CHANGING GEOGRAPHY OF URBAN LEISURE:
THE CASE OF ANKARA

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ABSTRACT

CHANGING GEOGRAPHY OF URBAN LEISURE:
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This thesis study focuses on the formation and transformation of leisure activity in urbanization process. It is established on two fundamental assumptions. The first assumption is that (re)production of leisure space is a sociospatial process. There is a dialectic relationship between leisure activity and urban space: leisure activity produces appropriate spaces for itself, while the features of urban space provide opportunities for the development of leisure activity. In the same way, the city produces a space for the leisure activity, which in turn, contributes to the reproduction of the city. This is a never-ending process, and a result of dialectic relationship between leisure activity and urban space.

Second assumption states that leisure space has been produced and reproduced historically: present-day leisure geography has been established on overlapping historical realities which are related to each other. Leisure space does not have static properties and nature; instead it is formed in a process of never-ending change, transformation and complicated interconnections. For this reason, in order to understand the structure of present-day geography of leisure, the change and transformation of leisure space has to be analyzed in a historical context.

The thesis study approaches to leisure as a change and transformation problem in urban development. However, geography of leisure is not the only changing-one, content and context of leisure is also changing as well. Therefore, change and transformation is explained by neither a spaceless analysis of leisure activity nor a pure geographical analysis independent from social relations. This study tries to go beyond the so-called formulations of "spaceless leisure" or "space without its social context".

Changing geography of leisure throughout the history of Republican Ankara has been examined thoroughly in terms of sociospatial-dialectic between leisure activity and urban space. After this analysis, it is deduced that the change and transformation pattern of leisure space can be explained by five correlated variables: *meaning, geography, form, provision, and scale.* The total effect of these variables determines the sociospatial configuration of leisure activity in the city. The study conceptualizes the change in each variable under the five interrelated processes: *individuation, decentralization, diversification, commodification, and downscaling.* Deepening sociospatial segregation due to these five processes constitutes the main hypothesis of this thesis study.

Keywords: Urban leisure geography, sociospatial dialectic, Ankara

ÖZ

KENTSEL EĞLENCE-DİNLENCENİN DEĞİŞEN COĞRAFYASI: ANKARA ÖRNEĞİ

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Bu tez çalışması eğlence-dinlence aktivitesinin kentleşme sürecindeki oluşumu ve dönüşümü üzerine odaklanmaktadır. Çalışma iki temel varsayım üzerine inşa edilmiştir. İlk varsayıma göre, eğlence-dinlence mekânlarının üretimi ve yeniden üretimi sosyomekansal bir süreçtir. Eğlence-dinlence aktivitesi ile kent mekânı arasında diyalektik bir ilişki vardır: eğlence-dinlence aktivitesi kentte kendine uygun mekânlar üretirken kent mekânının belirli özellikleri de eğlence-dinlence aktivitesinin gelişimi için olanaklar sunmaktadır. Aynı şekilde, kent, eğlence-dinlence aktivitesi için mekânlar üretmekte ve daha sonrasında ise bu üretilen mekânlar kentin yeniden üretimine katkıda bulunmaktadır. Bu sürekli devam eden bir süreçtir ve eğlence-dinlence aktivitesi ile kent mekânı arasındaki diyalektik ilişkinin bir sonucudur.

İkinci varsayımla eğlence-dinlence mekânının tarihsel olarak (yeniden)üretilmekte olduğu kabul edilmektedir: günümüz eğlence-dinlence coğrafyası, birbiri üzerine binen ve birbirleriyle ilişkili tarihsel gerçeklikler üzerine inşa edilmiştir. Eğlence-dinlence mekânının durağan bir doğası ve sabit özellikleri yoktur, aksine eğlence-dinlence mekânı hiç bitmeyen bir değişim ve dönüşüm ve karmaşık bağımlılıklar sürecinde yapılandırılmaktadır. Bu nedenle, günümüz eğlence-dinlence coğrafyasının yapısını anlamak için eğlence-dinlence mekânının değişim ve dönüşümü tarihsel bir bağlamda analiz edilmelidir.

Bu tez çalışması eğlence-dinlenceyi kentsel gelişme içinde tarihsel bir değişim ve dönüşüm problemi olarak ele almaktadır. Ancak, değişen yalnızca eğlence-dinlencenin coğrafyası değildir, eğlence-dinlencenin kapsamı ve bağlamı da değişmektedir. Dolayısıyla, değişim ve dönüşüm ne eğlence-dinlence aktivitesinin mekândan bağımsız analizi ile ne de toplumsal ilişkilerden bağımsız salt coğrafi analizi açıklanabilir. Bu çalışma "mekândan bağımsız eğlence-dinlence" ya da "sosyal bağlamdan bağımsız mekan" gibi formülasyonların ötesine geçmeye çalışmaktadır.

Cumhuriyet Ankara'sının tarihinde eğlence-dinlencenin değişen coğrafyası, eğlence-dinlence aktivitesi ile kentsel mekân arasındaki diyalektik ilişki açısından detaylı olarak incelenmiştir. Bu analizden sonra eğlence-dinlence mekânının değişim ve dönüşüm örüntüsünün, birbiriyle ilişkili beş değişken ile açıklanabileceği sonucuna varılmıştır: *anlam, coğrafya, biçim, sunum ve ölçek*. Bu değişkenlerin toplam etkisi, eğlence-dinlence aktivitesinin kentteki sosyomekansal biçimlenişini belirlemektedir. Çalışma, her değişkendeki değişimi birbiriyle ilişkili beş süreç altında kavramsallaştırmıştır: *bireyselleşme, adem-i merkeziyet (desantralizasyon), çeşitlenme, metalaşma ve ölçek küçülmesi*. Bu süreçler sonucunda eğlence-dinlence mekânlarında sosyomekansal ayrışmanın derinleşmesi bu tezin temel hipotezini oluşturmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kentsel eğlence-dinlence coğrafyası, sosyomekansal diyalektik, Ankara.

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INTRODUCTION

1.1 Aim of the Study

This thesis study concentrates on the formation and transformation of leisure activity in the urbanization process. The study approaches to leisure activity as a change and transformation problem through the history. It stresses the importance of analyzing the leisure activity of a given period in its historical context instead of singling it out and analyzing it independently.

Therefore, the aim of this thesis study is to conceptualize the change and transformation of leisure activity in urban space within a historical context and to put forward the dynamics of change and transformation in leisure space. The analysis is established on two basic assumptions. First one is that (re)production of leisure space is a *sociospatial process*: leisure space is socially produced and therefore there is a *dialectic relationship between leisure activity and urban space*. Leisure activity produces approriate spaces for itself in the city, while the features of urban space provide opportunities for the development of leisure activity. These two simultaneous happenings are the result of the dialectic between them.

From the beginning of urban life, cities have produced leisure spaces for large concentrations of people. They have provided recreation, entertainment and cultural activities besides their primary functions. However, the form and geography of leisure activities, which were made available to urban populations, have never remained the same. As the city grew, both the leisure activity and its geography have been subject to change and transformation. In addition, this study argues that this "changing geography" of leisure reproduces the city as well. In other words, the city produces a space for the leisure activity which, in turn, reproduces the city. This is a never-ending process, and a representation of dialectic relationship between leisure activity and urban space.

According to the second assumption, leisure space has been produced and reproduced historically. Leisure is not a static concept which can be defined for all times and all civilizations, instead it has a dynamic sense; its meaning, form, and geography change continuously depending on the evolution of social structure. Therefore, this thesis study argues that in order to understand the structure of present-day geography of leisure, the change and transformation of leisure space have to be analyzed in a historical context. Leisure activity in a city is reproduced by the transformation of that city through the urbanization process. In order to comprehend the motivation and the factors behind the existence leisure activities, it is important to dig into the history of the city and follow the forms of leisure and the transformation of how the citizens experience "leisure".

The study argues that present-day geography of leisure activity is established on "cascaded" and "interdependent" historical realities. Thus, instead of focusing on spatial distribution of current-day leisure, it focuses on the "change" and "transformation" of leisure in urbanization process within its historical context. Leisure is produced through history, that is why an analysis that does not take the historical context into account will not be sufficient enough to understand the nature of leisure and also the relation between leisure and the city.

Therefore, this thesis study approaches to leisure geography in terms of: i) change and transformation of the spaces produced by leisure activity; ii) spatial distribution of leisure spaces in the city; iii) and the contribution of leisure activity to the reproduction of the city.

1.2 Hypothesis of the Research

In contemporary city, social and economic restructuring over the last three decades resulted in a shift from work and production to leisure and consumption. While modern city was defined in the context of production, postmodern city has been identified around consumption and leisure. As the focus shifted to consumption, the spaces in which consumption takes place began to gain more attention. Due to the fact that leisure has become more drawn into the economic realm of consumption, the production of leisure spaces has been becoming more and more active components of new urban economy (Dodson, 2000). In other words, leisure is gaining more importance in facilitating urban economic growth (Zukin, 1995). The result of this increased emphasis on the economic value of leisure space has overshadowed the role of public leisure spaces (Zukin, 1995; Gottdiener, 1985). The leisure motivations of urban residents are mobilized, legitimized and channeled into activities and spaces that ultimately support economic outcomes. Therefore, consumption-driven urban economy has led to a "change" in the previous *meaning, form, geography, scale,* and *provision* of leisure spaces.

As a result of spatial restructuring of cities accompanied by the improvements in transportation and infrastructure, and the developments in information and communication technologies, urban leisure spaces, similar to the other functions of city center, have faced trends of decentralization, dispersion and sprawl. Leisure geography has changed from "in town" to "out of town". However, "change" was not only about the geography of leisure, its meaning, form, scale and provision have also changed. The perception of leisure as a "need" has faded and leisure is becoming more identical to "consumption".

Leisure activity can no longer be differentiated based on its time and space. Nowadays, new geographies of leisure are generally identified with consumption practices and landscapes such as malling and theming of leisure. As an example, spaces of consumption such as shopping malls have become major sites for various forms of leisure. As a result, "malling" became such a phenomenon that shopping malls always provide the same aesthetic and spatial references independent of their locations in the new world (Rojek, 1995). Even conventional retail consumption (shopping) by itself, has become a major leisure activity (Dodson, 2000).

These new leisure geographies are "implicitly" segregated, fractured, and limited in terms of accessibility and therefore they are exclusion places for lower groups of social strata. While leisure spaces in city centers provide the means of socialization and interaction for all social classes, decentralized geographies of leisure, by nature, are socially segregated and are generally designed to serve for a specific group of customers. As a result, instead of collective leisure experience in the streets of the city, leisure is experienced individually in malls.

This aforementioned increase of sociospatial segregation in leisure spaces constitutes the main hypothesis of this thesis study. According to the study, this increase is a combined result of changes in five components of leisure: *meaning, form, geography, scale* and *provision*. In this study, changes in these five components will be conceptualized as five interrelated processes: *individuation, diversification, decentralization, downscaling* and *commodification* of leisure.
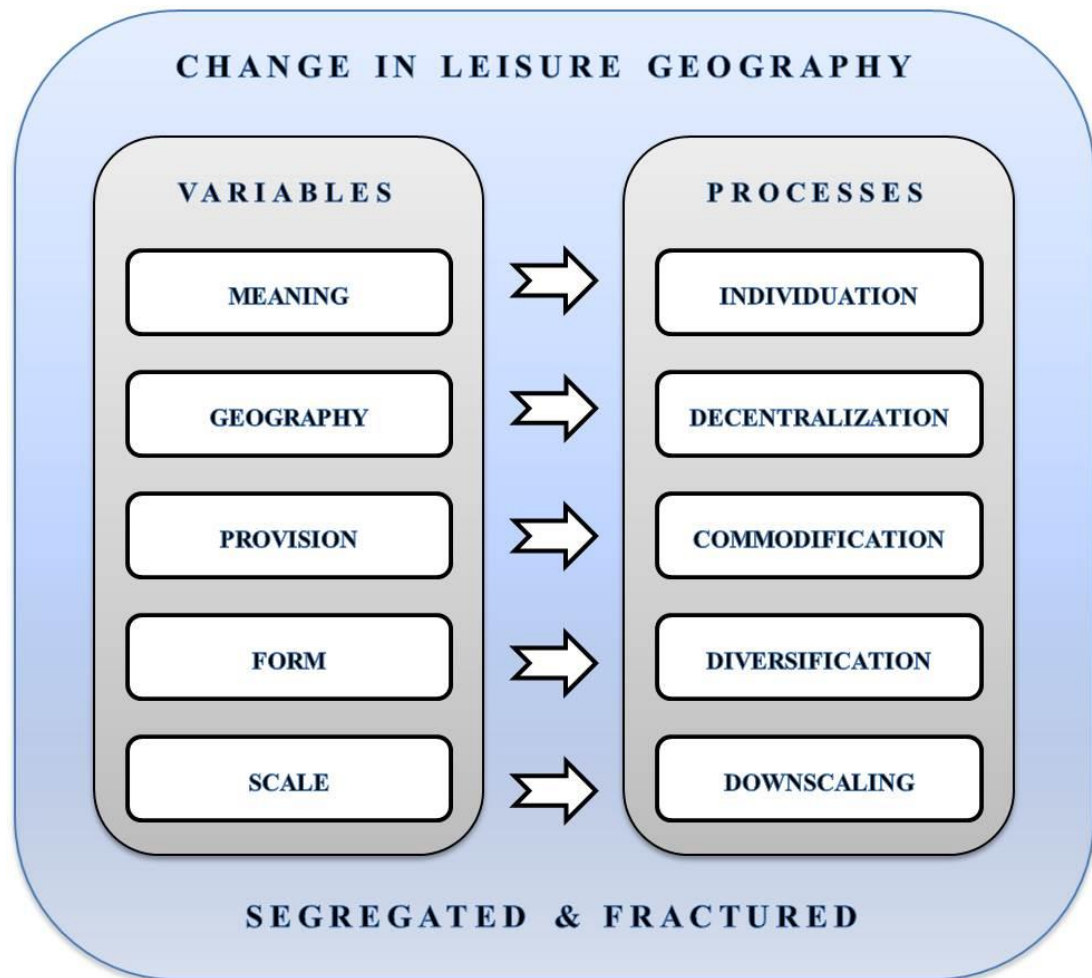
Figure 1.1 Changing Geography of Leisure Space

1.3 The Case of Ankara

As explained before, the main aim of this thesis study is to put forward the dynamics of change and transformation in leisure space. We have discussed that sociospatial segregation in leisure spaces has increased considerably, despite the growing significance of leisure space in our cities. At this juncture, the study argues that in order to comprehend segregated and fractured structure of the present-day leisure activity in urban space, this change and transformation has to be analyzed historically. Therefore, the study is conducted in Ankara case through analyzing the historical change patterns of leisure activity according to the changes in variables of meaning, geography[1], provision, form and scale of leisure.

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[1] In this thesis study, *the variable of leisure geography* is used in the meaning of spatial distribution and location of leisure activity in the city.

This thesis study chooses the city of Ankara[2] as a case study because of the following reasons:

- Since the city of Ankara has travelled a unique route in its epic transformation from a small town into a metropolis, each face of its transformation constitutes excellent cases for researchers to verify the application of systematic methods in those respective fields.

- In the Republican Era, Ankara has transformed from a city where leisure activity is generated by state intervention to a city in which leisure is developed by city's own dynamics. Ankara provides a good opportunity for comparing both of these applications (the state intervention and spontaneous), and also a rich discussion environment as well. In other words, Ankara is a unique case in which it is possible to compare the leisure space development both by the state intervention and by the city's own dynamics.

- While it is almost impossible to observe the relation between political structure and the leisure space in İstanbul case, Ankara case provides the opportunity for analyzing the relation between political structure and leisure space and also the interaction of leisure space with the economic structure.

- In the absence of an exogenous factor, such as tourism, leisure spaces are (re)produced spontaneously solely with the city's own dynamics in the case of Ankara. Therefore, Ankara offers a special case for understanding the nature of leisure activity in urban space.

These means make the case of Ankara very unique and special case that's why it is chosen as the case of this thesis study. In Ankara, the change and transformation of leisure space is investigated within three certain economic and political periods, which have different characteristics. Each period has produced its own leisure spaces according to the changing geography, meaning, form, scale and provision of leisure activity. The politic and economic features of each period have provided the basis necessary for the (re)production of leisure space. In this respect, the periodization is coincided with the structural changes in economic and political life of Turkey: 1923-1950, 1950-1980, and post 1980s, keeping in mind that the years 1950 and 1980 are the breaking points for the sociospatial configuration of leisure activity in the city.

However, one should not forget that, change in spatiality of leisure, different from the change in economy, does not occur in the form of sudden breaks. There is no certain time when one era ends and the other starts instantaneously. Change is almost transparent and it occurs in the form of accumulation of small changes. Therefore, some features of the previous period may still endure in the new era. For instance, this study sees the period of 1950-1980 as the continuity of previous Early Republican Period in many respects, however, this period also hosts many small changes in different aspects of life and leisure.

In the case of Ankara, the changing geography of leisure is analyzed under the periodization determined by changes in the five variables of leisure. Therefore, the thesis study aims to reveal the dynamics of the change and transformation in leisure space with reference to the increasing spatial segregation in the case of Ankara.

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[2] One should keep in mind that each city has a unique style in order to produce leisure space and also city's cultural structure defines its own leisure forms.

1.4 The Problem of Defining Leisure

Defining leisure is not an easy task. In Leisure Studies Literature, there are various opinions each trying to explain the meaning of leisure. In their respective understanding, traditional theorists define leisure as free time, free time activity or state of being with the notions of "freedom", "choice" and "self-fulfillment". Structuralist theorists do not involve in complex definitions about what leisure is, instead they attempt to examine the economic, political and ideological processes that have produced leisure. In the primary approach, traditional theorists see leisure as the free choice of the individual while totally ignoring the social structure. The second one, on the other hand, argues that free choice, if there exists one, is a structurally constrained one. Between these two, there is also a postmodern leisure theory which considers leisure as a choice in the structured world. This thesis study approaches leisure according to structuralist one which is not interested in defining leisure. It attempts to grasp the processes that have produced leisure.

Therefore, the conception of leisure in this thesis depends upon the functions of leisure instead of its plain definitions. To approach leisure in a systematic way, the study departs from classifying it according to its functions. Joffre Dumazedier (1967), a French sociologist, talks about three functions of leisure: i) relaxation; ii) entertainment; iii) self-development. This study classifies leisure in line with these three functions.

First function is related with the reproduction of the individual: *re-creation*. Basic definition of recreation is "the refreshment of the body or soul for work". Second one, entertainment, defeats boredom of daily life. In other words, it is a way of escaping from capitalist relations. Last one is related with the self- realization of the individuals through the development of their own talents and creative abilities while broadening their experiences and spontaneous social participation. Leisure activities, therefore, could be classified in terms of these three forms of leisure:

      i)   Recreation activities,
     ii)   Entertainment activities,
    iii) Cultural activities.

This classification leads us to investigate the production of leisure spaces around these three forms[3]:

      i)   Recreation spaces,
     ii)   Entertainment spaces,
    iii) Cultural spaces.

This functional distinction corresponds to the differentiation between social groups in access to leisure opportunities. In entertainment spaces, leisure is totally commodified; and structured in accordance with capitalist relations. Therefore, leisure provision is generally supplied by market mechanism. On the other hand, recreation spaces are provided by state. They are not considered as a commodity. Recreation spaces are public spaces that are open to everyone. Therefore, leisure provision in those spaces aims to include all social groups. However, state would make more investment to produce recreation areas in middle and high income neighborhoods than in low income slums, and squatter areas. Therefore, it can be concluded that in recreation spaces, spatial segregation demonstrates itself according to residential differentiation.

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[3] However, it should be kept in mind that this classification scheme does not mandate strict distinctions; it is only devised for the sake of simplicity and providing the instruments for systematic analysis. "Leisure concept" will be used frequently with the inclusion of other related terms such as recreation and entertainment in its broad meaning. In other words, in this thesis study the concepts of entertainment and recreation are regarded as subsets of the wider concept of leisure.

Cultural space is another category that has to be handled with different variables than the previous two, since ownership of economic capital, which was sufficient in order to explain entertainment and recreation spaces, would not be enough to explain spatial segregation in cultural spaces. The most important variable for cultural spaces is the ownership of cultural capital. However, it is worthy to note that cultural capital ownership is not totally independent from economic capital. Thus, spatial segregation in cultural spaces is depends on both the ownership of cultural capital and economic capital.

In general, leisure is a "need" for all social groups, which is because this study recognizes it as a basic human right. Since, leisure is the reproduction of an individual, escapism from boredom of everyday life, and a personal development sphere; this thesis choses to conceptualize leisure around these three contexts instead of reducing it to only time, activity or state of being.

1.5 Spatiality of Leisure and Sociospatial Dialectic

This thesis study concentrates on spatialization problem of leisure activity in the urban context. Therefore, focus of the study is the spatiality of leisure rather than leisure activity itself. As mentioned before, however, Leisure Studies Literature focuses on social and psychological aspects of leisure activity while ignoring spatial dynamics. Although there is a growing attention to spatiality of leisure in the literature, and especially from feminist standpoint, leisure space is generally seen and handled as the reflection of social structure. In other words, space is considered as a container of social relations. Therefore, the spatial context of leisure is generally missing in the literature. There is no theory related with the spatialization problem of leisure. This thesis study aims to fill this gap by suggesting a frame for the spatiality of leisure.

This thesis study does not see the spatiality of leisure as a geographical problem only. In other words, it does not reduce the process of space production to formation of physical space. Leisure space is socially produced and reproduced. The production of leisure space depends on both spatial dynamics and social structure. The problem of space (re)production is neither reduced to formation of physical space nor explained as the reflection of social relations on space. The study considers the (re)production of space as the dialectic between physical space and social structure. The main consideration of this thesis study is established on this argument. It does not choose either the way of narrating the change in physical space or the way of conceptualizing the social relations independent from space context. The analysis of space is not secondary to or a derivative of the analysis of leisure activity; rather each of them requires the other.

Therefore, the study asserts that (re)production of leisure space is a sociospatial process. It aims to establish a sociospatial approach to understand the changing geography of leisure. This sociospatial approach is neither a spaceless social analysis of leisure activity nor a pure geographical analysis independent from social relations. This thesis tries to go beyond the so-called formulations of "spaceless leisure" or "space without its social context".

This thesis study approaches leisure geography through the dialectics between leisure activity and urban space. According to the dialectical approach, leisure activity and urban space are connected with, dependent on and determined by each other instead of each existing independently of the other. This approach considers them not only from standpoint of their interconnection and interdependence, but also from the standpoint of their change and transformation.

Leisure geography is in a state of continuous change and development. Therefore, this study refuses the mode of thinking that begins with a fixed definition of leisure according its various attributes. Leisure does not have a fixed nature and fixed properties; instead, leisure is formed in a process of unending change and transformation, in a process of complicated interconnections. The dialectical method aims to reveal this changes and interconnections in (re)production process of leisure space.

Leisure activity is both space-forming and space-contingent, a double relationship called as 'sociospatial dialectic'. The relation between leisure as a social activity and urban space is not unilateral; on the contrary, it is bilateral. Leisure activity produces the spaces for itself in the city, at the same time, the features of urban space provides opportunities for the development of leisure activity. This dialectic relationship leads to an unending change and transformation of leisure spaces in a sociospatial sense.

Leisure space is not considered in isolation from other developments. Leisure space is not just a bar, or a café, or a restaurant, or a park, or a theater, or a cinema, it is more than these. *There is a leisure space context*. Leisure space is not an isolated thing independent from its social, historical, cultural, economic, and spatial contexts. Leisure activity is produced and reproduced dialectically throughout the history and leisure space is not (re)produced randomly in the city. Therefore, behind the form of leisure space as a bar, a cinema or a theater, there is a process, a history, and a story formed by the changes and interconnections in the social life.

Leisure spaces are located at certain places which are generally the most prestigious geographies of cities. As prestigious geographies of the city changes, leisure adjusts its location accordingly. On the other hand, change in the location of leisure spaces leads to change in prestigious geography of the city. In other words, it is true that leisure tends to choose a location in a prestigious geography of the city, however, at the same time the locations chosen by leisure spaces becomes the prestigious places of the city. Because of the dialectic relationship between leisure activity and urban space, they are connected with, dependent on and determined by each other.

1.6 Variables of the Thesis Study

This thesis study explains the sociospatial change in leisure space with five interrelated variables: *meaning, geography, form, scale* and *provision* of leisure. As mentioned before, the combination of the changes in these components leads to the deepening of sociospatial segregation. This study defines these changes in five processes: *individuation, decentralization, commodification, diversification*, and *downscaling*.

1.6.1 "Meaning" of Leisure and "Individuation"

The meaning and the perception of leisure has changed over time and space. In ancient world, leisure was valued as an essential component of the good life, while work was ignorable and unworthy. Leisure was the main goal of the life. The Greek towns were carefully designed to serve for leisure needs; they generally had parks, baths, theatres, gymnasiums, and exercise grounds. Under the capitalist mode of production, leisure began to assume a subservient role and became only the means to support work. Instead of its ancient meaning, leisure was considered as a tool that would serve for the "re-creation" of physical and physiological capacity of the workers. In industrial city, leisure spaces were produced and designed according to this perception that was valid throughout the 20th century. However, as capitalism moved away from an emphasis on production and focused on consumption, the perception of leisure shifted accordingly and eventually leisure became a major source of profit. Instead of its ignorable role in industrial city, the new forms of leisure combined with consumption have become major force of new urban economy. Therefore, the production of leisure spaces has gained a lot more significance in the postmodern city.

The transformation in the meaning of leisure space constitutes the first variable of the analysis. In the case of Ankara, the meaning of leisure in each socioeconomic period has determined how and where the urban citizens experience leisure activities. There has always been a specific purpose in leisure

space production. For example, in the Early Republican Period, leisure space was produced for the purpose of cultivating the "modern citizen". In this era, leisure space was regarded as a tool for social transformation and it was designed according to this perception. On the other hand, in the contemporary city, leisure activity became more identical to "consumption activity" since leisure space is widely considered as a player of consumption-driven urban economy.

Therefore, while leisure space was designed to serve as a place for socializing and interaction among urban citizens in Early Republican period, it is designed as consumption space in today's city. In other words, we can clearly witness a shift in the meaning of leisure space from socialization – interaction space to consumption space. The study argues that this transformation leads to an increase in spatial segregation of urban leisure spaces and it attempts to conceptualize this shift under the name of *individuation*.

In the new face of modernity, as the social stratification deepens in the society, social interaction between social groups weakens as well. Due to the fact that leisure spaces are main interaction spaces for the society where urban citizens attend for socializing, leisure is the sphere where this process would be observed more clearly. Social inclusion or exclusion is the key term for defining the degree of interaction within the society in which each social group produces its own leisure form and geography.

In today's world, inclusion policies that aim to include all social groups are being replaced by exclusion policies. Therefore, leisure spaces are converted from interaction – socialization spaces to places in which individual experiences gain importance. Leisure is degraded to individual experience instead of being a way of socialization. This degradition leads to the creation of individualistic leisure forms, rather than the socializing forms depending on the degree of individualism in the society. For example, instead of collective leisure experience in the downtowns, leisure is experienced individually in shopping malls. This thesis study conceptualizes this process as *individuation* in leisure space. Then it formulates its initial research questions as follows:

- How has the meaning of leisure changed historically? Is there a shift in the way that leisure is understood and experienced?
- What is the leisure perception of each economic-political period?
- How does the meaning of leisure determine the sociospatial formation of leisure activity?
- Today leisure space is generally perceived as a consumption space. How was this perception before? For example, how did people perceive leisure 50 years ago?

1.6.2 Leisure Form and "Diversification"

Leisure forms have always been subject to change in history. For instance, dominant leisure forms of 1950s are almost totally different from today's. Popular or dominant forms have been outmoded over time, while wide variety of new forms is created simultaneously. This thesis study conceptualizes the change in the form of leisure under the name of *diversification*.

As a result of the increase in the economic value of leisure and its commodification, postmodern city has created and offered a wide range of leisure forms to its inhabitants. However, since the variety of leisure activities is dictated by the market economy, the urban citizen is indeed constrained to make choices between these commercially-created leisure activities. Market mechanism seems to provide wide variety of leisure opportunities to individuals for the sake of uniqueness; however, they cannot escape from the unending sameness of commodified leisure. As Rojek (1986) indicated, under the appearance of freedom of choice among the wide variety of leisure activities, there is a permanent sameness for everyone. For instance, shopping malls as major sites for leisure activities of today's

world, provide the same aesthetic and spatial references independent of their location in the world (Rojek, 1995).

On the other hand, as a class-centered phenomenon, the leisure form of an individual is defined by his place in the production process. Available leisure time and the amount of disposable income are key factors for accessing the leisure opportunities in the city. For all citizens, the aim of leisure is the same (recreate, entertain or self-development), however how and where they could realize this aim changes depending on the ownership of economic and cultural capital. In other words, leisure forms of the urban citizen are directly related to their access to financial resources. *Therefore, not all kinds of leisure forms are open to everyone*; there is always a sociospatial segregation which has been built on social distinctions in terms of class, gender, status, and ethnicity, since leisure spaces themselves are actually an expression of unequal power relations within the society.

What is more, the problem of accessing the leisure activities is not solely defined by the access to what is available, it is also defined by the access to what is not available. Avaiable leisure forms are inevitably determined among the ones which could be mass produced and which could generate mass profits for the market.

Behind the existence of so called diversified leisure forms, it is a fact that market economy produces different forms of leisure for different social classes; therefore market mechanism determines how and where each social class experiences leisure. Despite the increase in the variety of leisure forms, these leisure forms are experienced in different geographies that in general do not touch each other at all. In order to test this argument, the research questions of the study are formulated as follows:

- What is the reason for the introduction of new leisure forms?
- Why are some leisure forms outmoded? What has changed?
- Does variety in leisure activities mean less segregation in a sociospatial sense?

1.6.3 Leisure Geography and "Decentralization"

The other variable for understanding the transformation of leisure is the change in geography of leisure. Generally, leisure spaces tend to choose locations in city centers which are the heart and meeting place of the cities[4]. City centers provide leisure grounds which are easly accessible for all the citizens. What is more, leisure spaces in city centers are the interaction places for all social classes.

However, during the past two decades geography of leisure has changed considerably. As a result of spatial restructuring of cities accompanied by the improvements in transportation and infrastructure,

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[4] According the classification of leisure spaces, the site selection of entertainment and cultural spaces indeed is highly related with the sociospatial structure of city center. As mentioned before, leisure spaces tend to choose locations in city centers which are the heart and meeting place of the city. However, this argument is not valid for all recreation spaces. Some recreation spaces which require more open areas could be located far from the city center. These spaces are distinguished from the leisure spaces which were located in city centers with a key factor: "everydayness". Due to the availability and proximity, city center becomes a part of everyday life while the other recreation areas which are scattered around the city are visited less frequently. For example, a leisure space in city center such as *Güvenpark* is a part of everyday life while relatively large but distant space such as *Gazi Orman Çiftliği* [Gazi Forest Farm] is not. Urban citizens, working in Kızılay can spare a certain amount of time almost everyday to spend in *Güvenpark*; on the other hand, these citizens should plan their trips to *Gazi Orman Çiftliği* in advance and allocate more time. In addition, due to the distance of *Gazi Orman Çiftliği* these trips cannot become a daily routine for citizens. It is worthy to note that the thesis study formulated its argumentation as being aware of this distinction.

and developments in information and communication technologies, urban leisure spaces, have faced trends of dispersion and sprawl. The leisure geography has changed from "in town" to "out of town". In this thesis study this process is conceptualized under the name of *decentralization*.

Parallel to the evolution of land use patterns in city centers, the nature and geography of leisure activities has changed accordingly. There is a direct relationship between the spatialization forms of leisure and the shift/fragmentation process of the city center, which are the issues that this thesis study intends to understand and reveal.

Leisure spaces are located at certain places, which are generally the most prestigious geographies of cities. Urban citizens go to the prestigious leisure spaces for reflecting their status and social class or for getting the symbols from upper classes. This is because, leisure spaces provide the means for the urban citizen to obtain social belonging and status. As prestigious geographies of the city changes, leisure geographies adjust their location accordingly.

Because of the market driven character, leisure spaces are located close to their target customers. Since these customers are generally the members of middle and high classes, leisure space choose to be located around the middle and high class residential areas. That is the reason why residential mobility of these classes is an effective variable in determining leisure geography. Therefore, we can state that as the residential differentiation increases, spatial segregation in leisure deepens.

City centers, as being the prestigious geographies of the cities, host leisure spaces. Growth and development of cities generally result in the creation of a new city centers, and the city relocates its prestigious activities, including leisure, to this new centers which eventually degrades the value of the old center. This shift leads to a change in leisure geography as well. This process can be observed clearly in the case of Ankara; shift of city center from Ulus to the more prestigious Yenişehir have transformed the locations of leisure activities as well. For instance, cinemas moved from Ulus to Yenişehir but bars-pavilions stayed in Ulus. After all, prestigious activities left the city center and sprawled in new but out of town locations[5]. As the middle and high classes move out to suburbs, leisure is decentralized[6].

Decentralized leisure geographies are implicitly segregated, fractured, and limited in terms of accessibility and therefore they are exclusion places for lower groups of social strata. While the leisure spaces in city centers provide the means of socialization and interaction for all social classes, decentralized geographies of leisure, by nature, are socially segregated and are designed to serve for a specific group of customers.

It is a fact that city centers are losing their values due to fragmentation and decentralization. Although it is inevitable to reverse this degradation, there is one important feature that may save and keep them alive: tourism. When a city is a destination for tourism, old-historic city centers generally become the epicenter of touristic attractions. These attractions, which are mainly leisure-related, keep the old city centers functioning. In other words, city centers keep and even create new leisure activities with the help of tourism. In the absence of such an exogenous factor in the case of Ankara, decentralization process of leisure has occurred spontaneously and solely with its own dynamics. If Ankara would

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[5] Cinema is the most affected leisure activity by the consequences of this process. Last two decades, the geography of cinemas has changed considerably by the development of new generation multiplex cinemas, which are generally located in out-of-town shopping malls. The number of cinemas in the city center has declined, while the number of multiplex cinemas in shopping malls is increasing. As a result, the city center is hosting only four cinemas today, while there are over fifteen multiplex cinemas in shopping malls.

[6] It is worthy to note that these two processes, fragmentation of city center and decentralization of leisure, are two simultaneous happenings. At this point, the study does not see any one of them as the reason the other as the result. In a way, this thesis study attempts to question the direction of the causality between them.

have been a popular touristic city, its city center could kept its leisure spaces and even provided new leisure opportunities to attract tourists. Due to the fact that it is not a touristic city, its leisure spaces are produced with their own dynamics. Ankara offers a special opportunity for understanding the nature of leisure in urban space. That is one of the reasons why the city of Ankara is chosen as a case in this thesis study.

This thesis study investigates how concentration and dispersion patterns of leisure spaces have changed. It is argued that the emergence of dispersion patterns leads to spatial segregation in leisure spaces. The initial research questions of the study are:

- Did leisure activity choose to concentrate in urban space?
- What is the reason behind the dispersion of leisure?
- In what ways transportation opportunities and car ownership affect the spatial distribution of leisure spaces?
- How does the fragmentation of city center affect decentralization of leisure space?
- Does the suburbanization or urban development lead to the reconfiguration of leisure spaces in the city?
- What is the relation between the increase in residential differentiation and the increase in spatial segregation of leisure spaces?
- What is the contribution of changing spatial distribution of leisure activity to the reproduction of the city?

1.6.4 Leisure Provision and "Commodification"

Leisure provision is another variable in defining change and transformation of leisure space. As mentioned before, state and market are two dominant actors in leisure provision. This thesis study argues that market mechanism, compared to the state, is gaining weight in leisure provision in recent years. For the market, leisure services are not different from any other commercial services or goods; therefore, the provision of leisure services is governed by the same principle as the other goods and services.

The principle can simply be defined as the ability of the leisure entrepreneur to invest the necessary amount of capital to generate sufficient profit. The key objective of market mechanism is to sell goods and maximize the profit. What is more, market has the luxury of choosing the location for the service; leisure spaces, which are produced by the market, are generally located near the residential areas of middle and upper classes. Thus it is not surprising that lower-class areas frequently exhibit a lack of leisure facilities compared to wealthier areas.

On the other hand, the key objective of the state in leisure provision is based on "public interest" instead of profit maximization. State has the responsibility to provide variety of leisure spaces, such as urban parks, squares, promenades to all social groups in both poorer and wealthier areas of the city. Due to this differentiation between the state and market approaches to leisure, as the weight of market in leisure provision increases, the sociospatial segregation in urban leisure deepens. The study conceptualizes this process under the name of *commodification* of leisure.

It has been observed that the spaces that allow free public interaction are declining. The increasing commodification and privatization of leisure spaces has gradually deactivated public life in the city[7].

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[7] Leisure spaces are generally public places where social relations are realized in a way of that is open to anyone and happens in front of everyone. This feature of the place turns the leisure space into "public scene". For example, leisure spaces had a modernizing functionality for the migrants that come from rural areas. The new-

Shopping malls, as the new leisure geographies, allow the realization of consumerist subjectivity as well as capital accumulation. In these privatized spaces, access is controlled in order to provide a sense of security which is less available in the inner city. However, they are socially sanitized spaces and they are legally capable of excluding socially stigmatized and disruptive groups. Although the public is encouraged to enjoy a form of urban ambience in such spaces, these spaces are not truly public since they are privately owned and controlled as commercial businesses (Gottdiener, 1985; Lloyd and Auld, 2003).

In the case of Ankara, this commodification process may be observed more clearly because of its historical significance as the capital of Turkish Republic. In the foundation years, the state was the most dominant actor in leisure provision due to the fact that leisure was perceived as a means for social transformation. The state controlled and even supported the market for providing leisure facilities for the sake of cultivating modern citizens of Republic.

In the Early Republican period, three factors determined the establishment of modern leisure spaces. First one, as mentioned above, is the weight of the state as supporter, controller, and the encourager in leisure provision. Second one is the importance denoted to Ankara as a model city for the rest of the country. Final one is the role of the city plans in leisure provision; very first city plans of Ankara explained the need for leisure in detail and designed specific places for these leisure activities.

However, after 1950s, withdrawal of the state and the planning institution from leisure provision accompanied by the disappearing importance of Ankara as a model city, have gradually led to the commodification of leisure spaces. Then with the economic liberalization in 1980s and 1990s, leisure began to be providedmostly by market mechanism. Based on these argumentations, the thesis study establishes the following initial research questions:

- How did the state direct leisure provision in Early Republican Period? (Directly subsidize or through planning institution).
- How did the inclusive policy of early Republic period affect the spatial configuration of leisure? In what degree was the inclusiveness achieved in sociospatial sense?
- How did the withdrawal of the state in leisure provision affect the existing leisure forms and geographies after 1950s?
- How and in what ways has the leisure provision changed historically?
- Which leisure forms are chosen by market mechanism? Why was cinema the best option in 1960s and 1970s?
- Which leisure form does market tend to choose? Entertainment or culture?
- Is there a leisure notion in the city plans of Ankara?
- What are the leisure perceptions of the city plans?
- What is the role of city plans in the (re)configuration of leisure spaces?
- What should be the role of urban planning in the production of leisure spaces?

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comers became visible in the city firstly by using the recreation spaces. Due to the publicity of leisure spaces, new citizens met with the urban culture in these public places. At the same time, new comers also opened their rural culture to circulation via leisure spaces. As a result, dominant culture of the city was evolved and eclectic and hybrid new cultural forms were emerged.

1.6.5 Scale of Leisure and "Downscaling"

Change in scale[8] of leisure is another variable for understanding the sociospatial transformation of leisure. In the past, the scale of leisure spaces was different from the size of today's leisure spaces. Since, leisure spaces were perceived as "interaction spaces" for all social classes, they were produced in large capacities. However, as a result of the diversification and individuation processes that explained have been before, the capacities of leisure places in today's world are subject to *downscaling.*

The best example of downscaling in leisure spaces is the change in the capacities of cinema halls[9]. Through the development of multiplex cinemas, which offer many simultaneous viewing screens, cinema halls were subdivided into smaller units with different seating capacities. For example, *Büyük Sinema* had a seating capacity for 1550, which can not be matched by even the biggest hall of today's multiplex cinemas. This fractured interior space is the mirror of sociospatial fragmentation in urban space; the difference between them is only the scale of fragmentation.

What is more, the interior designs of leisure spaces were also subject to change: the interior spaces are designed as almost the same standardized places with an emphasis on individual comfort. Today's leisure spaces do not have unique characteristics; they provide the same aesthetic and spatial references to their customers. However, it shoud be kept in mind that the difference maker is always the features which one unique to the spaces. For example, due to the existence of unique styles in the interior designs of *Piknik* or *Büyük Sinema* has played a significant role in the formation of collective memory of urban citizens[10]. Based on these argumentations, the thesis study establishes the following initial research questions:

- How has the scale of leisure changed?
- What is the reason of downscaling in leisure spaces?
- How is the downscaling in capacities of leisure spaces correlated with fragmentation of urban space?
- How have the interior designs of leisure spaces changed? How did the changes in interior design lead to a change in leisure experience itself? On the other hand, did the changing leisure experience result in a change in interior space? Is this a dialectical relation?

1.7 Methodology and Research Material

The study asserts that (re)production of leisure space is a sociospatial process. It aims to establish the sociospatial approach to understand the changing geography of leisure. The sociospatial approach is neither a spaceless social analysis of leisure activity nor a pure geographical analysis independent from social relations. This thesis tries to go beyond the so-called formulations of "spaceless leisure" or "space without its social context".

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[8] This thesis study approaches the scale of leisure or "downscaling" phenomenon in comparison with the size of the city. The concept of downscaling is evaluated in a relative sense in terms of the city's population.

[9] In fact, "the changes in cinema halls" is the best representation of change in geography, meaning, form and scale of leisure.

[10] Collective memory consists of leisure experience itself, togetherness of the activity and the physical structure with architectural codes of the leisure space.

Therefore, this thesis study approaches leisure geography through the dialectic between leisure activity and urban space. According to the dialectical method, leisure activity and urban space are interconnected, interdependent realities and determined by each other, instead of each existing independently of the other. This method approaches them both from the standpoint of their interconnection and interdependence, and also from the standpoint of their change and transformation.

This thesis study argues that in order to understand the structure of present-day geography of leisure, the change and transformation of leisure space has to be analyzed in a historical context. Therefore, the study departs from focusing on historical change and transformation process of leisure instead of focusing on a cross-section of the present-day formation of leisure geography. Since, the study argues that present-day geography of leisure activity is established on cascaded and interdependent historical realities. Thus, instead of focusing on spatial distribution of current-day leisure, it focuses on the "change" and "transformation" of leisure in urbanization process within its historical context. Leisure is produced through history, which is why an analysis that does not consider the historical context will not be sufficient enough to understand the relation between leisure and the city.

Such a historical analysis unfortunaltely faced the problem of insufficient quantitative data. In the lack of quantitative data about the past, the study had to apply to the qualitative data sources such as narratives, novels, memory books, photographs, maps, reports of the related period.

What is more, numbers cannot explain everything in many ocaasions. The processes that trigger and produce the realities may not be explained solely with quantitative methods. Due to the limitations of quantitative data for explaining these processes, theis thesis study is conducted by the utilization of qualitative data. For instance, the leisure classification based on quantitative data cannot give us sufficient information about social distinctions. The social division in leisure sphere can not be completely observed only with numbers. Besides being a helpful axuallary source, an analysis based on numbers may become insufficient in order to grasping the processes completely. At that point, the qualitative data give us necessary information required for analyzing the change and transformation process of leisure space.

Therefore, the study is conducted mostly with the qualitative method rather than quantitative method and it is based on both oral and written resources. Data is collected from the written sources such as narratives, novels, memory books, and newspapers and magazines published during the period of the study. These narratives are interpreted through textual analysis method. Textual analysis is an appropriate method since it facilitates the discover of how meaning is produced while explicating the dominant meanings contained within the texts. The goal of the analysis, then, is not to find the single "truth" embedded in the texts, but rather, to provide an interpretation of the texts in relation to the cultural and social contexts in which they operate.

Narratives give us informal history of leisure geography. However, one should keep in mind that there are two distinct ways of looking at past: i) looking at past from the gaze of present day (narratives, memory books written today) ii) looking at past from the gaze of past (books and newspapers of that period). These two ways of examining the past are applied to the related sources.

Moreover, the written documents in archives of institutions - such as planning decisions of city plans or decisions of other institutions related with both construction and using of leisure spaces - play key role in production process of space, supply a useful form of data for this thesis study

Additionally, it should be kept in mind that, historical quantitative data should be evaluated in accordance with the size of the city. Conducting a historical analysis with quantitative data such as, area, capacity, and number of leisure spaces might be misleading, unless the size of the population is taken into account. Therefore, the comparison with the size of the city and its population has always been prioritized in this thesis study.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

> *"That is the principal point,*
> *with what kind of activity, is man to occupy his leisure"*
> *Aristotle*

For understanding the production process of leisure spaces in the urban context, the initial point is defining "leisure" concept. However, defining leisure is not an easy task. Due to the complexity of the concept, philosophers and sociologist have long wrestled the problem of defining leisure.

The English word "leisure" is derived from the Latin *licere*, which means "to be permitted" or "to be free". Within certain parallelism with this, leisure generally implies "freedom from constraint" and "opportunity to choose". Freedom from obligation is often regarded as a key attraction of defining leisure. Therefore, most common conceptualizations view leisure as the opposite of work. Then, the concept of leisure is generally defined as "free time after work" or "free time after obligatory social duties have been met".

2.1 Dictionary Definitions of Leisure

The Dictionary of Sociology describes leisure as "free time after the practical necessities of life have been attended to". In the same way, in the Macquarie Dictionary, leisure is seen as "the condition of having one's time free from the demands of work or duty". In addition, leisure is defined as "free time that can be used for rest, recreation, etc." in the Collins Australian Pocket English Dictionary.

Webster's Third New International Dictionary, also describes leisure as "freedom or spare time provided by the cessation of activities; free time as a result of temporary exemption from work or duties; a time at one's own command that is free of engagements or responsibilities; a period of unemployed time; opportunity provided by free time". On the other hand, The International Dictionary of Sociology defines leisure as "the pursuits that people carry on in their free time".

2.2 Definitions of Leisure from Literature

In Leisure Literature, it seems that there is a consensus on three different perceptions of leisure: i) as free time, ii) as free time activity, iii) as a state of being. Although these conceptions are different from each other, the basic assumption for all these definitions is that leisure is an independent part of social life. These three conceptions deal with internal pattern of leisure. Thus, all of them are criticized in different ways:

2.2.1 Leisure as Free Time

The most common understanding of leisure today refers it as free time or unoccupied time. The problem in viewing leisure as free time is that it is difficult to draw a line between necessities and spare time. It is particularly difficult to determine what is free time or what is not. What is free time

for retired person, the student, the housewife, the unemployed, the artist, the professor, or the homeless person? Leisure is time free from work or work-related responsibilities. When the workweek is shortened or new holidays are added, it is always concluded that employees have gained increased leisure. Therefore, such a definition of leisure is too broad to be of use and is only perceived in the context of doing "work" (Kraus, 1994:10; Torkildsen, 1992:26).

To Brightbill (1960:4) "leisure is a block of unoccupied time, spare time or free time when we are free to rest or do what we choose...the time to be used according to our own judgement or choice". He identified leisure as a discretionary time beyond the time for the things biologically required to stay alive (that is, eat, sleep, medicate so on) and subsistence time for the things to make a living as in work, as in school. Thus, leisure is discretionary time in which "our feelings of compulsion should be minimal". However, as Torkildsen (1992:26) indicated, the matter is more complicated: what is necessary for some will be discretionary for others. For example, eating and sleeping may be chosen as discretionary activities.

Kaplan (1960:21) identified several kinds of free time: the permanent, voluntary leisure of rich; temporary, involuntary leisure of the unemployed; regularly allocated, voluntary leisure of the employed; permanent incapacity of the disabled; and the voluntary retirement of aged. Therefore, when leisure is defined as time, there are many interpretations and meanings for those who have it. What is more, "free time" is necessary but insufficient condition for the conceptualization of leisure.

2.2.2 Leisure as Free Time Activity

A related view is that leisure is more than discretionary time; instead, it is often considered to be the activities we engage in voluntarily during such periods of time. In this view, free time is used for doing things and going places, therefore the emphasis is not on the time itself but on the activity. Leisure activities range from games and hobbies to sports, creative pastimes, and varied forms of entertainment, outdoor play and travel. They may also consist of voluntary activities and community services, non career-directed education, and religious involvement (Kraus, 1994:10).

Dumazedier (1960, 21) stated that leisure is made up of "…a number of occupations in which the individual may indulge of his own free will – either to rest, to amuse himself, to add to his knowledge or improve his skills disinterestedly or to increase his voluntary participation in the life of the community after discharging his professional, family, and social duties"

Kaplan (1960:21-2), also see leisure as activity. However for him, who has the Aristotelian view, leisure is an end in itself, distinct from work which is a means to an end. Neumeyer and Neumeyer (1958: 17) also define leisure as "an opportunity to engage in some kind of activity, whether vigorous or relatively passive, which is not required by daily necessities".

It is difficult to draw line between obligatory activities and non-obligatory activities. There are some activities, which one is obligated to do, but which also bring about satisfactions in the doing. Hence, Dumazedier (1967) poses the term "semi-leisure" for this kind of activities. Such activities as domestic, do-it-yourself, and family obligations, could be pleasurable or diversionary and could function as semi-leisure.

In this view, leisure is seen as "freely chosen" activity. However, the leisure choice is materially and culturally constrained by all the manners of social divisions. In the perception of leisure as activity, the relationship between leisure and social structure is ignored.

2.2.3 Leisure as a State of Being

In the perception of leisure as a state of being, leisure is regarded as an end in itself and as an independent part of social reality. Pieper (1965:43) argues that:

> "Leisure, it must be understood, as a mental and spiritual attitude – it is not simply the result of external factors, it is not the inevitable result of spare time, a holiday, a weekend or a vacation. It is, in the first place, an attitude of the mind, a condition of the soul…Compared with the exclusive ideal of work as activity, leisure implies (in the first place) an attitude of non-activity, of inward calm, of silence; it means not being "busy", but letting things happen…Leisure is a form of silence, of that silence which is the prerequisite of the apprehension of reality…For leisure is a receptive attitude of mind, a contemplative attitude, and it is only the occasion but also the capacity for steeping oneself in the whole of creation".

In this view, leisure is idealized as a state of being. This leisure concept is characterized in the work of theorists like De Grazia and Pieper and their many followers. These theorists approach leisure is conceptualized in a normative sense. Thus, they are well known as "leisure Aristotelians". To De Grazia (1962), leisure is a state of being, free of everyday necessity. Therefore, leisure is clearly separated from everyday activity.

In addition, De Grazia criticizes the notion that leisure is free time. The free time produced by industrialization is typified by passivity. De Grazia (1962) stated that the tendency of people to fill their free hours with hobbies, communicative tasks, and other forms of amusement meant that they had no real leisure, in the classical sense. De Grazia (1962) added that the "true leisure" has not been developed for the masses and it may be "beyond the capacity of most people".

According to this view, leisure is distinct from both recreation and work. If, in the use of one's spare time, one has a certain "state of mind" (generally described in normative, moralistic terms) then one is engaged in the process of leisure. If not, then one is engaged in the process of "mere" recreation (Van Moorst, 1982:161). This "state of mind" would include the feeling of free, of not being supervised, controlled or coerced, of enjoyment and happiness. Therefore, in the perception of state of being, social control is totally ignored. Problem of leisure is separated from the question of social control and the domain of social control. Leisure is perceived independent from social control at ideological level. Then, it is envisioned that this approach would lead us to the idealistic attitude that is the idea of leisure as state of being.

We may conclude that in these idealist views, material basis of social reality is ignored and leisure, despite being a social reality, is reduced to "state of mind" only. As Van Moorst (1982:161) puts correctly these idealist views reduces the whole question to the mental states of the individual and ignores the complex nature of culture, consciousness, and ideology.

2.2.4 Evaluation

In the leisure studies literature, three approaches are evident for the conceptualization of leisure-leisure as time, as activity and a state of being. In the perception of leisure as time, leisure is defined as "free" time or unoccupied time. In the second approach, leisure is considered as "freely chosen" activity that people carry on in their "free" time. Both of the definitions of leisure are actually too broad to be of use. The notions of "free" and "choice" are materially and culturally constrained by all the manners of social divisions. As Parry and Parry (1977) put correctly, leisure as a social phenomenon itself, involves social constraint and social obligation. The third one, leisure as a state of being, perceives leisure as a mental and spiritual attitude. This idealistic view reduces the whole question of leisure to "state of mind" of individual and disregards the social structure.

These particularistic approaches – time, activity, and a state of being- see leisure independent from social reality and only deal with the internal pattern of leisure. However, this thesis study takes up the matter of leisure in its relation to the material basis of social life. It argues that in order to conceptualize leisure, its relationships with other elements of social structure must be understood instead of abstracting it from these relationships. This thesis study deals with the examination of how processes of social construction of leisure occur through studies of class, patriarchy, culture, race and discourse. It is concerned with looking beneath the surface of leisure and examining the economic, political and ideological processes that have produced it. This thesis study argues that material influences structure leisure opportunities and lifestyles; there is always social control over the production of leisure opportunities and choices. It claims that leisure is a social and class-centered phenomenon. We may conclude that in this thesis study, leisure is not considered as a static concept; instead, it is regarded as a dynamic reality, directly related to the production and reproduction of material basis of life.

To conclude, these three conceptions (time, activity, and state of being) are well-known in the Leisure Literature in terms of defining leisure. However, they are criticized by structural and postmodern approaches. Hence, leisure definitions could vary according to leisure theories: liberal, structural and postmodern. Each theory handles leisure according to their own assumptions. Therefore, for defining leisure, we must take into consideration leisure theories how leisure is conceptualized.

2.3 Defining Leisure with respect to Leisure Theories

In Leisure Studies Literature, there are three ontologies of leisure: leisure as a completely free choice in a world where structures are broken down altogether; leisure as structurally-constrained choice (or no choice); and leisure as free choice in a world where leisure is defined by "choice" against other structured areas of life (for example, work). These three ontologies are directly related to three epistemologies of critical studies of leisure: traditional theories of leisure as freedom; structuralist theories of leisure as a (re)producer of social structures and unequal power relations; and postmodern theories of leisure as freedom in structured world (Spracklen, 2009:13).

2.3.1 Traditional Leisure Theories

In traditional theories of leisure (e.g., Roberts, Parker, Kelly, and Dumazedier) leisure has generally associated with positive experience: "freedom", "self-fulfillment" and "choice". Despite the fact that there are many definitions of the concept, they can generally be reduced to a view of leisure as being the time free from obligations of work whereby a person has the freedom to use that time as desired, whether it is for relaxation or re-creation. Leisure, then, is a thing we do when we are not working (Van Moorst, 1982:158).

This idea of leisure as freedom is a definition that a number of Leisure Studies researchers have continued to defend. According to this understanding, leisure is a part of liberal capitalist industry that provides consumer needs. To Roberts (2004), market economy of leisure provides opportunities, even though social context limits some people's freedom to choose. For him, the notion of the rational actor, free of constraint and making free choices, is fundamental. Roberts embraces the commercialization of leisure as a fact of our lives, and welcomes the increase in leisure opportunities that commercialization brings. Then, according to him, there is a trend towards greater freedom of choice in leisure, especially as evident in Western, neo-liberal economies. (Spracklen, 2009:14-8).

Roberts claims that end of modernity provides an opportunity for the leisure market to drive the economy. All things come to the choice of individuals, and their desires create the leisure industries: spectator sports, beach tourism, fast food and pop music. However, other people have different

desires, thus leisure industries adapt and provide other choices: fitness centers and gyms, adventure holidays, authentic slow food and global roots music. Roberts (2004) argues:

> "Leisure's role in people's lives is not purely economic. Leisure has important social, psychosocial and cultural dimension. As leisure's share of the economy grows, so does its role in people's everyday lives. So the balance tilts from life being work – and production-centred to becoming leisure – or consumption centred…The leisure industries do not supply just goods and services. They also market desires, and enable consumers to be recognized as – and to feel like – particular kinds of people as a result of what they wear, eat drink, what they listen to and watch, and where they are seen and who they are seen with" (quoted in Spracklen, 2009:17-8).

The traditional leisure theorists have tended to conceptualize leisure as "non-work activity" with a perception of freedom. Therefore, the majority of leisure theories have defined the concept in a reactive or negative way: it is not "work" or "obligated time". Thus Roberts (1978:3) defines it as "the relatively freely chosen non-work area of life"; Parker (1976:48) identifies it as "time free from work and other obligations"; and Kelly (1983:5) argues that "if something has to be done then it isn't leisure" and that "leisure is generally understood as chosen activity that is not work"; and Dumazedier defines leisure as:

> "Activity –apart from the obligations of work, family and society – to which the individual turns at will for either relaxation, diversion or broadening his knowledge and his spontaneous social participation, the free exercise of his creative capacity" (Dumazedier, 1967).

All these definitions tried to grasp "leisure" as it revolves around work. Work remains a vital concept as the opposite and the negative, of all that constitutes what "leisure" is (Moorhouse, 1989:17). Leisure, as it is said, is the "necessary" counterpart to work, the "reward" for effort, the prerequisite for a "healthy" and "balanced" lifestyle (Rojek, 1989:1). Therefore, leisure is considered in relation to "pre-given social structure" and conceived as "relatively autonomous" sphere of social behavior. Leisure is viewed as an independent, reified existence, instead of seeing it in its total, dialectical context. Viewing leisure in relation to pre-given social structure and analyzing its function in such social structure separates it from other aspects of social structure. Therefore, leisure is considered as an independent sphere of social activity, independent that is of the forces of capitalism and the nature of production (Van Moorst, 1982:158-9). Hence Roberts (1978) states,

> "As leisure has gradually established a definite place in people's lives its autonomy from the influence of other institutions has correspondingly increased" (Roberts, 1978).

What is more, the preferred subject of traditional leisure studies is "the individual". In his writings, Kelly (1982:22) locates leisure "not in the time or the action, but in the actor". Therefore, focus of this understanding is the agency rather than structure. Agency theorists stress on the significance of the individual "work" experience for leisure behavior and attitudes. Matters concerning the choice, freedom and self-determined goals of individual, dominate the scene. However, attempts to show a connection between "work" and "leisure" simply does not consider whether broader structure might encompass both the production of certain kinds of work and certain types of leisure and appropriate attitudes. Social structure appears as a transparent, watery presence – obscure in its origins and insubstantial in its effects (Moorhouse, 1989: 17; Van Moorst, 1982: 158-9)

Traditional theories assume that leisure is studied as an isolated field, and is conceptualized from the standpoint of the agent. Therefore, traditional theories lack any structural analysis of leisure's place in the whole social system and fail to pay attention to the processes of class and gender relations.

2.3.2 Structuralist Leisure Theories

Traditional view of leisure, with its notion of freedom, has suffered criticism from large number of theorists from the critical sociology. For theorists such as Clarke and Critcher (1985), leisure is conceptualized as a place or activity, or structure, which constrains the working classes and other social groups. On the other hand, other structuralist theorists have explored the way in which leisure constructs and (re)creates in equalities of gender (Scraton & Watson, 1998), race and ethnicity (Carrington and McDonald, 2001). This structural critique of leisure is built on critical studies in sociology and ideas about the emptiness of popular culture (Adorno and Horkheimer) and invisible leash of hegemony (Antonio Gramsci), but ultimately the idea of leisure as constraint owes its origin to Marx (Spracklen, 2009:15).

While traditional theories are satisfied with examining the internal pattern of leisure, the structuralist takes up the matter of leisure in its relation to the capitalist society. To conceptualize leisure, its interrelationships with other elements of social structure should be understood instead of abstracting it from these relationships. Leisure is examined in terms of power relations. Thus, there is more openness and interest in examining how processes of social construction of leisure occur through studies of class, patriarchy, culture, race, discourse (Rojek, 1989). Wealth of studies, focusing on class inequality and patriarchy in leisure, argues that class and gender, without doubt, are objective, material influences in structuring leisure opportunities and lifestyles. Writers working in the feminist tradition (see Deem, 1986; Woodward, 1989) argue that women's leisure is fundamentally subject to male control in patriarchal society (Rojek, 1989; 1990; 1997; Clarke and Critcher, 1985; Moorhouse, 1989; Coalter, 1989).

Clarke and Critcher (1985), writing from a Neo-Marxist standpoint, conceptualize leisure as a site of social conflict, and insist that the character of leisure is primarily conditioned by class. They are concerned with looking beneath the surface of leisure and examining the economic, political, and ideological processes that have produced it. They are not interested in "complex definitional questions about what is or is not leisure"; instead they attempt to understand "how leisure comes to be the subject of these competing definitions". They argue that the mechanization, fragmentation and routinisation of work experience create bored, alienated and dissatisfied workers in the capitalist system. Therefore, leisure seems to offer satisfactions, gratifications and pleasures. Leisure represents compensation or escape where life is seen as "a daily circuit of misery and pleasure". Where work is the realm of dull compulsion, leisure is presented as an area of freedom, choice and creativity. However, Clarke and Critcher (1985) insist that despite leisure has been presented as compensation, in fact, the "self-fulfillment" and "choice" related to leisure are illusions. They are limited and controlled, and choice is materially and culturally constrained by all manner of social divisions. In other words, by placing "control" over the production of leisure opportunities and choices at the centre of their definition of leisure, Clarke and Critcher (1985) place real structural limits on the attainment of freedom and choice within the capitalist market. Thus, Clarke and Critcher argue,

> "Members of all classes may drink, smoke, gamble and watch television, but where, how, and why they pursue such activities have particular cultural meanings shaped by the social groups to which they belong" (Clarke and Critcher, 1985:2)

Accordingly, on contrary to the traditional theories, leisure is viewed as a social sphere in which the struggle for hegemony occurs. As hegemony refers to the power to frame alternatives and certain opportunities, to win and shape "spontaneous" consent, ideologies of leisure are central to the process. The relationship between the working class and the dominant class can be seen as a hegemonic struggle. There is constant struggle in which leisure ideologies and practices – the appearance of choice, the experience of freedom and the ideologies of consumerism – seek either to submerge or marginalize certain cultures. In other words, there is a power relationship that tries to infer the ideology of the dominant class on the ruling classes. Sport and leisure, for instance, played a powerful role in creating and maintaining the imperial hegemony by distilling the culture of the ruling amongst the ruled. It is seen in the development of imperial hegemony in Wales through the spread of rugby

union, and the popularity of cricket in the Caribbean (Spracklen, 2009:21; Coalter, 1989; Clarke and Critcher, 1985).

According to Peter Bramham (2006), writing from the Gramscian perspective, although some people – the well-off, the middle and upper classes, white people, men – may have some agency and freedom to choose their leisure, the working classes and other marginalized and disempowered social groups are denied that freedom (quoted in Spracklen, 2009:19). The hegemonic status of power at the end of modernity suggests that leisure is a way in which the ruling classes keep the working classes ignorant of their oppression (Carrington and McDonald, 2008; quoted in Spracklen, 2009:20). Leisure ideologies and practices serve to disguise and reproduce basic structural inequalities based on class, gender, and ethnicity. While the reality of new and cultural hegemony is contested, and while the reality of new freedoms is not denied, the basic exploitative structures of capitalism remain. Consequently, leisure, as an arena in which ideological and cultural hegemony is contested, is neither wholly free nor totally determined but is an arena conflict over cultural meaning (Coalter, 1989; Clarke and Critcher, 1985; Spracklen, 2009:20-1).

At any one time hegemony produces a dominant culture, the culture, which is contemporary in society, is taken as the model for goods modes of behaviour and ideas. This is the "culture" to which newspapers refer to things that are seen to have good aesthetic, intellectual and social power, such as classical music, literature, theatre, and so on. The hegemonic relationship means that this dominant culture is really dominant throughout all levels of society. So how can there be other cultures? Emergent cultural forms may challenge the hegemony. Actually complete hegemony has not occurred; some form of resistance is in process. There is constant interplay between sites of power; the actual distribution of power is never concentrated on one group (Spracklen, 2009:22).

2.3.3 Post-structuralist or Postmodern Leisure Theories

In response to the shift to post-Fordist, post-industrial, postmodernity and to the challenge of globalization, many leisure researchers have attempted to reengage with the critical sociology and shape ideas about epistemological doubt, the multiplicity of truths, and the fracturing of social structures to establish a theory of postmodern leisure or postmodern leisure theories. Rojek criticizes sociologist of leisure for failing to recognize three changes. The first one is that society (or at least society in the developed world) had become postmodern (the end of class, the dissolution of structures in the face of homogenization). The second one is that leisure had become postmodern in appearance (the rise of lifestyle sports, neo-tribes, virtuality). The last one is that positivist truths about theory had been rendered in secure due to epistemological uncertainties (there is no hegemonic or figurational structure underpinning everything) (Spracklen, 2009:25).

According to Rojek, leisure has become postmodern, and the structures of modernity dissolved. There is a difference between the "active" citizen playing sport or acting in an amateur drama, and the "passive" consumer of leisure, watching football on television with the remote control in hand. What separates the active citizen and the passive consumer is the knowledge and the motivation to go beyond commodification and consumption through agency. For Rojek, there is good and bad leisure. Good leisure gives power and agency to individuals and instructs them in being good citizens. Therefore, active leisure is associated with middle class norms and values (self-improvement, healthy living, and morality); on the other hand, passive consumption is associated with ignorant, docile masses (Spracklen, 2009:26).

Postmodern leisure theories criticized the Gramscian account of leisure for failing to take the condition of postmodernity into account. Changing employment patterns brought about by a shift to a postindustrial society led to rise in the number of white collar, lower middle-class jobs in service sector. This new class of workers, however, shares a similar heritage and culture to the traditional working class. For instance, the miner's daughter is now an insurance clerk, the miner's son is now a

bank cashier. Therefore, although the traditional occupations associated with working class are in decline, and the postmodern society has created a wealthy consumer class, there is still a class division between the ruling class, a managerial bourgeois class and a working class which still does the work (Spracklen, 2009:20-1).

2.3.4 Evaluation

Table 2.1 Literature on Leisure and Leisure Space

	Theorist	Ontology	Conceptualization	Leisure Geography
Traditional Theory	Parker, Roberts, Kelly, Dumazedier, Pieper De Grazia	Actor, Independent area of social life, given social structure, Examining the internal pattern of leisure, TOTALLY FREE CHOICE	i) Free time; ii) Free time activity, iii) State of mind «Freedom» «choice» «self-realization» sphere	Incidentally determined by individual choices THERE IS NO SPACE DISCUSSION
Structuralist (Neo-Marxist and Feminist) Theory)	Clarke and Critcher; Deem, Woodward	Social Structure, Structured, Interrelationships with other elements of social structure , STRUCTURALLY CONSTRAINED CHOICE (OR NO CHOICE)	• Not interested in defining leisure; instead examines the social processes that have produced it, • Social construction of leisure through social divisions (class, gender) • Commodification, consumption experience, Social struggle sphere, • Unequal access to leisure opportunities, reproduction of unequal power relations	Produced according to previously established logic, Space as product of social divisions, SOCIAL SPACE, NO PHYSICAL SPACE
Postmodern Theory	Rojek, Moorhouse, Coalter	Structure & Actor, Partially structured, FREE CHOICE IN STRUCTURED WORLD	• Defining leisure in terms of differences not the inequalities, • Identity, Life style, consumption, SPACE, • Difference between «active citizen» and «passive consumer», Difference between «active leisure», and «passive leisure/consumption	Space as a representation of social differences, SYMBOLIC SPACE, NO PHYSICAL SPACE

After going through the literature review, it can be concluded that defining leisure is not an easy task. There are various opinions each trying to explain the meaning of leisure. In their respective understanding, traditional theorists define leisure as free time, free time activity or state of being with the notions of "freedom", "choice" and "self-fulfillment". Structuralist theorists do not involve in complex definitions about what leisure is, instead they attempt to examine the economic, political and ideological processes that have produced leisure. In the primary approach, traditional theorists see leisure as free choice of the individual while totally ignoring the social structure. The second one, on the other hand, argues that free choice, if there exists one, is structurally-constrained. Between these two, there is also a postmodern leisure theory which considers leisure as a choice in structured world. This thesis study approaches leisure according to the structuralist understanding.

2.4 Historical Perspective on Leisure: Understanding of its Evolution

> *"...civilizations were the products of leisure,*
> *and yet they have not always admitted their origin" (Cutten, 1929).*

In order to comprehend the present meaning of leisure one needs to investigate the different implications and meanings of the concept in history. However, in the Leisure Literature there is different opinions about the time when leisure emerge as a cultural category. Some texts in Leisure Studies argue that there was a time (for example, among hunter-gatherer peoples) when leisure was unknown. De Grazia (1962:3) states, "The discovery (of leisure) took place in the Mediterranean world some after Creto-Mycenaean civilization...Leisure never existed before..." On the contrary, Dumazedier (1974: 13-6) argues that leisure has not existed at all times, in all civilizations; it is a specific product of industrial society. However, it is seen that some theorists do not agree with this argument (see Rojek, 1989; Van Moorst, 1982; Wearing and Wearing, 1992). They argue that leisure has existed before.

Although there is no agreement among leisure theorists about the historical existence of "leisure", in this thesis it is assumed that "leisure" has existed at all times and in all civilizations but its meaning and practices have changed over time. As Van Moorst (1982) indicated correctly, the proper starting point is the material mode of production for an adequate theory of leisure and that leisure in primitive societies is fundamentally different from feudalist or capitalist societies. However, the inevitable consequence of late nineteenth and twentieth century capitalism has lead to the degradation of leisure.

In primitive social systems leisure was part of the rhythms of life – night and day, the climate, the harvest. The rhythm of work was natural, and interrupted by breaks, by songs, by games and ceremonies. Feasting was inseparable from ceremonies and religious rituals. Work and play were integrated in the feasts. There was no clear-cut division between work and leisure. Opportunity for leisure came with the obligations towards festivals, celebrations, feasts, weddings, special days and with the sacred mythology of early cultures. As Godbey (2008) indicated, there was no deliberate leisure as a result of individual choice. Leisure is structured around the life cycle of necessary daily tasks; it is integrated into daily or seasonal pattern rather than being separated from it (Torkildsen, 1992; Dumazedier, 1974; Godbey 2008).

From that time, we can observe five periods in which different meanings and practices of "leisure" are evident: i) Early Civilizations, ii) Ancient Greece, iii) Romans, iv) Middle Ages, v) Modernism and Industrial Revolution

2.4.1 Leisure in Early Civilizations

Historically, the early civilizations about which we have detailed knowledge, were in the Middle East- ancient Assyria, Babylonia, and Egypt. In these early advanced cultures, with clearly differentiated work roles, social stratification led to the definition of several classes within the hierarchy of wealth and power. Leisure became associated with "high culture" social standing and political status. "Leisure" activities were primarily the activities of the upper strata which is constituted by relatively a small elite –the nobility, the military and religious leaders. These elites were not toil, instead they enjoyed with leisure. Their leisure activities included horse racing, wrestling, boxing, archery, arts, dance, music, drama, hunting, warfare, and lavish entertainment. Drinking and gambling were common. In ancient Assyria and Babylon there were royal estates and parks, zoological and botanical gardens and large formal gardens of geometric designs. The terraced Hanging Gardens of Babylon became one of the Seven Wonders of the World (Torkildsen, 1992:15-6; Kraus, 1994:25).

As Cutten (1929:2) argued "It was from these days or hours of primitive leisure, when crude but very real beginnings were made, that the arts, the sciences, the games and all the products of civilization date. In fact, civilizations were the products of leisure, and yet they have not always admitted their origin".

2.4.2 Leisure in Ancient Greece: Classical View of Leisure

It was the early Greek civilization and mainly the writings of Plato and Aristotle that has influenced current leisure thinking. Although the Athenian leisure was an aesthetically rich experience, praised by these philosophers, the Greek citizen's leisure was purchased at the expense of slaves. What is more, the work-leisure distinction may well have begun with the Greek civilization. Work and leisure, then, developed together historically (Kraus, 1994:26; Torkildsen, 1992:16-9; Hunnicutt, 2006:56-7).

In the same way, Hunnicutt (2006) states that it is only with the evolution of Greek civilization that leisure was identified as a clear cultural category. Through history leisure has been consistently identified as the contrast of "work". The origin of leisure, then, is connected with the emergence of work as a coherent cultural and language category. If "work makes no sociological sense without reference to control…work is "about" control", existence of "work" and also "leisure" as cultural categories are associated with the emergence of Greek city-states as slavery societies during and after the Archaic period. From that time on, "work" was associated with slavery and was understood as human control over other humans. The word of "work" was redefined as manual and servant/forced labour, then it was emerged as one of the most important Greek words now translated as "work" or "toil". The new understanding of the work in Greece distinguished two classes of peoples and two kinds of activities: free versus controlled and leisure versus work respectively. Then, there was a sharp distinction between free citizens of Athens and the others. Free Athenian citizens did not work, instead they were free to engage in leisure at the expense of their working slaves, peasants and servants. (Hunnicutt, 2006:56-7).

While work was associated with the toil of manual labour and providing the necessities of life, leisure was valued as a constituent of the good life itself. Work was ignorable and unworthy of the Athenian Citizen. Plato expressed a low regard for manual labour and a high regard for well-employed leisure, with the capable citizen performing music, drama, sport, citizenship and education during leisure time (Ramsay, 2005:10; Torkildsen, 1992: 17; Kraus: 1994:9).

According to Athenian "leisure ethic", the intelligent use of free time was the purpose of the life. The ideal was the perfection of civil life and political life. The "proper life" was good citizenship. Good citizens, then, were created out of leisure and education. In Plato's writings, time for thought, contemplation, philosophy, and self-development are required for happiness. That time, for Plato is leisure. With certain parallelism, for Aristotle true happiness requires time for leisure and its attendant

relaxation and pleasures. What is more, happiness is continuous: leisure is not constrained to a brief period; instead, it is a lifetime experience. In fact, the central purpose of social and political life, and its constitutive activities (business, military, government and so on) is for building up leisure opportunities. Aristotle placed business and war on one side and leisure and peace on the other. He claimed that "facts, as well as arguments, prove that legislator should direct all his military and other measures to the provision of leisure and the establishment of peace" (Ramsay, 2005:10; Torkildsen, 1992:7).

Plato founded the first institution of higher learning, the direct ancestor of the modern university, to teach people about the right use of leisure's freedom. Reflecting this heritage, the Greek word "schole" which denoted both leisure and schooling is the etymological source of modern words for "school" and "scholarship". In Politics, Aristotle defines leisure as time free from the necessity to work. Leisure is different from work (aschole) and from children's plays (paidia). Leisure leads to aesthetic, spiritual or intellectual enlightenment through a search of understanding (Ramsay, 2005:10; Torkildsen, 1992: 17).

For Aristotle, therefore, there are three major types of activity: (a) *schole*, which has been translated as "leisure"; (b) *aschole* or "not-leisure", usually seen as a synonym for "work", and (c) *anapausis* and *paidia* or "recreation" and "amusement". Aristotle asserted that recreation and amusement are undertaken only because of the need to prepare for or refresh oneself from work, therefore, reduced of all recreation and amusement to *aschole*. Then *schole* is a very limited realm. In other words, there are actually only two types of activities, *schole* and *aschole*. According to Van Moorst (1982), however, *schole* was not leisure in the sense we use it, and Aristotle's ideal in using *schole* was "culture". Aristotle insisted that the cultured Athenian gentleman would engage in certain types of activity, such as contemplation or music, as the embodiment of wisdom and happiness. In many ways, *schole* can be translated today as culture (in the sense of "high culture"). For that reason, the leisure-work dichotomy of today is in no way identical with the *schole-aschole* dichotomy of Aristotle's Greece (Van Moorst, 1982:161-3).

In ancient Greece, the sign of the educated person was active leisure: playing sports and music, engaging in public debate, doing philosophy. The goal of academic work was freedom. The humans had to work to be free. We have to practice and train to play music and sports and do other liberal activities. Work was for leisure. For Plato, doing philosophy represented the best use of leisure. Philosophy was the best freest, most human, most engaging, and most fun (most playful) of all leisure activities. Philosophy was an everyday "democratic activity" available to all (educated) citizens. The agora was more of an open space for daily religious, political, judicial and social activities than a marketplace for commerce. As Godbey (1978:8) indicated, the style of life and leisure, which was regarded as appropriate to free man, was in fact limited to the privileged elite. Manual workers were believed to be incapable of leisure. It was believed that the kinds of work performed in manual occupations, made workers unfit for the duties of citizenship. The Greek ideal, then, was for a very small proportion of the population, probably no more than about 20% (Hunnicutt, 2006:64; Torkildsen, 1992: 17-8; Godbey, 1978).

Moreover, the range of activities that are qualified as leisure was severely restricted. For Plato, music, poetry and philosophy lead to beauty and eternal truths. To Aristotle, only music and contemplation were worthy of the name "leisure" (Torkildsen, 1992:18).

Ancient Athens contained an extensive public sector, a leisure infrastructure where free people did free things. The early Olympic Games, the stadia, gymnasia, extensive gardens and the open-air amphitheaters for festivals all illustrate the range of leisure pursuits and the range of public provision of facilities (Torkildsen, 1992:18). After school, for example, Plato's students found an abundance of opportunities to practice what they had learned (Hunnicutt, 2006:64). Kelly (1982) states that the Greek towns were carefully designed to serve leisure needs:

"Not only did a central area for markets and government provide a "forum" for discussion and argumentation, but the town plan generally provided parks, baths, theatres, sports arenas, gymnasium and exercise grounds. Added to these were the academics for the learning and practicing of the arts and philosophy and music. Stress was placed on (enabling the free person to) develop both mind and body" (1982: 43-4).

According to Hunnicutt (2006: 60), few historical records exist to support what servants, slaves and women did with their "free time". Modern scholars have tended to dismiss the "free time" of lower or working classes since they were relatively unimportant. Little evidence that does exist, suggests that most slaves, servants, women, and peasants probably followed the example of wealthy drones, giving in to idleness and licentiousness in their free time. However, ordinary people were as likely to have employed their free time in positive uses as cultural elites were.

To sum up, as de Grazia (1962) asserted, the Greeks "discovered" leisure. Part of the discovery lay in a new valuation of leisure, as the time for some humans to realize their full humanity. Although founded on slave labour and elitism, the Greek leisure ethic shows that leisure was regarded as an essential opportunity for the development of man and the unity of body and mind. Joseph Pieper (1952) argues that leisure is the basis of culture and it began with the Greeks. He asserts that leisure has provided an arena in which cultures were played out; in which humankind was able to engage with each other in public spaces by creating fine arts, playing sports, making music, doing politics, having conversations, and performing free activities that constituted the very bone and sinew of their culture. Leisure rather than work or war was the glue or medium that held societies together in the ancient world (Hunnicutt, 2006:59; Torkildsen, 1992:18; Pieper, 1952).

2.4.3 Leisure in Romans

The empire of the ancient Romans was established in 27 BC and continued until AD 395, when it was divided into Eastern and Western Empires. In ancient Rome, military success and conquests led to affluence, a powerful nation and a move from agricultural democracy to urban population with a class structures. At the height of its power, Rome became increasingly wealthy through conquest. However, its economy depended on the importation of food and other goods, slave labour, and the military assistance of mercenaries (Kraus, 1994:26; Torkildsen, 1992:19).

Leisure was important for Romans, but its importance was different from that of the Greek leisure ethic. Leisure was utilitarian rather than aesthetic. To Romans, leisure was for fitness for work. Sports were practiced for maintaining physical fitness for war. Masses of the new urban population had considerable free time and as many as 200 holidays a year AD 354 (Torkildsen, 1992:19). As Wilensky (1963) indicates:

"In the old Roman calendar, out of 355 days, nearly one third were marked as unlawful for judicial and political business. In the last two centuries of the republic, festival days were stretched to accommodate more spectacles and public games. The Roman passion for holidays reached its climax in the middle of the fourth century when days off numbered 175…Whatever the work schedules of slaves and women, leisure for the ruling classes …was never again so abundant" (quoted in Kraus, 1994:26).

Free time, however, became problem. The continued influx of cheap grain and slave labour created a powerless class of free citizens – an urban proletariat. Emperors attempted to keep people content by providing free food and entertainment – "bread and circuses". Slaves not only toiled, but were also used for entertainment. At first entertainment included music, drama and sports, but later included contests, simulated land and sea battles, exhibitions of violence. Violent spectacles included animals and then humans; professional gladiators fought to the death. The space of these spectacles, the Colosseum that was built around 80 AD, became the hub of life in Rome. In most large towns, large

arenas, gymnasia, parks and baths were also built. The Circus Maximus, for instance, were able hold 385 000 spectators simultaneously (Kraus, 1994:26; Torkildsen, 1992:19).

Without the philosophical idealism of the Greeks, Romans were entertained with violent spectacles, mock sea battles, and the cruel slaughter of many women and animals in huge arenas. Based on this example, historians concluded that one of the significant causes of the dissolution of the power of Roman Empire was its misused leisure. Later cultures used the example of Rome to show the consequence of uncontrolled misuse of leisure (Kraus, 1994:26; Torkildsen, 1992:19-20).

According to Torkildsen (1992:19) ancient Rome shows that mass leisure is not a new phenomenon: "it illustrates leisure in a social context of urbanization and the political use of leisure to quieten the masses". In addition, the massive investment in public recreation facilities and services shows the growth of leisure consumption rather than participation. Therefore, like the Greeks, despite the fact that the Romans built and planned for leisure, the stress was upon consumption and political instrument, as distinct from learning, discovering and enlightening.

2.4.4 Leisure in Middle Ages

The collapse of Roman Empire and the spread of Christianity had profound and lasting effects on leisure and recreation. The middle ages were marked by the disintegration of the legal and military controls that Romans had established and by the abandonment of many of their advanced practices in agriculture, architecture, industry and law. The early part of the Middle Ages from about 400 to 1000 is often called as the Dark Ages. The Catholic Church gradually spread its influence over Europe. New classes, cloistered in monasteries, were particular beneficiaries of leisure as a result of the hegemony of the Catholic Church. The monastic order presents one of the most striking divisions of work and leisure in history. These new classes were not only exempt from ordinary work, but they often separated themselves from everyday civil life. The monasteries represented an early sign of lives segmented into discrete parts. The Catholic Church taught that the purpose of the life was to prepare for the next life. In the monasteries that served as centers of religious life, a doctrine of "work" was promoted as "essential" to the spiritual life. In other words, work became a virtue, as it is today, that is far away from Ancient Greek philosophy. The monasteries expanded, preaching hard labour, good works and self-deprivation. Work was glorified; and idleness was regarded as evil. Therefore, the monastic tradition, particularly Orders, began to place a new spiritual value on "work" that influenced the coming of Protestant work ethic (Kraus, 1994:26-7; Torkildsen, 1992:20; Hunnicutt, 2006:67).

Although a doctrine of work was preached, it was largely carried out by serf or poorly paid craftsmen, as in earlier societies. Lower-class women, for instance, were assigned "drudge" tasks. During the Middle Ages in Western Europe, there was no word for labour, however by the twelfth century it was custom to identify workers (laboratores) as one segment of the society, along with prayer-sayers (oratores), and warriors (bellatores). Byrne (1990) indicates:

> "Throughout the Middle Ages the clergy (the prayer-sayers) monopolized intellectual functions and demeaned other endeavors as "servile" (appropriate for serf, if not slaves), from which they were – all too conveniently, perhaps- banned by law" (quoted in Kraus 1994:27).

As a reaction to the extreme activities of the Romans, the Church expressed disapproval for many kinds of leisure activities including the theater, secular music and art, dance, gambling, and sports. However, social drinking, gambling and secular music were practiced by the public on "holy"-day celebrations while the aristocracy continued their leisure activities of hunting and holding tournaments. During the Middle Ages up to 1500, there were some relaxations in the prohibitions of the Dark Ages. However, life for the masses remained much the same with religious festivals, cock fightings and other activities comings as breaks in the round of toil. On the other side, throughout the

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Middle Ages leisure elitism, a modified Greek ideal for the landed gentry and political leaders, continued. These leisure activities included hunting, hawking, music and dance. Sports was a means of entertainment, however it was primarily the preparation for feuding nobleman and for war. For the masses, leisure came through the church"s "holy"-days and the fairs – medieval leisure shopping- and religious festivals. In the 13th and 14th centuries, the fairs attracted entertainers – singers, dancers, jugglers, magicians, fortunetellers, dancing bears and sports such as wrestling, archery, dog and cock fighting and gambling (Torkildsen, 1992:20).

2.4.5 Leisure in Modernism & Industrial Revolution

The 15th century marks the transition from the medieval world to modern Western civilization. This period, known as Renaissance, helped to transform the medieval world and gave birth to modern times. Renaissance, developed in Italy and spread across France and England, was the period that leisure ideals became more generalized and more leisure opportunities were made available for the masses. According to Torkildsen (1992:21):

> "The populace continued to enjoy both religious and secular festivals. The development of printing enabled literature to become available to a wider public since it had previously only been available to those who had studied in monasteries, universities and aristocratic homes. Music, drama and dance were professionally performed in theaters and education more readily available"

As the Catholic Church grew more powerful, it instituted a continuous cycle of holidays and religious festivities throughout the year. This reached a peak in the Renaissance period, as Gary Cross (1988) indicated:

> "In preindustrial society, leisure time was not so much scarce as it was irregular. Religious holidays and seasonal festivals…consumed up to 164 days per year in 17th century France. And while the workday often encompassed twelve or more hours, it generally was limited by the number of daylight hours; the day was broken up by two or more hours for meals, which were often the center of family leisure time" (quoted in Kraus,1994:27).

The humanism of the Renaissance sought the creativity and development of people through education and greater freedom in leisure. In the early 16th century, however, as a reaction against the corruption of Catholic Church and an attempt to reform theological practice, Protestant Reformation took hold in many parts of Europe and later moved to America. Although the Renaissance brought about more freedom for leisure, the Reformation had heavily suppressed it. With the Reformation, leisure activities had been diminished. In some communities, for example, even children's play was discouraged as it was said to encourage "idleness". As Torkildsen argued, however, the effect of cultural revolution of Renaissance continued:

> "In the 17th and 18th centuries parks and gardens were developed for the nobility who went hunting and fishing and enjoyed the beauty of the gardens. Commons and plazas were developed for the public. Holidays were declared by the kings and lords. The Tuileries and the Versailles gardens in Paris and the Tiergarten in Berlin, and Kensington Gardens in London, were gradually opened to public" (Torkildsen, 1992:23).

The Reformation was a period which idealized work and distrusted the evils of leisure – a work ethic which has persisted throughout the 20th century. Therefore, work and leisure reversed in value and priorities. Instead of the ancient meaning of leisure as an end itself, leisure began to assume a subservient role in the modern world, becoming the means to accomplish and support work. This great reversal, the rise of work and fall of leisure, began with Christianity during the late Middle Ages, and with the Benedictine Orders' emphasis on manual work. Then the Reformation and the coming of

capitalism transformed work and leisure entirely. The theology behind the modern valuation of work originated from the arguments of John Calvin. Calvin and his Puritan followers placed primary importance on work as a spiritual end in itself. In the Puritan world, not-working was idleness and leisure was a fertile ground for the sins: drinking, profligacy, licentiousness, perversion, despair. Instead of providing an opportunity for human creativity and expression, leisure was regarded as the Devil's workshop. The Puritans led the way to the modern understanding that time free from work was important as a preparation for work. In other words, time to rest was actually for more work (Hunnicutt, 2006:68-9; Torkildsen, 1992:21-3).

Max Weber in Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism (1930) argued that the "Protestant work ethic" became the "spirit of capitalism" as work became the wellspring of Western values. To use Weber's words, "one does not work to live; one lives to work". Weber indicated that capitalism's everlasting economic activity and endorsement of unlimited acquisition depended on the more fundamental valuing of work as an end itself. Weber stated that capitalism and industrialization had happened first in England in the 17th and 18th centuries, and this was because the Puritan work ethic had become a part of English culture. (Hunnicutt, 2006:68-9; Spracklen, 2009:19)

The rise of work against leisure began in the 16th century Reformation and was extended by the Puritans in 17th century and eventually reached its peak point with the Industrial Revolution of the 18th and 19th century. Industrialization and the need of regularity in the hours and days worked in factories led to a conflict between Catholic Church and the growing employer class. Reinforced by the Protestant work ethic, businessman and government gradually reduced the number of holidays throughout the year. As Europe and Great Britain became increasingly industrialized, working class fought to gain more free time, and employers' effort to reduce the hours of leisure often failed. As the factory system spread, they were able to impose stronger time discipline based on the regimentation of time with time-sheets. Gradually, working class began to demand leisure, not for any idealism or enlightenment, but for time off, since the workers and unions were now selling their time. Leisure, however, was never the right of the masses until it was won as a separate part of life from excessively long working hours. The Saturday half-day was a significant turning point in Britain towards an acceptance for leisure for the masses of people (Kraus, 1994:27-9).

Industrial revolution led to profound changes. Factories brought about the growth of cities. Populations were uprooted from small towns and villages to the cities. As Torkildsen (1992:23) indicated "the consequent rise in urban population, overcrowding, poor housing, poverty, crime and the increase in working hours and child labour, all militated against leisure". New work patterns, the emergence of capitalism and the new urban environment, which was largely an unplanned phenomenon, made former ways of life and leisure outdated. With the widespread shift from rural life to urban centers and factory-based jobs, the old tradition of the natural workday that extended from sunrise to sunset was abandoned. Work and play were no longer intertwined as they had been in the closed world of traditional rural village. Leisure became a separate sector. In the industrial city, leisure was the time clearly free from work and the activities of this leisure time were no longer regulated as a whole by the collective obligations of traditional social life. In earlier periods, the lower classes had enjoyed traditional games and sports, fairs, entertainments, and social pastimes that were passed down from generation to generation through years. In the new industrial era, many of these practices were abandoned. In the villages, people lived amid nature, children could play in the fields and families could walk in the countryside, on the other hand, in the industrial city there was a little room to play and little time to enjoy. Recreation areas were not planned. Bailey (1978) points out that a man walked out of factory gates in the urban manufacturing centers, he was freer than any previous age, however, the activities available for him were consisted of drinking, gambling. For children, who were often viewed as cheap labour, the consequences were devastating and even many forms of play were condemned as evil (Kraus, 1994:27-9; Torkildsen 1992:23-4; Godbey, 2008:46).

These social conditions led a reform movement in the leisure of working class in mid-1800s. Since it was believed that the changing of leisure habits of the working class had a fundamental importance in determining the success of industrialism. However, the reforms dealt more with the concept of

recreation rather than leisure. In other words, leisure time was the only arena for "re-creation" of the physical and physiological capacity to work. Leisure was for refreshing and renewing the worker for more work. The central element of the leisure philosophy of social reformers was that recreation served socially useful ends, a theme to continue throughout the 20th century (Godbey, 2008:46; Torkildsen, 1992:24).

Therefore, as work time became increasingly regimented and unfree, leisure time took on increasing importance. In other words, as the quantity of work time increases and the quality decreases to the point where it threaten the productivity, leisure becomes the psychological sustenance provided to the workers in order to improve productivity. Therefore, ruling class desires to control leisure time in order to maximize its recreative function for work on the one hand and to ensure maximum social tranquility on the other. Likewise, of even more importance, the ruling class finds it important to control work time and leisure time in order to maximize productivity. Because time is now money, it is a prime management resource to be manipulated and used. In other words, time became commodified. Therefore, as Rojek (1989) claims, leisure activities in industrial society are constrained by commodified time, in spite of some continuity in values and leisure practices (Van Moorst, 1982; Wearing and Wearing, 1992; Rojek, 1989).

As Walter Benjamin points out, the traditional sense of presence associated with work roles, leisure activities and family life is replaced with an overbearing sense of the velocity, reproduction and inauthenticity of life. Leisure loses its traditional denotation in industrial culture with authenticity and becomes preoccupied with inauthenticity, fabrication and illusion or revolts against these values. Commodities become our escape routes out of the monotony of urban-industrial culture. However, because they cannot take us outside this culture but only provide the momentary illusion of escape, they ultimately reinforce our sense of feeling trapped in a culture of fetishes and inauthenticity (Rojek, 1997).

Van Moorst (1982), consequently, underlines the fact that under capitalism leisure itself becomes a major source of profit. He argues that just as capitalism moved away from an emphasis on production in the nineteenth century to an emphasis on consumption, there is a further shift from survival consumption (basic necessities such as food, shelter, transport, etc.) to leisure consumption in the early twentieth century (Van Moorst, 1982).

2.4.6 Leisure in Postmodern City

2.4.6.1 Commodification of Leisure

Van Moorst (1982) underlines the fact that under capitalism leisure itself becomes a major source of profit. Therefore, in the urban industrial society, the market economy commodities leisure and produces it for a large number of people, with a focus on profit. Leisure, then, is a constructed need, an essential element in a consumer society which produces endless, unsatisfied other needs. In the traditional leisure theories, leisure is not only conceived as "free time" but also as "freely chosen activity" (Roberts, 1978) and as "self-enhancing experience" (Kelly, 1983). Its commodification, however, constrains rather than enhances freedom. Clarke and Critcher (1985:232) insist that broader questions of freedom and control have been narrowed around the right to consumer choice. Leisure choices become dictated by the market economy and that the individual suffers loss of identity within the array of commercially-created choices. Therefore, commodification of leisure acts as a restrictive rather than a liberalizing influence on identity thus devaluing the experience of leisure (Van Moorst, 1982; Kelly, 1982; Roberts, 1978; Clarke and Critcher, 1985; Wearing and Wearing, 1992).

Individuals in the city still wish to assert their individuality and differentiation through leisure pursuits, while seeking to belong to their own social group and its lifestyle (Frisby, 1989). In capitalist society, leisure becomes an attempt to escape from the oppression of commodified time. Leisure time is neither "free" nor "self-enhancing", but a form of escapism from the equal units of unending sameness that make up commodified time. Eliade, however, insists that escape from commodified time through leisure is illusionary and fleeting, and man is soon returned to the harsh reality of finding himself alone (quoted in Wearing and Wearing, 1992).

Mass produced leisure commodities are presented to the individual as unique and exciting accessories of personal lifestyle. However, leisure industry never delivers what it promises. Rojek claims (1986:15) that individuation in leisure relations means that under the appearance of freedom of individual choice and uniqueness, a permanent sameness is the characteristic of everyone and everything. The individuation of commodities, says Rojek, exemplifies alienation in capitalist society – it separates individuals from one another and masks shared life conditions of exploitation. Far from being freely chosen self-fulfillment experience, commodified leisure masks individual oppression. The romantic ideal of self-expression and fulfillment through leisure becomes "false-consciousness" or ideology, a justification for increased consumerism and compensation for inequality of opportunity in the market sector. In this respect, Clarke and Critcher (1985) insist that,

> "Leisure is now central to capitalist economic and cultural domination . . . the ability of consumer-orientated capitalism to deliver leisure goods is used as its political validation. Far from being the antithesis of freedom it [the leisure market] has been represented as its realization" (1985:232–3).

What is more, for Walter Benjamin, the effect of commodification is turning to consumer culture. For that reason, leisure must be studied as an integral part of consumer culture. However, the dream world of consumer culture dissolves reality into fantasy and vice versa. The leisure of the individual is caught up in unmitigated and feverish fantasy work. Moreover, the commodity world and leisure time and space appear to offer endless possibilities. The individual is conscious that he or she cannot consume everything or participate in all forms of leisure experience. Additionally, the velocity with which new commodities and new forms of leisure replace the old endows all consumption experiences with the sentiment of impermanence. Therefore, Benjamin views mass culture and mass leisure as a dreamlike montage of boundless sensations, distractions and fragments of meaning (Rojek, 1997).

Although Benjamin agrees with some ideas of the writers of Frankfurt School (Adorno, Horkheimer and Marcuse), he also asserts that commodification of leisure has both controlling and liberating effect in the new urban milieu. Therefore, Benjamin does not deny that commodification expands manipulation and mystification and that leisure activity under capitalism is associated with social control. Benjamin, however, argues that phantasmagoria of consumer culture both manipulates and liberates the consumer. For Benjamin, concepts of *flaneur* and leisure are primary categories of reflexivity in the urban-industrial milieux, and provide the opportunity of experiencing a reflexive break from the routines and rhythms of urban industrial life. What is more, Benjamin claims that the new urban milieu and ordinary consumption practices in leisure time and leisure space offer opportunities for testing the moral and social limits of the capitalist order of things (Rojek, 1997).

In addition, access to leisure facilities, especially entertainment, is becoming an increasingly important issue in our class-divided and stratified society. The provision of leisure services is governed by the same principles that govern the provision of other goods and services. Therefore, it is based on the ability to pay the necessary amount to generate sufficient profit for the leisure entrepreneur. It is not surprising then that working-class areas frequently exhibit a lack of leisure facilities compared with wealthier areas. Thus, absence of certain groups from public sector leisure facilities and being excluded from certain forms of entertainment are evidence of "social exclusion". In addition to this, the problem related with access to leisure facilities is not only defined by access to what is available, but also it is more starkly revealed in terms of what is not available. The types of entertainment available in the first place are inevitably determined by their ability to be mass

produced to generate mass profits. Through the media and mass advertising the entertainment industry is able to generate its own products and exclude the products which it cannot monopolize or turn into a profit from public awareness (Van Moorst, 1982:165-6).

2.4.6.2 Spatiality of Leisure: Leisure Geographies

> *"the social spaces of distraction and display become*
> *as vital to urban culture as the spaces of working and living" (Harvey, 1986)*

The structural leisure studies of the 1980s, which focused on the relationship of leisure to the production and reproduction of class, gender and race relations, have given way to debates on leisure consumption, leisure lifestyles and identities. Much of the literature on postmodern leisure talks about the importance of lifestyle and how the city becomes identified around consumption – shops, pubs, clubs, theatres and so on – rather than defining it in relation to "work". As the focus has shifted to consumption, the spaces and places in which this consumption takes place have received attention. The city has become the focus for researchers and theorists seeking to explore changing, localized contexts and the city as a site for pleasure, fun and conspicuous consumption. In other words, urban sociologists and urban geographers have focused their attention on the spatial restructuring of cities and the emergence of new cultural forms and lifestyles. Therefore, Scraton and Watson (1998) point out,

> "The challenge for leisure studies is to complement its already multidisciplinary base by drawing on work that opens up the complexities of space, not merely in the recognition of "new" lifestyles and the conspicuous consumption of leisure but also, as a site for the maintenance and reproduction of complex power relations, in this instance, primarily those of gender and race" (Scraton and Watson, 1998:123).

Leisure geographies, therefore, have gained a greater importance within leisure studies. The new cultural geography, which has been referred to since the early 1990s, is then evaluated as a contemporary theoretical perspective through which greater awareness of the diversity and dynamics of leisure geographies can be achieved (Scraton and Watson, 1998:123). While the traditional leisure geographies emphasized the absolute nature of space and while feminist geographies emphasized the social and material nature of space, the new cultural geography has turned our attention to the relative and symbolic nature of space (Aitchison, 1999). The new cultural geography, in other words, demonstrates that spaces – including leisure spaces – are not fixed but are in a constant state of transition as a result of continuous dialectical struggles of power and resistance between the diversity of space providers, users and mediators. It investigates the multiplicity of behaviors, meanings, consumption trends and identities constructed in and through leisure and tourism. Therefore, with its focus upon space as relative and symbolic, rather than absolute and material, it enhances the "geographical imagination" by providing alternative "ways of seeing" leisure. As Aitchison (1999) underlines that:

> "Current research agendas which have embraced the new cultural geography in their attempt to address the spatiality of leisure, gender and sexuality have included diverse cultural forms such as eating out, fashion, contemporary youth cultures, cyber-leisure, gay and lesbian leisure and tourism, and the impact of such leisure forms upon the cultural construction of sexuality and the body in relation to spaces and places" (Aitchison, 1999: 35).

Therefore, leisure space is socially constructed and is not a void or empty stage on which "actors perform". This approach provides a useful means through which to look at different groups" uses and perceptions of urban leisure spaces, to look more sensitively at the heterogeneous population of urban

areas and to consider the multiplicity of meanings that might be attached to a particular urban leisure space. Then we can say that the concentration on individuals or groups of individuals is insufficient without an exploration of the socially constructed spaces and places in which leisure takes place. Space, rather than being a physical or objective reality, is a cultural image, a pictorial way of representing, structuring and symbolizing surroundings. Space is seen to represent a social and cultural "geography of the imagination". A space's meanings, whether written or painted, is built on the cultural codes of the society. These codes are embedded in social relations and frequently reflected in cultural symbols. Thus, space, in which leisure takes place, should be discussed on how they are constructed around notions of class, gender, race, and culture (Scraton and Watson, 1998; Aitchison, 1999; Preston-Whyte, 2001).

We can say that leisure spaces and practices are constructed and contextualized through gender, class. What is more, leisure is varied and influenced by all sorts of context such as class and gender and so on (Young, 1990; quoted in Crouch, 2000). Like most urban areas, on the one hand, leisure space is the product of "ideas and ideologies, interest groups, and power blocks nested within particular social and economic contexts" (Ley 1988; quoted in Preston-Whyte, 2001). On the other hand, the social processes and social practices that determine and structure spaces are also subject to social change. *At that point, we can say that that there is dialectical relationship between space and leisure.*

Leisure spaces can be viewed as vehicles for establishing and maintaining hegemony. Therefore, leisure spaces and places are both sites for the production and reproduction of structural relations. The coding of the city as belonging to certain groups is historically produced through struggles for legitimation. As Zukin (1995) shows, cultures are constantly negotiated in city spaces, but some groups have more power than others in entering into negotiation (Scraton and Watson, 1998; Skeggs, 1999; Horne, 1998).

Urban leisure space provides the physical and metaphorical conditions for different groups to move in. Central to this, through processes people learn of their entitlement to different physical and social spaces. For some groups, an understanding of entry and restrictions on space is central to understand how and why certain places can and can not be used for leisure. Representations are crucial in understanding what is accessible and what is not. Cohen (1997, quoted in Skeggs, 1999), for instance, shows how London emerged as a city through various discourses and representations of "a race apart", creating a form of apartheid in which different groups came to learn which space was safe for them (Skeggs, 1999).

The identification and use of leisure spaces raises the question of how they are understood and partitioned. Within the city, leisure spaces are gendered, racialized, sexualized and constrained in relation to individual's access to financial resources. Leisure spaces of the city offer a range of possibilities some of which may not be open to certain groups. They can be sites for inclusion and exclusion. "No-go" areas whose spatial definition exclude and marginalize some groups exist. Dixey and Talbot's (1982) study of women and bingo in Leeds served to highlight the existence of gendered leisure space and the male domination of public leisure space (quoted in Aitchison, 1999). Therefore, a significant aspect of the social control of women's leisure is the regulation of their access to public places, and their behavior in such places (Aitchison, 1999; Scraton and Watson, 1998).

Therefore, the social divisions in the sphere of leisure create social distinctions in the urban space. This fact raises questions about the nature and existence of boundaries between leisure spaces that are socially and culturally identified and constructed. At that point, it is worthy to note that the relation between leisure as a social activity and urban space is not unilateral, however, is bilateral. The changes in the urban space also affect leisure experiences.

How identities become spatialized and how political claims are made and not made over the urban space become an important issue. People form their own constructions of space. These constructions are likely to differ among individuals. There are always limits on spatializing visibility, which is using space to make a claim for political, social and cultural recognition. Visibility is about an empirical

recognition of being in or out of place. As Zukin (1996) notes, the production of space depends on decisions made about what should be visible and what should not. Only some forms of visual presence have legitimated value; others are considered illegitimate. The institutional landscape of the inner city, Keith (1995; quoted in Skeggs, 1999) argues, creates a cultural reality that in part defines the frames through which mapped subjects are rendered legitimately visible (Preston-White, 2001; Skeggs, 1999).

In conlusion, when individuals are "doing" leisure they find themselves in a space. This might be a town park, a theme park, a pub, a club etc. These spaces are understood to be a cultural text that people read and recognize directed by the particular intentions. The notion of leisure space carries with it the assumptions that people differentiate and categorize it in their minds. As knowledge derived empirically from the senses is combined with a priori conceptualizations of space and time, a leisure space becomes a bounded entity. The conceptualizations incorporate the space of leisure activities in the material environment, provide measures of difference between them, and integrate the symbolic values socially and culturally attached to them. The subjective partitioning gains credibility when sufficient people agree on the principle activities that define it. Once defined, it becomes part of the social and cultural domain (Preston-Whyte, 2001; Crouch, 2000).

2.4.6.3 Consumption of Leisure Spaces

Zukin (1995) notes that with the disappearance of local manufacturing industries and periodic crises in government and finance, culture and entertainment is more and more the business of cities. Cities are now seen as products in their own right, with quality urban spaces designed not merely for the benefit of the local community but as strategic assets in economic planning. Although the provision of leisure has been a significant element of public policy throughout the western world since the nineteenth century, leisure provision (e.g., the development of facilities), becomes more important in order to facilitate post-industrial growth. Thus, the inherent leisure motivations of urban residents are mobilized, legitimized and channeled into activities and spaces that ultimately support economic outcomes. The result of this increased emphasis on the economic value of leisure space has led to the production of sports stadium, resorts, leisure shopping and entertainment centers, convention centers, marinas and hotels, exotic eating places, amusement centers, playgrounds, and cultural facilities in urban areas (Zukin, 1995). These new consumer playgrounds provide appropriate settings for the consumption of pleasure by residents. What is more, with emphasis on visualization and the symbolic economy, urban leisure lifestyles become both the product and the object of many local, state and national policy initiatives that have direct links to urban economic growth. However, the goals of enhancing city image and bolstering economic growth have overshadowed the role of public leisure spaces (Zukin, 1995; Gottdiener, 1985; Lloyd and Auld, 2003).

Common theme in discussions of public spaces where leisure takes place today is the increasing privatization and commodification of such spaces that has gradually deactivated public life in the city other than for the purposes of shopping. Shopping centers and malls, therefore, allow for the realization of consumerist subjectivity as well as of capital accumulation. In these privatized spaces access is controlled providing a sense of security less available in the inner city. However, these are socially sanitized, and homogenized spaces, legally capable of excluding socially stigmatized and disruptive groups. Although public is encouraged to enjoy a form of urban ambience in such spaces, they are not truly public spaces since they are owned and controlled as commercial businesses. Urban residents come to malls because they are driven both by consumerist fantasies and also they seek a common ground or sociability in a society with limited opportunities for public interaction. However, the key objective is to sell consumer goods and therefore to promote purchasing. These spaces allow for personal self-expression only within the constraint of consumer identity. The mall may be the new space of public communion, as some have suggested, but it functions in that capacity only within the very restricted context of consumption (Gottdiener, 1985; Lloyd and Auld, 2003).

As Gottdiener (1994) argues, spaces that allow for free public interaction have declined gradually in capitalist society. Public space is the space of communion where public interaction occurs, where people can meet others at their leisure and where free and open discussion can take place. What is more, subordinated groups are actively discouraged from certain areas in the city where public life occurs. Therefore, the public space—the marketplace, the park, the city sidewalk— that for thousands of years nurtured community and political communion, have been transformed into commodified public places, such as cafes, restaurants and bars. Due to this gradual erosion of sites in the city for public socializing, modern cities have been associated with "alienation", though they have been the site of great economic growth and generation of wealth (Gottdiener, 1994).

2.4.7 Evaluation

In order to comprehend the change and transformation of the leisure concept and of leisure spaces, one needs to investigate different implications and meanings of the concept over time. Although there is no agreement in the leisure studies literature and among leisure theorists about the historical existence of "leisure", this thesis study argues that "leisure" has existed at all times and in all civilizations but its meaning and practices changed over time. In the Historical Perspective part of the thesis, we witnessed the evolution of the leisure perception and its spatiality. In different mode of productions, changing leisure discourses have led to different leisure experiences. Leisure in primitive societies was fundamentally different from those of feudalist or capitalist societies.

In *primitive societies*, when there was no clear-cut division between work and leisure, leisure was a part of the rhythms of life. There was no deliberate leisure experince; work and leisure were integrated in the feasts. In *Ancient world*, work – leisure distinction appeared, and as some theorists argued, leisure was "discovered" at that time. From that time, leisure has been identified with elitism and class privilege. Social stratification led to the emergence of social classes: while lower classes (slaves, servants, and peasants) work or toil, upper strata enjoyed with leisure activities. For the upper classes, leisure was for enlightment and self-development. Leisure activities included playing sports and music, engaging public debate, doing philosophy. On the other hand, for the masses leisure came only with the breaks of toil. According to "Athenian leisure ethic", leisure was valued as a constituent of the good life itself, while "work" was ignorable and unworthy. In other words, "leisure" was an end in itself, distinct from "work" which is a means to an end. In Aristotelian view, the intelligent use of free time was the purpose of the life.

We may conclude that in the ancient period, leisure was generally perceived as a state of being. Although there was a class privilege, central purpose of social and political life and of its constitutive activities (business, military, government and so on) was building up leisure opportunities. Therefore, Greek towns were carefully designed to serve leisure needs; as Kelly (1982) indicated, town plans provided not only a "forum" for discussion, but also parks, baths, theaters, sport arenas, gymnasium, and exercise grounds.

In *ancient Rome*, leisure was also very important, but its importance was different from that of Greek leisure ethic. Romans' leisure was utilitarian rather than aesthetic; since urban population had considerable free time, how leisure time could be used was a problem. Slaves not only toiled, but were also used for entertainment. At first, entertainment included music, drama and sports, but later included violent spectacles. The space of these spectacles, the Colosseum was built around AD 80 and became the hub of life in Rome. In most large towns, large arenas, gymnasia, parks and baths were also built. Therefore, like the Greeks, the Romans also built and planned for leisure. However, their stress was upon consumption and political instrument, as distinct from learning, discovering and enlightening.

Throughout the *Middle Ages*, the spread of Christianity had lasting effect on leisure. The Catholic Church and the monastic orders placed a new spiritual value on "work". Therefore, work was

promoted as essential to the spiritual life; in other words, work became a virtue, as it is today, while leisure was considered as evil, which is totally opposite of Ancient Greek philosophy. The Church expressed disapproval of most kinds of leisure activity, including the theater, secular music and art, dance, gambling, and sports. Leisure activities for the masses were religious festivals, cock fightings and other activities which were comings as breaks in the round of toil. On the other side, leisure activities of the landed gentry and political leaders included hunting, hawking, music and dance. Therefore, by the Middle Ages, degradation of leisure has begun; change in leisure perception led to a decrease in the importance of leisure in the social life.

With the *Renaissance*, leisure ideals became more generalized and therefore, more leisure opportunities were made available for the masses. The humanism of the Renaissance sought the creativity and the development of people through education and greater freedom in leisure. Although the Renaissance brought about more freedom for leisure, it had been heavily suppressed by the Protestant Reformation in the early 16th century. With the Reformation, many forms of leisure activities had been diminished. In some communities, for example, even children's play was discouraged as it was said to encourage "idleness".

The *Reformation* was a period which idealized work and distrusted the evils of leisure – a work ethic which has persisted throughout the 20th century. Therefore, work and leisure reversed in value and priorities. This great reversal, the rise of work and fall of leisure, began with Christianity during the late Middle Ages, with the Benedictine Orders' emphasis on the manual work. The rise of work against leisure began in the 16th century Reformation and was extended by the Puritans in 17th century and reached its peak with the Industrial Revolution of the 18th and 19th century. Then the Reformation and the coming of *capitalism* transformed work and leisure entirely. Instead of the ancient meaning of leisure as an end itself, according to "Protestant work ethic" which became the "spirit of capitalism", leisure began to assume a subservient role in the modern world, becoming the means to accomplish and support work.

By the industrialization, time was regimented as work time and leisure time. There was a clear cut division between leisure and work. According to the ruling class, leisure time was only an arena for "re-creation" of the physical and physiological capacity for work. Therefore, ruling class desires to control leisure time in order to maximize its recreative function for work on the one hand and to ensure maximum social tranquility on the other. Likewise, of even more importance, the ruling class finds it important to control work time and leisure time in order to maximize productivity. Since time is now money; in other words, time becomes commodified. On the other side, working class began to demand leisure, not for any idealism or enlightenment, but for time off, because they were now selling their time. In the modern world, the leisure definition has changed as *time* instead of *a state of being* the perception of ancient world.

In the light of these discussions, this thesis argues that leisure concept has changed and transformed historically. Leisure, as a dynamic concept, has different meanings and implications in each period in the history. In Ancient time, leisure was valued as *a state of being*, and as an end in itself. However, with the coming of capitalism, leisure was devalued as a means to support work and eventually work became an end in itself. The leisure perception of the modern world considers leisure as *time* after work. However, postmodernity transformed leisure into consumption; leisure became consumption and consumption became leisure.

To conclude, as it is seen in this "Historical Evolution" section, meaning and practices of leisure change over time subject to socioeconomic factors. Hence, this study argues that leisure is not a static concept which can be defined generically for all times and all civilizations, instead it has a dynamic sense; its meaning and forms are changing continuously depending on the evolution of the social structure. Therefore, this thesis asserts that change in socioeconomic structure is the key determinant for the formation of leisure activity.

The meaning and practices of leisure is changing continuously with respect to the changes in the material base of social life. The hypothesis of the study is based on this argument. Changes in economic structure are directly related to the changing meaning and practices of leisure. In our case, this study argues that each economic period produces its own leisure form and geography. At that point, this study does not attempt to define leisure; it attempts to define the context of leisure.

CHAPTER 3

LEISURE SPACES IN THE PRE-REPUBLICAN ANKARA AND DURING THE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE

3.1. Leisure Life in Ottoman Ankara

Around 16th century, Ankara was a well-known city for its unique and traditional "angora goat" and "mohair". Mohair was used for producing wool fabric which was exported to many destinations in the world. Since Ankara was located on one of the crossroads of historical trade routes, it combined this geographical advantage with the economy built around mohair. Eventually, it became one of the most important production and trade centers in Anatolia. However, after 1850s, due to the worldwide shift in trade routes and the developments in British cotton and wool industry, mohair production in Ankara declined and the mohair trade diminished significantly (Yavuz, 2000: 197). From this period on, Ankara was limited to a point where it can only export raw and unprocessed goods to Europe. Consequently, the production of "processed goods" such as wool fabric declined considerably. (Aydın et al, 2005: 264).
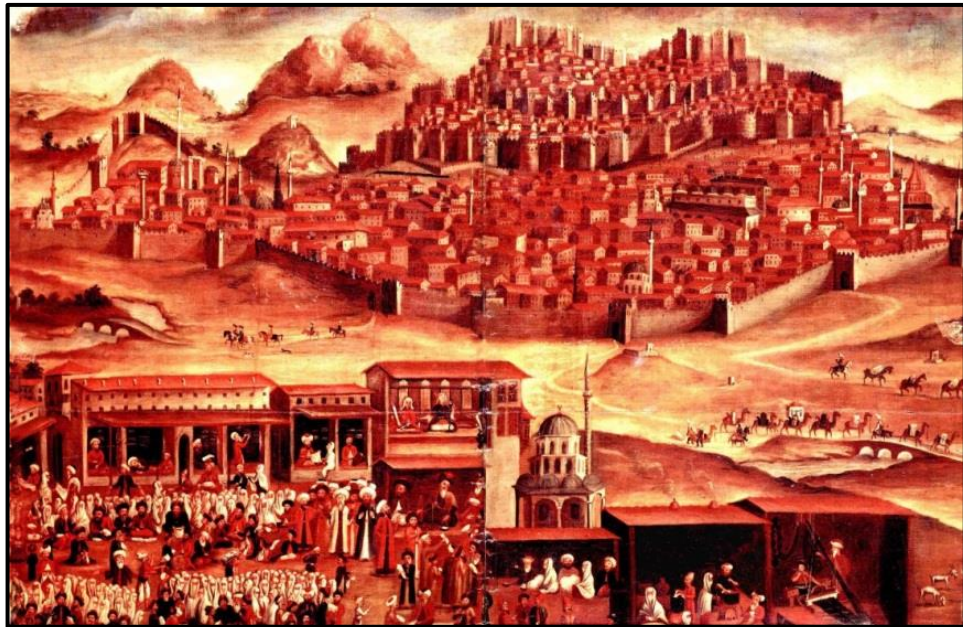
Figure 3.1 Ankara in the Early 18th century (Flemish Painter Jean Baptist van Mour).
Source**:** Personal Archive of Baykan Günay.

Thus, although historically Ankara was a trade center and a service city, it could not have an economy that would make the accumulation of the capital possible. With its declining economy throughout the 19th century, Ankara was portrayed in the travelogues as "a poor Anatolian town made up of dusty, narrow streets and dilapidated houses" (Ortaylı, 2000: 207). The relatively rich and prosperous period in Ankara's history between the 16th and 19th century gives us indications about the presence of a

wealthy group - a kind of local bourgeoisie – who earned money from the production and trade of mohair and lived in Ankara (Altın, 2003: 7). Parallel to the city's declining economy in the 19th century; the so-called local bourgeoisie also vanished.
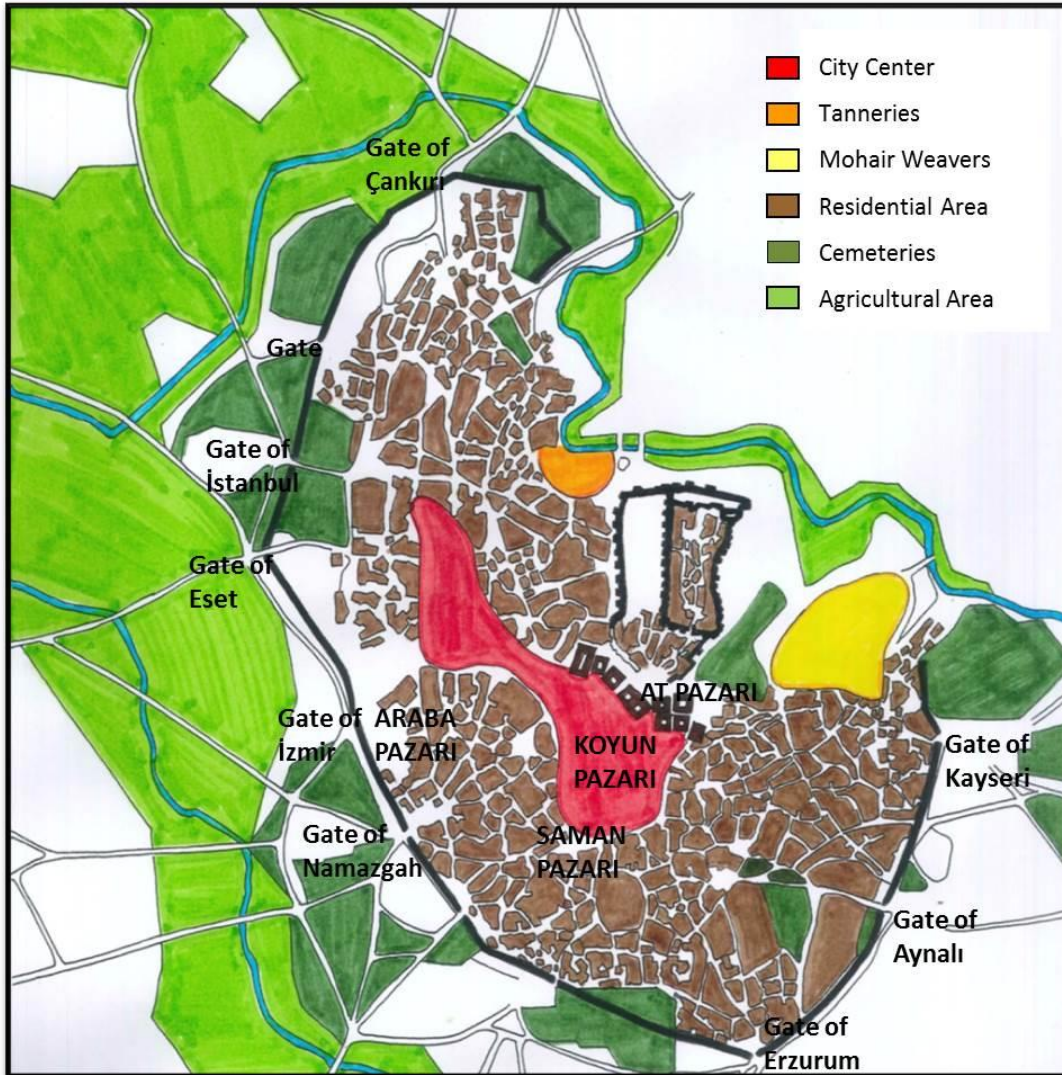
Figure 2.2 City of Ankara in 16th and 17th centuries.
Source**:** Aktüre, 1978: 119 (reproduced by author).

Trying to recover after the great fire in the 1881, Ankara was once again devastated during the fire of 1917. The fire of 1917 was so destructive that it was labeled as the event that ended the "Ottoman Ankara" (Aydın et al, 2005: 336). At the end of this enormous fire which lasted three days and three nights, the outcome was dreadful: Hisarönü quarter - commercial center and upper class neighborhood of the city – Çıkrıkçılar Ramp, Bedesten, Saraçlar Market and Atpazarı was completely burned.

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"The most elegant quarters of Ankara, its largest market, its wealth and prosperity have already reduced to ashes. At present, another neighborhood, a wealthy neighborhood [Jewish quarter] is under fire ... In the second morning of the fire, three fourths of Ankara was wiped out" (Karay, 2009: 141-2).
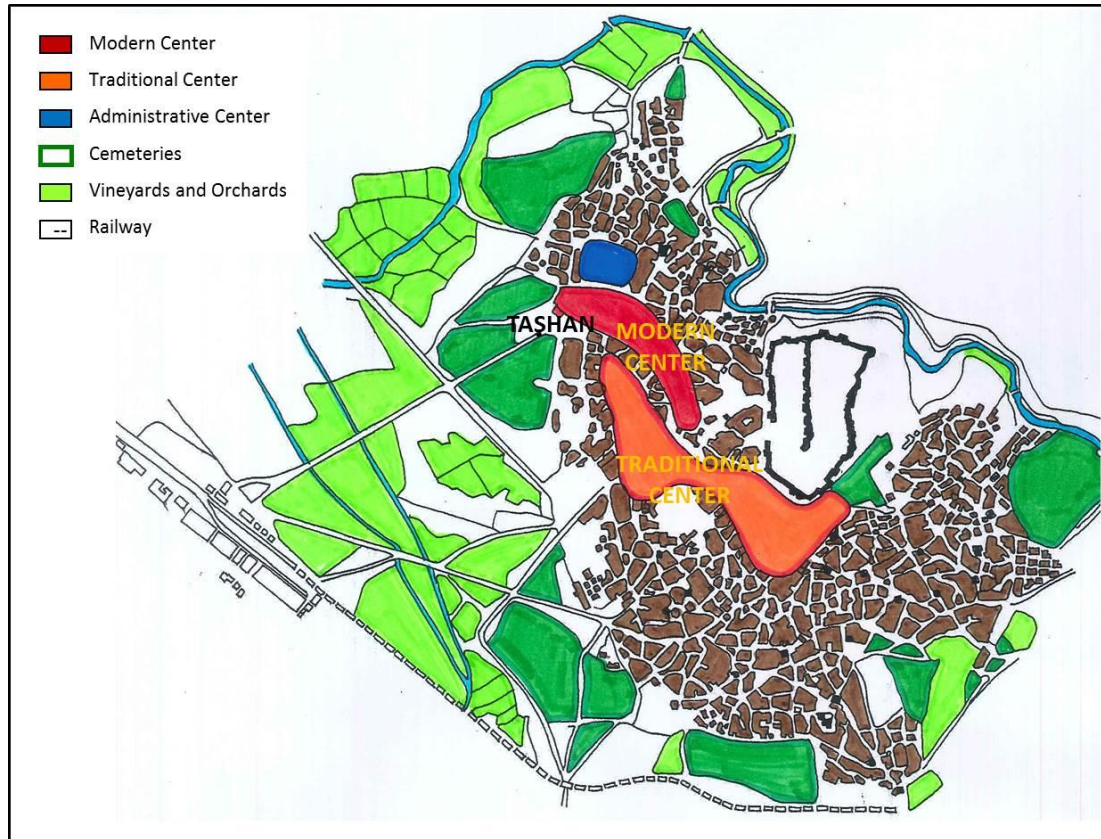
Figure 3.3 Dual Structure of Ankara's City Center at the end of 19th Century.
Source**:** Aktüre, 1978: 126 (reproduced by author).

On contrary to its rich history, this dilapidated looking Anatolian city, which has an economy that had declined gradually in time to the point where it almost collapsed, and which also has an exhausted physical structure because of the fires and the lack of restoration (Bademli, 1985: 10), did not have the prosperity or even the necessary economic basis to support the production of leisure spaces. Therefore, there were no specialized leisure spaces to spend time and enjoy collectively in Ottoman Ankara.

The squares were the spaces for communal leisure activities. However, unlike the squares in western understanding, the Ottoman squares were simply the open spaces with no particular form. Sports activities such as wrestling and javelin took place in these squares. The "javelin" was generally played in the area called "Hamit's Field" where stands the Maternity Hospital today. Wrestling games were organized in Namazgah Hill and acrobat shows were held in the "square of Hergele" (Aydın et al, 2005:279-81).

In Ottoman Ankara, traditional institutions of socialization were religious festivals and marriage ceremonies. The places appropriated for religious festival celebrations were the open spaces in Hamamönü for the *Yukarı Yüz* and the open spaces in Tahtakale for the *Aşağı Yüz*[11]. Later on, as the dedicated area for the celebrations in Hamamönü became inadequate in meeting the needs of the residents of *Yukarı Yüz*, the celebrations were moved to a larger area across the Maternity Hospital. These places which generally hosted activities such as circus, tent theatre, carousel, and Ferris wheel, presented the most important leisure opportunities in city throughout the year. Vehbi Koç (1974: 11), who was born in 1901 in Ankara notes that the wedding and circumcision feasts were the most popular leisure activities in the years of his childhood:

> "In my childhood in Ankara, it was not a common ritual to enjoy in casinos and entertainment spaces. There was no cinema and the theatre companies use to come from İstanbul only once or twice a year. Our childhood, our youth, and our entertainment were very different from those of today's" (Koç, 1974: 19).

Figure 3.4 Hatip Creek – Bentderesi.
Source: Cangır, A., Cumhuriyetin Başkenti, 2007.

The most important socialization spaces were the coffee houses to which only the men were allowed to attend. According to Aydın et al (2005: 291), coffee houses started to emerge in the city life after

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[11] The castle and its surroundings were called as "*Yukarı Yüz*" and the area from Hacıbayram Mosque in the Anafartalar Avenue to Karacabey Islamıc Social Complex was called as "*Aşağı Yüz*".

the year of 1902 when these places were recorded as a separate type of entity in the yearbooks[12]. In the "Municipal" Coffee House and especially in winters, entertainments such as *ince saz*[13] and improvisational theatre were organized. Apart from these male-oriented entertainments, only leisure spaces offering entertainment opportunities to the whole family were picnic areas around the Hatip and İncesu Creeks.

In Ankara, very first attempt to operate a theatre and casino coincides with the railway construction in 1892. Ahmet Fehim, who came from İstanbul, opened a theatre in a new and fairly big building – *Kocamanoğlu* building - located in Balıkpazarı. More than the local residents of Ankara, the customers of the theatre and its casino were the foreign employees (workmen and engineers) who were working on the construction of the railway, along with the civil servants and officers who came to the city from outside. Although Abidin Pasha, the governor of Ankara in that period, attended the gala night, it was only the hoodlums among the local residents that frequented the theatre afterwards. After being in service for about two and a half years, the theatre and the casino were closed as the construction of the railway was completed. The owner of the theatre company, Ahmet Fehim left Ankara and returned to İstanbul (Aydın et al, 2005: 292-93). Interestingly, Kemal Bağlum (1992:38) notes that the theatre was operated by an Armenian citizen named as Kocamanoğlu until the building was burned out in the fire of 1917.

> "There used to be a theater at the beginning of the "Çıkrıkçılar Ramp" on the left. Although Ankara was an underdeveloped city, its non-Muslim residents should have needed a theater that an Armenian citizen in the name of Kocamanoğlu was in charge of the theater. Kocamanoğlu were bringing theater companies from İstanbul from time to time. Muslim men were also among the audience. The theater was burned out in the fire of 1917" (Bağlum, 1992: 38).

Moreover, Bela Horvath, who came to Ankara in 1913, was surprised with the existence of a theatre in Ankara and expressed her astonishment as: "all of a sudden a man carrying a poster comes in sight, screaming with a nasal voice and inviting the audience to the play of "Othello". Shakespeare plays are performed in Anatolia!" (Horvath, 1997: 112).

3.3.   Leisure Life during the War of Independence

However, after the designation of Ankara as the headquarter of Turkish Independence War and the first opening of Turkish Grand National Assembly on 23 April 1920, the social life of this "town of steppe" started to change gradually. In the years of "National Struggle", new socialization spaces were introduced to the leisure life of the city. Main locations offering relaxation and entertainment opportunities were *Merkez Kıraathanesi* [Merkez Coffee House] and *Kuyulu Kahve* [Kuyulu Coffee House] located in *Anafartalar* Street. Additionally, these coffee houses were the most prominent non-parliament places in which informal political discussions took place, especially among the parliament members.

In addition to coffee houses, *Enver Behnan Şapolyo*, a teacher in Ankara Sultani in the early 1920s, talks about three taverns which were serving alcohol illegally[14]: *Dayko'nun Dükkanı* [Dayko's Shop],

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[12] In the yearbooks of Ankara, in 1902 it was seen that the number of coffee houses was 19 (Aydın et al, 2005:291).

[13] *İnce Saz* is a kind of live music performance in which a group of people both play the instruments and sing the songs while they are seated and they generally have drinks with traditional side dishes.

[14] According to Falih Rıfkı Atay, the first parliament prohibited the alcohol since it is not allowed in the sharia law, not for its harmful effects to human health. For this reason, the prohibition of alcoholic beverages was in

the tavern of *Efe Haydar* in Tahtakale, and the tavern of *Babo* (Bayram Fehmi). Şapolyo had been to the tavern of *Efe Haydar* first time with his friend - Aka Gündüz. He describes the tavern as "the kitchen of an adobe and ruined house" (1967: 144, 145-46,178-9). Şapolyo portrays the tavern of *Babo* and the tavern of *Efe Haydar* as follows:

> "This hidden tavern [tavern of Efe Haydar] did not look like the taverns of the *Balıkpazarı* and *Kumkapı* in İstanbul or "the bottom-of-the-barrel" taverns of Galata at all. It was barely similar to a lodge of junkies. In this place there was no benchtop, no table, and no chairs. Only a pallette was laid out at the corner for the customers who gets tired standing… under the dimmed light of an oil lamp, we moved into a deep conversation.

> …One day we went to the tavern of *Babo*. This was also one of the hidden taverns. In the same way, we were accepted in to the tavern after giving them the "password". It was much more modern than the tavern of *Efe*. In this place, customers were drinking *rakı* with glass shots, while they were seated on cane-chairs and gathered around newspaper-covered tables which generally had a broken leg. In those days, *rakı* was carried from the vineyards in traditional clay pitchers. It was extremely tasty. There was no *Tekel*[15]. The wine was made by the Christians. There was no beer in Ankara. We had the opportunity to drink the beer when the roads were opened. There were no other drinks either. There was no waiter in the tavern of Babo. Customers were filling their empty glasses at the bench top and were bringing them back to their tables" (Şapolyo, 1967: 144, 145-46).

The only urban park of the Ottoman Ankara in modern sense was *Millet Bahçesi* [Nation Garden]. Nation gardens were one of the new structures introduced after the declaration of Constitutional Monarchy in 1908 in order to reflect the spirit of the new era. The intention with the introduction of Nation gardens, which were inspired from the Public Gardens in France, was to have the individuals socialized and control them. Buildings for an Ottoman club, a library and a theatre were constructed in many of the Nation gardens produced in that era. There is not a known specific date for its opening but we know that *Millet Bahçesi* of Ankara was constructed after the opening of Ziraat Mektebi (School of Agriculture)[16] and was arranged by a teacher of Ziraat Mektebi, Muhittin Bey. With its acacia trees, its pool and the wooden theatre building, *Millet Bahçesi* was the most important socialization space of the pre-Republican Ankara (Memlük, 2009: 73).

In the years of Independence War, *Millet Bahçesi*, which was located across the First National Assembly building and on the very same spot that today's "100. Yıl Çarşısı [100th Anniversary Market]" stands, were described by Turan Tanyer (2009: 131) as "a bone-dry area with a few and far-between shrubs, a few wooden benches and a broken-down buffet". In the years of National Struggle, the members of parliament were spending their leisure time in "*Millet Bahçesi*" and sometimes they would huddle around Mustafa Kemal Pasha who would walk in unhurriedly with his fallow traditional Anatolian winter coat on and sit on one of the benches. Then, they would have long conversations with him (Feridun Kandemir, 1955 quoted in Tanyer, 2009: 131). First ever Labor Day celebration took place in *Millet Bahçesi* on May 1st of 1922. (Memlük, 2009: 77). *Millet Bahçesi* was reforested after the declaration of Ankara as capital city and continued to exist for a while.

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progress during the years of Independence War. *Raki* was made in the vineyards illegally. The leading name in the illegal trade of Raki was *Dilaver Bey* who was the chief of police. For this reason, *raki* was called as "Dilaver water" during the National Struggle era (Atay, 1969: 517).

[15] *Tekel* was the governmental monopoly on alcoholic drink and tobacco production.

[16] The buildings which were constructed in the last quarter of the 19th Century in Ankara are as follows: Teacher's School, School of Industry, School of Agriculture and The Lyceum of Ankara (Taş Mektep) (Memlük, 2009: 73).
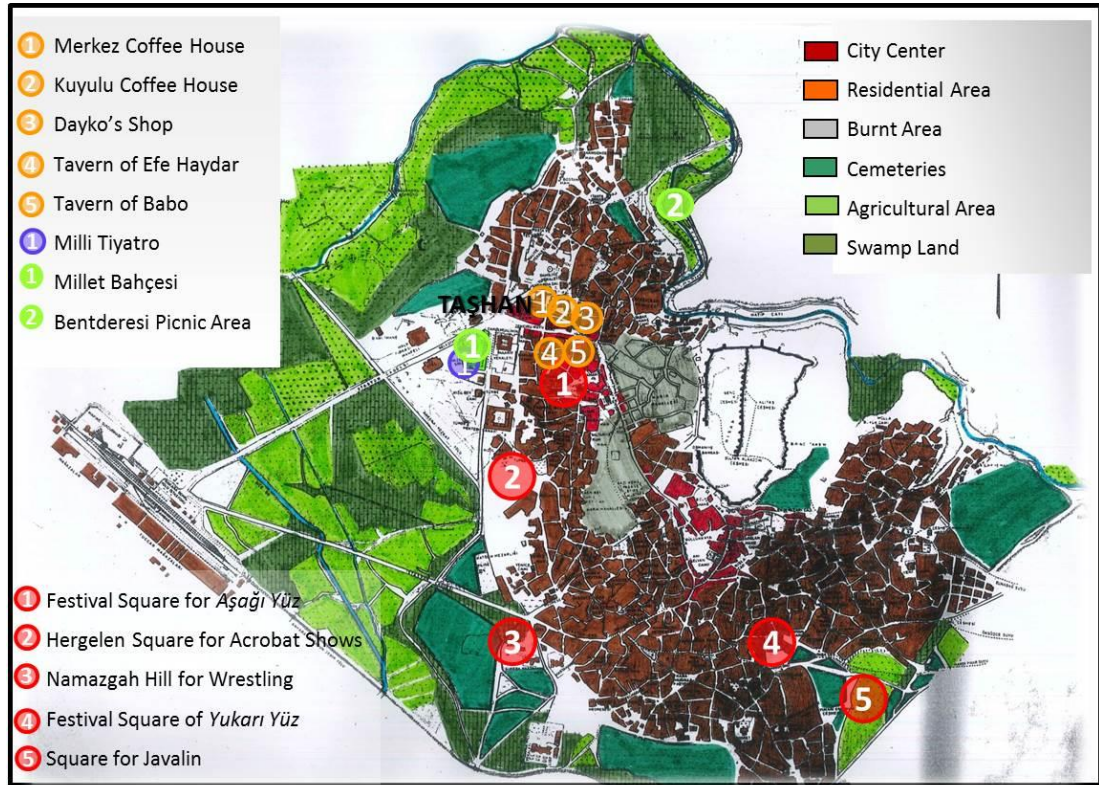
Figure 3.5 Leisure Spaces of Pre-Republican Ankara.
Base map: 1924 Şehremaneti Map (The Personal Archive of Çağatay Keskinok)

In early 1920s, *Millet Bahçesi* also hosted some of the rare leisure spaces in the city. Films were shown and plays were performed in the wooden building located in the Garden. This wooden building also hosted the bar of the only western style leisure space of Ankara: *Fresko's Bar.* Fresko's Bar was "a window to the west from the town of steppe" and "a tempting place for the well-off men of Ankara who was in "need" of debauchery" (Evren, 1988: 247). Fresko's Bar pioneered the "bar" type of leisure spaces in the city. Fresko's Bar was described in a report about Ankara which was submitted to the British authorities by two British men who visited the city in 1924 as follows:

> "There is an ambitious restaurant called Fresco. A place to dine. The food in this restaurant, which even had a music band, is not bad. However, one can easily notice the incompetence and lack of experience in service" (quoted in Şimşir, 1988: 321).

The wooden building located in *Millet Bahçesi*, which was mentioned as "Milli Tiyatro [National Theatre]" in some narratives and as "*Büyük Sinema* [Grand Cinema]" in some others, was the only place for theater plays and cinema. Clarence K. Streit who came to visit Ankara in 1921 watched Shakespeare's famous play *Hamlet* in National Theatre:

> "I came across so many surprises when I was in Turkey; however I was not that surprised until the night when I saw the theatrical posters informing that the Anatolian Theatre Group will perform "a monumental work of art", "the world's most famous tragedy", the *Hamlet*.

…Hamlet attracted a record-number of military members and civilians to the National Theatre. The military band was playing music and the harangue was entertaining the audience. In this while, the director of the theatre was busy doing some repairing under the light of an oil lamp just because the power was out due to a problem related with electric wiring.

…I stayed there until two o'clock in the night and the final curtain of the play was just beginning. It was obvious that the theatre company lacked the necessary stage accessories" (Streit, 2011: 63).
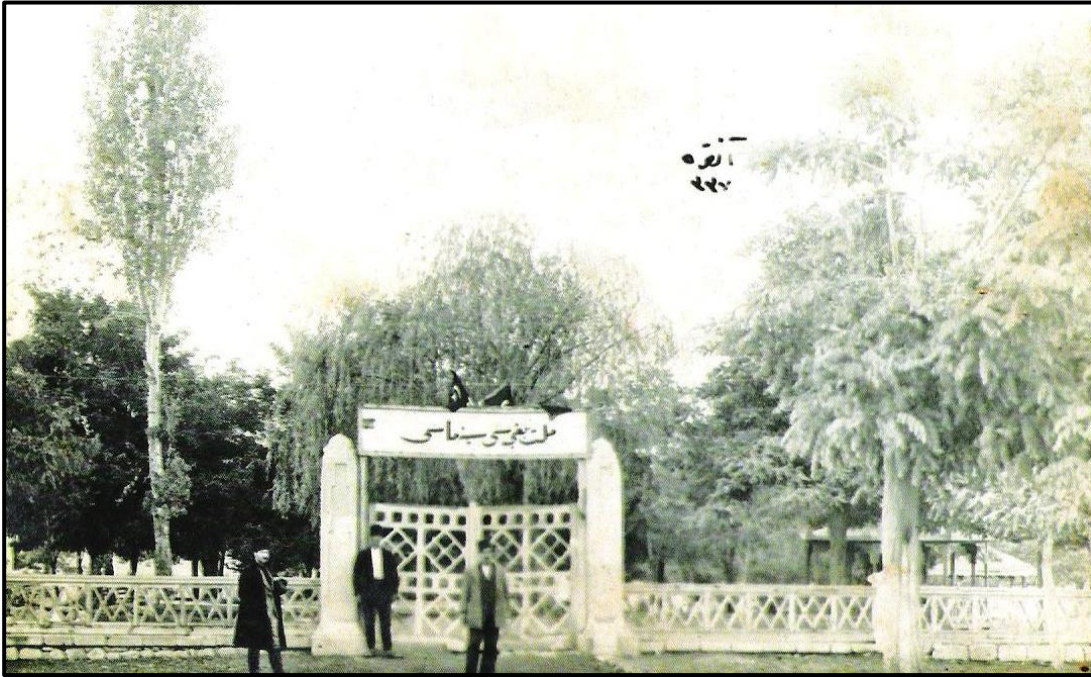
Figure 3.6 *Millet Bahçesi* in 1921 and it is written as "*Cinema of Millet Bahçesi*".
Source: Cangır, A., Cumhuriyetin Başkenti, 2007.

In the same way, after watching a play in the National Theatre in 1921, Nazım Hikmet also put down his impressions about the theatre:

"In the winter of 1921 In Ankara, in a filthy and barn-like theatre building which was barely illuminated with oil lamps and in a bad weather that I had to constantly breathe into my hands, I watched *Otello Kamil*[17]" (Streit, 2011: 63).

This wooden building was also mentioned as "*Büyük Sinema*" in Halil Makaracı's memoirs. Makaracı writes that this wooden building was the first cinema hall of Ankara and the people were deeply saddened when it was burned to ashes in 1928-29 (Bozyiğit, 2000: 171-72).

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[17] Kamil Riza Bey made quite a bit of fame with his performance in *Othello* that he became to be known as "*Othello Kamil*".

Because of the dominant "home-based" social life and the lack of a tradition among old Ankara residents to "eat out", there were hardly any requirement for restaurants or patisseries to be in existence. In early 1920s, Ankara did not have a single restaurant which has dressed waiters and equipped with tables, tablecloths, or even knives and forks. Falih Rıfkı Atay[18], mentions about this shortcoming in *Çankaya*: "the downtown was so primitive that we could not find even a small table with the same kind of plates and glasses". The kebab shops next to the lumberyards in Karaoğlan Street were the only places to eat out for the members of parliament. These places were popular with their local specialty, *Ankara Tava*. They did not have tables; the members of the parliament could only sit on a small wicker chairs while eating their foods in their hands (Evren, 1998: 196).

The place that singlehandedly carried the eating and drinking culture of Ankara from "cook shop" tradition to one step further was "*Kemal's Restaurant*" whose owner was a former Foreign Affairs member. This restaurant was located in between the Rüzgarlı Street and first Turkish Grand National Assembly. Special meetings were held here and the dinners were served while the band was playing music from a limited repertoire. *Kemal's Restaurant* soon became the venue for the dinner invitations of Foreign Minister, Yusuf Kemal (Tengirşenk) in the honor of the first embassies in Ankara such as Afghanistan, Azerbaijan, and the Soviet Russia (Evren, 1998: 196). In *Çankaya*, Falih Rıfkı Atay talks about "compulsory indispensability of *Kemal's Restaurant*" as follows:

Since there was no cars for transportation during the night times, after we leave Kemal's restaurant, Yakup Kadri and I had to turn on our electric torches in order to walk home. It was a long way that seem like never-ending. Once, I never forget, we decided to go to bed early and just passed Karaoğlan district. As we reached the very spot of the fireplace, the void and silent darkness -sort of- pushed us back. We turned back and joined the drinking ones around the table. We would be so worn out and exhausted in our conversations that we would become desperate and would not know what to do unless someone who just came from İstanbul refreshes our group's atmosphere (Atay, 1969: 354).

3.3. Conclusion

It would not be a misleading claim to say that separate leisure spaces were not produced in Ottoman cities until 19th century. With the 19th century, specific places were designed for leisure activities especially in the coastal cities such as İstanbul, since these cities had relatively strong relations with the West both commercially and culturally. We can argue that non-Muslim communities in Ottoman Empire and especially in these coastal cities have always been the pioneer in the activities related with leisure. The case of Pera (Beyoğlu) in İstanbul constitutes a good example for this claim. Pera was a significant and cosmopolitan leisure geography that was formed by its residents who were almost totally comprised of non-Muslim citizens. The westernized Muslim population of the city were also frequenting Pera in order to satisfy their leisure needs. In the meantime, while western style leisure life was institutionalized in Pera, Şehzadebaşı-Direklerearası in the old city became the center for "alaturka [Turkish style]" leisure forms (Belge, 1983:860).

On contrary to the developments about leisure provision in coastal cities, other cities of the Empire, especially the cities in the underdeveloped and introvert regions of central and eastern Anatolia, did not yet have the necessary conditions such as the cultural and economic capital for the production of leisure activities. Accordingly, in Ottoman Ankara, which was a landlocked city in the Central Anatolia, there were no specialized leisure spaces to spend time and enjoy collectively until the end of 19th century. Communal leisure activities such as javelin, wrestling and religious festival celebrations

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[18] Falih Rıfkı Atay, *Çankaya*, Doğan Kardeş Basımevi, İstanbul, 1969: 35.

were experienced in the open spaces (squares) of the city which were nothing more than an empty field and did not have a particular form at all.

Not surprisingly, spatialization of leisure as an urban activity was pioneered by non-Muslim citizens of Ankara. We conclude from the narratives of Kemal Bağlum (1992:38) that the theatre building, which belonged to an Armenian citizen and was burnt in the fire of 1917, was the first space in Ankara that was assigned for a leisure activity. We learn from Ahmet Fehim (Aydın et al, 2005: 292-93) that this theatre was active in 1892, during the railroad construction in the city.

For Muslim citizens, most important socialization spaces were the coffee houses to which only men were allowed to attend. Therefore, in the leisure life of pre-Republican Ankara, there were sharp distinctions in experiencing leisure between Muslim and non-Muslim and also between man and woman. Apart from male-oriented coffee houses, only leisure spaces offering entertainment opportunity to the whole family were picnic areas along Hatip and İncesu Creeks. Therefore, we can say that natural environment of the city was the geography assigned for leisure activities in the pre-Republican Era.

Millet Bahçesi, as one of the new structures introduced after the declaration of Constitutional Monarchy in 1908, was the first urban park of the city in modern sense. In *Millet Bahçesi,* there was also a wooden building which hosted served as a theatre and cinema building. With its features, *Millet Bahçesi* was the most important socialization space of the pre-Republican Ankara.

After the designation of Ankara as the headquarter of Independence War and the opening of Turkish Grand National Assembly on 23 April 1920, the social life of Ankara started to change. As a result of the prohibition of alcohol during the Independence War, "secret leisure spaces" such as the tavern of Babo and the tavern of Efe Haydar were produced to serve alcoholic drinks. Besides these places, First "legal" entertainment spaces of Ankara such as *Fresko's Bar* and *Kemal's Restaurant* were opened in the beginning of 1920s.

In conclusion, we see that leisure spaces, which are specifically assigned for leisure activities were first introduced to the social life of Ankara in the beginning of 1920s. These first leisure spaces were *Kuyulu Kahve, Merkez Kıraathanesi*, *Fresko's Bar* and *Kemal's Restaurant*. In addition, we should also mention that *Millet Bahçesi* and its theatre building, as the heritages of the Ottoman era, were also used during the independence war and the Republican era as well.

CHAPTER 4

EARLY REPUBLICAN ANKARA (1923-1950): SETTING THE STAGE FOR CULTIVATING MODERN CITIZEN

4.1 Meaning: Leisure Space as a Means for Social Transformation

As the war of independence ended with a victory both in the field and on the table, it was the time for another battle, which could be defined as the battle for the "modernization of Turkey's people". Turkey had to catch the modernized nations in all dimensions and this could only be achieved by contemporary citizens. Therefore, the most pressing goal of the Republic was about cultivating modern citizens.

Since the Republic's intention to cultivate a "modern citizen", in other words a new individual who works, entertains, recreates himself and socializes was a political and ideological goal, the production of leisure spaces in the city of Ankara played an important role in the spatial formation of the new built and rapidly growing capital.

For this reason, we will start with discussion of the political and ideological context which directed the creation process of the modern capital and the application of this context to the urban life, later on we will elaborate on the place of leisure activity in sociospatial context, formation and configuration of leisure spaces, and the contribution of leisure activity to the production of urban space in the city and its social and cultural life.

During the post-independence period characterized with nationalization and modernization movement, the founders of Turkish Republic strictly denied İstanbul as the capital of the new republic simply because it was recalling the Ottoman history, its imperialist relations and its foreign-dependent bourgeois life[19]. This approach and the mindset of the founders set İstanbul aside of the stage and made Ankara the sole candidate to be the city of the new capital. Ankara was chosen to be the "living space" of the new-born nation-state. With the decision that proclaimed it the capital of the New Turkish Republic in 1923, the destiny of Ankara changed entirely. With this decision, the transformation of Ankara from a small Central Anatolian town to a modern city officially started.

Ankara, as the stage of this new beginning, was initially designed to be a modern city which would constitute the basic building block in the nation-state construction (Şengül, 2009) and a model city, which would offer an "executive-summary" of the future deliverables of the Republic (Güvenç, 1994: 67). For this reason, the construction of Ankara as a modern city was identified as an indicator of the Republic's success (Tekeli, 1982: 52).

While Ankara was designed as a modern spatial organization, at the same time it was envisioned to provide the environment where modern urban culture and lifestyle are built and flourished. Therefore, the Ankara experience should be considered not only as a modern model city construction which would lead to the urbanization of Anatolia but also as a laboratory in which the modern citizen of the

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[19] According to Tekeli, the founding leaders of the Republic, who are usually from the petit bourgeoisie and fed by "İttihat and Terakki" ideology which emerged after 1908, did not reject the line of capitalist development. What the founding leaders, who envisage the salvation in the creation of national bourgeoisie, reject was the foreign-bound bourgeoisie of İstanbul not the national bourgeoisie that they will create themselves. For this reason, Ankara, beyond the purpose of building a modern city, was also considered as a space where lifestyle of national bourgeoisie would be established (Tekeli, 1982: 53).

nation-state is cultivated. Burhan Asaf[20] (1929) viewed the physical construction of Ankara and social construction of Ankara's modern citizen as two simultaneous happenings:

> "From one neighborhood to the other, rising and developing with the efforts of its nation, Ankara, with its just-came-to-life soil and rocks, will create its own citizen one day. The day of the completion of Ankara may coincide with the creation of the citizens of the nation. We might witness the first Turks that Turkey will grow and the first citizens that Ankara will produce at the very same day.

> Ankara will complete its citizen whom it will equip with its own characteristics before the mortar of its buildings dry. We will witness the new citizen wandering around the new streets, new squares and new monuments safely and as the owner of all. In a modern city of a modern nation which lives in the society of civilization, this citizen, since he will learn about the modern life of the city while walking down to the school, will be a "modern citizen" even while breathing and he will be called as "ANKARALI"

> We don't deny that we are forcing Ankara with labor and tolerance to become modern. But that does not suffice, we have to make Ankara's residents, with labor and by all means and even forcefully the "Ankaralı" too".

Designed according to the westernization and modernization vision of the Republic, Ankara was to be planned as a model city for the rest of the country and also a living space for the modern citizens who would adopt the modern way of life as well. In this sense, the production of leisure spaces had special significance. These spaces would be useful both cultivating the modern citizen of the Republic and also for spreading the modern way of life to the society. The cultivated modern citizen, as a carrier of modern habits and behavioral patterns would be a role model for the rest of the society. Through the experiencing and exhibition in modern leisure spaces by the modern citizens, modern practices such as clothing and dress styles, music and dancing preference, relationship with the opposite sex, eating and drinking habits would spread to the entire society. This was the goal and the roadmap to apply the social transformation. It was believed that this goal would produce the desired outcome. Therefore, during this period, leisure spaces were produced not only as essential components of the modern urban structure but also for the sake of incorporating the community into modern leisure practices. Leisure space, in the sense of modernization, was considered as a public school; by which, modern leisure experiences would spread to the society and social transformation would be achieved.

The new residents of Ankara, majority of which came from İstanbul and are mostly educated in Europe, would take the mission of implementing the new way of life. This group would be practitioners of "national bourgeoisie" which was aggressively desired to be created (Tekeli, 1980)[21] and would form the core of the national bourgeoisie. As the carriers of the required habits and behavioral patterns of the modernity, these new residents would serve as the role model for the rest of

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[20] Burhan Asaf, "Ankaralı", *Hakimiyet-i Milliye*, 24 and 26 Kanunisani 1929 (quoted in Aydın et al, 2005)

[21] According to Nalbantoğlu, on contrary to İstanbul and İzmir, which are integrated with world markets because of their historical and economic importance, Ankara lacked the economic foundation that would make the new patterns of social life possible and necessary. Western forms of social life were carried from İstanbul to Ankara by an elite class who were also carriers of the political/administrative practice, and many bureaucrats act jealously in sharing these new forms of life with the local middle class of Ankara. The carrier class of new western-style living patterns would be the bureaucrats, intellectuals, and diplomats for a long time except for a limited number of local merchants, who were enriched via establishing good relations with the state and transformed themselves accordingly. For this reason, Nalbantoğlu argues that in Ankara, in the beginning, the carriers of the middle-class lifestyle were not the members of that class (2000: 291-297).

the society. Their exhibition of modern leisure practices would accelerate the realization of anticipated social transformation (Yalım, 2002: 188).

However, in the absence of a developed urban culture and economy, in contrast to İstanbul and İzmir, construction of Western urban culture and lifestyle in Ankara was not easy task. In the early 1920s, Ankara had a rich history with a population of about 20 thousand people, but its economy was in decline for a long time and even almost collapsed once. Its physical structure was quite worn out because of the fires and dilapidation that devastated the city (Bademli, 1985:10). Ankara's daily life, in which the houses were the only meeting spaces, had a quiet and unhurried flow and the days almost entirely ended early. In 1923, the French press portrayed the monotonous lifestyle of Ankara with these sentences; "in Ankara, a person breaks away from the world. There is no entertainment, no theatre and no cinema. This city, which is not acquainted with electricity yet, is as if dead at seven o'clock in the evening" [22] (quoted in Şimşir, 1988: 362). Also Falih Rıfkı Atay (1969) describes this period's Ankara and its traditional way of life in his classic book *Çankaya*:

> "The station, then the wetland and the graveyard and the burned out district just after the slum of "Karaoğlan", and finally the houses made up of mud and timber. A village of crooked streets either paved with cobblestone or non-paved…That was Ankara.
>
> We were always bored, so as Atatürk. But he was spending an exile life in steppe, in order to embed the idea of Ankara as the capital and take away the attention from İstanbul. Mountains, hills, roads, paths and the residents of the town, who retreat to the enclaves of the cages and rush their carriages to the barns through the sundown, that whole emptiness of dessert, were in an eternal silence and sulk mode.
>
> Through the evening, the feet were dragged into the houses. As the sun comes down, the flashes of electric torches were spotted in the ash-smelling, burned out lands. Many, who came from İstanbul and living an inmate-like life in Ankara, were killing their slow-passing times by drinking alcohol" (Atay, 1969: 505).

Ankara had experienced a sharp construction/building period just after its declaration as the capital city. What also witnessed during this period was the transformation of traditional leisure forms to the modern ones. The leisure problem in traditional Ankara was addressed by producing new cultural facilities aiming at "creating a city from nothing". In other words, a leisure life, which the old residents of this central Anatolian city were unfamiliar with, was introduced by the new inhabitants. These new dwellers wished to enjoy the activities which they were accustomed to in their pre-Ankara life.

The traditional leisure life of Ankara solely consisted of coffee houses and picnics on the Bentderesi and Hatip Stream in the early 1920s. By late 1920's, with the production of modern leisure spaces particularly since the late 1920s in parallel with the construction of modern Ankara, this poor and limited leisure form started to change and transform.

In these modern leisure spaces, new patterns of social life particularly in clothing style, attitudes, and leisure forms were put into practice. Hence, the components of Ankara's everyday life entered into a fundamental transition process; from "han" to "palace", from "cook shop" to "restaurant", from "traditional picnic places" to "modern urban parks", form "oxcart" to "motor vehicles" from "dusty streets" to "wide boulevards" and in general from "east" to "west".

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[22] The references in the reports and newspapers of foreign countries about the absence of adequate leisure opportunities in Ankara, would serve as an explanation for the hesitation and opposition of the embassies in the process of moving from İstanbul to Ankara just after Ankara took over the duties of the capital city.

In this process, there were three factors which mostly determined the establishment of modern leisure spaces. First one is the role of the state: it was the leading actor as the supporter, controller, and the encourager of all leisure activities. Leisure spaces were produced heavily and directly by the state with the motivation of cultivating the "modern citizen". State was the most, if not the only dominant actor in leisure provision partly because of the perceived meaning of leisure as a tool for social transformation in those days. State was so active in this process that, it controlled and even supported the market to provide leisure facilities for the sake of cultivating modern citizens.

The second factor was the importance denoted to Ankara. Ankara was perceived as a model for the rest of the country. Besides the lack of modern approach and understanding in almost all aspects of urban life, the whole country was physically demolished during the long lasting wars and was open for re-construction. Other than İstanbul and İzmir, which have the footprints of non-Turkish citizens in every part and were reminding the multi-cultural character of the Ottoman Empire, Turkey were desperately in need of a fully Turkish-made modern city.

Final one is the city plans. The role of the city plans in the production of leisure spaces can not be ignored. The very first city plans of Ankara explained the need for leisure in detail and included specific places for the leisure activities.

Being declared as the capital of the nation-state in 1923, Ankara was envisioned to be a "planned capital" and a modern city which would lead the urbanization of Anatolia. While Ankara was being constructed as a modern and planned capital, at the same time it was envisaged to be the venue where modern way of life would be established. For this reason, the production of leisure spaces as a stage, where the required habits and behavioral patterns of the modern way of life would be experienced and exhibited, were regarded extremely important for the success of the regime. In other words, the production of leisure spaces in which the new way of life would be established and the modern citizen would be cultivated, constitutes a significant pillar of Republic's modernity project. Therefore, we can conclude that in the Early Republican Period, the public leisure spaces were perceived as "*means of social transformation*" and were designed to serve as places for *socialization and interaction* among urban citizens.

4.2 Leisure Geography: Mono-centered City

The second variable, which affected the formation of sociospatial configuration of leisure activity in the Early Republican Period, was "leisure geography", in other words "spatial distribution of leisure activities". We can talk about three factors in the formation of leisure geography: the structure of the city center, residential mobility of middle and higher classes and changing accessibility of leisure spaces.

As a result of mono-centered city structure of this period, leisure spaces were clustered in Ulus that was also the center for the other components of the city's daily life. However, in the second half of 1930s, a leapfrogging development emerged in Yenişehir, and leisure activities were reproduced in this new district. Therefore, in this section, we will discuss firstly the formation of leisure geography in Ulus, and then the leapfrogging development of leisure activities in Yenişehir.

After that, we will investigate the construction process of Atatürk Boulevard as a spine of the city, and therefore, as an axes for leisure activities located. Lastly, we examine the geographical location of recreation spaces which are located far from city center and require more open area, such as *Gazi Orman Çiftliği* and Çubuk Dam Recreation Area. As explained in the Introduction Chapter, these distant spaces are distinguished from the leisure spaces which were located in the city center with a key factor: "everydayness". Due to availability and proximity, the areas in the city center become parts of everyday life while other recreation areas, which are scattered in the city, are visited less frequently. However, it is worthy to note that this thesis study does not include the urban parks, such

as *Gençlik Parkı* [Youth Park], in this category. This study argues that urban parks should be part of everyday life and be located close to the city center.

4.2.1 Ulus as the Sole Destination for Leisure

After the declaration of Ankara as the capital of the Republic, the city became an attraction center for the citizens of entire Anatolia and especially for the intellectuals of İstanbul. As a result of this huge interest, the population of the city started to grow at a rapid pace. More than everything else, newcomers of the city firstly met the problem of "housing". There was a huge shortage in housing. Families would consider themselves lucky if they would find a room to accommodate the whole family.

In addition to this primary and overarching problem, there was also another, relatively less-comprehensive problem: lack of leisure opportunities. However, the leisure life about which everyone was complaining, started to change around 1923 with the initiation of the state-sponsored construction activities which was aiming at "creating a city from nothing" and by the production of new leisure spaces.

Taşhan Square (latter named as *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* Square) which had been the relatively "modern" center of the city in the pre-republican period[23] hosted the first leisure spaces produced with respect to the vision of the new regime. In 1923, firstly the square was cleaned and parquetted; then the name of the square was changed as *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* Square. *Taşhan*[24] which gave its name to the square was repaired and renovated; and while the upper floor of the building turned into a hotel named as "*Hotel D'Angora*" and on the ground floor, shops were opened. In the same year, *İstanbul Patisserie* was opened on one of the corners of the square on *Karaoğlan* Street across the Zincirli Mosque. *İstanbul Patisserie*, called as "intellectual club" was often frequented by authors, painters, deputies, and journalists. *Karaoğlan* Street was reorganized with the addition of Municipality-owned shops extending from *İstanbul Patisserie* to the square.

Following the expansion of the road into an avenue, the axis of *Karaoğlan – Balıkpazarı*, ending in *Samanpazarı*, was renamed as *Anafartalar* Street (Tanyer, 2009: 137). *Millet Bahçesi was* reorganized and afforested. In addition to the wooden theatre building and Fresko's Bar, a tea garden was opened in the *Millet Bahçesi (*latter named as *Şehir Bahçesi* [City Garden]). Besides, a chamber orchestra was performing in the garden from time to time (Tanyer, 2009: 136). In 1932, single-story

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[23] In the pre-republican period, the city center of Ankara had a linear form with two ends having different characteristics. The *Bedesten* (market) in front of the Ankara Castle, the Hans district and the open market areas like *Atpazarı*, *Koyunpazarı* and *Samanpazarı* constituted the "traditional center" where the traditional production and trade concentrated. In the other end, around *Taşhan* and *Karaoğlan* Market, there was a relatively modern center which connected the city to İstanbul and to the west. However, duality in the functions of the center as "traditional and modern" did not necessarily indicate the existence of two disjointed and different centers; there was a linear city center having two different ends (Aktüre, 1978: 125-27; Bademli, 1987a: 154).

[24] *Taşhan*, which was built at the end of 19th century, was the most important accommodation and business center in Ankara in 1920s. *Taşhan* used to be the most modern and luxurious hotel of Ankara until the opening of *Ankara Palas* in 1928. Renovated after the establishment of the Turkish Republic, *Taşhan* earned its place in the modernization project as a space where a new life style would be experienced. However, it was expropriated in 1933 and demolished in 1935 for the sake of constructing the building of *Sümerbank* which was the symbol of Republic's industrialization movement. *Taşhan* went down in history as one of the Republic's symbolic spaces by hosting many important guests and witnessed many important events.

building of *Belediye Çarşısı* [25] [Municipal Market] was constructed on the land of *Millet Bahçesi* along the Bankalar Street (today's Atatürk Boulevard); the remaining part of the garden behind the market was in service of Ankara until 1959 with the name of "Şehir Bahçesi" [City Garden] (Memlük, 2009: 78). In addition, across the *Millet Bahçesi* there was the *Meclis Bahçesi* ([National Assembly Garden]-the garden of Second National Assembly building) which was the open to public and also it was a place where the *Riyaset-i Cumhur Senfoni Orkestrası* [Presidential Symphony Orchestra] performed.

Figure 4.1 Karaoğlan Street and Taşhan in 1920s. Source: MEB, 2007

In order to meet to essential needs of the city of Ankara, the new capital of the nation, a modern restaurant, a Belarusian chef, Juri Georges Karpovitch was brought from İstanbul in 1924 by Cemal Bey who was the owner of Taşhan. In the same year, chef Karpovitch opened the first modern restaurant of Ankara under the name of "*Şölen*", in *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* Square in the section opening to the inner yard of *Taşhan*. Instead of its official name, this restaurant was identified with its chef, Karpovitch. Therefore, it became to be known by the name of "*Karpiç*" which is the Turkish pronunciation of "Karpovitch". In the first years of 1930s, after the pulling down of *Taşhan*, *Karpiç* was moved into *Belediye Çarşısı* [Municipal Market], a new single-story building located in the site of *Millet Bahçesi*. In addition to *Karpiç* which was the pioneer of the new trend of modern restaurants, there were also the restaurants of *Zevk, Cumhuriyet Yıldız, Turan, Yeşil Fıçı and Karadeniz,* most of which were located in Karaoğlan Street.

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[25] *"Belediye Çarşısı"* [Municipal Market] or also known as *"Şehir Çarşısı"* [City Market] was designed by Robert Oerley in 1932.

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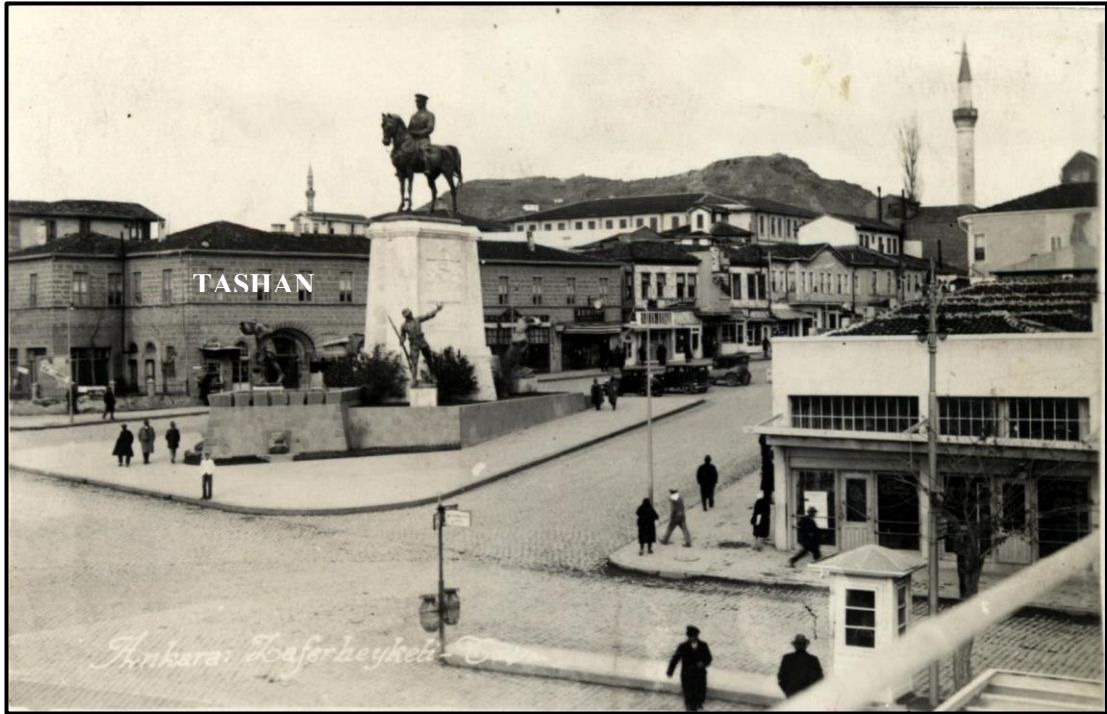
Figure 4.2 Taşhan and Ulus Square
Source: Cangır, A., Cumhuriyetin Başkenti, 2007.

Figure 4.3 Ulus Square in 1935: Victory Monument, Millet Bahçesi, Municipal Markets
Source: Cangır, A., Cumhuriyetin Başkenti, 2007.

In 1928, another essential need of Ankara was met with the opening of *Ankara Palas*. This modern hotel building was constructed at the request and recommendations of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, in order to meet a growing need in Ankara for a modern and luxiourus place to host foreign guests and important people. It was located on *İstasyon* Street next to *Millet Bahçesi and* across the second parliament building. With one hundred guest rooms, suits, dining halls and ballrooms, *Ankara Palas* was the most "modern" and "comfortable" hotel of that time in Ankara.
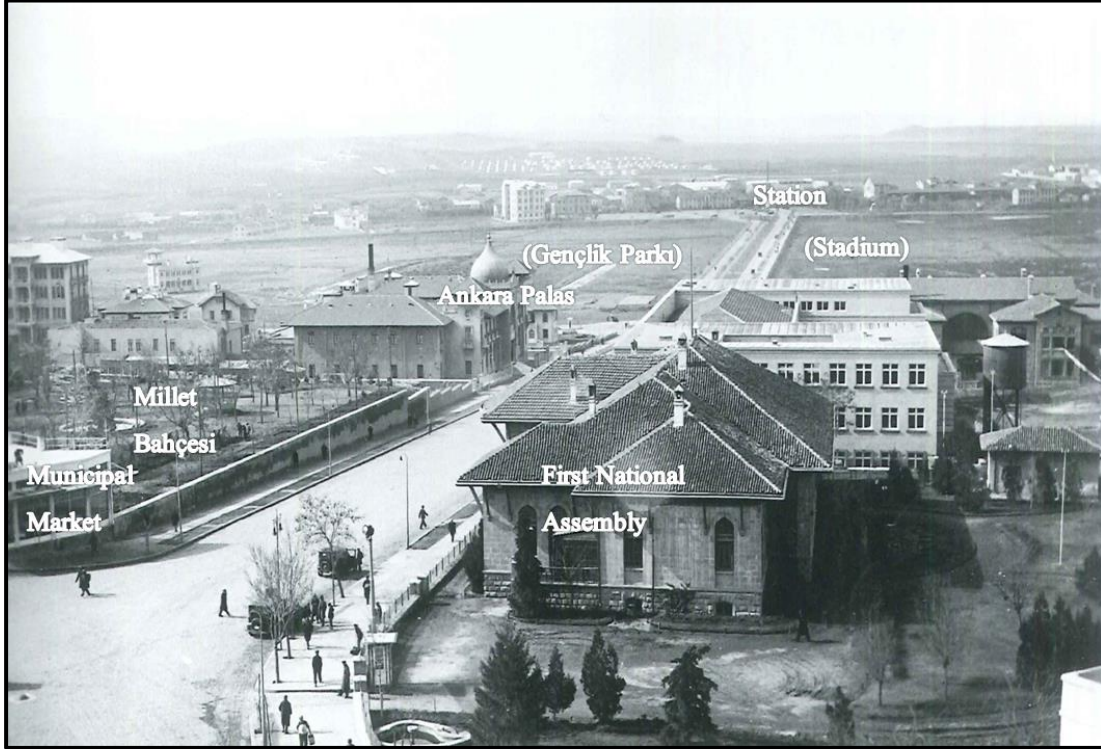
Figure 4.4 İstasyon [Station] Street in 1933: *Millet Bahçesi, Belediye Çarşısı* [Municipal Market], First and Second National Assembly, *Ankara Palas, Meclis Bahçesi*.
Source: Işın, E., Ankara: Kara Kalpaklı Kent: 1923-1938, 2009.

The bars, which were the only places where men could meet women, were geographically concentrated on Çankırı Street. After the relocation of Fresko's Bar on Çankırı street, this street became the destination for the other bars and eventually Çankırı Street has become popular with its famous bars, such as *Fresko*, *Elhamra*, *Tabarin*, *Yeni Bar*, *Nil Bar*, *Garden, Türkuvaz*, *Necip Bar*. Even today, it still keeps the same reputation.

On *Posta* Street, there were small pubs. However, Posta street were particularly identified with two of these pubs, which have special importance in Turkish literary history: *Yeni Hayat* (or *Kürdün Meyhanesi* [Pub of the Kurd]) and *Şükran Lokantası*. *Yeni Hayat* was the first destination on the right, upon entering the street from the boulevard and *Şükran* was located right next to *Yeni Hayat*. These two leisure spaces hosted "the literary life of Ankara" and the literature life transpired for a long time at these two leisure spaces (Tanyer, 2009: 143).
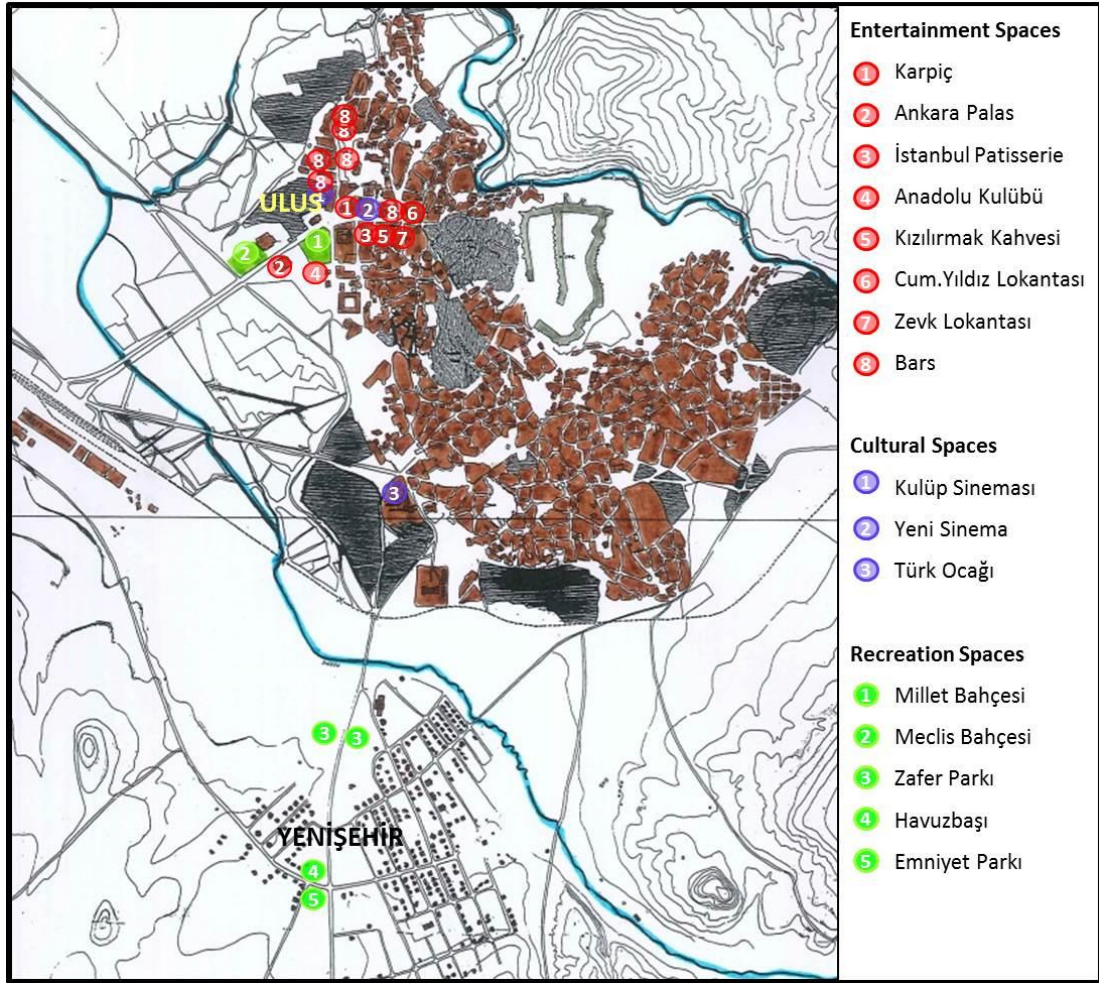
Figure 4.5 Leisure Spaces of Ankara in 1930.
Base Map: Şenyapılı (1983).

As one of the basic aspects of the new leisure understanding, cinema and theatre were introduced into the city life after 1930s. The first cinemas of Ankara were opened in the vicinity of Ulus, where major leisure activities were clustered around. Following the screenings of the very first movies in the wooden building ("*Büyük Sinema*" as in Halil Makaracı's memoir) at the *Millet Bahçesi*, Ankara welcomed its first permanent cinema hall – named as *Kulüp Sineması* [Club Cinema] - in 1926. *Kulüp Sineması*, which was operated by Muhittin Baha Pars, the deputy of Bursa, was located on Çankırı Street, on the corner of Rüzgarlı Street, next to *Tabarin* Bar. Unfortunately, this cinema hall was burned down in 1933. It was rebuilt and put into service under the name of *Halk* Sineması [Public Cinema]; later on it was renamed on more time as *Park Sineması* [Park Cinema].

Located next to *Taşhan*, *Yeni Sinema* [New Cinema] was introduced as the first modern cinema of the city in 1930. Later on, two other cinemas; *Sus* and *Sümer,* were opened on *Anafartalar* Street in 1938 and in 1940 respectively. *Yeni, Kulüp (Halk – Park)*, and *Sus* cinema halls were operated by "*Ankara Sinema İşleri Türk Limited Şirketi*" [Ankara Turkish Film Works Limited Company], a joint

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collaboration of *İş* Bank and Mr. Muhittin Baha Pars (Karagözoğlu, 2004: 14-15; Tanyer, 2009: 139-41, Bozyiğit, 1999: 171-74)[26].
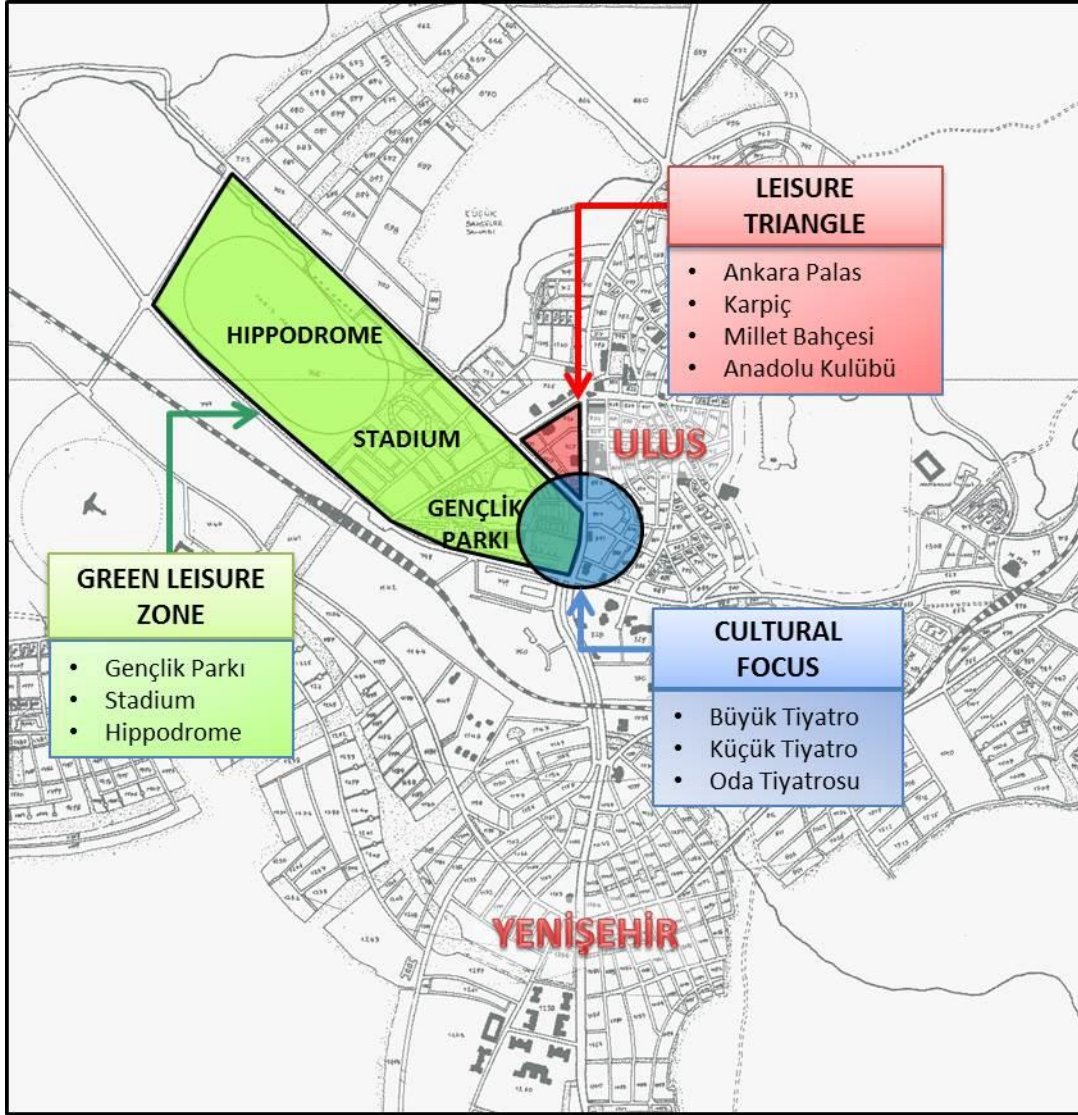
Figure 4.6 Conceptualization of Leisure Geography in the Early Republican Period.

The "Triangle of Leisure", which refers to the area across the National Assembly in the midst of *Büyük Millet Meclisi* Street, *Mustafa Necati Bey* Street and the *İstanbul* Street, functioned as a focal point for leisure activities, such that especially the deputies spent their leisure time in this district. This

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[26] *Kulüp (Halk-Park)* Cinema was operated until 1970s, and after that relocated by a commercial complex [İşhanı]. In 1956 *Yeni* Cinema was expropriated and demolished during the expansion of Anafartalar Street and Ulus Square in order to construct Ulus Commercial Complex [Ulus İşhanı].

triangle comprised of famous leisure spaces such as *Karpiç, Ankara Palas, Anadolu Kulübü* [Anatolian Club], *Millet Bahçesi* [Nation Garden], and *Küçük Tiyatro* [Small Theatre]. The latter of which was first put into service in late 1940s. İstanbul Patisserie, Kulüp Sineması, Yeni Sinema and Coffee Houses were located on *Anafartalar* Street on the north-east end of this triangle, while the bars and pubs were gathered on the northern side of triangle, on Çankırı Street. *Halkevi* [People's House], another important leisure space, was on the south-eastern of this triangle. There were very few leisure spaces other than the aforementioned spaces which were clustered in the city center, one being the *Bomonti Gazinosu* [Bomonti Music Hall] in *Maltepe*.

Moreover, *Gar Gazinosu*, which was opened in 1937, was located on the right-hand side of the Station Square in front of the Railway Station. The building was situated within a well-kept garden with a cascading pool. There was a restaurant hall with a stage on the ground floor and a roof terrace above, which was famous for providing "the best view of Ankara". However, in the 1940s, the terrace was enclosed and became the second floor of the restaurant with the same character of first floor.

The production spaces to host cultural activities such as theatre and opera were completed at the end of 1940s. Before then, *Halkevi* [People's House] was used as a theatre and an opera house. *Halkevi* hosted 105 plays in the years between 1932 and 1951 (Aydın et al, 2005). In the year of 1947, Ankara welcomed its first permanent theatre– *Küçük Tiyatro* [Small Theatre] - which was opened on the ground floor of the *Evkaf Apartment*, in the leisure triangle. Then in the same year, the second theatre and opera house of the city was opened. The ongoing architectural project of "*Sergievi*" [Exhibition Hall] building across the *Küçük Tiyatro* was modified and on completion it was put in service as a theatre and opera house under the name of "*Büyük Tiyatro*" [Grand Theatre]. This area constituted the "cultural focus" of the city in the late 1940s; such that, the area is still known as Opera Square.

Across cultural focus of the city, there lays *Gençlik Parkı* [Youth Park]. The park, which is the most popular heritage of Early Republican Period, was opened in 1943. Gençlik Park was built on 270 000 square-meters swamp land of *Incesu* with a budget of 600 thousand lira which was a quite big amount of money for that time. The production of such a large urban park in the city center can be considered as a good evidence for the approach of designing urban leisure spaces in the sense of socialization space. The togetherness of *Gençlik Parkı*, Hippodrome and Stadium in the same area constituted the "green leisure zone" of the city.

Consequently, it is clear that, *Ulus* was undoubtedly the center of the city in the first decade of the Republic and the heart of the social life. Modern leisure spaces were produced in the close vicinity of Ulus, especially the *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* Square and *Anafartalar* Street and eventually leisure spaces were clustered in the city center. In addition to the mono-centered city structure and the modernization-driven vision of the new regime, there was also a very physical rationale that shaped Ulus' status: accessibility. Accessibility was an important factor in the formation of leisure geography in this period and Ulus was the most accessible geography of the city. Especially until the late 1930s, Ulus was the sole destination for the leisure activities; therefore, it was the only "integrating geography" that could bring the old and the new residents of Ankara together. Ulus hosted the core of the leisure life in Ankara as long as it kept the functions of "the city center" until 1950s.

4.2.2 Leapfrogging Development of Leisure Space in Yenişehir

Although modern leisure forms were produced initially in Ulus and its close vicinity, they were not confined to this district for long time. Starting around the second half of 1930s, these new forms were reproduced in Yenişehir. Yenişehir was initially planned as a residential area in accordance with "garden city approach" in both Lörcher and Jansen Plans. In parallel with the way that Ankara was designed as a model city for the rest of the country, Yenişehir was designed as a model residential unit for the rest of Ankara. Yenişehir was envisaged to be the part of the city where Ankara's modern

spatial organization would take place and an environment to experience the "idealized" modern way of life.

Thanks to this modern approach and overall vision, Yenişehir was created almost as a European city with its wide boulevards, gardens, parks, and green areas in 1930s and 40s. This commodious physical structure of Yenişehir attracted and welcomed leisure spaces after the second half of 1930s. The Western-style "boulevard cafes", such as *Kutlu* and *Özen* Patisseries were the first examples of the leisure developments in Yenişehir. These patisseries might be considered as the reproduction of the leisure form introduced by *İstanbul* Patisserie which was also known as "the intellectual club". *Özen* Patisserie was located on the ground floor of the four-story *Armağan* Apartment on the right-hand corner of the *Uçar* Street that opened up to the Boulevard. *Kutlu* Patisserie was situated on the left-hand corner of the same street.
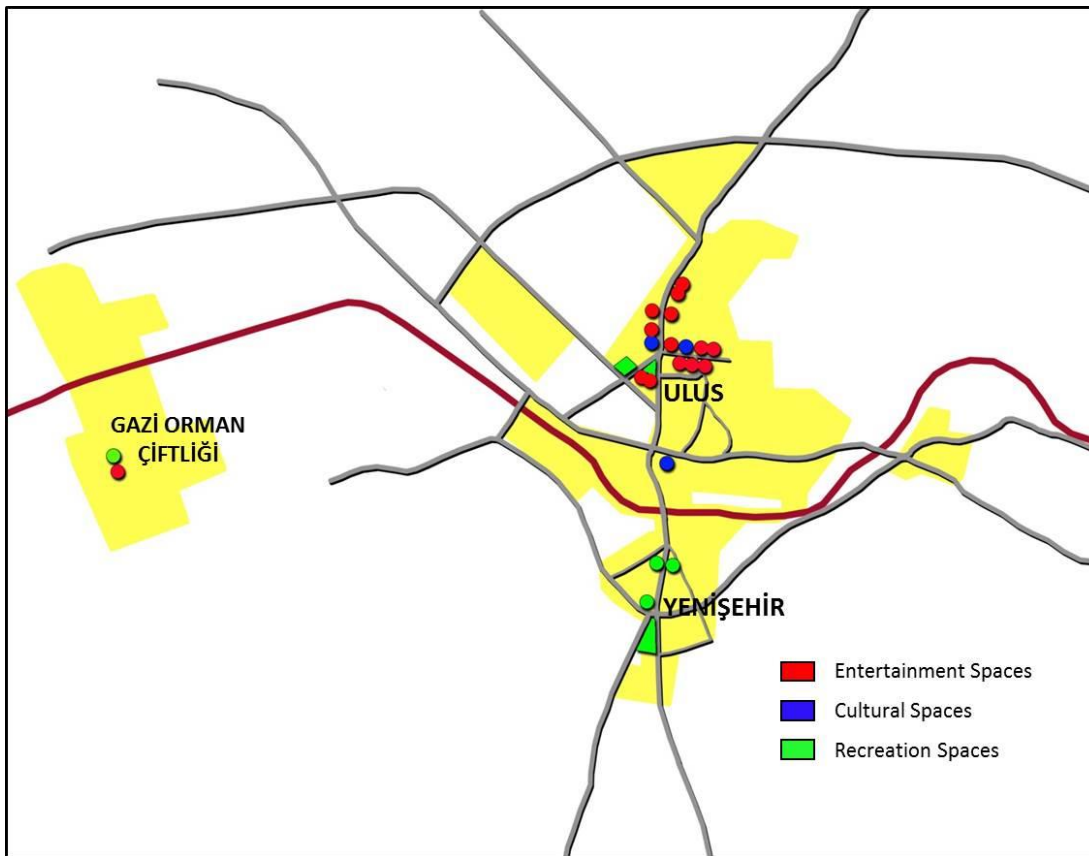
Figure 4.7 Leisure Geography of Ankara in 1930

Along with the leisure opportunities it presents, because of being a high-class residential area and having a European look with its boulevards, urban parks and certainly its leisure spaces, Yenişehir itself was perceived as a leisure space and a potential sightseeing destination by Ulus Residents. Altan Öymen, who was a member of a high class family living in Ulus, described Yenişehir as a popular location for sightseeing:

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"A long bus ride should be taken to reach Yenişehir. My mother used to take me there for "sightseeing". For us, "the Ulus residents", Yenişehir was regarded as the most important place that should be visited for sightseeing and spending time. The buses for Yenişehir were boarded from the bust station in Ulus Square. All the buses in Ankara were the same type. They were all imported from our close friend of that time, the Soviet Union. Since the bus ride was slow and tranquil, we were able to see the environment contentedly" (Öymen, 2002: 17).
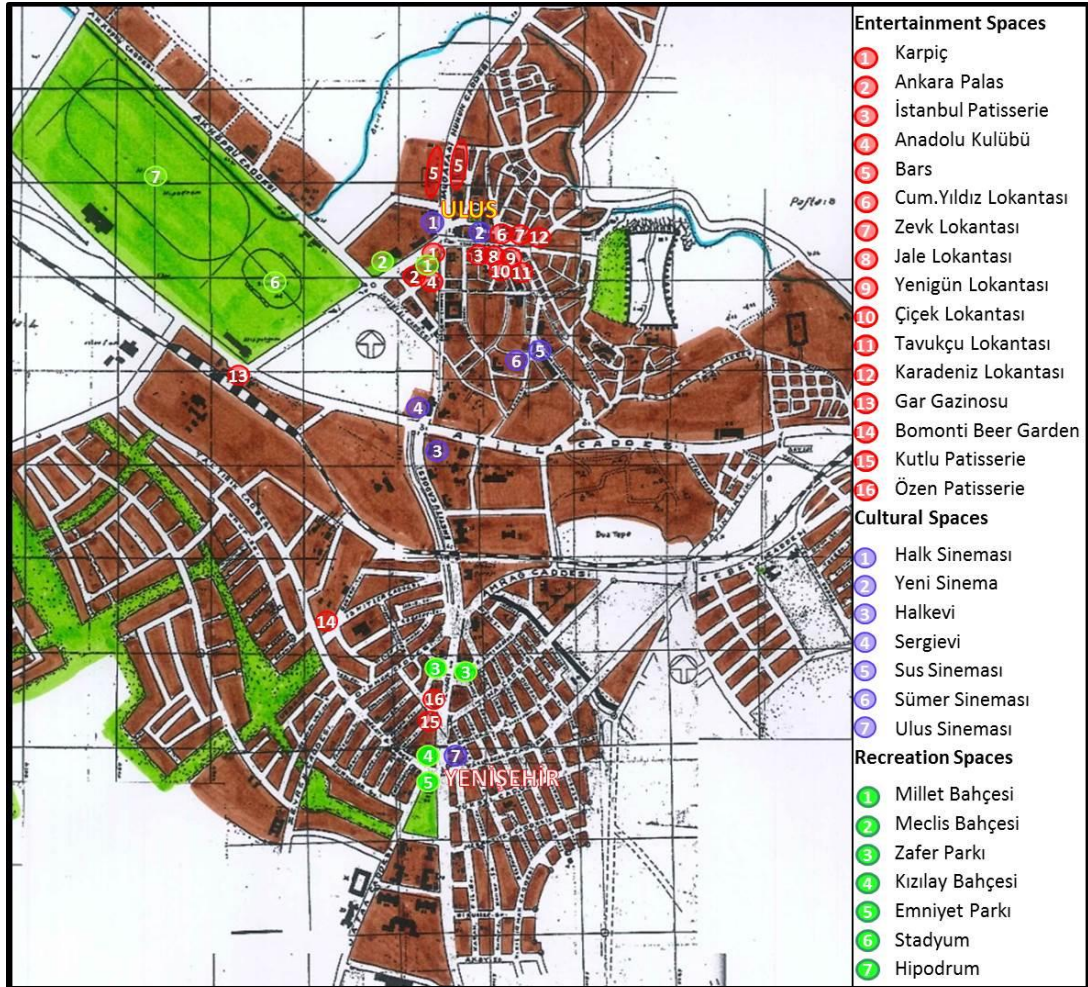
Figure 4.8 Leisure Spaces of Ankara in 1940
Base Map: Ankara Şehri Polis Rehberi (1941)

By the 1940s, although Ulus was still the center of the city and the place of social life, Yenişehir acquired the status of sub-center. This was an unpredictable development for the Jansen Plan. Yenişehir, as a subcenter of the city, started to take over the center-related functions from Ulus. The first function to be taken over by Yenişehir in this sense was "hosting the leisure spaces". By the 1940s, Yenişehir proved itself as a prestigious geography and became an attraction venue that encouraged leisure activities to leave Ulus. This process helped to develop Yenişehir as the new leisure geography of Ankara. In 1940s, in addition to "boulevard cafes of 1930s", new cinema halls

emerged in Yenişehir. First of them was *Ulus Sineması* [Nation Cinema] which was opened in 1939. *Ulus Sineması* was in *Ragıp Sosyal* Apartment in Kızılay Square. Later, in the year of 1944-1945 *Ankara Sineması* [Ankara Cinema] and *Büyük Sinema* in 1949 were opened. *Ankara Sineması* was situated in Sıhhıye and *Büyük Sinema* was located in the building of today's Jevelers Market.
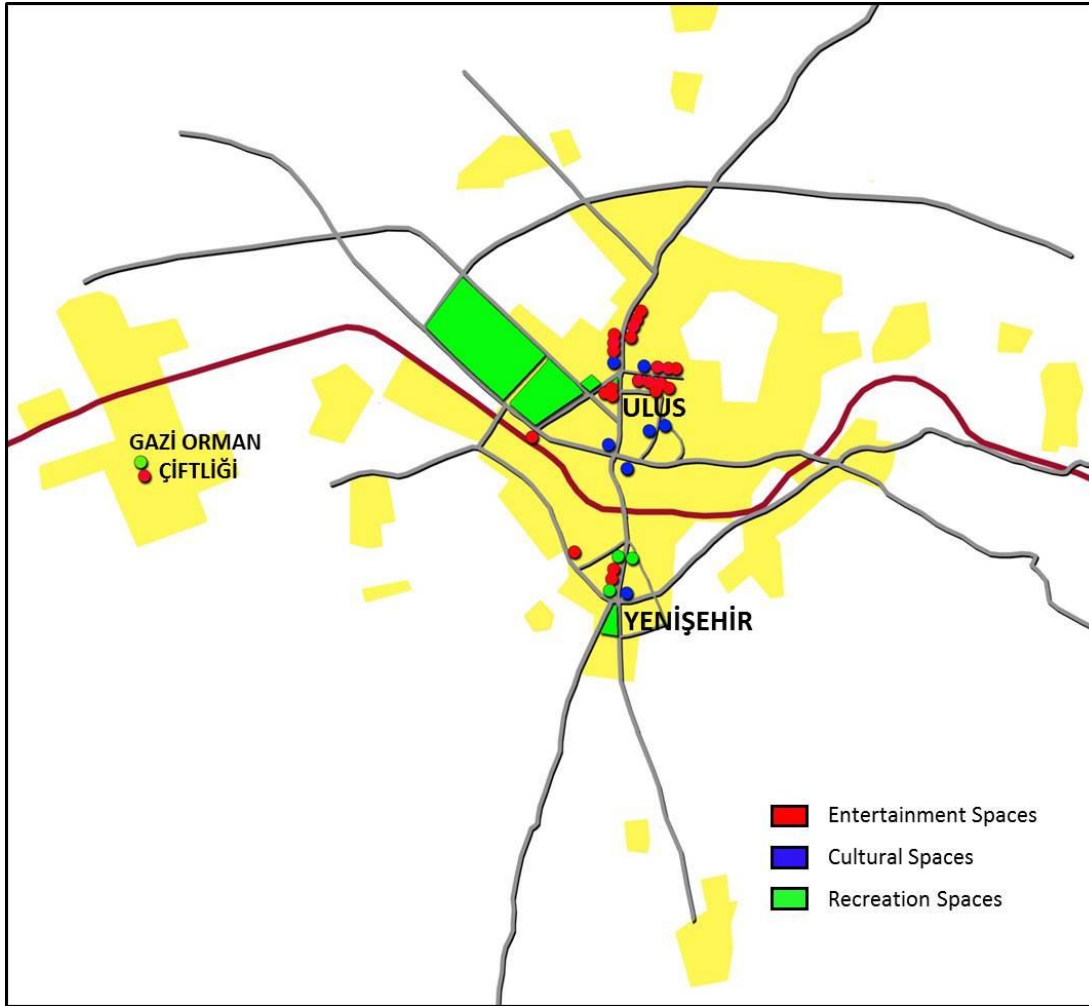
Figure 4.9 Leisure Geography of Ankara in 1940.

While *Karpiç,* as the sole representative of its leisure form, continued to serve for the senior bureaucrats in its original place, its leisure form was reproduced in Yenişehir and spread by its waiters. In 1942, Sergei, the headwaiter of *Karpiç*, opened *Süreyya* on the ground floor of *Soysal* Apartment in the Kızılay Square. Subsequently another waiter with another reproduction in the name of *Bekir* Restaurant soon became popular. In summary, the changing process of leisure geography has started around 1940s through reproducing prestigious leisure forms of Ulus in the new prestigious geography of the city.

4.2.3 The Spine of the City: Atatürk Boulevard as Leisure Axis

In both 1924-25 Lörcher Plans and 1932 Jansen Plan, leisure activity was handled as a structural component of a modern city and Ankara was designed accordingly to provide public leisure spaces. Atatürk Boulevard, stretching from Ulus Square to *Çankaya* Palace was planned to be the spine of the city.

Figure 4.10 Atatürk Boulveard in 1936.
Source: Cangır, A., Cumhuriyetin Başkenti, 2007

Ataturk Boulevard, on contrary to the common belief, did not actually emerge as a result of a clear design decision (Cengizkan, 2004: 113); it was an outcome of a series of changes and events. Lörcher had envisioned the New City to be formed outside the Old City and without changing and transforming the old city. Subsequently, he proposed the use of the axis system for integrating the New and the Old City. First axis system that he proposed was the axis of Train Station – National Assembly – Citadel in the Old City, connecting the citadel to the station. Sıhhiye Train Station with the proposed Station Square in its environ was the starting point of Lörcher's Government City. Lörcher proposed another important axiality for the city's integration. It was the axis of Citadel – Sıhhiye Station Square – New National Assembly. To go along with this axis, the governmental site (Bakanlıklar [Ministiries]) in front of the New National Assembly was designed to be wedge-shaped. This axis was named as "Millet Caddesi" [Nation Street] by Lörcher himself (Cengizkan, 2009: 48-49).

In 1930, Yenişehir Revision Plan, the road between Kızılay Square and Sıhhiye was widened to 40 meters, which eventually resulted in the widening of the Çankaya Street as well. While putting more emphasis on Çankaya Street on the east side of the proposed wedge-shaped Governmental Site, this change, in reality diminished the importance of Müdafa-ı Milliye Street on the west side of the

Wedge. Thus, it was the first break of the axis. This break was followed by the second break in the axis with the construction of Demir Köprü [Iron Bridge] in Sıhhıye Square. The bridge was constructed about 30 meters to the west from Lörcher's proposed location. As a result of this shift, the axis became a "curved boulevard". Instead of going straight behind the *Türk Ocağı* building and connecting with Old Ankara in the area of today's *Ulus Hali* [Ulus Wholesale Market Hall], the axis was connected to Ulus Square after the Opera Square through Bankalar Street. The boulevard was named for the first time as "Atatürk Uranı" in 1936 (Cengizkan, 2004: 113-18).

The streets which make up today's Atatürk Boulevard (from Ulus Square to Çankaya Palace) have taken different names over time. *Bankalar* Street was the part of the boulevard starting from Hakimiyet-i Milliye (Ulus) Square and ending at the *Osmanlı* Bank (Opera Square). This street was named as "*Necati Bey* Street" for a while. The part of the boulevard between Opera Square and Kızılay Square has taken the names of "Gazi Boulevard", "Mustafa Kemal Boulevard", "Cumhuriyet Street" and "Atatürk Boulevard" over time. Final part of the Boulevard which stretches from Kızılay Square to *Çankaya Köşkü* [Çankaya Palace (Presidential Palace)] was named as "Çankaya Street". Eventually, these three streets which follow one another and connect at the squares are recognized as a single boulevard and named as "Atatürk Boulevard" (Keskinok, 2009: 37).

The boulevard was initially designed to host a series of public squares and surrounding parks in both Lörcher and Jansen Plans. The squares on Ataturk boulevard were *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* or *Millet* Square (present-day *Ulus* Square), *Sıhhıye* Square, *Zafer* Square, and *Cumhuriyet* or *Kurtuluş* Square (present-day *Kızılay* Sqaure). These squares with the surrounding parks provided a ground for the development of leisure spaces; in other words, they were envisioned as socialization spaces.

Figure 4.11 Atatürk Boulveard and Zafer Park in 1933.
Source: Cangır, A., Cumhuriyetin Başkenti, 2007

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The spatial organization of the Ulus Square hosted all leisure categories: entertainment, cultural and recreation activities. Togetherness of all leisure categories in Ulus square led Ulus to be the heart of the social life. Major leisure spaces located around Ulus Square were *Karpiç*, *Ankara Palas*, *Millet Bahçesi*, *Meclis Bahçesi* [National Assembly Garden], İstanbul Patisserie, *Anadolu Kulübü*, bars of Çankırı Street and taverns of Posta Street and cinemas. Kızılay Square and its close vicinity also hosted recreational, cultural and entertainment spaces such as *Güvenpark* and *Kızılay Parkı*, cinemas, restaurants, patisseries, etc.
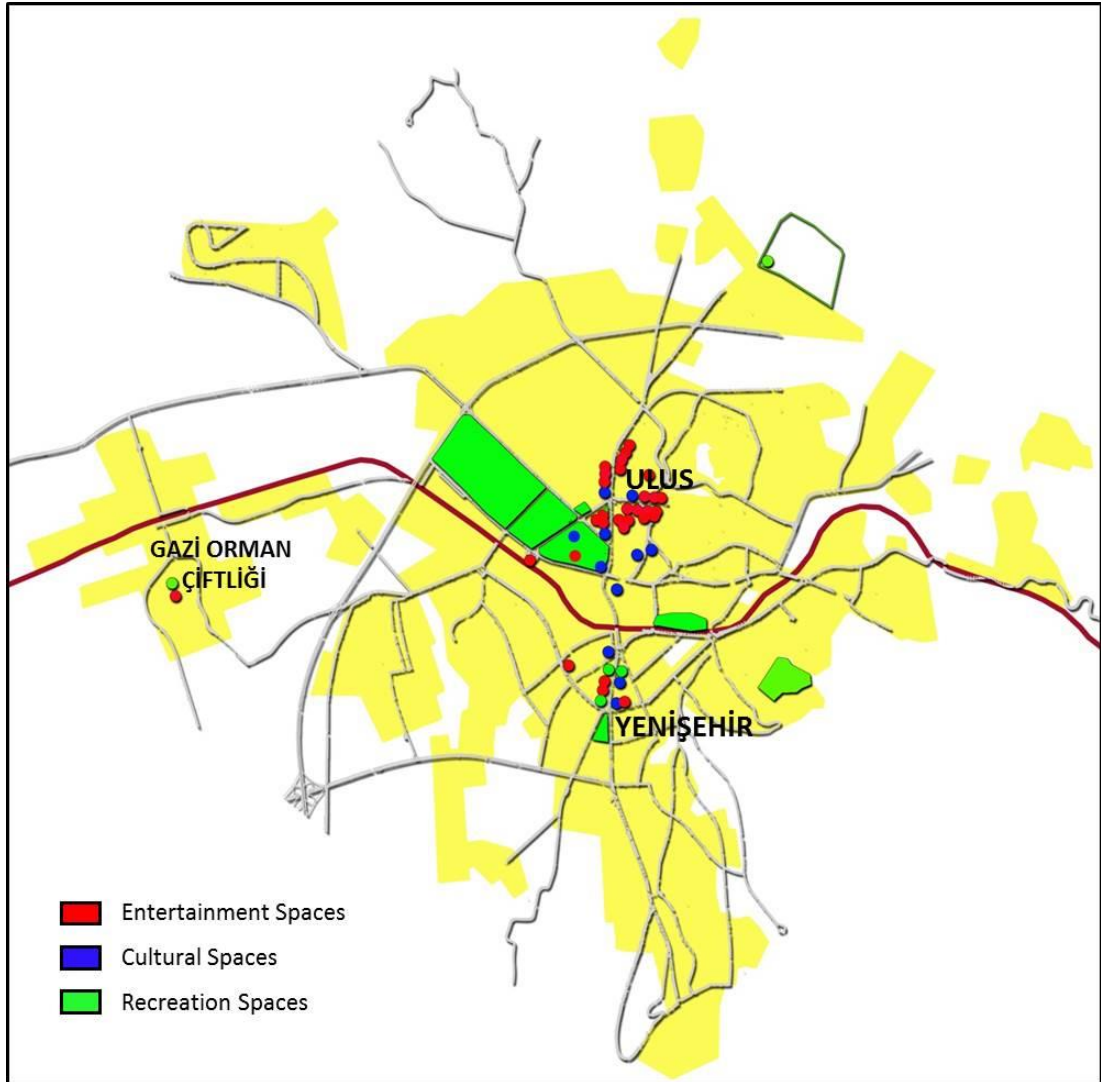
Figure 4.12 Leisure Geography of Ankara in 1950.

In fact, Atatürk Boulevard integrated the Old and the New city via these leisure spaces. The boulevard formed an axis of leisure. "Leisure triangle", "cultural focus of the city", and "green leisure zone" were located on Atatürk Boulevard, and therefore constituted a continuous leisure axis. The boulevard also hosted the most significant promenade of the city, stretching from Ulus to Kızılay. Strolling in the

boulevard, especially on the part of it in Kızılay, was regarded as an important leisure form and was named as "to promenade" [piyasa yapmak] by Ankara residents.

The boulevard is a product of the "political ideal" that intended to construct "a new urban culture" and cultivate "modern citizens". This "ideal" configured Atatürk Boulevard and attributed a meaning to it. Keskinok argues that Atatürk Boulevard in the foundation years of the Republic was a product of the "concern" about shaping the city and the urban life. This "concern" was a result of political position of the politicians who steer the planners, more than being due to the urban planner's individual preferences (2009: 56).

4.2.4 Recreational Spaces Located Far From City Center

As mentioned before, recreation spaces which require more open areas and locate far from city center, such as *Gazi Orman Çiftliği* and Çubuk Dam Recreation Area are distinguished from the leisure spaces which were located in city centers with a key factor: "everydayness". Due to the availability and proximity, city center becomes a part of everyday life while the other recreation areas, which are scattered around the city, are visited less frequently
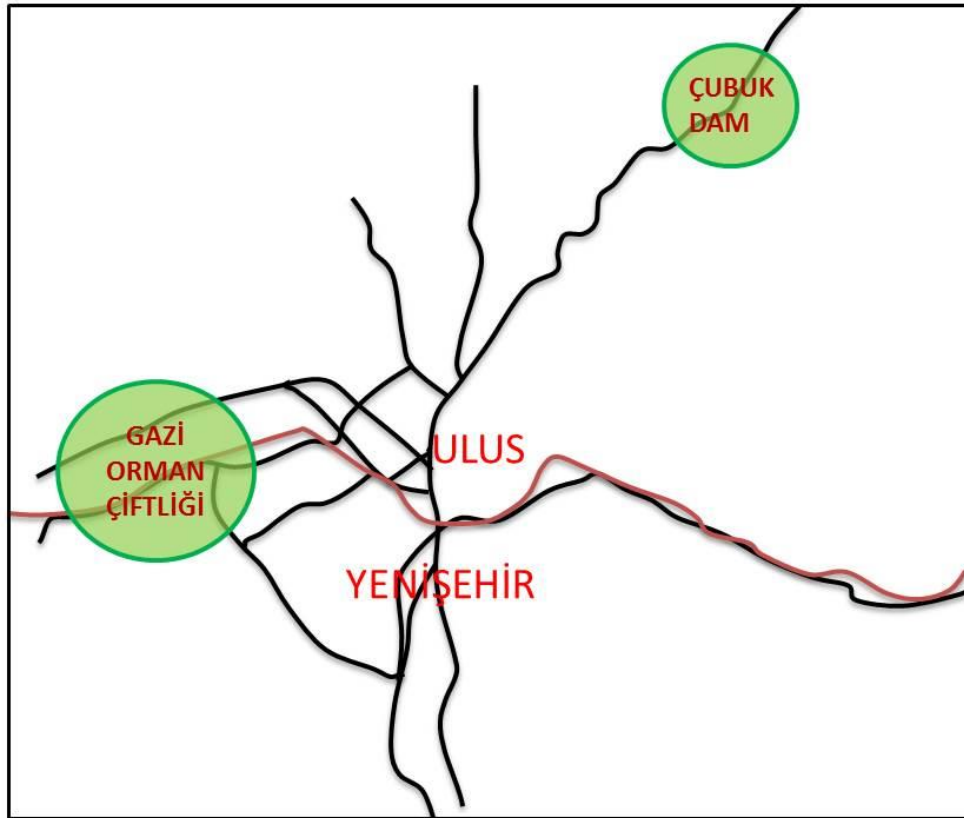
Figure 4.13 Locations of *Gazi Orman Çiftliği* and Çubuk Dam Recreation Area.

Gazi Orman Çiftliği [Gazi Forest Farm][27] was founded in 1925 by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. The farm was 6 km away from the city center - Ulus and was located on the west side of the railway which divided the city in east-west axis[28]. In addition to realizing the goal of establishing a "model farm" in which modern agricultural knowhow and techniques would be applied, *Gazi Orman Çiftliği* was also an outcome of the idea that urged the creation of modern recreation spaces for the city. The Farm was built in accordance with the requirements of western style social life and therefore it had new facilities such as a pool, a music hall (*gazino*) and a beer garden. Offering new leisure occasions with these new facilities (Marmara Gazinosu [Marmara Music Hall] (1929), Marmara and Karadeniz pools, the zoo (1940), and the Beer Garden), the Forest Farm soon became a popular recreation destination for the residents of Ankara especially in weekends. The Farm was within reach by either the suburban train or the mini-buses known as "*kaptıkaçtı*".

Just like the *Gazi Orman Çiftliği*, the recreational area on the waterfront of Çubuk Dam, 10 km away from the city center - Ulus, was also organized as a modern leisure space. After the completion of the Dam's construction by the end of 1936, the 15 hectares of land on the waterfront was turned into a modern leisure space containing parks, gardens, and a restaurant-music hall building. The overall design was the work of a French urbanist and landscape architect, Theo Leveau who was serving as an advisor to the Ministry of Public Works in that time. The music hall (*gazino*) building, located on the south-western side of Çubuk Dam was designed in 1937 (Aslanoğlu, 2001:329). Although the recreation area was designed in a remote geography located 10 km away from the city center and not everyone owned a car, the Dam became very crowded especially in weekends; for this reason, the Ankara Municipality organized additional bus services between the city and the Dam.

4.3. Leisure Provision

In this section, we will discuss the formation of leisure geography with respect to third variable of the analysis, "leisure provision". As mentioned before, this thesis study argues that the state played a significant role in the sociospatial configuration of leisure activity in Early Republican Period. Therefore, firstly, the leading role of the state in leisure space production will be discussed, and then we will analyze the role of city plans in the formation of urban space and leisure geography.

4.3.1 The Role of State in the Production of Leisure Spaces

The declaration of Ankara as the capital of Turkey in 1923 was more than just changing the location of the country's administrative center. It was more like creating a new capital for the new nation-state. At the time of the declaration, Ankara lacked almost all the necessary means for becoming the capital or even being a decent city. Besides, the city was underdeveloped and its residents were far from being modern in such way that it would be unjust to compare it with the old capital, İstanbul. Therefore, becoming the capital actually played the role of the trigger that started the construction of the city and the cultivation of the citizens almost from scratch.

With the declaration of it as the capital, Ankara was envisioned to become a "modern and planned capital city" and be a model for the rest of country. This vision about the comprehensive development

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[27] The farm was referred to as *Gazi Orman Çiftliği* [Gazi Forest Farm] until the adoption of the Surname Law in 1934; then the name of the farm was officially changed to *Atatürk Orman Çiftliği* [Atatürk Forest Farm].

[28] The Forest Farm founded in 1925 by Atatürk had functioned as a private enterprise until 1937 when it was donated to the Treasury.

of Ankara had two main phases: to construct a "modern city" and to construct a "modern way of life". According to the Republican policy, the construction of Ankara both socially and physically should be realized simultaneously in a way that physical construction and social transformation would support one another. For this reason, the production of leisure spaces to serve as a stage, where the required habits and behavioral patterns of the modern way of life would be experienced and exhibited, were regarded extremely important for the success of the Regime. In other words, the production of leisure spaces by the help of which the new way of life would be established and the modern citizen would be cultivated constitutes a significant pillar of Republic's modernity project. This approach clearly demonstrates that leisure spaces were perceived as "a *means of social transformation*" in the Early Republican Period.

As an underdeveloped and geographically disadvantageous city compared to İstanbul and İzmir, Ankara didn't have enough capital and cultural background for any of the projected constructions. In the lack of a developed urban economy and culture, physical construction as well as the creation of a modern urban culture and way of life in Ankara could only be achieved with the intervention of the state. Thus, in the Early Republican Period, the state became a dominant actor in leisure provision: it was the supporter, controller, and the encourager of all leisure activities. Leisure spaces were produced heavily and directly by the state due to the aforementioned perception of its role as a way for social transformation. State was so active in the process of "cultivating modern citizen" that it even supported the market in providing leisure facilities.

Among all the initiatives of the state devoted to the "modernity project", special emphasis was placed upon the construction of public leisure spaces. Thus, the public recreation spaces such as *Gençlik Parkı* [Youth Park], *Gazi Orman Çiftliği* [Gazi Forest Farm], Çubuk Dam Recreation Area, *Millet Bahçesi* [Nation Garden], *Meclis Bahçesi* [The Garden of the National Assembly], *Emniyet Parkı* [Security Park] or *Güvenpark*, and *Kızılay Bahçesi* [Kızılay Garden] were built. The motivation behind creating these spaces was not only to produce the essential components of modern city's spatial organization, but also to incorporate the entire society in the leisure activities provided by these spaces in order to establish "new and modern way of life".

For instance, *Gençlik Parkı* was constructed on 270 000 square-meters swamp land of *Incesu* and a total budget of 600 thousand liras was spent for the project (Aydın et al, 2005: 430). This amount was actually quite a big amount of money for that time and especially when the economic conditions of the Second World War would be taken into consideration. The location, size, budget, and the leisure form of *Gençlik Parkı* clearly demonstrate how it was considered as an extremely important instrument in the way of modernization. Moreover, allocation of such a large area in the city center for a "green leisure zone" consisting of *Gençlik Parkı*, Hippodrome and Stadium can also be considered as a good evidence for the approach of "designing urban leisure spaces in the sense of socialization space" with the goal of achieving the social transformation.

We can argue that in this era there was a direct intervention of the state in the production of leisure spaces in this given context. However, the intervention of the state to the urban spaces were not limited to the state-owned leisure space production, it also included the encouragement and support of the market for the initiation of leisure spaces. In his book *"Türkiye'nin Kalbi Ankara"*, Mehmed Kemal tells the story of how *Karpiç*, the pioneer of the modern leisure spaces in Ankara, was founded by the intervention of the state:

> "It would not be inappropriate to call *Karpiç* "State Restaurant". There was a need for a European Restaurant in a city that could not go further the Ottoman cuisine and pass the level of the cook shops. Since the individuals could not be able to achieve this, the state had to do it. Baba *Karpiç* was taken from the kitchen of the Taşhan Hotel and brought in to the restaurant, which was established with his name. Hence, the notables of the ruling power had the chance to eat European style quality food which would be appropriate for their appetite. (…)

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A good restaurant was supposed to be in existence both for gourmets and for the foreigners. And a hotel too…To serve as the hotel *Ankara Palas* was constructed. The administration was handed over to the French. And as the restaurant, *Karpiç*…Its name has become *Karpiç*, definitely after Baba *Karpiç* came in" (Kemal, 1983: 62) *(emphasis added)*.

The reason behind Mehmet Kemal's characterization of *Karpiç* as "State Restaurant" is both because of its function as a semi-official meeting place for the ministers same with the *Ankara Palas*, deputies and the bureaucrats and also because of the fact that it was supported financially by the state. Same as *Karpiç*, *Ankara Palas* was also constructed by the state in order to satisfy the need of for a hotel and a venue to host the modern leisure activities such balls and dance parties, and it was financially supported even after being rented out. Since there did not exist a local investor equipped with the etiquette, ability and financial power required for running a hotel at this caliber, a joint enterprise comprised of mainly foreigners was granted the right to administer the hotel. For this reason, a company in the name of "*Ankara Palas Otelcilik Anonim Şirketi*" was established with five partners and a total capital of 500 thousand liras and the French were chosen to run the hotel. It was rented as a waqf hotel to "*Otelcilik Coorporation*" for an annual rate of 7.500 liras. Besides, an amount of 15.000 was subsidized annually to the hotel by the State (Evren, 1998; Cantek, 2003).

Besides being a producer in providing leisure spaces in the Early Republican Era, the state was also in charge of organizing, controlling and supporting the market. The reason behind the state's intervention in the provision of leisure spaces was not only because of the state's concern about the inclusion of the leisure types which were aligned with the modern life style that the state intended to impose, but also it was because of the state's obligation to direct the market and accelerate the process in the absence of an urban culture and a local economy in Ankara of that era.

4.3.2 City Plans and Leisure Spaces

One of the mainstays of the Republic's modernity project was a planned development and growth; hence, Ankara was envisioned to be a "planned capital city". In order to achieve this vision, the reorganization of Ankara Municipality was put on the agenda according to a draft law presented to the Cabinet on 17 October 1923, just four days after Ankara's designation as the capital. However, there was a four months delay before the reorganization of Ankara municipality. Cengizkan (2004:15; 2009:21) explains this delay with a reference to the circumstances of the period and the political conjecture; he asserts that until the abolition of the caliphate on 3 March 1924, Turkey was actually in a transition period in which there were two centers and two capitals. Therefore, no step was taken on this issue until that time.

Then, the Ministry of Public Works and Housing [İmar ve İskan Vekaleti] was founded on the 23th of October 1923; and the Ministry prepared a report in1924 related with the planning of Ankara (Cengizkan, 2004: 17). In accordance with the goals of the report, firstly *Şehremaneti* (Municipality) system of İstanbul was brought to Ankara; and on February 16, 1924 Ankara Şehremaneti was founded according to the law no 417. The second attempt was to prepare a map and a plan of Ankara. "1924 Şehremaneti Map" was prepared at the 1/4000 scale in three versions. Before this map, the first known map of Ankara in the modern sense was a map produced in 1838 by Baron von Vincke (Cengizkan, 2004; 2009).

Therefore, the urban space of Ankara, which contains the leisure spaces as well, was produced in accordance with the Republic's "planned-development" approach. With this approach, leisure activity was also planned in an ideological and spatial sense.

4.3.2.1 1924/1925 Lörcher Plan

On December 1923, the first plan of Ankara in modern sense was ordered to the İstanbul-based *Keşfiyat ve İnşaat Türk Anonim Şirketi* [Keşfiyat and Construction of Turkish Joint Stock Company], following that the first plan and its report was submitted to *Şehremaneti* on May 1924. This plan was prepared by an architect, Dr. Carl Christophe Lörcher, and therefore is known as 1924 Lörcher Plan for the Old City in 1/2000 scale. A year after, in 1925 Lörcher prepared another plan for the New City in 1/1000 scale. There was also a kind of "master plan", 1924/1925 Lörcher Plan, combining the Old City Plan with the New City Plan in 1/10000 scale (Cengizkan, 2004: 31-41).
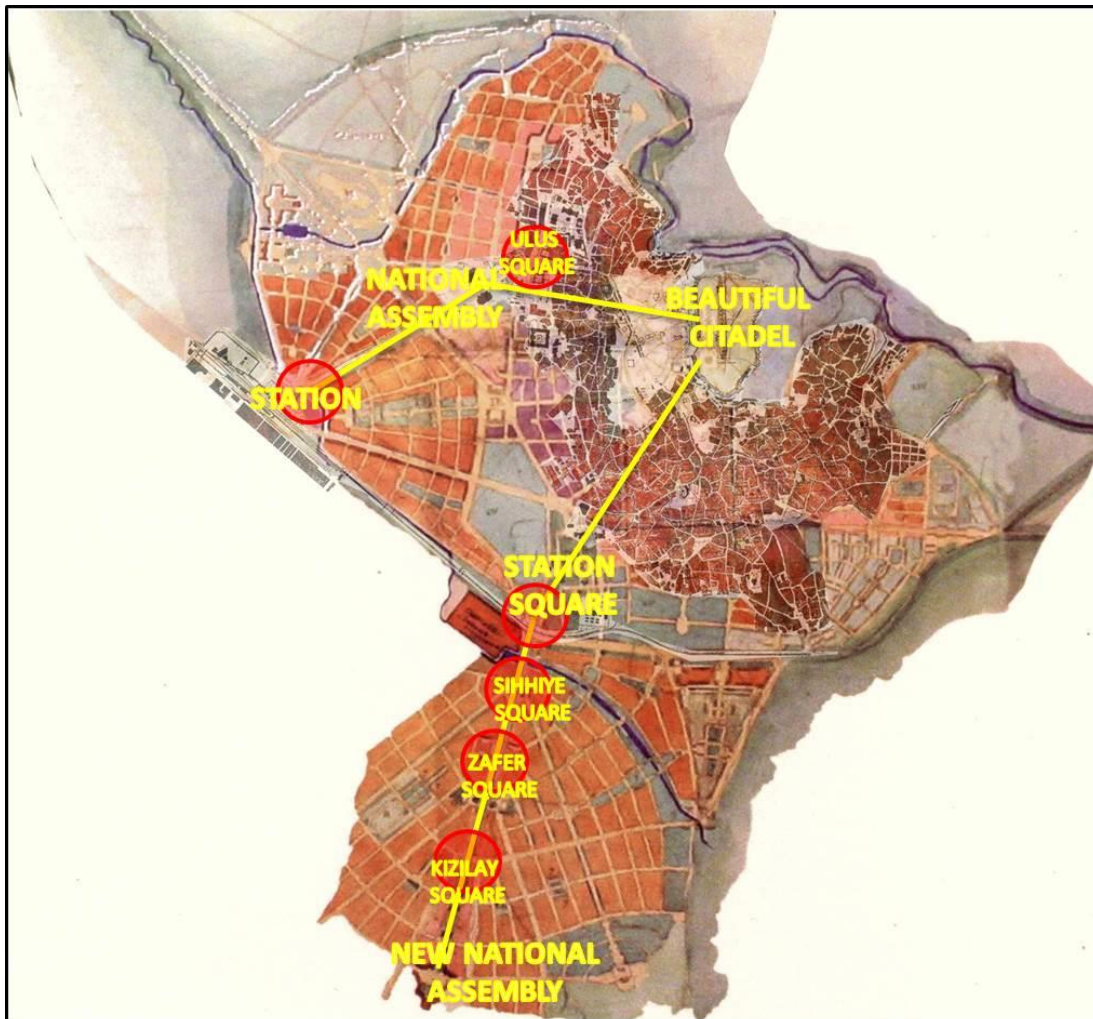
Figure 4.14 1925 Lörcher Plan.

As Cengizkan finds out, the very first plan of Ankara was prepared during the mayoralty of *Mehmet Ali Bey* and before the enacting of Expropriation Law. Thus, it is obvious that 1924-1925 Lörcher Plans were ordered with a great foresight to provide the means for organizing the expropriation area in the south of the city and for improving the Old City – a third of which were burned down in the fire of

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1917 (Cengizkan, 2009: 34-35). Therefore, on March 1925 the Expropriation Law No. 583, which mandates the expropriation of 400 hectares of land on the south of the city was put into force[29]. Subsequently, 300 hectares of the planned expropriation was completed and 150 hectares of this area was used by the Lörcher Plan. Bademli (1987b:105) defines this decision as a starting point of southward development tendencies and more importantly the basis of a dualism between the Old Ankara and the New Ankara. What is more, we may argue that the duality in leisure geography in the period of 1950-1980 also originated from this decision as well.

Thanks to Cengizkan's detailed studies, the significant role of Lörcher Plans in the formation of both the Old City (Ulus) and the New City (Yenişehir) was revealed. As mentioned before, Lörcher proposed two plan schemas: one for the historical core – Old City, and the other for the new city extension – Yenişehir. Although the proposals of 1924-25 Lörcher Plan regarding the Old City were never fully implemented; they made a permanent impact on the local fabric. Lörcher plan included principal concerns such as axes, consecutive green areas, zoning decisions, public squares and the notion of a "beautiful citadel". Cengizkan states that 1928 Jansen Plan was based on the resolutions of the 1925 Lörcher Plan. Therefore, 1924/1925 Lörcher Plans had a significant impact on the creation of the modern capital. (Cengizkan, 2009: 33-39).

The 1924/1925 Lörcher Plans had also a determining role in the configuration of leisure spaces. In Lörcher Plan, leisure space was seen as a significant element for the formation of the modern city. Ankara, as a model city, was designed to host public leisure spaces such as avenues, public squares and parks. Lörcher plan designed a series of public squares as the part of the axis between the Citadel, Train Station Square (present-day Sıhhiye Train Station) and the new Parliament. Cumhuriyet or Kurtuluş (present-day Kızılay) Square, Sıhhiye Square, Zafer Square, Hakimiyet-i Milliye Square (Millet or present-day Ulus) were the public spaces for hosting leisure activities. These squares and surrounding parks were the socialization and interaction spaces where the citizens could experience modern leisure activities.

The basic approach of the plan was influenced by the concept of "healthy city" and the design of "open public spaces" which was introduced at the Manheim Conference in the 1905 (Cengizkan, 2009: 47). Therefore, the leisure activity was seen in relation to public health and the recreation function of the leisure activity was emphasized. Leisure was seen as the "re-creation" of the physical and physiological capacity of the citizen, in other words, leisure was simply defined as the reproduction of the individual. Since, leisure as the refreshment of body after work was seen as a "need", allocating sufficient sporting areas and play grounds in the city was specially stressed in Lörcher Plan Report:

> "Political developments of our time clearly demonstrated how tremendous importance public health of a nation and its ability of defense have on that nation's future. Taking lesson from this circumstance, we believe that necessary amount of time and environment should be provided to every citizen in order to refresh and recreate themselves. For this reason, we should consider how beneficial the greenery in a city's leisure and green areas is to human health, and not deal with its value in decoration" (Lörcher, 1924; quoted in Cengizkan, 2004: 154; translated by author).

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[29] Keskinok (2009: 51) describes the decision of expropriation by the bureaucracy of the Republic as the most important land policy of the era for guiding and directing urban developments on the expropriated lands.

4.3.2.2 1932 Jansen Plan

As a result of the rapid increase in the population of Ankara (from nearly 30 thousand to 107 thousand over the five-year period between 1924 and 1928), the need for a new plan with more long-term goals on controlling the urban development came up. In 1927 the Municipality of Ankara organized an international planning competition for a comprehensive development plan. Parallel to the ongoing competition process, Ankara İmar Müdürlüğü[30] [Ankara Urban Planning Directorate] was established in 1928 with the Law no. 1351.

Three European urban planners, namely J. Brix, H. Jansen and L. Jausseley were invited to participate in competition. Among the plans prepared by these planners, Jansen's plan, with its modest approach, was found to be more compatible with the expectations of the Republican Bureaucracy (Tankut, 2000: 306; Tekeli, 1982: 62). The planning decisions of 1924/1925 Lörcher Plan had been given to the competitors by Ankara Municipality as prerequisites for the new plan. Therefore, some aspects of the plan, such as the population projection and the southward development direction around Yenişehir were already determined by the administration before the work on the new plan started. The population was projected to quadruple and reach 300.000 in fifty years. Besides, some important axes, locations of some important buildings and the preservation of the old city, as well as its separation from the new city were among the other pre-determined conditions (Tekeli, 1980: 60).

Jansen Plan was approved by the Cabinet with the decree No.13209 dated 23rd of July 1932. The 5-year implementation plan was put into practice with the Cabinet's decree No. 21821 dated 9th of June 1934. Jansen was employed as an advisor for the Ankara Urban Planning Directorate until 1938 (Tekeli, 1982: 62). Tekeli asserts that there was a strong organization and political support behind the Jansen Plan. He explains the organizational form and the political support as follows: identification of the Ankara's planned development with the success of the regime and putting the subject on the political agenda, the preliminary ruling about the separation of new urbanization areas from the old city in order to prevent the possible speculations in the old city, the expropriation of new urbanization lands and assigning them to the implementation body, An Urban Planning Directorate endowed with considerable powers, A bank to play an active role in the urbanization of Ankara, providing the spending flexibility 28 times higher than the average of all the municipalities in Turkey with the allocation of financial resources to the municipality of Ankara from national budget (Tekeli, 1982: 62-63). This strong organizational schema was the reason behind the establishment of many leisure spaces in Ankara within a short period of time.

Jansen plan, which was produced with the intervention of this organizational form and political support, designed Ankara according to the "British Garden City Approach" and "Camillo Sitte Ecole"; Jansen planned neighborhoods in the city which were made up of houses with gardens and developed green zones both inside and outside the city. (Tankut, 2000: 307). Jansen Plan determined main urban axis, proposed new development zones in the south of the city, introduced green corridors to highlight 'beautiful citadel' as the 'crown of the city', offered the development of Bentderesi partly as lake and a garden and developed the Train Station area as the city center. However, as Cengizkan (2009: 42)

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[30] *Ankara İmar Müdürlüğü* [Ankara Urban Planning Directorate] which was endowed with considerable powers was -to a great extent- independent of the municipality and operated under The Ministry of Interior Affairs. In order to ease the implementation of the plan, the Directorate was established as an administration which could own land and hold financial assets (Tankut, 2001: 9). Main decision making body was "İmar İdare Heyeti" (Public Works Administration Board) which was formed by 3-5 members all of whom were appointed by the Ankara Public Works Director and the Cabinet. The Director of the Board was Falih Rıfkı Atay and the technical advisor was Robert Oerley of Austria. The Directorate which was connected to the Municipality in 1937 was the sole responsible body for the construction of Ankara until 1939. It was the planning and implementation body of the1932, 1957 and 1952 plans from 1928 to 1985.

puts it correctly, it should be mentioned that Jansen Plan inherited many of its cornerstone attributes from 1924/1925 Lörcher Plan.

Figure 4.15 Green Areas in Jansen Plan

According to the planning approach of Jansen, green areas were among the significant components of the urban structure. However, in addition to this causality, similar to Lörcher Plans, leisure conception of Jansen Plan also included the production of leisure spaces for the purpose of re-creation. Because of this character of the plan, recreation function of leisure was emphasized in the plan report. Leisure was considered as a "life refreshing activity" (Jansen Plan Report, 1937) and the production of leisure

spaces was regarded as essential for a healthy and modern society. In terms of plan objectives, leisure spaces were seen as places where urban citizens could refresh themselves. For the plan, leisure was a need and the production of those spaces to satisfy this need was considered as a requirement.
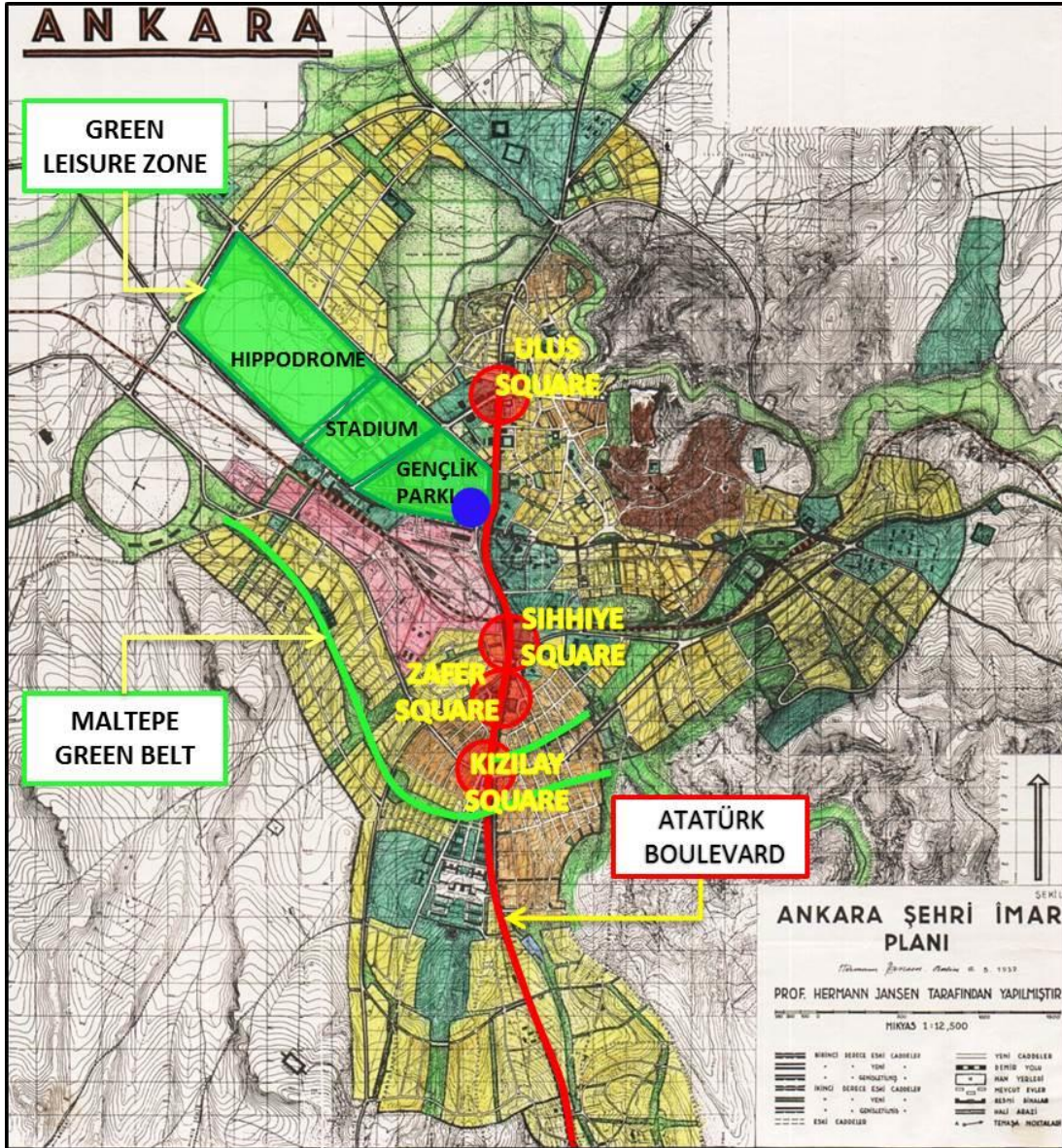
Figure 4.16 Jansen Plan

For creating leisure activities, firstly, natural resources of the city, such as İncesu, Bend Deresi and Çubuk Creeks, were allocated. The Plan suggested a swimming pool to be built on the east side of Bend Deresi. In the same way, Çubuk Dam was also considered a recreation place with a swimming pool, a café, and sport facilities on its coastal area. In addition, a promenade was suggested to be built between the city and Çubuk Dam.

In parallel to its leisure perception, the plan also aimed to link leisure to sport activities. Aspect terraces and green corridors, as the other important components of urban design, where urban citizens would rest and re-create themselves were included in the plan. One of the green corridors was the Maltepe green belt, which was supposed to extend from the Mebusevleri entrance of Atatürk's Mausoleum to Bülbülderesi Street via Kumrular Street and Yüksel Street. As Cengizkan (2009) indicates, the arid and dusty Ankara of the 1920s was transformed by these green belts, tree-filled green parks, gardens, the boulevards decked with blossoming trees.

In the plan, large areas were allocated for play and sports. Jansen Plan suggested the creation of an urban park close to the city center: *Gençlik Parkı* [Youth Park]. This park would include pools, promenades, playgrounds, cafés, and an amphitheater. In the same way, a stadium to have athletic track and field, tennis courts and swimming pools were also in the plan. Hippodrome, Stadium and *Gençlik Parkı* were clustered near the city center to provide this leisure form to all social classes.

> "The row of *Gençlik Parkı*, Stadium and Hippodrome would constitute a serene chain of leisure zones, and with this formation; Ankara would become a model city for the rest of the country. One should consider that this chain would reach and include some parts of the old city center. In other words, this plan suggested the allocation of a considerable amount of land in the most prestigious and valuable part of the city for the use of citizens, unlike many other cities in which these kind of areas are cluttered with multi-storied apartments" (Jansen Plan Report, 1937: 35).

In parallel to the approach of the Republican Bureaucracy, Ankara was also considered as a model city for the rest of the country in the Jansen Plan. In addition, proposed location for the recreation facilities shows the significance given to the leisure activity in the plan. Leisure spaces were located close to the city center to embrace all social groups; they were open to commonality and were situated at the publicly accessible points. It can be concluded that accessibility and physical vicinity were seen as the key factors of this inclusive policy of the plan.

4.4 Leisure Form: Variety of Modern Leisure Spaces

Particularly since the late 1920s, in parallel with the construction of modern Ankara, the traditional leisure forms of Ankara has transformed and diversified with the production of modern leisure spaces. Besides the limited variety of traditional leisure opportunities such as coffee houses and family picnics on the Bentderesi and Hatip Stream, many new forms of leisure, carrying the symbols of modern life were introduced to the city life in a short period of time. The dominant leisure forms of this period with respect to leisure classification of this thesis study are presented as follows[31]:

- **Entertainment spaces** were *Karpiç*, *Ankara Palas*, *Süreyya*, patisseries (İstanbul, *Kutlu* and *Özen*), taverns (Yeni Hayat or *Kürdün Meyhanesi*, *Şükran Lokantası*, *Üç Nal*), bars of Çankırı Street, music halls (Gar, Bomonti, Göl).

- **Cultural spaces** were cinemas (Yeni, Park (Kulüp-Halk), Sus, Sümer, Büyük), Halkevi [People's House], Sergievi [Exhibition Hall] (later Büyük Tiyatro and Opera House), and Küçük Tiyatro.

- **Recreation spaces** were Gazi Orman Çiftliği, Çubuk Dam Recreation Area, Gençlik Parkı [Youth Park], and urban parks such as Millet Bahçesi, Meclis Bahçesi [National Assembly Garden] , Emniyet Parkı [Security Park], and Kızılay Bahçesi [Kızılay Garden] (Havuzbaşı).

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[31] As expalined in the Introduction Chapter, this thesis study proposes the classification of leisure spaces as entertainment spaces, cultural spaces and recreation spaces.

4.4.1   Entertainment Spaces

4.4.1.1 Leisure Space Identified with Politics: *Karpiç, Ankara Palas, Süreyya*

Karpiç and *Ankara Palas* along with *Süreyya* that was opened in the late 1940s in Yenişehir were products of the similar leisure form. Especially *Karpiç* and *Ankara Palas* were the first leisure places of the Republican Ankara where modern way of life could be experienced and practiced; besides, in a sense they were also the first outcomes of the transition process that were put into effect to replace the traditional leisure forms with the modern ones.

With these locations, a basic and fundamental characteristic of the modern way of life was first introduced: the togetherness of men and women. The leisure experience, which men and women entertain together, took place for the first time in *Karpiç* and *Ankara Palas*. This change was, in fact, the fall of a barrier and thus the start of a new era, which eventually made the female seclusion of the pre-republican period disappear. Additionally, this new leisure form brought in some other noteworthy components such as dance, music and drinking, which Ankara was totally unfamiliar with in the Pre-Republican Period.

In the Early Republican Period, it was not only the new leisure spaces that were being constructed but more importantly, "a new way of life" as well. The practices and the behavioral patterns of the modern way of life were put into action and experienced in these leisure spaces. Thus, the basic concern behind the production of such leisure spaces and the introduction of social forms such as the ball to the city life was to teach the fundamentals of "modern way of life" to the society with its all requirements. In an interview, Mine Urgan states clearly that in the Early Republican Period, the main purpose was not entertainment itself but constructing the leisure forms that would make it possible for men and women to entertain together:

> "Republican Day Balls had an important function, especially in Anatolia. Here, the case was to familiarize men and women to eat and chat together. That is to say, there was a social purpose in all this and entertainment was not the case at all. The case was to bring together the society as a whole" (quoted in Öztürkmen, 1999: 181).

These leisure spaces generally provided their services to higher social classes and therefore they were generally frequented by the bureaucrats and politicians. Due to this distinctive characteristic, these spaces were exceptional places where the relationship between the space itself and daily politics could be observed. Since *Karpiç* was functioning as a meeting place for the ministers, parliament members, and bureaucrats, it was often referred as "the state restaurant". Thus, *Karpiç*, *Ankara Palas*, and also *Süreyya* were the witnesses of both the milestones and defining moments in the political history of the Early Republican Era and the debates among the intellectual elites. Hence, we may conclude that leisure space generally goes beyond its literal meaning of being just a place for entertainment.

Moreover, *Karpiç* and *Ankara Palas* were identified with the ruling Republican People's Party [CHP: Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi] and thanks to this close connection; these places were "the spaces of the power" in the single party era. However, just after the general elections of 1950, when the Democratic Party [DP:Demokrat Parti] claimed the power and toppled the quarter-of-a –century long reign of CHP, these places were also obliged to the same fate as CHP and instead of "power" they became "the spaces of opposition".

After pioneering and leading the social life in Ankara for a long period of time, *Karpiç* and *Ankara Palas* have gradually lost their prestige after 1950s. Besides losing its prestige, with the shift of the city center from Ulus to Kızılay and the relocation of Grand National Assembly of Turkey [TBMM: Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi] to its new building in Kızılay, *Ankara Palas* and *Karpiç* also lost their previous geographical advantage too.

The new ruling power – DP -, unlike CHP, favored Yenişehir, the new and prestigious geography of Ankara over Ulus. Correspondingly, the ruling party chose *Süreyya*, a reproduction of *Karpiç* located on the ground floor of *Soysal* Apartment in the Kızılay Square in Yenişehir, as its "hangout". Soon, *Süreyya* became the new destination of the political elites, in other words *Süreyya* became the new *Karpiç* of 1950s. *Karpiç* was so popular and unique that, it created its own leisure form. This form was reproduced in *Süreyya by Karpiç*'s headwaiter, Sergei Homyak. Beki Bahar (2003: 106) tells that, from that time on the embassies organized their dinner parties and Christmas celebrations in *Süreyya*. Besides, he notes that the its table order and service quality was better than *Karpiç*.

4.4.1.1.1 *Karpiç*

Artun Ünsal (1999: 159) describes *Karpiç* as "a real Republican school" on the way of adoption and learning of western behavior patterns. *Karpiç* not only teaches the etiquette rules to Ankara's elites but also became an indicator of the new regime's "modernity" in the eyes of Westerners. Indeed, Nurullah Ataç, as an author of Ulus newspaper and a famous reviewer, talks about Chef *Karpiç* as "a person who taught us to dine" (Ünsal, 1999: 161). *Karpiç*, the first modern restaurant of Ankara, had a dual function: this restaurant while hosting special invitations, and meetings, also served as a mediator for establishment of the modern eating and drinking habits.

Karpiç as the symbol of the transition from the cook shop to the "restaurant" in the western sense became one of the symbolic spaces of the Republic. As a fist modern restaurant of the city, in *Karpiç* the tables were decked with white tablecloths and neatly placed plates, cutlery, and linen napkins (Tanyer, 2009:144). *Karpiç* introduced the dinner habits accompanied by dance and music to the leisure life of the city. An orchestra was playing in *Karpiç* on regular basis and the dinners with dancing performances were organized.

The official name of *Karpiç* was "Şölen" when it was situated in Taşhan and it was renamed as "Şehir Lokantası" after moving to Municipal Market Complex in 1930s. However, due to the fact that the place identified with its owner who carried the cuisine and dining culture in western sense to the city, it was known as *Karpiç*. Also, this can be interpreted as a domination of *Karpiç* chef.

In 1920s and 1930s, *Karpiç* was almost only place to be found someone called by Çankaya Palace (by Atatürk). When *Karpiç*'s phone rang, the eyes in the place turned towards the lucky person who will be wanted on the telephone with the pride of being a guest of Çankaya's dinner (Cantek, 2003: 281). *Karpiç* was identified with the leading figures of the period until the 1950s.

Moreover, spending an evening at *Karpiç* was also an indicator about the social status of the customers. Due to his warm and humble nature, Chef Karpovitch was known as *Baba* (father). In addition to the social importance and status of his restaurant, Baba's degree of interest and hospitality towards the customers was also regarded as a sign of the customer's prestige in daily or political life. Yakup Kadri's novel "*Panorama*" presents a good example by describing "the privileged status" of Halil Ramiz in *Karpiç*:

> "When Halil Remzi arrived at *Karpiç* an hour ago, there was not even a single empty table left in the hall. On every occasion that he came here, he would not face any difficulty to find himself a table regardless of the magnitude of the crowd. Upon entering in, either his friends from different tables would beckon him and say;
>
> Join us, let's eat together!
>
> or Chef Karpatovich himself would either hurry in to welcome him with his off-the-trone-dynasty-member style kindness, or he would rush all the waiters with the authority of a

Roman Commander, and at the end he would definitely find a way to host him on one of the best tables" (Karaosmanoğlu, 1971: 119).
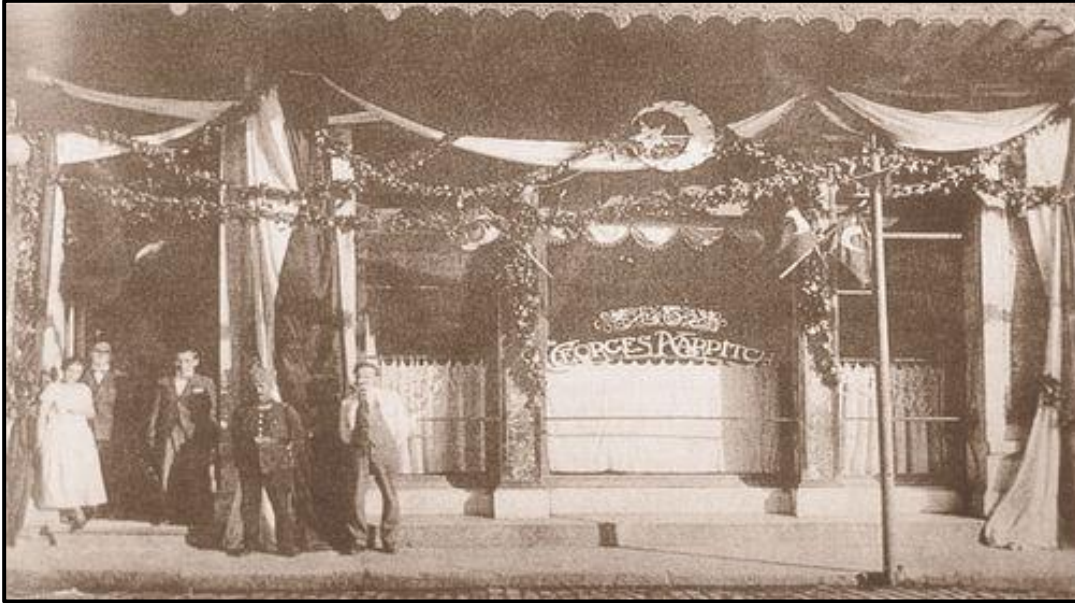
Figure 4.17 *Karpiç*

In the same way, Mehmed Kemal also emphasizes the significance of Chef Karpatovich's relations with his customers:

> "Politician, rich, speculator, statesman or whoever..everyone knew Baba *Karpiç*. Or everyone had the impression that Baba really knew them. Every customer actually needed a salute or couple of words from Baba, while seeing him standing still in front of his restaurant. Customers would interpret their values based on the complimants of Baba. A minister would deduce from his attitudes whether he is going to keep his post or not. He was quickly-informed and generally would hear everything before everyone else" (Kemal, 1983:64).

In their memoirs, Mehmed Kemal and Cüneyt Arcayürek mention that the younger generation of journalists like themselves also attended *Karpiç* after 1945, however those visits were not for dinner but for its American Bar:

> "Our generation had the opportunity to go to *Karpiç* solely after 1950. Before then we could go there either with our fathers or with our wealthy friends. As a favorite destination for statesmen and politicians, we could only stare inside from its doorway but not able to go inside. Once we stepped in there for the first time after 1950, it was said that "Democracy has arrived in *Karpiç*". They wouldn't deem us worthy for this place and would consider us some sort of lowlife. Our favorite hangouts were the small pubs on Posta Street.
>
> Other youngster and me who got themselves involved in journalism could drop by these places around 1945- 46, but I can say that it should be after 1950's that our poet and artist friends make these places their regular destination.

Snacks were served at the Bar, and then the diner at the hall. Our place was the bar, our budget wasn't enough to dine at the hall for a long time" (Kemal, 1983:63).

Karpiç was kind of a semi-official meeting place of the parliament where some political decisions were taken, and political strategies were formulated even before the subject is taken to the parliament (Evren, 1998: 202). Therefore, the place, especially the American bar, became a source of political news for the journalists. According to Kemal and Arcayürek, Chef *Karpiç* was also a good journalist himself who could beat all the other journalists. Mehmed Kemal tells that Şinasi Nahit, a journalist, come to know about the unforeseeable resignation of the Prime Minister Recep Peker a few hours after receiving the vote of confidence in parliament from Chef *Karpiç*. He added that Şinasi Nahit wasn't able to convince his chief editor about the reliability of this striking news, however after a while the news about resignation turned out to be true (Kemal, 1983: 64-5). Cüneyt Arcayürek also talks about how he got the news about another resignation from Chef *Karpiç*:

> "One day, in an afternoon, hard to tell the reason why, but he has been to *Karpiç*. He sat at the American bar in the garden. After a while, Baba *Karpiç* approached and said: "My Dear, I shall tell you, Prime Minister Saka resigned" and walked away. He, then, rushed into the newspaper. Being the newspaper of the Party (CHP), its editors should have already heard the news, however more than news they were curious about the source of it. Baba *Karpiç* always got the news about everything, especially about the political developments well before everyone else" (Arcayürek, 2005: 132-33).

4.4.1.1.2 *Ankara Palas*

As a barren Anatolian town, Ankara was lacking many of the basic utilities that an ordinary European city had. One of these was a modern hotel. In line with its enormous accommodation problem, Ankara did not have a modern hotel to host its high level guests and visitors. This need was also realized by Mustafa Kemal Ataturk, and with his special wish and recommendation, a new hotel in the name of "*Ankara Palas*" was constructed across the second National Assembly building. As it was opened in 1928, it was the most "modern and comfortable" hotel of that time with one hundred rooms, suits, dining halls and ballrooms. In addition to its function as a hotel, *Ankara Palas* was also designed to be a multi-purpose complex where balls, receptions, meetings, entertainments, and concerts would be organized.

With the opening *Ankara Palas*, the era of Taşhan, which had been the favorite of this town of steppe ended and the era of the "palace" started. In 1928, the Danish newspaper *Aftenposten* made the following news about *Ankara Palas*:

> "There exists one of the most beautiful hotels of world in Ankara. The name is *Ankara Palas* or with its mostly accepted name in here as "Evkaf Oteli". A two-story building. No extraordinary feature when looking from outside. However from inside, you can experience the exquisite harmony of the magnificence style of the east and the comfort of the west. You would not want to get out once you get in, you will forget about the high prices and excuse them for this. You wouldn't move away from the beauty of the halls". [32]

Keeping the objective of westernization and modernization in mind and proceeding accordingly, *Ankara Palas* was designed as the venue of social activities where the western face of the Republic would be staged. One of most important activity was the balls. *Ankara Palas* used to host regular balls such as; Republican Day Ball, New Year's Ball, Turkish Press Association Ball, Turkish Red

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[32] Brynjolf Björset, "*Angora*" , Aftenposten (Kopenhang), 20.7.1928 (quoted in Şimşir, 1988: 405)

Crescent Society Ball, and Medical Faculty Ball. Five or six balls were organized annually in Ankara. Consequently *Ankara Palas* has always been remembered with the balls, even today.

Figure 4.18 Ankara Palas in 1932.
Source: Cangır, A., Cumhuriyetin Başkenti, 2007.

Ankara Palas had a particular importance among all the other components devoted for the construction of the new social life, due to the fact that social gatherings and especially the balls were one of the most important events of the new leisure understanding. The ball room of *Ankara Palas* was the most appropriate and readily available stage. The balls were the affairs in which new fashion and dressing trends were exhibited, rules of good manners were presented, and relationships with the opposite sex were established. These were the first indicators of efforts committed to the modernization. In Ankara, men and women danced together for the first time in an organized event in the ball room of *Ankara Palas*. Mustafa Kemal also attended the balls; he danced and encouraged everyone else to dance as well (Tanyer, 2009: 139-140).

However, the adaptation process of the new social patterns was not as easy as expected. Even the elite community, which was supposed to lead the social transformation, had contradictions and faced up with inhibition and reluctance to some degree. Yakup Kadri makes an illustrative depiction of this state of mind when he was describing the ambiance of one of the first soirees of Ankara:

> "At that time, nobody knew how to behave, wander around, dance and how to move the eyes, hands and the head. It was common to come across with the groups of immobile women next to the walls, men standing still just like a mannequin at the door sills, and callow and shy youngsters having their drinks at the bars without having any conversation whatsoever. One could see that some of attendees, who were willing to dance, would wait for the surge of the dancing couples" (Karaosmanoğlu, 1999: 105).

As a modern leisure form, balls were regarded as an important tool for annihilating the old social habits and constructing the new ones. The main goal to start with was to shatter the traditions that have isolated men and women from each other and confined women to a very restricted world. This radical change would pave the way for the construction of the new and modern way of life. In other words, the modern leisure forms were considered as indispensable means for a comprehensive social transformation. However, this form remained limited to the elite class only; spreading it to the entire society was not easy and therefore did not materialize as expected.

At the ball nights, İstasyon Street on which *Ankara Palas* was located would become the junction that the very new practices and the old habits, therefore the elites and the masses come together. By bringing in the city's residents from different strata, these gatherings were actually the occasions that reveal the contradictions of Republic's modernity project.

In his novel *Ankara* where he depicted the encounter of the old and the new residents in front of *Ankara Palas*, Yakup Kadri portrayed this part of the city as a stage which reveal and highlight the social and cultural differences. As one of the main characters of his he novel, Neşet Sabit goes up the stairs of *Ankara Palas* to attend the New Year's Ball; he recognizes the crowd behind him and realizes the contradiction. Through the internal feud of his character, Yakup Kadri explains how the leisure form experienced in *Ankara Palas* didn't reach out to the entire social strata:

> "I felt a weird dizziness just a moment ago while I was going up the stairs of the hotel. I had the feeling that that every step that I put my feet on is actually widening the gap between me and the people. I wanted to turn back and jump into this cliff that I left behind, so that I could join them and be able to watch this artificial world from a distance, among them and with their perspective. Just a moment ago, while I was going up the stairs, all of sudden I found myself in dilemma. I was off the ground. At that very moment, the masses on the street seem to me as the expression of a more real being than myself. That was the reason why I wanted to go back and join them. The need to reestablish my broken connection with the reality" (Karaosmanoğlu, 1999: 115).

The failure of the Republic's modernity project which intended to spread the modern leisure forms to the entire society with the mediation of the elite strata has always been subject to criticism by some academia. However, if the spatial organization of leisure spaces is taken into consideration, it becomes clear that leisure spaces of the period were designed to make it possible for different social strata to come together at the same place; this approach is totally different from today's understanding that resulted in the construction of current leisure geographies. Even though the Old residents of Ankara were not incorporated into the leisure forms that were experienced in *Ankara Palas*, İstasyon Street played the role of a meeting point and became the geography in which the economic, social, and cultural differences between the old and the new residents of Ankara were revealed with its all clarity.

The new residents of Ankara, without a doubt, did not plan to limit the modern leisure spaces and experiences to "a narrow class" only; in other words, their purpose was not to construct a new way of life by "excluding" or "otherizing" the lower classes. On the contrary, the purpose of Republic's modernity project was to "include" and "transform" the entire society with the utilization of leisure experiences. This consideration was materialized in the leisure form of *Millet Bahçesi* and *Meclis Bahçesi*. In these two gardens, which were located next to and across *Ankara Palas* respectively, classical music concerts were performed by *Riyaset-i Cumhur Senfoni Orkestrası* [Presidential Symphony Orchestra] on a regular basis. Due to fact that these leisure spaces were designed as socialization spaces, both of the gardens and the musical performances were open to public, in other words to the entirety of the social strata.

Figure 4.19 *Meclis Bahçesi* and *Ankara Palas.*
Source: Sağdıç, Bir Zamanlar Ankara, 1999.

4.4.1.2 Boulevard Cafés as *Intellectual Clubs*: İstanbul, *Özen*, and *Kutlu* Patisseries

In the early 1920s, *Ankaralı Hafız Bey* [Mr.Hafız of Ankara] built a hotel on the corner of Taşhan Square on Karaoğlan Street. The ground floor of this hotel was rented by "Ali Rıza Bey", a member of

"Matrakçıoğulları" family of Rize, in order to open a Patisserie. The Patisserie was named as "İstanbul" (Şapolyo, 1967: 164; Evren, 1998:198; Tanyer, 2009:135).

Figure 4.20 İstanbul Patisserie.
Source: Cangır, A., Cumhuriyetin Başkenti, 2007.

Opened in 1923 as one of the first leisure spaces of the new capital, İstanbul Patisserie became a favorite meeting place for the new residents Ankara, such as the deputies, bureaucrats, authors, and journalists. Especially in the early years of Republic, the patisserie was one of the few most frequented destinations of the elite community right after the iconic places of *Ankara Palas*, *Karpiç*, and Anadolu Club, all of which were located in the "leisure triangle"[33].

Burhan Asaf in *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* praised İstanbul Patisserie as "…a need during the daytime, a need in the evenings, and a need after the midnight, that is to say after the bar time[34]" he even compared it with the cafes of European cities and complained about its atmosphere, citing that "it was not like a Viennese-style café." (Cantek, 2003: 278). Similarly, Necip Fazıl Kısakürek was also impressed by the style of the Patisserie of the early 1930s; "During that period, equivalent to the İkbal and Meserret coffee parlors in İstanbul and in complete 'Pariah' character, one of the most distinguished and noteworthy locations in Ankara was the İstanbul Patisserie, located on one corner of Ulus Square" (Tanyer, 2009:139).

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[33] This patisserie, which has been the hangout for the intellectuals and deputies for a long time many, was demolished in 1955 and was replaced by the Ulus Skyscraper.

[34] Burhan Asaf, *"Geçerken"*, Hakimiyet-i Milliye, 30 Kanunusani 1929 (quoted in Cantek, 2003: 278).

The patisserie whose customers were generally deputies, bureaucrats, authors, and journalists also witnessed the debates among the intellectuals of the period. As a consequence of this, İstanbul patisserie was referred to as "intellectual club" in the narratives. It was characterized with the intellectuals of the period. Kemal Zeki Gençosman writes about the patisserie's famous frequenters:

> "There were regular customers of the Patisseries. For them, here was functioning as a private club. They used to come early in the morning, have tea, coffee and smoke their hookah and chat all they long till the evening. Dr. İzzettin Şadan, Prof. Feridun Nafiz Uzluk, Sadri Ertem, Namdar Rahmi, M. Nuri Gençosman, Musician Ahmet Yekta, Teacher-author Enver Behnan (Şapolyo) were the regular faces of the patisserie. Master Hüseyin Rahmi (Gürpınar) and Yahya Kemal (Beyatlı) would rush into the patisserie just after they get out of the Turkish Assembly located on the opposite corner" (quoted by Evren, 1998: 199).

Figure 4.21 *Kutlu* and *Özen* Patisseries and Atatürk Boulveard in 1940.
Source: Cangır, A., Cumhuriyetin Başkenti, 2007.

Just after the emergence of Yenişehir as a modern center, the leisure form of İstanbul Patisserie was reproduced in *Kutlu* and *Özen* Patisseries. As a high-class residential area and having a European look with its wide boulevards and urban parks, Yenişehir welcomed this leisure form after the second half of 1930s. At the same time, these patisseries were the first examples for the leisure development in Yenişehir. In addition to being labeled as "intellectual clubs", *Kutlu* and *Özen* patisseries were also described as "western-style boulevard cafes" in narratives, thanks to the wide pedestrian area on Atatürk Boulevard.

Different from today's patisseries, *Kutlu* and *Özen* Patisseries were also serving alcoholic drinks employing a small orchestra in order to perform classical music in the afternoons. Hence, the leisure form experienced in these places had two distinct components: service of alcoholic drinks and live

music performances. In spring and summer seasons, both patisseries were carrying their tables and chairs to the sidewalks of the boulevard. Both patisseries were compared to the Parisian cafes by many authors such as Melih Cevdet Anday, Orhan Veli, Nurullah Ataç, Hasan Ali Yücel, Oktay Rifat.

Just like İstanbul Patisserie, these patisseries were also frequented by the authors, poets, politicians. Especially it was not possible to picture *Özen* Patisserie without Nurullah Ataç, the famous reviewer and author. He used make all his appointments in *Özen*. In other words, *Özen* Patisserie was the first place to check for those looking for Ataç. Besides being a regular customer, Ataç also lectured on poetry at *Özen* and *Kutlu* (Tanyer, 2009: 154). Nezihe Araz talks about these occasions and tells that she used to go to *Özen* Patisserie just for listening Nurullah Ataç, Orhan Veli, and Melih Cevdet when she was a student in Ankara Kız Lisesi [Ankara Girls High School] (Araz, 1979: 215).

This leisure form experienced in these places, which were identified with poets and authors of the period could not reproduce itself in other spaces or geographies. In the early 1950s *Kutlu* withdrew from the social life of Ankara; *Özen* was able to survive for a little longer. Eventually the buildings hosting these patisseries were demolished. (Tanyer, 2009: 155). We may conclude that although these spaces were entertainment spaces, they were also functioning as a cultural space as well.

4.4.1.3 The Taverns: *Kürdün Meyhanesi*, *Şükran Lokantası*, and *Üç Nal*

Like İstanbul, *Özen* and *Kutlu* Patisseries, *Kürdün Meyhanesi* [Tavern of the Kurd] (or Yeni Hayat Lokantası), *Şükran Lokantası* [Şükran Restaurant] and *Üç Nal* [Three Horseshoes] taverns were also frequented by the authors, poets, and journalists. However, different from the patisseries, the leisure form introduced by these pubs in the early years of 1940s, was not open to women although they addressed to the entire social strata. Mehmed Kemal (1988) and Fahir Aksoy (2000) mentioned that a loyal frequenter of *Kürdün Meyhanesi* was "*Montör Sabri*" who was a laborer in the İmalat-ı Harbiye Fabrikası [The Factory of Military Manufacturing]. He was so popular that even, Orhan Veli, a famous poet, also wrote a poem about him too. Fahir Aksoy describes the customers of *Kürdün Meyhanesi* as follows:

> "It was a kind of an intellectual's club formed instinctively by itself which was frequented by the teachers of village institute, the employees of the translation bureau of the ministry of National Education, the poets, artists, actors, scientists, authors and musicians living in Ankara. Generally it was known as " *Kürdün Meyhanesi*" [the saloon of the Kurd]. Other than the intellectuals especially the undercover policemen, jockeys, civil servants and regular people would also come too" (Aksoy, 2000:9).

Üç Nal Meyhanesi [Three Horseshoes Tavern], stamping ground of the poets, was opened by the famous drummer of Ankara Erkek Lisesi [Ankara Boy's High School], Sarı Şinasi Baray. *Üç Nal* was especially identified with Orhan Veli such that the walls of *Üç Nal* were covered with Orhan Veli's own writings. Mehmed Kemal tells that since Orhan Veli frequented to this pub, the fans of the poet also attended *Üç Nal* (1988: 89).

While *Üç Nal* was located in the vicinity of Hacı Bayram Mosque, *Kürdün Meyhanesi* and *Şükran Lokantası* were located on Posta Street. For the men of Ankara, these taverns provided another leisure form, which is an alternative to the places serving only for the senior bureaucrats such as *Karpiç* and *Ankara Palas*. In addition, these taverns were also called as "intellectual clubs" of the city, and for that reason they had a special significance in Turkish literary history. The literature life between the years of 1940s and 1960s was transpired at these two leisure spaces. Cüneyt Arcayürek, a journalist at that time, also touched on these taverns in his book entitled as "*Bir Zamanlar Ankara*":

> "…on Posta Street was "*Kürdün Meyhanesi*" and right next to it *Şükran Lokantası*…the taverns of Orhan Veli, Oktay Rifat, Fethi Giray, and Tarancı… the taverns in which some

journalists just passed away, breathe, and fight…This wealth was ours, the children of the old town" (2005: 53).

4.2.1.4 Bars of Çankırı Street

In the beginning of 20th century, in many parts of the Ottoman Empire, women were kept in the back stage and lacked the means to integrate them into the social life. In this social context; men and women were kept separated from each other. Therefore, in the 1920s, very few women could be seen on the streets in Ankara. A British woman, Lady Drummond Hay, who came to Ankara in 1926, expressed her impressions about the city in the Daily Express newspaper as "Ankara is a city of men. Very few women are seen here. Only place where a Turkish woman could be seen is Ankara Club" (quoted in Şimşir, 2000: 370). This fact was also emphasized by Falih Rıfkı Atay:

> "We did not have any means of entertainment other than talking at the tables until late in the evenings. Not only the meetings but also the houses, hotels, and streets were without women. I keep wondering whether the lack of women even in times of the first migrations to America was as noteworthy as it was in the establishment years of Ankara" (Atay, 1969: 353).

Around this time, "bars" were introduced to urban life. Indeed, in this "city of men" where very few women could be seen on the streets in 1920s, "bars" where mostly foreign women were employed, were the only places that men could meet with women. The first example of this leisure form was presented by *Fresko's Bar*. Opened in 1920, it was also one of the first leisure spaces of Ankara. Fresko's Bar was initially located in *Millet Bahçesi*. Being the pioneer of "bar" type leisure spaces, Fresko's was followed by new competitors such *Elhamra* on Çankırı Street. *Elhamra* Bar also brought female hostess from Europe in order to compete and satisfy the customers as Fresko's Bar did (Evren, 1998: 244).

After the relocation of Fresko's Bar on Çankırı street, this street became the destination for the other bars and eventually Çankırı Street has become popular with its famous bars, such as *Fresko*, *Elhamra*, *Tabarin*, *Yeni Bar*, *Nil Bar*, *Türkuvaz, Garden* and *Necip Bar*. Due to the fierce competition, bars were trying to reach out the customers and attract them. One of the new bars was trying to arouse interest with a newspaper add published in Hakimiyet-i Milliye in 1929 "*Yeni* Bar was opened: the artists transferred from Europe come here every day. The new service bar with its new installations and arrangements and under the administration of a specialist is drawing everybody's interest."[35] As pointed out in this advertisement, these bars functioned as places where the men of Ankara got the opportunity to meet a woman, not to mention that many frequenters of these bars were the deputies of Turkish Grand National Assembly. Sadri Ertem gave important information about the leisure habits of the deputies in that period:

> "After getting out of the Assembly, the deputies would load their mules, donkeys, horses and carts with the foods in their bag and head to the vineyards. Due to the housing shortage in Ankara, many of them were living in the vineyards. The most incomprehensibles were the ones from İstanbul and İzmir. These were intellectuals and emotionally connected to each other. Their likings were different. As the evening comes, these kind of conversations would take place in the Assembly's corridors:
> -Where are we going settle tonight?
> - At the Bar.
> -Which one?
> - Tabarin.

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[35] Hakimiyet-i Milliye, 17 Haziran 1929

- Tonight let's go to Garden.

Or some other suggestions would come.

-Come on, let's gather at my place.

These words would be regarded as an order, they would get about quickly..This was the Ankara at those days" (quoted by Evren, 1998:254)

Figure 4.22 Fresko's Bar in *Millet Bahçesi*.
Source: Elli Yıllık Yaşantımız, 1975.

4.4.2   Cultural Spaces

4.4.2.1   The First Cinemas of Ankara

Cinema and theatre as the basic aspects of the new leisure conception were introduced to the urban life especially after 1930s. Following the screenings of the very first movies in the wooden building at the *Millet Bahçesi*, Ankara welcomed its first permanent cinema hall – the *Kulüp* Sineması [Club Cinema] - in 1926. *Kulüp Sineması*, which was operated by Muhittin Baha Pars, the deputy of Bursa, was located on Çankırı Street next to *Tabarin* Bar. Unfortunately, this cinema hall was burned down in 1933, but it was rebuilt and put into service under the name of *Halk* Sineması, later on in 1941 it was renamed on more time as *Park Sineması*.

Kulüp Sineması was the only cinema hall until the opening of *Yeni Sinema* [New Cinema], the first modern cinema of the city in 1930. During the reign of Kulüp Sineması, cinema as a leisure form had a unique feature: it provided the environment in which old and new residents come together and spent the leisure time together. Thus, *Kulüp Sineması* had been one of the places where residents of old Ankara and new Ankara met:

"Ankara is a city where the higher and lower classes of the country lives together…Cinema has recently started to become a common entertainment for the old and the new Ankara" (Süreya, 1929; quoted in Aydın et al, 2005: 479).

The reason behind this lays heavily in the mono-centered structure of the city and also the small number of cinemas. However, by the opening of *Yeni Sinema* next to Taşhan in 1930*,* the differentiation between cinema halls started to emerge. As the first modern cinema hall of the city, *Yeni Sinema* became very popular especially among the elite community. On the ground floor of the cinema hall there were "private (first class)" and "entrance (second class)" sections and boxes in the circle. One of the boxes was reserved for Mustafa Kemal Atatürk.

Figure 4.23 Yeni Sinema
Source: Cangır, A., Cumhuriyetin Başkenti, 2007.

Yeni Sinema was the most advanced and modern cinema of Ulus both in terms of its interior decoration and also the movies that was playing. As a principle, the Turkish movies or Turkish-dubbed movies were not screened in this cinema. The screenings of Arab or Egyptian movies were also strictly prohibited. These movies that were not qualified for *Yeni Sinema*, were shown in *Sus, Sümer* and *Park (Kulüp-Halk)* cinemas whose frequenters were the old Ankara residents. *Sus* and *Sümer* were opened on *Anafartalar* Street in 1938 and in 1940 respectively and they were operated by

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"Ankara Sinema İşleri Türk Limited Şirketi" (Ankara Turkish Film Works Limited Company), a joint collaboration of *İş* Bank and Mr. Muhittin Baha Pars (Tanyer, 2009: 139-41, Bozyiğit, 1999: 171-74)[36].

Although *Yeni Sinema*, *Kulüp Sineması* (with later names Halk or Park), and *Sus Sineması* were operated by the same company, they screened different movies, therefore addressed to different social strata. In his article, Süreya (1929) also makes a comment about the pricing too: "the only disadvantage of Ankara's leisure spaces is that they are too expensive compared to İstanbul which is sole criterion". This expression implies that cinema, as one of the popular leisure form, was also perceived as expensive by the residents of Ankara. Although there is not much difference today, but especially in that time, ownership of economic capital was the key factor in accessing the leisure facilities. However, the differentiation of the films shown in the cinemas and the unwritten rules of the places give clues about the cultural capital ownership of the customers. This capital was another significant component of segregation besides the role of economic capital:

> "In 1940s, it was also a pleasure to go to the movies. Yeni, Ulus, Ankara and later the Büyük cinema were the places that the people could easily go. On the other side, Park, Sus and Sümer were generally favored by the youngsters, the bachelors and lower classes. The most important of all was the Yeni Sinema. It was a great achievement to find a ticket and be able to get in for the soiree. Although from a distance, everybody would recognize the attendees. The men would be stylish, and ladies ornamented and beautiful.
>
> The reason is unknown but this attention and concern were not present in other cinemas. Even when the *Büyük Sinema* was opened, it was not even the case that it would take over its role from Yeni Sinema.
>
> At those times, the latest bus service was at 21.00, a special service was added at 2300 for bringing back the ones from the cinema. Not everybody used to take the cab, besides they wouldn't deem that necessary. As the movie ends, people would rush into the bus stops and get on to the buses of their neighborhood. But, the high-income people and the ones that couldn't catch the last bus because of their acting slowly would take the cab and return to their houses" (Akgün, 1996:232).

In his text, Nejat Akgün pointed out the differentiation between the audiences of *Yeni Sinema* and the other cinemas of *Park, Sus, Sümer*. In the citation, the leisure spaces, in which elite community was "rehearsing" the life style of a modern community, were considered to be "the places to which people can go easily". However other places that the elite community did not favor were described as the spaces preferred by "lower strata of society". In addition to the fundamental differentiation, another point made in this narrative that should draw attention is the existence of yet another differentiation within the elite community.

The transition of Ankara to a dual-centered structure together with the increasing number of cinemas led to differentiation of leisure spaces. After the construction of Yenişehir, it has hosted all the other modern cinema halls of the city until 1970s: *Ulus Sineması, Ankara Sineması*, and *Büyük Sinema*. As the first cinema hall of Yenişehir, *Ulus Sineması* was opened in 1939, in *Ragıp Sosyal* Apartment in Kızılay Square. Kayador (1999:163) describes Ulus Sineması as "a large and high-quality movie theaters with a curtain stretching all the way from top to bottom and a large, well-maintained hall". This cinema hall was open until 1969.

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[36] *Kulüp (Halk-Park)* Cinema was operated until 1960, and after that relocated by a commercial complex [İşhanı]. In 1956 *Yeni* Cinema was expropriated and demolished during the expansion of Anafartalar Street and Ulus Square in order to construct Ulus Commercial Complex [Ulus İşhanı]. *Sus* and *Sümer* Cinemas were closed around 1970s.

The second movie theatre of Yenişehir was *Ankara Sineması* which opened in Sıhhıye in the years of 1944-45 at the beginning of Necatibey Street across the Orduevi [Military Club]. Although the cinema building was old and dilapidated, *Ankara Sineması* became one of the important leisure spaces thanks to its geographical location and selection of the movies. The cinema was able to pick the appropriate movies for the Yenişehir audiences. In 1960s, *Ankara Sineması* was one of the significant characteristics of Ankara; however it became a thing of the past after being demolished in the late 1970s.

On January 17th of 1949, *Büyük Sinema* was opened in a passage (today's Jevelery Market) midway to the Zafer Square from Tuna Street between Kızılay and Sıhhıye. Until the opening of *Arı Sineması* in 1969, *Büyük Sinema* [Grand Cinema] like its name had been the largest movie theatre of Ankara.

The diversification of cinema activity as a leisure form initially began with the opening of the first modern cinema, *Yeni Sinema*, in the existing leisure geography of Ulus. Thereafter the diversification has increased through the reproduction of this leisure form in a new geography; Yenişehir. The segregation was previously determined by the diversity of the cinemas in the same geography; however, with the emergence of Yenişehir, it was defined again. New definition was based on the different geographies, that is to say on the duality of Ulus - Kızılay.

4.4.2.2 Theatre and Opera: *Halkevi*, *Küçük Tiyatro* and *Büyük Tiyatro*

Despite being one of the basic aspects of modern leisure understanding, it has not been easy as it was for the cinema, to initiate and develop a culture and create a loyal group of spectators. After the wooden building in *Millet Bahçesi* was burned down in 1929, Ankara never had a permanent theater building for a long time until the opening of *Küçük Tiyatro* in 1947. In this period; the cinema halls, *Halkevi,* the stage of the Conservatory in Cebeci were used for theatre plays.

Parallel to the intention of the Republic to incorporate "theatre" into the social life, the actors of "Darülbedayi[37]" were encouraged to go on tour in Anatolia and especially visit Ankara. As the tour stopped in Ankara, they were given a very warm and special welcome. The actors of Darülbedayi gave performances in Kulüp Sineması and Yeni Sinema which were opened in 1926 and in 1930 respectively. Despite the shortage of theatre stages in the city, this theater company drew a great interest from the higher officials including Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. Similar to the inexistence of a permanent theatre hall, Ankara never had its own local theatre company either. Therefore as an incentive for the visiting theatre groups such as the Darulbedayi of İstanbul, the tickets were sold for

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[37] Originally the İstanbul Conservatory was called as *Darülbedayi-i Osmani* origin of which went back to 1914. The mayor of İstanbul, Cemil Paşa (Topuzlu) proposed the establishment of a municipal theatre and conservatory in İstanbul. This proposal was approved by the city council, and the director of Odeon Theatre of Paris, Andre Antoine, was invited to İstanbul in order to build a conservatory in 1914. Following his work, *Darülbedayi-i Osmani* was established with two sections: drama and music. Antoine became the General Director of the drama section. Although Antoine returned to Paris on August 4th, 1914, the conservatory continued to operate. Classes and rehearsals began on August 30th 1915. The first performance was given on 20th January of 1916, a date which is regarded as the day of establishment for the İstanbul Municipality Theatre. The matinee performances were only for women while the soirees were for men. In 1921, the city council made certain changes in the regulations of the conservatory, by which it became more of a theatre than a teaching institution. In that time, Muhsin Ertuğrul was appointed as the producer while he was still an actor as well. Many actors of *Darülbedayi* toured in Anatolia and therefore have been to Ankara. In 1931, *Darülbedayi* was incorporated into Municipality and its name of Darülbedayi was changed to "*İstanbul Şehir Tiyatrosu*" [İstanbul City Theatre or İstanbul Municipal Theatre] (And, 1963: 90-91).

exorbitant prices. One of the actors of Darulbedayi, Vasıf Rıza Zorlu explains how they were supported by the state:

"We were encouraged to perform a "premiere" on the last night of our tour in Ankara. The reason behind calling it a premiere was not the extra ordinary nature of the play, instead it was because of the extra ordinary prices that we are going to ask for the tickets. The statesmen with the influential power and the businessmen with the capital were supposed to make the sales possible. Everything went on as planned. That night they provided us a great amount of profit. I cannot forget that the amount of money that the prime minister [İsmet İnönü], who couldn't provide the money for his personnel ticket on the following morning; transferred to Konya in my name via Ziraat Bankası was 500 Liras. This amount was already way over the total daily revenue that we could make on a regular basis" (quoted in Aydın et al, 2005: 475).

The need for a permanent theatre stage in Ankara could not be satisfied until the opening of *Türk Ocağı* [Turkish Hearth][38] building in 1930. With *Türk Ocağı*, Ankara welcomed the first stage that could be used for theatre performances. The actors of Darülbedayi staged fifteen plays on this new stage of *Türk Ocağı* in 1930 (Aydın et al, 2005: 475). In 1931 the building of *Türk Ocağı* was transferred to *Halkevi* [People's House] which was and *Ankara Halkevi* was officially opened as a communal education center for adults in 1932. Each *Halkevi* may have up to nine committees that were responsible for organizing different activities ranged from basic education (reading and writing) for adults to theatrical performances. Therefore, *Halkevi* continued to host theatrical performances until the opening of *Küçük Tiyatro* [Small Theater] in 1947.

However, it should be known that construction of a theatre building was only one side of the problem. In addition, the new Republic was desperately in need for the other basic components of cultural activities, such as the conservatory for training the actors and actresses. Thus, preparations for opening a theatre in Ankara was a long process, which started with staging theatrical performances in *Halkevi* in order to satisfy the existing need in the city and also train the amateur players, continued with the establishment of State Conservatory to train professional palyers and finally ending with the opening of first state theatre, *Küçük Tiyatro* in 1947.

Besides providing a theatre stage, Ankara *Halkevi* also had a drama committee that produced and staged amateur plays. By 1932, the drama section of *Halkevi* began to stage amateur plays. However, most of these plays, which are generally referred to as "Revolution Plays" today, were of nationalist nature, mostly created for the propaganda of the new regime. The drama branch also undertook the mission of delivering the plays that they staged in Ankara to the towns and villages. In this context, *Ankara Halkevi* staged a total of 105 plays in the years between 1932 and 1951 (Aydın et al, 2005: 476)[39].

In 1937 the troupe of Raşid Rıza, moved to Ankara and formed a theatre company in the name of "The Ankara Municipal Theatre". This company gave performances on the stage of *Halkevi*. However, it took about a year before the group disbanded and returned back to İstanbul. During the company's short tenure, Amateurs of *Halkevi* also took part in 17 of the total 24 plays stage and they gained valuable experience (Ari, 2004: 49).

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[38] The building was designed by architect Arif Hikmet Koyunoğlu and constructed in the years of 1927-1930. It situated on an elevated area at the time known as *Namazgah Tepe*. At the present time, the building is used as the State Museum of Painting and Sculpture (Aslanoğlu et al, 2012).
[39] In 1951, during the reign of the Democrat Party all the branches of *Halkevi* in Turkey were closed. In 1956, the building of *Halkevi* which initially belonged to Turkish Heart was incorporated into the State Theatre System under the name of Üçüncü Tiyatro [The Third Theatre].

In his speech at the opening ceremony of the National Assembly in 1936, Atatürk gave the good news about the plan for the establishment of a State Conservatory in Ankara. The inclusion of this issue in a very important speech of the President should constitute a good evidence about how modern arts such theatre was regarded as an important component in the modernization process of Turkey. Therefore, in the same year a state conservatory for training the actors, actresses, opera singers, and ballet dancers, was established. The nucleus of the Conservatory was the Musiki Muallim Mektebi[40] [Music Teacher's School] which was founded in 1924. In 1934, it was decided to convert the Musiki Muallim Mektebi into an academy for music and drama; and consequently the experts were invited in 1935 to initiate the process of constructing the conservatory. Drama and opera section was established by Carl Elbert, a German producer, who was specially invited for this task (And, 1963: 93-94).

Figure 4.24 Stage of *Halkevi*

First students (eleven male and five female) for the drama section were enrolled for the academic year of 1936-1937. Following the establishment of "*Tiyatro ve Opera Tatbikat Sahnesi*" [Stage of Drama and Opera Workshop], a theatre group comprised of the students, in 1940; stage of the State Conservatory in Cebeci hosted the first performance. The first students of the conservatory were graduated on June 3rd of 1941. The State Conservatory was directed by Carl Elbert until 1947 and he was succeeded by Muhsin Ertuğrul (And, 1963: 93-94; http://www.devtiyatro.gov.tr).

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[40] The building of Musiki Muallim Mektebi was constructed in the years of 1927-29 in Cebeci. It was designed by Ernst A. Egli. After 1936, the building was converted into the State Conservatory. Currently the building is used as Mamak Cultural Center (Aslanoğlu et al, 2012).

On December 27th of 1947, Ankara welcomed its first permanent theatre building with the opening of *Küçük Tiyatro* at the ground floor of Second Evkaf [Waqf] Apartment[41]. *Küçük Tiyatro* had a capacity of 605 seats while *Halkevi* had 590 seats (And, 1963: 94). On April 2th 1948, the second theatre of the city under the name of "*Büyük Tiyatro* [Grand Theatre]" was opened with a capacity of 745 seats. The *Sergievi*[42] [Exhibition Hall] building which was completed in 1933 and has been in use since *then*, was redesigned and converted into a theatre hall. As the next phase after *Tatbikat Sahnesi*, and also as its successor, "State Theatre and Opera" was officially founded on October 1st 1949 with the task of administering all the aspects of opera and theatre performances in Turkey. The State Opera and Theatre had only two stages to start with; *Küçük* and *Büyük Tiyatro*. Its first General Director was Muhsin Ertuğrul who held this post until 1958. The repertoire of the State Theatre included both opera and drama plays. In *Büyük Tiyatro*; opera, theatre and ballet performances were given while *Küçük Tiyatro* has been the stage for the works of Turkish playwrights. (And, 1964: 93-94; Aydın et all, 2005: 475-6; http://www.devtiyatro.gov.tr).

4.4.3   Recreation Spaces

4.4.3.1   Urban Parks: *Millet Bahçesi*, *Meclis Bahçesi*, *Emniyet Parkı*, and *Kızılay Parkı*

On contrary to the indoor leisure forms addressing the citizens' state of mind, recreation spaces provided the necessary means especially for their physical needs. Besides, because of their visual beauty and peaceful atmosphere, they can also be considered as the places by which the image of the city and the modern urban living is exhibited. Hence, the production of recreation spaces, which would provide recreation opportunities to the traditional leisure life, constituted an important pillar of the modernity project. The presence of recreation spaces is a prerequisite of a modern city and the ratio of open and green areas in the city is a parameter in assessing the quality of life that the city can provide.

In the Early Republican Era, the parks were projected to be the places where the practices of modern life is presented, and subsequently spread to all the walks of society. Thus, the intention by producing recreational places was to exhibit the way of modern life and trigger the transformation of traditional living practices. This approach was put into practice by the diversification and transformation of recreation activities and also with the production of new leisure events such as playing classical music in the modern urban parks[43].

Modern urban parks were introduced to the city life starting from the first years of the Republic. First implementations were the *Millet Bahçesi* [Nation Garden] and *Meclis Bahçesi* [Garden of National Assembly] located around Ulus Square. Besides providing the means for the residents of Ankara to

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[41] Second Evkaf Apartment was built in 1928-1930 by the Directorate of Waqf [Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü] in order to make revenue. It was designed by A. Kemalettin Bey in 1926-1927. Today, the building is still used as the state theatre. It hosts *Küçük Tiyatro* and *Oda Tiyatrosu* (Aslanoğlu et al, 2012).

[42] *Sergievi* was built in the years of 1933-1934. The designer of this building was Şevki Balmumcu, a young architect chosen after an international competition organized by the National Association of Economy and Savings [Milli İktisat and Tasarruf Cemiyeti]. In 1946, the building was changed and converted to "The State Opera and Ballet Building" by the architect Paul Bonatz (Aslanoğlu et al, 2012).

[43] Tanyeli (1997: 81-2) portrays Ankara as the "best representative of Turkey's modernization", and he emphasizes that although the traditional recreation concept and the pre-modern habits disappeared in Ankara, they still prevail in İstanbul. Tanyeli argues that the transition from traditional to modern recreation concept and the configuration of the spaces required by this transition took place firstly in Ankara.

recreate, these parks also were regarded as the spaces in which the idea of modernity could be applied upon the citizens. Thus, the production of public spaces such as these parks had a special significance in achieving social transformation for the modernity project. These parks, hence, were designed in such a way that modern living practices could be visible to the citizens.

Millet Bahçesi was situated in the "leisure triangle" which also includes *Ankara Palas*, *Karpiç*, *Anadolu Kulübü* [Anatolian Club], and *Küçük Tiyatro*. *Millet Bahçesi* was the only place that belongs to pre-Republican era and therefore it was showing the characteristics of *Meşrutiyet* Era. After the declaration of Ankara as the capital, the Garden was reorganized and afforested. The Garden was comprised of different platforms, and a chamber orchestra was performing in the garden from time to time. After going through the narratives, it becomes obvious that the characteristics of the Garden's leisure form were of modern nature, more than that it included practices such as dance and music.
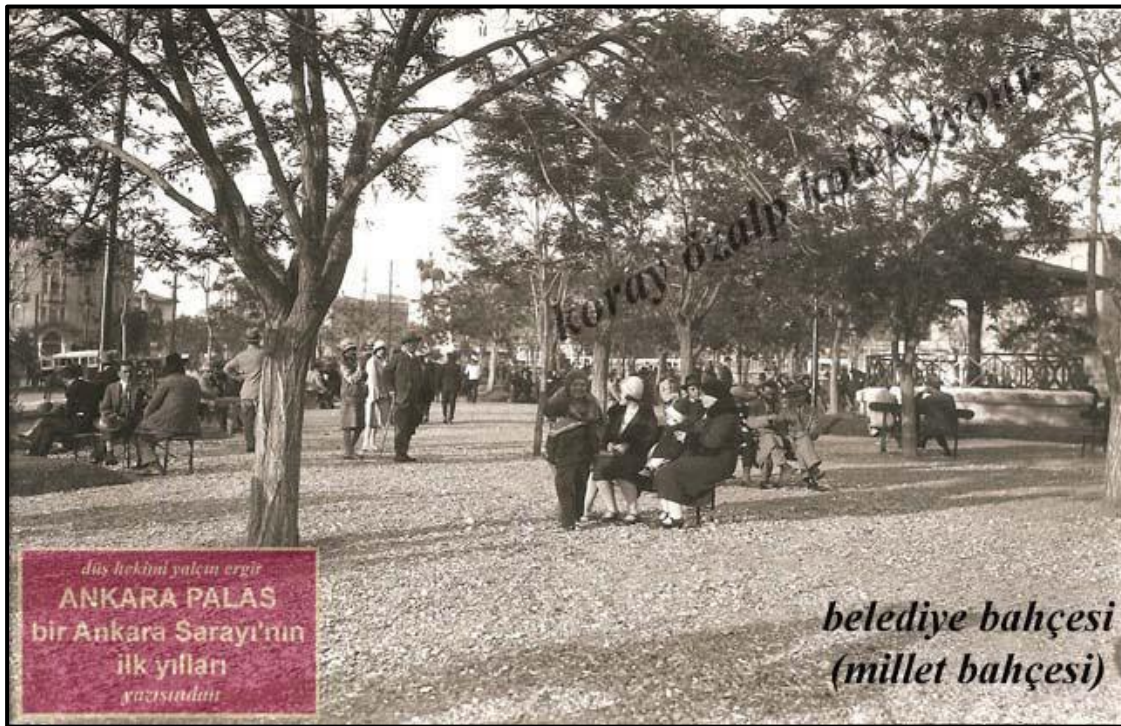
Figure 4.25 *Millet Bahçesi*
Source: www.ergir.com

Meclis Bahçesi (the garden of Second National Assembly building) was open to public and similar to *Millet Bahçesi* it was also a place where *Riyaset-i Cumhur Senfoni Orkestrası* [Presidential Symphony Orchestra] gave performances. Adnan Saygun who came to Ankara in 1939, tells in his memoirs that he was impressed with the dominance of green color in the city. In addition, he also mentioned about the concerts of Presidential Symphony Orchestra which were given on the semi-closed stage of *Meclis Bahçesi* in every Friday (quoted in Yalım, 2002: 209-10). The significance of *Meclis Bahçesi* in the social life of Ankara dwellers was also highlighted by Altan Öymen as follows:

"One of the destinations that my mother took me for sightseeing was the *Meclis Bahçesi* in Ulus. From home we would get there shortly by walking. The garden was open to public. Its

trees and lawn were well taken care of. It had inter-connected ponds. Red fishes were swimming in these ponds. The music band used to come to the garden during the evenings and play music. The people including women and the kids would gather around and listen to it" (Öymen, 2002: 74-5).

Figure 4.26 *Meclis Bahçesi*
Source: Cangır, A., Cumhuriyetin Başkenti, 2007.

In the narratives of the period, the segregation between Ulus and Yenişehir was frequently emphasized. Cüneyt Arcayürek also portrays *Meclis Bahçesi* with respect to the Ulus – Yenişehir duality:

> "There is no doubt that it was not possible for the kids of Yenişehir to be as happy as ourselves on some days. The reason was so simple: there was a park right next to the National Assembly that has an amazingly beautiful pond in which red fishes were swimming around. I don't remember the occasion but anyone who were going into the park were served candies in little bags. The kids of the old Ankara broke the chains as the democratic regime was blossoming, and they got the freedom to walk around in Yenişehir as they wish" (Arcayürek, 2005: 53-4).

Yenişehir was envisioned to be the platform where the modern way of life would be constructed. Following this perception, she had become the stage of "bourgeoisie lifestyle" with its wide boulevards, patisseries, "castellated villas", and green urban parks. As we have mentioned before, with all this new facilities and conveniences Yenişehir itself already became a leisure space and a potential sightseeing destination by Ulus Residents. Above all, there were two prominent public

spaces of Yenişehir in which this new way of life would be experienced: *Emniyet Parkı* [Security Park] and *Kızılay Bahçesi* (or *Havuzbaşı*) [Garden of Kızılay].

Figure 4.27 Havuzbaşı in Yenişehir in 1929.
Source: Cangır, A., Cumhuriyetin Başkenti, 2007.

Although it was expected that there would be a transition from "face-to-face and communal relations" to "anonymous relations", parallel to the ongoing transition of Ankara from a small Anatolian town to a modern capital city, the frequenters of leisure spaces did not change much and were limited only to the new residents of Ankara who already knew each other.

> "Since the wanderers on the street or the ones meeting in the cook shops or in the Municipal garden were always the same people; we wouldn't even salute each other. We would yearn for being anonymous and for having the pleasure of going into the crowd and getting lost" (Atay, 1969: 352).

Despite the Ulus-Yenişehir duality, the leisure form experienced in the parks of both Ulus and Yenişehir included the same modern practices. Similar to the parks of Ulus, *Kızılay Bahçesi* and *Emniyet Parkı* of Yenişehir were also designed to carry the symbols of modern living patterns. In the first years of Yenişehir's establishment, a pool was built inside *Kızılay Bahçesi* with the order of Şehremini Ahmet Bey. Because of this pool, the park was called as "*Havuzbaşı*" for a while. *Kızılay Bahçesi* even had a special platform on which the *Riyaset-i Cumhur Senfoni Orkestrası* [the Presidential Symphony Orchestra] used to give concerts.
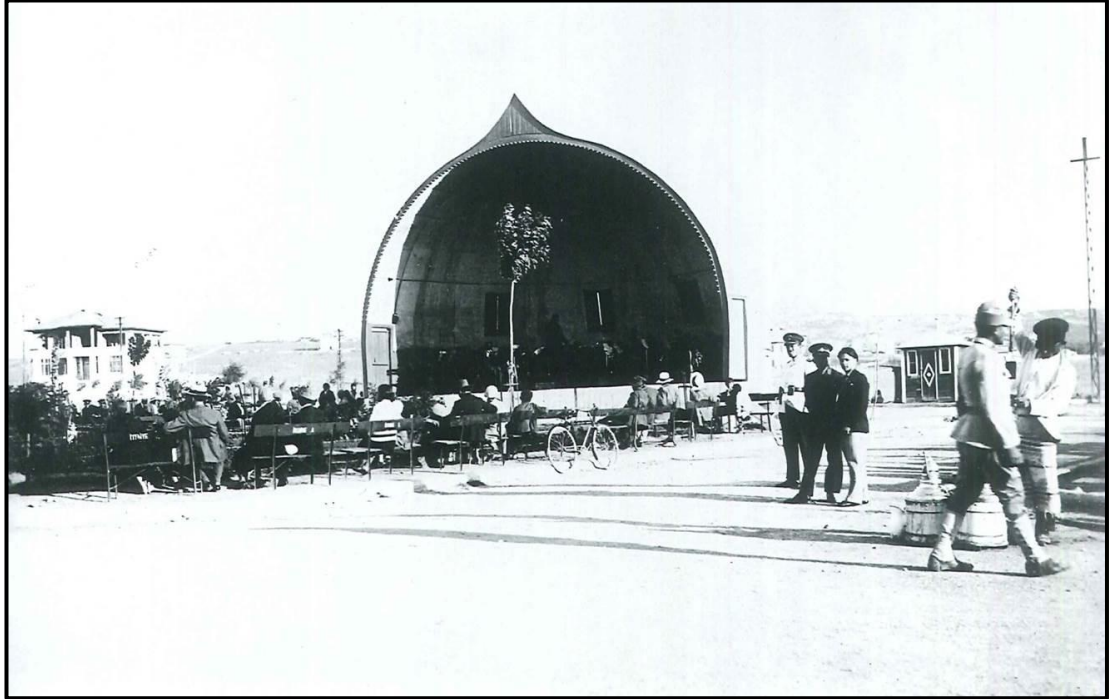
Figure 4.28 The Platform for *Riyaset-i Cumhur Senfoni Orkestrası* Concerts in 1929-1930. Source: Işın, E., Ankara: Kara Kalpaklı Kent: 1923-1938, 2009.

Figure 4.29 Kızılay Bahçesi in 1935. Source: MEB, 2007.

Besides providing excellent relaxation opportunities, these parks were also significant sightseeing destinations thanks to all the attractive features they have. With its European style pools and its frequenters with modern outfits they were among the leading places of the modernity project. Altan Öymen depicts the urban parks of Yenişehir in his childhood as follows:

> "Yenişehir were starting from the building of Ministry of Health (its name at that time was "Health and Social Aid Department"), which was one of the first constructions of the State in Ankara. The entry to the Housing district was from the station of Sıhhiye. Some of the buildings in the district were two, at most three-story houses within a garden. Some others were four or five-story apartments. We would get off at the station of Kızılay and have a walk in *Kızılay Bahçesi* and *Emniyet Parkı*. At that time it was a garden with trees, flowers, lawn and a pond. It was open to public. The building of Kızılay was inside the Garden. It was a three-story building. There was a huge symbol of the Red Crescent on the face of the building. Also in the Garden, there was a kiosk which was selling "Afyonkarahisar" brand mineral water, a monopoly of Kızılay. The mineral water was given in glasses which were filled in from special faucets. Going out of the *Kızılay Bahçesi* from the exit facing the crossroads, it was possible to go inside the *Emniyet Parkı*" (Öymen, 2002: 76-7).

Figure 4.30 *Kızılay Bahçesi* and *Emniyet Parkı* in 1942.
Source: Cangır, A., Cumhuriyet'in Başkenti, 2007.

It is worthy to note that Atatürk Boulevard functioned as a promenade between Ulus and Yenişehir thanks to its wide sidewalk and parkway. In that time promenading at Atatürk Boulevard especially

after work was an important ritual for the residents of Ankara. Sightseeing at the boulevard and stopping by at one of the Boulevard's leisure spaces was by itself a different leisure form. As the spine of the city, Atatürk Boulevard served as a connection component between two different geography of the city via the leisure forms it hosted.

4.4.3.2 From Traditional Recreation Areas to Urban Green Spaces: *Gazi Orman Çiftliği*, Çubuk Dam, and *Gençlik Parkı*

Gazi Orman Çiftliği [Gazi Forest Farm], Çubuk Dam Recreation Area, and *Gençlik Parkı* [Youth Park] introduced a new but unusual leisure form for Ankara. This form included modern leisure activities such as swimming, rowing, sailing and sunbathing on the beach and was experienced in huge gardens and spaces. These leisure activities defined a new leisure form for this landlocked Central Anatolian city. As a town of steppe, Ankara was deprived of abundant water resources throughout the known history, and for this reason its dwellers were unfamiliar with water-related activities. Because of the longings of old residents for water and the new residents' for İstanbul, this new form of leisure was more than welcomed despite its unusual nature for Ankara. More important than all, from an ideological perspective, it should be kept in mind that these public spaces, besides their recreational functions, were actually produced to serve as socialization and interaction places for all strata of the society.

Figure 4.31 Park of Gazi Çiftliği in 1929.
Source: Işın, E., Ankara: Kara Kalpaklı Kent: 1923-1938, 2009.

The first example of this leisure form was implemented in *Gazi Orman Çiftliği* [Gazi Forest Farm]. The Farm, which was founded in 1925 by Atatürk, was established as a "model farm" for the application of modern agricultural techniques and knowhow. However, in reality *Gazi Orman Çiftliği*

was not only a farm, it was also a modern recreational area and an outcome of the idea that urged the production of modern recreation spaces for the city. With Marmara and Karadeniz swimming pools, the beer garden, and *Marmara Gazin*osu [Marmara Music Hall], *Gazi Orman Çiftliği* soon became a popular recreation destination for all of the residents of Ankara especially in weekends. *Gazi Orman Çiftliği*, which was actually the private property of Mustafa Kemal, was also a center attraction center for the Ankara dwellers who wanted to see him or witness his daily life. Mustafa Kemal also enjoyed the leisure activities offered by the Farm, especially sailing at Marmara Pool was his favorite.

Figure 4.32 *Gazi Orman Çiftliği* in 1930s.
Source: Işın, E., Ankara: Kara Kalpaklı Kent: 1923-1938, 2009.

The recreational facilities of the Farm were located in the area around *Marmara Köşkü* [Marmara Palace] which was designed by Ernst Egli in 1929. In 1932, a pool named also as Marmara was built in the garden of the Köşk. Marmara Köşkü with its outdoor section arranged around the Marmara Pool was the first major music hall (*gazino*) of the city. This music hall was also open in winters (Aslanoğlu, 2001: 329). Marmara Pool and Pools were designed as small-scaled replicas of Marmara and Karadeniz seas respectively.

Appropriate places for sport activities were produced in order to cultivate "healthy citizens" and people were encouraged to attend these facilities[44]. Swimming, rowing, and sailing races held in

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[44] Modern sport facilities such as swimming, rowing, sailing, skiing, tennis, and ice-skating were introduced to this town of steppe. Ankara residents had the opportunity to ski in Dikmen and Elmadağ, play tennis in

Marmara and Karadeniz pools were announced to public by *Hakimiyet-i Milliye*, and people were invited to come and experience this new leisure form:

> "The swimming pool of Karadeniz is opened to public: yesterday, thousands of people rushed to the swimming pool and enjoyed a happy and healthy day"[45].

> "The swimming races in Karadeniz were good and exciting: The citizens of Ankara gathered on the banks of Karadeniz and Marmara"[46].

> "Karadeniz is the best place for water sports"[47].

Figure 4.33 Karadeniz Pool in 1930.
Source: http://www.ciftlikdergisi.com.tr

Bahçelievler and 19 May Stadium, ice-skate in winters on the frozen pool of Gençlik Parkı. Moreover, it is also interesting to note that many narratives mentioned about the widespread utilization of bicycle in Yenişehir.

[45] *Hakimiye-i Milliye*, August 6, 1932
[46] *Hakimiye-i Milliye,* August 13, 1932
[47] *Hakimiye-i Milliye,* September 6, 1933

Therefore, indeed, Ankara residents were flocking into the Farm enthusiastically in order to experience this new leisure form. However, the process was not smooth and there were minor issues that still need to be rectified. There was a complaint published in *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* about the citizens who lacked some of the necessary preconditions for participating in modern sport activities.

> "Besides this entire nice scene, it was bothering to see the ones who didn't buy a swimsuit yet, walking around in their short white pants. The administration of the Farm took the necessary precaution for this. They decided to ban the ones without a swimsuit to go in the pool and the beach"[48].

By some academics, these prohibitions were regarded as an instrument for "othering" the old Ankara residents and keeping them away from the facilities that were supposedly produced for the modern citizens (Cantek, 2003: 241). Actually, these spaces, which were produced for cultivating modern citizens and transforming the society, were also projected to be the socialization spaces. In addition, according to this approach these modern looks and behavioral patterns could become widespread by the help of these spaces. The newspaper article was actually mentioning to how differently the old and the new residents of Ankara were experiencing this new leisure form, it did not intend to discriminate the old residents.

In the same article, we find the expressions such as "while the Central Anatolian kids, who had never been to the sea or even seen the sea, are fighting with the water in the section of the pool designed for non-swimmers", "walkabouts of the many swimmer ladies, mostly foreign, with their nice swimsuits on was especially catching the attentions". Beyond all the differences, it should be deemed as noteworthy that both of the social strata were experiencing the same leisure form in the same space; so to say, they were basically "coming together" in the Farm. *Gazi Orman Çiftliği* was an interaction space for all of the residents of Ankara.

The other prominent place of this leisure form was Çubuk Dam recreation area. Just like the *Gazi Orman Çiftliği*, the recreational area on the waterfront of Çubuk Dam was organized as a modern leisure space. The recreation area was comprised of parks, gardens, and also a music hall (*gazino*) building; and its landscaping was designed by Theo Leveau. In 1937, the music hall building, located on the south-western side of Çubuk Dam's lake was also designed by Leveau (Aslanoğlu, 2001:329). The pool, which could host two thousand people at the same time, was located in front of the music hall building.

The Dam was praised in *Ulus* with a reference to it: "A vast inner sea stretching to the horizon and a Bosporus at 1040 meters when the young plants grow"[49]. Besides, the Dam and its recreation area were also compared to European countryside:

> "The longing of the steppe, an elegant music hall building elevating over a setting made up of water and trees made the Dam's environ look like a European resort. The tasteful and interested administration of *Ankara Palas* created a facility that can satisfy the customers who were yearning for clean water, fresh air and a hygienic service".[50]

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[48] Hakimiyet-i Milliye, August 6, 1932
[49] *Ulus*, August 4, 1936.
[50] *Ulus*, May 31, 1938, p.2.
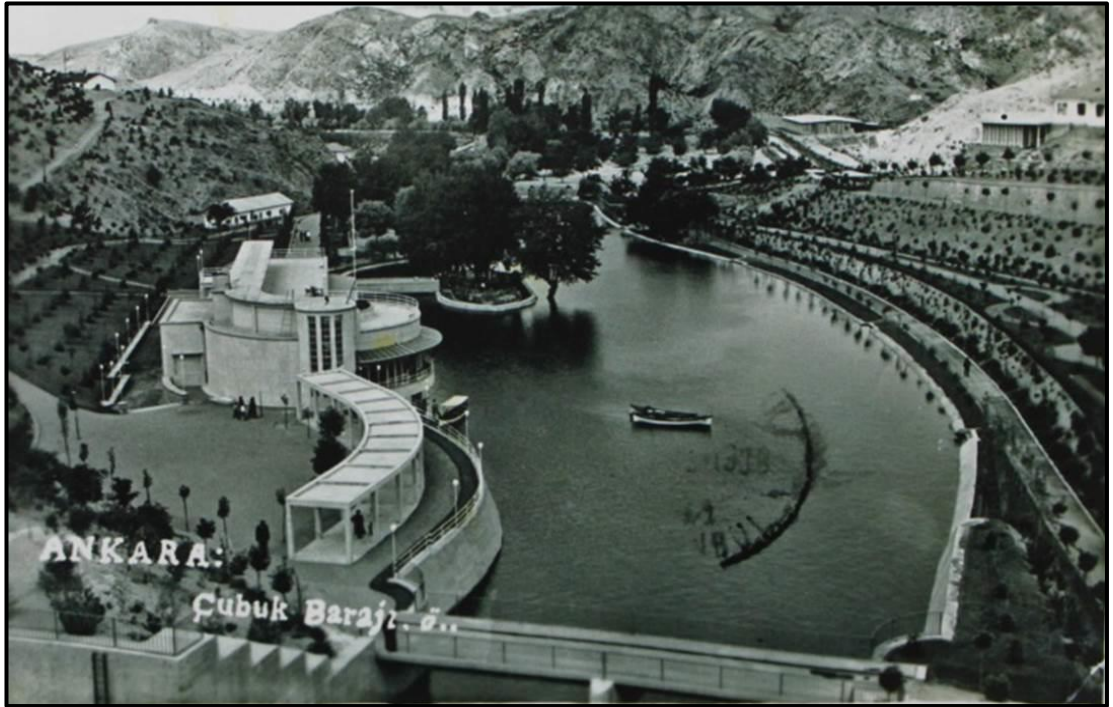
Figure 4.34 Çubuk Dam's Music Hall and Recreation Area in 1938.
Source: Cangır, A., Cumhuriyet'in Başkenti, 2007.

Figure 4.35 Recreation Area of Çubuk Dam in 1938.
Source: Cangır, A., Cumhuriyet'in Başkenti, 2007.

However, the landscape of this "European resort" mostly attracted the attention of the Old Ankara residents. They could not afford going to the music hall because of the high quality therefore expensive service provided by the management, which were also running *Ankara Palas*. But it was not a big problem since the recreation area was providing them exactly what they needed for: a good leisure opportunity by the water and around the greenery. In 1937, in *Ulus*, Old Ankara residents restoring their old habit of "going to picnic" to this new locations by bringing in their grills, coal and even swings of the children, was not welcomed and regarded as inappropriate. Moreover, it was reminded that the Dam was not built for this kind of people [51] (quoted in Aslanoğlu, 2001: 331). The way of the utilization of the recreation areas was actually revealing the fact that the expected social transformation did not occur yet, although it was a place where the Old Ankara residents and new ones came together and interacted.

The third example of this leisure form was *Gençlik Parkı* [Youth Park].The Park was opened in 1943 but the first initiatives about building a modern and monumental urban park as a symbol of the Republic dates back to 1933. Falih Rıfkı Atay explains the requirement for a park in Ankara with simple terms: "Here (Ankara) is the capital of the country and the center for the new regime's will and power. We have to provide the appropriate means for relaxation and sports to the people in accordance with their ages."

Figure 4.36 Gençlik Parkı
Source: Cangır, A., Cumhuriyet'in Başkenti, 2007.

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[51] *"Ankara'nın Boğaziçi'si"*, *Ulus*, July 26, 1937, p.2.

Although Herman Jansen prepared the first plan of *Gençlik Parkı*, it was Theo Leveau who undertook the responsibility of designing of the park. Leveau was a French city planner and a landscape architect, who was employed as an advisor to the Ministry of Public Works at that time. Leveau planned to build a huge pool and fill it with the water pumped from Çubuk Dam. Inside this pool there would be two isles; bigger one would have a music hall (*gazino*) on it and the smaller one would be for the boats to aboard. He planned to connect these isles to the banks of the pool with bridges. (Aslanoğlu, 2001: 330). In the Municipal Magazine in 1936, the leisure activities presented in the park were listed: "In the park; there will a rose garden, cafés and music halls, a garden for the birds that could survive in the climate of Ankara, an open-air public theatre, a kindergarten, a maze, a swimming pool and a 2200 meters long track for horse riders"[52] (quoted in Aydın et al, 2005:431).

Figure 4.37 *Gençlik Parkı*
Source: Cangır, A., Cumhuriyet'in Başkenti, 2007

Gençlik Parkı was designed as a huge urban park, which would have an artificial lake that would satisfy the longing for water and greenery, the absence of which were very much felt by the Ankara residents. The park was built on a swamp land across the stadium as projected in the Jansen Plan. In the city plan report of 1937, the reason behind the construction of *Gençlik Parkı* was explained in two terms; "To make the excellent scenery of the city even better with the park and the trees" and "to leave a good, first impression on the ones looking from the Station, and salute them 'Welcome' "[53]. The production of such a large urban park in the city center can also be considered as a very good

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[52] "*Ankara'da Gençlik Parkı*", *Belediyeler Dergisi*, Nisan 1936, Sayı 9, pp.74-75.
[53] H. Jansen, Ankara İmar Planı, Alaaddin Kıral Basımevi, İstanbul, 1937, pp. 32-33.

evidence for the approach of the Regime in designing urban leisure spaces in the sense of socialization space.

Different than the other leisure spaces, the target audience of these three spatial organizations was not the elite classes but the entire society. With the modern leisure activities, these spaces would function as open-air schools to transform the people into modern citizens by socializing them. In these places, which were mostly designated for the weekend outings, the Ankara residents could participate both in sport and recreational activities such as strolling in the park, spending time in the café/tea houses and touring in the pool with the boats.

The main design parameters of these three spaces were integrated with "water" and "green". In addition to their music halls located in big gardens where people can eat and dance accompanied with western music, these places were also offering a wide variety of totally new leisure activities such as swimming, rowing, sailing and sunbathing at the beach. As the locations projected to host the new western style leisure forms which were expected to become widespread, *Gazi Orman Çiftliği*, Çubuk Dam Recreation area and *Gençlik Parkı* are monumental symbolic locations of the Early Republican Era. Even though the leisure forms they provide and the social classes they address have been subject to change, all these three locations are still in the service of Ankara and its citizens.

4.5   Scale: Leisure Space in Larger Units as Compared to the Size of the City

In the Early Republican Period, the leisure spaces were produced relatively in large scales compared to the size and population of the city[54]. The reason behind this production scheme was the meaning and the importance attributed to the leisure spaces. The production of modern leisure spaces was seen as a significant tool for carry out the social transformation. Therefore, in order to achieve the goal of transforming people into "modern citizens" in other words "cultivating" modern citizens of the new Republic, it was believed that leisure activities should be introduced into the social life in "modern forms" and in "large scales". In addition, large capacities of leisure spaces were also the realization of the idea that requires the participation of the entire society in leisure activities.

The production of leisure spaces in the Early Republican Period had five interrelated variables: meaning, geography, form, provision, and scale. As one of these mutual complementary components of the period's leisure space, "scale" symbolizes the Regime's emphasis and the attributed value on the production of leisure spaces. Creating leisure spaces in bigger scales despite all the poverty and shortcomings was proudly regarded as an indication of the regime's success and a source of pride and prestige.

As Emiroğlu (2009: 117) puts it correctly, the production of *Gençlik Parkı* in a period that the old residents of Ankara were still grazing their cattle in the city center, gives concrete evidence about the newborn Republic's vision of Ankara.

With the opening of *Gençlik Parkı* in 1943 after the completion of its construction which started in 1936, the city gained a recreation space of 27 hectares. The surface areas of the stadium and the hippodrome were 27 and 70 hectares respectively. Thus, the total surface area of the green zone in the city center that was formed by *Gençlik Parkı*, Stadium and the Hippodrome was 124 hectares. When the 1900 hectares total surface area of the whole city and the population of 220.000 in 1944 were taken into consideration, the magnitude of the leisure zone that were produced in the early republican

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[54] As the city grows, normally it is expected that leisure spaces will also scale up in line with increasing demand and population. However, today leisure spaces have been downscaled and they are scaled as the sum of small and fractured spaces.

era becomes much more apparent. The production of a leisure zone at this size in the city center does prove the degree of the importance put on the leisure as an urban component.

The size of the *Gazi Orman Çiftliği* is yet another sign about the importance attributed to the construction of "modern city" and the cultivation of "modern citizen". The initial property of the farm which was purchased from the former Ankara Governor Abidin Pasha's wife Faika Hanım, consisted of three tents, parks and vegetable gardens in an area of 2.000 hectares. By the time, with purchase of neighboring properties such as Etimesgut, Balgat, Çakılar, Güvercinlik, Macun, Tahar and Yağmur Baba farms, the sprawling property extended to an enormous size. When Atatürk donated it to the Treasury in 1937, *Gazi Orman Çiftliği* had an area of 10.200 hectares (Emiroğlu, 2009: 111-12).

If considered as an agricultural facility only, the size of the property may be seen reasonable; however, the recreational area of the farm which were composed of parks, gardens, pools, and the zoo was definitely quite large when compared to the size of the city. For instance, nothing but the area of the zoo was 32 hectares, which corresponds to an area larger than the stadium and *Gençlik Parkı*.

The area of the recreational space of Çubuk Dam was about 15 hectares, which was also a quite large piece of land for that period. The landscaping of the area, which was a work of Theo Leveau, was designed to have parks, gardens, and a music hall (gazino) building. Besides, a large pool was designed in the front of music hall building which could be used by *two thousand people* simultaneously.

Besides the recreational facilities, the capacities of cultural spaces also offer a good example in perceiving the scale of the leisure spaces in that period. In 1931, while there were 35 cinema halls in İstanbul, Ankara had only two: *Kulüp Sineması and Yeni Sinema*. Their total seating capacity was 2009 (Aydın et all, 2009: 478). When *Büyük Sinema* [Grand Cinema] was opened in 1949, Ankara welcomed its biggest cinema hall with 1550 seats. Until 1969, when *Arı Sineması* in *Bahçelievler* was opened with the capacity of 1760, *Büyük Sinema,* just like its name, remained as the biggest movie theatre of the city for 20 years.

Besides screening movies, *Büyük Sinema* also hosted many other activities such as theatrical performances, concerts, musicals and dance shows thanks to its size and seating capacity. Moreover, as Yalçın Ergir (2011) pointed out, in addition to leisure activities, *Büyük Sinema* was also the venue for the congressional meetings of both the CHP and Democrat Party. Considering these capacities, it can be deduced that cinema halls were among the most significant socialization spaces.

Theatre halls were built in Ankara a little later then the cinemas. First theatre hall of Ankara, "Küçük Tiyatro" was opened in 1947. Only two years later, in 1949 Ankara welcomed its biggest theatre hall, "Büyük Tiyatro". In *Büyük Tiyatro*, opera, theatre and ballet performances were given to an audience of **745** while *Küçük Tiyatro* was the stage for plays with its **605** seats (And, 1963-64).

Moreover, the stage of *Halkevi* (1930) and the State Conservatory (1940) were also used for hosting opera, theatre performances, and concerts. When the building of *Halkevi* was added to the State Theatre System under the name of *Üçüncü Tiyatro* [The Third Theatre] in 1956, its hall had a capacity of **590** seats.

By the end of the Early Republican Era, Ankara reached a total capacity of 1940 seats reserved for stage and performing arts. To make the number more intriguing, it should be mentioned that since 1950, Ankara could add only 1790 seats to its total capacity. The total number of today's capacity for stage and performing arts is 3730 (http://www.devtiyatro.gov.tr) and the number of 1940 in 1950 was nearly the half of the capacity available today.

Figure 4.38 Büyük Tiyatro. Source: www.ergir.com.tr

Table 4.1 Growth of Urban Population and Settlement Area in Ankara Extending to Years.
Source: AMANPB Plan Report (1970) and Cengizkan (2009)

YEARS	POPULATION	SETTLEMENT AREA (hectares)
1927	74,553	300
1932	110,000	710
1944	220,000	1,900
1956	455,000	3,650
1970	1,209,000	14,000
1985	2,000,000	26,892

To make it even more intriguing yet also annoying, it should be emphasized that today the biggest theatre hall in Ankara is still the *Büyük Tiyatro.* It was the largest theatre hall in the early republican era with a decent capacity, however, despite the growth of the city and the increased population (see Table 4.1), a newer and bigger cinema hall were not built in Ankara until then.
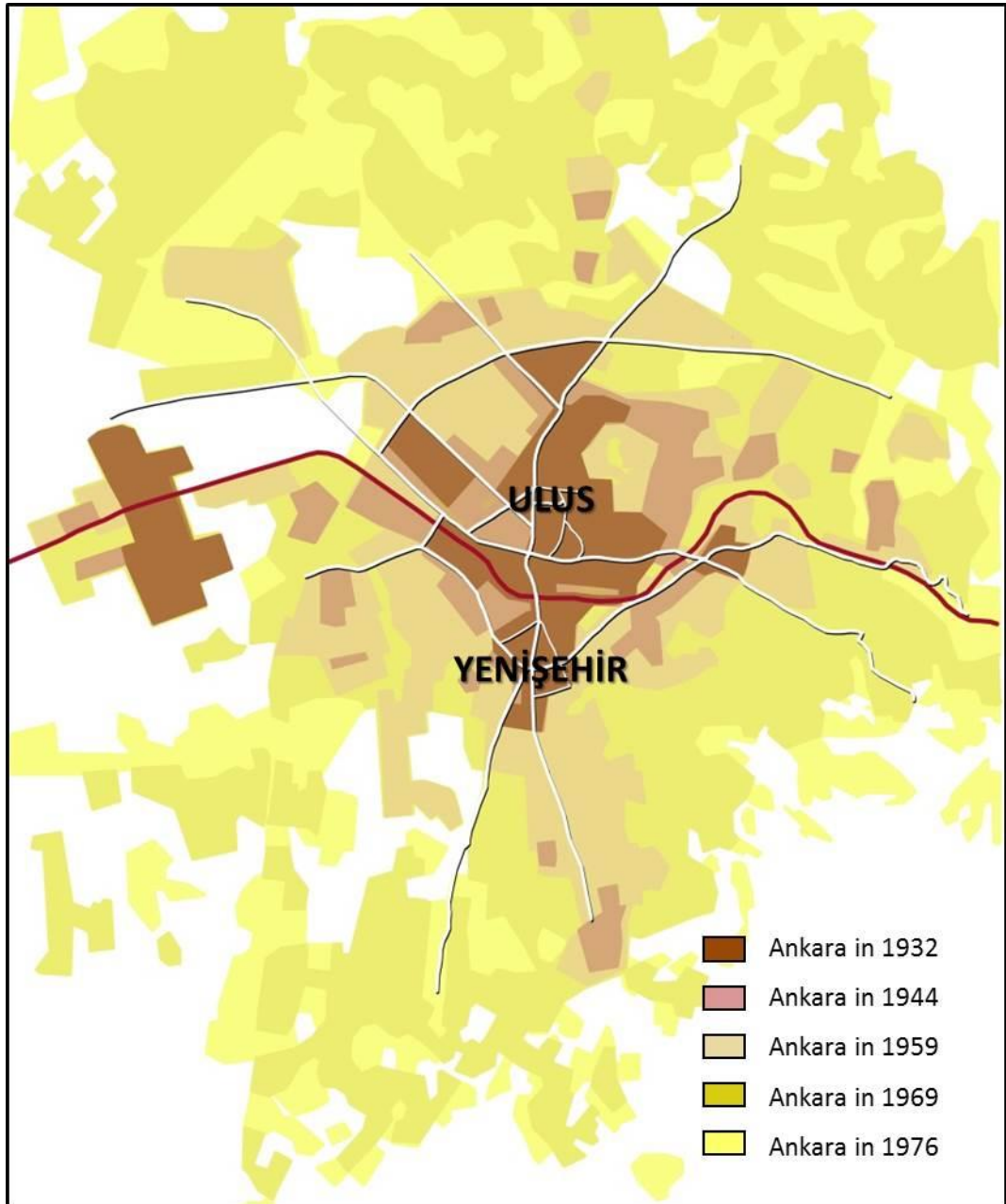
Figure 4.39 The Growth of the City of Ankara between the Years of 1932-1976.
Source: AMANPB Plan Report and 1976 City Map of Ankara.

CHAPTER 5

THE PERIOD OF 1950-1980: SPREADING OF LEISURE SPACES

5.1   Meaning: Leisure Space as Interaction Space

Turkey's transition to multiple-party system and the change of its economic policies after the World War II, brought significant changes in both the physical and social structure of the cities. The state adopted liberal economic policies after the war and abandoned the statist policies that were employed after the great depression of 1929 in order to strengthen the national bourgeoisie (Tekeli, 1982: 68). Thus, the capital accumulation regime in Turkey was subject to change throughout this capitalist integration process (Keskinok, 2006: 54) and private capital, which gained the support of the political power, became more dominant in determining the social and economic development (Kepenek and Yentürk, 2011: 91).

Within the scope of Truman Doctrine and Marshall Plan, USA mandated the change of economic policies as a prerequisite for Turkey to benefit from the funds provided by the Marshall Plan: Turkey had to adopt a more liberal policy. In addition, USA wanted Turkey to contribute to the rebuilding of Europe with agricultural production. For this, Turkey had to transition to mechanized agriculture and prioritize the construction of highways. As a result of the export policy based on agricultural production, following prominent developments were witnessed: a rapid mechanization in agricultural sector, especially increased utilization of tractor, subsidizing the prices of the agricultural products and opening of the new fields for the agricultural production (Kepenek and Yentürk, 2011: 91).

According to Keyder (quoted in Şengül, 2009: 122), new capital regime had a "rural based" and "anti-urban" spatial characteristic. However, this does not mean that this new capital regime did not have any impact on urban spaces. On the contrary, the agricultural mechanization, which was made possible by the foreign aids, had even bigger effects on the cities. Rural surplus labor force emerged after the utilization of mechanized tools in agriculture had to migrate to metropolitan areas. Hence, "mass migration", "rapid urbanization" and "*gecekondu*zation" were the significant and prominent realities that left their marks on the urbanization in the period of 1950-1980 (Şengül, 2009: 122).

After 1950s, closed-economy model that was adopted in the Early Republican Era was abandoned and transitioned to liberal economy. The State's intervention in urban space decreased gradually and urban development was left to its own dynamics. The concerns of the Republican Bureaucracy about creating a national bourgeoisie and designing modern urban spaces came to an end. The policy of the Early Republican Era towards creating a "model" capital city that would lead the urbanization of Anatolia and reduce the regional disparities was abandoned. As a result, regional gaps were widened in favor of bigger cities which have more potential and chance in integrating with the capitalist world (Keskinok, 2006: 16). In other words, a new development model that is determined by the tendencies of the market mechanism was adopted and the coastal cities that lost their significance before 1950 such as İstanbul and İzmir regained their importance during this capitalist integration process.

Therefore, the transition to multi-party political system in 1946 and Democratic Party (DP)'s accession to power with a liberal, nationalist and conservative discourse in 1950 caused significant changes in the physical and social structure of Ankara. DP came to power by getting the support of the trade bourgeoisie which gradually became richer by reaching out to global markets thanks to the liberal economic policies. The new political power abandoned the statist policies which aimed at constructing Ankara as a "planned capital" and a "model city" for the rest of the country. Hence, Ankara lost its priority in the agenda of the new government and eventually the development of the city was left to the market mechanism. Although DP did not publicly declare an objection about Ankara's status as the capital of Turkey, it generally claimed that İstanbul was ignored during the

Early Republican Era. This claim became such popular that even a meeting ("İstanbul Kalkınma Toplantısı" [İstanbul Development Meeting]) was held in 1952 for this specific topic (Tekeli, 1982: 69). Thus, we can say that the prioritized city of the new power, on contrary to Early Republican Era, was İstanbul.

In the Early Republican Era, the Regime's social transformation project was the driving force behind Ankara's construction and the production of leisure spaces. It was also the same force that established Köy Enstitüleri [Village Institutes] and Halkevleri [People's Houses] in Anatolia. Within the modernity project, the state was making investments for the development of Anatolia and for the reduction of regional disparities and at the same time it was also constructing social and cultural institutions for the modernization of the society.

Accordingly, in the case of Ankara, the Republic also aimed at building a modern way of life, while trying to build a modern city out of almost nothing. However, as mentioned before, liberal economic policies rendered the efforts spent for building "a modern and a model city" and the identification of these efforts with the success of the regime, meaningless. In the same way, it should be mentioned that the state's intervention to the urban space was very limited (Şengül, 2009: 123) and the concerns about structuring the urban space and urban life came to an end (Keskinok, 2006: 54). Therefore, with the acceleration that it gained during the Early Republican Period, the city of Ankara could endure its planning institution also lost its effectiveness in regulating and controlling the urban space.

While Ankara was struggling with the problems of rapid urbanization and *gecekondu*zation caused by the ever growing mass migrations after 1950s, urban planning as a regulating mechanism lost its control over the development of the city. In the beginning of 1950s, Ankara, which has already reached the population that was projected for 1978 in Jansen's plan, was exposed to pressure in the direction of increasing the urban density in the built environment. After meeting the destructive side of the modern urbanism through the "plan modifications", the city got into a period of continuous demolish-and-rebuild process. This process had significant consequences on the leisure spaces that were produced by the intervention of the state in the Early Republican Era to serve as "socialization spaces".

We may conclude that "the political ideal" that considers the leisure component of the city as "socialization space" was abandoned after 1950 and the goal of constructing Ankara as a model city was given up. Therefore, the leisure spaces, which were regarded as a means of social transformation and spaces of socialization and interaction in which all the social strata would come together and interact, were subject to a "shift of meaning" in this new era. The perception of leisure space as a socialization stage in the previous period was no longer valid after 1950s. Besides, since there was no political ideal about the leisure spaces in the new period, leisure spaces were no longer considered as the grounds through which, urban citizens were cultivated anymore. Although the public leisure spaces, which were inherited from the Early Republican Period, were damaged by the demolish-and-rebuild process that the city had to go through, they still continued to be the "interaction places" for the citizens after 1950s. Hence, although leisure spaces were no longer perceived as "socialization spaces", they still served as "interaction spaces". This shift in the meaning of leisure also influenced the form, geography, provision and the scale of the leisure activity in the period of 1950 -1980.

5.2   Geography: Duality in Leisure Geography

The dualities in the social, economic and spatial structure of Ankara became more apparent in the era of 1950-1980 and inscribed into the urban space. These dualities generally had overarching scopes such as; the duality in the labour force as formal vs. informal, in the land market as planned vs.

unplanned, in the housing as legal vs. illegal (*gecekondu*) in the urban transportation as public vs. private (*dolmuş - sh*ared mini-buses). In addition to all, there was also a duality in the city center: Ulus vs. Kızılay. All these dualities emerged in a period of interrelated and complex dependencies [55].

As Günay (2012: 7) states correctly, the dual structures of the society left their mark on the city. In parallel to the change in the socioeconomic structure of the city, "the apartment blocks of the regular housing zones and the low-rise, low-density squatters [*gecekondu*] became the basic texture of the city" and "the garden city transformed into an apartment city and the green belts into a squatter city". Therefore, the process of spontaneous versus planned urban development started and in this process urban fabric of the modern Ankara produced in Early Republican Period was changed by "demolish-and-rebuild" process with the motivation of benefiting from the urban rent.

Besides, another duality, which was a consequence and also a reason of these dualities, was experienced in the geography of leisure: Ulus vs. Kızılay. The duality in the geography of leisure is closely related with the shift of the city center, the mobility of middle and higher classes and the changing accessibility. In this era, while leisure forms such as night clubs (pavyon) stayed in Ulus, more prestigious leisure activities started to leave Ulus and find themselves new locations in Kızılay.

As mentioned before, the state's and planning institution's giving up their concerns about shaping the urban space and urban life and also their withdrawal from leisure provision lead to a change in the geography of leisure activity. However it should be kept in mind that the process of the change in leisure geography actually started in the previous era. After the emergence of Yenişehir, this new modern residential area addressing to the middle and high classes became a center of attraction for the leisure activities. This urban district, which was attracting the leisure activities only at the beginning, started to take over the other prestigious functions of the city center from Ulus as a result of the increasing prestige that was added by the leisure activities. However, this tendency was not envisaged in the city plans produced in this era, thus Yenişehir (Kızılay)'s taking over the functions of a city center, disjointedly from Ulus, was not directed by the city plans.

Therefore, the third variable in explaining the change in sociospatial configuration of leisure activity is "leisure geography - spatial distribution of leisure activity". This thesis study approaches the variable of leisure geography with respect to three interrelated factors: the structure of the city center, residential mobility of middle and higher classes and changing accessibility of leisure spaces. Accordingly, in this section, we will discuss the change in spatial distribution of leisure activity within the decades of 1950s, 1960s and 1970s separately.

5.2.1   Changing Leisure Geography in 1950s

Kızılay (Yenişehir) became the new geography of the new leisure forms in 1950s. When the distribution of the leisure spaces is examined, it becomes obvious that many of the new spaces opened in 1950s picked their locations in Kızılay. Starting to steal the city center functions from Ulus, Kızılay became the geography where the leisure component was clustered. As a matter of fact, 1957 Yücel-Uybadin Plan failed to anticipate that Kızılay have gradually started to exhibit the features of Central Business District (CBD) [MİA: Merkezi İş Alanı], instead it envisioned that Ulus would keep its function as the center and Kızılay would become the district in which offices, entertainment spaces, restaurants and clubs are clustered (Yücel- Uybadin, 1957). As emphasized before, since Yücel-Uybadin plan did not consider the leisure activity as an urban function that should be directed by the plans, but regarded it as an activity provided by the market, therefore it ignored the process of

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[55] In the mid of 1960s, almost 60% of Ankara's housing stock was comprised of *gecekondu* and the share of *dolmuş* (privately provided mini-buses for) in intercity transportation was 50%. (Tekeli, 1982: 75).

Kızılay's centralization which was led by the leisure spaces. The leisure activity, as mentioned before, mostly tends to choose locations in the prestigious geographies of the city. Therefore, parallel to Kızılay's increasing prestige, the leisure activity started to change geography. On the other hand, it could be discussed that the location of leisure activities in Kızılay played significant roles in Kızılay's increasing prestige, rising land prices in Kızılay and also Kızılay's gradual acquirement of the central functions. Thus, as a result of the dialectic relation between the urban space of Kızılay and the leisure activity, Kızılay became the new geography of the leisure.

In the city with a rapidly increasing population, the speculative pressures with the claim that the density increase in the built environment would absorb the increase in the population initiated the "demolish-and-rebuild" process. Leisure spaces also got their share from this process; as a result of the city's changing and transforming spatial organization, many leisure spaces in Ulus were totally wiped away from city's social life due to the demolition of their buildings. An important one of these places was İstanbul Patisserie (1923-1955), one of the first leisure spaces and intellectual clubs of Ankara. The building of this patisserie was expropriated and demolished during the expansion of Anafartalar Street and Ulus Square for constructing Ulus İşhanı [Ulus Commercial Complex]. Yeni Sinema (1930-1956) which was located across İstanbul Patisserie also shared the same fate since its building was demolished with the same motivation of constructing a more profitable new building.

As the only leisure space belonging to the pre-Republican era and showing the characteristics of Constitutional Monarchy Period, *Millet Bahçesi* [Nation Garden] was in use until 1959. After the airplane accident over Ulus in 1963, the wreckage crashed in *Millet Bahçesi*. Later on, the garden was left unattended and not well-taken care of for years until it was totally abandoned and destroyed in 1965 for the construction of today's 100. Yıl Çarşısı [100th Anniversary Marketplace]. With the demolition of *Millet Bahçesi*, the "Leisure Triangle" lost its green portion. Besides, another prominent leisure space in defining the leisure triangle, Anadolu Kulübü [Anatolian Club] also moved to the new and prestigious geography of the city, Yenişehir in 1953. In the meantime, the other two significant places of the leisure triangle, *Karpiç* and *Ankara Palas* have gradually lost their prestige after 1950s, after pioneering and leading the social life of Ankara for a long period of time.

It was observed that while Kızılay was attracting the prestigious leisure activities in 1950s, some of its own leisure spaces were being closed too. In the early 1950s, *Kutlu* Patisserie withdrew from the social life of Ankara. Although *Özen* Patisserie was able to survive for a little longer, it shared the same fate and was closed in the late 1950s. And later on, the buildings which hosted these patisseries were demolished. Their withdrawal from the social life of the city can be explained with the changing leisure forms. Since the leisure form experienced in these places, which were identified with poets and authors of the period, could not reproduce itself in other spaces or geographies, the patisseries could not create themselves a competitive advantage and therefore the places and their leisure form were not able to endure.

When the distribution of the new places is examined, it becomes clear that the tendency of the locational preferences was in favor of Kızılay. It was mentioned in the narratives that only very few new spaces were opened in Ulus compared to Kızılay: *Uğrak Lokantası*, *Boğaziçi Lokantası, Canlı Balık Meyhanesi* and *Palabıyığın Meyhanesi* were referred as the most significant new places of 1950s in Ulus (Akgün, 1996: 233; Kayador, 2000: 164; Şenyapılı, 2005: 341-2). "*Uğrak Lokantası*" was the first example of American fast-food culture in Ankara. It was located on Çankırı Street right next to the Park Sineması [Park Cinema] (previously known as Kulüp / Halk Sineması) across the Sümerbank building. Boğaziçi Restaurant was opened on the Denizciler Street in 1956. These two places have been successful in surviving in the same location until today, but it should not be forgotten that they did not shy away from opening a branch in Gazi Osman Paşa, one of the most prestigious districts of the city. Canlı Balık Meyhanesi [Live Fish Tavern] was also located on Çankırı Street, at the corner of Rüzgarlı Street. However, Palabıyığın Meyhanesi [Palabıyık's Tavern] was on Posta Street which was popular with its taverns. The basic difference of the leisure form of these two taverns from the taverns of the previous period was about the customer composition: these two taverns were not functioning as intellectual clubs where the frequenters were mostly the poets, authors and artists. More important

than this, women were able to attend these taverns, on contrary to the taverns of Early Republican Period.

Accordingly, 1950s also witnessed the relocation of many leisure spaces from Ulus to Kızılay. One of these spaces was Karadeniz Lokantası [Karadeniz Restaurant] that was located on Cihan Street in Ulus. This restaurant moved to İzmir Street in Kızılay in 1955. Another example was Tavukçu Meyhanesi [Tavukçu Tavern]: it moved to Sakarya Street in Kızılay in 1955 (Tunç, 2011: 20). This tavern, which was relocated to Bayındır Street, is one of the rare leisure spaces that has survived until today.

Considering 1950s; entertainment spaces such as Misuri, Tavukçu, *Piknik*, İntim, Kulüp 47, Yüksel Palas (Today's Officer's Club of Sıhhıye), *Restoran Cevat* [Restaurant Cevat], Goralı and various patisseries emerged as the most popular new leisure spaces of Kızılay. Misuri Restaurant, which got its name from the famous US warship USS Missouri, was opened on Sakarya Street. Later on, the owners closed Misuri and opened another famous restaurant: Restaurant Washington.

But the most important among all these spaces was *Piknik* [Picnic]. Opened in 1953 by Reşat and Vahit Onat on Atatürk Boulevard at the entrance of Tuna Street, *Piknik* was actually the "Turkish" version of a fast food restaurant with unique features. However, it was a ground breaking leisure space and it created its own leisure form and additionally inspired many other locations by this leisure form and by its name as well. Therefore, it wouldn't be an overstatement to say that *Piknik* left its mark in the period of 1950-1980.

Büyük Sinema [Grand Cinema], as *Piknik*, was one of the significant leisure spaces that also left its mark in the period of 1950-1980. The most important ritual of the Ankara residents in 1950s was eating at *Piknik* and seeing a movie in *Büyük Sinema* afterwards. These two were such significant in the social life of Ankara that, the closure of *Büyük Sinema* and *Piknik* in 1978 and 1982 respectively, may be regarded as the most outstanding signs of the changing form and geography of leisure.

Figure 5.1 Büyük Sinema in 1953. Source: MEB, 2007.

Büyük Pastane [Grand Patisserie] was located on the middle floor of the same passage as *Büyük Sinema*. This patisserie was run by a Belarusian lady, Larisa Marika, who was known shortly as "Madam". Other than Büyük Pastane, many other patisseries were also introduced in 1950s to the social life of the city in Kızılay: Tuğra Patisserie (Ziya Gökalp Street), Flamingo Patisserie (Ziya Gökalp Street), Penguen Patisserie, Meram Patisserie (Atatürk Boulevard– Next to *Büyük Sinema*), Sergen Patisserie (Sakarya Street Entrance), Angora Patisserie (Atatürk Boulevard- Yüksel Street Entrance). However, these patisseries were different than the famous *Kutlu* and *Özen* Patisseries of the Early Republican Era, which were intellectual clubs, defined as "Parisian Style Boulevard Cafés". Worth to mention that there was also a remarkable difference between the patisseries of that era and today's patisseries; during that time, besides the pastry and the beverages, alcoholic drinks were also served in the patisseries.

The pioneer of the night clubs in Ankara was Intim. It was opened on Meşrutiyet Street in 1950. One of the other popular night clubs of Ankara, Kulüp 47 [Club 47] was opened on the other side of the street across İntim by the chef famous *Karpiç* Restaurant, Boris Vasilev. In addition to this night clubs, hotels in Kızılay also had their own night clubs: Balin Hotel (İzmir Street), Barıkan Hotel (Uçar Street), Bulvar Palas Hotel (Atatürk Boulevard) and Yüksel Palas Hotel (Atatürk Boulevard -Sıhhiye). The spaces of this new leisure form were located either in the basement floor or at the roof.

Bekir Restaurant was opened in a place next to *Piknik* by another ex-waiter of *Karpiç*. Most important neighbor of Bekir and *Piknik* was Sanat Sevenler Kulübü [Art Lovers' Club]. This club was known as the "intellectual's club" of that period. As one of the iconic places of 1950s, *Restoran Cevat* was located at the bottom floor of the Ragıp Soysal Apartment. *Restoran Cevat* was carrying out the tables and chairs to the green area in front of *Süreyya* and hosting its customers in the open air thanks to the pedestrian-friendly nature of Atatürk Boulevard and its sidewalks.

The residents who were walking down on Atatürk Boulevard between Kızılay and Sıhhiye were taking a break at *Restoran Cevat* to watch the boulevard as nice scenery. Şenyapılı (2005: 348) makes a reference to the popularity of this place and notes that in many times it would not be possible to find a seat. In addition, a special importance should be given to Ragıp Sosyal Apartment which was hosting three of the most famous leisure spaces in 1950s: *Süreyya* (1943-1963), Yeni Sinema (1939-1967) and *Restoran Cevat*. Unfortunately all these three leisure places were affected by the demolish-and-rebuild process and eventually they were wiped out from the social life of the city. Ragıp Soysal Apartment was demolished for the construction of Soysal Çarşısı [Soysal Commercial Complex].

The map of Ankara dated 1959 clearly illustrates the fact that the activity of cinema started to become very popular and widespread in the city by 1950s. In this regard, the map shows that new cinema halls were opened in the neighborhoods such as Yeni Mahalle, Bahçelievler and Cebeci, in addition to the city center. For instance, in 1950s five cinema halls were opened in Cebeci alone: Cebeci Sineması [Cebebi Cinema] (1950), Melek Sineması [Melek Cinema], İnci Sineması [İnci Cinema] (1958), Kurtuluş Sineması [Kurtuluş Cinema] (1958) and Açı Sineması [Açı Cinema]. Cebeci Sineması was opened as the first neighborhood cinema hall in Ankara with a capacity of 1500 seats. Another high capacity cinema hall was İnci Sineması which was opened in 1958 had a capacity of 1200 seats.

Accordingly, two cinema halls with the names of Nur Sineması [Nur Cinema] and Şan Sineması [Şan Cinema] (renamed as Atlas) were opened in Dışkapı in 1952 and 1957 respectively. The first cinema hall in Yenimahalle was Seyran and it was followed by the opening of Alemdar Sineması [Alemdar Cinema] in 1957 which had a capacity of 1500 seats. In 1956 Renkli Sinema [Renkli Cinema] was opened in Bahçelievler and Gölbaşı Sineması [Gölbaşı Cinema] was opened in Maltepe in 1957.

Renkli Sinema was located on the opposite corner of the tennis courts in Bahçeliever, while an open-air cinema, Zevkli Sinema [Zevkli Cinema] was located next to the courts[56].

Figure 5.2 Kızılay Building, *Restoran Cevat* and Atatürk Boulvard's Wide Sidewalks

The most significant transformation in cultural spaces in 1950s, during the reign of the Democrat Party was the closure of *Halkevi* in 1951. With this decision, the building of *Halkevi* which initially belonged to Turkish Heart [Türk Ocağı] and was being utilized as a theatre stage was incorporated into the State Theatre System under the name of Üçüncü Tiyatro [The Third Theatre] in 1956. With this handover, the number of theatre halls in Ankara officially became three: Büyük Tiyatro, Küçük Tiyatro ve Üçüncü Tiyatro. In addition to these halls, another smaller hall, Oda Tiyatrosu, was opened on October 5th 1956 with the seating capacity of 60.

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[56] Today, the buildings of Migros (super market) and Bahçelievler branch office of Turk Telekom occupy the place where Zevkli and Renkli cinemas were once located (http://yavuziscen.blogspot.com/p/ortaya-karsk-2.html).
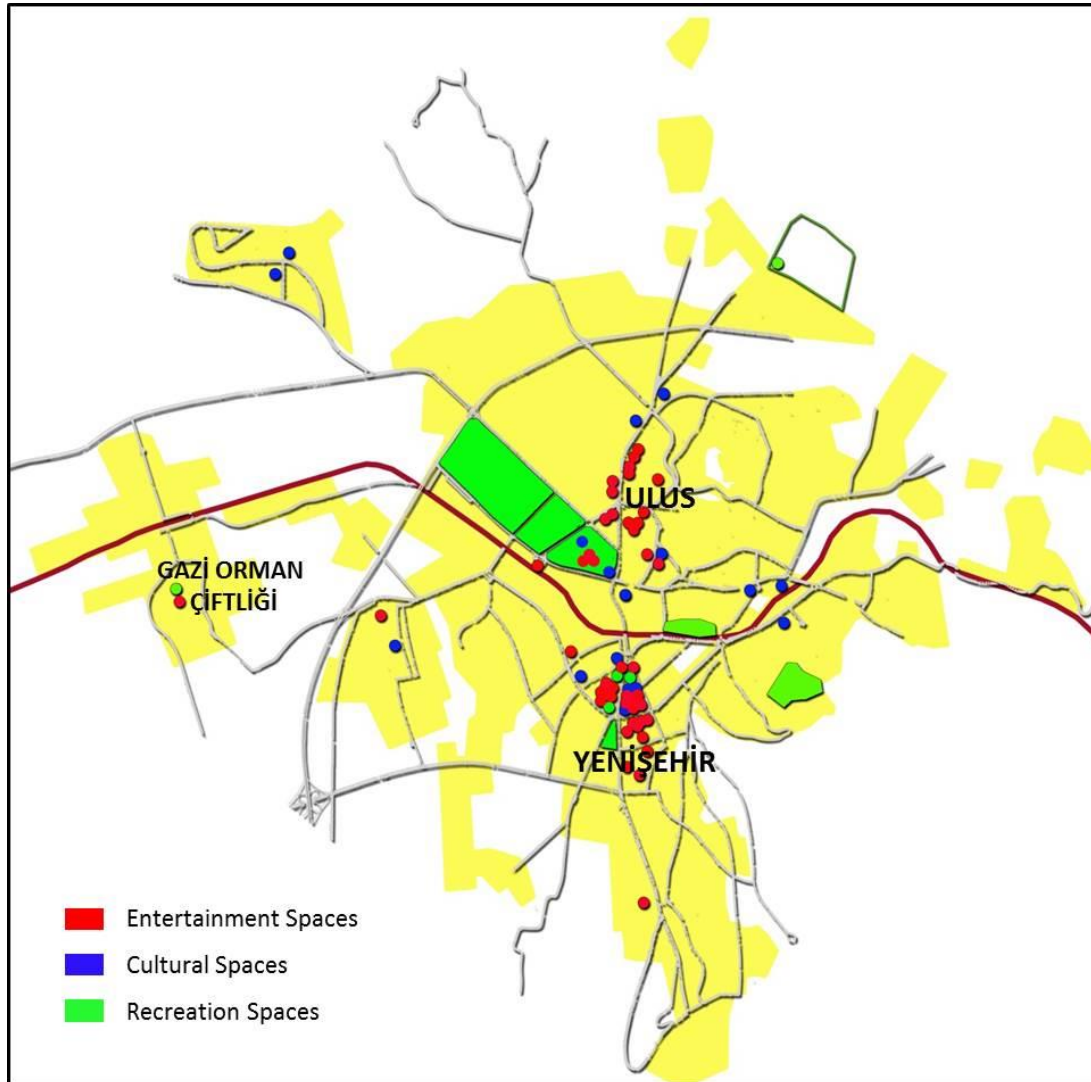
Figure 5.3 Leisure Geography of Ankara in 1960

5.2.2 Changing Leisure Geography in 1960s

The relocation of TBMM [Grand National Assembly of Turkey] to its new campus in Kızılay was one of the key geography changes in 1960s. With this relocation, Ulus descended to a situation that it could not even keep the functions of central business district (CBD) such as hosting the central offices of the banks. On contrary to Ulus, Kızılay surpassed its current status as a significant sub-center and ascended to a more prestigious status and ultimately it started to display the features of CBD (Bademli, 1987a: 155). Consequently, leisure spaces, which constitute the socialization and interaction places of the city and therefore defines the places where, in fact, the heart of the city beats at, also started to cluster in Kızılay district. At this time, due to the dual-centered structure of the city, the pressure of the low-income groups of the north and the attraction of the high-income groups of the south, leisure spaces in Ulus either transformed or went out of business. As a result of this, Kızılay gradually became the geography where the leisure component of the city clustered in and concentrated at.

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It was after the relocation of the city center to Kızılay and the disappearance of Ulus' geographical advantage that two iconic places of the Early Republican Era went out of business. "Legendary" *Karpiç* Restaurant, which was generally known as the "state restaurant", has lost its prestige after the death of Chef Karpovitch in 1953 and finally it was closed in 1963. Comparatively, the *Ankara Palas*, one of the most significant places that left its mark in the history of Ankara, also slipped out of the city's social life in 1967[57].

Karpiç's derivative in Yenişehir, *Süreyya* Restaurant had to bring to an end to its function as the meeting place of the higher bureaucrats in 1963. Ragıp Soysal apartment which was hosting *Süreyya* was demolished in order to open up the space for the construction of today's Soysal Çarşısı [Soysal Commercial Complex]. After this, *Süreyya* Homyak returned to İstanbul and opened "Bebek *Süreyya*" Restaurant in Bebek-İstanbul. However, Bektaş Güzey and Cemal Güzey who were working as waiters in *Karpiç* at the same time with Mr. *Süreyya*, decided to re-open *Süreyya* in Ankara. Different from the original *Süreyya*, "Yeni *Süreyya*" was planned to be in Kavaklıdere. Yeni *Süreyya* was opened on Akay Street in 1966 with its inauguration by *Süreyya* Homyak. The administrative duties of the restaurant were assumed by Ruhi Güzel. He was the nephew of Mr. Bektas and also worked as waiter in original *Süreyya*. At the beginning, Yeni *Süreyya* intended to provide the leisure form that *Süreyya* inherited from *Karpiç*. However, after a while, it had to transition to a place which was providing the famous leisure form of the period, "music hall" (gazino) (Interview with Ruhi Güzey, available online at http://www.facebook.com/ankara.sureyya.restaurant).

Three iconic places of the Early Republican Era with similar leisure form; *Karpiç*, *Ankara Palas* and *Süreyya* have spent their last days in 1960s. That was because of the varying form of leisure due to the change in social structure. Hence, the leisure component was reproducing itself in new geographies with new forms.

The relocation process of the leisure activity started just after the very first permit for opening commercial units in Yenişehir in 1930s. In this process, leisure activity left Ulus and found itself new locations initially in Yenişehir in 1950s and 1960s, and later on in Kavaklıdere especially after 1970s. However, while the prestigious leisure activities were inclined to relocate to more prestigious districts, the bars and pavilions on Çankırı Street stayed in the same location. In addition, this leisure form reproduced itself in another cluster in mid-1960s on Gazi Mustafa Kemal Boulevard in Maltepe. Today, this form still keeps its existence in the same geographies of Çankırı Street and Gazi Mustafa Kemal Boulevard.

Ankara Tourist Guide of 1964 is a good source for checking the leisure places which were active and popular in the first half of 1960s. The guide lists the following places under the title of "first class restaurants": *Ankara Palas*, Asya (Bahçelievler), Hotel Barıkan (Uçar Street), Bekir Restoran [Bekir Restaurant] (Tuna Street), Bulvar Palas (Atatürk Boulevard), Dragon (Kavaklıdere), Gönç (Ulus-Rüzgârlı Street), Kent Hotel (Sıhhıye), Washington Restaurant (Bayırdır Street), Balin Hotel (İzmir Street), Yüksel Palas (Sıhhıye). In the Guide, cheaper and more informal restaurants of the city were also listed: *Restoran Cevat* (Kızılay Square), Ersan Kafeterya [Ersan Café] (Sakarya Street), *Piknik* (Atatürk Boulevard at the corner of Tuna Street), Rüyam (Yüksel Street), Barın Hotel (Meşrutiyet Street), and Günseli (Atatürk Boulevard). In the guide Canlı Balık Meyhanesi and the kebap houses of Hacibey and Uludağ in Ulus were introduced to the tourists as "authentic places". Guide also provided information about the night clubs, which became a part of Ankara's leisure life in 1950s: Bulvar Palas, Club 47, Club Yaşar (with orchestra of Yaşar Güvenir at İzmir Street), İntim (Meşrutiyet Street), Kent Hotel (Sıhhıye), *Süreyya* (with the information that it was frequented especially by higher

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[57] Ankara Palas served as an hotel until 1967. It was used by the state as office and exhibition hall between 1967 and 1982. In 1982 it was restored and put into service as the "State Guest House" and it still serves for the same purpose today. (Evren, 1998: 186-88).

bureaucrats). *Ankara Palas*, Balin Hotel, Gar Gazinosu [Gar Music Hall] and Göl Gazinosu [Göl Music Hall] were recommended as the destinations for revue shows.

The tourist guide also provided valuable data about the geographical distribution of the leisure spaces. It could be inferred from the information given in the guide about the locations of the leisure places that majority of the leisure activities are distributed in the vicinity of Kızılay, especially on Atatürk Boulevard and on the streets around the Boulevard. On the other side, the reference to Ulus in the guide was limited to a few places, which could be considered as a strong indication about the fact that the break-up process for almost the entirety of leisure spaces from Ulus have already started.

Two new additions should be included in the list of the night clubs given in the Tourist guide, in order to have a better idea about this leisure form in 1960s. One of these clubs was the night club of the Büyük Ankara Hotel which was the first five-star hotel of Ankara opened in 1966. The other one was Dedeman Hotel's night club which was opened in 1967. Keeping in mind that Büyük Ankara Hotel and Dedeman Hotel were both in Kavaklıdere, on Atatürk Boulevard and on Akay Street respectively, we may deduce that the leisure geography was forming in Kavaklıdere district, especially starting from the second half of the 1960s.

Likewise, the cinema activity also started to settle in Kavaklıdere by the end of 1960s. The opening of Kavaklıdere Sineması [Kavaklıdere Cinema] in 1968 was followed by the introduction of Yeni Ulus, Lale and Ses cinemas on Tunalı Hilmi Street. As a result, the street became the geography where the cinema activity is clustered. This cluster of cinema also paved the way for the other leisure activities in locating themselves on Tunalı Hilmi Street. Hence, the street eventually became one of the geographies where all the leisure activities are gathered.

Developing into the most significant and accessible form of outdoor entertainment for all the social groups, cinema activity maintained its increasing popularity in 1960s, which was a period of time that TV was not dominating the social life of the individuals as its dominating today. Despite the spreading of cinema activity in the entire city, no new cinema openings were reported in Ulus and its close environs. Moreover, an existing cinema hall, Park Sineması [Park Cinema], in Ulus square was even closed in 1960s (Tanyer, 2012: 563). On contrary to Ulus, Kızılay was becoming the host for new cinema halls. The owners of Kavaklıdere Sineması opened two new cinema halls; Menekşe Sineması [Menekşe Cinema] and Nergiz Sineması [Nergiz Cinema] in Kızılay. The owner of these cinemas, Mr. Ayhan Nergiz attributed the site selection of these cinemas to the utilization of the film spools. He explains that there were only limited number of film spools for each movie and therefore the spools had to be carried from one cinema to the other before each screening. In order to shorten the time of travel between the cinema halls, new cinema halls had to be build close to one of the main cinemas. In his case this main cinema was Ankara Sineması (in Tunç, 2011: 139). In addition, Dedeman Sineması [Dedeman Cinema] was opened on Akay street with a capacity of 1500 and Çankaya Sineması [Çankaya Cinema] was founded in Şili Square by the end of 1960s. However, the opening of Arı Sineması [Arı Cinema] in Bahçeliever with its 1760 seating capacity in 1969, dethroned *Büyük Sinema* and became the biggest cinema hall of Ankara.

When the distribution of cultural spaces and especially the theatres is taken into consideration, an intriguing contradiction catches the eyes; despite the very apparent reality that it was declining in attracting the cinema activity, Ulus and its environs were still specialized in cultural places. Opera Square, which was referred as the "cultural focus" of the city in the section describing the Early Republican Era, has endured its status in 1960s and even today. In this sense, the stability of the cultural places, despite the continuous transformation and relocation of the city' leisure activities, was quite interesting. This fact can be explained by the variable of "leisure provision" which is one of the five variables that is used in this thesis study for explaining the change in leisure geography. The cultural focus of the city is comprised of theatres and the opera house which were all provided by the state. Therefore, on contrary to the leisure places provided by the market mechanism, these places which are at the disposal of the state were less prone to the profit-oriented demolish-and-rebuild process. For this reason, the cultural focus of the Early Republican Era has survived until today.

On the other hand, despite the fact that it became the geography of the leisure places as early as in 1950s, Kızılay finally welcomed its first theatre hall in 1960s. "Yeni Sahne [New Stage]" was put into service on 4 October 1960 on Tuna Street, a street which was already hosting the famous *Piknik*, Bekir Restaurant and Sanat Sevenler Kulübü. After that, "Altındağ Devlet Tiyatrosu [Altındağ State Theatre]"[58] was opened in 1964 in Altındağ, with a motivation of being close to the *gecekondu* residents and providing its service specifically for them. However, the audience of this theatre was generally from the middle classes inhabiting in the southern districts of the city. The lack of "cultural capital", which is the second variable in explaining leisure activity, was the reason why the *gecekondu* inhabitants did not show much interest in theatre[59].

1960s witnessed the spread of the private theatres. First private theatre was "Meydan Sahnesi [Meydan Stage]" which was opened on Atatürk Boulevard next to *Büyük Sinema*[60]. It was followed by "Mithatpaşa Theatre" on Mithatpaşa Street, "Ankara Sanat Tiyatrosu [Ankara Art Theatre] (AST)" on İzmir Street, "Halk Oyuncuları" [Community Players] on Cinnah Street and "Şato Yazar" in Maltepe. Among these theatres, AST is the only one that is still serving at the same location. According to the data provided by the State Institute of Statistics (DİE), there were 11 private theatres in Ankara in 1970 (DİE, 1970, Kültür ve Eğlence Yerleri İstatistikleri). Additionally, Dedeman Sineması, Çankaya Sineması and Menekşe Sineması were also used as theatre stages for the companies coming from İstanbul. Not to forget that another stage for hosting the theatre companies of İstanbul was the open-air theatre of *Gençlik Parkı*.

5.2.3   Changing Leisure Geography in 1970s

In 1930s, despite the existence of only one city center in Ulus, there were three sociospatially separated Ankara; Old Ankara, New Ankara and the *Gecekondu* settlements. However, there were two Ankara and two city centers in 1970s. In this era, Old Ankara has become insignificant both from locational and demographical standpoint, therefore it became associated with the third Ankara, the *gecekondu*.

The duality in the social structure expressed itself in the dual-centered formation of the city: Ulus vs. Kızılay. AMANPB qualifies Ulus as a more "center-characterized" than Kızılay, since Ulus was hosting 32% of the total business offices in Ankara compared to the 14% of Kızılay. However, while Ulus was a center where mostly the traditional functions were concentrated, Kızılay was the host for the modern functions. In addition, the duality in Ankara's city centers presents a disconnected structure instead of the inter-connected structures seen in both İstanbul and İzmir, due to the utilization of the huge areas between the two centers for public use (Bademli, 1987a: 157). This

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[58] Kamil Ateşoğlu, who came to Ankara in 1962 and was a student of Yıldırım Beyazıt High School by then, informed that the conference hall of the school was converted into a theatre in 1964 and put into service as "Altındağ Devlet Tiyatrosu" (in Tunç, 2011: 124).

[59] As a matter of fact, extremely cheap prices of the state theatre tickets make the explanation provided by the economic capital ownership for the indifference of the *gecekondu* inhabitants against theatre, insufficient. For sure, the ownership of cultural capital is not considered totally independent from the economic capital ownership. However, it was only due to the grift structure of the culture that the form of leisure was intended to be interpreted with this concept of Bourdieu. In other saying, it is assumed that some realities which could not be explained by the economic capital could be explained by the concept of cultural capital.

[60] Meydan Sahnesi, was opened in the building of Pan American Airlines next to Büyük Sinema by Kartal Tibet and Çetin Köroğlu who were among the actors that left the state theatre (Şenyapılı, 2005: 321; Önat in Tunç, 2011: 88).

disconnection also affected the geographical distribution of the leisure spaces and therefore prestigious leisure activities started to break their ties from Ulus by 1970s.

In the period of 1950-1980, parallel to the dual structure of the centers, the city had a duality in leisure geography too. Prestigious leisure places were closed in Ulus and reopened in Kızılay. In this period, the segregation in leisure places reproduced itself through Ulus-Kızılay duality, although there were not strict boundaries between leisure geographies yet. It should be kept in mind that, the features of the leisure spaces such as physical proximity and accessibility which were useful in preventing the urban segregation were still valid in this era.

However, starting from 1970s, prestigious leisure spaces were inclined to leave Kızılay and move south, towards Kavaklıdere, where the higher income groups inhabited. For instance, after the closure of Sürayya in 1963, the city reproduced a new hangout for higher bureaucrats in Kavaklıdere. RV Restaurant in Kavaklıdere which was opened by the co-owners of *Piknik* in 1972, became the new meeting point for the politicians and the higher bureaucrats. To sum up, while "*Karpiç*" in Ulus was the "political" leisure space of Ankara for a long while, it was "*Süreyya*" in Kızılay which served for the same purpose from 1950s to 1970s. After 1970s, the need for "political" leisure selected RV restaurant in Kavaklıdere as its new destination.

Accordingly, many leisure spaces, such as Yeni *Süreyya*, Yeni Ulus, Flamingo Patisserie and Madam'ın Yeri [Madam's Place], which were closed after the demolish-and-rebuild process of Kızılay, reproduced themselves in Kavaklıdere, the new prestigious geography of the period. Ragıp Soysal Apartment, which was hosting Ulus Sineması was demolished in 1967 for the construction of Sosyal Commercial Complex. The reopening of Ulus Sineması with the name of "Yeni Ulus" in Kavaklıdere constitutes a very good and comprehensive example for the tendency of change in leisure geography. In the same sense, *Süreyya* was reopened by its waiters as "Yeni *Süreyya*" on Akay Street between Kızılay and Kavaklıdere. Another place that was reproduced in Kavaklıdere was Büyük Pastane: Madam Marika's Büyük Pastane, which was an important part of the city's social life, was closed in 1964. Later on in 1970s, Larisa Marika opened a restaurant with the name of "Madam'ın Yeri" in Kavaklıdere.

This geographical relocation processes provide a precise summing up for the spatial mobility of the leisure activities in the city. The leisure activities which were carried from Ulus to Kızılay in 1950s were inclined to move from Kızılay to Kavaklıdere in 1970s. This tendency would become even stronger after 1980s and prestigious leisure activities would leave Kızılay and cluster in Kavaklıdere.

There were also new developments in 1970s that affected the sociospatial configuration of the leisure activity positively. The widespread understanding of "new municipalism" during the mayoralty of Vedat Dalokay and Ali Dinçer in the years of 1973-77 and 1977-1980 respectively had very significant impacts on the leisure life of the city. During the term of Vedat Dalokay, Kuğulu Park [Park of Swans] was reorganized and put into service. The creek in Kavaklıdere district, which was once famous with its poplar trees, dried out in time and its bed was filled leaving only a small pond behind. The city municipal constructed a park around the pond in 1958. However, the park became totally unserviceable due to the lack of required maintenance. It was during the time of Vedat Dalokay that the park was reorganized: swans and ducks were brought into the park, by which the park became known as "Kuğulu Park". Therefore, although the park was actually built in 1958, it gained its known popularity during Vedat Dalokay's term (1973-1977).

"Abdi İpekçi Parkı [Abdi İpekçi Park]", which was opened in 1981, was projected as one of phases in "Ankara History-Green-Culture-Recreation" project during the term of Ali Dinçer (1977-1980). However it would not be possible to implement the entire project since the municipal administration was dismissed after the coup of 12th September 1980. As an exception, the project of Abdi İpekçi Parkı, which was constructed on the lands of Yenişehir Pazarı [Yenişehir Marketplace], the warehouses and the gas station in Sıhhıye, was completed in 1981 (Aydın et al, 2005: 592-3).
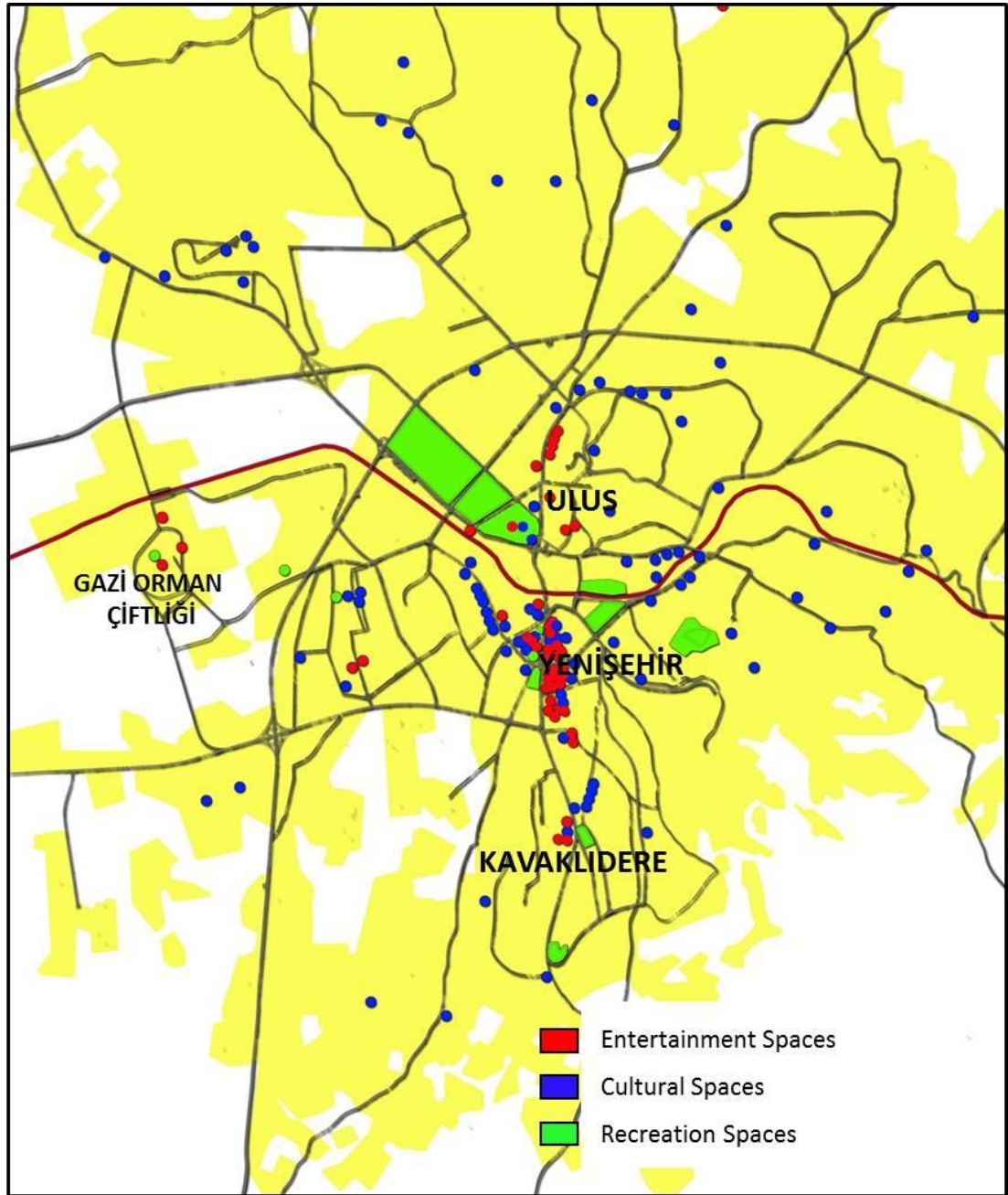
Figure 5.4 Leisure Geography of Ankara in 1976.

From the end of 1960s, cinema activity became the dominant leisure activity in defining the leisure geography. In a short period time, cinema halls became very widespread that, new cinema halls were opened in every part of the city including the *gecekondu* districts. In other words, identical to the cinema openings in the residential areas of the middle classes such as Yenimahalle, Bahçelievler and Cebeci in 1950s, new cinemas were spotted in the *gecekondu* districts in 1970s.

The map of Ankara dated 1976 shows that there is a cinema hall almost in every neighborhood. The districts where cinema activity was clustered were Gazi Mustafa Kemal Boulevard, Tunalı Hilmi Street and Cebeci. Gölbaşı, Eti, As, Kerem, Mini, Maltepe, Bulvar, Başkent and Burç cinemas were gathered on Gazi Mustafa Kemal Boulevard in Maltepe while Tuna Hilmi Street was hosting the cluster of Talip, Ses, Yeni Ulus, Lale, Kavaklıdere cinemas. Likewise there was another cluster in Cebeci. Uzay, Melek, Dünya cinemas were located on Talatpaşa Boulevard and Site and İnci cinemas were on Cemal Gürsel Street.

Meanwhile, Kızılay was hosting the cinemas of Menekşe, Nergiz, Efes, Cep and Sinema 70, in addition to the largest and high quality cinema halls of the city: *Büyük Sinema* and Ankara Sineması. However, even in the golden age of the cinema, there were only a few cinema halls around Ulus: Süs and Sümer cinemas on Anafartalar Street and Nur and Atlas cinemas in Dışkapı. Besides, no cinemas were opened in Ulus square after the closure of Park Sineması in 1960s.

All the cinema halls, which were spread out to the entire city in 1960s, were closed in the same pace in 1970s. According to the records of State Institute of Statistics (DİE), while there were 157 cinemas in Ankara in 1970, there were only 47 cinemas left in 1978 (DİE, 1970, Kültür ve Eğlence Yerleri İstatistikleri)

The daily life of the city started to change entirely by the end of 1970s. This was a period of time that gazinos, night clubs and cinemas were withdrawn from the leisure life of the city. Middle classes have abandoned Ulus district and especially *Gençlik Parkı* and preferred to spend their everyday life in the axes of Kavaklıdere-Çankaya.

5.3 Provision: Withdrawal of the State and Planning Institution from Leisure Provision

As mentioned before, three factors determined the sociospatial configuration of leisure geography in the Early Republican Period. First one was the importance denoted to Ankara; the construction of "modern and planned Ankara" as a model for the rest of the country. The second factor was the weight and distinctive role of the state in the provision of leisure space; leisure spaces were produced heavily and directly by the state, which was the supporter, controller, and the encourager of all leisure activities. Final one was the role of the city plans in the production of leisure spaces; first city plans (Lörcher and Jansen Plans) of Ankara designed specific public places for the leisure activities.

However, within the new political profile of Turkey in the new era, these three factors that used to determine the leisure geography of Ankara were no longer valid. Firstly, the statist policies aiming at constructing Ankara as "a modern and planned city" and as "a model" for the rest of country were abandoned and Ankara lost its priority in the new government's agenda. Secondly, as a result of the liberal economic policies adopted after 1950s, the state's intervention to the urban space was degraded considerably and the development of the city and leisure activity was left to the market mechanism. State's concerns about shaping the urban space and the social life of the city come to an end. Finally, with the development model dominated by the liberal economic policies, the planning institution lost its role in the formation of urban space. Instead of the planning approach and the understanding of the Early Republican Era which intended to create public spaces by the utilization of aesthetic urban elements, a new planning understanding which forms the city according to the new economic tendencies, was adopted (Keskinok, 2006: 54). We can conclude that the disappearance of these three factors had remarkable impact on the state-promoted, regulated, and designed leisure spaces.

The planning institution could not resist the speculative pressure; as a result, despite the existence of the city plans, the city was regarded as "unplanned". Consequently, the urban density in the built environment increased constantly and the city was made subject to a continuous demolish-and-rebuild process. In the era of 1950-1980, because of the changing built environment and social relations, several leisure spaces and forms of the Early Republican Era was wiped out from the social life of the

city. In this era, new leisure forms and spaces were produced by the market mechanism in the new urban space and through new social relations.

To conclude, the withdrawal of the state and planning institution from leisure provision and the disappearing importance of Ankara as a model city, have gradually led to a shift in the production of leisure spaces from the state to market mechanism. Thus, the urban leisure activity became a subject of the increasing commodification process. While the production of public leisure spaces were prioritized in the previous era, market mechanism selected "cinema" as the most profitable activity in the new era and spread it to the entire city. In other words, the dominant leisure activity of the era was decided by the market mechanism as "cinema".

After the discussion about the changing roles of both the state and the market in leisure provision, we will elaborate on how and to what extent the city plans directed the sociospatial configuration of leisure activity in the period of 1950-1980. Two master plans were produced and applied in this period: Yücel Uybadin Plan of 1957 and Ankara 1990 Master Plan by Ankara Metropolitan Area Planning Bureau (AMANPB). We will approach these plans from two perspectives; one of them being the direct and the other is the indirect effects of the plans over the formation and transformation of leisure geography. In simple terms, the decisions of the plans which are directly related to the urban leisure component are categorized as "direct effect", while the decisions related to the transformation of the "urban space" were considered as "indirect effect".

5.3.1 1957 Yücel - Uybadin Plan

In this section, we will firstly discuss the transformation process of urban space as a result of the modifications applied to the original Jansen Plan until the approval of Yücel-Uybadin Plan in 1957. After this discussion, we will successively examine the indirect and direct effects of Yücel-Uybadin Plan on the sociospatial transformation of leisure activity.

Jansen Plan directed the development of Ankara until 1950s (Bademli, 1987b: 107; Tekeli 1982: 64). Districts of "Yenişehir" and "Cebeci", the complex of ministries, Grand National Assembly of Turkey, a number of faculties, public buildings, leisure spaces (sports and recreation areas) and urban infrastructure were built as they were proposed in Jansen Plan (Bademli, 1987b: 107). As Tekeli (1982: 64) says, in the beginning of 1950s, Ankara was a modern-looking and low-density city with its green spaces and well-designed public buildings on its main streets. However, the city did not actually reflect all the projections of the Jansen Plan. Many proposals of the plan such as the university district, the labor district, green areas on the hills of the city, and the leisure space in Bentderesi could not be realized.

Since implementations were not sustained by a coherent land supply policy, the plan paved the way for substantial increases in land prices, and thus it implicitly encouraged the developments outside the boundaries of the city (Tankut, 1993; Bademli, 1987b). By the year of 1935, as a result of the increasing pressure for the developments outside the plan boundary, Ankara Planning Directorate officially gave permission to the construction of buildings in the areas that did not have an approved subdivision plan (Altaban, 1998: 45-6). There were new settlements both formal and informal outside the boundaries of Jansen Plan. Bahçelievler Housing Project was started in 1935 as a formal housing development. Around the same time, *gecekondus* [squatter housing] were emerging on steep sites of the city which were mostly unsuitable for settlement as the informal housing developments.

Since then, various modifications that were not compatible with the plan such as density increase in the city and opening up of new land for urban development have been made. In order to organize these modifications and developments, Jansen Plan was reviewed as "Development Framework Plan" in 1/10000 scale in 1938; however after this study, Jansen was dismissed from his planning duties. He left with bitter feelings since he did not concur with the modifications applied to his plan as he said

"you can remove my signature from the plan". Despite the existence of speculative pressure, the years between 1928 and 1938 was the most "planned" period of Ankara since a considerable amount of the projections of Jansen Plan were able to be applied (Tankut, 2001: 10-2; Tekeli, 1980: 14).

However, because of the rapid population increase as a result of mass migrations and the subsequent housing shortages during the post-war period, the plan became more subject to the land speculations such that even the applied parts of the plan were not able to survive (Tekeli, 1980: 15). The development of Ankara was opened to the speculative demands of landowners. Due to the immense size of rapid urbanization, Jansen Plan was not able to cope with the resulting, unexpected population growth. Jansen's population projection of 300,000 for the year of 1978 was already reached in the beginning of the 1950s (Altaban, 1998: 53).

Making the first appearances as "barracks" in 1930s, *gecekondu* started to make an impact on the city after the second half of 1940s[61]. After 1950, unplanned development continued and *gecekondu* development reached considerable proportions. Rapid urbanization was the reason behind the proliferation of *gecekondu* settlements. Besides, the increase in land prices in the planned areas paved the way for the emergence of the districts comprised of high-rise buildings. Therefore, Ankara entered the period of 1950-1980 with three interrelated developments: rapid urbanization, squatter housing (*gecekondu*) development and the modification of Jansen Plan.

In the year of 1955 when the target population of the Jansen Plan was already exceeded, an international competition was held in order to produce a new master plan for the city. The winners of this international competition were Turkish planners Nihat Yücel and Raşit Uybadin. The plan was approved in 1957. In the plan, the population of the city for the year of 1977 was projected as 750,000. Yücel-Uybadin Plan proposed a homogeneous city with a single city center and designed it to have higher densities than the projections of Jansen. However, this plan ignored *gecekondu* settlements around the city and disregarded the developments in Kızılay as a new city center (Bademli, 1987b: 107).

Yücel Uybadin Plan was inadequate in the first place, since it failed to define the problems of Ankara properly. Therefore it did not recommend sufficient enough solutions in coping with the problems of Ankara and the speculative pressure on urban space. Only four years after the approval of Yücel-Uybadin Plan, a plan revision proposal, named as "Bölge Kat Nizamı Planı-District Height Regulation Plan" was approved in 1961. This plan was put into practice as a result of the pressure created by the "Floor Ownership Law" of 1955. This plan led to an immense, two to three fold increase in the building densities in the same layout of the Yücel Uybadin Plan and initiated the process of "demolish-and-rebuild". During this process, almost all the building stock of the city was demolished and rebuilt (Günay, 2005:81).

The dense and disordered structure of the city was partly due to the plan decisions of Yücel Uybadin plan, however it should be mentioned that it was also because of the mayors' manipulating the "density increase" with administrative interventions and using it as an election campaign promise (Tekeli, 1980: 15). The Yücel –Uybadin Plan was continuously disturbed by administrative interventions and local plans for the application of density increases, which eventually overloaded the Yücel-Uybadin Plan. In the mid-1960s, the target population of the plan for 1977 was reached, however until the mid-1970s urban growth stayed within the limits of the plan (Bademli, 1987b: 107). As Tekeli (1980:15) says, with the application of Yücel-Uybadin plan, Ankara lost its privileged characteristic as a planned city. Eventually, it became one of the regular cities of the country and its development was directed by the interest groups of the market mechanism.

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[61] The existing housing stock of *gecekondu* settlements was legitimatized for the first time in 1948 according to laws of 5218 and 5228.

Within this changing urban structure, planning institution's role in the sociospatial configuration of the leisure activities was diminished. The leisure geography of the city was formed in an urban environment which was continuously going through demolish-and-rebuild process according to interests of the market mechanism. Therefore, change in the approach to leisure, in other words, the withdrawal of the state from the production of leisure space and ending its dominant role, found its expression in the Yücel-Uybadin plan. The plan, while directing the development of the city, almost totally ignored the urban leisure component.

The shortest section of 1957 Yücel-Uybadin Plan report was the one with the title "Green Areas: Sport Complexes, Entertainment and Recreation Areas" which comprised of the decisions related with leisure activity. On contrary to 1925 Lörcher and 1932 Jansen Plans, Yücel-Uybadin plan did not actually have any concern about defining neither its leisure notion nor the spatial decisions about the urban leisure component precisely. Although Lörcher and Jansen Plans explained their leisure perception in details, Yücel-Uybadin Plan kept its leisure space section short and summarized the decisions in four items.

Firstly, the plan proposed the opening of new parks and sport areas in order to meet the needs of the city. However, there was no explanation about how to distribute these new facilities in the city and which design principles were to be followed. According to the second decision, a zoo was planned on the İncesu Dam. In the Plan Report, the construction of a zoo was explained as "a necessary need will be satisfied in an area which is very close to the city center", making an emphasis on its proximity to the city center. These two expressions can be considered as positive approaches of the plan to leisure space production.

Thirdly, the plan allocated a reserve area in the Gazi Forest Farm for the future development of an Olympic Site and for the relocation of the Hippodrome. And finally, the plan allocated areas for the clubs such as "Atlı Spor Kulübü [Riding Center Club]", Golf Club, and Aviation Club. According to the plan, first two clubs would be located in Söğütözü, while the third club would be located in the airport area just after moving the airport to Esenboğa.

In short, the support of the plan for the development of "private membership clubs", which are "in nature" not open to public, was totally different from the basic intendment of the previous plans in the Early Republican Era, which aimed to produce public leisure spaces, as socialization and interaction spaces for all social classes.

We may conclude that the Yücel-Uybadin Plan did not have a leisure space notion. In line with the leisure perception of the period, the plan treated leisure space as an ignorable component of the urban structure. The plan did not see the leisure activity as an urban component that could be directed and developed by "urban planning", instead it considered leisure activity as a component provided by market mechanism. In other words, the plan did not consider the leisure activity as a "plan-regulated urban component" but totally a "privately invested activity" instead. Consequently, in this era, while the production of public leisure spaces were kept limited, the number of leisure spaces provided by the market mechanism which determined the geography, form and the scale of leisure activities, have increased.
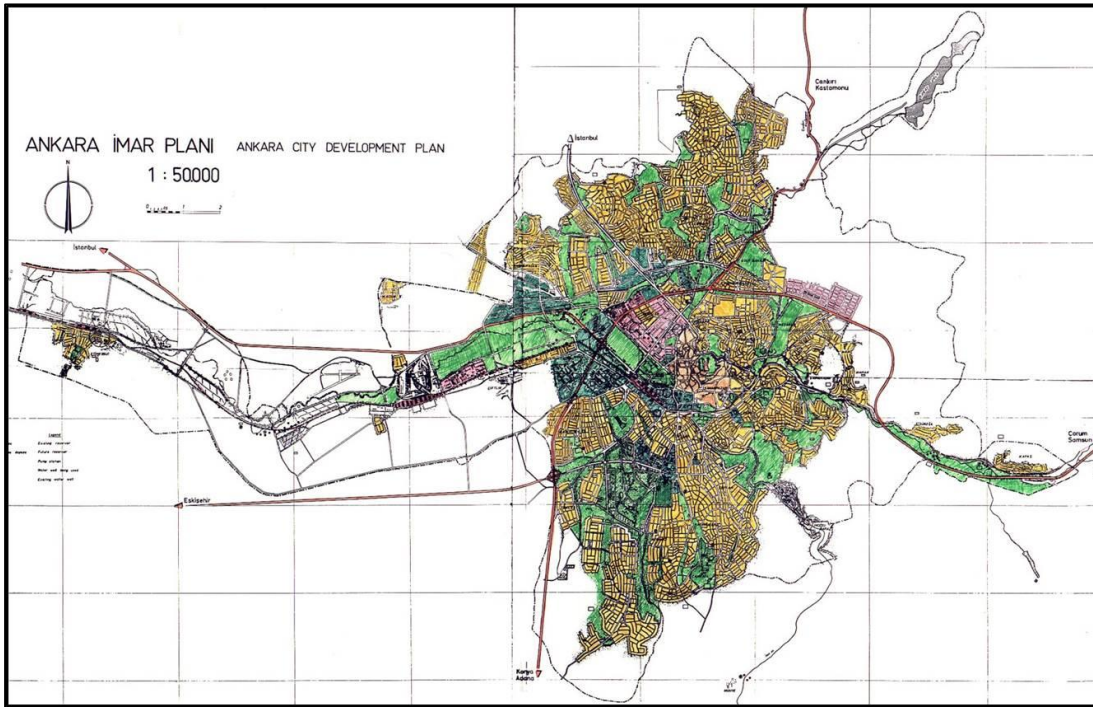
Figure 5.5 1957 Yücel-Uybadin Plan.

For sure, the plan's consideration of the urban leisure as "privately invested activity" directly affected its sociospatial configuration. However, the dense and unorganized urban environment produced by the plan indirectly determined the leisure geography. In this period, the urban space of the Early Republican Era was totally changed by the demolish-and-rebuild process, green areas and pedestrian-only zones were diminished. The transformation of urban spaces, in which the leisure activities were experienced, forced the leisure activity to change geography, which as a consequence, increased the sociospatial segregation.

5.3.2 Ankara 1990 Master Plan (Plan of AMANPB)

1965 is the year when the new era for the planning of cities in Turkey started. With the cabinet decree of 6/4970 on 20 July 1965, Ministry of Public Works and Housing were tasked to commission special bureaus and have them prepare the master plans of Ankara, İstanbul and İzmir. In accordance with the cabinet decree, the bureaus were established first in İstanbul and İzmir and later in Ankara. Ankara Metropolitan Area Master Plan Bureau [*Ankara Metropoliten Alan Nazım Plan Bürosu*: AMANPB] was founded on 20 January 1969 (Tekeli, 1980: 15).

With the foundation of this bureau, the power and the authority in the field of urban planning was divided between the AMANPB and Ankara Planning Directorate. AMANPB was tasked with preparing the plan but it was not granted any power or authorization on approving and implementing it. The bureau, after conducting comprehensive urban studies between 1970 and 1975, prepared a Master Plan Schema for 1990 at 1/50.000 scale. This work was not the final physical form of the city; it only constituted the structure of it (Bademli, 1987b: 109).

The plan developed by the AMANPB was different from the previous plans, as a matter of fact; it was actually more than a master plan. As Bademli (1987b: 109) indicates, the plan developed "a new planning understanding and process which should be considered as a structure plan". The plan tried to give the city a new form for the first time and it formulated many of the problems that the previous plan neglected (Günay, 2005). The projected population of the plan for 1990 was estimated to be between 2.8 and 3.6 million. For the first time, the realized population of 2.5 million in 1990 was less than the projected population of 1990. (Günay, 2005:97).

Different from the previous plans which were proposing the development of the city along the north-south axis, AMANPB Plan suggested a development plan on the western axis along the northern and southern corridors: İstanbul Road and Eskisehir road respectively. The plan proposed major urban development projects such as Sincan *Gecekondu* Prevention District, Batıkent Housing Project and Industrial District. AMANPB plan was successful in terms of the true determination of the city's problems, more accurate projection of the population and the strategic decision in decentralization of the city's development on the western corridor (Bademli, 1987b: 109).

The plan established a major framework for implementations. As Günay (2005) puts correctly, AMANPB Plan aimed to direct urban development by defining the general structure and main development decisions, while leaving the details uncertain. However, as a result of this uncertainty, many local plans and revisions of the Yücel-Uybadin Plan had be developed and put into effect in the meantime. The AMANPB Plan did not produce structural decisions especially for the core area of the city and left it to be developed according to the decisions of the 1957 Yücel-Uybadin Plan and 1961 District Height Regulation Plan (Günay, 2005: 98-9).

The AMANPB Plan's approach to the leisure spaces were detailed under the title of "Environmental and Urban Service Standards". According to the planning approach of the bureau, urban services should be provided by the state, therefore, the bureau's plan specifically underlined the inadequacy of environmental standards and emphasized on the unequal distribution of urban services in the city. In the Plan Report, urban services were defined as educational, health, administrative, social, cultural and recreational services which were required to meet the various requirements of urban population (AMANPB Plan Report, 1978). Urban services were analyzed in the plan at two levels: i) the city level; and ii) the sub-area level. The first one was related to the services for the entire population of the city. For the second one in which the services were specifically tailored for that sub-area, the Bureau initially delimited the city of Ankara in 33 sub-areas. Later on, the Bureau estimated the current state of the services in these sub-areas and calculated the deficiencies in the provision of urban services. The planning report demonstrated the fact that "the residents of the city can benefit only from 10% of the services necessary for leading a *healthy urban existence*" (AMANPB, 1973).

AMANPB Plan regarded the leisure spaces, especially the recreational and cultural spaces as the essential elements of urban structure. On contrary to the leisure-neglecting-essence of Yücel Uybadin Plan, AMANPB Plan was aware of the significance of leisure space for a *healthy urban community*.

The planning approach of AMANPB Plan was that every urban citizen, independent from his/her social class, should have the right to benefit equally from urban services. Thus, AMANPB Plan had an inclusive leisure policy. As a result of this policy, the plan studies compared sub-areas with contrasting socioeconomic characteristics with respect to the present standards of urban services in order to analyze unequal distribution of urban services.
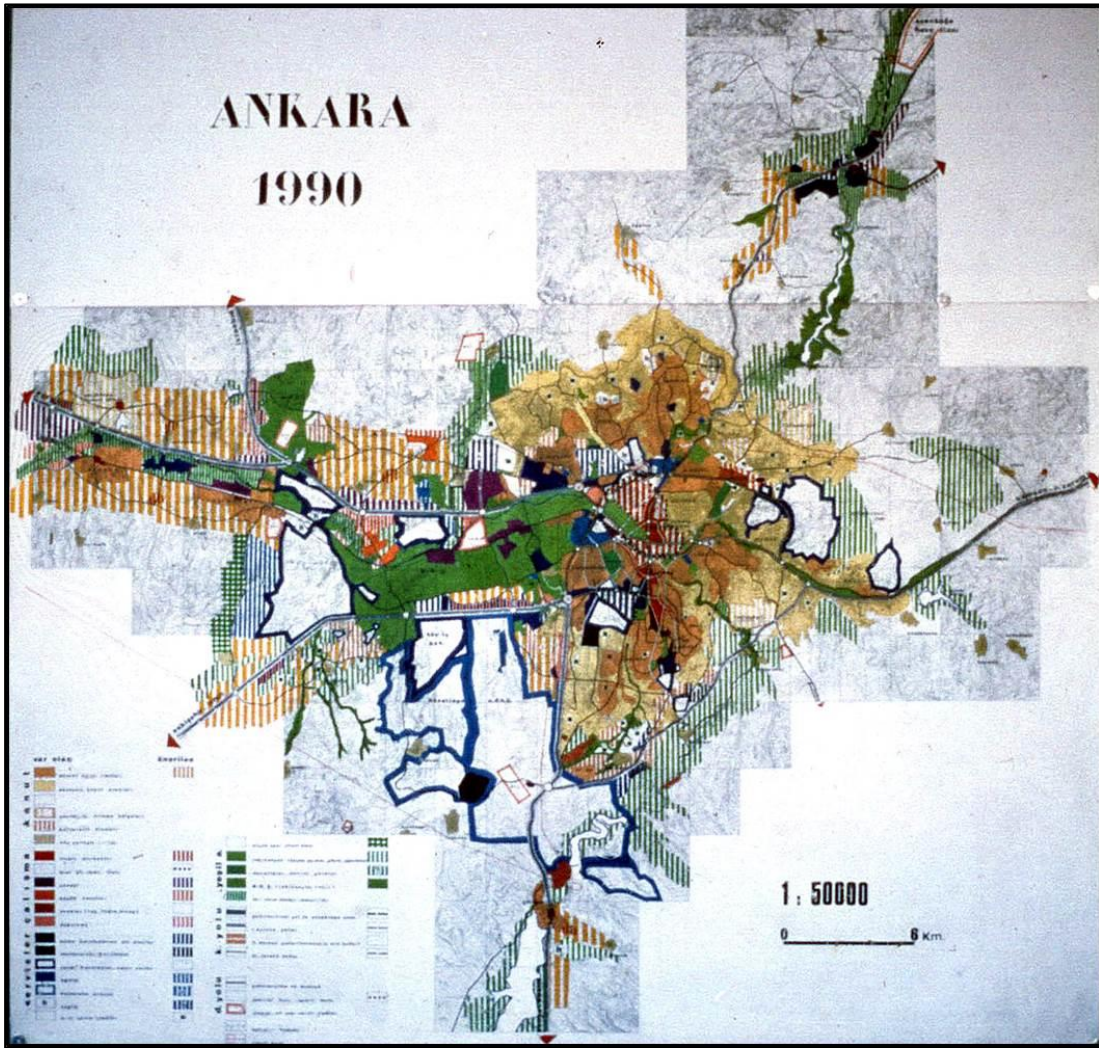
Figure 5.6 Ankara 1990 Master Plan (AMANPB Plan).

Furthermore, a social survey was conducted about urban services. The results of survey showed that most of the *gecekondu* people (83.3 %) complained about the lack of recreational facilities, while residents of the high income areas complained mostly about air pollution. The report explained this situation with the more mobility of higher income residents, enabling them to benefit from recreational services at the city level or in other sub-areas. This analysis showed that the plan was aware of the class-centered feature of leisure space and the need for the development of planning tools for equal distribution of leisure facilities in urban space.

In addition, AMANPB Plan also emphasized the production of green areas. In order to cope with the air pollution which became a serious concern after 1970s, Ankara 1990 Plan proposed the use of wind corridors through valleys and defined these valleys as the areas that need to be preserved as green areas. Thus, the plan explicitly advocated the protection of these valleys from urban development.

In order to control the macroform of the city, the plan suggested the allocation of large green areas in between the proposed development corridors and the interconnection of these open green areas with sufficient open space axes. Therefore, the plan proposed a green-belt to control the growth of the city.

The plan recommended that the recreational potential of the Atatürk Forest Farm should be exploited and utilized. Therefore, the area of the farm was solely allocated to open-green spaces in the plan. In other words, no land uses other than the areas assigned to urban public services or institutional functions were proposed within the boundaries of the farm.

However, AMANPB Plan, same as the previous planning practices, ignored the zoning problem of the leisure activity. Although the plan suggested promising proposals about recreational and cultural spaces, it did not develop land use principles about entertainment spaces. Therefore, the production of entertainment spaces, which is highly related to the relocation processes of the city center, was left to market mechanism without the inclusion of planning policies.

The plan projected Ulus to remain as the center of the city. In the planning report, it was emphasized that Ulus have a more central character than Kızılay and its significance would increase in time. As Bademli (1987a: 156) puts correctly, the negative developments around Ulus such as *gecekondu* rings and small-size production and storing activities, and the advantageous developments around Kızılay such as the Eskisehir road, the peripheral roads that provide easy access to Kızılay, and also the existence of extensive public zone between Ulus and Kızılay would negatively influence the development of central functions around Ulus.

In addition, the shift of prestigious central activities, such as the leisure activities, from Ulus to Kızılay was disregarded in the plan. Hence, the development of city center and entertainment spaces was left to market mechanism. Consequently, although Ankara 1990 Master Plan had well-intentioned proposals about recreational and cultural spaces, these proposals could not be realized as they were projected since the plan were continuously subject to modification by partial and subdivision plans.

5.4   Form: Changing Leisure Forms and Emergence of New Forms

The forth variable that we will use in explaining the change in leisure geography is "leisure form". In this section, firstly we will discuss the change in leisure forms of Early Republican Period, and then we will investigate the emergence of new leisure forms, such as fast-food, music halls and night clubs in the period of 1950-1980. Lastly, we will present the dispersion of cinema as the most popular leisure activity of this period.

5.4.1   Changing Leisure Forms of Early Republican Period: *Ankara Palas*, *Karpiç*, *Gençlik Parkı*, Çubuk Dam

Since the concern and intervention of the state in designing the city and the urban life was no longer valid, the determination of the social and spatial configuration of the leisure activity was left to the market mechanism. Therefore, within this period, leisure activity did not only change its geography but its form as well. Consequently, these two changes have triggered the transformation of the leisure form that was experienced in the leisure spaces produced in the Early Republican Era.

It is mentioned in many narratives about 1950s that the dancers who were brought in from Europe were stripping, performing erotic shows and escorting the customers in *Ankara Palas*, which is known for the famous Republican Day balls. Gar Gazinosu, Balin Otel and Göl Gazinosu were listed in the Ankara Tourist Guide of 1964 as the other places providing the same kind of entertainment given as "European strip-tease or Turkish belly-dancers". This type of entertainment, referred to as "Varyete"

or "Gösteri" (show), became an integral part of Ankara's leisure life after 1950s. It was so popular and common that even the president Celal Bayar and the Prime Minister Adnan Menderes were among its frequenters. A French dancer named Collette who worked as a stripper in *Ankara Palas* in 1955 described the interest of the politicians for her striptease show:

> "A Cabaret artist cannot attain the same distinct honor in someplace else. I have not yet performed my show in front of either a president or a prime minister; but in fact, striptease became a form of art all by itself. Unfortunately, they do not understand this over there and the man of protocol tries to prevent. Nobody could see the presidents and the prime ministers in Cabarets. However, everybody here is a real man of public. That's why, there are this many distinguished people among the customers. Above all, I can see the ministers here almost every night. I am very happy for coming to Turkey because of all these. My profession's reputation is increasing" (quoted in Karakuş, 1977: 328-9).

Şenyapılı (2005:311) states that "varyete" was performed in Bomonti Bear Park as well but especially Gar Gazinosu was famous for it. He also clarifies that during that time "varyete" a derivative of the French word "variete" was used instead of the term "show", likewise the dancers were referred to as "varyete yıldızı" instead of "show-girl". The term varyete was used to describe a form of leisure in which customers were not only listening music and dancing but they were also able to see various shows too (Şenyapılı, 2005: 334). Beki L.Bahar explains the novelty that was brought by this leisure form over the change of Gar Gazinosu:

> "Gar Gazinosu, which was constructed as a separate building next to the train station, was a luxury music hall in which we could eat tasty food and dance. We would wear our fox stoles on our low-cut dresses and go there as "grande toilette". After 1960s, as the actresses performing "varyete" shows in this place were joining the requesting guests in their tables in the same clothing, we were obliged to put on more modest dresses in order to prevent any kind of confusion with them. Some things were changing in Ankara" (Bahar, 2003: 106).

As another iconic place of the Early Republican Era, *Karpiç* Restaurant has lost its prestige after Chef Karpovitch passed away in 1953 and it was closed in 1963. Mehmet Kemal explains the "change" that *Karpiç* had to go through after the death of Chef Karpovitch:

> "One day, after the death of Baba we have witnessed that *Karpiç* Restaurant, which hosted the Republican day balls and was the regular destination of the diplomats back in the days, became a music hall, in order to make more money. In addition, they added a "döner" (gyro) stall, removed the shop window facing the street, and converted the bar of the restaurant into a hall where customers could eat sandwiches afoot" (Kemal, 1983: 69).

The political power of the 1950s, DP, favored *Süreyya* in Yenişehir over *Karpiç* Restaurant which was identified with CHP. Sergei Homyak (*Süreyya* Homyak), who worked as the chief waiter of *Karpiç*, intended to provide the same leisure form that he took over from *Karpiç* in *Süreyya* Restaurant. Since, leisure was regarded as an indicator of the way of life; guests of these places of the Republican modernity were expected to be attentive to their looks and dresses. Therefore customers without proper outfit, especially man without coat and tie would not be accepted in. After the closure of *Süreyya* during the demolish-and-rebuild process of Kızılay, it was re-opened by its waiters on Akay Street with the name of Yeni *Süreyya*. The manager of the restaurant, Ruhi Güzey told that they intended to provide the leisure form that they learned from masters Karpovitch and Homyak, however they could only endure for 8 years (Interview with Ruhi Güzey available online at). That is because of the fact that the new way of life and the new patterns of consumption determine the current leisure forms. Therefore, as the leisure forms change, urban leisure activity reproduces itself in new forms and in new geographies accordingly.

Baraj Gazinosu [Çubuk Dam Music Hall] was also subject to a significant change in 1950s. Yurdanur Kalkavan, who was the manager of the Kafdağı Restaurant at Çubuk Dam, tells that the main music

hall at Çubuk Dam fell from favor in 1950s and became inactive. Under these circumstances, Yurdanur Kalkavan took over the management of Kafdağı Restaurant and after a short while, the Dam became identified with this place. On contrary to the location of the main music hall which was a building of the Early Republican Era on the banks of the reservoir, Kafdağı restaurant was located on a hill overlooking the dam. This geographical location also helped it in becoming one of the popular places of the period. The wooden building of Kafdağı was burned out in 1970s. The building that replaced it afterwards unfortunately did not have the same authenticity. Nevertheless, this restaurant, which even hosted İsmet İnönü and Adnan Menderes a few times, was still in service until recent times (The interview with Yurdanur Kalkavan in 2011).

"Intellectual clubs", as leisure places identified with the intellectuals of the period, were also wiped out in the period of 1950-1980. The first example of this leisure form was İstanbul Patisserie opened in 1923. Later on, this form was reproduced by *Kutlu* and *Özen* Patisseries in Yenişehir in 1930s. Likewise, the taverns on Posta Street, which were introduced to the city life in 1940s, were also regarded as the intellectual clubs of the city. İstanbul, *Kutlu* and *Özen* Patisseries were all wiped out from the social life of the city in 1950s. As another good example for the "place-intellectual identification", the taverns of *Şükran Lokantası* [Şükran Restaurant], *Üç Nal* [Three Horseshoes] and *Kürdün Meyhanesi* [Tavern of the Kurd] were able to survive until 1960s.

These intellectual clubs also became subject to the strong wave of demolish-and-rebuild process in the city and were entirely va.nished without reproducing themselves in other geographies. However, it is also worth to mention that intellectual's leaving Ankara and settling in İstanbul also played a significant role in the disappearance of this leisure form. One of these intellectuals who moved to İstanbul in 1970s, questions the transformation of Posta Street which was once the host for these clubs:

> "I was walking through Posta Street, small taverns that we were frequenting were all replaced by the carpet shops and spare parts stores. Where are the young guys who are living a life full of drinking as ours, are hanging out? They sure had a place to go but where was that place and which one was it?" (Kemal, 1983: 70).

The number of these leisure places was decreased significantly after the intellectuals, such as Memed Kemal, moved to İstanbul. According to the narratives, Tavukçu Meyhanesi remained as the only place that the intellectuals and artists were still attending. Therefore, Tavukçu Meyhanesi could be given as an answer to Mehmed Kemal's question. In addition, we should also mention Sanat Sevenler Kulübü on Tuna Street both as a host for art-related activities and also a hangout for the artists.

However, change is not always in the geography of leisure activities, sometimes the forms of leisure in the same geography may also change. As the mission of *Gençlik Parkı* about educating the citizens ended in 1950s, the leisure form experienced in the park changed accordingly. The change process in the park started with the establishment of a local amusement park in 1952, after the Italian amusement park which was invited in 1951 was much sought after. The process continued with the location of the commercialized leisure activities such as music halls (gazino), buffets and tea houses. Thus, "the park integrated with water and greenery" in the citizens' imagination were totally distorted. As a result of the process about the reorganization of the park with the addition of commercial leisure activities, an entry fee for the park was put into practice in 1956[62].

As one of the iconic places of the Early Republican Era, *Gençlik Parkı* was an important interaction space for all social strata in that era. In the period of 1950-1980, *Gençlik Parkı* continued to serve in the same way independent of the differentiation of its leisure forms. This feature of the park is described by Gültekin Emre as follows:

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[62] The fee was rescinded in 1970s as an application of Vedat Dalokay's "new municipalism" approach.

"The relatives, friends and guests who were visiting Ankara were proudly brought in here [*Gençlik Parkı*]. In other words, here was a place that should be seen and shown.

There was a tea garden named as "Recep'in Yeri [Recep's Place]" next to the pool. It would not be acceptable not to come here. It would be a deficiency for the residents of Ankara if they did not spend an afternoon here enjoying the meatballs, boiled eggs, pastries and stuffed grape leaves brought from home with the tea-urn ordered from the here [tea garden]. That is because, this tea garden was a like a picnic area for the middle classes. The voices of the singers rehearsing for the evening were all over the place. And during the evening, even when you are not in the music hall, you would be able to listen to the program as it is, from every corner of the park" (Emre, 2008: 174).

The social segregation in the park became visible after 1980s. Starting from the end of 1970s, middle classes left the "spent-out" and "worn-out" *Gençlik Parkı* for the lower classes. From this time on, the process of producing "isolated leisure geographies" has started.

5.4.2 New Leisure Forms: Fast Food – *"Piknik"*, Music Halls, Night Clubs

Since the production of public leisure places were very limited in the period of 1950-1980, new leisure forms, which were produced by the market mechanism in the new geographies determined the socio-spatial configuration of the leisure activity in the city. While the model for the new way of life that was intended to be built during the Early Republican Era was "Europe", "America" became the new model for Turkey as a result of the post-war conjecture. American products were introduced to the domestic market after approval of US Congress about the aids to Turkey under Truman Doctrine in 1947 and the announcement of Marshall Plan in 1948. Like the American products, American soldiers were also seen in the city as well. That is because of the American Military Contingent, which was stationed in Ankara in 1947 for coordinating the distribution of the aids (http://www.merhabaturkey.com/general/history.htm).

According to Kepenek and Yentürk (2011: 96), it was not only the economic policies that Turkey got from USA during its transition to liberal economy, but also an "entire way of life" and new patterns of consumption. Therefore, in the city that was under the influence of the new role model's way of life, current leisure forms started to transform. In this context, as one of the constituents of the American way of life, "fast-food culture" was introduced to Ankara with the opening of the first fast food restaurants. These places were Uğrak, *Piknik* (1953), Goralı and Sandviç. Nejat Akgün explains the new form of leisure that was created with the opening of Uğrak Restaurant in Ulus as follows:

"The opening of Uğrak was a huge event. On contrary to the ways of dining in restaurants which requires the customers to be seated on the tables, having a sandwich, pudding or cake with ayran or fruit juices while standing and leaning on to the counter was found very interesting by the people" (Akgün, 1996:233).

As the places for eating and drinking afoot, "ayak üstücü" (fast food) places were spread out in the new geography of leisure, Yenişehir. One of these places, *Piknik*[63] was so popular that, it left its mark on the Ankara of 1953-1986. Different from today's fast food places, alcoholic drinks were served in *Piknik*. However, this service had one exception: Rakı. Rakı was excluded from the menu in order to prevent the occupation of the tables for longer times. Being as the favorite destination of the city's residents, *Piknik* has always been crowded:

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[63] This name was the reason behind the word "Piknik" in the names of the similar places which were opened afterwards.

The crowd was rushing into *Piknik*, the liveliest, noisiest and most frequented place with the quickest service of Kızılay district (Soysal, 2001:5).

Piknik, being as the pioneer of the fast food restaurants in the city, employed the best chefs and cooks and therefore created different flavors, many of which was totally new for Ankara. Their popularity was partly due to these flavors but it was also because of its staff too. *Piknik* had 140-150 employees who were neatly-dressed with ties and treated the customers very kindly. In this sense, we could conclude that the modernity of the Republic was sustained by *Piknik* restaurant after its opening in 1953.

In time, *Piknik* became one of the cornerstone components of the city same as *Gençlik Parkı* and *Büyük Sinema* and also a spatial reference for the citizens. The bus stop on the entrance of Tuna Street, on which *Piknik* was located, was referred as "stop of *Piknik*".

Figure 5.7 *Piknik*. Source: www.ergir.com

Piknik developed into a trademark over time and was followed by similar places. As a result, the leisure form which was shaped around fast food became very popular in a short period of time. Sevgi Soysal depicts the mushrooming sandwich shops in her book, "Yenişehir'de Bir Öğle Vakti [A Noon Time in Yenişehir]" which she authored while having coffee at *Piknik*:

"The sandwich shop was jam-packed. Nobody was fed up with eating the same customary food of mustard sandwich, hot-dog, toast with cheese and sausage and ayran that were presented by the sandwich shops without considering a change or innovation. Eating a sandwich was a change or an innovation for many of them…First sandwich shop was opened

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in the narrow arcade next to *Büyük Sinema*. Its owner placed a sign saying "Hot Dog" on the Boulevard walkway. Starting from its opening day, it was bursting at the seams with the boys and girls of the Yenişehir College…Afterwards, all of sudden they were all over the city. Every single useless part of the shops, apartment passages and obsolete parts of apartment bunkers in Kızılay and Yenişehir became a sandwich shop. The sandwich and toast shops were opened in everywhere; in Ulus, in Cebeci, in Maltepe, in Yeni Mahalle and even in Altındağ, in Telsizler too" (Soysal, 2001: 17).

Another leisure form that determined the leisure life of the city after 1950s was "music hall (gazino)". The entertainment of music hall has been the second most popular leisure form after cinema until the end of 1970s. Göl Gazinosu [Göl Music Hall] (*Gençlik Parkı*), Esenpark Gazinosu [Esenpark Music Hall] (Samanpazarı), Mavili (Rüzgârlı Street), Kazablanka (Rüzgârlı Street) were among the music halls opened in 1950s. The leisure form of music hall which became popular in the period of 1950-1980 was actually very different from the leisure form that was defined by the term "gazino" before 1950s. The leisure practices that were provided by the music halls of Early Republican Era such as Baraj Gazinosu [Dam Music Hall], Gar Gazinosu [Train Station Music Hall], and Marmara Gazinosu [Marmara Music Hall] of Gazi Forest Farm have changed in the new era. Besides, there were also differences in the architectural projects and interior designs of the music halls in these two periods. Before 1950s, the music halls were designed as leisure places where customers could dine and dance with the western classical music. However, after 1950s the music halls were mostly identified with popular vocal artists[64]. Many popular vocal artists took stage in the music halls of the *Gençlik Parkı* (Göl Gazinosu, Lunapark Gazinosu [Lunapark Music Hall]), such as Behiye Aksoy, Zeki Müren and Mustafa Sağyaşar in 1960s and folk music artist Neşet Ertaş in 1970s. This leisure form was also withdrawn from the city's social life by the end of 1970s; the most famous music hall of that era, Göl Gazinosu was converted into "Municipal Wedding Hall".

Another form of leisure that emerged in this era was the night clubs. Night club was a leisure form serving for especially young people in Ankara that had a significant student population. This leisure form, which initially started with the opening of "İntim" in 1950 on Meşrutiyet Street survived until the end of 1970s. In 1980s, the night clubs were converted into discos. Complementary elements of the night clubs were the dance bands such as Orhan Sezener Dance Band and İlham Gencer Dance Band. Şenyapılı (2005: 335) mentions the names of Alpay, Ayten Gencer, Gönül Yazar, Barış Manço, Ergun Özer, Tanju Okan, Şenay, Kamuran Akkor as the famous singers who took stage in these clubs. These artists initially performed western pop music and jazz songs. After then, they started to arrange popular western songs with Turkish lyrics and perform these "cover" songs.

İntim (Meşrutiyet Street), Clup 47 (Meşrutiyet Street), Balin Hotel (İzmir Street), Büyük Ankara Hotel (Atatürk Boulevard-Kavaklıdere), Barıkan Hotel (İzmir Street), Dedeman Hotel (Akay Street), Bulvar Palas (Atatürk Boulevard), Kent Hotel (Mithatpaşa Street), Cihan Palas (Ulus), Feyman Club (Olgunlar Street) were among the night clubs of 1960s. Examining the geographical distribution of these places, we can observe that majority of them were located in Kızılay.

5.4.3 Popularity and Dispersion of Cinema as the Best Option

The activity of cinema was an important part of the daily life in the period of 1950-1980. That was because the market mechanism which was directing the leisure provision in the period, picked cinema as the most profitable leisure form and brought it to every corner of the city. In other words, the

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[64] Even the music in the leisure places after 1950s have changed. The classical western music of the previous era was replaced by "alaturka-saz [Turkish style music]" in music halls and western pop and jazz music in night clubs in the new era.

dominant leisure form of the period was decided to be as "cinema" by the market. Cinema started to become widespread in the city in 1950s, but it was from the end of 1960s to mid-1970s that cinema reached its utmost popularity. However, the number of cinema halls in the city started to decrease rapidly with the second half of 1970s. According to the records of State Institute of Statistics (DİE), while there were 157 cinemas in Ankara in 1970, the number was decreased to 47 in 1978 (DİE, 1970, Kültür ve Eğlence Yerleri İstatistikleri).

We may conclude from the distribution of the cinema halls that cinema served as the most important leisure place in the *gecekondu* neighborhoods, which had weak relations with the city center (see Figure 5.4). Besides, "going to cinema" as a form of socialization became an essential part of the *gecekondu* residents' daily life as well[65].

After the closure of legendary *Büyük Sinema* in 1978, the cinema halls of the city started to lose ground and close one after another because of the increasing penetration of TV starting from the end of 1970s and also receding of the citizens from public places due to the increasing political violence on the streets.

5.5 Scale: Downscaling of Public Leisure Spaces vs. Cinema Provision in Large Capacities

In this section, "scale of leisure" as the fifth variable in analyzing the change in leisure geography will be discussed with reference to the "downscaling process". We will initially touch upon the downscaling process in the areas of recreation spaces. Afterwards, we will discuss the theatre activity with respect to the quantitative data about the seating capacities.

As a result the state's and planning institution's withdrawal from leisure provision, the production of large scale public leisure spaces remained very limited in the period of 1950-1980. The leisure places produced in this period were Kurtuluş Park, Botanic Garden, Kuğulu Park and Abdi İpekçi Park. In 1965, Kurtuluş Parkı, an 11-hectare park, was opened in Cebeci (http://aev.org.tr). Similarly, a Botanic Garden covering a land of 6.5 hectares between Çankaya and Cinnah Streets were opened in 1970. Kuğulu Park, which was redesigned and put into service during the term of Vedat Dalokay (1973-1977) was stretching over a land of almost one hectare (0.9 hectare). During the term of Ali Dinçer (1977-1980), Sıhhıye Parkı was enlarged to 3.7 hectares and reorganized. However it could not be opened until 1981 due to the termination of Ali Dinçer's term abruptly as the military administration took over the power in 12th September 1980.

Consequently, total area of the recreational spaces that were produced during the 1950-1980 era, in almost 30 years, was limited to 22.1 hectares only. To demonstrate the situation more clearly, it should be known that, *Gençlik Parkı* as one of the public leisure spaces produced in Early Republican Era was covering more land than the total of the parks opened in the period of 1950-1980.

From another perspective, it should be kept in mind that the population of Ankara was about 220,000 when 27-hectare *Gençlik Parkı* was opened in the city center and Ankara's population reached 1,877,000 which corresponds to 8.5 folds increase (see Table 5.1). As the public space productions are

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[65] Despite it took place in the urban space of İstanbul instead of Ankara, "Sultan", a Yeşilcam movie filmed in 1978, illustrates the place of the cinema in the daily life of *gecekondu* residents. The main female character of the movie (Sultan – Türkan Şoray) who was a *gecekondu* dweller, was working as a cleaning lady in the neighborhoods of the middle classes during the day and she was reproducing herself by watching a film at the cinema in her neighborhood during the evenings. Based on the data about the cinema halls in the *gecekondu* neighborhoods we could conclude that the same scenario was valid for Ankara too.

compared against the city's growth rate, it becomes obvious that new recreation spaces were subject to a serious "downscaling".

Table 5.1 Population Growth of Ankara between the Years 1927-1980.
Source: http://www.tuik.gov.tr

Years	Population
1927	74,553
1935	122,720
1940	157,242
1945	226,712
1950	288,536
1955	451,241
1960	650,067
1965	905,660
1970	1,236,152
1975	1,701,004
1980	1,877,755

The reason behind the downscaling phenomenon is the decreasing role of the state and the planning institution in the provision of leisure spaces, on contrary to the ever increasing involvement of the market mechanism[66].

Gençlik Parkı was still the largest park of Ankara in the period of 1950-1980. Its immense spatial size was able to bring together the socially-differentiated urban strata of the city. It was one of the most prominent leisure spaces of the city both because of its easily accessible geographical location and its huge capacity that could host different leisure activities aimed at various social classes.

The land of Gazi Forest Farm, which was hosting various leisure spaces, has been allocated to public institutions starting from 1940s which started Gazi Forest Farm's downsizing. 1235 hectares land of Gazi Forest Farm was allocated to the state institutions between 1945 and 1959. Accordingly, about 408 hectares were detached from the farm in the years from 1960 to 1977 (Altaban, 1987: 36). The allocation of Gazi Forest Farm's lands for urban purposes also affected the configuration of leisure spaces. In the farm, the area of leisure activities that were experienced along with the agricultural production was diminished. For example, Bira Bahçesi [Beer Garden] in front of the bear factory was removed.

We may conclude that the incorporation of state institutions into the farm changed the meaning of the leisure activities that were located in the park side by side with the agricultural production and also reduced the amount of lands reserved for leisure activities.

However, on contrary to the decreasing capacities of recreation spaces that were provided by the state in the period of 1950-1980, cinema activity which was controlled by the market mechanism were

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[66] In addition, Gençlik Parkı with the Stadium and the Hippodrome formed a 124-hectare green zone in the city center. Despite the exclusion of Stadium and Hippodrome from the comparison with the period of 1950-1980, the downscaling in the recreation spaces is remarkable.

provisioned in higher capacities. As the dominant leisure form of the period, cinema was both widespread in the city and also provided in bigger and larger halls. The capacities of some of the popular cinema halls which were opened both in the Early Republican Era and the period of 1950-1980 are as follows:

Table 5.2 Cinema Halls of Ankara between the years of 1923-1980

	Name of the Movie Theatre	Opening Date	Seating Capacity	Location
EARLY REPUBLICAN PERIOD 1923-1950	Yeni Sinema	1930	800 seats	Ulus
	Ankara Sineması	1943	1100 seats	Sıhhıye
	Büyük Sinema	1949	1550 seats	Kızılay
THE PERIOD OF 1950-1980	Cebeci Sineması	1950	1500 seats	Cebeci
	Gölbaşı Sineması	1957	1200 seats	Kızılay-Maltepe
	Alemdar Sineması	1957	1500 seats	Yenimahalle
	İnci Sineması	1958	1200 seats	Cebeci
	Nergis Sineması	1969	1100 seats	Kızılay
	Arı Sineması	1969	1760 seats	Bahçelievler
	Akay Dedeman Sineması	1969	1500 seats	Kavaklıdere
	Bahçelievler Dedeman Sineması	1970	1400 seats	Bahçelievler

In the meantime, despite the huge increase in the population of the city in the period of 1950-1980, no increase was registered in the seating capacities of the theatres which were provided and administered by the State. Entering the year of 1950, there were three Theatre and Opera stages in the city: Büyük Tiyatro (745 seating capacity), Küçük Tiyatro (605 seating capacity) and the Stage of *Halkevi* (590 capacity). The total capacity of these three stages was 1940.

In 1951, during the reign of the Democrat Party, all the branches of *Halkevi* in Turkey were closed. In 1956, the building of *Halkevi* which initially belonged to Turkish Heart [Türk Ocağı] and occasionally used as a theatre stage, was incorporated into the State Theatre System under the name of "Üçüncü Tiyatro" [The Third Theatre]. Oda Tiyatrosu [Chamber Theatre], as a fourth stage of the city was opened on October 5th 1956 with 60 seating capacity.

Ankara welcomed its fifth stage in 1960, with the opening of "Yeni Sahne" in Kızılay with a seating capacity of 205. In 1964, the Conference Hall of Yıldırım Beyazıt High School in Altındağ was converted into a theatre stage and opened with the name of "Altındağ Devlet Tiyatrosu" to serve an audience of 307. On the other hand, in 1970s, the "Third Theatre" was removed from the State Theatre System and its building was handed over to the Ministry Of Cultural Affairs to be utilized as Resim ve Heykel Müzesi [the Museum of Paintings and Sculpture] with the cabinet decree of 7/1172 issued on the 25th October of 1975.

Despite the opening of three new state theatres during the years of 1950-1980, the total capacity of the state theatres in the city was given as 1954 in the records of the State Institute of Statistics in 1970. This number was listed as 1982 in the records of 1978-1980. This capacity is almost same as capacity in the Early Republican Era (1940) despite the addition of new stages. The reason behind this capacity is the removal of *Halkevi* from the State Theatre System and the lower capacities of the new theatre halls opened in this period (Yeni Sahne: 205 seats; Oda Tiyatrosu: 60 seats and Altındağ Tiyatrosu: 307 seats).

On contrary to the decreasing capacities of state theatres, we may conclude that, the higher capacities of cinema halls are simply because of the fact that the activity of cinema was by far the most popular leisure activity in that period. In addition, the magnitude indicates the existence of another reality too: despite the increasing sociospatial segregation, the leisure spaces of 1950-1980 were still serving as interaction spaces for the residents of the city.

CHAPTER 6

POST 1980s ERA: FRACTURED LEISURE GEOGRAPHY

6.1 Meaning: Leisure Space as Consumption Space

In the second half of the 1970s, Turkey faced the great depression of the import-substitution economic development model that was in effect since the very first years of Turkish Republic. The economic crisis that was dominating the country got even stronger by attaining social and political dimensions. Big cities were at the epicenter of this economic and political crisis (Şengül, 2009:136). Therefore, these cities became the places of political violence and economic poverty in the state of chaos and disturbance that they were dragged into. In order to overcome the economic crisis, a set of regulations, referred to as "24 January Economic Decisions", which was widely accepted as an application of a USA-originated global project, were put into practice on the 24th of January 1980 (Kazgan, 1999: 121). However, no cure was found for solving the political crisis within the limits of democracy. Unfortunately, democracy was temporarily suspended for the third time on the 12th of September 1980, as the Turkish Armed Forces took over the administration of the country with a coup d'etat.

When they were put into practice, 24 January Economic Decisions were projected to be "temporary" and be valid for a specific period. However, after a while, it was revealed that they were going to last longer than expected. With these decisions, import-substitution economic development model was abandoned and export-oriented development model was adopted. Free movement of goods, which was made possible in 1980 by the 24 January Economic Decisions, was followed by the financial liberalization in 1989. Full liberalization that was applied in the movement of goods and capital were the clear evidences that Turkey's economic policies have changed completely, and the transition process to liberal economy was completed.

Hence, the year of 1980 was a milestone in Turkey's history both because of the 24 January Economic Decisions and the coup d'etat of 12 September. (Tekeli, 2011a: 335). In fact, the economic restructuring process that Turkey had to go through after 1980s was part of the neo-liberal economic policies that were spread by the global institutions such as IMF and World Bank.

In developed countries, the financial depression that was triggered by the 1973 oil crisis was addressed by the application of neo-liberal economic policies and by abandoning the Keynesian economic development model. As a result of minimized state intervention, capital got beyond the limits of the nation-state and became globalized. In this process, cities were assumed the role of the lead and became the focus of the economic development both in developed and under-developed countries. These cities were obliged to compete with each other in order to become a part of the global economy and take their share from the transnational distribution of the capital. Because of this, the administrations of the cities got into a fierce competition about marketing their respective cities using the discourses such as "global city" "world city" for attracting as much capital as possible. To align with this tendency, nation states abandoned their policies towards decreasing the regional disparities. Therefore, cities were encouraged to act almost in an autonomous manner in harmonizing with the rules of the global economy. Under these circumstances, the cities, which have limited potential and therefore rely on the investments of the state for development, were left alone with their own fate (Şengül, 2009: 150).

In the meanwhile, the importance of İstanbul, the largest city of the country, has increased relatively [67] (Tekeli, 2011b: 130). Especially after 1990s, İstanbul was involved in the race for becoming a "world city" and continued on gathering more capital and population. Thus, with the new spatial organization of the country, this was determined in accordance with the rules of the liberal economy, regional and intercity disparities increased dramatically. With the application of neo-liberal economic policies after 1980s, not only the balance among the cities was ruined, but also the cities found themselves in a multi-dimensional restructuring process as well. Tekeli (1982) defines the urbanization experience of Turkey in post-1980s as "a transition from the city of the small capital to the city of big capital". While the urban rent in the previous era was only in the pursuit of the small capital, it was included in the portfolio of big capital as big capital started to discover the urban space after 1980s.

The ruling government of ANAP (Anavatan Party [Mainland Party]), an advocate and also the implementer of the neo-liberal policies, was responsible for the entrance of the big capital into the urban rent market by contracting out large urban infrastructure projects to private sector[68]. Unlike the small capital, the power of the big capital in transforming the urban space in the urbanization process of post-1980s was obvisously bigger.

With the support of "Housing Development and Public Participation Administration" that was established in 1984, housing projects which were developed by the cooperatives became very common in 1980s. Planning institution lost its power on the urban form and big capital began to direct the urban development through large housing projects. Big capital actually achieved what the property developers (build-and-sell) were unable to: big capital owners purchased cheap pieces of land on the urban periphery and produced large scale housing projects (Işık and Pınarcıoğlu, 2003:131). As a result of this process, capital gained huge urban rent. In the meantime, local industry started to settle and develop in "organized industrial sites" while public institutions and the educational facilities have located in their own campuses, all in the urban periphery (Tekeli, 2001: 83). The advances in communication and transportation also supported this process; the sprawl of the city was triggered by plan changes and sub-divisional plans. Therefore, post-1980s could be described as a period in which the power of the planning institution decreased and the urban organization of city was determined along with the benefits of the market.

The dominant characteristic of the urbanization process in post-1980 was the ever-increasing sociospatial segregation. As the nation state abandoned the redistribution mechanisms, the sociospatial mechanisms that were keeping the social classes together, disappeared and class polarization reached extreme levels. A complicated class map was formed in urban space (Şengül, 2009: 142). After the service sector became the most important sector in the new urban economy, a group of well-educated professionals was employed in this sector with high salaries. This group of people formed the "new middle class". Moreover, there was also another group of people who were enriched rapidly by taking advantage of the opportunities, chances and even the loopholes of the new economic policies.

In this period, inter-class segregation in the city diversified and transformed as it has never been before. The dualities that defined the economic, social and spatial structure of the city before 1980, were no longer valid in the post-1980 era. In the previous period, the housing stock of the city was comprised of organized housing districts and "*gecekondu*" settlements. While middle and high classes were living in the residential areas of the city which were produced by the property developers, lower classes were living in illegal *gecekondu* settlements.

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[67] As mentioned before, after Ankara lost its priority in 1950s, İstanbul gained a central position in the sociospatial organization of the country both economically and culturally.
[68] After the transition from the military administration to democracy ANAP gained the power with a great success both in the general and local elections.

However, after big capital got involved in the housing provision after 1980, the spatial segregation between the middle and higher income groups became clearer. As a result, sociospatially segregated housing areas were built in the urban periphery. In the meantime, *gecekondu* settlements gained importance and was identified with its change value (Şengül, 2009: 144) and they were transformed via the property developer within the scope of urban transformation.

Similarly, the dual structure of the city center also disappeared in this period. Malls, which were located in the vicinity of the residential areas in the urban periphery, prepared the necessary conditions for many prestigious service and commercial functions to leave the city center. Therefore, they actually started the fragmentation process of the city center. In this new spatial map, social segregation is sharpened while being diversified. Especially, new middle classes of the period isolated themselves from the remaining residents of the city by settling in the "prestigious and safeguarded housing complexes" in the urban periphery. The reason behind the intention of the new middle classes of post-1980 to isolate themselves from the other social strata was the social transformation project of the 1980's economic restructuring process. In fact, the social transformation project of 1980s was totally opposite of the approach and project in Early Republican Era.

With 1980s, an individualistic and opportunist role model, which would act upon the rules of the neo-liberal economy, in other words, which would serve the ultimate purpose of earning the maximum available income, was intended to be build for the continuity of the capitalist mode of production. Kazgan (1999: 123) describes the ideology of the new era as "down-to-the-public liberal ideology". According to Kazgan, creation of a new type of person was intended by injecting this ideology to the people and changing their standard of judgment accordingly. In the same way, Tekeli (2001: 83) emphasizes that a new "opportunist urbanite" who wants to get his share from the urban rent in the new political practice that was based on populism and patronage relations was created.

With the social project that was put into practice under the conditions provided by the liberal market economy and globalization, social values underwent a big change. While "making money" and "consumption" has been glorified as it has never been before, the poorer citizens and non-consumers were excluded at the same degree (Işık and Pınarcıoğlu, 2003: 140). A cultural environment, in which urban people could survive to the extent that they consume (Kazgan, 1999: 124) in the new urban economy, was created. While global consumption culture was spreading out to the world, "new middle classes" emerged as the pioneer of this culture in Turkey (Öncü, 1999 quoted in Işık and Pınarcıoğlu, 2003: 139). This İstanbul-based culture is reaching out the entire country by the help of communication technologies, and mass media acted as its biggest supporter.

Therefore, the construction of "a new lifestyle" rising over the global consumption culture, led by the new middle classes of post-1980, was started. Leisure activity became one of the most important components of the new lifestyle and it was perceived equivalently with the consumption. As a matter of fact, even the shopping activity itself was presented and also experienced as a leisure activity by which the individuals could reproduce themselves. Therefore, the meaning and perception of leisure activity in the social structure changed.

Paralell to the change in leisure perception, leisure activity has gotten into the economic realm of consumption. Thus, the production of leisure spaces has become more strategic in the consumption-driven urban economy due to the increased emphasis on economic value of leisure space. Leisure spaces started to be produced for the purpose of supporting economic outcomes and thus, facilitating urban economic growth. Therefore, leisure spaces mostly became commodified, and perceived as "consumption spaces" and designed according to this perception.

As a result, the production of leisure spaces gained similar importance in post-1980s, as it was in the Early Republican era. However, there was a fundamental difference in both the provision and the purpose. While leisure spaces in the Early Republican Era were designed with the intervention of the state as interaction places, these spaces in the post-1980s were designed as consumption places and provided by the market in order to create economic value. Parallel to the suburbanization of the

middle and high classes, leisure activity of the new era, which was entwined together with consumption activity, became decentralized. Leisure activities, which were located in the city center until 1980s, are either located as enclaves on a few prestigious streets, or started to move and locate in shopping malls. Parallel to the fragmentation of the city center, public life of the city was disturbed and leisure activities transformed from "collective activities" experienced in the public places, to "individual activities" experienced in shopping malls.

It was not only the geography of leisure that changed but also its meaning was subject to change as well. In other words, while the urban leisure component was changing itsgeography as it was moving from the accessible geography of the city center to shopping malls, this change was accompanied by the change in the meaning of leisure. Leisure activity started to be identified more with consumption practices. Hence, the meaning of leisure space as socialization space or interaction space has faded and leisure space became more identical with the consumption space.

Due to the individuation process, leisure spaces, which were designed as interaction and socialization spaces before, were started to be designed as "*consumption spaces*" in line with its changed meaning. Accordingly, while leisure and production activities were meeting at the same place in Gazi Forest Farm in the Early Republican Era, in today's Ankara, leisure and consumption activities are meeting in the same place, in shopping mall.

6.2 Geography: Decentralization of Leisure Activity; Shopping Centers as New Leisure Geographies

This section focuses on how the geographical distribution of leisure activities has changed in accordance with the changing content of leisure. After 1980, the geography of leisure activity has been subject to an immense change and transformation process that has not been experienced in the previous periods. Three factors, which were defined to understand the geographical distribution of leisure activities, are also valid in this period: structure of the city center, accessibility, and residential mobility of middle and higher classes[69]. Drastic changes in these three factors during the post 1980 era have changed the geographical distribution of the leisure activities in the city substantially. As a result of the fragmentation of the city center along with the significant increase in car ownership and the suburbanization of the middle and higher classes, leisure geography started to move from the city center to urban periphery.

However, this transformation did not occur instantly; the tendencies of the previous period continued to determine the leisure geography for a little longer. The development of leisure geography in this era also showed parallelism with the change and transformation in the city center. In 1970s, Ankara had two segregated city centers: Ulus, as the traditional center, and Kızılay, as the prestigious center. As mentioned before, in accordance with this duality of city centers, Ankara had a dual leisure geography as well.

With 1980s, central district of Kızılay surpassed the central district of Ulus in the density of CBD functions and the city center began to extend in southern direction from Kızılay to Kavaklıdere. While the decision making bodies, prestigious commercial facilities and services were concentrating in

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[69] Sociospatial formation of leisure activity is highly related to the residential mobility of the middle and higher social classes, which have enough disposable income and leisure time. This relation is the reason why leisure spaces have a geographical distribution that follows the residential mobility of the higher income groups of the city.

Kızılay-Kavaklıdere, central district of Ulus was specialized in businesses and services towards lower income groups and rural areas as well as wholesale trade and warehousing (Bademli, 1987a: 157).

During this era, prestigious commerce and service functions of the city started to move to Kavaklıdere-Çankaya axes[70]. Therefore, in 1980s, dual structure of the city center was transformed into a triple-centered version: Ulus, Kızılay and Kavaklıdere. Kavaklıdere constitutes the southern extension of the city center. However, this new center formation was unanticipated in AMANPB Ankara 1990 Plan (AMANPB, 1977). In other words, this was not a development that was projected and directed by the city plans, instead, it was a development led by the market mechanism.

Urban leisure geography has been formed in parallel to these aforementioned developments in city center structure. The tendency of leisure activities towards the direction of Kavaklıdere-Çankaya, which first appeared by the end of 1970s, became much more apparent after 1980s. Until 1970s, despite the dual structure, everyday life of the middle classes was taking place in the central districts of Ulus-Kızılay. However, starting from the end of 1970s, middle classes have left Ulus and its environs and abandoned *Gençlik Parkı* which was one of the most important spaces of publicity, and started to endure their daily lifes in the axe of Kızılay-Kavaklıdere. Thus, with 1980s, prestigious leisure activities left Ulus district and left behind leisure activities those are for the lower classes. Although Kızılay was keeping its importance with respect to the concentration of leisure activities, the prestige-bound leisure activities started to produce their spaces in Kavaklıdere-Çankaya but not in Kızılay.

Therefore, leisure activities, which constitutes an important part of the new consumption patterns, were inclined to cluster in the streets of Kavaklıdere, Çankaya and Gazi Osman Paşa. As a result, Kızılay started to lose its prestige. In other words, after 1980s, instead of the public spaces of Kızılay and Atatürk Boulevard, prestigious leisure activities were clustered in geographies, where new consumption patterns are produced. Streets such as Tunalı Hilmi and Bahçelievler 7th Street have emerged as new leisure geographies.

As a result, leisure activity moved away from the "center" and scattered in the city in a fashion that symbolizes the status differences. With this, the segregation in the geographical distribution of the leisure activity started to gain clarity.

The unfavorable physical environment of Kızılay, which was formed after the demolish-and-rebuild process that Kızılay had to go through, had substantial impact on Kızılay's becoming a less prestigious geography for leisure activities. In the period of 1950-1980, the built environment of Kızılay central district underwent the demolish-and-rebuild process about 3-4 times. These processes had most devastating effect on the leisure spaces. Ataturk Boulevard, which has hosted many of the city's iconic leisure spaces, was continuously exposed to a process of change that has gradually decreased its publicity. As a result of the subsequent plan modifications starting from the second half of 1950s, Ataturk Boulevard became the focus of the urban rent and therefore its scale and building-street relations were destroyed considerably (Keskinok, 2009: 55).

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[70] There were three factors behind the development of the city center and leisure geography towards the southern part of the city. The first one is that the residential areas of middle and higher income groups were situated in the southern part of the city. Second factor is the cluster formed by the embassies as prestigious component in the formation of Kızılay-Kavaklıdere axis. The other factor is that public institutions have started to locate at Eskişehir Road.

Figure 63.1 Transformation of Atatürk Boulevard.
Source: http://www.ergir.com

Until 1980s, the part of Atatürk Boulevard between Sıhhıye and Kızılay squares was the most popular promenade for Ankara's residents. Vast majority of the citizens in Ankara were public servants and they had regular working hours. It has been a ritual for those people to go for a walk in this section of Atatürk Boulevard after work. This part of the city was referred as "piyasa yeri [the place of promenade]" in narratives and leisure spaces were its most significant urban component. Leisure spaces for stopping by and taking a break during the promenade were *Kutlu* and *Özen* Patisseries until 1950s. *Piknik* and *Restoran Cevat* served for the same purpose in 1950s and 1960s. In 1970s, concentrated and high rising Kızılay could only be observed from the "Set Kafeterya" [Set Café] that was located at the roof of "Emek İşhanı" [Emek Business Complex] which was also known as "gökdelen [Skyscraper]". With 1980s, while the city center was transforming and diversifying, high-rise business centers were lined up on Atatürk Boulevard from Kızılay to Kavaklıdere. Following this development, Emek İşhanı lost its distinctive feature as the "skyscraper" in Kızılay. And unfortunately no new leisure space to serve as an observation point for Kızılay has emerged thereafter.

Figure 6.2 The Change of Kızılay Square.
Source: http://www.ergir.com

During the demolish-and-rebuild process of Kızılay, the areas reserved for the pedestrians were reduced inversely proportional to the increasing population. While the pedestrian-only sidewalks of Atatürk Boulevard in 1950s were large enough to even have the tables of the patisseries and cafes, the Boulevard was turned into a regular street and lost the specialty of "promenade" in 1980s. The squares on Atatürk Boulevard, which were produced as significant socialization spaces in the Early Republican Era, lost their feature as "square" and became just the nodes of the vehicle traffic. With the demolition of Kızılay building in 1979 and the destruction of *Kızılay Bahçesi* [Kızılay Garden], two important components that identified and named Kızılay Square were destroyed[71]. Moreover, with

[71] A competition was held in 1980 for the project of the new building that would be constructed in place of the old building. After the approval of the project in 1980, the construction started as late as in 1993. The building was leased to Beğendik Department Store for a period of 25 years. However, due to the conflicts between Kızılay Society and Beğendik, the building was kept unoccupied for many years. The agreement between both parties

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the destruction of *Kızılay Bahçesi*, Ankara lost one of the first public leisure spaces, that was created in Early Republican Era and known as *Havuzbaşı* in 1930s. The new building that was constructed in place of the old Kızılay building was in construction for almost 30 years, and during this time, one corner of the most important square in the city was closed to public use. After 32 years, the building was completed and was opened as *Kızılay Shopping Mall* in 2011. Thus, the move of leisure activity from public space to the "gated and enclosed space" was realized in the same location.

Besides, in 1980s, we can also mention about the developments in Kızılay, which affected the sociospatial configuration of the leisure activities positively. The idea about pedestrianizing Kızılay Square was expressed for the first time during the mayoralty of Ali Dinçer (1977-1980). Having realized that Kızılay Square was gradually turning into an intersection, the close vicinity of the square was proposed to be reorganized as pedestrian-only zones which would not be interrupted by vehicle traffic. First pedestrianization was applied in İzmir Street in 1978 (Ayoğlu, 2010: 49). However, reorganization works were suspended after the military coup of 12th September 1980 until it was put on the agenda one more time by the General Directorate of EGO in 1982 (Aydın et al, 2005: 606). Therefore, the first part of "Kızılay Pedestrian Zones" project, theoratical background of which was formed in the years of 1977-1980, was realized in 1980s (Akış, 2002: 86).

With this project, İzmir Street, Sakarya Street and Yüksel Street were pedestrianized. By the time, these pedestrian zones have survived as the only human-friendly districts of the city center. In addition, closing these streets to vehicle traffic also increased the concentration of the leisure spaces in this district as well. As deduced from Beki Bahar's text (2003: 114), in 1930s Sakarya Street was a place where delicatessen shops and fish stores were located. Thanks to the pedestrianization of the street, it has preserved the same functionality until today with the addition of places such as flower shops and bars. After its pedestrianization, Yüksel Street, which was an extension of the green corridor in Jansen Plan stretching from Anıttepe, became the destination of the youth and the space of political visibility with its popular bookstores and cafés.

However, unfortunetaly no new pedestrianized zones were added since 1980s. In fact, during İ.Melih Gökçek's mayoralty (from 1994), new regulations were made in favour of vehicles to support the flow of traffic. In 3rd October 2003, in order to support an uninterrupted traffic flow, pedestrian crossings in Kızılay were blockaded with barriers to make the citizens use the subway bridge to cross the street. However, this regulation, which was actually aimed at preventing the citizens from using the Square and the Boulevard, was brought to the court. With the court decision on 19th of November in 2003, the barriers were removed and pedestrian crossings were opened again. (Aydın et al, 2005: 607). We can deduce that the urban space, which came out as a result of this new understanding about the spatial organization of Kızılay, especially became a repellent factor for the prestigious leisure activities.

In conclusion, the distorted urban space, which was developed as a result of Kızılay's physical transformation, created the pre-conditions for the escaping of leisure spaces from Kızılay, initially to the axe of Kavaklıdere-Çankaya and to the shopping malls afterwards (Keskinok, 2009: 52-55). In other words, Kızılay's physical transformation played an important role in leisure spaces' leaving Kızılay. It should not be forgotten that leisure spaces are produced within a spatial context and they are more than just the buildings and the leisure activities in those buildings. Therefore, as their spatial context change, leisure spaces tend to find themselves more appropriate locations. On the other hand, since the leisure activities left Kızılay, Kızılay's physical transformation was accompanied by the sociocultural transformation as well.

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was rescinded in 2003 and Kızılay Building was rented to another company in 2009 for 25 years. Thus, the construction of the new building was actually completed 32 years after the demolition of the old one. Current tenant of the building, Kızılay Shopping Center was opened on 23 December 2011.

Figure 6.3 Transformation of Kızılay Square

Kızılay's diminishing prestige was very much related with the tendency of the city center to develop in the southward direction. From 1990s, the dual structure of the city center started to lose its meaning. In parallel, while the city center was growing into a more diversified and scattered structure, business and shopping centers have become the most significant defining components of the city center.

In order to meet the changing needs of the consumer society, first shopping malls were introduced in Ankara by the end of 1980s. As a new urban form including both shopping and leisure, first shopping malls of Ankara were opened in the southern extension of the city center, Kavaklıdere - Gazi Osman Paşa - Çankaya district, where the residents were able to spend more on shopping and leisure. As a

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result, the southern development of the city was even more strengthened with the addition of the malls, since they attracted and clustered many of the prestigious functions. The first multi-story shopping mall, *Atakule* was opened in 1989 at the southwestern part, which was followed by the opening of *Karum Shopping and Business Center* in 1991 at the southeastern part of the city. With the opening of shopping malls, the spatiality of leisure activities changed dimension. Leisure activities, which used to locate at the public spaces of the city, started to locate at these new "enclosed and gated" spaces.

Atakule was comprised of a shopping mall and tower, which was built as symbol for the new bourgeoisie. Atakule symbolizes the liberal economy itself and also the consumption culture and the new life style. Since it was constructed as a unique and distinctive building with the utilization of advanced technology, new construction materials and new architectural form, Atakule became an important landmark and also a spatial reference point for the residents of Ankara (Uludağ, 2003: 3). In addition, it also became the new location of the leisure activities produced for the new middle classes.

Karum was constructed as a part of Sheraton Hotel Complex which was located on the last vineyard of Kavaklıdere Vines in the inner city (Aydın et al, 2005: 601). Tunalı Hilmi Street as an important shopping and leisure geography and the urban parks of Kuğulu and Seğmenler Parks are located in the close vicinity of Karum. The adjacency of these significant leisure places transformed the area into one of the most popular and important leisure geographies of the city starting from the end of 1990s. With this development, Arjantin and Filistin Streets became so popular that they were stacked with new leisure places. Consequently, residential buildings in Arjantin and Filistin Streets were completely transformed into commercial places. Thus, the streets became very much identified with international brands, expensive shops, cafes, bars, and elite restaurants (Uludağ, 2003: 4).

After the opening of Atakule and Karum shopping centers in 1989 and 1991 respectively, Galleria Shopping Mall was opened in 1995 as the first shopping center in the urban periphery parallel to the ongoing decentralization process of the city. Following the opening of Galleria in the southwestern part of the city in Ümitköy, numerous new shopping malls have been opened afterwards in the urban periphery, especially on the main routes of the city, such as Eskişehir Road, Konya Road and İstanbul Road. In time, shopping malls, which have emerged as a result of the efforts put in by the new middle classes in isolating themselves from the lower classes, became a significant component of the urban life in 2000s.

When they were first introduced, malls were intended only for the higher income groups. However, after becoming a part of new middle classes lifestyle, shopping malls have spread out to the entire city and became the major leisure geographies of the city. Consequently, shopping malls detached the leisure spaces from the city center and incorporated them and became a phenomenon in today's city by simulating the city center. They became so popular in the urban life, we can also talk about even more congested rush hour traffic during the weekends on the roads around the shopping malls similar to the rush hour traffic during the work days.

As they incorporate many commercial and service functions exclusive to the city center, shopping malls are an outcome of a projected life style distant from the city and the city center. The development of shopping malls into new focal points of the city, not only deepened the segregation of the urban geography, but also started the fragmentation process of the city center starting from the end of 1990s. As a result, middle classes living in the periphery degrade their relations with the city center to minimum and abstain from going there in order to avoid the encounters with "the others" who are not similar to themselves.

For this reason, prestigious commercial activities, similar to the leisure activities also moved to the shopping malls, thus the city center was almost cleared out. In 2000s, Kızılay was facing the same fate that Ulus faced in 1970s, in which "used" and "worn out" city center (Ulus) was abandoned by the middle classes and left to the lower classes for alternative geographies. Since Kızılay had substantial

depredation in its built environment due to its position at the very center of urban rent, it lost the function of being the center of urban life.

To approach the dilemma from a social perspective, one can argue that shopping malls provide a more hygienic and secure spatial design compared to Kızılay's polluted and insecure environment. However, it should be kept in mind that, the individual, who is a "citizen" in the public spaces of the city, is just a "customer" in shopping mall. The citizens are encouraged by the market mechanism to experience the shopping malls as they are "sort of" providing the ambiance of a city center. Despite shopping malls are presented as alternatives to the city center, they are in fact not public spaces: they are private properties with access control mechanisms.

Sshopping malls have become major sites for various forms of leisure. However, it is worth to note that the changing one is not only the geography of leisure but also its meaning is subject to change. Shopping malls have become favorite locations for cinema halls, theatres and other similar leisure activities. This is due to a simple fact that the meaning of leisure activity has also changed and leisure became identified with the consumption activity. Even conventional retail consumption (shopping) itself has become a major leisure activity today. Shopping malls are the symbols of the transition of leisure experience from a "collective" activity which was experienced on the boulevards and streets of the city center, in other words in the public spaces of the center, to an "individual" activity that is experienced in an "enclosed and gated" private space.
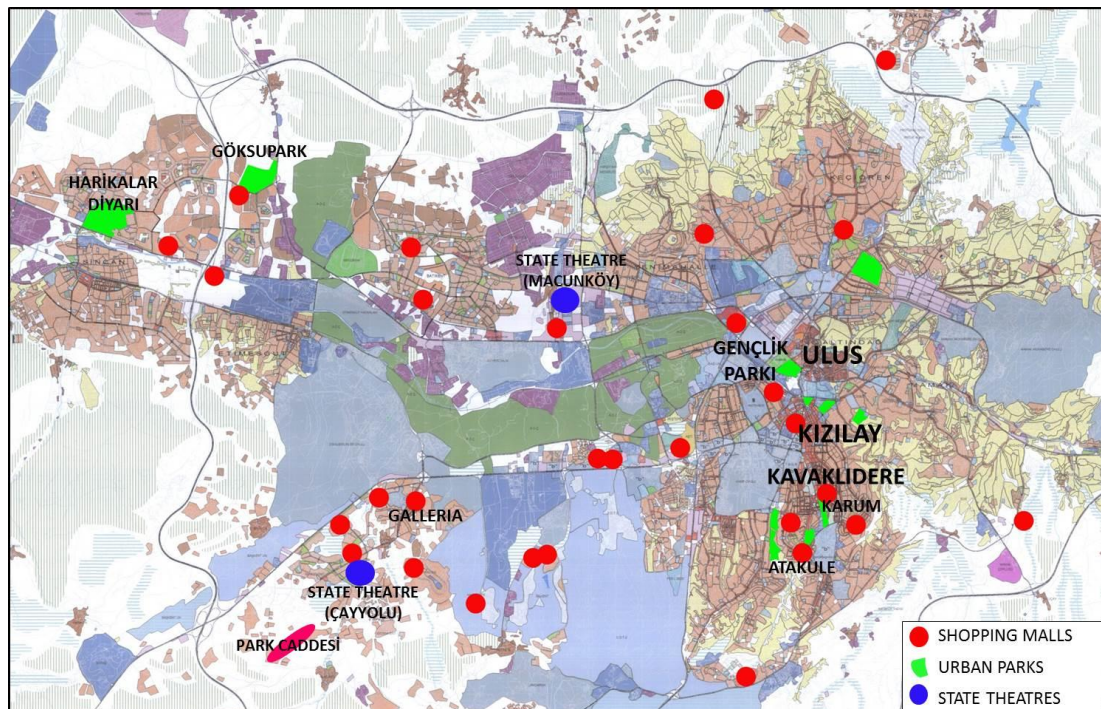

Figure 6.4 Leisure Geography of Today's Ankara.
Base Map: Gökçe, 2007.

As a consequence of the rapid integration of shopping malls into the social life of the city, urban leisure spaces have become dispersed and sprawled. When we examine the geographical distribution

of shopping malls as the new geographies of leisure, we come across a dispersed pattern. The geographic locations of the malls which are increasing in number every passing day, match exactly with the social segregation in the city.

There is a foresight in site selection of the malls each social class to experience their own leisure forms in their own leisure geography. Leisure activity, which was experienced collectively in public spaces of the city before 1980s, was a "unifying component". As for today, leisure turned into a consumption activity located in private spaces and became a symbol of social segregation and status differentiations.

In addition to the shopping malls, we observe that leisure activities are clustered at some of the streets on the southwest corridor of the city, close to the residential areas of the high income groups. These leisure geographies are actually not a product of a planning decision; instead, they are entirely formed according to the rationale and demands of the capital. Park Street, which is one of the most prestigious leisure geographies of the city today, is one of these streets. Although the villas on Park Street were designed as residential units in the plan, they were converted into commercial units to host leisure activities. In today's urban life in which "the space" itself became a subject of consumption, frequenting restaurants and cafés of Park street became a symbol of status.

After 1980s and especially in 2000s, not only the entertainment spaces, but also the recreation and cultural spaces have left the city center and were decentralized. The urban parks produced during the mayoralty of I.Melih Gökçek, such as Göksu Park and Harikalar Diyarı [Wonderland] are located on very distant geographies. Creating "urban parks" on the geographies which are about 25-30 kilometers away from the center on one hand, and trying to destroy the existing recreation spaces in the city center[72] on the other hand, creates a very contradictory situation. Göksu Park is formed by organizing the 50.8-hectare area around the old Susuz Gölet [Susuz Pond] as a recreational space. Göksu Park is about 25 kilometers away from the city center. It was widely claimed that the park was produced in order to secure political support before the municipal elections on 28th March 2004, since its construction was completed in 100 days and it was opened in June 2003 before the election. Harikalar Diyarı is constructed in 2003 on 120 hectares of land around Yunus Göleti [Yunus Pond] in Sincan-Fatih district about 30 kilometers away from the city center. Similar to Göksu Park, Harikalar Diyarı is also a product of the same political concerns.

Despite their enormous sizes, Göksu Park and Harikalar Diyarı do not serve for the entire city; they appeal more to the district of Sincan-Fatih-Eryaman due to their location. Locations of both parks in distant geographies clearly shows that leisure activity became "a segregating not a unifying urban component".

Cultural spaces also left the city center and underwent the decentralization process as well. There is changing trend in site selection of cinema halls in the urban space. While the cinema halls in the city center are closing one after another, new cinema halls are opening in the sprawled shopping malls. 17 out of 21 cinema halls in service today are located in shopping malls. Only three cinema halls in

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[72] With the demolition of Kızılay building in 1979, *Kızılay Bahçesi* was destroyed as well. The initiatives for converting *Zafer Park* and *Güvenpark* into underground parking spaces during the mayoralty of Mehmet Altınsoy in 1986-1987 were prevented by the residents of Ankara. However, it is unfortunate that some of the plane trees in Zafer Park were cut down because of this initiative. Zafer Çarşısı [Zafer Shopping Complex] was built under Zafer II Park in 1960s. Today, almost nothing but an empty and idle area is left from the park and the square. In *Güvenpark*, an area was allocated to the bus and *dolmuş* stations and therefore the park was reduced in size. With the decision of Ankara Cultural and Natural Heritage Preservation Board dated 13 July 1994 (decision 3591) *Güvenpark* was recorded as "Grade 1 Natural Site and Monument Statue". During the term of İ.Melih Gökçek in 2005, *Güvenpark* faced another threat which was about building an underground parking space in the park. This threat was avoided by the reactions of Ankara's residents.

Kızılay and one in Bahçelievler could have survived as stand-alone cinemas. These four cinemas are Büyülü Fener, Kızılırmak and Metropol Cinemas in Kızılay and Büyülü Fener Cinema in Bahçelievler.

Table 6.1 List of Cinema Halls in Ankara. Source: http://www.sinemalar.com

CINEMA HALLS	LOCATION	DISTRICT
Büyülü Fener Sineması Kızılırmak Sineması Metropol Sineması	KIZILAY	KIZILAY
Büyülü Fener Sineması	BAHÇELİEVLER	BAHÇELİEVLER
Cinemalltepe	Malltepe Shopping Center	MALTEPE
Cinemaximum	ANKAmall Shopping Center	AKKÖPRÜ
Bilkent Prestige	Bilkent Shopping Center	BİLKENT
Optimum Avşar Eryaman Yunus Göksu Sinemax	Optimum Shopping Center Dolphin Shopping Center Göksu Shopping Center	ERYAMAN
Cinemaximum Cinema Pink	Antares Shopping Center Forum Shopping Center	ETLİK
Ankara Moviecity	FT2 Shopping Center	KEÇİÖREN
Cinemaximum	Panora Shopping Center	ORAN
Cinemaximum Kentpark Prestige Cinemaximum	Cepa Shopping Center Kentpark Shopping Center Armada Shopping Center	ESKİŞEHİR ROAD
Arcadium Cinemaximum	Arcadium Shopping Center Gordion Shopping Center	ÜMİTKÖY-ÇAYYOLU
Cinemaximum	Atlantis Shopping Center	BATIKENT
Nata&Vega Prestige	Anatolium Shopping Center	MAMAK

Likewise, some of the new theatre stages of the State Theatres are also located in remote geographies. From 1980s to 2012, seven new theatre stages have been added to the State Theatre System. İrfan Şahinbaş Atölye Sahnesi [İrfan Şahinbaş Workshop Stage] and Stüdyo Sahne [Stüdyo Stage] were opened in 1990 and 2008 respectively in Macunköy, which is 10 km. away from the city center. Similarly, Cüneyt Gökçer Sahnesi [Cüneyt Gökçer Stage] in Çayyolu, a residential area of higher income groups, was put into service in 2006. The distance of this theatre stage from the city center is approximately 20 km. However, despite the opening of these new stages, it should be emphasized that Büyük Tiyatro, Küçük Tiyatro and Oda Tiyatrosu, which were produced in the Early Republican Era, are still serving in their initial locations and buildings. The cluster of these theatres is still the "cultural focus" of the city.

Table 6.2 The Locations of State Theatres in Ankara
Source:Devlet Tiyatroları Genel Müdürlüğü [Directorate of State Theatres] and www.devtiyatro.gov.tr

	Name of the Movie Theatre	**Opening Date**	**Location**
EARLY REPUBLICAN PERIOD: 1923-1950	Küçük Tiyatro	1947	Ulus – Opera Square
	Büyük Tiyatro	1949	Ulus – Opera Square
1950-1980	Oda Tiyatrosu	1956	Ulus – Opera Square
	Altındağ Tiyatrosu	1964	Altındağ
POST 1980s	Şinasi Sahnesi	1988	Kavaklıdere - Tunus Str.
	İrfan Şahinbaş Atölye Sahnesi	1990	Macunköy
	Akün Sahnesi	2003	Kavaklıdere - Atatürk Bl.
	Muhsin Ertuğrul Sahnesi	2006	Dikimevi
	Cüneyt Gökçer Sahnesi	2006	Çayyolu
	Stüdyo Sahne	2008	Macunköy
	75. Yıl Sahnesi	2009	Kızılay - Mithatpaşa Str.

Just like entertainment places, changing trends in site selection of cultural spaces show that cultural activities has also been through the process of decentralization. Especially cinema activity has almost totally left the city center and relocated in shopping malls. Same tendency is also applicable to theatre activity with a caveat that different from the other forms of leisure, the theatre activity is still provided predominantly by the state.

In conclusion, urban leisure activity changed geography by moving out from the accessible geography of the city center and locating in shopping malls or clustering randomly in decentralized locations in the urban periphery. In other words, leisure geography has changed from "in town" to "out of town". These new decentralized leisure geographies are implicitly segregated, fractured, and limited in terms of accessibility and therefore they are exclusion places for lower social strata. While leisure spaces in city centers provide the means of socialization and interaction for all social classes, decentralized geographies of leisure, by nature, are socially segregated and are designed to serve for a specific group of customers. As a result, instead of collective leisure experience on the street of the city and city center, leisure in this era is experienced individually in shopping malls. Thus, the leisure activity becomes more introverted.

6.3. Provision: Absolute Domination of the Market in Leisure Provision and Commodification of Leisure Space

The socioeconomic restructuring process of post 1980s, which was triggered by the neo-liberal economic policies, had extensive effects on the sociospatial structure of the cities. This process produced radical changes in every aspect of social life, including the planning approach and leisure space production. Urban planning adopted a more partial planning approach after 1980s than ever and metropolitan cities have been shaped mostly by this incremental planning approach. As a result of this planning approach, cities started to grow in an uncontrolled manner and sprawl. Planning as a regulating mechanism lost its effectiveness in directing and controlling the urban form, and the role of market mechanism in steering the urban development increased substantially. Therefore, the capital has become a major driving force in the urbanization process.

Until the approval of 2023 Ankara Master Plan in 2007, urban development of Ankara was guided by the subdivision plans produced based on AMANPB 1990 Plan. Therefore, uncontrolled decentralization directed by partial plans and market-driven locational dynamics led to the sociospatial segregation of the city and the fragmentation of city center. Sociospatial geography of the city has been segregated with respect to income groups. Especially high classes have started to locate in the south-western part of the city.

Therefore, the partial planning approach prevented the city and the leisure component to be handled with comprehensive policies. Along this, it also paved the way for the structuring of leisure geography by market mechanism. In the city leisure component, which was sprawled randomly by the subdivision plans, was removed from the city center and moved to the suburbs; and segregated leisure geographies were produced. Hence, leisure activity became one of the most important components of the sociospatial segregation in the city after 1980s.

Giving up the statist policies and the inadequacy of urban planning in directing the leisure provision with the full economic liberalization secured by the end of 1980s, made the market mechanism the most dominant actor in leisure provision. Therefore, it can be concluded that the reason behind increasing sociospatial segregation of leisure activities in this era is the provision of leisure by the market instead of the state and the commodification of leisure activities as a natural consequence of this.

6.3.1   Partial Planning Period (1983-2007)

In 1983, only one year after the approval of Ankara 1990 Plan, Ankara Metropolitan Area Master Plan Bureau (AMANPB) was closed and incorporated into the new municipal administration. In that year, Ankara Büyükşehir Belediyesi [Greater Ankara Municipality] was established according to the law no 3030. Besides, with the amendments in the planning law (İmar Yasası [Reconstruction Law]), the responsibilities of the municipalities were enhanced and the municipalities were equipped with more power in the ratification of urban plans. Since then, municipalities, which have both the responsibilities of making, approving and implementing city plans, were recognized as ultimate authorities in the field of planning.

In 1986,Ankara Metropolitan Municipality invited the academicians of the Middle East Technical University to develop 1990 Plan according to the expectations and the needs of year 2015. Ankara 2015 Plan was a structure plan, which mainly aimed the decentralization of the city. Altough the plan was a structure plan determining the general framework of urban development, it was utilized immediately for partial planning practices outside the municipal boundaries (Bademli, 1990: 43). However, Ankara 2015 Plan was not approved. Therefore, even after 1990, the city continued its development by partial plans based on AMANPB Ankara 1990 Plan, until 2007.

6.3.2   2023 Capital Ankara Master Plan (2007)

Based on the Law of Metropolitan Municipality (Law no: 5216) approved in 2004, Ankara Metropolitan Municipality started urban studies to produce a new plan at 1/25000 scale. Planning studies for Ankara 2023 Plan were completed in 2006 and the plan was approved in 2007. Unlike the previous two plans, the plan was not preperared as a structure plan; instead it has more precise development decisions. Similar to the previous two plans, decentralization of the city was also proposed in this plan as the development strategy of the city. Projected population for the metropolitan area of Ankara, which covers an area of 850.000 hectares in 2023, is accepted to be 7.5 million.

As the 2023 Ankara Master Plan is reviewed, it catches the eyes that the plan does not have any concern about defining the problem areas related to leisure activity and therefore it does not take any spatial decisions about leisure activity. A leisure notion which was defined in both Lörcher and Jansen plans, was not defined in this plan. In the plan report, leisure activity was covered under the title of "social life sectors", which contains the subtitles of "housing, social services and administrative areas, urban and regional open-green system, conservation and development of urban historical and cultural values, and tourism".

Leisure spaces were covered under the subtitles of "cultural facilities" and "public (active) open-green areas". However, the plan did produce any decision about these spaces; it just provided a brief summary about the current situation. In addition, none of the problem areas about this component of the city, which were explained before, were not mentioned in the plan report.

Cultural spaces are examined in the section of "social services and administrative areas". In the plan report, institutions for cinema, theatre, opera and ballet are analyzed with respect to the number of facilities and the number of spectators. The plan compares the city of Ankara with metropolitan cities of İstanbul and İzmir. According to this analysis, the city of Ankara has a positive picture in terms of leisure spaces ironically, most of those spaces were produced in the Early Republican Period by the state intervention.

> "At the point reached today after all the efforts devoted for the creation of the modern capital of Turkish Republic through years; *Ankara, in general meaning, possesses the necessary social and institutional facilities to a large extent*, despite they are satisfactory both in homogeneity and in quantity compared to the conditions of the other countries" (Gökçe, 2007: 341, *emphasize added*).

Unlike Ankara 1990 plan, 2023 plan does not have any concern related to present or proposed standards of cultural services. Moreover, the plan report does not identify any problem areas about cultural spaces or does not reveal the inadequacy of standards and unequal distribution of cultural services. Last but not the least, the proposals of the plan remain at the level of discourse and they are not spatially determined. There are no spatial decisions about cultural spaces even in the part of "Sector Strategies" and "Spatial Strategies". Only decision in this part is related to Ankara Culture Center which was declared as "Culture Zone" in 1995. The plan proposes that this culture zone project should be realized and should become one of the main elements of the city's cultural structure.

The changing trend in site selection of cinemas is neglected in the plan report. The increase in the quantity of cinemas, mainly in shopping malls is demonstrated as a positive development. However, despite this increase, the city center gradually lost its cinema halls. Relocation or decentralization of leisure spaces is highly related with the fragmentation process of the city center. As the city is segregated with respect to social classes, the city center has become more fragmented. Shopping malls emerged as a phenomenon which simulate the city center, but on the base of residential differentiation. Consequently, the plan is insufficient in determining the problems about leisure spaces and reading the leisure geography from the lens of social stratification.

In the plan report, recreation spaces are covered under the title of "urban and regional open-green system". The plan proposes four main green zones: the first two is defined at the regional scale; third one surrounds the core of the city; and the last one is related to open-green system of the inner city. The plan categorizes urban greens and examines recreation spaces under the category of "public (active) open-green areas".

The plan has a vision about Atatürk Orman Çiftliği (AOÇ) [Atatürk Forest Farm], which was inherited from Early Republican Era. AOÇ is declared as a natural and historical site based on the law Nr.2436 in 1992 and boundaries of this site were determined with the law Nr.3097 in 1993. 2023 Capital Ankara Plan proposes AOÇ to be "Green Heart" of the city, and its recreational potentials to be

developed. The plan report explains present situation of leisure spaces and determines general objectives at the discourse level. However, the strategies and policies are not defined clearly.

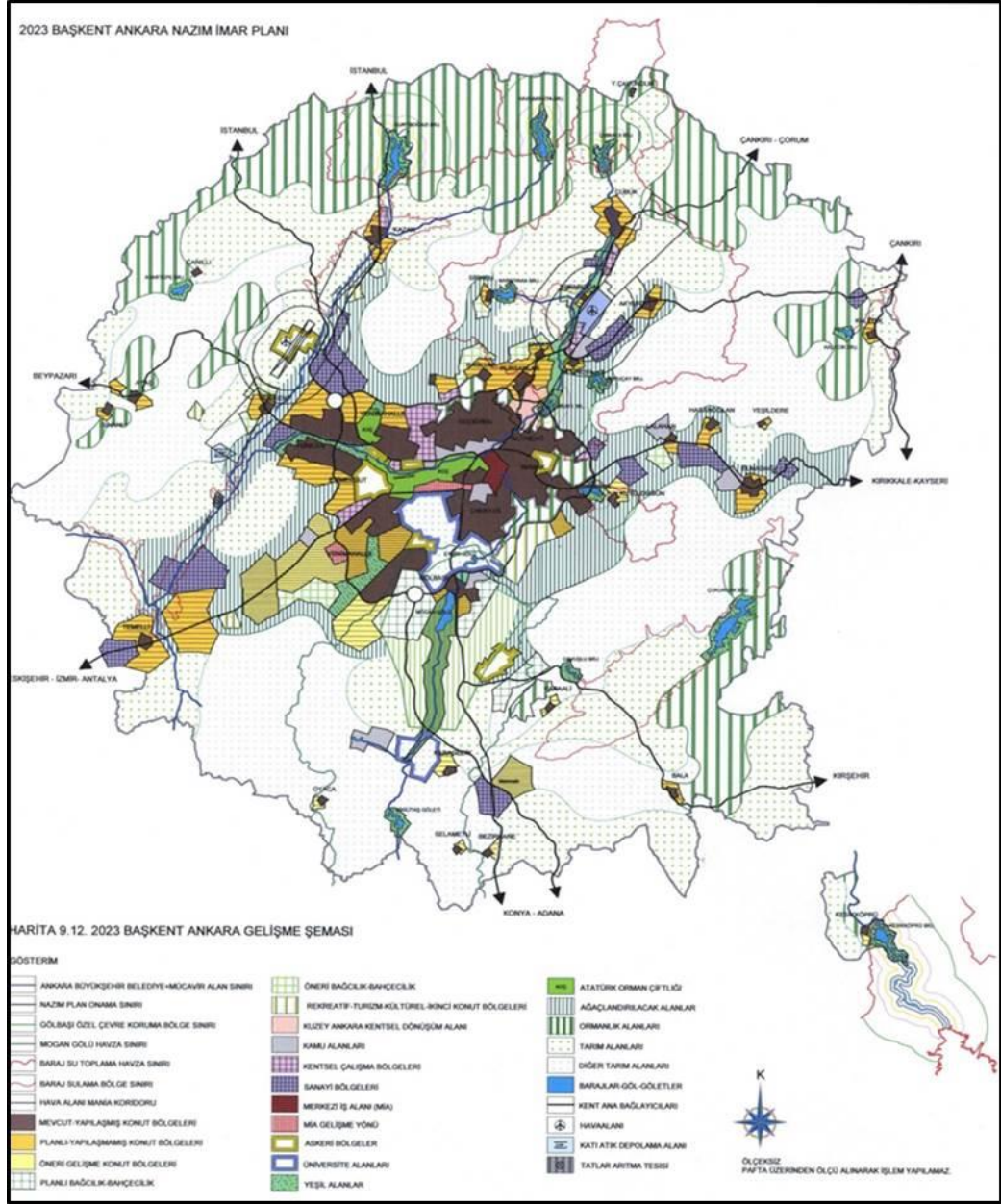**Figure 6.5** 2023 Capital Ankara Master Plan

The plan does not see leisure component as an urban component that should be included in the planning practice. The plan, not only abstained from producing direct spatial decisions about leisure activity, but also did not produce decisions to direct the configuration of leisure geography. It left the design of this urban component to the market mechanism.

"Movie theaters, which have many cinema halls together, are developing in bigger shopping malls or in separate buildings with a diversity that allows the showing of multiple movies simultaneously. They are picking locations both in the shopping malls so to overcome the parking problem and in private buildings in central business districts or leapfrogging points" (Gökçe, 2007 : 343).

This expression shows that the plan sees leisure place as "a separate reality that is developed totally out of the context of planning practice". As a consequence of this approach that ignores the necessity about the planning of leisure activity, leisure places, which have increasing importance in today's cities, are designed by market mechanism according to its own needs and dynamics. This situation explains the segregated and fractured structure of the leisure geographies which have been produced by the market mechanism.

The case of Ankara shows that the reason behind the sociospatial segregation of leisure geographies is the shortcomings in the direction of leisure component, in other words, the lack of state intervention. On contrary to Lörcher and Jansen plans which left many public leisure spaces as heritage to Ankara, urban planning today interprets the leisure component as a reality that develops outside the scope of planning practice and a reality that should be developed by the market mechanism. In fact, there is only one way of preventing the urban segregation that was triggered by the segregated leisure spaces: planning the leisure component of the city.

6.4   Form: Wide Variety of Leisure Forms

In this section, change and transformation of the variable "form" will be analyzed. After 1980s, just as it changed geography, leisure activity also changed its form in line with its altered meaning. Many leisure forms already started to withdraw from the daily life of the city starting from the end of 1970s. Both because of the increasing penetration of TV and the political violence on the streets, the residents deserted the public spaces of the city. While leisure spaces in the city such as music halls (*gazino*), night clubs and cinemas were closing at a fast pace, many new leisure forms were being introduced into the social life of the city.

In 1980s, night clubs were replaced by discos and the dance orchestras by the disc jockeys (DJs). "Dancing with the music of the orchestra" disappeared from the leisure life of the city at the same time with the nightclubs. The form of the leisure activity has changed within the varying cultural structure. In the new environment of post-1980s in which individualism is very much praised, discos, as being the leisure spaces in which the leisure activity is experienced while standing still instead of being seated, were giving individuals the freedom to act independently. The individuals were very much independent in their relationships with the place and they were able to leave it whenever they want. In this sense, the individualism, which is supported with the neo-liberal economic policies of post-1980s, found its expression in the space of "disco". However, in this new era, in which every form and place is consumed rapidly, discos are also outmoded in 1990s.

While new leisure spaces are diversifying and clustering in the axes of Kızılay-Kavaklıdere, many old and popular leisure places and forms are wiped out from the social life of the city. *Piknik*, as one of the leisure places that left its mark in the period of 1950-1980 and also defined Atatürk Boulevard, moved from its building on the Boulevard to a smaller place on İnkilap Street. Since it could not cope with the new economic relations, *Piknik* went bankrupt in 1986. Being unable to pay the debts, its owner, Reşat Önat was obliged to move to USA. Its place on İnkilap Street was taken over by its waiters. New owners are still running it with the name of "Net *Piknik*". The story of *Piknik* continued in the new geographies of 2000s. Reşat Önat re-opened *Piknik* in Armada Shopping Mall in 2002. Within the new way of life and altered consumption habits of 2000s, the famous *Piknik* of 1960s and 1970s could not locate itself and endure. Its place in Armada Shopping Mall was also closed in 2006. It had another but very short experience in Gazi Osman Paşa in 2007, however it was once again

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closed in the same year. With the abundance and diversity of the restaurants serving fast-food, *Piknik* lost its originality and its competitive advantage. Therefore, it could not survive in a world dominated by the global chains, despite the fact the sheer fact that fast-food was introduced to Ankara by *Piknik*.

As a consequence of the changing leisure spaces, the form of relations that the residents established with the city also changed. With the closing of a space, it was not only the buildings or the leisure forms that was demolished, it was the pages in the collective memory of the city that was erased. The content of narratives is not limited to a movie that was seen in a theatre or the building itself, it is also the relation of the building and the leisure form with other urban components. Residents perceive the urban leisure component within the spatial organization of the city. In the case of Ankara, ever changing spatial organization of the city during the process of demolish-and-rebuild bothered the composition of city's collective memory.

After 1980s, TV became an integral part of the social life and consequently leisure activities moved from public spaces of the city to the houses. Increasing penetration of TV combined with the deregulation in importing video films in 1983, helped leisure activity become de-spatialized. This was the time "home-based leisure activity" started to rise. As a result of this development and because of the shrinking demand in movies, cinema sector faced with a big financial crisis. Cinema halls of Çankaya axes had to be converted into discos, while the halls in Maltepe and Cebeci started to serve as wedding halls. For example, Çankaya Sineması became a disco named as "Airport". Similarly, İnci and Cebeci Sineması were used as wedding halls until the end of 1980s. Likewise, Melek Sineması first became a wedding hall; later on, it was converted back to a cinema hall in 2001 and opened as "Sine-Ankara". However, it had to be turned into a wedding hall once again (Tanyer, 2012: 563). Thus, the cinema halls, which served as one of the most significant interaction spaces before 1980, lost their role after 1980s. Therefore, the number of the cinema halls in the city decreased at a very fast pace during this transition.

New cinema halls started to show up in the city center with the revival of the sector in 1995. However, instead of single-screen, high capacity cinema halls of the previous period, new cinemas were fractured into smaller units. These new halls are named as "multiplex cinema" and many of them were serving in Kızılay by the end of 1990s: Megapol Sineması [Megapol Cinema], Metropol Sineması [Metropol Cinema], Mithatpaşa Sineması [Mithatpaşa Cinema], Ankapol Sineması [Ankapol Cinema], Kızılırmak Sineması [Kızılırmak Cinema], Derya Sineması [Derya Cinema], Büyülü Fener Sineması [Büyülü Fener Cinema] and Batı Sineması [Western Cinema]. However, shopping centers, which were mostly opened in the urban periphery, became the major sites of the cinema activity in 2000s. Multiplex cinema halls in shopping centers offer free and plentiful parking places, besides individual comfort and security to the customers. Since cinema halls in the city center do not have the necessary means to compete with multiplex cinemas in the shopping centers, many of them had to be closed in a short period of time. Today there are only three cinema halls left in Kızılay: Metropol Sineması, Kızılırmak Sineması and Büyülü Fener Sineması.

The interior designs of the cinema halls in the new era have also changed substantially. In the new era, in which the "consuming individual" is positioned at the center, leisure activity produced places which appeal to the individual likes and pleasure and also provide comfort for the individual. Therefore, cinema halls became as a site of personal pleasure and happiness instead of an environment for collective leisure. With the "standard interior design" approach, multiplex cinema halls intended to increase the levels of individual satisfaction and comfort. In this way, cinema activity started to be experienced in standardized but more comfortable places. On contrary, the cinema halls in the previous periods were known for their original and unique interior designs. For Example, Renkli Sinema is generally remembered with its velvet curtain that had an illustration of two stylized swans (İşcen, 2011 available online at http://yavuziscen.blogspot.com/p/ortaya-karsk-2.html).
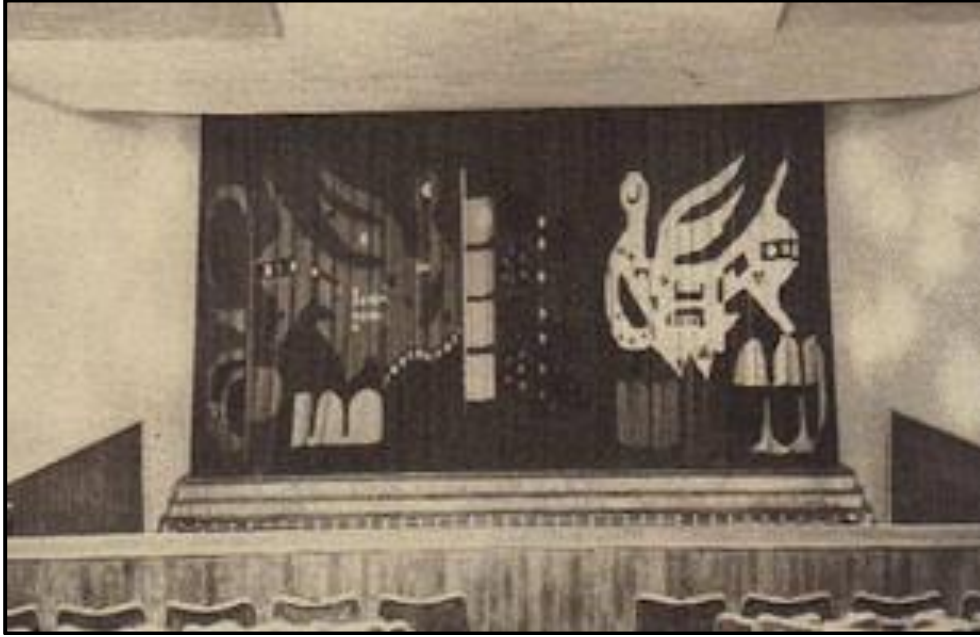
Figure 6.6 The Curtain of Renkli Sinema.
Source: http://yavuziscen.blogspot.com.

In the narratives, *Büyük Sinema* is usually mentioned with the scene of "Çayda Çıra Oynayan Kızlar [Girls Dancing 'Çayda Çıra']" that was painted on the wall over the curtain by Turgut Zaim[73]. Yalçın Ergir (http://www.ergir.com/2011/buyuk_sinema.htm) describes the interior characteristic of *Büyük Sinema* as follows:

> "While the red velvet curtains of *Büyük Sinema* were opening towards the sides, the yellow curtain of Ulus Sineması which was like a wavy sea, was opening upwards. There were five iron-patterned round cages and transparent decorations on the ceiling of this acoustic hall. "Gavo Grand Piano" was on the back stage.
>
> The long painting of "Saadabad" that was created by Turgut Zaim and Nurettin Ergüven together was placed on the side of Büyük Pastane facing the waiting hall.
>
> A sibling of the magnificent chandelier hanging in the waiting hall was in the newly-built Opera building".

Distinctive features of the Ankara's old cinema halls could also be presented with other examples; however, there are no distinctive features among the places that cinema activity has taken place after 1980 that could help distinguish one place from another. These cinema are equipped with high-tech video and audio systems, however, they do not contain any unique "artistic component". Therefore, today's cinema halls provide the same aesthetic and spatial references to their customers.

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[73] Büyük Sinema was closed in 1978 and converted into a commercial complex. The painting of "Çayda Çıra oynayan Kızlar" continued to garnish the wall of this commercial complex for a little longer. However, in 1997 the painting was also damaged during the fire in the building (Ergir, 2011available online at http://www.ergir.com/2011/buyuk_sinema.htm; Tanyer, 2012).

Figure 6.7 The Curtain of *Büyük Sinema* and Turgut Zaim's painting of "Çayda Çıra Oynayan Kızlar". Source: http://www.ergir.com/2011/buyuk_sinema.htm

These standardized multiplex cinemas offer various choices of movies and sessions to the customers. In this way, individuals hold the freedom to choose the movie and the time that fits best to their schedule and liking. In the new era, leisure activity gradually became more diversified in order to address the "individual choices". Thus, "diversity" comes out as the decisive concept of the leisure activity in the new period.

While the city was providing a limited number of leisure opportunities in the past, today's Ankara is presenting lots of leisure choices with infinite diversity. This diversification process in leisure forms stems from the increase in economic value of leisure and its commodification. There is a claim that today the market mechanism, which dominates the leisure provision, is providing a wide variety of leisure opportunities to individuals. In fact, these leisure forms are actually the profitable ones that the market mechanism dictates. These dictated forms are marketed by emphasizing the uniqueness and the specialty of the activity for the individual. However, on the contrary to the claims the citizens could not get out of the "sameness" of the leisure forms that were produced by the market. The best example of this sameness is the shopping malls all of which claim that they are different, but in fact they are almost carbon copies of each other.

As Rojek (1995) asserts correctly, shopping malls as major sites for leisure activities of today's world, provide the same aesthetic and spatial references independent of their location in the world. After a certain point, all leisure forms start to serve for the benefit of "consumption". As a result of its commodification, leisure activities become identified with consumption. In shopping malls, where every single element turns into a consumption item, individuals can join in the leisure activity as much as they consume.

In conclusion, in the urban geography dominated by the market leisure forms have substantially diversified and transformed. Therefore, with the impact of the global consumption culture that has dominated post-1980s, cities started to provide a wide variety of leisure opportunities to the residents.

However, this process of diversification in leisure forms deepened the sociospatial segregation of leisure spaces. While being diversified, leisure activity started to disperse geographically instead of concentrating in the city center.

The sprawl pattern of leisure activities is shaped to support the segregated residential structure of income groups in the city. While most luxurious shopping malls of the city are located in the vicinity of middle class residential areas which were built in the southern part of Ankara, mostly the outlet-shopping malls are located in the vicinity of the residential districts of low income groups in the northern part of the city. Diversification process shows itself with the experiencing of leisure forms by social classes in segregated geographies. For this reason, market mechanism, which takes pride in providing the residents leisure forms with infinite diversity by reproducing the city center in "safer" "leisure and shopping centers", actually produces segregated leisure geographies with "infinite diversity".

6.5 Scale: Fractured Spaces in Smaller Units

As mentioned before, change in scale of leisure is another variable for understanding sociospatial configuration of leisure activity. Since we have quantitative data about the cultural spaces of post 1980s, we are going to benefit from this data and use it in explaining the change in scale.

In Early Republican Era, since leisure was perceived as socialization and interaction space for all social classes, leisure spaces were produced in large capacities. However, we clearly notice that all leisure categories, such as entertainment, cultural and recreational spaces, got into a downscaling process starting with 1980s. This process has started actually after 1950s in Ankara as a result of the withdrawal of the state and the planning institution from leisure provision.

This thesis study approaches the scale of leisure or "downscaling" phenomenon by comparing the size and the population of the city. The concept of downscaling is described and also used in accordance with the city's population size. It is sheer logic that as the city grows, leisure spaces should scale up in line with the population and the expected increase in demand. However, on contrary to this expectation, leisure spaces have been downscaled in Ankara since 1950s. In addition, they are scaled as the sum of small and fractured spaces.

A good example for downscaling in leisure spaces is the change in the capacities of cinema halls. Through the development of multiplex cinemas, each of which generally have at least five simultaneous viewing screens, cinema halls were subdivided into smaller units with various seating capacities. According to the statistics of Turkish Statistics Institution (TÜİK), there were a total of 174 cinema halls in Ankara in 2011. In fact, there are only 21 cinema complexes in the city; since all the cinemas are multiplex and each cinema is divided into 5-10 smaller cinema halls; the total number of the cinema halls goes up to 174 despite the existence of just 21 cinemas (see figure 6.8).
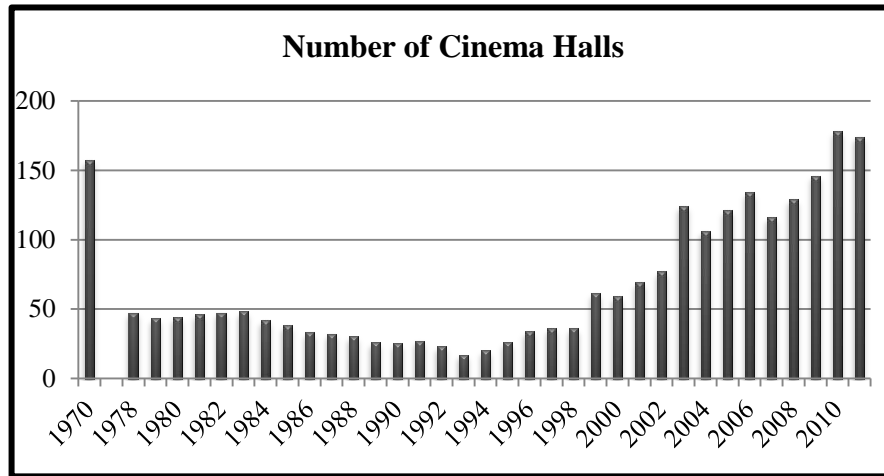
Figure 6.8 Change in the Number of Cinema Halls in Ankara between the years 1970-2011
Source: TÜİK Kültür İstatistikleri

Statistical data shows that the city have exceeded the number of cinema halls of 1970 in 2011: 174 cinema halls in 2011 compared to 157 in 1970. However, when the number of the seating capacities in both years is taken into consideration, it becomes clear that the reality is totally different (see figure 6.9). Total number of 56 thousand seats in 1970 decreased to 26 thousands in 2011, which roughly corresponds to the half of the seats in 1970. In other words, while the number of seats per 1000 people was 126 in 1970, it decreased to 5.6 in 2011.
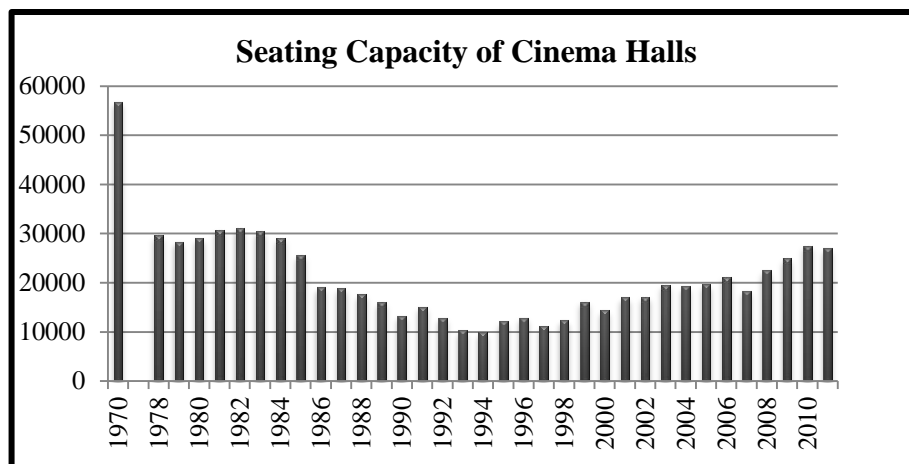
Figure 6.9 Change in the Seating Capacity of Cinema Halls in Ankara between the years 1970-2011
Source: TÜİK Kültür İstatistikleri.

In addition, there was also a huge decrease in the number of the audience too. While total number of cinema audience in 1970 was 25,792,000, it was only 4,424,000 in 2011 (see figure 6.10). The comparison becomes even more one-sided once the population of the city in respective years is included in the analysis. Ankara's population of 1,236,000 in 1970 reached to 4,800,000 in 2011

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which corresponds to a four-fold increase in 31 years. The decreasing numbers in cinemas, seating capacities and the number of audiences despite the increase in the population, makes it clear that cinema has almost totally lost its feature as an interaction space.
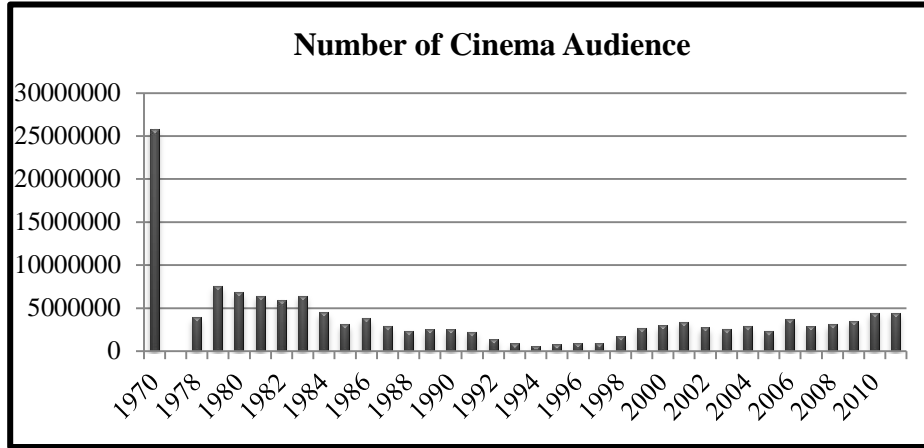
Figure 6.10 Change in the Number of Cinema Audience between the years of 1970-2011. Source: TÜİK Kültür İstatistikleri

We mentioned about how huge the cinema halls were and bigger capacities they have in the previous chapter (part 5.5). For example, the seating capacity of 1550 in *Büyük Sinema* can not be matched with even the biggest halls of the multiplex cinemas today. Total seating capacities of the cinemas today varies between 1,000 and 2,400. However, this capacity is made of the individual capacities of the halls, smaller of which have 10-15 seats. The seating capacities and number of cinema halls in some of the popular multiplex cinemas are listed in Table 6.3 for clarification.

Table 6.3 The Fractured Halls of Today's Multiplex Cinemas

Cinema	Location	Seating Capacity	Number of halls
Büyülü Fener	Kızılay	1100	11
Cinemaximum	Cepa Shopping Center	2360	10
Cinemaximum	Antares Shopping Center	2400	10

This fractured interior space of today's multiplex cinemas is the mirror of sociospatial fragmentation in urban space. In other words, the fragmentation in urban spaces after 1980 found its expression in the interior space of cinema halls.

Although there were new additions to the existing theatre stages, we can conclude that there was not a sufficient increase in the capacities of the theatres relative to the population growth. Table 6.4 lists the state theatres that were opened in Ankara during the entire Republican Era. This table also gives the opening dates and the seating capacities of these theatres. The theatres that were closed in this era

such as *Halkevi* (Third Theatre) and Yeni Sahne were not included in the table and the table was limited to the theatres those are still in use.

Table 6.4 State Theatres in Ankara with Opening Dates and Seating Capacities

	Name of the Theatre	Opening Date	Seating Capacity
EARLY REPUBLICAN PERIOD: 1923-1950	Küçük Tiyatro	1947	469 [74]
	Büyük Tiyatro	1949	693
1950-1980	Oda Tiyatrosu	1956	60
	Altındağ Tiyatrosu	1964	307
POST 1980s	Şinasi Sahnesi	1988	490
	İrfan Şahinbaş Atölye Sahnesi	1990	216
	Akün Sahnesi	2003	361
	Muhsin Ertuğrul Sahnesi	2006	239
	Cüneyt Gökçer Sahnesi	2006	531
	Stüdyo Sahne	2008	100
	75. Yıl Sahnesi	2009	264

Two theatre halls with a total capacity of 1162 seats which were built in Early Republican Era are still in service today. Similarly, two theatres which were opened in the period of 1950-1980 have also reached today. Their total capacity is 367. After 1980s, a total of 7 theatres with 2201 seats were incorporated into the city. Number of state theatres in Ankara extending the years between 1970 and 2011 is given in Figure 6.11.
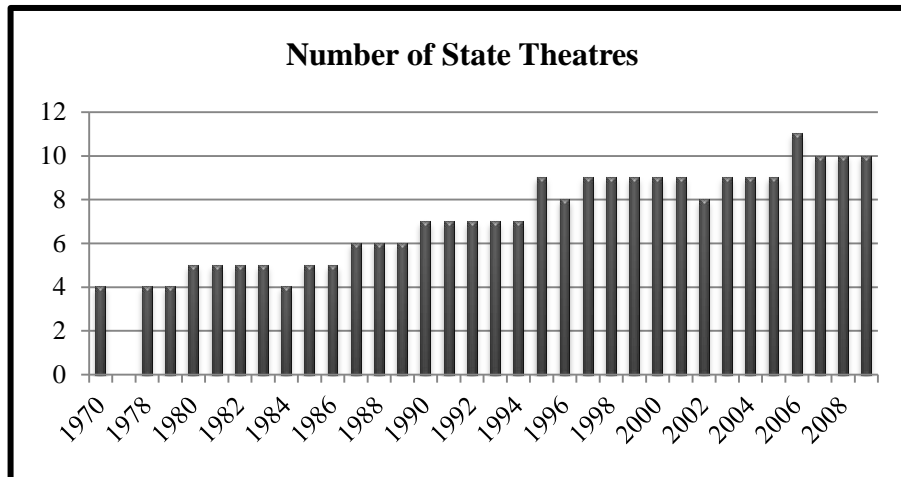
Figure 6.11 Change in the Number of State Theatres in Ankara between the years 1970-2011
Source: TÜİK Kültür İstatistikleri.

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[74] In his book published in 1963 about the development of theatre in Turkey, Metin And notes that Küçük Tiyatro and Büyük Tiyatro were opened with seating capacities of 605 and 745 respectively (And, 1963: 95).

In order to have a better idea about the theatres and their capacities, we should include the population of the city in the analysis as well. Population growth of Ankara in the years of censuses is given in Table 6.5. While there were three theatres in Ankara with a total seating capacity of 1940 (including *Halkevi*) in 1950 to serve for a population of 288,000, the number of total seats available in 2012 for a population of 4,630,000 is only 3,730. In other words, while the number of seats per 1000 people was 6.7 in 1950, the number decreased to 0.8 in 2012. Figure 6.12 depicts the change in the seating capacities of state theatres in Ankara between the years of 1970 and 2011. Worth to mention that Büyük Tiyatro, which was opened in the Early Republican Era, is still the biggest theatre in Ankara.

Table 6.5 Population Growth of Ankara between the Years 1927-2012.
Source: http://www.tuik.gov.tr

Years	Population
1927	74,553
1935	122,720
1940	157,242
1945	226,712
1950	288,536
1955	451,241
1960	650,067
1965	905,660
1970	1,236,152
1975	1,701,004
1980	1,877,755
1985	2,304,166
1990	2,584,594
2000	3,356,877
2012	4,630,735
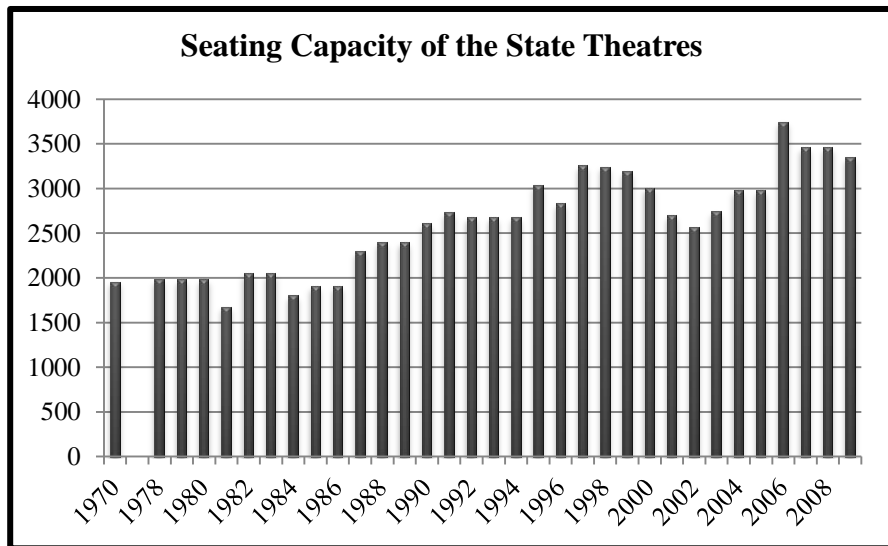
Figure 6.12 Changes in the Seating Capacity of State Theatres in Ankara between 1970-2011
Source: TÜİK Kültür İstatistikleri.

Heritages of Early Republican Period, Büyük Tiyatro, Küçük Tiyatro and Oda Tiyatrosu are located in – once very popular – "Cultural Focus" of the city. This part of the city eventually lost its initial prestige in time. However, they still have a significant number of spectators such that, it sometimes becomes very difficult to find a ticket for a play due to the interest of loyal audiences. Figure 6.13 gives the change in the number of theatre audience between the years of 1970-2011. This fact clearly demonstrates the difference between the state and market mechanism in leisure provision. Because of this difference, these spaces are not relocated near the residential areas of middle-high classes and therefore, in a way this area still provides a ground for interaction among urban citizens from different social classes.
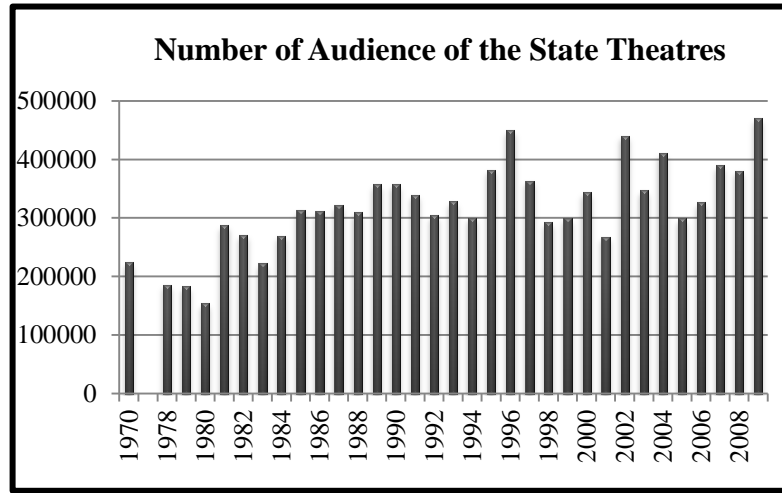
Figure 6.13 Change in the Number of Theatre Audience between the years of 1970-2011
Source: TÜİK Kültür İstatistikleri.

In addition to the cultural leisure spaces, we can also talk about "downscaling" in recreation spaces. As Cengizkan (2010) states, the barren and dusty Ankara of 1920s had been through a dramatic change until 1950s and turned into a "heaven of parks and gardens". Parks and green areas of the city in 1954 were listed in the document of "Specifications for the Master Plan Competition" produced by Ankara Municipality. (Cengizkan, 2010; 2009: 55) (see Table 6.6).

As we examine the distribution of recreation spaces in the city, we see that many parks and green areas, which were once serving in the city center, were destroyed under the pressure of urban rent. To make the case even worse, many others are facing the same threat of demolition. One of the parks given in the list (see Table 6.6), Hacettepe Parkı was opened in 1939 and unfortunately it was destroyed and converted into a parking place in 1980s. Aktepe Parkı was reorganized and renamed as 50.Yıl Parkı [50th Anniversary Park] in 1973. It was reorganized one more time 2009 during the mayoralty of İ.Melih Gökçek. Only four new parks with a total area of 22.1 hectares were opened during the period of 1950-1980: Kurtuluş Parkı [Kurtuluş Park], Botanik Bahçesi [Botanical Garden], Kuğulu Park and Abdi İpekçi Parkı [Abdi İpekçi Park]. The opening of only 22.1 hectares of park and green areas in this area, despite the rapid population increase and the enlargement of the city, shows that recreational areas were also subject to a considerable downscaling process.

Table 6.6 Parks of Ankara in 1954 with their respective sizes. Source: Cengizkan (2010)

Name of the Park	Total Area of the Park (hectares)
Gençlik Parkı [Youth Park]	34 (27)[75]
Emniyet Parkı [Emniyet Park]	1,8
Hisar Parkı [Hisar Park]	4,6
Hacettepe Parkı [Hacettepe Park]	13,4
Aktepe Parkı [Aktepe Park]	56
Grand National Assembly Park	7
Babaharman Parkı	4
Anıtkabir Park	60
Maltepe Green Zone	15
Cebeci Sport Area	8
Atatürk Forest Farm	120
Çubuk Dam	80
Söğütözü Park	2,5
Gölbaşı Beach	(the park area: 80 hectares)

Table 6.7 Parks of Ankara produced in the period of 1950-1980

Name of the Park	Opening Date	Total Area of the Park (hectares)
Kurtuluş Parkı	1965	11
Botanik Bahçesi	1970	6,5
Kuğulu Park	1973-1977	0,9
Abdi İpekçi Parkı	1981	3,7

With the increasing importance of leisure activities for the urban economy after 1980s, the production of leisure spaces, compared to the period of 1950-1980, have increased in the period. (see Table 6.8). However, the parks produced by the Ankara Metropolitan Municipality have gone beyond being a public service and they clearly became a "political tool". In this period, parks were opened on very large areas about 25-30 kilometers away from the city centers in accordance with their own interpretation of "urban park". However, this understanding is very different from the approach in the Early Republican Era, in which urban parks were produced in the city center. These parks, which are built in distant geographies far from the city center, help segregate the urban strata even more. Therefore, the spatial character of leisure activities changes as they become the component that "segregates the city", instead of being the "integrating component".

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[75] The area of the park is listed as 34 hectares by Cengizkan (2010). However, in many other sources there is almost a consensus about the size of the park as 27 hectares. Therefore, in this thesis, the surface area of Gençlik Parkı is taken as 27 hectares.

Table 6.8 Parks of Ankara produced in post-1980s

Name of the Park	Opening Date	Total Area of the Park (hectares)	Location
Seğmenler Parkı	1983	6.7	Çankaya
Altınpark[76]	1985	64.0	Altındağ
Harikalar Diyarı	2003	120.0	Sincan
Göksu Park	2003	50.8	Etimesgut
Gökçek Parkı	2000	7.7	Keçiören
Evcil Hayvanlar Parkı	1998	2.0	Keçiören
Moganpark [77]	2004	44.5	Gölbaşı

After 1980s, in addition to the parks pertaining to a district, seven new urban level parks with a total area of 295 hectares were opened. These parks are given in Table 6.6 with their opening dates, total areas and locations. The population of the city in 2012 has increased 16 folds since 1950. The total area of the urban parks (*Gençlik Parkı*, Emniyet Park, Hisar Park, Hacettepe Park) produced in the city center in Early Republican Era is 46.8 hectares. (Recreational spaces such as Gazi Forest Farm, Çubuk Dam Recreational Area, Gölbaşı Beach are excluded). In addition, if the smaller gardens such as *Millet Bahçesi* [Millet Garden] and *Meclis Bahçesi* [the Grand National Assembly Garden] in Ulus district and the *Kızılay Bahçesi* [Kızılay Garden] in Kızılay Square are added to the calculation, total areas of the greenery that were available in Early Republican Era would become even bigger.

Nevertheless, despite the 16 folds increase in the urban population, the recreation spaces that were produced after 1980 is only 6.3 times bigger than the recreational areas produced during the Early Republican Era. Therefore, we can conclude that the areas reserved for recreational activities have been carried out of the city and they were subjected to downscaling.

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[76] The area of the old Golf Club was handed over to the municipality during Vedat Dalokay's mayoralty (1973-1977). Therefore, the idea of creating a park in this area dates back to the mayoralty of Dalokay. Altınpark's project was prepared by the winner of the competition held in 1985 and the park was built over 64-hectare area during Altınsoy's Mayoralty.

[77] Moganpark was included in the list of parks in 1954. The park was reorganized by Ankara Metropolitan Municipality in 2004.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

7.1 Introduction

This thesis study took its source from the problem of "segregated and fractured leisure geography" that has become prevalent in our cities in recent decades. However, the study does not focus on the "current-day configuration of leisure activity"; instead, it covers the entire transformation process of leisure geography. The study is built over two basic assumptions. With the first one, we assume that "(re)production of leisure space is a sociospatial process". In other words, leisure geography is formed as a result of dialectic relationship between urban space and social structure. Second assumption we make is that "leisure space is (re)produced historically". To be more precise, with this assumption we claim that present-day leisure geography has been established on various overlapping and interrelated realities throughout the history of that geography.

Therefore, in order to comprehend current structure of the "segregated and fractured leisure geography", the sociospatial change and transformation of leisure spaces have to be analyzed in the historical context. This thesis study, thus, concentrates on the sociospatial formation and transformation of leisure activity in urbanization process and it investigates which dynamics historically have produced the sociospatial configuration of leisure activity. At that point, we formulate the research question of the thesis study as "how is the change and transformation of leisure geography conceptualized?"

This thesis study, therefore, focuses on the "changing spatiality" of leisure. In the literature, there is no theory related with spatialization problem of leisure activity. Despite the growing importance of leisure space in the postmodern city, Geography Literature is not interested in the spatiality of leisure activity in particular. The literature discusses only the current leisure geography in the context of sociospatial segregation. On the other hand, Leisure Studies Literature focuses on leisure activity itself while ignoring spatial dynamics (a few studies, generally from feminist standpoint, deal with leisure space, however, as the reflection of social structure). What is more, one area that has been largely neglected in these literatures is the historical dimension. However, it is significant to comprehend the economic, political, social, and geographical processes, which shaped the evolution of present-day urban leisure activity. In short, the spatial and historical context of "leisure space" is missing in the literature. This thesis study aims to fill this gap by suggesting a conceptualization for changing leisure geography.

7.2 From Socialization Space to Consumption Space: The Case of Ankara

This thesis study was conducted through analyzing the historical change patterns of leisure activity in the case of Ankara. The analysis, however, chose neither the way of narrating the change in physical space nor the way of conceptualizing the social relations independent from space context. Since the analysis of space is not secondary to the analysis of leisure activity, rather each requires the other. Therefore, both spatial and social relations in the formation of leisure geography were taken into consideration in the analysis.

Based on sociospatial-dialectic approach, this thesis study argued that the changing geography of urban leisure space was explained by five correlated variables: *meaning, geography, form, provision,* and *scale* and changes in these five components were conceptualized as five interrelated processes:

individuation, decentralization, commodification, diversification, and *downscaling*. Now we can summarize the findings of the analyses with respect to these varibales and processes.

7.2.1 Meaning and Individuation Process

Being declared as the capital of the nation-state in 1923, Ankara was envisioned to become "*a modern and planned capital city*" which would be "*a model city*" for the rest of country. While Ankara was being constructed as a modern and planned capital, it was envisaged to be the venue where *modern way of life* would be established. In order to achieve the latter goal, the city needed leisure spaces to serve as stages on which required habits and behavioral patterns of the modern way of life would be experienced and exhibited. For this reason, production of leisure spaces was regarded extremely important for the success of the regime. In other words, the production of leisure spaces in which the new way of life would be established and the modern citizen would be cultivated, constitutes a significant pillar of Republic's modernity project. Since the Republic's purpose of "*cultivating the modern citizen*" was *a political and ideological ideal*, the production of leisure spaces played an important role in the spatial formation of the capital. Therefore, in the Early Republican Ankara, the leisure spaces were perceived as "*a means of social transformation*" and were designed as *socialization and interaction spaces.*

However, the policies aimed at building "a modern and a model capital city" and "a modern way of life" was abandoned after 1950s. Since there was no political ideal about the leisure spaces in the new period, leisure spaces were no longer considered as the grounds through which, urban citizens were cultivated anymore. Therefore, leisure spaces, which were regarded as a means of social transformation and spaces of socialization and interaction, were subject to "*a shift of meaning*" in the period of 1950-1980. The leisure space perception of the Early Republican Era as "a socialization space" was no longer valid after 1950s. Although the public leisure spaces, which were inherited from the Early Republican Period, were damaged by the demolish-and-rebuild process that the city had to go through, they still continued to serve as "interaction spaces" for the citizens after 1950s. Therefore, even though leisure space was no longer perceived as "socialization space", it still served as "*interaction space*".

After 1980s, leisure activity became one of the most important components of "a new lifestyle" rising over the global consumption culture led by the new middle classes of post 1980s. Thus, leisure activity started to be identified with consumption practices and perceived as "an individual activity". As a result of the change in leisure perception, leisure activity was getting into the economic realm of consumption. Thus, the production of leisure spaces has become more strategic in the consumption-driven urban economy because of the increased emphasis on the economic value of leisure space.

Leisure space started to be produced for the purpose of creating economic outcome and thus facilitating urban economic growth. For this reason, the production of leisure spaces gained a similar importance in post-1980s as in the Early Republican Era. While the leisure spaces in the Early Republican Era were designed as socialization places with the intervention of the state, these spaces in post-1980s were designed as consumption places and provided by the market. To conclude, the leisure spaces started to be perceived as *consumption and individuation spaces* and they were designed according to this perception.

7.2.2. Geography and Decentralization Process

In the Early Republican Period, as a result of mono-centered city structure and the modernization-driven vision of the new regime, Ulus was the heart of social life and the geography of leisure activities. In addition, since leisure spaces were designed as "socialization and interaction spaces",

they were located close to the city center in order to embrace all social groups. Especially until the late 1930s, Ulus was the sole destination for the leisure activities; therefore, it was the *"integrating geography"* that were able to bring the old and the new residents of Ankara together. We can infer that accessibility and physical vicinity to the city center were accepted as the basic criteria in the sociospatial configuration of leisure activity. Therefore, the spatial organization of leisure activity corresponded with the routes of the citizen's everyday life, and togetherness of all leisure categories turned the city center into the heart of the social life.

By 1940s, although Ulus was still the center of the city and the location of social life, Yenişehir acquired the status of sub-center and developed as a new leisure geography. As a prestigious geography, Yenişehir became an attraction venue that incited the leisure activities to leave Ulus. This process helped Yenişehir to develop as the new leisure geography of Ankara. In summary, the changing process of leisure geography has started around 1940s through reproducing prestigious leisure forms of Ulus in the new prestigious geography of the city. However, Ulus hosted the core of the leisure life in Ankara as long as it kept the functions of "the city center" until 1950s.

Since 1950s, the state's and planning institution's giving up their concerns about shaping the urban space and urban life and also their withdrawal from leisure provision lead to a change in the geography of leisure activity. In the city with a rapidly increasing population, the speculative pressures led to the density increase in the built environment and initiated the "demolish-and-rebuild" process. Leisure spaces also got their share from this process; as a result of the city's changing and transforming spatial organization, many leisure spaces of Ulus and even Kızılay were totally wiped away from city's social life due to the demolition of their buildings.

In the period of 1950-1980, parallel to the dual structure of the city centers, the city had a duality in leisure geography too: Ulus vs. Kızılay. In general, leisure activity tends to choose locations in prestigious geographies of the city. Therefore, parallel to Kızılay's increasing prestige, the leisure activity started to change geography; prestigious leisure places were closed in Ulus and reopened in Kızılay. In the meantime, the process also worked the other way around too. It can be discussed that location of leisure activities in Kızılay played a significant role in Kızılay's increasing prestige, rising land prices in Kızılay and also Kızılay's gradual acquirement of the central functions. Therefore, Kızılay gradually became the geography where the prestigious leisure activities are concentrated at while less prestige-bound leisure activities stayed in Ulus.

In the period of 1950-1980, the segregation in leisure places reproduced itself through Ulus-Kızılay duality, even though there were no strict boundaries between leisure geographies yet. It should be kept in mind that, the features of leisure spaces such as physical proximity and accessibility which were useful in preventing the urban segregation were still valid in this era.

By the end of 1970s, daily life of the city started to change entirely as the prestigious leisure activities started to break their ties from Ulus. Middle classes have abandoned Ulus and its environs and preferred to spend their everyday life in the axes of Kavaklıdere-Çankaya. Therefore, leisure activities which were carried from Ulus to Kızılay in 1950s were inclined to move further south, from Kızılay to Kavaklıdere. This tendency became even stronger after 1980s.

After 1980s, instead of the public spaces of Kızılay and Atatürk Boulevard, prestigious leisure activities were concentrated in the geographies, where new consumption patterns are produced. It is worthy to note that the unfavorable physical environment of Kızılay that was formed after the demolish-and-rebuild process had substantial impact on Kızılay's becoming a less prestigious geography for leisure activities. For instance, Ataturk Boulevard has been continuously exposed to a process of change that has decreased its publicity.

Since 1990s, the geography of leisure activity has been subject to a change and transformation process that has not been experienced before in previous periods. As a result of the fragmentation of the city center along with the significant increase in car ownership and the suburbanization of the middle and

higher classes, leisure geography started to move away from the "center" and scattered in the city. With this, the segregation in the geographical distribution of the leisure activity started to gain clarity.

As a result of the new life style that was projected to occur far off the city and the city center, shopping malls became major leisure geographies and significant components of urban life in 2000s. Starting from the end of 1990s, the development of shopping malls as new focal points of the city has started the fragmentation process of the city center. Shopping malls separated leisure spaces from the city center, incorporated them in their internal structure, and consequently became a phenomenon in today's city by simulating the city center.

As an aftermath of the rapid integration of shopping malls into the social life of the city, urban leisure spaces have become dispersed and sprawled. Therefore, urban leisure activity changed geography by moving out from the accessible city center and locating in shopping malls or clustering randomly in decentralized locations in the urban periphery. Therefore, the leisure geography has transformed from "in town" to "out of town".

7.3.3. Provision and Commodification Process

In the absence of a developed urban economy and culture, it was a reality that the creation of a modern way of life in Ankara could only be achieved with the intervention of the state. Thus, in the Early Republican Era, the state was a leading actor in the production of leisure spaces. Leisure spaces were produced heavily and directly by the state in order to construct "a modern way of life" and cultivate "Republic's modern citizen". In Early Republican Era, since leisure space was perceived as a means for social transformation, the state was very active in leisure provision. Besides, it also supported and encouraged the market in providing leisure facilities. Among all the initiatives of the state devoted to "the modernity project", special emphasis was placed upon the construction of public leisure spaces as socialization and interaction places, such as urban parks, squares, boulevards.

One of the mainstays of the Republic's modernity project was a planned development and growth; thus, urban leisure activity was also planned in an ideological and spatial sense. Lörcher and Jansen Plans approached the leisure activity as a significant component of the modern urban structure. Both of the plans explained the need for leisure in detail and designed specific places for leisure activities. We can argue that Lörcher and Jansen Plans played a determining role in the sociospatial configuration of leisure spaces in this era. In these plans, leisure spaces were located close to the city center to embrace all social groups; they were open to commonality and were situated at publicly accessible points. We can say that accessibility and physical vicinity were seen as the key factors of this inclusive policy.

However, by 1950s, withdrawal of the state and planning institution from leisure provision accompanied by the disappearing importance of Ankara as a model city have gradually led to a shift in the production of leisure spaces from state to market mechanism. Thus, urban leisure activity became a subject of the increasing commodification process. While the production of public leisure spaces was prioritized in the Early Republican Era, the production of these spaces in this era has decreased drastically and the number of leisure spaces provided by the market mechanism has increased.

With the development model dominated by the liberal economic policies, the planning institution's role in the sociospatial configuration of the leisure activities was diminished. The leisure geography of the city was formed in an urban environment, which was continuously going through the demolish-and-rebuild process in line with the interests of the market mechanism. This process had remarkable impact on the state-promoted, regulated, and designed leisure spaces of the Early Republican Era. In this period, urban space of Early Republican Era was totally changed by the demolish-and-rebuild process, green areas and pedestrian-only zones were diminished.

Change in the leisure perception in this era found its expression in Yücel-Uybadin Plan of 1957. The plan did not see the leisure activity as an urban component that could be directed and developed by "urban planning". Instead, it considered leisure activity as a component provided by the market mechanism. In other words, the plan did not consider leisure activity as a "plan-regulated urban component" but totally a "privately-invested activity". On contrary, Ankara 1990 Master Plan suggested promising proposals about recreational and cultural spaces, however, it did not develop land use principles about leisure spaces and therefore, the production of leisure spaces was left to market mechanism.

The socioeconomic restructuring process of post 1980s produced radical changes in every aspect of the social life, including the planning approach and leisure space production. "Urban planning" adopted a more partial planning approach after 1980s than ever. As a result of this planning approach, cities started to grow in an uncontrolled manner and sprawl. Planning as a regulating mechanism lost its effectiveness in directing and controlling the urban form, and the role of market mechanism in directing the urban development increased substantially. Thus, uncontrolled decentralization directed by partial plans and market-driven locational dynamics led to the sociospatial segregation of the city and fragmentation of the city center.

Therefore, the partial planning approach prevented the city and the leisure component to be dealt with comprehensive policies, along with this, it also paved the way for the structuring of leisure geography by market mechanism. By the application of partial plans, the leisure component was removed from the city center to the urban periphery and leisure spaces were sprawled randomly in the city, which resulted in the production of segregated leisure geographies. Thus, leisure activity became one of the most important components of the sociospatial segregation in the city after 1980s.

Urban development of Ankara was directed by the partial plans produced based on the AMANPB 1990 Plan, until the approval of 2023 Capital Ankara Master Plan in 2007. 2023 Ankara Master Plan sees the urban leisure activity as "a separate reality that is developed totally out of the context of planning practice". As a consequent of this approach that ignores the necessity about the planning of leisure activity, leisure places that have increasing importance in today's cities are configured by market mechanism.

Giving up the statist policies and the inadequacy of urban planning in directing the sociospatial configuration of leisure activity, made the market mechanism the leading actor in leisure provision. Therefore, the reason behind the increasing sociospatial segregation of the leisure activities was the provision of urban leisure by the market instead of the state and the increasing commodification of leisure activities as a natural consequence of this. On contrary to Lörcher and Jansen plans which left many public leisure spaces as heritage to Ankara, today urban planning interprets leisure component as a reality that develops outside the scope of planning practice or a reality that should be developed by the market mechanism.

7.3.4 Form and Diversification Process

Particularly since late 1920s, in line with the construction of modern Ankara, the traditional leisure forms of Ankara has transformed and diversified. Besides the limited variety of traditional leisure opportunities such as coffee houses and family picnics on the Bentderesi and Hatip Stream, many new forms of leisure, carrying the symbols of modern life were introduced to the city life in a short period of time.

In the Early Republican Era, especially the leisure spaces where modern way of life could be experienced and practiced were produced. It was not only the new leisure spaces that were being constructed but more importantly, it was "a new way of life" that was about to become a reality. With these locations, initially a basic and fundamental characteristic of the modern way of life was

introduced: the togetherness of men and women. The practices and the behavioral patterns of the modern way of life were put into action and experienced in these leisure spaces. Thus, the basic concern behind the introduction of leisure forms to urban life was to teach and spread the fundamentals of "modern way of life" to the society with its all requirements. In these leisure places, main purpose was not solely entertainment itself but constructing leisure forms that would make it possible for men and women to entertain together.

Introduction of modern leisure forms to urban life was regarded as an important tool for annihilating old social habits and replacing them with the new ones. In other words, modern leisure forms were considered as indispensable means for a comprehensive social transformation.

In the Early Republican Era, leisure spaces were projected to be the places where the practices of modern life is presented, and subsequently spread to all the walks of society. Thus, the intention by producing public leisure spaces was to exhibit the modern way of life and trigger the transformation of traditional living practices. This approach was put into practice by the diversification and transformation of recreational activities and also with the production of new leisure events such as playing classical music in the modern urban parks. The main design parameters of the recreation spaces were to integrate "water" and "green" in the space. In addition, these places were also offering a wide variety of totally new leisure activities such as swimming, rowing, sailing and sunbathing at the beach.

Thus, the production of public spaces such as urban parks had a special significance in achieving social transformation for the modernity project. These parks, hence, were designed in such a way that modern living practices could be visible to the citizens. Therefore, leisure spaces were actually produced to serve as socialization and interaction places for all strata of the society.

After 1950, "America" became the new role model for Turkey, while the model for the new way of life that was set as a target during the Early Republican Era was "Europe". After the introduction of components of American way of life and new consumption patterns into urban life, leisure forms transformed and diversified substantially. Moreover, the transition of Ankara to a dual-centered structure together with the increasing number of leisure spaces led to the diversification of entertainment forms and spaces. Although the production of public leisure places was very limited in the period of 1950-1980, many new entertainment forms and spaces were produced by the market mechanism.

In post 1980s, leisure activity became more and more diversified in order to address various "individual choices". Thus, "diversity" comes out as the decisive concept of leisure activity after 1980s. While the city was providing a limited number of leisure opportunities in the past, today's Ankara is offering lots of leisure options to its citizens with infinite diversity. This diversification process in leisure forms stems from the increase in economic value of leisure and its commodification.

Market mechanism, which dominates leisure provision, seems to provide a wide variety of leisure opportunities to individuals for the sake of uniqueness. In fact, these various leisure activities are dictated by market economy and urban citizen is constrained to make choices among these commercial-oriented leisure activities. These dictated forms are marketed by making an emphasis on the activity's uniqueness and specialty for the individual. However, individuals cannot escape from the unending sameness of commodified leisure. The best example of this sameness is shopping malls which became the most important leisure geography today. Shopping malls provide the same aesthetic and spatial references independent of its location in the world (Rojek, 1995).

To conclude, as a result of the global consumption culture that dominates post 1980s, leisure forms in the city have substantially diversified and transformed. However, we argue that the diversification process of leisure forms has deepened the sociospatial segregation of leisure spaces. While being diversified, leisure activity is dispersing and sprawling geographically instead of concentrating and

clustering. The sprawl pattern of the leisure activity is formed in line with residential differentiation in the city.

7.3.5 Scale and Downscaling Process

In the Early Republican Period, the leisure spaces were produced relatively in large scales compared to the size and the population of the city. The reason behind this production scheme was the leisure perception of the period and the importance denoted to the production of leisure spaces. In the Early Republican Ankara, leisure space was seen as a significant means for the social transformation. According to this approach, in order to embrace all social classes, leisure activities had to be introduced into the social life in large scales. The scales of leisure spaces symbolized the Regime's emphasis and the value attributed to the production of leisure spaces.

Despite the rapid increase in the population of the city in the period of 1950-1980, the production of large scale public leisure spaces remained very limited. The reason behind the downscaling phenomenon is the decreasing role of the state and the planning institution in the provision of leisure spaces, besides the ever-increasing involvement of the market mechanism. However, on contrary to the decreasing capacities of the public leisure spaces that were provided by the state in the period of 1950-1980, cinema activity which was controlled by the market mechanism were provisioned in higher capacities. Therefore, as the dominant leisure form of the period, cinema was both widespread in the city and also provided in bigger and larger halls. In addition, the magnitude indicates that the leisure spaces of 1950-1980 were still serving as interaction spaces for the residents of the city.

In the post-1980 era, as a result of the increasing importance of leisure activities for the urban economy, the production of recreation spaces in large scales have increased relative to the period of 1950-1980. However, in this period, large scaled urban parks were created about 25-30 kilometers away from the city centers. This approach to the production of urban park is very different from the approach of the Early Republican Era in which the urban parks were produced in the city center. In this new era, urban parks built in the distant geographies far from the city center segregate the urban strata even more rather than bringing them together. Therefore, the spatiality of the leisure activity becomes the component that "segregates the city" instead of being the "integrating component".

On the other hand, if we compare the post-1980s with Early Republican Era, we see that despite the 16 folds increase in the urban population, the recreation spaces that were produced after 1980 is only 6.3 times bigger than the recreational areas produced during the Early Republican Era. In addition, the areas reserved for recreational activities in the city center are carried out of the city and became subject to downscaling.

For the post-1980 era, another good example for downscaling in leisure spaces is the change in the capacities of cinema halls. Through the development of multiplex cinemas, each of which generally have at least five simultaneous viewing screens, cinema halls were subdivided into smaller units with different seating capacities. Therefore, cinema halls have been downscaled and they are scaled as the sum of small and fractured spaces.

As a conclusion, in Early Republican era, since leisure was perceived as socialization and interaction space for all social classes, they were produced in large capacities. As the city grows, it is expected that leisure spaces would also scale up in line with the population and the expected increase in demand. However, on contrary to this expectation, in the post-1980 era, all leisure categories, such as entertainment, cultural and recreational spaces, got into a downscaling process. This process has started after 1950s as a result of the withdrawal of the state and planning institution from leisure provision.

7.3.6 The Results of Ankara Case

The changing sociospatial pattern of leisure activity was analyzed throughout the history of Republican Ankara with respect to the variables within certain periods: 1923-1950, 1950-1980, and post 1980[78]. The findings of anlaysis were given in the Table 7.1 with respect to the variables of the anlaysis: *meaning, geography, provision, form,* and *scale*.

Table 7.1 Changing Leisure Geography of Urban Leisure in the City of Ankara

	1923-1950 ESTABLISHMENT PERIOD	1950-1980 SPREADING PERIOD	POST 1980s FRACTURED PERIOD
MEANING	As a means for social transformation: socialization and interaction space	Interaction space	As a means for urban economic development: Consumption space Individual action space
GEOGRAPHY	Mono-centered city: "Ulus": Sole destination for leisure Reproduction of leisure in a "new geography" - Yenişehir	Dual city center: "Ulus-Kızılay": Duality in leisure geography Leisure geography extends to: "Kavaklıdere – Çankaya" axes	Fragmentation of the city center: Decentralization of leisure spaces: emergence of "shopping malls" as "new leisure geographies" Despatialization of leisure space: Home-based leisure
PROVISION	The prevailing role of the state in the leisure space production 1925 Lörcher Plan and 1932 Jansen Plan Period: Leisure space is planned in detail.	Withdraw of the state from leisure space production 1957 Yücel Uybadin Plan and 1970 AMANPB Plan Period: Leisure space is undervalued.	The prevailing role of the market in leisure space production Commodification of leisure space after economic liberalization Partial Planning and 2023 Ankara Plan Period: Leisure space is ignored.
FORM	Limited variety of leisure forms	"Cinema" is best option: dispersion and popularity of cinema as a leisure form	Wide variety of leisure forms
SCALE	Larger units as compared to the size of the city (urban parks, sport areas)	Leisure spaces in larger units (cinemas)	Division into smaller units Standard interior spaces Downscaling in the capacity of leisure spaces (as compared to the size of the city)

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[78] The periodization was determined according to changes in the variables of meaning, geography, form, provision, and scale.

7.3 From Integrating to Segregating Geographies

We discussed changing geography of leisure in terms of five components of leisure activity: *meaning, geography, provision, form,* and *scale*. Change and transformation in each component is conceptualiezed as five processes: *individuation, decentralization, commodification, diversification,* and *downscaling*. We concluded that the sociospatial segregation of leisure spaces has increased in our cities because of these processes. In the light of the discussions about Ankara case, we can conceptualize the changing geography of urban leisure as in Figure 7.1.

MEANING	COLLECTIVE ACTIVITY / SOCIALIZATION-INTERACTION SPACE	INDIVIDUATION →	INDIVIDUAL ACTIVITY / CONSUMPTION SPACE
GEOGRAPHY	CITY CENTER / IN TOWN CONCENTRATED IN URBAN SPACE / HIGHEST ACCESSIBILITY	DECENTRALIZATION →	URBAN PERIPHERY / OUT OF TOWN DISPERSED IN URBAN SPACE / LIMITED ACCESSIBILITY, CAR OWNERSHIP
PROVISION	STATE REGULATED / CITY PLANS HIGHLY CONCERNED WITH LEISURE	COMMODIFICATION →	MARKET PROMOTED / CITY PLANS UNDERVALUING LEISURE
FORM	LIMITED NUMBER OF CHOICES	DIVERSIFICATION →	WIDE VARIETY OF LEISURE FORMS
SCALE	IN LARGER UNITS	DOWNSCALING →	IN SMALLER AND FRACTURED UNITS

Right margin label: SEGREGATED LEISURE GEOGRAPHY

Figure 7.1 Sociospatial Change and Transformation in Leisure Spaces

The leisure activity of the new era, which is identified with consumption, has become decentralized parallel to the suburbanization of the middle and high classes. Leisure activities, which were located in the city center until 1980s, were either relocated in the enclaves on a few prestigious streets, or started to locate in the shopping malls which have become the new geographies of the leisure.

Since it became decentralized after changing geography, today's leisure activities lost the specialty of keeping the entire social strata together. Before 1980s, city center, despite its dual structure, made it possible for all social classes to meet in the same space and experience the similar forms of leisure. However, parallel to the fragmentation of the city center, the public life of the city was disturbed and

the leisure activity transformed from a "collective activity" experienced on the boulevards and streets of the city center, in other words in the public spaces of the center, to an "individual activity" that is experienced in "enclosed and gated" private spaces. Whereas, leisure activity, which was experienced collectively in public spaces of the city before 1980s, was a "unifying component"; it turned into a consumption activity located in private spaces which became a symbol of social segregation and status differentiations.

Consequently, leisure spaces which were the places that the urban life of the city was built and the social relations were experienced publicly and explicitly before 1980s, became the spaces of individuation and consumption. Leisure geographies were sociospatially segregated in such a way that they became the symbols of the status differences. As a result, the leisure activity was not "*an activity that unifies and integrates the city*" anymore as it was before 1980s, it was more like "*one of the significant components of the segregation*". Therefore, the geography of urban leisure activity became segregating geography instead of integrating.

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MAPS

1924 Şehremenati Haritası

1941 Ankara Şehri Polis Rehberi Haritası

1960 Ankara Şehir Haritası

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CHRONOLOGY OF ANKARA WITH AN EMPHASIS ON LEISURE

1917	The Big Fire; End of "Ottoman Ankara"
1919	December 27, Arrival of Mustafa Kemal Paşa and the Committee of Representatives in Ankara
1920	January 10, First publication of the newspaper "Hakimiyet-i Milliye" April 23, Opening of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey (TBMM) October 7, First publication of "Ceride-i Resmiye", the official Newspaper of TBMM
1921	March 8, First Celebration of International Women's Day in Ankara
1922	May 1, First Celebration of International Worker's Day in Ankara August 30, Final Victory over the Greek Army
1923	March 14, Establishment of the Sport Club "Gençlerbirliği" July 24, Signing of the Treaty of Lausanne October 13, Proclamation of Ankara as the Capital of Turkey October 29, Proclamation of the Turkish Republic
1924	February 16, Founding of Municipality (Şehremenati) in Ankara March 4, The term of Mehmet Ali Bey as the first Mayor (Şehremini) of Ankara June 14 August 26, Inception of "Türkiye İş Bankası", the first truly national bank September 1, Establishment of the School for Music Teachers (Musıki Muallim Mektebi) October 15, Opening of the 2nd Building of the Parliament *Opening of "Karpiç" Restaurant in Taşhan under the name of "Şölen"*
1924-1926	The Term of Ali Haydar (Yuluğ) Bey as the second Mayor of Ankara, boost in the modernization and construction efforts
1925	Start of the project for "Atatürk Orman Çiftliği" February 19, Establishment of "Ankara Radyosu" (Radio of Ankara) March 24, Granting the Authorization of expropriation to the Ankara Municipal Administration November 5, Establishment of the School of Law (Hukuk Mektebi) *"Karpiç" Restaurant moved to the Municipal Market and renamed as "Şehir Lokantası"* Intensifying Construction and Modernization efforts in the city
1926-1928	The term of Asaf (İlbay) Bey as the Mayor of Ankara
1926	Initiation of the constructions in Yenişehir *Anadolu Kulübü [Anadolu Club] was opened in the building of Vakıflar İdaresi between the Evkaf Apartment and Stad Hotel*
1927	**Ankara reached the population of 74 thousands.**

June 10, Very first of Gazi Derby
October 29, Opening of the Atatürk monument in front of Ethnography museum sculptured by Pietro Canonica
November 4, Opening of the Atatürk monument in Zafer Square sculptured by Pietro Canonica
November 24, Opening of Ulus monument sculptured by Heinrich Krippel

1928	May 28, Establishment of Ankara Planning Institute
November 28, *Opening of "Ankara Palas"*
1928-1939	The period in which Ankara Planning Institute was the sole responsible body in the construction of the city.
1928/29	The baths of "Cenabi Ahmed Paşa" and "Hasan Paşa" were demolished during the reorganization of "Hükümet Meydanı" [Governmental Square]
First cinema of Ankara, "Büyük Sinema" was burned out. (It was located in the wooden building in the same spot of today's "100. Yıl Çarşısı" [100th Anniversary Bazaar]
1929	August 26, Opening of İş Bank building in Ulus built by Italian Architect Giulio Mongeri
1929-1946	The period of Nevzat Tandoğan as the Governor of Ankara
1929	The fire of "Bölükpazarı" ("Tahtakale")
Initiation of Çubuk Dam's construction
The opening of "Gazi Mustafa Kemal Erkek Muallim Mektebi ve Terbiye Enstitüsü" [Gazi Mustafa Kemal School for Male Teachers and Education Institute]
Anadolu Club was moved to the building of "Merkez Bankası" [Central Bank]
Marmara Music Hall of Gazi Forest Farm was opened.
1930	With the enacting of the law of Municipals, governorate and mayoralty of Ankara were brought together under one single entity.
The opening of "Yüksek Ziraat Mektebi" [High School of Agriculture]
The opening of Türk Ocağı [Turkish Hearts] (in the building of today's "Resim - Heykel Müzesi" [Museum of Paintings and Sculpture])
July 11, Opening of Ethnography Museum built by Architect Arif Hikmet Koyunoğlu
First modern cinema of Ankara, "Yeni Sinemawas opened behind the building of "Sümerbank"
1932	October The construction Çankaya Palace was completed.
Jansen Plan was approved.
The opening of "Ankara Halkevi" [People's house]
1933	The opening of "İsmet Paşa Kız Enstitüsü" [İsmet Paşa Institute of Girls]
Establishment of "Yüksek Ziraat Enstitüsü" [High Institute of Agriculture]
October 29, Celebrations of the 10th anniversary of the proclamation of Turkish Republic
Opening of "Numune" Hospital
Opening of Bomonti Bear Park in Maltepe-Yenişehir
1934	Opening of the Statue of "Güven"
Jansen Plan came into effect.

June 24, The opera of "Öz Soy" was performed in the presence of Atatürk and the Shah of Iran

1935   **Population of Ankara reached 122 thousands.**
January 26, Establishment of Ankara Bahçelievler Cooperative Housing Society
March 2, The demolishing of Taşhan that was sold to Sümerbank started.
Çankaya became a town.
The radio of Ankara was moved to its current building of Radio House.
Özen Patisserie was opened on Uçar Street in Yenişehir.

1936   January 9, The official opening of The Faculty of Languages, History and Geography
Permits for shops in Yenişehir were given.
April 7, Establishment of "Güven Evler" Cooperative Housing Society
November 1, The education in State Conservatory of Ankara started.
November 3, Çubuk Dam went into operation.
November 15, The education in the School of Political Science that was moved from İstanbul to Ankara, started.
December 15, *Opening of 19th May Stadium that was built by Architect Viyoletti Viyoli*
Kutlu Patisserie was opened on Uçar Street in Yenişehir.

1937   Ankara Planning Institute was moved to the organization of the Municipality.
The constructions led by "Güven Evler" Cooperative Housing Society were completed and the houses were given to the beneficiaries.
Opening of the Music Hall of Çubuk Dam.
Opening of the Music Hall of the Station.

1938   The construction of the new GNAT building started.
October 24, The constructions led by Ankara Bahçelievler Cooperative Housing Society were completed and the houses were given to the beneficiaries.
October 28, Radio of Ankara started regular broadcast.
November 10, Founder of Turkish Republic, Atatürk passed away.
The zoning area of Ankara was associated with the municipal boundaries of the city.

1939   *Construction of "Gençlik Parkı" [Youth Park] started.*
Ulus Cinema was opened on the same spot that today's Soysal Han [Soysal Business Complex] is located.

1939-1941   "Cebeci Asri Mezarlığı" [Modern Cemetery of Cebeci] was constructed.

1940   **Population of Ankara reached 157 thousands.**
January 11, Very first stage play was performed just after the completion of the conservatory building in Cebeci.
June 21, The students of Ankara State Conservatory under the administration of Carl Ebert performed the very first opera play (Madam Butterfly).
October 29, A Zoo was opened in Gazi Forest Farm.
November 4, The construction of the building of the Faculty of Languages, History and Geography that was designed by Architect Bruno Taut was completed.
November 29, "Blacking out" of the city was put into effect.

1942   January 17, The rationing of Bread in Ankara was put into effect.
Kulüp Cinema was burned out. (It was located in the wooden building across today's Sumerbank building). It was rebuild with the name of Halk-Park Cinema

The music hall of Süreyya was opened in Yenişehir.(on the same spot of today's Soysal Han [Soysal Business Complex]

1943   May *19, Opening of Gençlik Park with the music hall of "Göl" [Lake] and the amphitheater*
September 13, Opening of the Faculty of Science of Ankara

1944   The construction of Saraçoğlu Mahallesi [Neighborhood of Saraçoğlu] started. (designed by Paul Bonatz)
Ankara Cinema was opened on Necatibey Street in Sıhhıye.
Opening of Çiçek Cinema

1945   **Population of Ankara reached 226 thousands.**
June 20, Ankara Medical Faculty was established with law nr. 4761

1946   The construction of Saraçoğlu Mahallesi was completed.
Mayoralty of Governor O.Sabri Adal for a short period of time
"*Dolmuş*"   [shared   midi   bus   for   local   transportation]   was legalized in three routes by the Municipality
June 18, University of Ankara was established with law nr. 4936.
October 31, University of Ankara was opened

1946-1948   Mayoralty of Governor İzzettin Çağpar

1947   December *27, "Küçük Tiyatro" [Small Theatre] was opened on the basement of Evkaf Apartment.*
Sergi Evi [Exhibition Hall] was re-modeled and opened as "Büyük Tiyatro" [Big Theatre]
Golf Club was opened (On the lands of today's Altınpark [Golden Park])

1948   With the amendments applied to the Notary law item nr.44, "Kat Mülkiyeti" [property ownership] was introduced.
First law about *Gecekondu* settlements were enacted (Law Nr. 5218)
The practice of assigning same person both as the Governor and as the Mayor of the city was annulled.
July 28, Hacettepe Sports Club was established.

1948-1950   Mayoralty of Ragıp Tüzün

1949   November 21, Ankara Faculty of Theology was opened.
Büyük Cinema was opened in an alley (today's jeweler's alley) in between today's Zafer Alley and Tuna Street.

1950   **Population of Ankara reached 288 thousands.**
Mayoralty of Fuat Börekçi for a short period of time
Opening of the Jockey Club

1950-1954   Mayoralty of Atıf Benderlioğlu
1951   Permits were given for the construction of attached buildings in Yenişehir.
The closure of *Ankara "Halkevi" [People's House]*

1952   The committee of public works of Ankara Municipal Council accepted a resolution about the preparation of a new development plan.

1953	*Gecekondu* settlements were legalized for the first time with the delivery of land tittles after the Law Nr.6188, which is about encouraging the construction of the buildings and the illegal constructions, was enacted.
	Altındağ became town.
	A local amusement park was opened in Gençlik Park
	November 15, Opening of the restaurant "Piknik"
	Anadolu Club was moved from Ulus to İzmir Street in Kızılay.
1954	As the Law Nr.6217 was enacated, the law of Land Registration was amended and property ownership was legalized.
1954-1955	Mayoralty of Governor Kemal Aygün
	Closure of Kutlu Patisserie
1955	**Population of Ankara reached 451 thousands.**
	Mayoralty of Governor Cemal Göktan for a short period of time
	With the government decree about the height regulations of the buildings in the city, the number of stories of the buildings was increased.
	The business complex of Ulus was constructed in accordance with the example of "America" (The Ministry of National Education which was serving in the previous building of Darülmuallimin [teacher's school] was burned out in 1947)
	The building that was hosting İstanbul Patisserie was demolished for the construction of Ulus Business Comlex.
1955-1957	Mayoralty of Governor Orhan Eren
1956	Increase of the stories of the buildings with the regulation about Temporary Structures
	October *5, Opening of the 3rd Theatre and "Oda Tiyatrosu" [Chamber Theatre]*
	November 15, Opening of Middle East Technical University (METU)
	"Yeni" Cinema was closed after its host building was expropriated
1957	The cabinet approved the Raşit Uybadin-Nihat Yücel's plan
	Yenimahalle became a town
	"Renkli" Cinema was opened in Bahçelievler.
1957-1958	Second term of Governor Kemal Aygün as the Mayor of Ankara
	Closure of Özen Patisserie
1958-1960	Mayoralty of Governor Dilaver Argun
1959	May 27, The law about the establishment of METU was enacted.
1960	**Population of Ankara reached 650 thousands.**
	May 27, A group of officers took over the power with a coup d'état
	Opening of the State Theatre "Yeni Sahne" [New Stage]
	Mayoralty of Governor İrfan Baştuğ for a short period of time
1960-1961	Mayoralty of Governor İhsan Ongun
1961	The construction of the new (current) building of GNAT was completed
	The new story regulation that permits 2.5 times increase in densities in Cebeci, Maltepe, Emek, Gaziosmanpaşa, Çankaya ve Etlik and 6 times

increase in Mebusevleri, Keçiören ve Bahçelievler was approved by the
ministry of development and housing
Opening of the very first private Theatre "Meydan Sahnesi"

1961-1962   Mayoralty of Governor Nuri Teoman

1962-1963   Mayoralty of Governor Enver Kuray

1963   *Closure of Restaurant Karpiç*
Establishment of "Ankara Sanat Tiyatrosu (AST)" [Ankara Art Theatre]
February 1, A commercial airliner crashed into a military aircraft, the wreckage of
both airplanes was spread over Ulus. A total of 87 people were died, 70 of which
were Ankara residents.
October 14, Opening of Hacettepe Medical Faculty

1963-1968   Mayoralty of Halil Sezai Erkut

1964   Opening of Çubuk II Dam
March *27, Opening of Altındağ State Theatre*

1965   **Population of Ankara reached 905 thousands.**
Opening of Emek Buiness center 1959-1965) (It was the first skyscraper of
Turkey and was built on the land of Cemil Uybadin's house that had a tower
of its own. Its basement was a shopping center (Gima) which the other floors
were reserved for offices)

1965-1967   *"100. Yıl Çarşısı" [100ᵗʰ Anniversary Market] was constructed over the land of
Millet Garden and Karpiç.*

1966   Introduction of *"Gecekondu"* (squatter housing) prevention zones with the law.
Nr. 775
Opening of Bayındır Dam
June 6, Opening of Dedeman Hotel
Closure of Süreyya Music Hall

1967   July 8, Establishment of Hacettepe University
*July 17, Closure of Ankara Palas (Since its total bed amount was not high enough
for running it as a hotel profitably) (it was reopened in 1973)*
October 30, Construction of Kocatepe was started.

1968   *Opening of "Papazın Bağı" [vineyard of the priest]*

1968-1973   Mayoralty of Ekrem Barlas

1969   Establishment of "Ankara Nazım Plan Bürosu" [Ankara Master Plan Bureau]
*Closure of Ulus Cinema (it was located on the same location of today's Soysal
Business Complex)*
Opening of "Yeni Ulus" Cinema in Tunalı alley at Kavaklıdere

1970   **Population of Ankara reached 1 million 236 thousands.**
1971   March 12, Resignation of the Cabinet after the memorandum of the Army and the
start of interim regime
July 31, Closure of the last national newspaper of Ankara, which was first published
with the name of "Hakimiyet-i Milliye" [National Dominance] and later
renamed as "Ulus"

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1973-1977	Mayoralty of Vedat Dalokay
1973	Opening of Kurtboğazı Dam.
1975	**Population of Ankara reached 1 million 701 thousands** *Re-Closure of Ankara Palas (Since it was unable to pay the rent of two -months and was hosting naked-woman shows)* *Closure of Büyük Cinema*
1976	July 23, Drivers skirmished with the police during the comprehensive boycott of cab and dolmuş drivers.
1977-1980	Mayoralty of Ali Dinçer
1978	Dedicated traffic lanes are assigned for the buses that would cruise between Beşevler and Cebeci Closure of the *Golf Club*
1979	The building of Kızılay that has given the district its name was demolished October 17, Kent-koop, the coordinator of Batıkent project was established
1980	**Population of Ankara reached 1 million 877 thousands** September 9, First attempt to construct a subway in Ankara (This attempt was suspended after the coup d'état of September 12, 1980) September 12, Turkish democracy was suspended with coup d'état of the Army
1980-1984	Mayoralty of Süleyman Önder
1982	Ankara Metropolitan Plan was approved and come into force. (this plan of 1/50.000 scale was mostly about the areas which were not covered with the plan of Yücel-Uybadin). Re-opening of *Ankara Palas* as "Devlet Konuk Evi" [State Guest House] Private buses were added to the public transportation system
1983	The lands of Gazi Forest Farm were opened to the use of many public institutions with the law. Nr.2823 Closure of Ankara Master Plan Bureau Keçiören was seceded from Altındağ and became a town Mamak was seceded from Çankaya and became a town The village of Sincan became a town July 11, Station wagon "dolmuş"s were removed from service October 17, Constructions started in Batıkent
1984	Establishment of the municipality in Yenimahalle July 9, Establishment of Ankara Metropolitan Municipality
1984-1989	Mayoralty of Mehmet Altınsoy
1985	**Population of Ankara reached 2 million 304 thousands** *Closure of Restaurant "Piknik"*
1987	Opening of Kocatepe Mosque (the idea first came up in 1947, PM Menderes allocates its current location. A competition was held in the same year. The project of Hüsrev Tayla and Fatih Uluengin was initiated in 1967)

1988	Sincan was incorporated into the boundaries of Metropolitan Municipality.
1989	*First ever shopping center of Ankara, "Atakule" was opened in Çankaya*
1989-1993	Mayoralty of Murat Karayalçın
1990	**Population of Ankara reached 2 million 584 thousands** Etimesgut seceded from Yenimahalle and became a town April 10, Construction of Ankara Subway started.
1991	*Opening of "Karum" shopping center (Gazi Osman Paşa –Kavaklıdere)*
1992	August 8, Construction of Ankaray rail system started
1994-1999	First term of İ. Melih Gökçek as the Mayor of Ankara
1995	Opening of *Galleria shopping center (Ümitköy)*
1996	Opening of Ankaray
1997	December 27, Opening of Ankara Subway *Opening of Ansera shopping center (Portakal Çiçeği-Çankaya)*
1998	*Opening of Ankuva-Bilkent shopping center (Eskişehir Road–Bilkent)*
1999-2004	Second term of İ. Melih Gökçek as the Mayor of Ankara
1999	*Opening of Ankamall shopping center (Akköprü)*
2000	**Population of Ankara reached 3 million 356 thousands**
2002	*Opening of Armada shopping center (Eskişehir Road-Söğütözü)*
2003	*Opening of Arcadium shopping center (Çayyolu)*
2004-2009	Third term of İ. Melih Gökçek as the Mayor of Ankara
2004	*Opening of Optimum Outlet shopping center (Ayaş Road-Eryaman)*
2005	*Opening of Planet shopping center (Etimesgut – Elvankent)* *Opening of Dolphin shopping center (Eryaman)*
2006	*Opening of Göksu shopping center (Eryaman)*
2007	*Opening of Antares shopping center (Etlik)* *Opening of Cepa shopping center (Eskişehir Road)* *Opening of Panora shopping center (Oran)*
2008	*Opening of Minesera shopping center (Çayyolu)* *Opening of Zirvekent -365 shopping center (Çankaya-Yıldız)* *Opening of Acity Outlet shopping center (İstanbul Road)* *Opening of Forum shopping center (İstanbul Road)* *Opening of Malltepe shopping center (Maltepe)* *Opening of Beysupark shopping center (Beysukent)*

2009	*Opening of Arena shopping center (Eskişehir Road)*
	Opening of Kentpark shopping center (Eskişehir Road)
	Opening of Gordion shopping center (Eskişehir Road)
	Opening of Anse shopping center (Eskişehir Road)
2009-.....	Fourth term of İ. Melih Gökçek as the Mayor of Ankara
2010	*Opening of Atlantis shopping center (Batıkent)*
2011	*Opening of Kızılay Shopping Center (Kızılay)*
	Opening of İkea Store and Anatolium shopping center (Mamak)
2012	**Population of Ankara reached 4 million 630 thousands**
	Opening of Nata Vega shopping center (Mamak)
2013	There are a total number of 31 shopping centers in Ankara, hosting leisure spaces with other facilities

Source: Aydın et al, 2005; and produced by author

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