)	meeting area (Ph1-15)	it has a meaningful past (Ph1-54)	Reminds me my school days (Ph1-19)
Public park that everyone can use (Ph1-50)	like a shelter when one gets anxious or stressed (Ph1-22)	it is a symbol of Ankara from the past (Ph1-37) (Ph1-16) (Ph1-25)	Memory from the time that I first came to Ankara (Ph1-66)
Center of Ankara (Ph1-28)	Resting place (Ph1-36) (Ph1-34)		
	Political protests take place in this park (Ph1-49)		
	Calming place (Ph1-24)		

As for the **meaning of Güven Monument**, it is also important since it is an indispensable part of the park and the park's history. This research unfortunately shows that people do not pay attention to Güven Monument. While 6 interviewees tell that the Monument means nothing to them, one says that he has never looked at it carefully. Once he looks at the Monument, he says: *"It means, first, Atatürk is a hero for the people represented in the Monument, and second, it means equality of Atatürk's principles"*. 4 interviewees mention the history of the Monument in order to explain what it means to them:

It reminds me historical feeling. (Ph1-50)

It has historical meaning and reminds me Atatürk. (Ph1-54)

It reminds me Atatürk. (Ph1-37)

It is like a trust of continuity of modernization that Atatürk forms. (Ph1-66)

One interviewee also mentions meaning of the Monument by means of past but at this time with his own experience. 2 interviewees also see Güven Monument as a symbol; Ph1-22 says: *"Güven Park can't be thought without Güven Monument"*; and Ph1-25 tells: *"It is a symbol of Güven Park and Ankara"*. Only one of the interviewee shares her negative opinions as the meaning of the Monument. Ph1-16 says: *"Vagrant people sit or lie on the Monument and they disturb people. But as I heard, my mother used to hang in there. Now it is not comfortable around the Monument"*.

5.2.2.3 Second-run interviews

As the second-run interviews, 10 semi-structured interviews were conducted with the people who used to use the public areas of Ankara actively in the past, and have knowledge about Ankara's history. Tankut (1993) calls such people as 'urban-cultured' people, meaning that those who have a particular 'urban culture' or 'urban sensitivity'. The major reason behind this second-run interview is to grasp data about the experiences, memories, meanings of the senior citizens of Ankara. These people are visited in their homes.

The second-run interviewees include mostly older people than the first-run interviewees. Two interviewees are between 25 and 28 years old; six interviewees are between 50 and 60 years old; and the last two are over 60. Besides their ages, again, in order to evaluate their bond to Ankara, it is important to know how long they have been living in Ankara. Two youngest interviewees have been in Ankara for 25 and 28 years (since they were born); four interviewees have been living for 40 to 50 years; two of them have been in Ankara for 50 to 60 years; and the last one has been living in Ankara for 64 years. Therefore, they have really lived and experienced the history of the city.

As these people do not visit Güven Park regularly, the interview questions were revised (as explained in Chapter 3). First, they are asked **how often they visit or pass through the park**. Three interviewees claim that they do not use the park; two interviewees say that they rarely use the park. Other five interviewees are answered individually as follows: “three times a week”, “15-20 times a year”, “6 or 7 times a year”, “once a month”, and “once a year”.

Since they define themselves as ‘non-user of Güven Park’, they are asked **for what purpose they go to Güven Park**. The answers show that they use the park for three purposes: **a transition area (a place of passing through)**, **a place for getting a public transportation means** and **a resting place** (Table 5.7). Five interviewees claim that they use Güven Park as a transition zone; and especially two of them emphasize that they do not pass through the park, if it is not necessary. One of these five interviewees also indicates that she rests for a short moment if she is tired. Besides them, three interviewees tell that they only use the park to get a bus or minibus. One interviewee says that she sit down in the park for taking a breath if she gets tired; while the other tells that if she is around and she is tired, she spend some time in the park.

Table 5.7 Interviewees’ purpose to use Güven Park in second phase

For transition purpose	For resting	For transportation purpose
“I use the park to go from Atatürk Boulevard to Kumrular; and sometimes, I stop in the park to take a breath” (Ph2-25)		“I go there to get a bus or minibus” (Ph2-52)
“I do not go to the park. But if it is necessary I pass through the park” (Ph2-54)	“If I have something to do around Kızılay, I sometimes spend time around the pool for resting” (Ph2-60)	“in order to use public transportation” (Ph2-65)
“I only pass through the park. I walk in there, because it is on my way” (Ph2-58)	“I go and sit down in the park to have a breath and rest, when I get tired of shopping” (Ph2-59)	“I go to the park to get a minibus; otherwise, I do not go there even for passing by” (Ph2-28)
“I use the park as a transition area, but if it is necessary. Otherwise I don’t” (Ph2-64)		
“I use the park to go from Atatürk Boulevard to Kumrular” (Ph2-57)		

There interviewees put forth different **reasons why they do not use the park regularly**. One interviewee show the people in the park as the major reason, stating that: “*Characters of people*

who use the park don't suit my personality. People who come from rural areas use the park and also soldier use it at the weekends" (Ph2-58). On the other hand, three interviewees claim that Güven Park's location does **not have a centrality in their daily life**.

My work and home are in a different district from Güven Park. (Ph2-52)

My work and home are in different place. (Ph2-54)

Its location does not suit me! (meaning that, the place she lives) (Ph2-60)

Despite the permanent presence of police close to the park, some interviewee show **safety problem of the park** as the reason for them not to go there often. For example, Ph2-57 says: *"I find Güven Park insecure therefore I do not use the park"*, while Ph2-64 is disturbed and intimidated by the presence of police, stating that:

I do not use Güven Park because there is no proper actions and behaviors that suit to the old glorious days of the Park. It is now full with police. The park becomes a police station; therefore, I do not feel comfortable in the park. (Ph2-64)

Three interviewees, on the other hand, mention the **loss of the park identity**.

It is not old Güven Park, it gets crowd, green areas are lessened, and because of the heavy traffic, I do not use Güven Park anymore. (Ph2-59)

Since I am private car owner, and since Güven Park does not have a 'park' identity anymore, I do not use Güven Park. (Ph2-65)

It is not like a park; there are a few green areas; and it is crowd. I prefer to sit in a calm concrete place rather than sitting in the crowded concrete space like Güven Park. Besides I do not like the people profile in the park. (Ph2-28)

I do not think that Güven Park is a place that one can spend its spare time. (Ph2-25)

The interviewees are asked **whether they used to go to Güven Park in the past**. Four interviewees claim that they did not use the park in the past, either. Two of these four interviewees indicate the character of the people who go to and use the park did not suit their personality at that time either. On the other hand, three interviewees, who used to go to Güven Park in early days, claim that they used the park because of necessity not by intentionally. They mainly used to use it as **a transition place** (or, **a passage way**) between their home and work, or as **a place to get a bus**.

Before I got married between the years 1971-1983, I used the park as a transition zone between school and home." (Ph2-52)

Between the years 1972-1975 I lived in a neighborhood close to Güven Park; therefore, I passed from there." Ph2-64, and *"15 years ago when I worked in Kızılay, I used the park for transportation.* (Ph2-59)

Off the second-run interviewees, only one used to go to the park regularly intentionally and with its purpose. When he was student, he used to go to the park **for resting**.

Besides these eight interviewees, two interviewees share their personal experiences that give an idea about **how Güven Park was used in the past, especially during the national holidays, feast days, and for special organizations and events**. First, Ph2-25 mentions about the early-2000s, stating that: *"In the early-2000s, I went to Güven Park once in a year for three years because of inter-*

high school festival of music and painting. Lots of students from different high schools also went to park and sang songs, played some music and painted in the park". Therefore, in the early-2000s, such kind of **cultural activities** took place in the park. As Ph2-60 mentions, Güven Park used to be used for the **national celebrations and holidays** in the past (about 50 years ago). He says: "We used to go to the park in the feast days when there was a ceremony, such as the celebration of 30th of August. Torchlight procession took place near there and I went there. My mom brought me there. I am not sure that Güven Park was the exact spot, but it was either in Güven Park or near there". While they explain Güven Park's past through their experiences, memories and feelings, they also describe the emotional bond that the interviewees have set with the park.

The last issue about the current use of Güven Park is related to its '**safety or security**'. The park primarily symbolizes 'safety' or 'security' regarding its name. Its identity is directly related to the concepts of safety and security by its name. The safety and security of the park is also important for people to use it comfortably. Two interviewees do not have any idea about the safety issue of Güven Park; and one interviewee says that "I do not go to Güven Park at night; therefore, I do not know whether the park is safe at night. But I find the park safe at day time" (Ph2-52). On the other hand, two interviewees find Güven Park unsafe at nights. Of the second-run interviewees, only one interviewee finds Güven Park safe with no doubt, whereas four interviewees do not find the park safe at all any time of day, as stated below:

I think Güven Park is not safe in any hour of day. At night it is already unsafe but I do not find safe in day time either. I do not only mean physical thing by security, Güven Park is disturbing in different ways. (Ph2-28)

As for the **interviewees' knowledge about the past of the park and the Monument**, they are much more knowledgeable about Güven Park, despite the fact that they do not go to the park every day. As mentioned above, even though the majority of the first-run interviewees somehow use the park regularly, most of them know anything about the past of the park. This is one of the reasons to extend the research to second phase, therefore it is important whether they know anything about the past of the park or not. Of the second-run interviewees, two respondents tell that they do not know anything about the past of the park. Except one, all other six interviewees give basic information about the park's history, by stating:

It is one the first parks of Ankara, after it was declared as a capital city of Turkey. (Ph2-58)

It is the first park after Ankara was declared as a capital city. If I am not wrong, it was made by the decision of TBMM. (Ph2-54)

It is a square and a park of the modern capital city of modern Turkey. It is a part of the green areas at the Boulevard. (Ph2-25)

I do not know the history in detail, but I know that it is one of the oldest park in Ankara after Republic. (Ph2-60)

It was done in Republic era. (Ph2-57)

I know that it is one of the oldest parks built in Republic era. (Ph2-28)

Besides these six interviewees, two interviewees give more detailed information about the past of the park as:

When Ankara was created as a new modern city, this park was built on the boulevard in relation with Ministries District (Bakanlıklar). I remember the park from 1956. It was built to

function as the lungs of the city at that time. Now it is just like a background. It loses its identity. (Ph2-64)

Since I am a landscape architect, I have knowledge about the park. The park was built in the 1935s as a very important work of Atatürk Boulevard with its original form and structure. It was a part of the green area of the Kızılay Square which was one of the important squares of Ankara with Kızılay structure in front of the square. It was created to decrease the monotony of the axis from Sıhhiye with its Monument and formed the vista of the axis. (Ph2-65)

As mentioned above, except one interviewee, none of the first-run interviewees knows the past of the Monument. However, except three interviewees, all the second-run interviewees have **knowledge about the past of the Monument**. Five interviewees use the word “symbolizes”, while sharing their knowledge. Despite differences, they all agree that the Monument symbolizes something. In this sense they tell that;

It was constructed as a symbol of the Republic. (Ph2-58)

It was constructed to symbolize the trust as its name and Güven Park. Also, it is a symbol of modern capital city of new Ankara. (Ph2-25)

I do not know when it was constructed but it was constructed to symbolize the Turkish War of Independence. (Ph2-60)

The Monument exists over 50 years. It symbolizes youths, communities, and new Republic of Turkey. (Ph2-64)

As far as I know, it was constructed the years that Güven Park was built. It was constructed as a symbol of new constituted Republic. Also I know that the writing of “Türk, Öğün, Çalış, Güven” (Turk: Proud of Yourself, Work Hard, Trust Yourself) also symbolizes the Güven Park. (Ph2-28)

Ph2-54 has a little knowledge about the Monument, he tells that “It was constructed in the 1930s and has a past related to being of Ankara a capital city. I read something about the Monument but I cannot remember”. On the other hand Ph2-65 has very detailed knowledge about the Monument:

In the 1935s, it was constructed to represent the progression, power and trust of Turkey. It is magnificent and it was built in very correct proportion. As a sculpture and monument it is very unique. (Ph2-65)

Table 5.8 Physical changes in Güven Park for the second-run interviewees

INTERVIEWEES	CHANGES				CHANGES
	smaller green areas	bigger public transport area	subway station	unsuitable use of the park	
	underground toilets	cleaning	florists	increase in police number	
Ph2-58	“The green areas used to be larger. The number of trees decreased and they got old. The green area is now used in an inappropriate way such as people who lay on a sheet and eat foods, or smoke cigarettes, and flower sellers. Also, there used to be only Bahçeli and Emek minibuses there, but now the minibus station is getting bigger. And also with the subway station the amount of people increase”				
Ph2-64	“Park is getting smaller. And minibus station creates an air pollution in the area”				
Ph2-57	“The park was well-kept. Now it is not that clean. Even the time when cleaners (she said that the place was full of cleaners who searched for job) hanged out in the park the park was well-kept. Also the park is more concrete now”				
Ph2-59	“Stations were smaller. The traffic was not crowded that much. The place has a more park function. Now the park is used to operate as a bus and minibus station instead”				
Ph2-65	“First of all, after underground toilets were built in there, the park began to be used for this purpose. Then these underground places became a place for people who used alcohol and drugs and this has damaged the park’s prestige. Then, by taking a land from the park, public transportation station got bigger. Then, the air duct of the subway system was added to the area. The road behind the park was closed only for taxi station. As a result, both park is getting smaller and getting cosmopolitan. One other negative change is other surrounding road which is closed by allocated the area to florists”				
Ph2-28	“As far as I remembered, subway station was constructed there and the park got smaller. Also, I remembered that there were not that much minibuses and buses. Moreover, there were not that much police at the park. Now, the existence of that much police makes me disturbed”				

As in phase 1, the second-run interviewees are asked **whether they observe any physical and social changes in the park**. The changes that they observe are important, because the second-run interviewees do not regularly use the park currently. Therefore, firstly, the changes may affect their current use frequency of the park, and secondly, even though they do not use the park regularly, it is important to see how far they are sensitive about the park and the changes in it. Regarding **physical changes in Güven Park**, eight interviewees manage to describe the changes that they observe, except for one interviewee who says that she has no idea, and for another one who claims that there is no change or difference compared to the past. Of these eight interviews who claim that they note the changes, only one describes the physical changes as positive, saying that the park is well-coordinated compared to the past (Ph2-25). Other seven interviewees criticize the changes, noting the **decrease in green areas, unsuitable and inappropriate use of the park especially by marginal people, expansion of the space dedicated to minibuses and bus station, decreasing cleanliness of the park, the flower market creating disorder on the public street, existence of police, negative effects of subway station and dirty underground toilets**. Ph2-60 shares his memories about the modifications which were planned for Güven Park, but never become real as follows:

There was a plan to make a parking area in Güven Park. If I am not wrong, it was in the 80s. But then signatures were collected and they didn't construct the parking area".

As seen in Table 5.8 which presents the observation of six interviewees on the physical changes in Güven Park, five interviewees mention that the park is getting smaller; Ph2-58 claims that green areas in the park are getting smaller; and Ph2-57 tells the park is more concrete now. One other thing that is repeated by all interviewees is that the area allocated for bus station and minibuses is getting bigger. One criticizes it by creating air pollution, another claims that it leads to the traffic congestion in the area. Further, three interviewees complain about the negative impacts of the construction of metro station. One tells that it makes the area more crowded; the other says that air ducts of the station harm the area, and the last one criticizes that metro station development has caused the reduction in the green area of the park. The other negative changes that interviewees mention are inappropriate use of the park by some marginal people, maintenance problems of the park (cleaning, underground toilets), the presence of florists and police.

Besides these physical changes, the interviewees are asked about **the social changes, or the changes in human behaviors**. Except for two interviewees, the other interviewees observe social changes in the park. Of these two interviewees, Ph2-25 says that *"I have no observation at all"* and Ph2-57 who tells *"Güven Park has never been a place that people can sit in there with their children. It is always a place of a bad lot since my childhood"*. All other interviewees note negative social changes that include the **change in park users' profile** ('people quality and character', with their words) and **security of the park**. In terms of users' quality and character, the opinions and criticisms of the interviewees are as follows:

In very old times there were more cultured people, and then the park became a place of cleaning ladies. After the 80s, the quality is fairly decreased. Then the park became the place of security officers after thieves and political events increased. Now the park is a place of students who come from rural areas and off duty soldiers at the weekends. After the 2000s, there were lots of polices and gendarmes during the political protests and movements ... (Ph2-58)

Now, in Güven Park, there are many disturbing (or intimidating) people. People who spend time in the park disturb me. That's why I do not want to spend time there, but I sometimes pass through by necessity. (Ph2-52)

Now, there is no quality of people which used to be in my childhood. Some time there were cleaning ladies in the park frequently. (Ph2-60)

In general, there were very nice cafés in Kızılay along Atatürk Boulevard till the 80s. The park was a nice place as a part of them. People sat on the benches. After the 80s, in the 90s, after the area became the place of buses, the quality of people decreased. (Ph2-64)

Nowadays, intensely it is a place of people who are unemployed, such as beggars, pen sellers, and handkerchief sellers. Since the park is surrounded by vehicles in four sides, it lost its park quality and become a transition point. (Ph2-65)

I did not like Güven Park socially in old times and I do not like there now either. But I guess the diversity of people has increased with the rise in the number of minibuses. (Ph2-28)

Besides the users' profiles and the disturbing and intimidating behaviors in the park, the interviewees mention their thoughts about security of the park. Ph2-59 tells *"it was much safer"*. For Ph2-58, although the minibuses are disturbing, the park might be more insecure without minibuses, as he explains below:

...Even though I find the minibuses disturbing, since people do not use the park that much, if the minibuses do not be there, the place would be more isolated and insecure. In this sense, minibuses are bad for destroying the green areas but good for creating the density of people. (Ph2-58)

Table 5.9 Meaning of Güven Park for second-round interviewees

GROUP 1 Meaning by means of current activities	GROUP 2 Meaning by means of personal experiences and memories	GROUPS 3 Meaning by means of symbolic manner
It is a rare green area of Ankara and meeting area (Ph2-58)	In the 70s and the 80s, people went to Güven Park to find cleaning ladies. Cleaning ladies and gypsies waited in there (Ph2-57)	It is a first park after Ankara was declared as a capital city. Therefore is means the Republic (Ph2-54)
It is a city center, it is a transportation area, it means shopping and resting (Ph2-52)	It reminds me my high school memories (Ph2-25)	It symbolizes the Turkish war of independence and has a historical value (Ph2-60)
I do not have a personal memory in there because Güven Park has never been a place that we went as a family. It was not a safe place in old times, as I heard. It is a center of Ankara. For some, it can be a park, but for me, it does not have a park quality. It only means public transportation station for me (Ph2-28)		It represents the values of Republic and trust to society (Ph2-65)
It is a public transportation point, reference point, resting point (Ph2-59)	In old times, Güven Park which is at the center of Ankara was a symbol of Ankara with its history, the Monument, and sculptures. The park used to please me and make happy. Now, it loses all its qualities. I feel like the frescos on the wall of Güven Monument that are used be at the forefront. The park was larger. The bus station destroys its style (<i>or quality</i>). Now it is a place of polices (Ph2-64)	

Although the physical and social changes in Güven Park that the second-round interviewees observe and describe give an idea about how they see the park in its older days and how they seeing its current state, they are also asked about **what Güven Park and Güven Monument mean for them**. The answers to this question related to the park can be categorized under three groups: i) answers related to current activities; ii) answers related the past memories and lastly iii) answers which describe the park in symbolic manner. In this sense the answers is listed in Table 5.9.

As for **the meaning of Güven Monument** for the interviewees, the meanings described can be categorized under three groups: **a) meanings based on its symbolic character, b) meanings based on its spatial and physical character, and lastly c) no meaning for them**. However, this last group contains two kinds of answers: One group do not think about the Monument so far, while the other group criticizes the loss of meaning of the Monument nowadays. Off the four interviewees, two claim that the Monument has no meaning for them. However, two other interviewees elaborate why it has no meaning for them as follows:

The park means nothing for me, because I haven't attached any meaning to this Monument since my childhood. I do not remember any festival, any ceremony. Sculptures in the park do not mean anything to me. For example, in national festivals, wreath or garland were put onto Zafer Monument in Zafer Square. Therefore, that monument had a meaning. I do not remember that any such activity took place at the Monument in Güven Park. If there were any activities that I do not remember, they were exceptional, but in general, there were not. Only one summer the pool gained a meaning, but only in one summer then it passed. I think the Monument is not used properly. (Ph2-57)

It should mean something because of its construction purpose. However, it is objectified therefore; it becomes an object that cannot be realized if people do not pay attention. (Ph2-28)

A second-round interviewee mentions how the Monument's symbolic meaning is eroded in society, and how its supreme meaning has been lost in the mind of people, by comparing with the old days, as follows:

It carries the symbols of the character of capital city of Ankara since old times. However, now it is good in terms of cleanness and it is not also treated necessarily. People climb to the top of the Monument. People used to show a respect (in the past), since it is a sculpture of Atatürk. It used to have a meaning, but now it is both neglected and also not treated well. (Ph2-58)

Three other interviewees mention its meaning by means of symbolic manner. Ph2-60 defines its meaning as "it is a symbol of our national war that is Turkish war of independence". Ph2-54 and Ph2-64 also think that the Monument has a symbolic meaning:

It reminds me the formal ideology of the Republic. It reminds me the government. It means the same thing for me that the symbol of worker who carries harvester in his hands on 1st of May means. It is like an authority. That worker has an authority and (it shows his/her) superiority in itself. (Ph2-54)

It symbolizes our history, and new born Turkish Republic and Ankara. It is a link with the Republic era. It is a symbol of the process of being capital city. It is a symbol of new city, the Republic, modern Turkey and salvation. (Ph2-64)

Two last interviewees, on the other hand, define its meaning with its spatial and physical character. For example, Ph2-59 describes its meaning by saying that it is a meeting point. At the same time Ph2-65 defines its meaning by saying:

It is one of the most important reference points (landmarks) of Ankara. Besides it is magnificent and stately with different scale and content. Especially in summer days, with pools in the front and back of the Monument which is now corrupted with water shows, it creates feelings of chillness and calmness to its surroundings. (Ph2-65)

As a result after the first phase of the study that take place in Güven Park, I extend the study by conducting interview to different people outside of Güven Park. In these two phases of the study I collect different information about the identity of Güven Park in the past and in the present. The results of the study are evaluated in terms of physical setting, activity and meaning/image in next chapter.

5.3 CONCLUSIONS

Changes in Güven Park over time in terms of physical setting, activities and meaning/ images can be summarized as Table 5.10.

Table 5.10 The evolution of the identity of Güven Park from its construction to today (cont.)

COMPONENTS OF PLACE IDENTITY/TIME PERIODS		1920-1950	1950-1980	1980-2000s	2013
PHYSICAL SETTING	Townscape	It is located in Kızılay which was the second center of Ankara with low-rise buildings. Güven Monument was a landmark with its scale, when its surroundings are considered. The park was a part of a green system that reached at Turkish Grand National Assembly.	The park was in the middle of rapid car circulation and high-rise buildings. The monument was less dominant than before.	Güven Park was not located in the geographic centre of Ankara anymore, since the CBD functions moved from Kızılay to Gaziosmanpaşa and Çankaya. The new metro entrances were added to the landscape of the park.	Güven Park is surrounded by high density roads in three sides, minibuses and bus stations in two sides. There are two metro entrances in the park, a flower market and a pedestrian overpass at one side. It is much crowded and less green with the heavy traffic around.
	Built form	It is triangular-shaped park surrounded with low-rise buildings and a large boulevard. The monument can be easily perceived with its big size in comparison with the buildings surrounding it.	High-rise buildings were built around Güven Park. The ground floors of the buildings around the park were built as shopping arcades; and the upper floors were filled with commercial functions. The dominant buildings within Kızılay were Emek Office Building and Kocatepe Mosque	New metro entrances were built in the park. The built forms around the park were very dominant in terms of their size and scale. İftar tent was set up in the park in Ramadan.	Multi-functional and high-rise buildings exist around the park. The monument is not dominant anymore because of the size and scale of the buildings around it.
	Permeability	Güven Park was designed as a square park with a central location. Thus, it was easy to access to the park and enter into it. As there was no considerable vehicular traffic around it, it was easily accessible for pedestrians.	Intensive vehicular traffic started around the park. The boulevard got smaller. It became harder to access to the park for pedestrians.	There was still intensive vehicular traffic around the park. Due to the increasing land-use activities around the park, it became to be used by much more people.	There are two boulevards with an intensive vehicular traffic in two sides of the park and public transportation stations inside the park. Therefore, it is hard to move around the park, but, at the same time, the park is easily accessible because of these facilities
	Landscape	There was a significant amount of green area with a large pool. Pedestrian paths were used to connect the park with Turkish Grand National Assembly.	The development of the boulevard around the park made the park itself and its greenery. Bus station and minibuses ranks were developed in the park	The metro entrances and the air ducts of the metro have lessened the green area. Also, the development of the bus station increased the amount of hardscape area.	The greenery of the park has lessened due to the development of metro underneath the park. Mostly green areas are bounded with trees. Benches exist for sitting, resting,
	Furniture	Sitting areas around the pool used to strengthen the recreation purpose of the park.	As the park's green areas lessened, more hardscaped areas with park furniture appeared. A playground for the park existed in the park.	Air ducts were installed in the park because of the metro development. Street traders became dominant in the park. New benches were installed in the park.	Advertising boards of Ankara Metropolitan Municipality activities around. Many new sitting benches are in the park

Table 5.10 The evolution of the identity of Güven Park from its construction to today

ACTIVITIES	Land uses	Square, park	Square, park, bus and minibus stations	Square, park, bus, minibus and metro stations	Square, park, bus, minibus and metro stations, pitch, flower market around the park
	Pedestrian Flow	Large green area and designed pedestrian paths. Users used to move in a slow pace, sit and rest.	Less green area, therefore less designed pedestrian paths.	More rapid pedestrian flow.	Many people use the park mostly for passing through or accessing to the public transport stations rather than spending time in the park. So, the rapid pedestrian flow is dominant.
	Vehicle flow	No vehicle in the park. At the same time, less vehicular traffic on Atatürk Boulevard.	Vehicle got in the park with bus and minibus stations.	Beside the bus and minibus stations, metro station was built in the park.	Buses and minibuses at the station occupy the area. Although metro station is underground, it affects pedestrian movement and green area in the park.
	Patterns	Located next to the boulevard, the park was a walking site, a resting place and an entertaining area.	People did not walk, sit down or spend long time spans in the park because of the increasing dominance of vehicular traffic on the boulevards.	Religious-based activities, such as the organization of Ramadan dinners in temporarily installed iftar tent. Peddlers, hucksters and street traders became dominant in and around the park. It became a transition area for public transport users. It was also used for popular or arabesk music concert in some important days.	It is mostly used as a transition area due to the presence of the public transport stations around it. A stage for the city-wide organisations, such as dinosaur installations around for Ankara Shopping Festival.
	Noise and smell	Tidy, clean and peaceful park.	More crowded area. Commercial activities around the park increased and political protests inside the park made the area lively.	Peddlers, hucksters and street traders around the park. Also, with bus and minibus stations, the park became crowded and polluted.	Although the park is regularly cleaned and maintained by the municipality, it is not tidy because of the bus and minibus stations, florists and a wide range of people who mostly pass by in the park. It is also very crowded.
	Behavior	Meeting place for young people. Recreation area for elite groups of Ankara population.	Social place due to its heterogeneity both in terms of users and activities. Social place for workers, political stage for students, resting place for elite groups.	A wide range of people used the park for transition and transportation purposes.	Few people use the park as a recreation area, mostly spending few minutes while passing by or waiting for someone. Lots of street traders around the park.
MEANINGS / IMAGES	Legibility	The park was a part of a green system which reached to Turkish Grand National Assembly. Also both the park and the square were defined by the surrounding buildings and the large boulevards. The monument was also legible with its landmark character.	The route to Turkish Grand National Assembly did not exist anymore. The monument could not be perceived easily because of the size and scale of the buildings around the park (especially Emek Building and Kocatepe Mosque).	With the place of police and metro stations in the park it is hard to understand the boundaries of the park. But because of the location the park, the square and the monument could be perceived from the boulevards.	The park is still perceived since it is one of the biggest parks in Ankara and since it is used densely for different purposes. Square is legible since there exist boulevards in two sides and rest of the park in one side. However, because of the bus and minibus stations and flower market in two sides of the park, the edge of the park is not clear.
	Cultural associations	It is a resting place and entertaining area that was mostly used by bourgeoisie.	A wide range of user groups (including low-income inhabitants, migrants commuting between the periphery neighborhoods to Kızılay) were used the park.	With bus and metro stations, the park became one of the main transportation nodes. People from different parts of Ankara used the park as an interchange place.	A variety of people uses the park as an interchange hub for transportation and transition purposes. For recreational purposes, it is mostly used by lower income and lower-middle income groups, and high-school students.
	Perceived functions, attractions	There was a pool and benches around the pool that people used to sit. Also, there existed large green areas with pedestrian paths between the park and Turkish Grand National Assembly for people to walk.	It was used for recreational purpose with less green areas. Also transportation function was added with the development of the bus station.	Besides transportation function, it was also used for Ramadan dinners during a month of a year. A group of policemen always occupied a part of the park. Because of commercial places in Kızılay, the park was used for resting purpose.	It is still used as recreational, resting and transportation purposes. It is one of the major exchange stations between metro and light-rail lines, Güven Park bus station and minibus ranks. Ankara Metropolitan Municipality uses the park as a place for advertisement of its activities. Also, there are many street traders in the park.
	Qualitative assessments	The park had a decent image. It was a showcase of the new Republic ideology that the public officers and their families spented their time.	Kızılay became a heterogeneous city center, functioned as the service place for luxury consumption of bourgeoisie, the commercial center for big capitals, the political stage for workers' protests, and a place which helped the inclusion of squatter inhabitants to urban life. Güven Park became an unsafe and a dangerous place to pass by at night, and a notorious public space with the corruptions, prostitutions and illegal works.	Güven Park was turned into an insecure place at night and a controlled place by security forces during day time. The construction process of the metro stop turned Güven Park into a building site or a left-over place. The park also became an informal market place with the invasion of peddlers, hucksters and street traders.	The symbolic meanings and images of the park are getting blurred because of the shallow urban design project of the Municipality. Even though the park loses its identity, it is still one the most commonly used public spaces of Ankara (with different purposes).

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTIONS

This research has investigated the evolving relationship between place identity and national identity by focusing on Ankara as the capital city of a new nation and regime and Güven Park as one of the major historic public parks that was developed to enhance the national identity. The identity change in both Ankara and Güven Park has been analyzed from the early modernization period of Turkey to today. The changes in the identity of Güven Park regarding *its form or physical setting, activities in the park* and *meanings attached to this public space* in different time periods. Besides, focusing on the current state of the park, the research has examined the current identity of the park in the mind of its users. The major findings of the research are summarized under three major subheadings and discussed in this chapter.

How physical elements affect the identity of Güven Park?

Location is one of the most important physical features of the park that create the identity of the park. There were some other public spaces that were designed to express the Republic identity of Ankara in the early Republican period. Nevertheless, Güven Park is one of the unique public spaces that are still intensively used because of its location. According to the interviews, the central location of the park within the city is one of the major reasons of being highly used in current time. Interviewees indicate this by saying “easy to access”, “close to everywhere” and “central” for the park. Besides, location of the park (i.e., being in Kızılay) is another reason for the changes in the identity of the park. After Ankara was declared as a capital city, first Kızılay gained importance as a new commercial center of the city, while Ulus lost its importance in the 1950s. Then, in the 1970s, Kızılay began to lose significance with the emergence of new sub-centers, like Tunalı Hilmi Avenue and its surroundings and Bahçelievler. Even though Güven Park is still used for different reasons in contrast to many other public spaces, it loses its symbolic character. There are global and local reasons to cause these changes, but the changing character of Kızılay also affects the situation.

The park is at the center of Kızılay and the city. It is located by two boulevards - Atatürk Boulevard and Gazi Mustafa Kemal Boulevar-, and Milli Müdafaa Street, which is also very busy street with buses, minibuses, taxis, passengers, and pedestrians. Being next to a bus station and minibus ranks, and bounded by these busy boulevards and streets, it is easily accessible. Because of this reason, even though most of the citizens do not use the park for its purpose, there are lots of users that use the park as a transition purpose. Therefore, it affects the user profile and identity of the park. On the other hand, flower market, street traders, a group of police and minibus ranks that occupy the surrounding of the park disturb the transition around the park.

Scale of the park is another feature of the physical elements that also affect the density of the park. Güven Park is one the biggest parks of Ankara. Therefore, there exist many people in the park. This causes more social interactions among its users. Public spaces exist for such social interactions. Although the park does not show the characteristics of Republic identity, it achieves to accommodate a diversity of people regardless age, gender and income. Also, because of its scale, it

looks like neither a left-over space, nor an important park, although the size of green areas lessens more and more in time.

One of the most important features that give an identity to the park is landscape features. The identity of Güven Park changes with the modifications in physical features. The amount of decreasing green areas in the park is mostly criticized by both interviewees and academics with respect to the past times. It used to have more green areas, but due to the bus station, minibus ranks, metro station entrances and mechanical equipment on the surface, green spaces have decreased. Now, the park has more concrete surface than green areas. For this reason, people spend time on the benches rather than green areas. The current design of the park allows people to spend time alone or with one or two persons mostly, rather than with a group, since benches in the park are designed for three people. Also, because of this concrete surface, pedestrian paths in the park lead people to walk rather than sit, hang around and spend time with friends. Thus, the design of the park routes affects significantly the behaviors of its users. They mostly use the park as a transition area (a passage way), rather than a resting place. Moreover, since there are few green areas which are mostly small in scale or surrounded with row of trees, they are not used frequently. Besides, sculptures have become evident with the reduction in greenery in the park. However, still they cannot be noticed, because the new design of the park does not try to make them notable. In fact, they are not treated as a work of art. Instead, they are ignored or treated as a lumber. Even as a part of a shopping festival, there are dinosaur figures at the park which are out of content of concept and time.

Pools at the park are one of the most positive features of the park that make people feels chill and peaceful. However, the image of the pools also changes with water shows. Some of the changes in the park's design are major modifications, such as the allocation of a part of the park to develop a bus station or decreasing of green areas, while some other design modifications are small-scale, such as unsuitable use of sculptures or corruption of pools. Nevertheless, all these modifications in the design of the park have led to lose or blur the park's original identity, despite the fact that Güven Park was designed by the new government to strengthen the identity of new ideology with all of its detail.

The most important element of the park is Güven Monument which has a landmark character in Ankara. The monument also changes its identity in terms of physical appearance, activity and meaning. In physical sense, it was one of the most important reference points of Ankara with its scale when it was built. Yet, it has lost its magnificent character due to the increasing height of the surrounding buildings. This research found that the monument is mostly ignored by users. Nevertheless, because it is in Kızılay and it is in the middle of the park that has a square character, it is still a significant landmark.

How activities affect the identity of Güven Park?

According to the first-run interviews, people who come to the park on purpose spend their time mostly for socializing, resting, relaxing, meeting and having good time with friends and acquaintances. For others, however, it is a passage way, a transportation hub in the city center, or a place for a short break to have a lunch, a cigarette, sitting for a while, waiting for someone. Although there is a playground, no many families use it with their children. Generally this part of the park is used by people who pass by.

Off these activities, the current identity of Güven Park is dominated by its functions as a passage way and a transportation hub. Most users interviewed claim that this is the dominant image of the park in their minds. People who use the park as a passageway between Atatürk Boulevard and Milli

Müdafaa Street, or passing way to work or home, or transition route to get a bus, metro or minibus due to the presence of the bus and metro stations, and minibus ranks. Therefore, most people see Güven Park as a transition area or as a public transportation station, rather than a park. Users mention that the park lost its old park character. Therefore, it can be said that, in the old days, the park used to be in a slow pace with people who used to sit, talk, rest, and have some time in the Republic era. However, the current way of using the park has become more dynamic, the majority of people just pass through the park. It can be said that not only Güven Park, all public spaces change its identity in this sense.

Other activities which take place nearby the park or in the park, such as flower market, beggars, peddlers, street traders, pop concerts, iftar tent, political protest and existence of polices, negatively affect the identity of the park. While florists and street traders narrow down the public street and act as an obstacle against the access to the park. Florists also do not carefully use their environment and degrade the image of the park. On the other hand, the users of the park are disturbed and feel intimidated by beggars and peddlers. Pop concerts, iftar tent and other temporary installations by the Municipality, ruin the Republic image of the park. In the park, there used be Sunday concerts, but now concerts give an arabesk style to the park. On the other hand, with iftar tent, Islamic ideology and images have been imposed into the park. In terms of political protests, people mostly complaint about unnecessary police intervention. Users also find permanent presence of police in the park very disturbing, even though some think that police secure the park.

One should note that none of the activities above suit the original identity of Güven Park. It was designed neither as a performance stage, nor for Ramadan dinner. These events and organizations deliberately blur the collective images and meanings that Güven Park symbolize for people, and lead to lose its original identity. Public spaces are open to all political acts and events, as long as they do not harm, damage or vandalize these spaces. They should be open to the public, acting as the free places to represent all ideas, opinions, objections, and to raise the voice of everybody. In this sense, the strict control of police authority over such a civic park is also harmed the original identity of the park. As a public space of the Republic, there is no special performance organized by the local authority for national holidays to remember national identity, to celebrate or remember of the national history. For this reason, many young citizens do not know the significance of neither this park, nor Ankara as the capital city of the Republic.

Security is an important issue which affects the image and identity of the park, especially in the mind of users. Except concerts and festival days, no activity takes place in the park at night. Despite its central location, most users find Güven Park insecure at nights and they claim that they would not use the park after it gets dark. Most users think that the presence of minibuses and buses until late night is comforting people in terms of feeling safe in and around the Park.

And last, Güven Monument has symbolic meanings for the majority of park users. So, people generally respect it. However, now there are few people who behave badly by having a rest, smoking, lying down on the platform of the park. The majority of park users, however, do not appreciate such people and their behaviors. Therefore, Güven Monument still symbolizes high values for the majority of Ankara citizens. Nevertheless, based on the interviews, it is possible to reveal that young generations seem to be more and more indifferent for such national historic assets and values. As a result, it can be said that, with the changing identity of the users, both meaning and identity of the Monument also change in time. In the 1930s, Güven Park's users were more decent; they used to act proper in the public spaces and show a high degree of respect on the new ideology of Republic. In these years, the newly emerging bourgeois class of the city used to dominate Güven Park as well as other new public spaces of Ankara. After the 1950s, although this modern character of the park users began to disappear, the heterogeneity of the users can be seen as a positive side of this era. The park became less decent and modern in character, but more public by serving different

variety of users, like bourgeoisie, workers and students. Following the 1970s, political violence, protests and fights turned Güven Park into an insecure place. From the 1990s up to now, the modern character of the park has got lost. Now, the park mostly is used by people who have not jobs and spend their spare time without spending money, or people who use the park as a transition area to public transportation.

How meaning affects the identity of Güven Park?

One of the most important issues that define the identity of Güven Park is the meanings attached to a space by its users. The interviewees who specify the meaning of the park already define it with its physical appearance and activity or with its history, personal experience and its symbolic meaning. People who indicate the park's meaning by means of physical definition and activity, define it without showing any ties. For these users, the park mean 'green open space where everyone can use' and which 'is at the center of the city by means of physical situation'. Besides, they define the park as a 'meeting site', 'resting place', 'transportation area', 'place of political protests'. Therefore, the meanings attached to the park by its users come from the activities that take place in there. However, these meanings do not include any personal memory or feeling; they are rather general knowledge and perception for the park.

On the other hand, for some users, the park has of a personal importance. These users relate the meaning with their memory for the park and they are mostly the older users of the park. They remember the old times that they spent time there. However, older people who define the meaning by means of the personal memories specify that they do not find the old character of the park.

In addition, some of the users think that the park has a meaning with its past and symbolic situation. The park reminds people the old Ankara of the Republic era. In this regard, since the park was designed to show the new ideology of the new government, it has an importance in historical sense. Especially people who remember the past of the park mention its symbolic meaning as the representation of the new modern city identity. Therefore, Güven Park is an important park with its symbolic meaning. However, this symbolic meaning is getting lost with changing physical appearance and activities which affect the user's profile.

The meaning of Güven Monument also affects the identity of the park since monuments have an importance to form the national identity. Therefore, while Güven Park has a meaning with related to Republic era, the Monument also strengthens this meaning. For many users, the monument is essential thing for the park. However, most of the park users -especially current users- do not know the past of the monument and it does not have any meaning for them. On the other hand, users who give a meaning to Güven Monument mention the symbolic and historical meaning of it. It has a meaning related with Atatürk, trust to citizen and government and War of Independence. Therefore, the monument reminds the past of Turkey and Ankara. However, for some people, it lost its meaning and getting objectified that people do not even pay any attention. It becomes thing that people sit and lie on it and sometimes disturbs the users of the park. As a result, while it loses its meaning, it becomes a disturbing place with its new users.

To sum up, Güven Park was designed to build an identity of new ideology of the new government with its physical features, activities that take place and meaning that is given. However, with changing ideology of the country and even the world, these physical features, activities and meanings change. As a result, identity of the Güven Park and Güven Monument changes as well. It was used as a park that people socialized and make an interaction with each other. However, it is lost its park character in time and now becomes a transition and transportation area that people pass by. In this sense, one can conclude that the identity of public spaces changes in relation with the ideological, social, economic, political factors appearing in time, just as observed in the case of Güven Park.

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APPENDIX A: FIRST-RUN INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Age:

Sex:

Place of birth:

Educational status:

Occupation:

Where do you live in Ankara?

Since when do you live in Ankara?

(If you are not born in Ankara) Where were come from to Ankara?

How often do you come to Güven Park?

How long do you spend in Güven Park?

What purpose do you use Güven Park for?

Do you like to spend time in Güven Park? Why?

Do you think Güven Park is safe in every hour of a day?

Do you know the history of Güven Park?

Do you know the history of Güven Monument?

Do you observe any changes in Güven Park?

physically (spatially)

social (by means of people behavior)

What is the meaning of Güven Park for you?

What is the meaning of Güven Monument for you?

APPENDIX B: SECOND-RUN INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Age:

Sex:

Place of birth:

Educational status:

Occupation:

Where do you live in Ankara?

Since when do you live in Ankara?

(If you are not born in Ankara) Where were come from to Ankara?

How often do you come to Güven Park?

If you use Güven Park regularly nowadays;

How long do you spend in Güven Park?

What purpose do you use Güven Park for?

Do you like to spend time in Güven Park? Why?

Do you think Güven Park is safe in every hour of a day?

If you do not use Güven Park regularly nowadays;

Why do not you use Güven Park?

Is there any time that you use Güven Park regularly? When? For what purpose?

Nowadays when you go to Güven Park what purpose you go for?

Do you think Güven Park is safe in every hour of the day nowadays?

Do you know the history of Güven Park?

Do you know the history of Güven Monument?

Do you observe any changes in Güven Park?

physically (spatially)

social (by means of people behavior)

What is the meaning of Güven Park for you?

What is the meaning of Güven Monument for you?