

PRODUCTION OF SIDEWALKS; THE CASE OF ATATURK BOULEVARD

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ABSTRACT

PRODUCTION OF THE SIDEWALKS; THE CASE OF ATATURK BOULEVARD

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This thesis is a study on the spatial and also ideological processes regarding Ankara-Ataturk Boulevard sidewalks. The main concern of this study is to discuss the pattern of determinants in the process that led to appreciation of public life, de-appreciation of public life/ appreciation of the pedestrian and finally de- appreciation of the pedestrian; and respectively production, re-production and de-construction of sidewalks, in the frame of Ataturk Boulevard case. It would be unfairness to consider the sidewalk, which is basically the space has set the walking pedestrian aside in the modern city, as the spaces solely designated for the affair of reaching one place to another. Sidewalks are not only the mean of pedestrian transportation but are the products of various social and political appropriations, intentions and processes.

This study conceptualizes the pedestrianism phenomenon as the discourse of the marginalization of the human relatively to vehicles, and focuses on the actors and factors that re-produce the pedestrian concept and respectively the sidewalk space. While sidewalks are the most significant and essential spaces of socialization at modern urban; on the other hand, it became the symbol of the de-appreciation of the pedestrian and the exclusion of the human in the urban life. Since the Early Republican Period, Ataturk Boulevard and particular component that belong to pedestrians, has been transformed by multiple discourses and the regarded planning practices, as a product of history. In this respect, this study, interprets Ataturk Boulevard Sidewalks as the spatial manifestation of political intention(s) but also as an effective spatial instrument to reshape the society's behaviors and beliefs; and aims to clarify the intentions and concepts behind the formation process of the sidewalks, unique to Turkish urbanism dynamics.

Keywords: Ataturk Boulevard, Sidewalk, Pedestrianism, Pedestrian, Boulevard, Social space, Nation State

ÖZ

KALDIRIMLARIN ÜRETİMİ; ATATÜRK BULVARI ÖRNEĞİNDE

Işıl Güllök

Yüksek Lisans, Kentsel Tasarım, Şehir ve Bölge Planlama

Tez Yöneticisi: Yrd. Doç. Dr. H. Çağatay Keskinok

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Bu tez, Ankara-Atatürk Bulvarı kaldırımlarına ilişkin mekânsal ve ideolojik süreçler üzerine bir çalışmadır. Çalışmanın temel amacı, kamusal hayatın ve yayanın değer kazanması, yayanın değer kazanması ve kamusal hayatın değerini yitirmesi ve son olarak yayanın da değerini yitirmesi ve buna bağlı olarak kaldırımların üretimi, yeniden üretimi ve yıkım süreçlerine yol açan belirleyicileri Atatürk Bulvarı örneğinde tartışmaktır. Temelde modern kentlerde yürümenin mekânı olan kaldırımları yalnız bir yerden bir yere gitmenin cereyan ettiği alanlar olarak düşünmek haksızlık olacaktır. Kaldırımlar, sadece yayanın ulaşım alanı değil, farklı sosyal ve politik öngörülerin, amaçların ve süreçlerin ürünüdür.

Bu çalışma yayalık kavramını modern kentlerde insanın araçlara göre ötekileştirilmesinin söylemi olarak kavramsallaştırarak, yayalık olgusu ve kaldırım mekânını tekrar üreten aktör ve etkenlere odaklanmaktadır. Kaldırımlar, bir yandan kentin en yaygın ve önemli toplumsallaşma mekânı iken, diğer yandan yayanın değersizleşme ve insanın kent mekânında dışlanmasının simgesi halini almıştır. Tarihsel bir ürün olarak Atatürk Bulvarı ve özellikle de onun yayalara ait kısmı Cumhuriyet döneminden itibaren farklı söylemler ve bunlara ait planlama pratikleri ile dönüşmüştür. Bu bağlamda, bu çalışma, Atatürk Bulvarı Kaldırımlarını bir yandan politik erklerin görünüm alanı olarak ele alırken, aynı zamanda bu mekânın toplumun inanç ve davranışlarını yeniden şekillendirmede bir araç olduğunu kabul etmektedir ve kaldırımların Türk kentsel dinamiklerine özgü oluşum süreçlerinin arkasında yer alan tasarı ve kavramları açıklamayı amaçlamaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Atatürk Bulvarı, Kaldırım, Yayalık, Yaya, Bulvar, Sosyal mekân, Ulus Devlet

To my parents...

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Scope, Objectives & Questions

The sidewalk can be defined, morphologically, as the marginal space between the buildings and road, and it is the common perception that their main function is to provide safe circulation for *pedestrians*. In the modern city, roads and sidewalks are the main circulatory elements of urban space. In this sense, the sidewalk has two distinct characteristics, one is related to of their functional context in which they can be defined as mobility channels similar to the roads for vehicles , and the other is related with the social context as their social character inherited in their publicness, resulted from their *inhabitants/ users/ utilizers* – people different from the machines.

Throughout the history, cities and their human qualities of design shaped by the needs of people and their everyday activities. Ultimately, it was pedestrians that capture the urban experience, so walking had been the most important and crucial activity at urban space. However, by the invention of the new means of access other than walking, concept of the sidewalk has risen as a refuge of urban walker, while streets became a space for cars and other machines. Today, in Ankara, sidewalks and *pedestrians* are depreciated by the state and professionals; and people abolished from the (public) urban life. Moreover, beyond their functional characteristic being transit channels for the *pedestrian*, their social space quality is mostly overlooked by planners and decision makers.

The cultural importance of the sidewalk as a venue for the urban community dictates its status as the preeminent public space of the city. Moreover, as motorized way of transportation keeps an indispensable place for functioning of contemporary urban, critical significance of the sidewalk in the context of urban public life becomes more crucial. However, today, 90 percent of Ataturk Boulevard street space is devoted to cars and other motor vehicles.

This thesis aims to find an answers to the question of: “Sidewalks of Atatürk Boulevard, as an indispensable feature of the Boulevard and the crucial element of the urban life; how has lost its great emphasis for decision makers, planners also its users? ”; (Then, what was the intension that brings its designation as an *initial urban element*, by the state authorities and planners, even before when the first kind of the automobiles dominated the street space,?) However, if we intend to oversimplify the problematic of sidewalks to the automobile dependency in the contemporary cities, we can miss out on very important other determinants. Sidewalks can be defined as the sine qua none of pedestrianism, which is

produced and re-produced through patterns of *complex relations*, in terms of *material, ideological and social motivations and rituals* of the city that directly and/or indirectly affects the sidewalk space. From our problematic, *pedestrianism* had born in the period of modernity when horse carriages, streetcars and early period's automobiles had newly began to dominate the street space; however, pedestrianism's provoking *the decline of the sidewalk space* on the city space came on the scene under the effects of other urban dynamics at the same period. *Pedestrianism*, as the philosophy regarding the attitude towards sidewalk by state, professional authorities (planners, designers and engineers), and also by its users has undergone a substantial shift after the late social- spatial urban conditions.

In accordance with the problematic of the thesis, Ankara- Ataturk Boulevard sidewalks have chosen as the main investigation space. Concerning to reveal the actual motivations and pattern of determinants behind the process of *fall of the sidewalk* and *the public man*; this thesis looks for the direct and indirect; spatial and non-spatial forces that lead the transformation of the sidewalk rationale and synchronously the space. Through identifying the continuities, breaking points and set of contradictions in the process of (re) production of the sidewalks, main purpose of the study is to find out the pattern of causalities in historical context of the case.

This study interprets Ataturk Boulevard Sidewalks,

1. as the *instrument* of intentions and ideals
(Functional/ operational space)
2. as the *arena* of intentions and ideals
(Manifestation/reflection space)
3. as the *(re)product* of conflicting interests and practices, under the effect of the dialectic relationship between first two
(Inference/ collision space)

; and aims to clarify the intentions and concepts behind the regulation process of the sidewalks, unique to Turkish urbanism dynamics.

As a matter of diachronic consideration, Ataturk Boulevard sidewalks have been designated, reproduced and demolished under various urban conditions, since Ankara was selected as the capital city of the Turkish Republic. Ankara as the capital city had been envisioned as the spatial representation of the nation state and its modern identity .By the establishment of the Republic of Turkey, construction of a brand new *modern* capital city had been the one of major instruments for the imposition of the novel Republican ideology, recreation of modern young democratic society. In this respect, Atatürk Boulevard, and public space pattern along the Boulevard is the product of the intention of creating a new urban image of national identity, but also major spatial instruments of generation these ideals. In this respect, in fist plan considerations, Ataturk Boulevard and its sidewalks had

not been formed to meet with the recent needs of existing socio-spatial structure of Ankara in that years, but to attain forward designated urban pattern and its idealized life style. At this point, production and re-production of Ataturk Boulevard sidewalks can be interpreted as the hybrid of imported western urbanization knowledge and practices also unique political intention(s) and contemporary urban conditions, particular to Turkish urbanism dynamics.

Sidewalks of Ataturk Boulevard delicately had been designed in the plan of Ankara that is prepared by German planner Hermann Jansen. However, the urban plans prepared for Ankara after 50s has not provided any propositions regarding sidewalks or any other decisions in the street scale. By 50s and especially after 70s getting control over unplanned growth and directing urban macroform had become the primary concern of urban planning activities, under the condition urban problems as urban population, illegal housing, pollution, traffic congestion etc. In this respect, the prominence once Ataturk Boulevard sidewalks had got faded from the scene, as sidewalks reduced to mobility space of *pedestrians*, decayed in its user profile, lost its historical representative identity, regulated and cleared off incompatible activities, disregarded as an out dated urban component, and finally ignored absolutely, in various processes.

Problem of *the (dis) regarded pedestrianism and decline and destruction of Ataturk Boulevard sidewalks* in this respect has a multi-layered structure. *Construction of the sidewalk and regulation of publicness*, as the marker of modern city, has its rational roots in Republican ideology and its ideals regarding the modern democratic community. On the other hand, *reproduction and subsequently destruction of sidewalks*; and simultaneously, *regulation of pedestrianism and subsequently devaluation of publicness* has more diverse motivations, under the effect of multi layered and multiple urban dynamics; such as, revised economic trends: nationalization, liberalization, neo-liberalization; new urban accumulation patterns: urbanization of capital, de-centralization, suburbanization,; new opportunities as motorization, quick mass transit, new communication technologies; and also societal structure in terms of modernization, opposition, struggle, fragmentation on space, gated life style, changed pattern of public behaviors, etc...

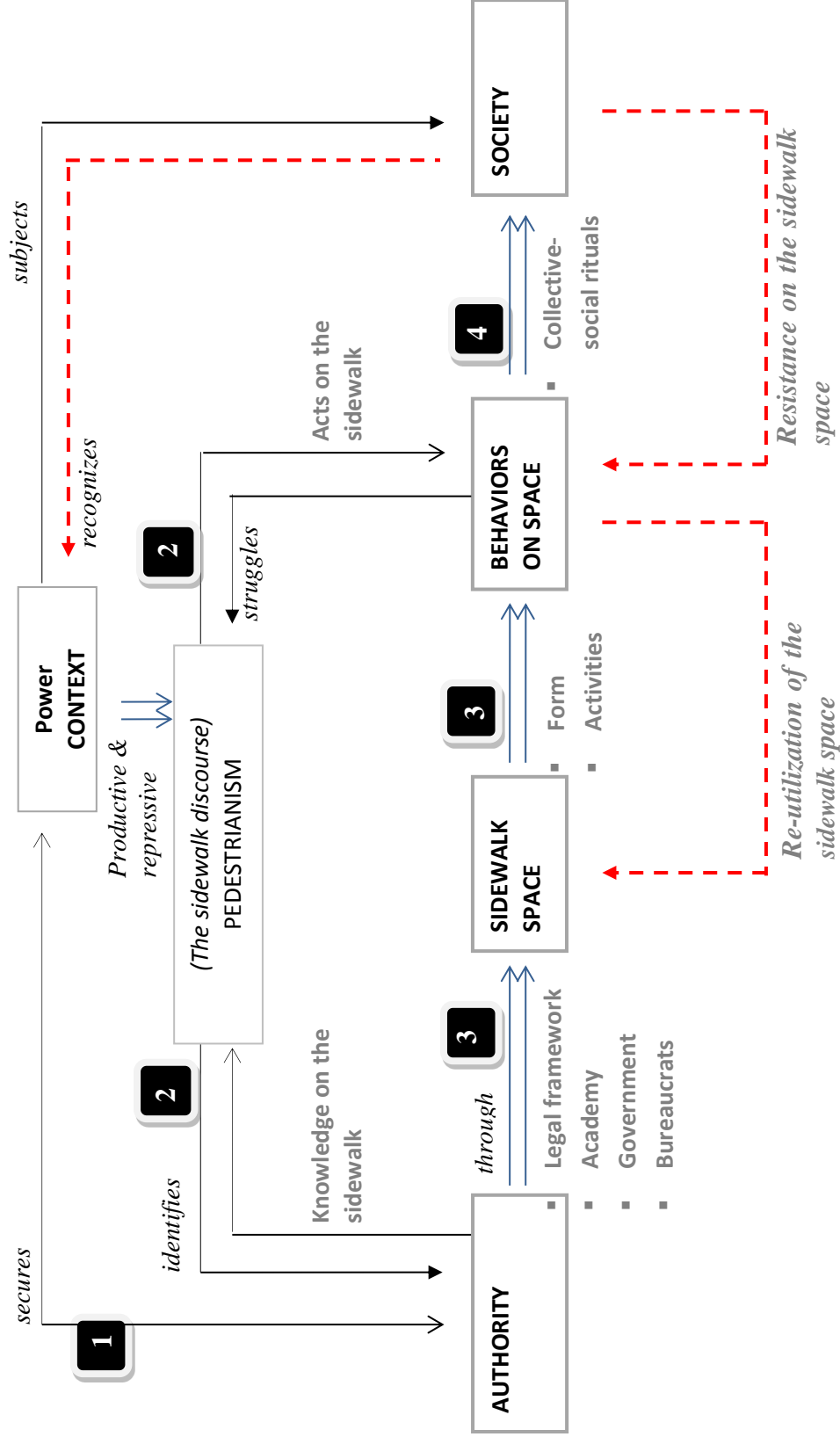


Figure 1.1: Dynamics that shape and re-shape the sidewalk space
Source: Personal rendering

In this respect, through the study, Ataturk Boulevard sidewalks is aimed to be analyzed through a holistic approach, that mainly takes account of 4 considerations;

1. Interrelation between the power concept (material, social, political context) and the authority; *“How power relations direct authorities and vice versa, to utilize/ produce urban space?”*
2. Interrelation between the Pedestrianism (the sidewalk discourse) and the sidewalk space, via spatial planning decisions and regulations; *“How pedestrianism shapes/ produces sidewalk space and practices?”*
3. Interrelation between the Authority and the sidewalk space; *“How the authority produces the sidewalk space and regulates its practices?”*
4. Interrelation between the (planned/ utilized) sidewalk space and its (regulated/ resister) practices; *“How public space (re) produce the society and vice versa?”*

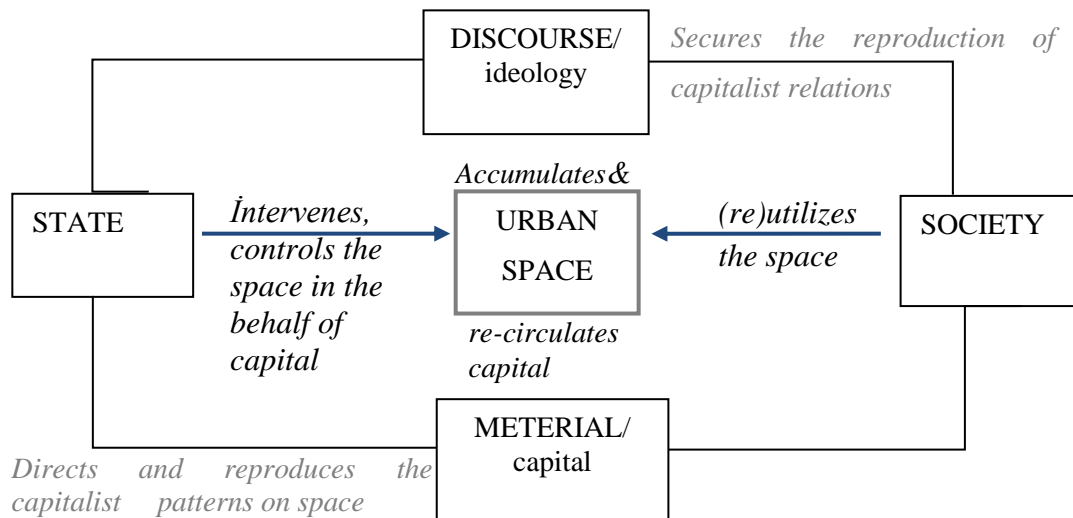


Figure 1.2: Actors and factors that shape and re-shape the urban space and dialectic between them

Source: Personal rendering

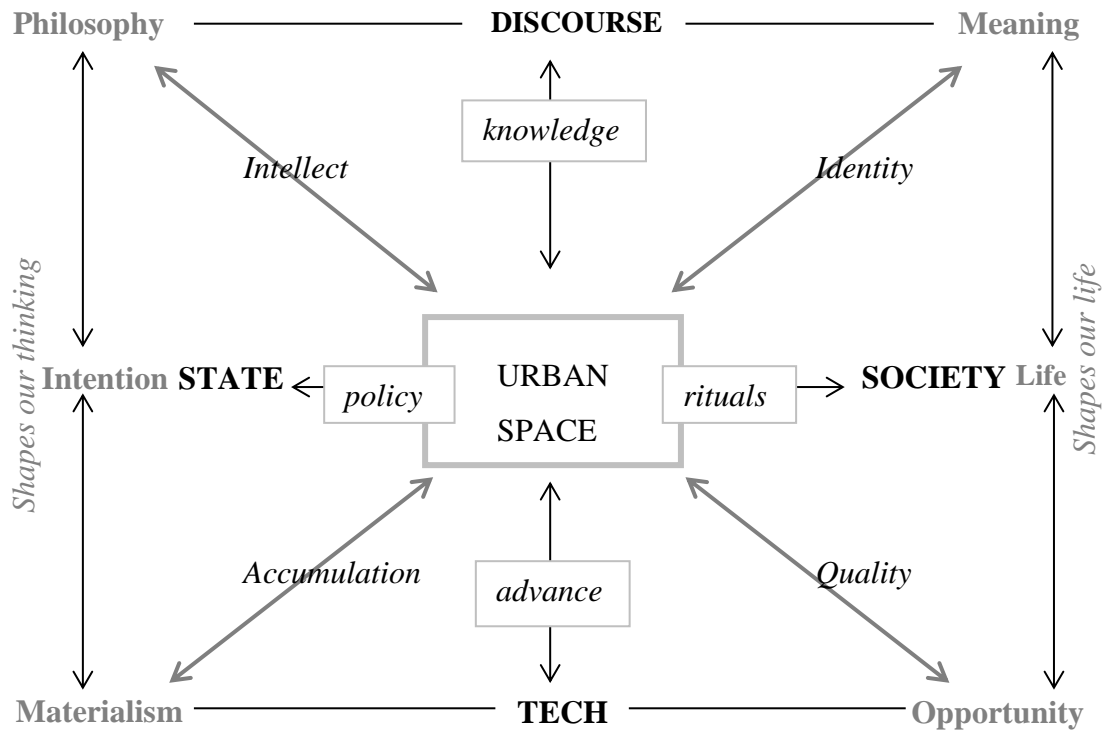


Figure 1.3: Rationalities that shape and re-shape the urban space by the dialectic of thoughts and actions

Source: Personal rendering

The former studies in the literature that focuses on the ideology, function and design considerations of the sidewalk can be distinguished into two main groups. The first group of *scientific, functionalist, determinist* studies (Fruin, 1971; Pushkarev, 1975; Allin, 2008; Debes, 2003; and many others), is those looking for the rationality of *sidewalk formations* by interpreting the sidewalk as a tool of human mobility in the urban system. In this respect, while streets defined as “*the circulatory system of urban space*” in ecological perspective, which links various functional components of the city; walking is interpreted as the *subject of transportation*; and people are conceptualized as *pedestrians*, in this perspective. Sidewalks, thus, claimed as the main space of *pedestrian* circulation that should be designed by the help of the modern travel analyses that aims to improve mainly the safety and comfort of *pedestrians to secure mobility*. On the other hand, the second group of studies is those referring the sidewalk as a *social- political product, instrument* of the related ideologies. Through these studies (Blomley, 2011; Sideris and Ehrenfeucht, 2000; White, 1988; Jacobs, 1961; and others), it is aimed to evaluate the dual relationship between physical form and motivations, by investigating the discourse, spatial formation

and practices on space, particularly in Western context. Blomley defines the *pedestrianism concept* as “a powerful and under-researched form of urban governance” and claims that the way of civil or traffic engineers see the sidewalk as an object of transportation and people on that as the tools of it, consciously underestimating social and political dimensions of the *pedestrian*, aims to re-shape the society, in the frame of ideological objectives.

On the other hand, there is no original literature respect to Ankara or other Turkish city cases, taking spatial and socio-political evolution of the sidewalks into consideration. Those sources studying U.S. and European cities can provide useful concepts and methodologies to analyze Turkish examples. However, the problematic of the evolution and transformation of sidewalks in Ankara, both in contextual and historical perspective, needs a more comprehensive and more sophisticated point of view. Hereby, this study attempts to clarify multiple processes in the socio-political and spatial transformation of Atatürk Boulevard sidewalks.

If needed to state, aimed study is particularly important from many aspects. First, it stands as a precursor study in Turkey, as it is the very first study handles the sidewalk as the main problematic subject and analyzes it from spatial and socio-political aspects. On the other hand, timing of this research coincides with the period that sidewalks recently have been under spotlight in theoretical studies, rather than professional field as been in the previous years, through all over the world.

Moreover, it is needed to remind, sidewalks take on a very important task for contemporary cities and urban living. As the automobile became indispensable, cyber communication technologies and changed perception of urban practices isolate people from *real* public spaces and public interaction, as city centers have been depreciated and more and more abandoned, unbalance and disconnectedness of urban citizens more come to light; sidewalks should be taken more seriously by citizens, professionals and the governance.

The contributions of this thesis to the field are theoretical and professional. The study is important in theoretical level, as it aims to provide new points of view regarding the (re)production and regulation of sidewalks, in a manner considers different urban processes. Existing studies look over the sidewalk problematic as efficiency, safety, benefit- cost duality, public-private interest confliction or as the product of urban governance. However, this study aims to comprehend interrelated dynamics related to (de) formation of the sidewalk space and its (de) appreciation, in the context of the unique perspective regarding Turkish – Ankara Atatürk Boulevard instance. As a case mostly taken for granted by state, professionals and citizens, it is the very first urban socio- spatial study on the sidewalk (in Turkey). On the other hand, it could also provide a new conceptualization frame for the professional purposes of sidewalk planning and design for the further studies.

1.2 Research Methodology

To form out the patterns of dialectic relations and causalities that bring the production and transformation of Ataturk Boulevard sidewalks, various urban plans of Ankara and their plan reports have been examined. These plans were examined to directly clarify particular time and space context (problems and proposed solutions) in those related years, and to directly/ indirectly read the economic, political and social intentions and concepts. On the other hand, '*ideas*' and '*ideal*' of the sidewalk were analyzed by the help of academic and professional sources as; articles, thesis, design manuals and fundamentals, legislations and formal standards, in order to grasp the concepts behind the sidewalk formation and practices, in the frame of universal formations also Turkish urbanism.

The study explored multiple resources; Urban Development Plans of Ankara and related planning reports; act of municipalities, motor- *pedestrian* traffic regulations acts and other related documentary, taking the consideration of the period between the years 1923 and 2013. Plans and documents have been examined not only in terms of their planning elements such as the Boulevard, sidewalks, public spaces in the frame of the problematic, but also examined in terms of other planning decisions that indirectly conduct the processes of the sidewalk. Periods' consistencies and contradictions are conceived, in order to discover breaking points in urban planning concepts producing the rationale of the sidewalk and anticipation of the *pedestrian*.

On the other hand, statistics and quantitative data have been used to support the hypothesize, some of which are car ownership levels, population growth rate, urban settled/planned areas growth. However, it is foreknown that those data could not provide a validation for particular judgments, for example the relation between sidewalk depreciation and motorization; rather it can just provide supports for those beliefs.

Besides those materials, related achieves of newspapers, photographs, spoken or written documents on Ataturk Boulevard also true life experiences have been used to gain detailed information about transformed public praxis on the sidewalks, in a way to concretize the problematic.

On the other hand, to realize, perceive, evaluate and conclude the related documents and investigations on Atatürk Boulevard sidewalks, theoretical framework is compromised (in the second chapter), in the methodological approach of *re-conceptualizing the sidewalk as a place/ social space*.

1.3. Structure of the Thesis

Main body of this study is composed of four chapters. The first chapter introduced the Scope, Objectives, Questions, Methods of the thesis in the frame of the indicated problematic and the hypothesis.

The study begins with *Conceptualizing the Sidewalk*. In the first section, *Emergence of the (Modern) Sidewalk and the (Modern) Pedestrian* have been discussed, through the *categories of urban context, concept of movement, and production of sidewalks and production of the pedestrianism*, to clarify the concept of the sidewalk in modern west perspective, as imposed to Turkish Republican urbanization in the frame of *modernization*.

The second section, “*Knowledge on the Sidewalk*”, brings together the theoretical ideas and practical ideals on the sidewalk to found out the episteme- ground of the thoughts behind the process of formation and transition. Through first part of that section, *Ideas on the sidewalk (Philosophical Knowledge)*, existing literature on the sidewalks provided, also discussed and criticized in the frame of the hypo-these. On the other hand, implementation guidelines and legal framework, as the practical literature regarding sidewalk design in Turkey, also have been handled in the frame of the part, *Ideals on the sidewalk (Technical knowledge)*.

The third section, *Re- Conceptualizing the Sidewalk*, in the light of the historical process, theoretic ideas and practical regulations provided in the previous parts, and re conceptualizing of ‘walking’ as a social and political act to occupy the space, *The Sidewalk* has been re-conceptualized *as a Social and Political Space*, by the help of the urban social theories. The theoretical framework that is provided in that chapter is used to further elucidate the problematic of Atatürk Boulevard Sidewalks.

And in the last section, *Re- Conceptualizing the Pedestrianism*, focuses on the idea of the *pedestrianism* as a unique productive and repressive force that shapes ideas, ideals and practices on the sidewalk, by force of authorial interventions, and perceptions of users that (re) produces the behavioral pattern respect to the *pedestrianism*. In the part, *Walking as an everyday- social practice*, walking activity as a social and political act on the urban space is re-conceptualized and examined in order to (re) discover the social and political characteristic of the sidewalk. In this frame, *users/ utilizers* of the sidewalk were not anymore just *pedestrians*; they are *urban citizens occupying the space*.

Finally, in the last chapter, the case of the Ataturk Boulevard Sidewalks examined in terms of the historical evolution along with the chronologic Ankara plans, plan reports, municipal decisions and other related material. In this chapter of the thesis, the production process of Ankara Atatürk Boulevard sidewalks has been examined by means of historical periods. The chapter compromises six periods and each one of the periods handled in two (contextual and conceptual) operational parts. By the Pre- 1950 period, characterized by the process of *Construction of the Nation State*, the sidewalk has been identified as the

Legitimacy Space of the Republic and Its Ideals, in the context of *the Construction of the Nation State*. However, in the period of post 1950, the sidewalk came about as *the Influence Space of Urban Trends and Conditions*. The study then charts the subsequent development of ideas and practices, through the classified periods, according to the correlation of urban planning discourse and practices with rationale and practices on the sidewalk. The process have been grouped in to the five time period by taking account of their relevant characteristics mainly considering general urban context related to Ankara, that shapes ideological and spatial formation of Atatürk Boulevard sidewalk space, in the frame of sidewalk causalities.

By the proposition that (social) space is a (social) product, the sidewalk is social and political space and produced by diverse actors and factors. In the former part of the periodical sections, *the Sidewalk Context* that directly or indirectly affects the sidewalk space have been constituted, in the frame of the *material, social, political, and philosophical* non-urban and urban determinations and formations. In the periodization of historical (re) production process of the Boulevard sidewalks, political context is considered as the main criterion since it aroused ideological, economic and social transformations and respectively directed the urban discourse and shaped the urban space. *Construction of the Nation State, Democrat Party Government, Military Memoranda, the September 12 Military Coup*, and *Pro- Islamist View and Polity* are identified as the major breaking points related to urban political processes of Turkey and Ankara. On the other hand, *Nationalization, Liberalization, Economic Depression* and *the Adaption of the Neo-liberal Policies* are the economic concepts related to the mode of capital accumulation (relations of production) that utilizes and (re) produces the urban space by its social relations. In this respect, *Modernization, New Modernization, Social Politic Polarization* and *Socio- Spatial Fragmentation* are determined as the periodical contexts that society and its social rituals went through the changes, ever since the first years of Capital Ankara. Latter, *the Sidewalk Concept* evaluated and discussed by directly focusing on the morphology and practices that have (been) (re) produced (by) the sidewalk space. *Production of the Sidewalk as an Ideal Society (Citizen) Stage*, in the period that goes from the declaration of Ankara the capital city in 1923 till 1950s, has been conducted as a modern state project; however, in the later periods Boulevard sidewalks as *the Influence Space of Urban Trends and Conditions* were followed by *The Occupation of the Sidewalk, The Restriction of the Sidewalk* and finally *The Destruction of the Sidewalk*, under the effect of previously indicated various material, social – political urban conditions.

Last chapter comes up with the conclusion that evaluated dynamics behind *the production, re- production* and *destruction processes* of Atatürk Boulevard sidewalks, synchronously goes with the periods characterized by *valuation of publicness, regulation of pedestrianism-devaluation of publicness* and *rejection of the pedestrian* processes. It is emphasized that Production and Re-production of Atatürk Boulevard Sidewalks in Ankara is ideological, material and social process.

CHAPTER 2

CONCEPTUALIZING THE SIDEWALK

2.1. Knowledge on the Sidewalk

2.1.1 Ideas on the Sidewalk (Philosophical Knowledge)

The definition of the sidewalk is far from self-evident (like cities) and depends on the purpose of the conceptualizing. For different purposes, it can be defined in terms of morphological or social – politic character; taken its shape and meaning by particular set of codes inherited from spatial interventions, political intentions or a public- private continuum. However, concept of the sidewalk can be evaluated from two fundamental perspectives. One is focusing on the physical aspects and design considerations regarding this key *pedestrian* space, to create safe, comfortable and functional sidewalks while continually asking that “what is a sidewalk for and how should we effectively construct and regulate this space?”; and the other is the social perspective that interprets the urban space as a social product and looking for the formations behind the first perspective.

From the first perspective, the sidewalk is interpreted as *a mobility tool for urban people*. In this respect, while streets defined as “the circulatory system of urban space” (Fruin, 1971: 170), which link various functional components of the city and through it city’s life flows; walking is interpreted as the *subject of transportation*. Sidewalks, thus, claimed as the *main space of pedestrian circulation* and should be designed by the help of the modern travel analyses that aims to improve safety and comfort of pedestrians. In recent years, as central city and high density living has gained more popularity particularly in U.S. cities, sidewalks also have gained more attention, hoping to attract more business investment, tourism and also to take back suburban residents to the city. Boris Pushkarev, in his book, named as “*Urban Space for Pedestrians*” (1975), focuses on pedestrian circulation and amenities, by the claim that better urbanity requires more compact, well-designed development which promises richer opportunities for social, cultural interaction and recourse. To avoid congestion on public space, provide enough space for circulation and improve safety and conformity of pedestrians, according to Pushkarev (1975), the degree which urban spaces are filled with people should be calculated and predicted by quantitative methods, as he claims that such spaces should not be just diminished abstractly, for the sake of architectural proportions, but also should be considered in relation to the number of people that can be expected to use them. On the other hand, he claims that efficient sidewalks that encourage walking in the city centers can serve to conservation of the environment that requires more effective use of public transit and more occasions for walking and strolling. Walking activity, most pertinent for city centers,

socially - economically positive and fashionable from environmental aspects, credited as the indispensable element of better urban America, to overcome urban problems related to urban sprawl, motorization, over consumption of resources etc. In this respect, it is clear that by this approach, urban people are reduced to the *pedestrian*, as a *mobilized form of people*, which lacks social and political attributes. Moreover, *pedestrianism* interpreted as *an effective tool of governance* required for economic and social vitality of cities.

In the recent period, design of *pedestrian* spaces gained more attention by urban planners and decision makers as new perspectives regarding the conflict of the urban space and natural environment were at the top of the agenda. In this respect, Khashayar Kashani Jou, in his article “*Pedestrian Areas and Sustainable Development*”, claimed that transportation is one of the most fundamental challenges of urban development in contemporary world, aims to clarify the role of walkable streets in sustainable development of cities. Throughout the article, quantitative and qualitative findings were used to demonstrate that “walking can lead to sustainable urban development from physical, social, political, cultural, economic and environmental aspects”. Article evolves through “the definition of pedestrian areas and their history in cities”, “general concepts and main purposes of sustainable development and its urban dimensions”, and concludes in “the effects of pedestrian areas on the different dimensions of sustainable urban development”. On the other hand, Craig Allin, in his article “*Stepping Into the Light: The Redemption of the Sidewalk*” (2008), claims that more walkable neighborhoods is needed to achieve less obesity, increased lifespan, more healthy environment in the context of the sustainable development; even if price tag of constructing sidewalks is high. Sidewalks, in this context, evaluated as *a tool to re-shape society*, to govern beliefs, motivations and behaviors of the citizens; as Allin writes, “simply by installing sidewalks, municipal governments can make a significant and necessary change in Americans’ lifestyles”. Similarly, Iderlina Mateo-Babiano, and Hitoshi Ieda (2005), in the article “*Theoretical discourse on sustainable space design: towards creating and sustaining effective sidewalks*”, aim to provide an alternative methodology to create sustainable sidewalk by the help of the “context- sensitive design strategies”. Users are, as stated in the article, “a potential source of behavioral change when led to experience alternative design strategies that aim to encourage a more sustainable lifestyle” and it is further added that,

... sustainability-oriented’ street design takes on an active role in creating spaces that cater to users by considering the whole spectrum of pedestrian needs, considering the users’ historical and cultural diversity in the development of a more responsive street regulation and standards and incorporating the two interacting spatial components: movement, satisfying the basic need for mobility; and non-movement, complementing movement to achieve a more effective and sustainable space. (Babiona and Idea, 2005).

In this respect, it is claimed that space perception between the East and West shapes under the influence of the dichotomy of their ecologic character, resulting in different urban formations as ‘organic city form’ vs. ‘the planned city system’; so that, a context- sensitive

design approach can be an effective design strategy to ‘create and sustain effective sidewalks’.

In addition, “*A New Model for Sidewalk Design*”, an article written by JC Debes (2003), provides an objective model for residential roadway design that optimizes safety and efficiency of *pedestrians* and minimizes environmental impact. This model is based on two physical principles: two objectives cannot occupy the same space at the same time; and, as the speed of the objects increases the space between them must increase in order to prevent them from colliding; and it is stated that developed mode “strives to optimize roadway efficiency while preserving safety, quality of life and property values”. Different from previous design approaches regarding the pedestrian spaces, Debes provides an ideal sidewalk model not just taking account of the safety and conform of pedestrians, but also retaining the perspective of the drivers, to resolve pedestrian vs. motor vehicle conflict in the street space, by the objective reasoning.

These scientific approaches on the sidewalk epitomize the way that sidewalk or other urban pedestrian spaces are tended to be designed according to the practical and objective considerations; namely transportation efficiency, safety, or environmental impact, by the help of quantitative methods. Walking, in this respect, is merely a transportation activity and sidewalks are *the transit channels required for efficient pedestrian transportation*. Analyzing the common discourse of previously stated claims regarding sidewalk design could provide the real beliefs and motivations behind the idealized sidewalk formation and behaviors. In this frame, “safe” and “effective” are the main key words regarding the designated sidewalk; and lately “with the least environmental impact” is added to them. Common point of these views can be summed up as all using an objective methodology to build up their argument evolving around the emphasis that the *pedestrian* spaces should gain more attention by designers and planners, as an effective urban tool for the remedy of contemporary urban (social - economic) problems.

On the other hand, in the frame of the second perspective, the sidewalk is interpreted as *a manifestation space urban social relation*. Urban spaces provide information about the city and its citizens and reflect the socio-economic and political culture of the community. As Moudon stated (1978: 13), streets, more than any other element of the urban infrastructure, both determine and record the history of city. The sidewalk, as an indispensable element of the modern street infrastructure, is bear witness to the motivations, needs and conflicts of a society. However, urban space cannot just be evaluated as a passive scene of reflected relations, as it is also the medium of the relations that (re) produce this scene.

Public spaces; especially streets and the sidewalks have had a regulatory role and marked special turning points through history. Through history, sidewalks have been used as *a stage for political and social change*. Nicholas K. Blomley, in his book “*Rights of Passage: Sidewalks and the Regulation of Public Flow*” (2010), focuses on the “*pedestrianism*” concept as he declares as “a powerful and under-researched form of urban governance” and aims to reveal the particular ways in which pedestrianism deactivates rights-based claims to public space. Blomley claims, “Sidewalks are the sine qua non of

pedestrianism”, and adds, sidewalks need to be redefined in terms of their capacity as public spaces. The *pedestrianism*, which Blomley explained as being only concerned with maintaining and regulating sidewalk flow, is a tool of state to regulate society and its relations. In the concept of *the pedestrianism*, value attached to the public space does not belong to its aesthetic merits or its success in promoting public citizenship and democracy, but rather belong to the function (of the sidewalk). As stated, the sidewalk, coexisting with a relatively new emerged concept - the *pedestrianism* produced by the relations of early-modernist city, is an “object of the urban governance”. By the nineteenth century, the sidewalk has become a matter of concern that interventionist governments built but also regulates in the pursuit of smooth circulation, in the name of “public interest”.

Blomley criticizes the way of civil or traffic engineers see the sidewalk as an object of transportation and people on that as the tools of it, and claims that *pedestrianism* underestimated social and political dimensions of the *public men*. The “*Pedestrianism*”, writes Bloomley, “understands the sidewalk as a finite public recourse that is always threatened by multiple, competing interest and uses”. The rule of authorities, using law as needed, is to arrange these bodies and objects to ensure that the primary function of the sidewalk, that is “to sustain orderly movement of pedestrians from point A to point B” (p.3). Blomley declares a good sidewalk for a civic humanist urbanity is one that produces politics and pleasure; thus, spaces for public activities should be included in how sidewalks are produced, regulated and maintained. However, this approach reduces the sidewalk to a spatial governmental formation constructed and regulated by the state and professional authorities, meanwhile underestimating even neglecting the genius of the society that reutilizes the space.

In addition, the sidewalk is the sine qua non of the publicness. Linking public life on the common sphere with the contrasting characteristics of the private sphere as a refuge of personal and individual life, sidewalk became the space of embracing and conflicting diversities, antagonism and/or association. Jane Jacobs, in her book “*The Death and Life of Great American Cities*”, in 1961, defined sidewalks as “the main public spaces of the city” and “its most vital organs”. Jacobs claims that sidewalks are particularly important urban elements, as their most important feature is to serve the purpose of keeping neighborhoods safe and controllable by the vibrant interaction of people on them. In 1960s, as Urban America were facing the suburbanization process, middle-class residents left the city center and adopted the new suburban -middle class life style featured individualized life practices in fragmented and alienated cosmos of urban life. Sidewalks in this new emerged urban context were dull places where suburban residents do not need and central city residents fear to walk by the reason of increased safety issues on the desolates streets. Therefore, in these years, Jacobs (1962) and White (1988) inspired planners to envision a public city, with vibrant streets and safe sidewalks. However, their public life conception was consisted by control, order and regulation, in respect to the argument that vibrant public life on streets could be attained by controlling undesirable people and activities.

The theoretical works of Jacobs and Whyte providing a critical functional discourse on the sidewalk brings a reaction against the ‘*scientific*’ approach regarding urban design

and planning (Fawcett, 2003: 3). However, considered arguments and proposed measures still adopts the ‘scientific’ attitude regarding urban planning, which seeks to provide rational solutions to the problems consisted in the urban system; such as crime, poverty, accidents etc. In the search of to get back the ideal public realm, re-building historic life on the streets became a much-debated question lately; however, most of them only served nostalgia preciousness while intending to bring its social relations simply by re-building its spaces. The space-oriented concern that reappraise social qualities of sidewalk; on the other hand, is restricted by the belief that recreating urban social life is simply possible by restructuring its spaces. This approach underestimates the complex forces that shape sidewalk and attitudes towards it and leads to *functionalist* and *unilateral* way of analysis that has been formerly criticized.

On the other hand, it is important to discover different claims over public space and particularly on the sidewalk, shifting through different meanings and competing –social, economic, political, environmental- functions. Anastasia Loukaitou- Sideris and Irena Ehrenfeucht (2005), in the book “*Sidewalk Democracy: Conflict and Negotiation over Public Space*”, focus on the social, economic and political life of the sidewalks. As stated, most of people “takes sidewalks for granted”, however as an unique and vital element of urban functioning and social development, the sidewalks deserves to be better studied and understood from many aspects. In this respect, this book revolves around specific themes; such as “the distinctiveness, publicness, diversity, contestation, and regulation of the sidewalk” to looks at competing sidewalk uses and claims, and finally to revise the public meaning and the role of sidewalks in the future.

Sidewalks are *the meeting and interplay arena of conflicting aims and uses*. They are *the common ground* for the state and society, capitalist activity and poverty, regulation and resistance, order and disorder, and formal and informal activity. Yeoh Seng Guan, in his article “*Sidewalk Capitalism: Notes on a Critical Visual Ethnography of Street Vending in Baguio City, the Philippines*” (2005), draws attention to informal economic practices on the sidewalk, in his words, “by mapping and articulating spatial practices as embodied in the persona of the street vendor”. Inhabitation of sidewalk space by informal sector: by vendors or *isportacı* in Turkey, in this respect, provides an example regarding the reutilization of sidewalk space by everyday capitalism. In this respect, the sidewalk cannot be just considered as a passive surface serving for the *pedestrian* mobility provided by the state on the behalf of ‘public interest’. Even sidewalks have been produced and constructed by the state force, regulated and maintained by the municipal services; it is a social space utilized by everyday social practices and re- produced by the societal relations.

Social approach against the scientific approach on the sidewalk draws the sidewalk as the *spatial formation of urban governance and regulation*, since the eighteen century. Common discourse of these views can be indicated that they tend to interpret sidewalks’ meaning and evolution in the frame of the contrasting claims and practices belonging to the state and society. In this respect, “public space”, “regulation”, “control”, “state” and “civic rights” are main key words regarding the approach that aims to clarify competing claims over the sidewalk, by adopting the qualitative methodology.

Dissimilar to the first group of studies, while second group of literature evolves on the critique of non-political, mono- casual thoughts on sidewalk formation (generated by the first group of theories); it also provides a limited conception of the sidewalk, as a *governmental instrument of political intentions* or as *a stage where conflicting aims meets and interacts*. However, in the Turkish context, the problematic of Atatürk Boulevard sidewalks is needed to be evaluated in rationalities that are more complex. Conception of the sidewalk space just as a regulation instrument of governance or re- utilization ground of society can lead to misconception of the problematic and accordingly of the proper propositions; in the case of Atatürk Boulevard sidewalks.

Unfortunately, regarding Turkish cases, there is no original literature that takes the sidewalks as the primary subject of the study and focuses its socio-spatial formation. Furthermore, there are so limited number of studies concerning the *pedestrian* spaces, experiences and related design considerations. In this respect, to concrete the problematic, theses that had been prepared in City and Regional Planning Department, in METU surveyed accordingly to their subject matters and key worlds (Table 2.1).

Scanning the content of the theses written in between the years 1965- 2012, there are eight theses in total, in which *pedestrian* key word had been captured. Five of them approach the problematic in transportation manner also all of them includes *sustainable transportation concept* in the keywords; and only three of them in the experiential manner regarding man-environment interaction. However, none of them inquires *pedestrianism* as the main problematical concept that has shaped through complex urban relations. One of the theses that considers the *pedestrian experience* at the urban space is named as “*Pedestrian Zones as Communication Environments Case Study: Yüksel Pedestrian Zone-Ankara*” includes the statement of *social relations* in the keywords; however, again approaches the problematic in mono-casual and functional matter. The only one thesis that studies the sidewalk, named as “*The Territorial Sense in Sidewalks: A Case Study in Kumrular Street, Ankara*” investigates man-environment interaction through the selected case; however reduces the pedestrian space just to an investigation area in an experiential manner, not put forwards the sidewalk as the focus of the problematic itself.

Table 2.1: Comparative statistical data regarding pedestrian oriented theses, City and Regional Planning Dept., METU

Subject of the thesis	Keywords	Number*
Transportation efficiency	Urban Transportation	22
	Sustainable Transportation Concept	11
	<i>Pedestrian</i>	8
	<i>Pedestrian –Vehicle Conflict</i>	1
	<i>Pedestrian Oriented (non-motorized) Transportation</i>	3
	<i>-Walkability</i>	2
	<i>-Pedestrian friendly</i>	1
	<i>-Pedestrian Accessibility</i>	1
Man- environment interaction	<i>Pedestrian Experience</i>	2
	<i>Pedestrian Space as the Communication Environment</i>	1
	<i>Territorial Sense of the Pedestrian</i> **Sidewalk Case	1
Public Space	Public space	13
	<i>-Walkability at Public Space</i>	1
	<i>-Pedestrianisation of Public Space</i>	1

Source: Statistical data of CRP theses (between the years 1965-2012), prepared by Burak Büyükcevelek, Çağatay Keskinok

*Number of thesis that the keyword is indicated.

Professional discourse on the sidewalks can display the real beliefs and motivations behind the sidewalk formation. Clay claims that our knowledge about the street is socially conditioned, so that we cannot think of it much beyond its simplistic function of getting us from here to there (1987: 96). Discourse is subjective and no neutral, so knowledge has been formed within the discourse that has its objectives. Ideology has a material existence; according to Althusser (1971: 155), as ideas and representations are neither real nor ideal and they do not have an existence on their own. In the frame of the sidewalk philosophical discourse, modern urban sidewalks have rational roots in *the pedestrianism*, constituted in and by the hegemonies and social productive relations.

In this respect, it is observed that scientific analyses of streets, mostly in the transportation manner, over balance the studies in the social – political aspect. As stated by Moudon, the result is that “streets have become a void in the mind of city planners” (1987: 16). While logic of the scientific discourse on sidewalks brings forth the positioning of the planning authorities against the social political interpretation of the *pedestrianism*, according to the comparable analyses looking for the politics of the sidewalk, it can traced through the capitalism that produce its own spaces and practices to survive.

2.1.2 Ideals on the Sidewalk (Technical Knowledge)

The design and construction of the sidewalks obviously requires better technical knowledge. However, design knowledge and practices regarding the contemporary sidewalks that have been devised by transportation specialists and civil engineers untimely ignored the social- political character of the streets and *pedestrians*.

By modern planning approaches, sidewalk design practices have become a mechanical process, carried out by the standardized codes decided by civil engineers. Untermann claims that current design standards by and large cater to the private automobile, and adds that they are formulated based on two criteria: safety of transit and elimination of congestion (1987, 255). Moreover, safety of drivers rather than of all potential road users is the fundamental motive of street design (Untermann, 1987: 255). Street design standards have fostered smooth, wide and straight roads, and encouraged increasing traffic density, volume and speed by the advantage given to motor vehicles.

In Turkey, road and sidewalk standards are set by *TSE (The Institution of Turkish Standards)*, by the expertise of transport specialists and civil engineers. In addition, local standards of municipalities should uniform TSE. Standardization of transportation facilities is determined by the need of efficient, fast and safe transit, which resulted in wider, straighter and smoother roads and iterated, inefficient and inadequate sidewalks. Thus, real owners of the streets packed to the narrow, rugged and insipid space of sidewalks.

In addition, design of pedestrian spaces also shaped from the perspective of fast moving vehicles. According to “*Sidewalk Sizing and Construction Principles*” set by TSE_Institution of Turkish Standards, the *sidewalk* is defined as “the separated stone path dedicated to the use of *pedestrians* as the platform that takes place between the edge of the carriageway and the border of the property belonging to real or legal persons”. The principles compose of *codes* for sidewalk widths defined in the frame of two alternatives *Sidewalks widths along Ring Roads* and *Sidewalks Widths Along Regional Roads, Regional Local Collector Roads, Regional Local And Service Roads*; and provided further coding defining the know hows for the *sidewalk stone height*; *sidewalk curves* and *the pavement* (TSE; ICS 93.080.30; TS 7937, 1990).

Two options have been provided regarding the principles concerning *Sidewalks Widths along the Ring Roads*, one of them is “0.75 m – 2.00 m wide banquet along the access fully controlled ring roads”, and the other is “at least 1.50 m wide sidewalk for the half access controlled ring roads”. On the other hand, principles for *Sidewalks Widths along Regional Roads, Regional Local Collector, Regional Local and Service Roads* have been indicated as fallowed (TSE; ICS 93.080.30; TS 7937, 1990);

1. Along regional connector, local connector, and service roads within the region, pedestrian path at both sides of the roadway must be at least 2.00 m wide.
2. Along the Roads where there is no front gardens structure, sidewalk width must be at least 2.50 m; along the roads in central business districts, where pedestrian traffic is concentrated and commerce, offices, public office uses take place, sidewalk must be at least 5.00 m wide. However, where the width of the road does not allow for necessary sidewalk facility, it can go down up to 3.00 m wide.
3. However, at already structured residential areas of the city for the regulations, revised sidewalk width cannot be less than 1.00 m.

While application of these principles in Turkey is disputable, our concern is to attract attention to the *idea* behind the formation of these principles. Principles or technical knowledge demonstrates the *ideals* regarding the sidewalk. Restricted, narrow – scoped and unilateral structure of these principles points us the rationale regarding the sidewalk construction in Turkey. Construction, regulation and maintenance of sidewalks is a duty for municipalities. However, sidewalk design principles have been introduced in behalf of the vehicles, other than people/ *pedestrians*. In this respect, *pedestrians* became *the others* at street space while vehicles are interpreted as the main occupiers of streets. While proper features (width, etc.) of sidewalks are determined according to attributions of vehicles (speed, volume, density etc.), additional design principles regarding the comfort of pedestrians on the sidewalk space are neglected. At this point, we can clearly conclude that needs of urban people/ *pedestrians* have been ignored since the life on the street was reduced to transit efficiency.

2.2. History on the Sidewalk

2.2.1 Emergence of the (Modern) Sidewalk and the (Modern) Pedestrian

Urban context, concept of movement, and production of the sidewalk

Sidewalks' physical existence starts from ancient periods as an integral part of Roman street infrastructure (Figure 2.1). Elevated side walking paths and stepping-stones at crossing points were placed, so that walkers could keep their feet dry and clean when crossing untrained streets. Water from overflowing public fountains as well as the wastewater commonly flowed in the streets. In medieval times, shape and size of the cities were primarily determined by walking distance and a town was not more complex than a political entity as a collection of houses. Organic pattern of cities were built to serve needs of people/ *walkers*, as other modes of transportation other than walking were not common or attainable for all. In this respect, walking was a mode of transportation for all urban settlers, in the frame of primitive economic and social order. Function of the first sidewalk formations in ancient/ medieval cities was to raise the walker above the dust and mud, while entrance of wheeled carriages had been banned at streets in the certain period to not disturb *walkers*. (Figure 2.2, 2.3). However, the quality of life within cities then was limited and medieval streets were usually dirty, dangerous, and dark. On the other hand, they were indicated as the spatial formation of urban freedom and vivid public life, by late modern planners.



Figure 2.1: Ancient *side- walk* formation, Ancient Pompeii, Italy

Source: <http://www.wikimedia.org> 9 June 2013

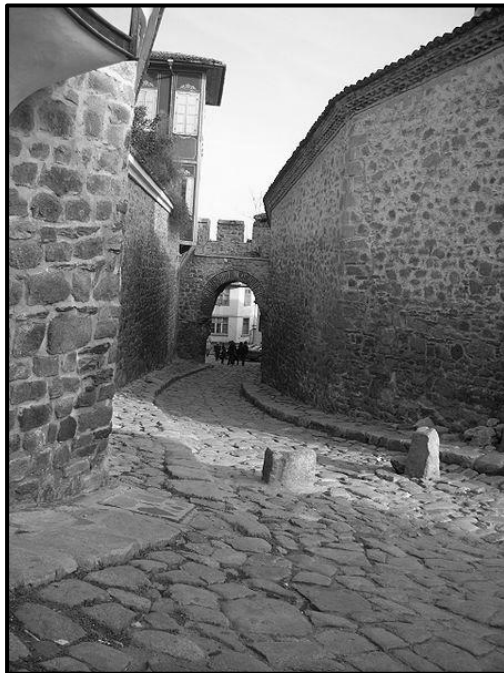


Figure 2.2, 2.3: Ancient *side-walk* formations, Medieval Plovdiv, Bulgaria

Sources: <http://www.wikimedia.org> 9 June 2013

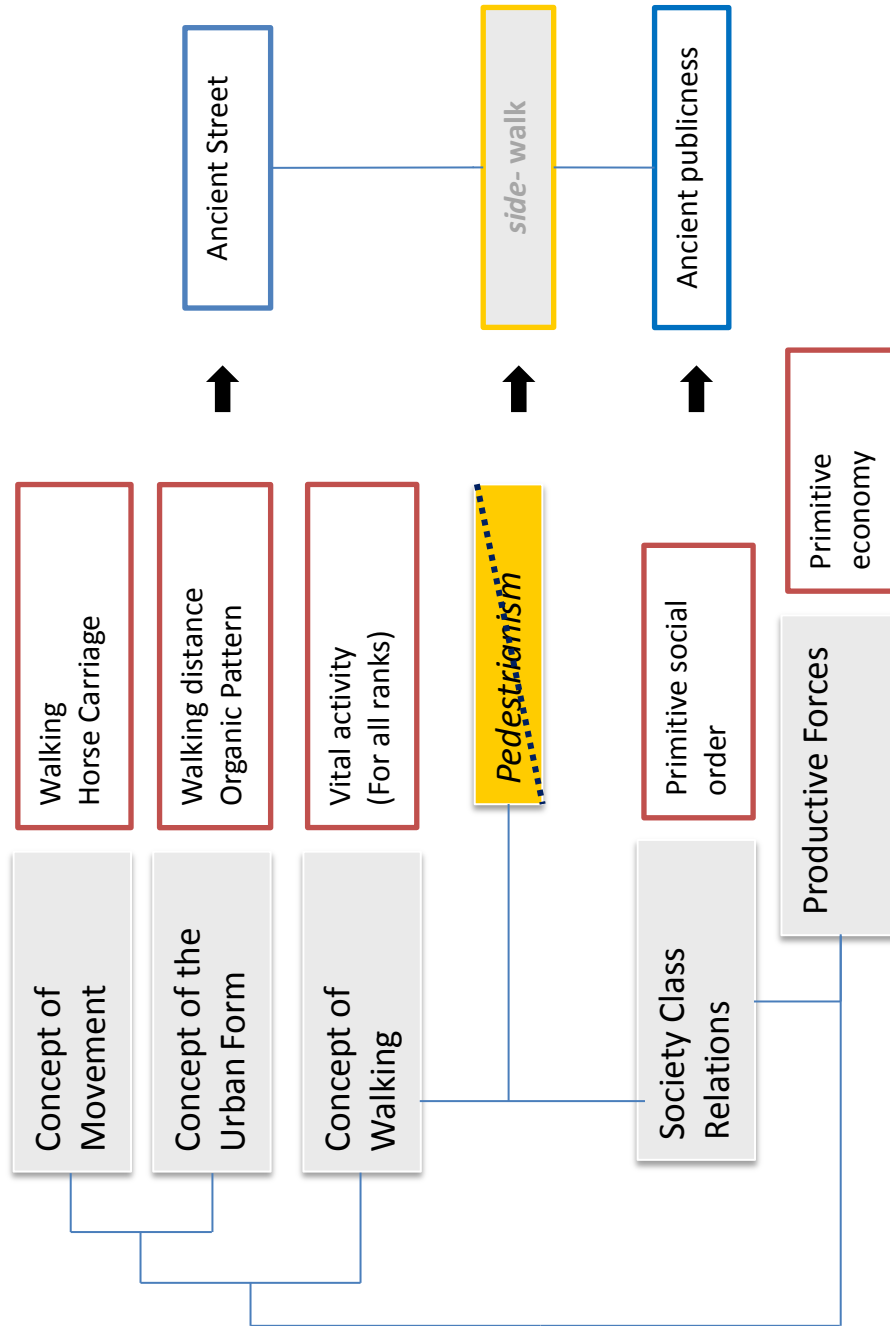


Figure 2.4: Context and concepts of the Ancient *Side-walks*

Source: Personal rendering

Through the late middle ages and early modern period between the 14th and 18th century, in the frame of the secular and worldly thought and respect to improvement at the intellectual, artistic and technical spheres, welfare of the merchant class and prosperity of cities had increased. By the Renaissance, Europe's cultural history that represented a break from the Middle Ages, creating a modern understanding of humanity also re-shaped the ideals of the cities. Several attempts to develop ideal city plans appeared from the second half of the fifteenth century (Figure 2.5). Together they reflect the importance of security, religion, and recreation in a well-regulated city and the value of Roman ideals in urban design. In addition, virtuous rulers caring for the welfare of the citizenry had improved paving, sanitary and safety of the streets. Important streets become straight and wider, and sidewalks became widespread as streets transformed to two-leveled structure. However, even if wheeled transportation had become more common at cities and attainable for working citizens; at the Renaissance city, priority given to walking people at the urban space did not much change; that streets were dominated by walkers and appropriated by the variety of other urban experiences (Figure 2.6). In this respect, still providing a solution for mud and dirt on the streets, *side-walks* were not clearly specialized to separate vehicles from the human/ *the pedestrian*.



Figure 2.5: Renaissance ideals of urban planning, The “Ideal City” painting by Fra Carnevale (1425 – 1484), Urbino, Italy

Source: <http://www.wikimedia.org> (copyright by Walters Art Museum), 9 June 2013



Figure 2.7: Street scene, Chelmsford, England, early 18th century (Historic drawing-gravure)

Source: <http://www.ouldukphotos.com> 10 July 2013



Figure 2.8: Street scene, High Street, Edinburgh, 18th century (Historic drawing- gravure)

Source: <http://www.wikimedia.org> 10 July 2013

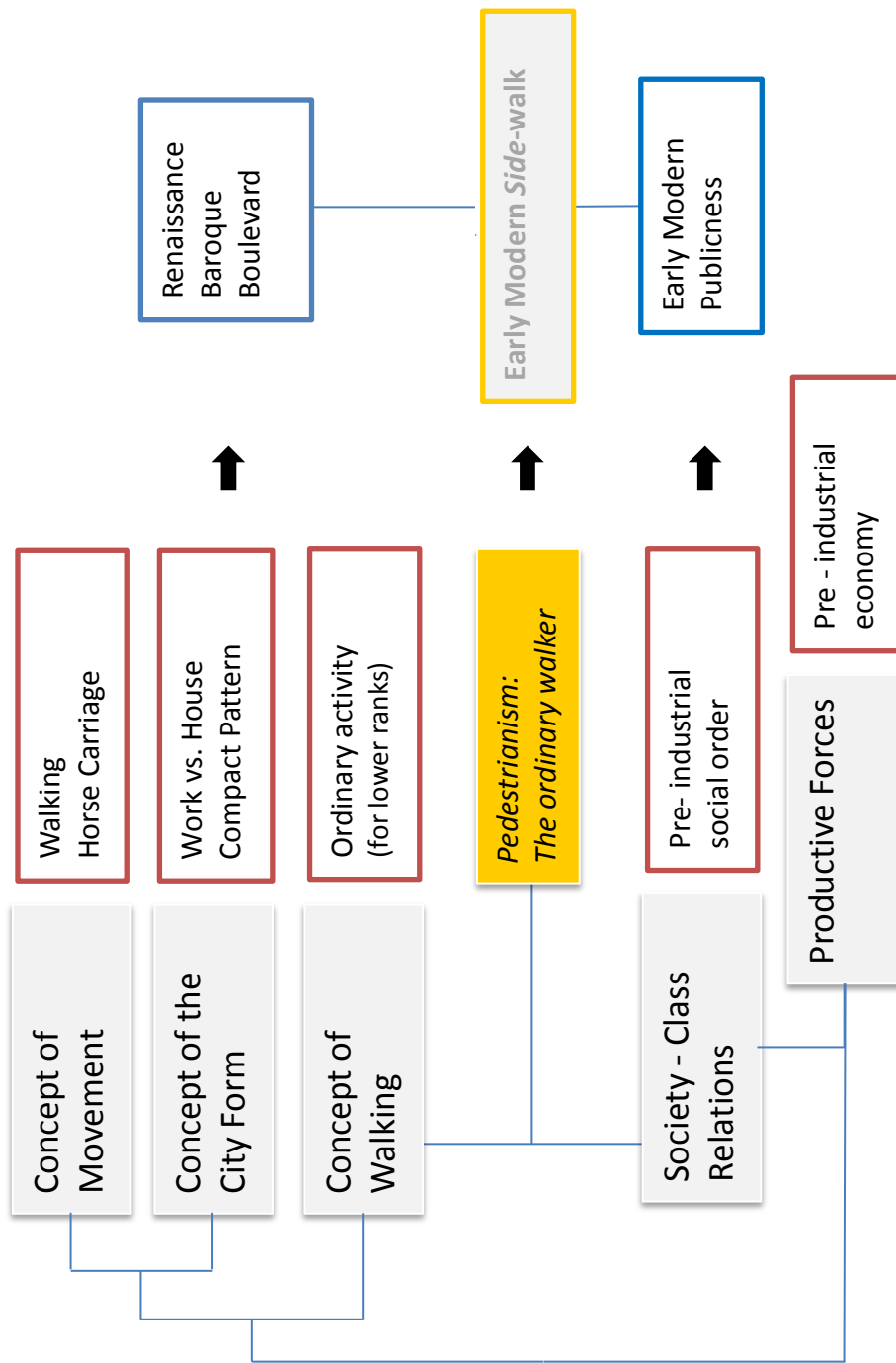


Figure 2.9: Context and concepts of the Early Modern Side-walks

Source: Personal rendering

In the late 18th century and through the 19th century, the Modernist thought encompassed every aspect of life. Modernity, or the Modern Age, typically refers to a post-traditional, post-medieval historical period (Heidegger 1938, 66–67), that marked by the move from feudalism (or agrarianism) toward capitalism, industrialization, secularization, rationalization, the nation-state and its constituent institutions and forms of surveillance (Barker 2005, 444). Modernism also can be defined as a *socially progressive trend of thought* that affirms the power of human beings to create, improve and reshape their environment with the help of practical experimentation, scientific knowledge, or technology (Barker 2005, 438). By the most basic terms, Anthony Giddens describes modernity as:

...a shorthand term for modern society, or industrial civilization. Portrayed in more detail, it is associated with (1) a certain set of attitudes towards the world, the idea of the world as open to transformation, by human intervention; (2) a complex of economic institutions, especially industrial production and a market economy; (3) a certain range of political institutions, including the nation-state and mass democracy. Largely as a result of these characteristics, modernity is vastly more dynamic than any previous type of social order. It is a society—more technically, a complex of institutions—which, unlike any preceding culture, lives in the future, rather than the past (Giddens 1998, 94).

For Marx, what was the basis of modernity was the emergence of capitalism and the revolutionary bourgeoisie, which led to an unprecedented expansion of productive forces and to the creation of the world market. Marx's notion of the capitalist mode of production is characterized as a system of primarily private ownership of the means of production in a mainly market economy, with a legal framework on commerce and a physical infrastructure provided by the state. In this respect, modernism secured the social relations associated with the rise of capitalism, offering scientific and/or political ideologies in the wake of secularization.

Industrialization and the division of labor characterize the era of modernity. By the capitalism, district and inborn social structure evolved in to the equal citizenship in the frame of the nation-state and mass democracy. However, that resulted by the increase in the significance of wealth and income as indicators of position in the social hierarchy, as the capitalist social order.

In addition, the human experience of time itself was altered, with the development of electric and new communication and transportation technologies. Influential innovations included steam-powered industrialization, and especially the development of railways, and the subsequent advancements in physics, engineering and architecture associated with this. These engineering marvels radically altered the 19th-century urban environment and the daily lives of people.

A revolutionary change had not happened in urban dimensions and pattern until 19th century. By the arrival of trolley stagecoach and particularly railed transportation, new

movement concept pushed the city beyond its limits. Rapid growth and unplanned development occupied the city; on the other hand, trolleys and carriages caused great congestion at street space, as the wheeled transportation became attainable to all classes and widespread at urban street. By the help of technical and economic achievements in this period, initially in the nineteenth century, clean, safe and illuminated streets in the modern cities have emerged. *The modern sidewalk*, as a particular coding that supplied image and practices associated with the modern street (the modern boulevard particularly), made its appearance in this period, together with other modern street instruments; such as streetlights, names, signals, etc. (Figures 2.10, 2.11, 2.12, 1.13, 2.14).

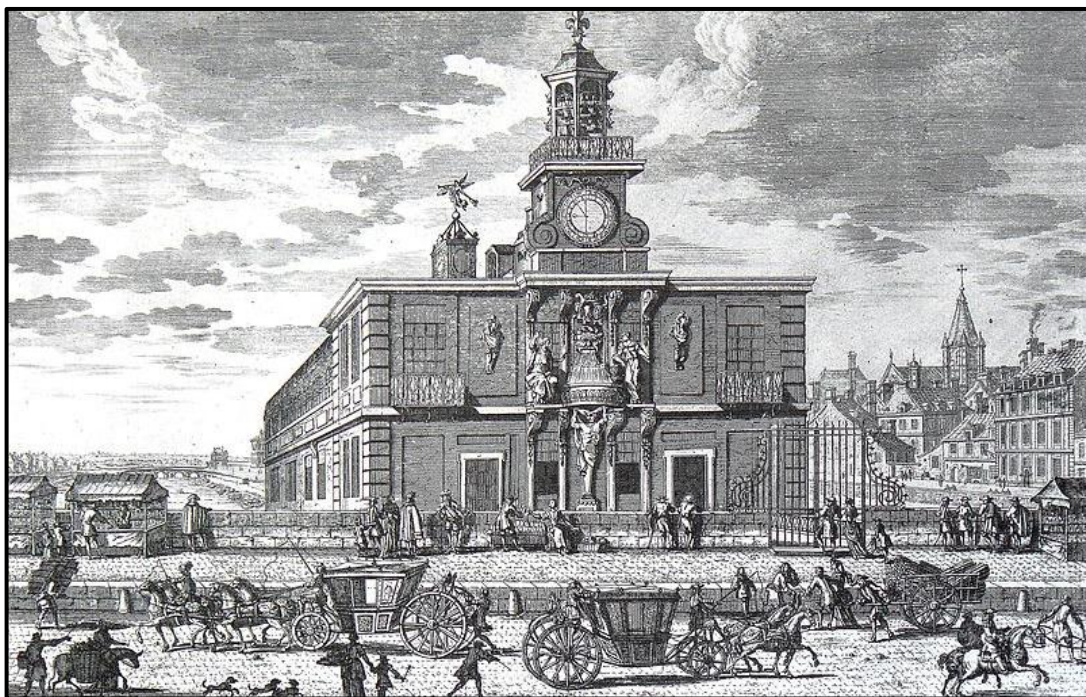


Figure 2.10: Street scene with sidewalk (and National Library building), Paris, France, 18th century, (Historic drawing- gravure)

Source: <http://www.wikimedia.org> 10 July 2013



Figure 2.11: Sidewalk café, *Le Café de la Régence*, Paris, France, 2 December 1857 (historical drawing- gravure)

Source: <http://www.wikimedia.org> September 2013



Figure 2.12: Street scene, Wall Street, New York, U.S., 1867 (historical drawing- gravure)

Source: <http://www.wikimedia.org> 7 June 2013



Figure 2.13: Street scene, Grand Hotel at Place de l'Opera, Paris, 1890

Source: <http://www.wikimedia.org> 7 June 2013



Figure 2.14: Street scene, Chelmsford, England, 20th century

Source: <http://www.OLDUKPHOTOS.COM> 14 September 2013

By the transportation opportunities which is rapidly growing and becoming much mechanized is followed by the changes in the perception of time and space and changes in the customs; consequently, the concept of boulevard is a subject of modern urban planning as well as it is the arena of modern urban life. At the end of 18th century, modern boulevards have emerged as a tool for adding new values to urban life, and controlling and regulating the growth of the cities. Most cities used that tool to solve the problem of chaotic structure of cities by integrating the movement structure and direct urban macroform as easily get control over urban space and people (Kesim, 2009: 34). In the frame of Haussmann's restructuring Project of Paris, while boulevards were built to control and regulate the urban practices on the public platform; by the rational order and the services that it provided, became the indicator of the modern city and its associated life style. As a planning tool, every boulevard had interventions in politics, ideals and social necessities constitute the vision of the space (Kesim, 2009: 116). City and public life gained a new identify by the urban renovation practices by Barn Haussmann, who carried out Napoleon III's vision of a splendid, and manageable, modern city, between 1853- 1870 (Figure 2.15). Housman destruction of the medieval narrow streets and his creation of the grand boulevards have been seen as a "counter-revolutionary" tactic, as its ultimate aim was to make the city penetrable by armies, and indefensible by citizens (Solnit, 2001: 204). According to Lefebvre, "Haussmann shattered the historical space of Paris in order to impose a space that was strategic":

When an urban serving as a meeting-place isolated from traffic is transformed into an intersection (e.g. the Place de la Concorde) or abandoned as a place to meet, city life is subtly but profoundly changed, sacrificed to that abstract space where cars circulate like so many atomic particles (Lefebvre, 1991: 312).

After all, formation of the boulevard was a political project. It seems as an attempt, claims Solnit, "not to subdue but to seduce citizens" (2001, 204). As an urban development project, it had displaced the poor from the center of the city to its edges and suburbs, by the instruments of new modern city design and development techniques, such as new sewers, waterways, great public parks, broad avenues; also streetlights, regularly posted street names, maps, sidewalks and also policing. For some, by these actions, Haussmann turned wilderness into a formal garden (Figure 2.16). Further, Solnit explained as,

Haussmann's boulevards made far more of the city a promenade and far more of its citizens promenaders. The arcades began their long decay as the streets bloomed with boutiques and the grand department stores were born, and during the commune of 1871 the barricades of street revolutionaries were built across the great boulevards (2001, 206).



Figure 2.15: A street has not been re-constructed, Paris, France

Source: http://25.media.tumblr.com/tumblr_m8v51j7SsC1qbwhpo1_500.jpg 16 June 2013



Figure 2.16: Street scene, Sébastopol Boulevard, Paris, France, 18-19th century (historical drawing- gravure)

Source: <http://www.wikimedia.org> 20 June 2013

‘Separation of vehicles and pedestrians’ which is the typical characteristic of modern boulevards, in that period became the responsibility of urban governance and the necessary ritual of urban life. For example, Parisian ordinances of 1763 and 1766, had stipulated that foot traffic be allowed on protected side paths, whereas horses were permitted only in the center of the roadway (Loukaitou-Sideris cited in Bloomley, 2011: 57). In this context, modern boulevards brought along the concept of the *pedestrianism* and the *pedestrian* discourse. Therefore, boulevards, which has the dichotomy of vehicle and the *pedestrian* led up the new approaches in urban design. As vehicles occupied the streets, as the individual transportation became faster and attainable; it is followed by a ‘transit oriented design approach’ which emerged by the need of effective and safety transportation for all. According to *pedestrianism* concept, sidewalk itself defined increasingly according to logic of vehicular circulation. Hence, the sidewalks became the essential subject of the traffic-oriented approach.

In this respect, the sidewalk became a spatial identity of the modern city and modern urban life; providing the safe and comfortable mobility- transit spaces for the *pedestrians*. Modernist planning principles of planning stressed zoning of functions into segregated districts and an emphasis on transportation corridors and a dominant commercial center. In this respect, the sidewalk as a product of modern urbanism has been conceptualized and designated as a *functional zone separated for the pedestrian (transit)*. Vehicles were not *the other* on the street space; furthermore, sidewalks became *the space of otherness of at the street and the refuge of urban walker*.

The *pedestrianism as the zoning of the acts on the street and* an urban regulatory concept over walking activity at urban space has got its actual meaning in the modern city. The *pedestrianism* is a *conceptual filter and governmental tactic* that re-shapes and restricts the society in the frame of appropriated behaviors and rights on the urban space. According to Bloomley *pedestrianism* is a powerful form of urban governance that consciously intends to re-shape society in the direction of ideological objectives, by reducing urban walking to a way of transportation and respectively the sidewalk to an object of transportation. In this respect, the modern *pedestrian* has been conceptualized as the passive user of space. Urban people who do not act as a *pedestrian* resist the system, by re-utilizing the space contrary to its secular and functional end. Therefore, the sidewalk as a modern, State- public owned and produced infrastructure regulates the society generated by the capitalist social relations, in the frame of the regarded *pedestrianism*.

Modernism is a social project. Beyond being a transportation channel and an urban service area, a boulevard is a social and public space. As it has the characteristics of a public space, it acts as a mediator to produce and legitimize different identities and discourses. In other words, social and political relations of the society is transformed and carried out on boulevards. Therefore, sidewalks of the modern city function as the generator and enhancer of the productive economy and the modern society. It provides comfortable and safety physical - social ground for citizens to sustain their daily activities and adapt to the system. On the other hand, the modern sidewalk - sterilized, neat, comfortable and out of danger urban public space, brought out a new *urban walking* concept that is *promenading* (Figure

2.17, 2.18). Ordinary daily life on the streets had evolved to a public progressive, cultural and intellectual experience in the context of the equal citizenship, democracy concepts as the modern sidewalk became *the modern society* stage experienced by walking that is a leisure activity for all ranks.

Paris was a great city of revolution, and a great city of walkers. Pedestrian life in Paris lived heydays in the nineteenth century. A Moroccan who had visited Paris states;

“In Paris there are places where people take walks, which is one of their forms of entertainment. ... They stroll along, chatting and taking in the sights. Their idea of an outing is not eating or drinking, and certainly not sitting. One of their favorite promenades is a place called the Champs Elysee.” (cited in Solnit, 2001: 201)



Figure 2.17: *Incroyable Promenading; Coiffure a La Titus*, Painting By Pierre Antoine Lesueu, end of the 19th century

Source: <http://www.allpostersimages.com> _13 September 2013



Figure 2.18: Promenading couple, Nice, France, 1930s- 1940s

Source: <http://www.artprintimages.com> 13 September 2013

In the late eighteenth century city, according to Solnit, a new image of what it means to be human had, he states as, “an image of one possessed of the freedom and isolation of the traveler, however wide or narrow their scope became emblematic figures.” (2001: 182). Perception of the new qualities of modern city had been associated with a *man walking* as if alone, in its streets (Figure 2.19). In this sense, walking activity at the urban space became a leisure and recreational activity as a way to explore and experience the urban in mental, social and physical sense. In this respect, walking on the streets had spread as a *modern urban practice*, as sidewalks along the great boulevards associated as the new quality of the modern city that occupy freedom and democracy.



Figure 2.19: *Le Flâneur*, Drawing by Poul Gavarni, 1984

Source: <http://www.wikimedia.org> 18 September 2013

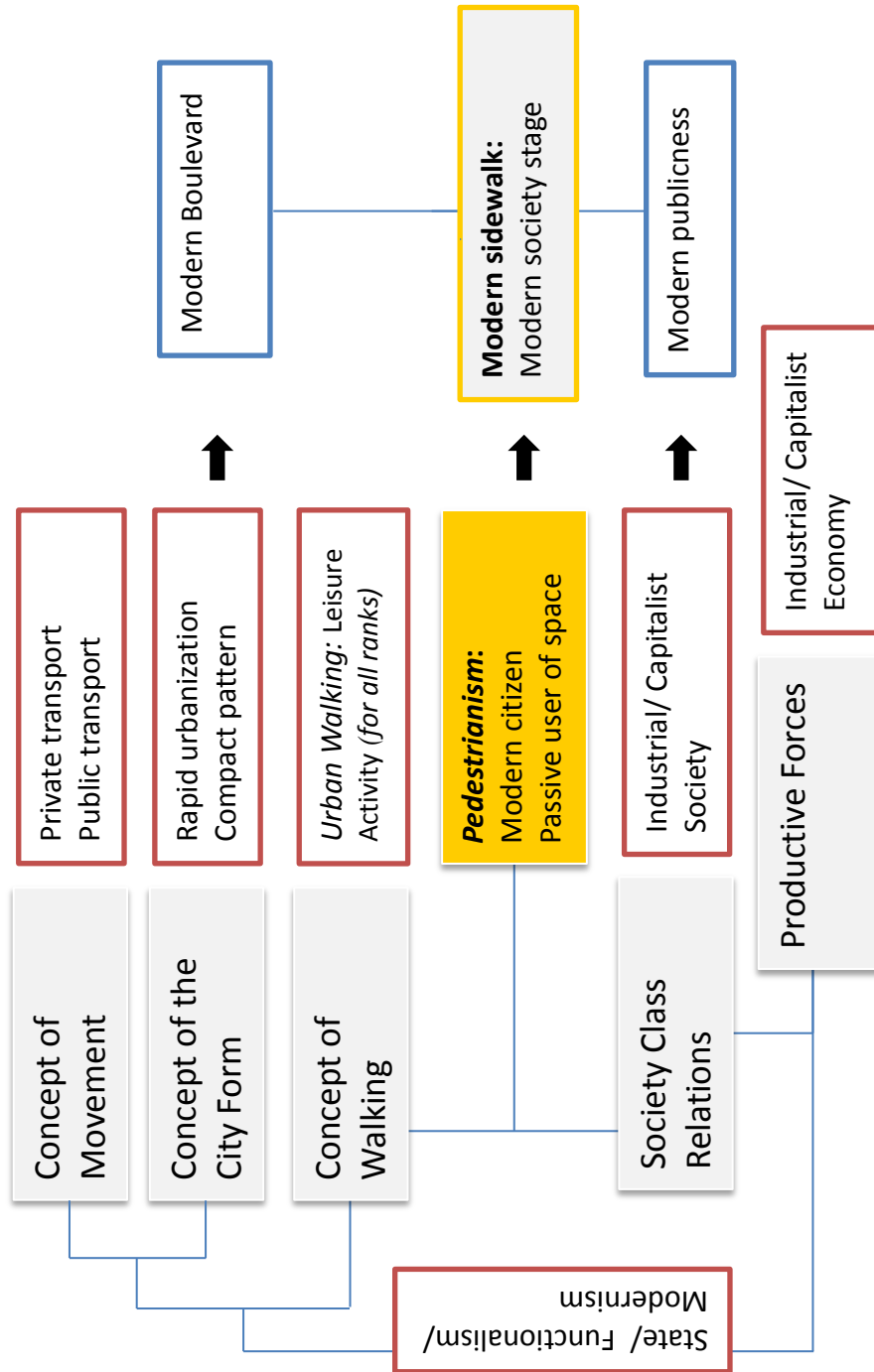


Figure 2.20: Context and concepts of the Modern Sidewalks

Source: Personal rendering

By the mid- twentieth century, cities have reinvented themselves – commercially, politically and spatially, becoming a *postmodern city*.¹ Postmodernism arose after World War II as a reaction to the perceived failings of modernism, humanism, science, technology also absolute rationality, thus de-constructed the ideals of the modernity that it had grew out. As a consequence of the shift from modernism to *post-modernism*, urban conception has been characterized with fragmented, irregular and eclectic post- (sub) urbanization, since “city is reduced to a gigantic shopping mall or theme park, its residents powerless to do anything but consume” (Warren, 2013: 545). In this respect, post-modern society characterized with life style divisions in relation to changing configuration of class, thus high degree of social polarization actualized as social groups distinguished by their consumption patterns.

In addition, post capitalist production - composition trends also brought the consumption of urban concepts, space and practices. In this frame, the *sustainability*, *user friendless*, *etc.* arose as the key concepts associated with post-modernism. In addition, spatial fragments that operates and re-produces the relation of the dominant order, designed for aesthetic merits rather than social ends. In the context of the global economy, that led designing of cities in terms of its environmental quality, economic and social attraction rather than the idealization of previous period; the role of urban design is re-emphasized. As citizens became consumer at the public space and consuming became a way of socializing; commercial streets, shopping malls, theme parks composed the new way of publicness, and walking as an regenerated urban act has been practiced as a way of consuming rather than experiencing the urban.

Moreover, transportation and telecommunication technologies brought the non-space mobility and communication practices that concluded the altered urban conception and perception. Cities designed for automobiles, roads are widened, and *pedestrians* had been thrown to the left over spaces of roads that is *post-pedestrian sidewalks*. Sidewalks, in this respect, as the representative space of the *pedestrianism*, as from now on became the manifestation of the *post* or *anti- pedestrianism* that either rejects people on the urban space or reevaluates as the potential consumers.

¹ The term first used by English historian Arnold Toynbee, referring declining influence of Christianity and Western nations’ great political hopes and ideals post 1870s. Some authors, such as Lyotard and Baudrillard, believe that modernity ended in the mid- or late-20th century and thus have defined a period subsequent to modernity, namely Postmodernity.



Figure 2.21: Neo- sidewalk, privatized sidewalk, Los Angeles Downtown, 00s

Source: www.eecue.com 11 March 2013



Figure 2.22: Neo- sidewalk, imagined- empty sidewalk, Seattle, 00s

Source: www.photopho.org 27 August 2013



Figure 2.23: Neo- sidewalk, over- crowded and dull sidewalk, New York

Source: www.photpho.org 22 August 2013



Figure 2.24: Neo- sidewalk, marginal sidewalk, Canada

Source: www.theorient.com 22 August 2013

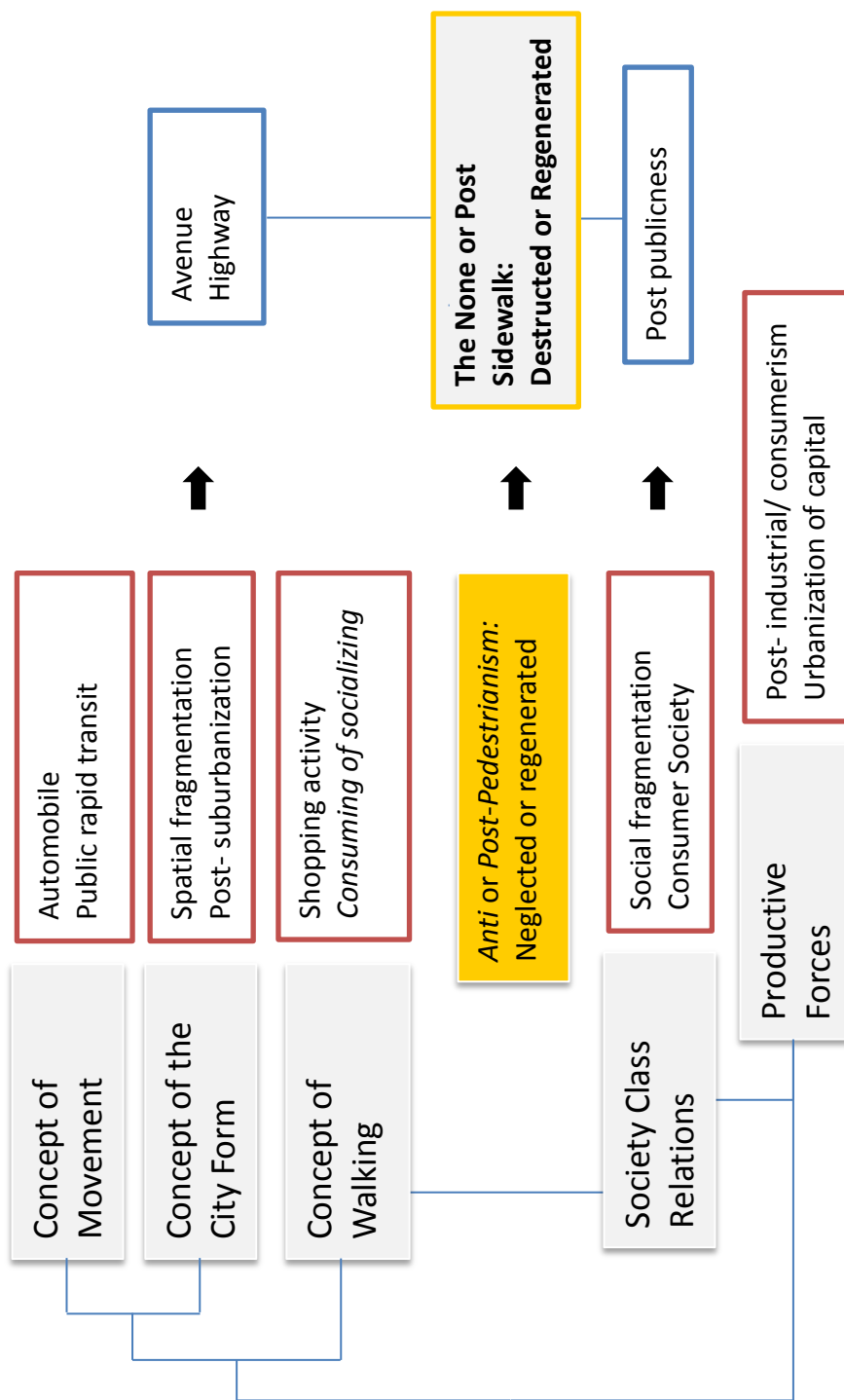


Figure 2.25: Context and concepts of the *None or Post Sidewalks*

Source: Personal rendering

2.3 Re- Conceptualizing the Sidewalk

2.3.1. The Sidewalk as a Place/ Social Space

Space is a material but also a social product. Therefore, the problematic of the sidewalk is inherited in its production process.

After the rise of industrial capitalism in the 19th century, modern planning approach securing the changing economic and political ideologies also transformed the public sphere. According to Sennett, privatization aroused by early capitalism and increasing materialism as the outcome of mass production brought along the ‘death of public life’ and the ‘rise of an intimate society’ (1993). Well planned, isolated and functionally separated urban spaces have provided directed and regulated urban experiences that minimized the spontaneous social activities and the interaction of inhabitants. The metropolitan therefore generated the illness of city life have been diagnosed as ‘alienation’, ‘individualization’ generating the ‘intimate society’. Shift towards an ‘intimate society’ caused the loss of the meaning of the public life and respectively public space. Sennett explains the public life as follows:

Today public life has become a matter of formal obligation... interchanges with strangers are looked as at best formal and dry, at worsts as a phony. The stranger himself is a threatening figure, and few people can take great pleasure in that World of strangers, the cosmopolitan city (1993: 3).

Modern city planning and building approaches have idealized the functioning and the form of urban space however overlooked the social content of it. Urban space has been divided to functional zones, and so people, objects and activities directed and regulated accordingly. In this respect, the sidewalk as a product of modern urbanism has been conceptualized and designated as a *functional zone separated for the pedestrian (transit)*.

On the other hand, by an argument put forward by Augé, modernity- then super modernity produced ‘non-places’ that is an abstract understanding of space lost its spatiality (1996: 78). ‘Non- places’ designates two complementary but distinct realities; “spaces formed in relation to certain ends (transport, transit, commerce, leisure), and the relations that individuals have with these space” (Augé, 1996: 94). As he explains, the concept of ‘place’ is an anthropological one and permits social practices to be exercised. Respectively, ‘non-place’ oppose to the place and lacks the possibility of being animated by the acts of its users and turning into a ‘place’.

The ‘place’ concept of de Certeau, on the other hand, is a ‘frequented place’ and ‘intersection of moving bodies’. In this respect, modern sidewalk as a functionally planned and separated urban space appropriated to *pedestrians* has been conceptualized in the mind of planners as a passage serves to transit end. In the frame of *the pedestrianism*, urban people are conditioned to act accordingly the rules directed by ideally planned urban

spaces- its forms and regulated practices. The modern sidewalk thus a 'non- place' that is set by the imagination and practices of 'professionals' to embrace the function - the use of the *pedestrian*, exclude the social - utilization of the urban people.

In this respect, traditional understanding of space as an autonomous sphere leads to the non-places. Non-places that have been produced by the dominant ideologies lacks the social relations and practices that transmit knowledge, generate meaning, call for new relations so re-utilize the space. The inhabitants (rather than pedestrians) transform the space in to a place (social space).

Michel de Certeau, in his work "The Practice of Everyday Life" (1984), focuses on the practices of the 'user' and claims the (daily) every-day practices of the user – as frequented experiences include creative and productive process as well. De Certeau's understanding of space is a social one too. Social space that is 'frequented place' takes life on when it is practiced lived and experienced. Hence, the space can not be conceptualized one sided: just a provision- production nor use- consumption perspective; that the city cannot exist without its inhabitant- society.

Lefebvre, in his work "*The Production of Space*" (originally published in France in 1974), accepts the social practices and relations as the basis of creation and formation of the 'social space'; thus its existence is both materially constructed by the 'specialists' or professionals and socially constructed by the 'utilizers' or inhabitants. In this respect, space as a 'social construct/ product' constituted/ produced through social relations and practices (Lefebvre, 1991: 27). Thus, social space unites the physical, the mental and the social.

Social space is not a thing among other thing, or a product among other product, rather it subsumes things produced, and encompasses their inter-relationships in their coexistence and simultaneity...It is the outcome of a sequence and set of operations therefore cannot be reduced to the rank of a simple object (Lefebvre, 1991: 73).

Lefebvre conceptualizes the "production of space" within the context of Marxist theories. In the frame of historical geographical materialism, notion of space is conceptualized in respect to the relations of contemporary capitalist accumulations and the crisis it develops (Harvey, 1982; Massey, 1978). Urban space is where the capitalist production is realized, but also by capitalism could survive. In "*Survival of Capitalism*" (originally published in France in 1973), Lefebvre claims urban is a spatial context where relations of production are reproduced through the everyday practices of space. Every production mode creates its own spaces, in the frame of its production relations. On the other hand, produced urban spaces attempts to produce and re-produce people and spaces of that ruling mode of production. Lefebvre claims; "every society and hence every mode of production with its sub variants produces a space, its own space" (1991: 31). Gottdiener considers the argument as follows:

Every mode of social organization produces an environment that is a consequence of the social relations it possesses. In addition, by producing a space according to its own nature, a society not only materializes into distinctive built forms, but also reproduces itself. ... That is, space is both a medium of social relations and a material product that can affect social relations (1993: 132).

Accordingly, the study of space requires analyzing the representations through a 'tripartite' understanding of (social) space. The dialectical process of space that is referred to three spatial concepts, a "conceptual triad", which comprises 'Spatial practices', 'Representations of space' and the 'Space of Representation – Representational space' (1991: 32). In this framework, three concepts are used in order to understand the production process of space; as he states (1991: 46)

...spatial practice, representations of space and representational spaces contribute in different ways to the production of space according to their qualities and attributes, according to the society or mode of production in question, and according to the historical period.

Therefore, not only the history of space but also history of representations should be examined together with their relationships with ideology and practice:

History would have to take in not only the genesis of these spaces but also, and especially, their interconnections, distortions, displacements, mutual interactions, and their links with the spatial practice of the particular society or mode of production under consideration (Lefebvre, 1991: 42).

'Spatial practices' encompasses daily routine of the city and produce the material reality/urban form, as "embraces the production and reproduction, and the particular locations and spatial sets characteristic of each social formation ... ensures continuity and some degree of cohesion". In spatial disciplines, it is the focus of attention as the 'perceived space' (Lefebvre, 1991: 32-38). In this concept, walking as a proper *pedestrian* activity, realized on the modern sidewalks, is a modern 'spatial practice' that is dominated by and comforts relations of production belongs to capitalism.

'Representations of space' (*conceived space*) are 'abstract spaces' and play a part in social and political practice. "It is the space of professionals" and include the idealized knowledge and realized practices; therefore as an intellectual expression provides "concepts without life". Therefore, it is experienced passively and as the 'dominant space' produced by the dominant relations of society in dominant mode of production. (Lefebvre, 1991: 33- 42) *Pedestrianism*, as the discourse on or about sidewalk space and its associated practices, submits the knowledge on the sidewalk in the form of theories, legal regulations, plans, design manuals etc. that produces the 'representations of space'. Thus, modern sidewalks idealized and realized by 'specialists' is a 'dominated space' as produced, and a *non – place* which lacks its social essence.

On the other hand, 'spaces of representation' (*lived space*) are the space of the lived social relations of inhabitants and users. "It is the space of 'inhabitants' and 'users'." Therefore, it is experienced actively "Representational space is alive: it speaks" and as the "lived space" compromises "Life without concepts". (Lefebvre, 1991: 33-42) Therefore, 'representational spaces' are *places* that have 'human interaction and liveliness' as Jacobs points out, the 'public life' as Sennett explains and 'social practice' as mentioned by Lefebvre and 'the possibility of being frequented' as used by de Certeau. In this respect, acts on the sidewalk other than walking to a certain end, such as *cruising, promenading, chatting, soliciting, shopping, rioting, protesting, demonstrating, skulking etc.*, as the way of occupying the urban space transforms sidewalk, from a 'dominated space' into an 'appropriated space' by its users and re-produces the sidewalk as the 'space of representation'.

In addition, Lefebvre considers the distinction between 'abstract space' and 'absolute space'. Lefebvre's conceptualization of 'absolute space' that is social space identified for pre-capitalist societies was religious and political in character, and 'abstract space' that is a space of Capitalism, as Capitalism realized its own production relations by transforming the 'absolute space' into the 'abstract Space'. According to Lefebvre, capitalism and neo capitalism have produced abstract space, which includes the world of commodities, its logic and its worldwide strategies, and contains "the power of money and that of the political state" (1991: 53). In 'abstract space', the reproduction of social relations is predominant as spatial practice. The 'representation of space' is dependent on knowledge and power; therefore, leaves a narrow area to representational spaces, which are limited to works, images and memories; while social space is produced by everyday life (Lefebvre, 1991: 37). Gottdiener (1993: 131) deals with this distinction in the sense that abstract space is constructed by the relationship between knowledge and power, whilst social space is produced by everyday life:

(Abstract space) is the hierarchical space that is pertinent to those who wish to control social organization, such as political rulers, economic interests, and planners. Social space, in contrast, arises from practice – the everyday lived experience that is externalized and materialized through action by all members of society, even the rulers. Persons working from the model of abstract space continually try to reign in and control the social space of everyday life, with its constant changes, whereas social space always transcends conceived boundaries and regulated forms.

In the context, Lefebvre (1976: 15) asserts that both urban planning and urbanism are "strategic instrument" of capitalism and the State in "manipulation of fragmented urban reality and the production of controlled space." State produces abstract space of economic and managerial dominance. It accounts for the rejection of social relations that support everyday life and reproduction of its relations (Gottdiener, 2001: 254). In this respect, modern sidewalks as a mean of urban governance to direct, shape and secure relations of society by the 'representations of space' and respective 'spatial practices', is an 'abstract space' produced by the dominant power and its own production relations.

The triad is important to reveal the spatial sphere in relation with the social sphere that the inhabitant live, experience and have the possibility to interpret and re-produce the space. Hence, conceptualization of the sidewalk as a social space provides a more comprehensive, complex and inter-connected idea of space.

The object of study is not a science of space, but providing a conceptual framework and a theory regarding the sidewalk and its production process. In further parts, by the method of analyzing relations in the process of the production of sidewalks, it is aimed to discover the forces, which produces the Atatürk Boulevard sidewalk as a 'representation of space', re-produces as the 'representational space' and transforms and as the 'abstract space' and destructs as a non- space. Lefebvre asserts, "if space is produced, if there is a productive process, then we are dealing with history ... The history of space means the history of its production, and of its forms and representations. One should also note that the forces of production and the relations of production play a part in the production of space (Lefebvre, 1991: 46). In the study on history of sidewalks, the relationship between sidewalk space and driving forces behind the determinations are examined, in the frame of historical formations and its representations.

2.4. Re- Conceptualizing the Pedestrianism

"The modern city... has produced the quintessential city walker: the pedestrian." (Amato, 2004: 167)

The *pedestrianism* concept in modern cities constitutes a discourse for the otherness of the men from the vehicles. Therefore, the author chooses to use '*pedestrian*' term to refer 'secondary citizen at urban space' and 'mobilized form of the men'; and correspondingly prefers to use the word '*human, people, citizen, public man*' rather than the '*pedestrian*', to refer social and public qualities.

Walking is the main activity that occurs on the sidewalk space. Throughout the history, cities and their human qualities of design shaped by the needs of people and their everyday activities. Ultimately, it was *urban walkers* that capture the urban experience, so walking had been the most important and crucial activity at urban space. However, the concept of *urban walking* got a meaning shift by the achievement of the new means of access other than walking, enlarged and transformed urban pattern, revised social productive relations. In this sense, walking activity at the urban space is a social act and *the pedestrianism*, as *the philosophy regarding the attitude towards the sidewalk by state, professional authorities and its utilizars*, is a social phenomenon that is shaped through urban concept and concept of movement, in the frame of social- material (productive) relations.

2.4.1 Urban Walking as an Everyday- Social Practice

“The paradox of transportation in the twentieth century is that while it becomes possible to travel to the moon, it also became impossible, in many cases, to walk across the street.”
(Joell Vanderwagen, 1995)

According to Solnit, the history of both urban and rural walking is a history of freedom and a definition of pleasure (2001, 173). However, different from the rural walking, *urban walking* has always been “a shadier business” as he states, and consists of varied acts as *cruising, promenading, soliciting, shopping, rioting, protesting, skulking* etc. (2001, 174). In the streets, plazas and sidewalks of cities the range of activities remains wide. As a particular activity to modern citizens, *urban walking* links the personal microcosm with the public macrocosm. G.K. Chesterton used up the metaphor of “secret passages” for streets and wrote, “Few of us understand the streets”:

Even when we step into it, we step into it doubtfully, as into a house or a room of strangers. Few of us see through the shining riddle of the street, the strange folk that belong to the street only—the street walker or the street Arab, the nomads who, generation after generation have kept their ancient secrets in the full blaze of the sun. of the street at night many of us know less. The street at night is a great house locked up. ...the door that leads onto the secret passage, which is lined, with houses and roofed stars. (1906)

A man of streets, a woman of streets, streetwalkers, street smarts, street kids made the meaning that is approximately same in every language, and “to the streets” became the slogan of urban revolution, throughout the world. The very word *street*, writes Solnit, “has a rough, dirty magic to it, summoning up the low, the common, dangerous, the revolutionary” (2001, 176). According to him, what gives the street its danger and its magic, is exactly the social mobility (2001, 176). In addition, what distinguishes the city is again its social mobility, beside other factors as population concentration or certain modes of production.

De Certeau (1984) devotes a chapter at the book “*Practice of Every Day Life*” to *urban walking*. According to De Certeau, walkers are “practitioners of the city”, as the city is made to be walked. If a city represents a language, it can be talked only by the act of walking (1984). In addition, he further explains that architecture limits where one can walk, just as language limits what can be said; but walker finds out other ways to go “since the crossings, drifting away, or improvisation of walking privilege, transform or abandon spatial elements”. Cities live by the stories that animate it. Today, most of the cities are under threat of losing their tales as characters, which made them readable and socially and imaginatively functional. *Urban walking as an everyday practice* to read, live and intervene to urban space; brings society about to communicate and interact as a whole.

Public space is used and inhabited largely by walking. Walking is the universal way of the action at the public space. Walking become a common language for strangers who has in similar realms, provides a common ground for interaction, blurs distinctions of identities, world, thoughts to get together ones, by the bodily movements of speech. *A post-pedestrian city* had lost the symbols, common mimics and gestures cannot communicate with its citizens that have a common history and once produced the language of the city.

Urban walking as an everyday social practice (re) produces urban space and community. Walking, wrote Solnit, which can be “prayer, sex, communication with the land, or musing,” becomes speech in the way of demonstrations that a lot of history has been written with the feet of citizens walked through their cities” (2001: 217). Reading and honoring the past urban languages forms a foundation to make a future. Walking through city commemorates past times and places (solnit, 2001: 216). Productions of walking make urban space meaningful for the present by the memories of the past; an, supply determination and resolution to build a future for the city and the society. If city is a language and walking is the way to read it; Solnit resembles *a post-pedestrian city* a dead language, which do not have colloquial phrases, jokes, and curses, even if it has a formal language (2001, 213).

On the other hand, urban walking is the manifestation of the democracy. “Everyone could become a participant rather than a member of an audience; everyone could become a producer rather than a consumer in an urban space” (Solnit, 2001: 216). In democracy, everyone can be a participant in decisions about their own life also about life of the community. “The street is democracy’s greatest arena” claims Solnit, and adds “direct political action in real public space may be the only way to engage in unmediated communication with strangers” (2001: 216). Demonstrations, protests, street parties, uprisings and urban revolutions are the manifestations of democracy, and public spaces; streets, plazas, sidewalks are stages for social and political actions.

Urban space is both a product and an instrument of social relations. According to Lefebvre, “(social) space is a (social) product” (1991: 26) and every mode of production produces its own spaces and new spaces call for new relations. Respect to their inherited culture and contemporary social - productive relations, cities produce their own *urban walking culture*: some of cheerful; some are dangerous, brilliant, indifferent or jaded. On the other hand, production modes leading to productive relations of a society determine the way and quality of citizens’ reading their city. Capitalist relations create abstract, homogenous and dull spaces, and make the urban space the subject and mean of consumption. New privatized *public* spaces of cities set borders in the society, make people machines unconsciously obeying the rules of seller-buyer, producer- consumer relations. Shopping centers, theme parks, public spaces belonging to private communities foster new consumption style producing new spatial practices. As the system of production mode brings out its own rules to people by *the representations of spaces* and the State produces *abstract spaces* of economic and managerial dominance, *urban walking* has become the lost art of these days’ urban living. On the other hand, walking activity at cities has changed

its meaning merely as a shopping activity or *consuming of socializing* practiced at the *consumed public spaces*.

Creation of *abstract spaces* (by state, planners or architects) and the elimination of possible linkages (public spaces, sidewalks, monuments, symbols and representations) brings about the *decay of urban walking* that leads to *the ignorance of sidewalks both by its producers and users / inhabitants/ utilizers*.

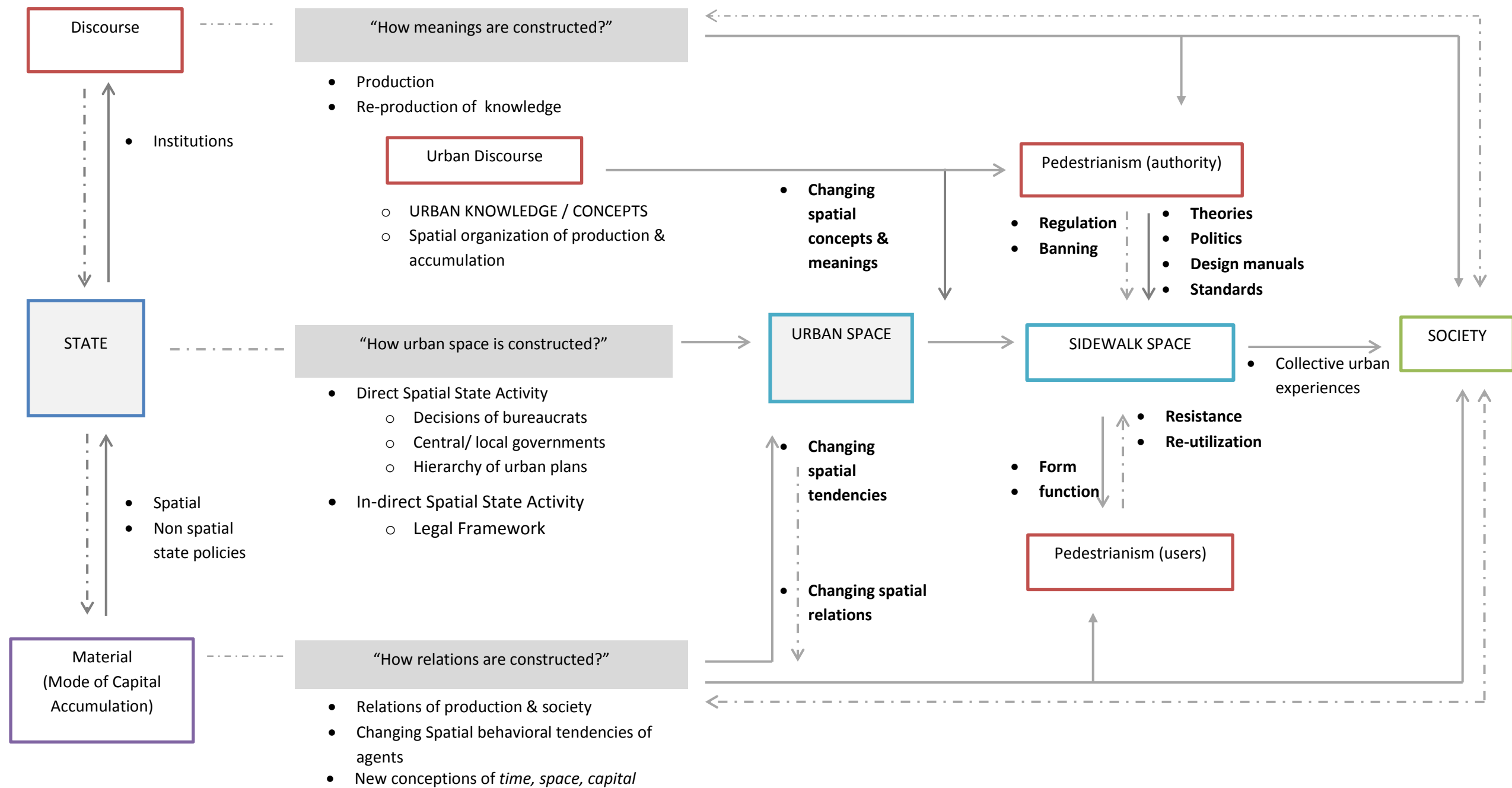


Figure 2.26: The production and re-production of the Sidewalk ideal and space

Source: Personal rendering

CHAPTER 3

THE CASE OF ATATÜRK BOULEVARD, ANKARA: PRODUCTION OF SIDEWALKS

3.1 Pre 1950: The Sidewalk as the Legitimacy Space of the Republic and Its Ideals

3.1.1 Context: Construction of the Nation State, Nationalization, Modernization

Ankara was declared as the capital city of Turkey as a newly found Republic in 1923, October 13. A governmental decision to move the capital city of Republic from Istanbul from the political and cultural capital of the Ottoman Empire to central Anatolia has geographical but also political reasons.

Ankara as the capital city of Turkish Republic has been the spatial representation of newly founded modern nation state and its objective identity, in “a search for an appropriate setting to nurture the development of a Turkish National Identity”(Vale, 1992: 98). On the other hand, Ankara deliberately positioned on nearly center of the inland Anatolia, by the intention of not only offering a geographically secure region respectively to İstanbul, but also to provide a well-balanced economic development among different regions, by the virtue of its distance balanced and optimal accessible strategic position. According to Tekeli, moving capital city from İstanbul to interior of the country signaled “a clear break away from the network of old economic dependencies” and also meant “the rejection of cosmopolitan cultural values of İstanbul” (1984b: 10). In this respect, objectives that motivates the selection of Ankara as the capital city have been classified by Tekelli into the three: to create “the new national *bourgeoisie* with its relevant life style”, to foster “a national economy that eliminate inter regional inequalities”, and finally to construct “a new model city inspired by modern western life style” (also introducing the modern life style to its citizens) (1984a:325).

Spatial production process of Ankara at early years of the Republic symbolizes the attempt to produce a brand new – modern society with its associated life style. According to Lefebvre, new institutions, which produce their own appropriate spaces, creates its becoming socials relations and vice versa (1991: 59). Social relations constituted by the interaction of institutions shapes the perceptions and in turn practices of citizens. As Tankut states, built environment and its related life style encourage and sustain modernization and nationalization process in the planned capitals (1988: 148). In this frame, Ankara planned built environment in Early Republican period was intended to secure the success of the newly born regime.

Later on Ankara was declared as the capital city of the Turkish Republic, the location where new city would be constructed and the direction it would grow became a matter of discussion. At the end of debates, construction of brand new Ankara rather than transforming and developing the old one had been agreed on. Moreover, anew legal arrangements and administrative institutions have been adopted to constitute and sustain the new regime and its representative space. *Ankara Şehremaneti* (municipality of Ankara) was established in 1924 for the needs of the developing city (Şenyapılı, 2004:37) and in the year of 1928, Ankara Building Directorate (*Ankara İmar Müdürlüğü*) was adapted.

Becoming a capital city, brand new Ankara took its shape via the conscious design attempts of planners and ideological decisions of the State authorities. As the claim of the very first plan attempts, *Ankara Şehremaneti* had ordered two distinct plans for the old and new city; and by the decision of the commission, the former plan of *Yenişehir*, prepared by Carl Christopher Lörcher, accepted and immediately put into implementation in order to sustain housing demand in respect to rising population (Bademli, 1985). According to the Lörcher Plan, development of the new- modern city was determined to develop to the Southward direction- onward the old city, referenced to the proposed presidential palace in *Çankaya* (Figure 3.1). The area between *Ulus* and *Çankaya* was appropriated for the construction of the new city that was named as *Yenişehir* (new city) (Şenyapılı, 2004: 43). So, Atatürk Boulevard, to a certain extend had been designed in the initial plan, as the spatial, administrative and social spine of Ankara (Figure 3.2).



Figure 3.1: the Boulevard, Ankara Plan of Lörcher (1924 – 1925)

Source: Documentation center archive, Faculty of Architecture, METU

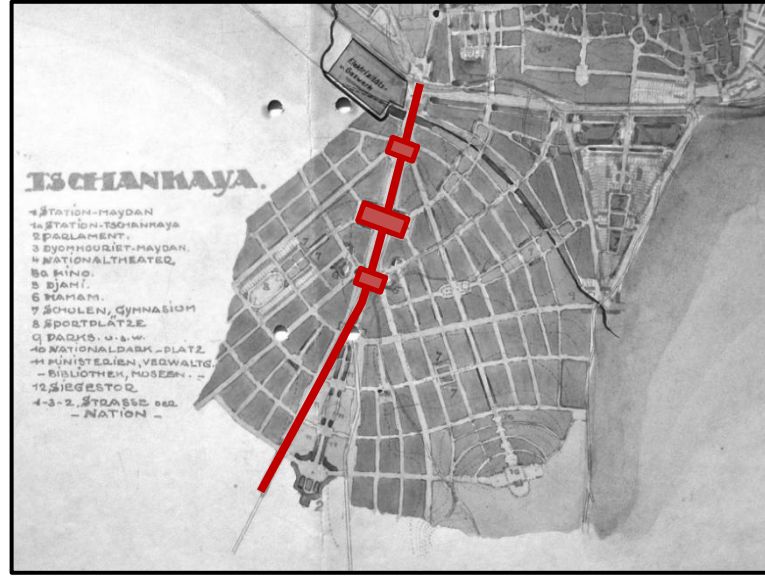
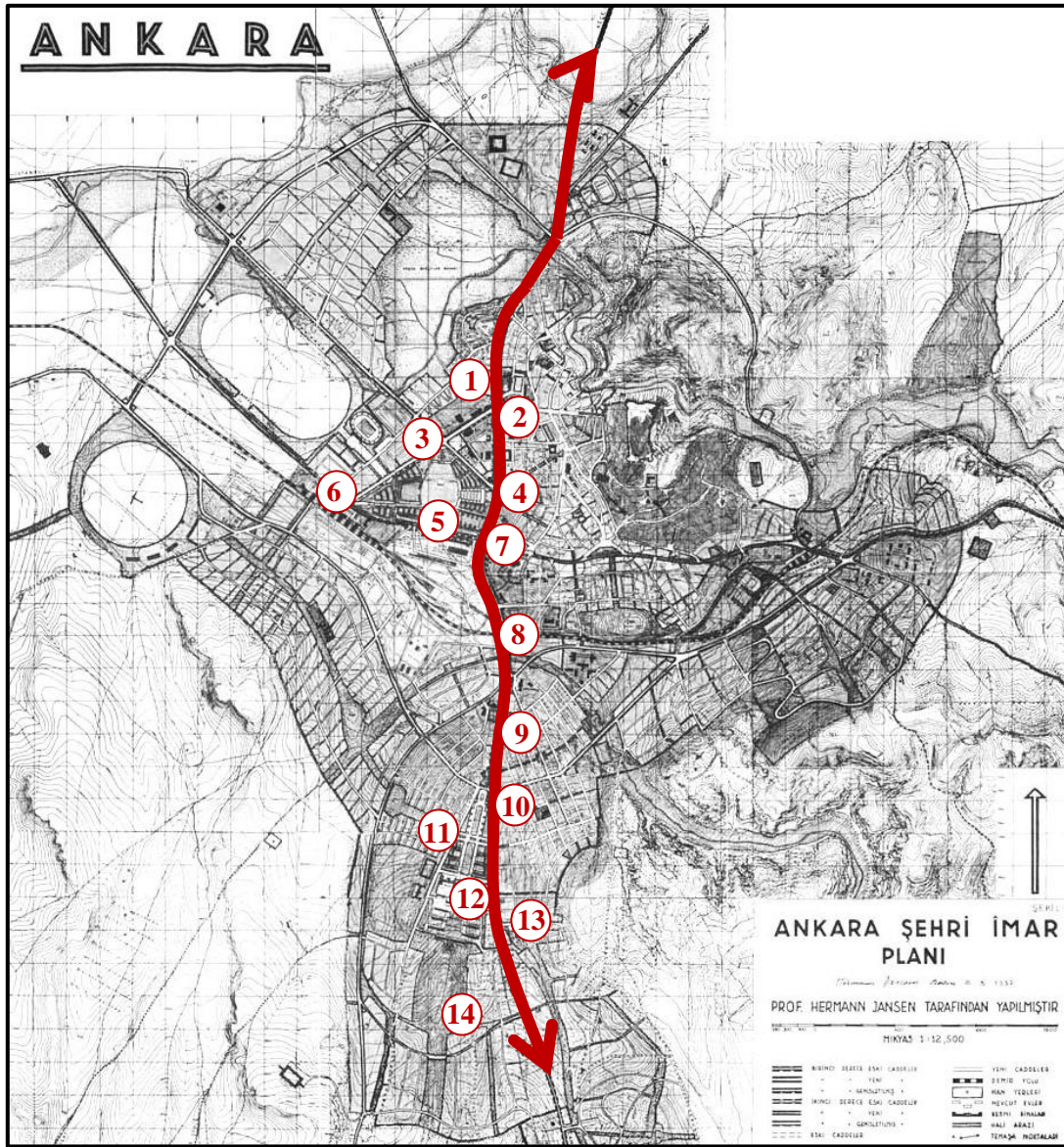


Figure 3.2: Çankaya Street, public space network, Çankaya District, Plan of Lörcher (1924 – 1925)

Source: Documentation center archive, Faculty of Architecture, METU

On the other hand, development anticipations by the initial plan had run short for the growth potentials of Ankara and a completion was held in 1927 to extensively re-plan the city covering the new development areas. Herman Jansen, a German professor of city planning won the competition (among two other plans prepared by Leon Jaussely and Josef Brix). In the Plan of Jansen, different from Lörcher's, conservation of the old city and its integration with new development areas elaborated; as stated in *Ankara Şehrenameti* Report: "old city would be kept as it is, would be preferable to restoration and search for extension... by taking the consideration of the old city and the new city". Preserving historical texture and maintenance of old city were one of the reflections of Jansen's understanding of urbanism.

Atatürk Boulevard as the main component of the Jansen Plan constituted the spine of the city. Atatürk Boulevard began from *Ulus*- old city and first National Assembly and extended to the south toward the new residential area -*Yenişehir* and end up with the Presidential Palace in Çankaya (Figure 3.3).



- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. Old Assembly (TBMM) Building | 7. <i>Şihhiye (Lozan) Square</i> |
| 2. <i>Hakimiyet_i Milliye (Ulus) Square</i> | 8. <i>Zafer Square</i> |
| 3. Second Assembly (TBMM) Building | 9. <i>Kızılay Square</i> |
| 4. <i>İtfaiye Square</i> | 10. <i>Havuşbaşı Square, Güvenpark</i> |
| 5. <i>Gençlik Park</i> | 11. Administration District |
| 6. <i>Gar (Railway Sitation)</i> | 12. <i>İnönü Square</i> |
| 7. <i>Opera Building</i> | 13. Third Assembly (TBMM) Building |

Figure 3.3: Atatürk Boulevard as the spatial- social- representative spine of Ankara;
Representations of the sidewalk- Republican buildings and Squares, Plan of Jansen (1932)
Source: Documentation center archive, Faculty of Architecture, METU

Jansen designed the city in terms of functional districts. *Ulus* was considered as the traditional center of Ankara also political center of the Republic where *Anafartalar* Avenue and the Ankara Castle would signify the traditional character of Ankara while Ankara Palace signify a new life style, interacted in together (Figures 3.4 – 3.9).



Figure 3.4: *Anafartalar* Street, *Ulus* – traditional center, Atatürk Boulevard, 1926
Source: www.ergir.com (personal archive of Mehmet Akan) 30 May 2013

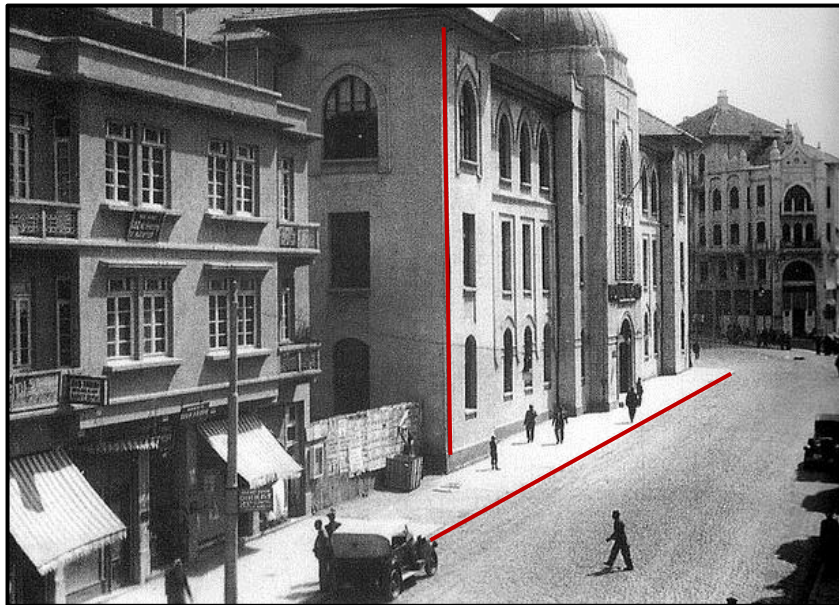


Figure 3.5: *Anafartalar* Street, The Palace of Justice, *Ulus* – traditional center, Atatürk Boulevard, 1944
Source: www.inankara.com 20 May 2013

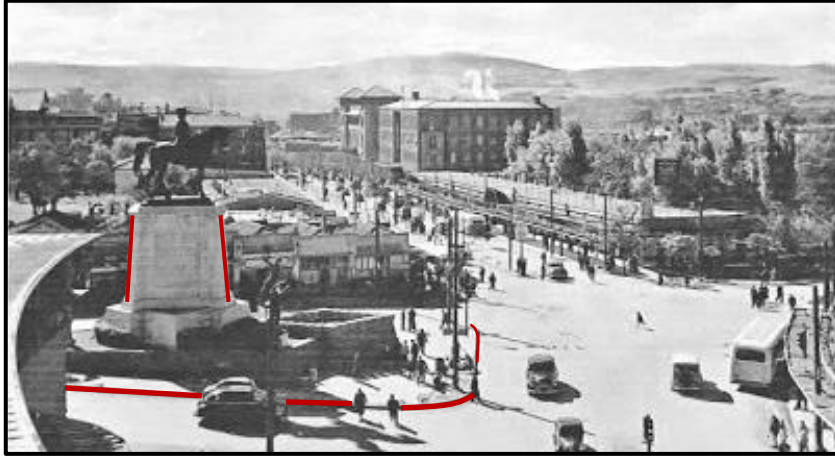


Figure 3.6: *Zafer* Monument looking to *Sıhhiye* direction, *Ulus* – traditional center, Atatürk Boulevard, 1920s

Source: www.ergir.com (personal archive of Yalçın Ergir) 30 May 2013

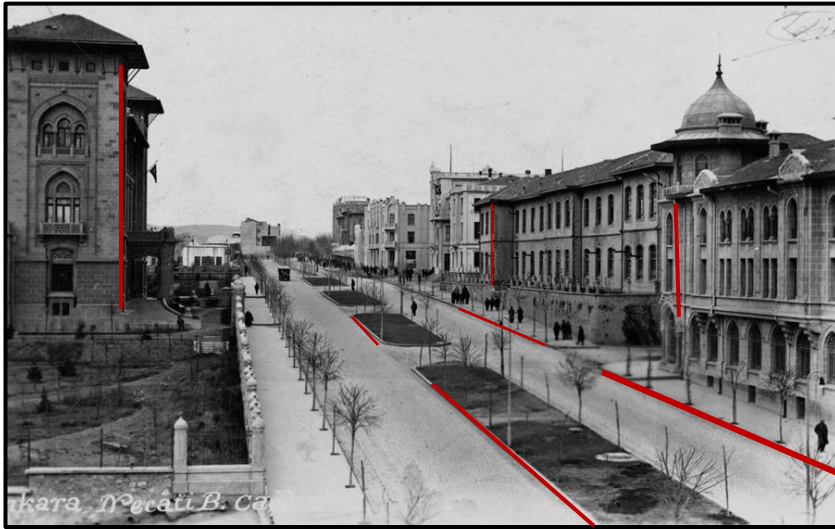


Figure 3.7: Banks Street, *Ulus*, Atatürk Boulevard, 20s- 30s

Source: www.inankara.com 30 August 2013



Figure 3.8: *Lozan* Palace, Banks Street, *Ulus*, Atatürk Boulevard, 20s- 30s

Source: Ankara Postcards and Photography Documents Archive, Belko, Ankara

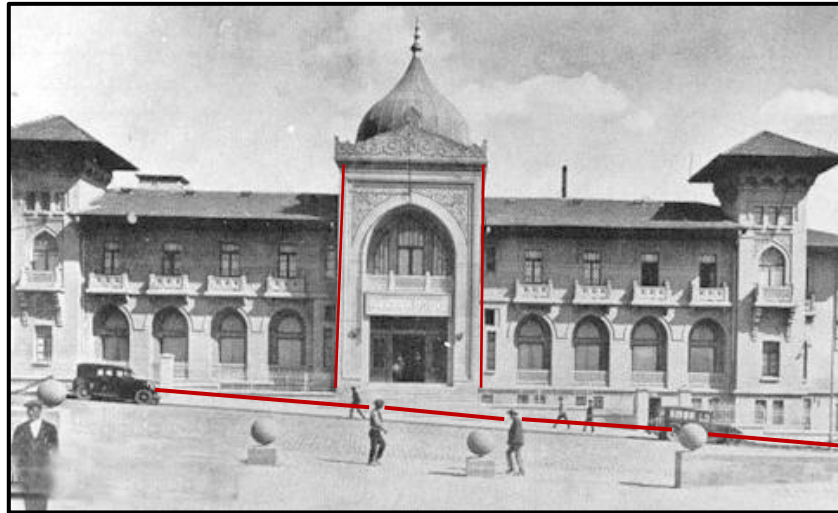


Figure 3.9: Ankara Palace, *Ulus*, Atatürk Boulevard, 30s

Source: Ankara Postcards and Photography Documents Archive, Belko, Ankara

Sıhhiye District was planned as public health project in early Republican Period. Jansen primarily emphasized to the importance of creating a “healthy” environment for a healthy nation (Jansen Plan Report, 1932). According to Kılınç, organizing a modern healthcare and social security system was one of the most important intentions of Modern Republic in the frame of Public Health Project (2002: 124- 125). On the other hand, cultural, educational and other public buildings had located in *Sıhhiye*, such as State Opera House, State Theater, Exhibition Center; Faculty of Letters, Radio House and Ethnographic Museum. Architectural style of these buildings was characterized by the ‘Modern Architectural Movement’ symbolizing the new nation state’s secular identity (Koçak, 2008: 88).

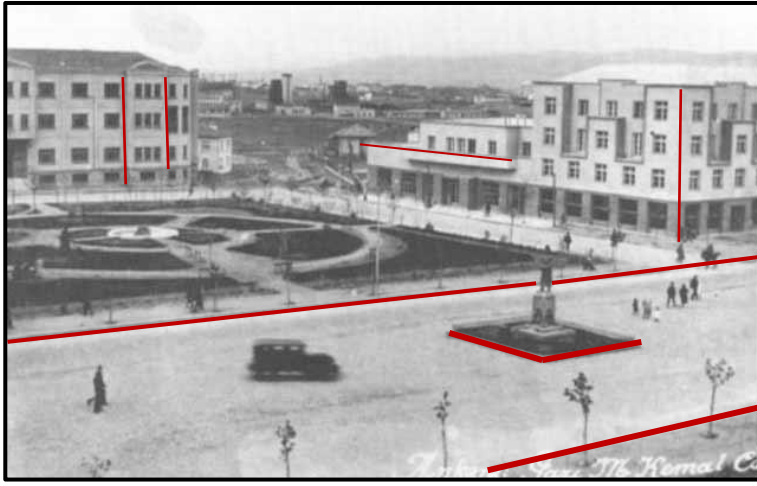


Figure 3.10. *Gazi* Monument, *Zafer* Square, *Sıhhiye*, Atatürk Boulevard, 20s

Source: www.cankaya.bel.tr 30 August 2013

After becoming the capital city, population of Ankara increased to a great extent; respectively demand for housing escalated due to increasing population. In this period, housing construction composed of two- three storey villas with gardens along the Boulevard started in *Yenişehir* (Figures 3.11, 3.12, 3.13). After the 1940s, political and social life shifted from *Ulus* - Traditional Center through *Yenişehir* where Grand National Assembly and new administrative district built together with villas of bureaucrats. In result, significance of *Ulus* as a city center had decreased.

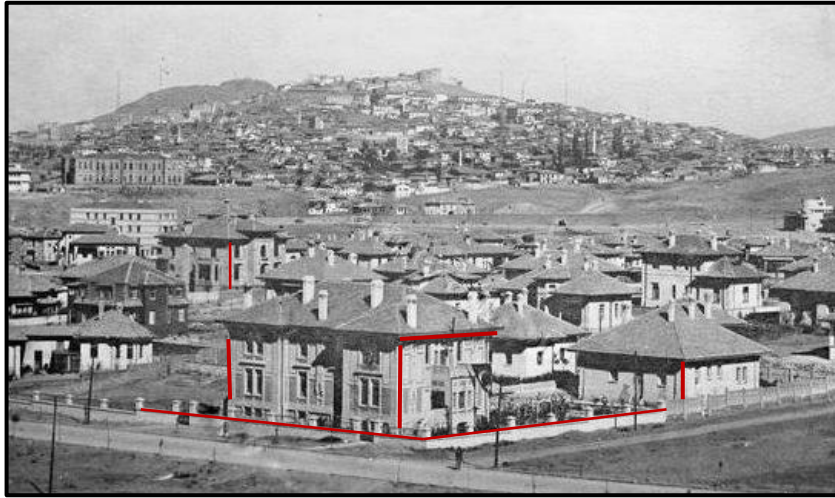


Figure 3.11: 2-3 storey houses, *Cebeci - Yenişehir*, Atatürk Boulevard, 20s- 30s

Source: <http://www.inankara.com.tr> 30 August 2013

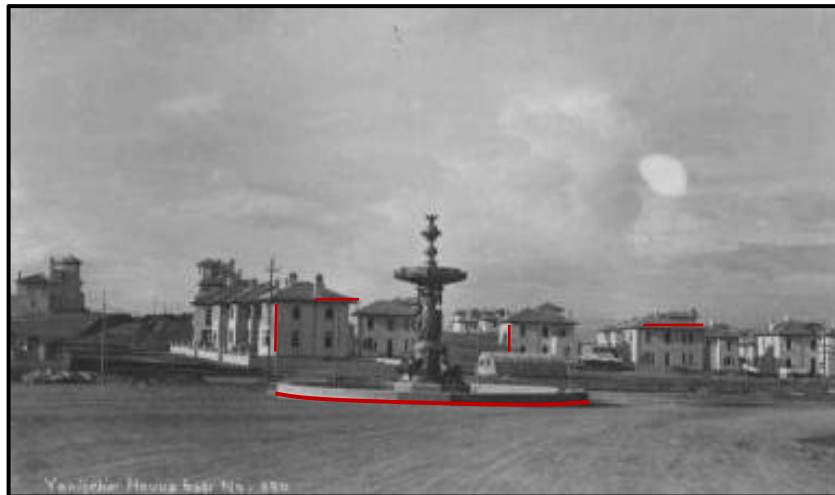


Figure 3.12: 2-3 storey houses, *Kızılay - Yenişehir*, Atatürk Boulevard, 30s-40s

Source: <http://www.inankara.com.tr> 30 August 2013



Figure 3.13: *Kızılay Park, Yenışehir, Atatürk Boulevard, 40s*

Source: <http://www.inankara.com.tr> 30 August 2013

In the 1940s, the depression of the capitalist world economy had affected the economy of Turkey as well. In this period, Turkey's economy had become closed to world economy and began to experience national industrialization, in the frame of protective and etatist policies. During the period dominated by Etatism, in 1930s, according to Keskinok, the nation state conducted the most comprehensive program for the construction of its own space by the principles of Populism (2006: 23). In the frame of etatist economic policies, construction of Ankara accelerated by the investments made on such areas of education, health, transportation, housing and administrative buildings. In the years between 1930 - 1940, Austrian, French, German and Italian Embassies built along the Boulevard. On the other hand, administrative building of the new regime, such as Presidential Palace, Residence of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Residence of the Prime Minister has been designedly situated on the Boulevard, to make the institutions of the Republic visible, and to assembly the state and public on the background consisting the spatial indicators of the democracy.

In this period, the only means for public transport was a commuter train which ran between *Sincan* - Ankara - *Kayas*. By the 1930s, the need for city transportation was provided by getaway vans ("*kaptı-kaçtı*"), which can be described as small buses operated by small entrepreneurs, running from central *Ulus* toward *Cebeci* and *Yenisehir* (Tekeli, 1987) (Figure 3.14). In this respect, Bus Administration of Ankara Municipality was established in 1935 and buses started operate in these years. However, Transportation services remained inadequate for Ankara, after 1940s. By the increasing population and enlargement of the city, new means of transportation including bus, minibus and electric trolleybus (1947 - 1981) introduced by the municipality, on the Atatürk Boulevard. On the other hand, the 1930s were the years when the automobile introduced in to the city life. In

1940s, automobile use becomes more widespread and “*taxi-dolmuş*” was invented as a solution to transportation problems of the city (Tekeli and Oktay, 1981: 224).



Figure 3.14: *Kaptı-Kaçtı* as a mode of public transportation, *Ulus*, Atatürk Boulevard, 40s

Source: www.zamantika.com 24 September 2013

3.1.2. Concept: *Sidewalks of the Republic: Production of The Sidewalk as an Ideal Society (citizen) Stage*

Being the major element of the unique Boulevard formation, the concept of sidewalk at the case of Atatürk Boulevard, had been produced to legitimate space of the Republic and its ideals.

By the decision of Ankara attained as the capital city of Turkey, the establishment committees of the Republic had attempted to build a brand new city. In the early planning period of Ankara, decisions of the professionals, focusing on the development of urban space and institutions, had been shaped through fundamentally by the ideal of producing a brand new ‘modern’ society imposed by the establishment cadre of the Republic. This new Capital would represent the ideals and the will of the young nation as ‘the representation of space’ and also it would be the ‘lived space’ of the new life style and the new polity. It has been aimed that the concepts of the *Republic*, *modernity* and *public space* create a brand new reality and integrate with each other on a spatial platform through the establishment of the new Capital.

Approaches of the planning and state authorities towards the public space have a political/ideological nature. In the Early Republican Period, modernization and public space were considered as the system in which these two concepts operated together while was consistent each other. According to Keskinok, new regime gave priority to create spaces required for the new administrative structure and modern life style (2006: 42). The public spaces, defined by Batuman as “the political legitimacy platform of the modern individual” (2002: 44), can be conceptualized in various ways. For Habermas, the role of the public space is to make the political but democratic scene “become visible and functional”, while it also constitutes a “communicative platform” for the production and consensus of the democratic debates (cited in Sargin, 2002: 9). On the other hand, Sennett defines the public space as the mutual resolution space of the individual experiences and social rituals (1997). Life flows on the streets, variety of the experiences concerning being human reflects on the streets. In other respects, with the modernization public man became shackled by his private life, he became an observer rather than an individual who actually experience the life (Sennett, 1977). For Arendt, on the other hand, political collaboration can only become realizable if the social actors would be present on the public space (cited in Batuman; 2002: 44). Furthermore, public space as a *transformation ground of bourgeois identity* is the platform on which one class has the *hegemony* over the other social groups (Gramsci). In this perspective, it is the common ground that public space can be referred to as a space where different identities, activities and discourse meet, interact and collide with each other.

On the other hand, Jansen’s understanding of urbanism was mainly influenced by German and British schools. Anglo –Saxon *Picturesque* trend was reflected in Jansen’s Plan of Ankara, such as neighborhood plans composed of 2- 3 storey detached houses with gardens, large public open spaces outside and inside of the city. In the plan of Jansen as well as the plan of Lorcher, the impacts of Camillo Site eole can be observed in terms of urban health and urban aesthetics (Keskinok, 2009; 41). Hence, city of Ankara had been designed respect to the system of public spaces composed of squares, green areas and the sidewalk as the public stage of communal network “in order to generate societal values” (Bilgin, 1997:80). Furthermore, first plans of Ankara, prepared by Lörcher and Jansen, attempted to construct a modern capital city, and characterized by of the *Garden City* Concept (Cengizkan, 2000), which proposes lots of public spaces proper to the citizens in a modern lifestyle.

In this frame, the Boulevard; differentiated from the traditional gathering places of Ottoman urban texture as mosque yards, market places, recreational areas, and near fountains; was a major component and the indicator of modern community and associated life style. Atatürk Boulevard had been designated as the spatial - operational, social - progressive and ideologically representative spine of Ankara. For Jansen, Ataturk Boulevard was the connecter of the different districts and functional zones of the city, but also characterized as a connective space for diverse group of people, as the main interaction spine. As, Keskinok declares, “is the history of foundation, process and the development of the Republic” (2009; 37). The Boulevard was assigned the installation of a new – modern urban culture

into citizens of Ankara. In this respect, it marks the significant characteristic of the modern capital as “the representation of space”, composes built environment as a “conceived space”, generates modern urban practices as “the spatial practices” and becomes a great place for social and cultural practices as a “lived space”.

Atatürk Boulevard as the spatial, representative and social spine of the Capital Ankara also was the initial urban element that urban pattern and life had been shaped through. Hence, construction of the Boulevard together with its sidewalks was handled prior in the *construction of the Republic* (Figure 3.15). Other important point is that although there has been scarcely any vehicle traffic during the early Republic period; yet, sidewalks were an important planned urban element. Thus, sidewalks had got supreme value that is beyond the basic function which is to provide safe circulation by separating the *pedestrian* road from the vehicle road. Along the boulevard, it can be seen that the reality conflicting with the value attained to the sidewalk bring the ideals and the urban discourse of the period to light. Thus, plan for the new city of Ankara was not based on projections and tendencies of existing urban context, but shaped through the political - social intentions and ideals.

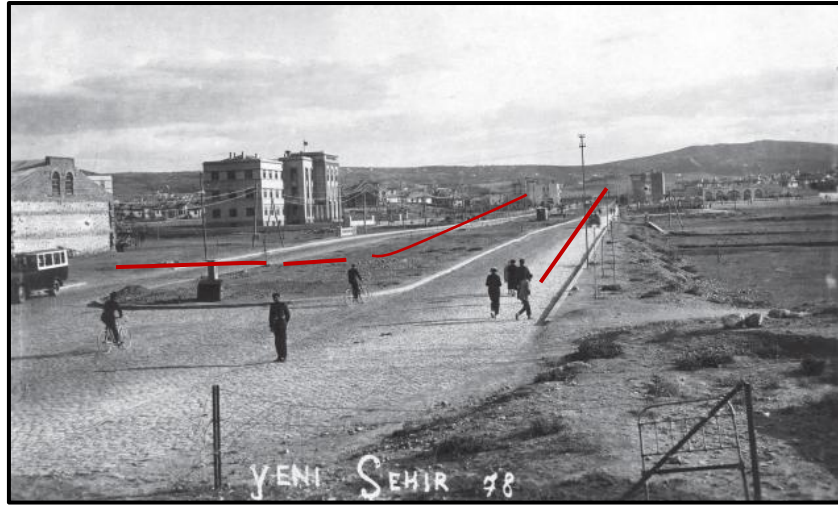


Figure 3.15: Construction of the Republic via the Boulevard, Atatürk Boulevard, *Yenişehir* through 20s- 30s

Source: Ankara Postcards and Photography Documents Archive, Belko, Ankara

By the design of Atatürk Boulevard, in this period, it is also aimed to achieve an universal ideal model. Boulevard has been formed concordant with the contemporary architectural and urban planning approaches of the era; in Jansen’s plan, with its quality in creating

modern public spaces and traffic management regulations. Had been considered as a subject and instrumental stage of an ideal society, sidewalks were handled with modern urban necessities; as the traffic safety, urban health, and serenity and piece in the urban life. The dimensions of the boulevard were consciously differentiated from the other roads and it was suggested to decrease the intersections to provide a hierarchical distribution of traffic from the boulevard.

In this respect, first plans of Ankara had attained special emphasis to continuous circulation of *pedestrians* and public spaces generating the sense community. The pedestrian network has a special significance in Jansen's Plan. In this plan, it is considered that the basic element of the urban experience is the people and the basic spatial element is the public space. The plan proposed pattern of public places for people to enjoy urban life, socialize and by the approach which can be thought as the requirements of a healthy society and a contemporary lifestyle. In this sense, Ataturk Boulevard was designed to be the most important and characteristic public place of Modern Ankara, on which the vehicles and the people are exist in harmony.

On the other hand, sidewalks can be declared as the most critical public spaces at Ankara, as the common place, which brings together technological transit opportunities and the life practices of the intended modern society. Jansen had thought that the sidewalks were the ideal places for publicness and socialization. According to Jansen Plan Report (1937: 25, 26);

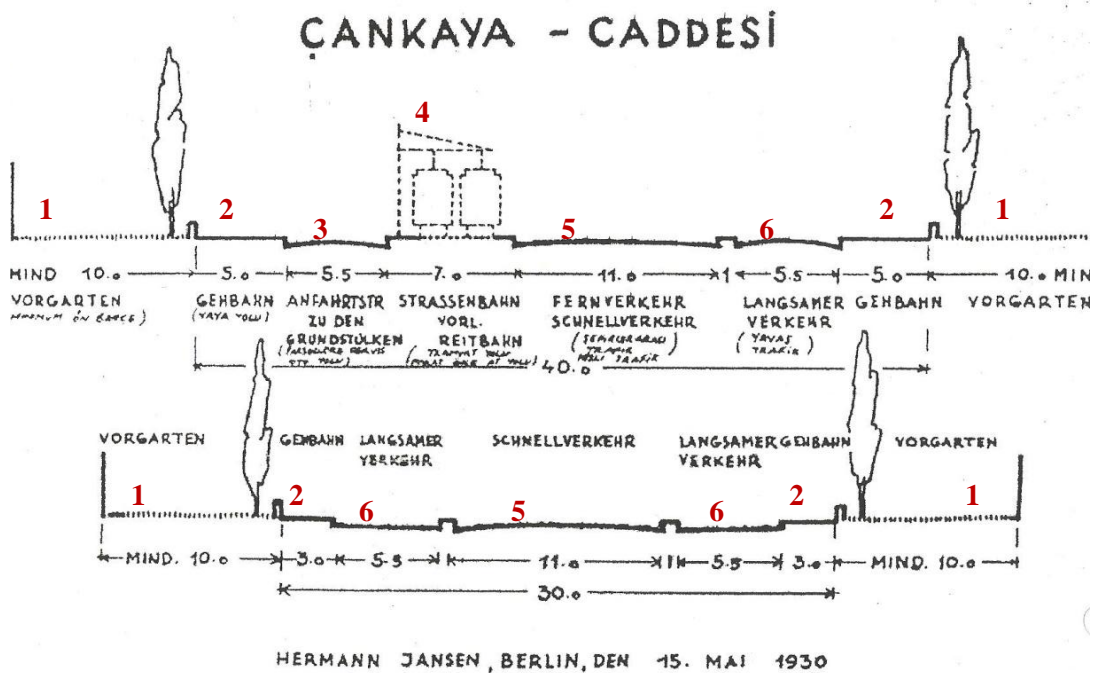
A first-degree main street contacts with the western side of the old city, here it becomes a glorious street and it goes through *Bakanliklar* part and President's house as a straight line. For the blessing of Ataturk, it is named as Ataturk Boulevard.

...Ataturk Boulevard is an elegant street of Ankara with 40 m wide. The width of the street is increased on purpose.

Pedestrian sidewalks are not distributed to the two sides of the road equally as it was done before, mostly one side is left wider. Generally, west sidewalks on the north-south streets and north sidewalks on the east-west streets are built wider. Boulevards/avenues also have bicycle lane as well as sidewalk lanes. It is a fact that the public prefers one side of the sidewalk... Mostly the parts that are shady with the stores located on and are opening to the side streets are preferred.

Being one of the major features of the modern city, boulevards do not only serve as a space for transportation but they also serve as a place of socialization. According to Kostof (1991) while avenue is a transportation-oriented route, the boulevard carries on the ceremonial, social structure of the primitive street. Hence, the boulevard is a kind of public space on which the pedestrians and vehicles are in interaction, rhythm and harmony. Sidewalks, on the other hand, are the inseparable parts of boulevards in the role of regularizing the practices of *the pedestrian* and vehicle in the same time and place.

The sidewalk, as a unique type of the public space that co - exists with other modes of on street transportation, situated the must component of the Boulevard and the modern urban. In this respect, sidewalks of Atatürk Boulevard, serving the Republican ideology as the spatial formation of the intended life style and genius, had great emphasis in the Jansen Plan (Figures 3.16 – 3.20)



- | | |
|-------------------------|--|
| 1. [front yard] 10m | 4. [tram right of way] 7m |
| 2. [sidewalk] 5m | 5. [long distance – fast traffic road] 11m |
| 3. [service road] 5,5 m | 6. [slower traffic] 5.5m |

Figure 3.16: Çankaya Street ² section plan, illustration of right of ways for vehicles, tram, and pedestrians, Atatürk Boulevard, drawn by Jansen , 1930

² Çankaya Street was Kızılay- Çankaya part of Atatürk Boulevard, as named in those years.

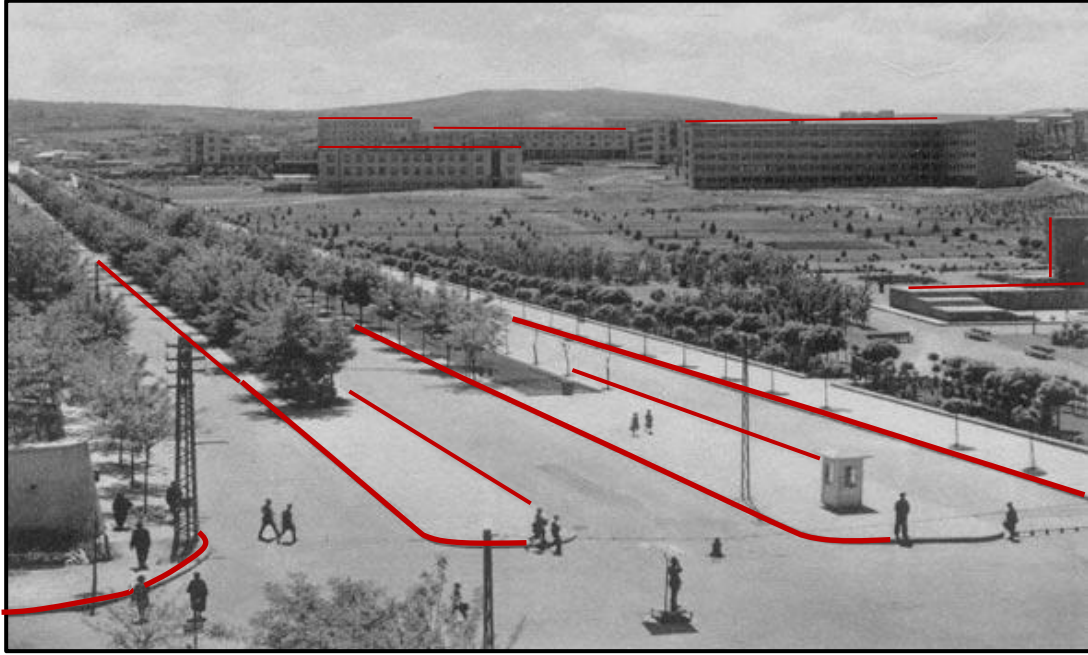


Figure 3.17: Sidewalks of the Boulevard: *anticipation of the modern urban practices-designation of a modern society*, (background: TBMM and Güvenpark), Ataturk Boulevard, Yenisehir, direct to Çankaya, 40s

Source: Ankara Postcards and Photography Documents Archive, Belko, Ankara

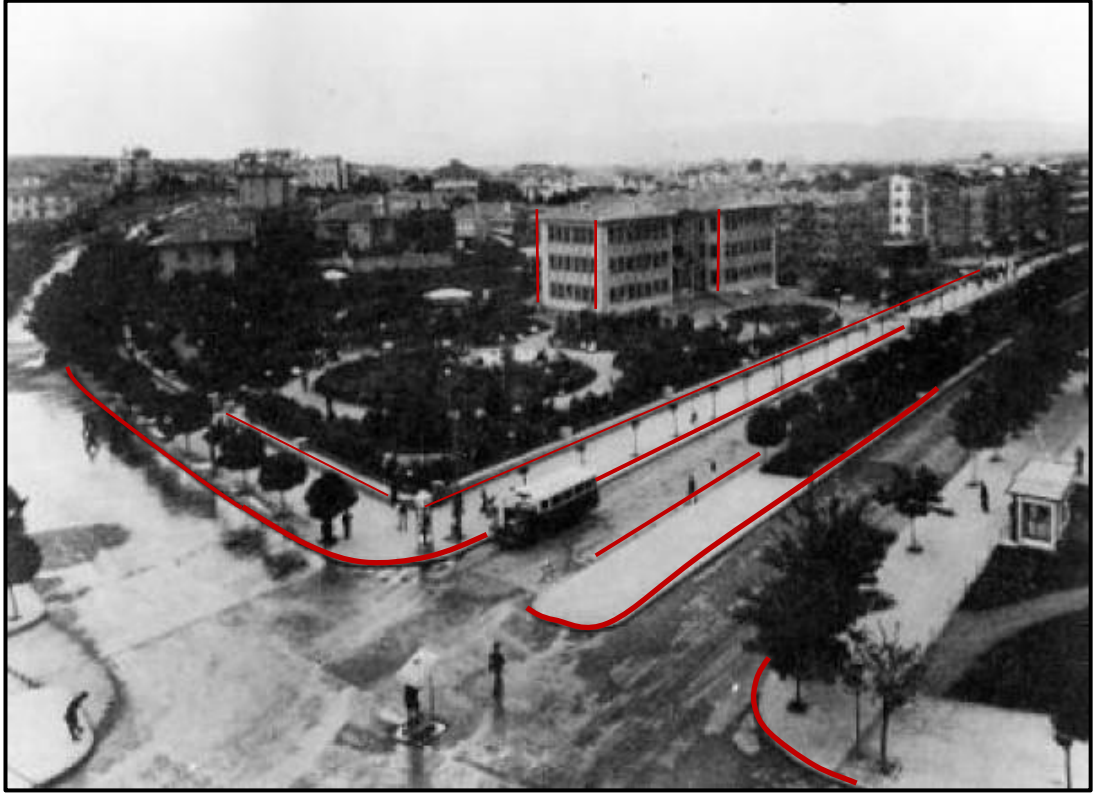


Figure 3.18: Sidewalks of the Boulevard: *anticipation of the modern urban practices- designation of a modern society*, (background old Kızılay Building), Ataturk Boulevard, Yenişehir to Sıhhiye direction, 40s

Source: Ankara Postcards and Photography Documents Archive, Belko, Ankara

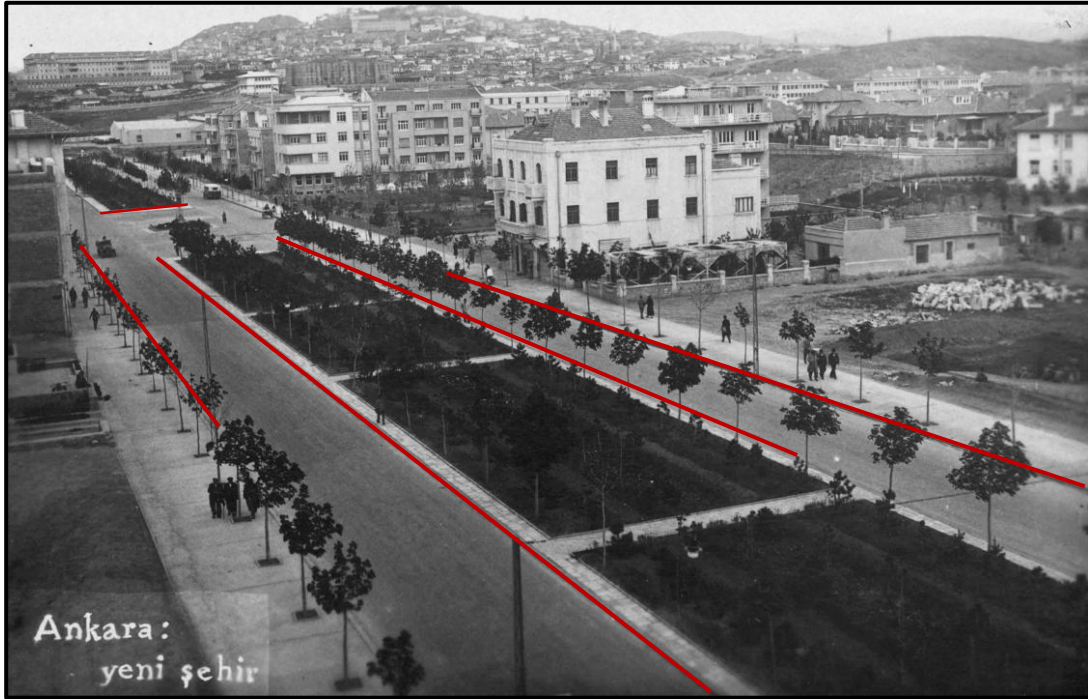


Figure 3.19: Sidewalks of the Boulevard: *anticipation of the modern urban practices- designation of a modern society*, Ataturk Boulevard, *Sıhhiye*, 40s

Source: Ankara Postcards and Photography Documents Archive, Belko, Ankara

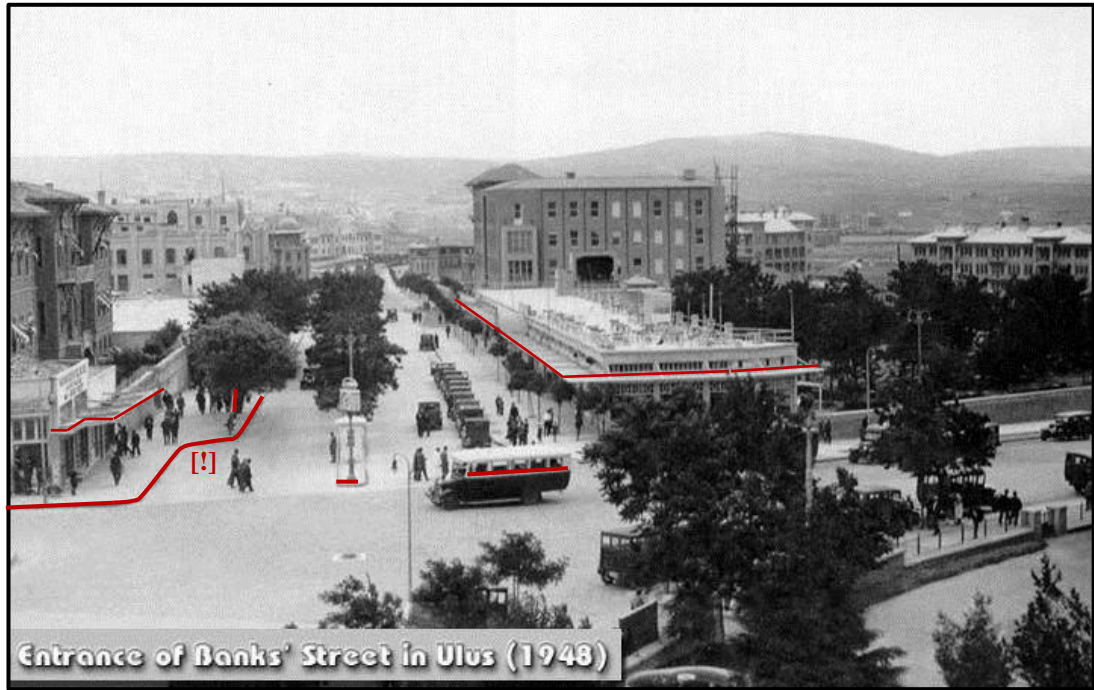


Figure 3.20: Sidewalks of the Boulevard: *anticipation of the modern urban practices-designation of a modern society*, Ataturk Boulevard, Ulus, direct to Banks Street, 40s

Source: Ankara Postcards and Photography Documents Archive, Belko, Ankara

The modernist attempts belonging to the design of broad sidewalks did not only comprise the re-formulation of modern planning and building techniques, but also re-conceptualization of life practices in the city. Accordingly, sidewalks of the modern Capital gained a social and political role. The reconstructed form of urban space by national authorities and planners aimed to transform society to bring about new life styles fostering the advance of the Republic in the level of modern civilizations.

Ankara had been made the Capital City but the instrument that makes it the Capital of the Republic is the *living* the public network. The spine of this spatial network is Ataturk Boulevard and the indispensable element of this spatial network is the sidewalk. Urban space is not a neutral area witnessing the social power relations but it is the place where these relations are carried through and *(re)produced*.

Thus, the sidewalks of Atatürk Boulevard are the spaces where the new lifestyle is represented, accepted and adopted. Atatürk Boulevard through *Yenişehir* District attained a vibrant social and political life, where residential areas for bureaucrats, recreative public spaces settled along (Koçak 2008: 90). *Güvenpark* and *Havuzbaşı* became the most attractive recreation and socializing places for citizens and the spatial representation of bourgeois identity and its identical leisure activities (Batuman, 2002; Sargın, 2002) (Figure

3.19). The urban space where new - modern lifestyle has been adopted was *Yenişehir* Region, as the surrounding area of the pool, which was placed on the Square by Şehremini Ahmet Bey, has transformed into the recreational area of *Yenişehir* residents (Batuman, 2002: 49) (Figure 3.21). New social and cultural practices associated by the modern life style, such as dancing, tea parties etc. performed by the settlers of villas in *Yenişehir* (Nalbantoğlu 1984: 260). On the other hand, Dinçer expressed the evening walks along the Boulevard (2002: 32), by the phrase; “... while well-dressed bourgeois people take a walk and have a rest accompanied by the classical western music performed by the presidential orchestra...” Hence, sidewalks became the most popular spaces for daytime leisure activities and evening walks after-work (Figures 3.22, 3.23). Through 1930s and 1940s parks, squares and sidewalks along the Boulevard was the social arena of the modern community.

In this context, in the Early Republican Period, sidewalks of Atatürk Boulevard were the space where the social life (as the ‘lived’ – ‘perceived space’) and the ideological intentions (as the ‘conceived’ ‘representation of space’) had intersected.



Figure 3.21: the ‘lived space’ also ‘conceived space’, socializing around *Havuzbaşı* as the ‘spatial practice’, *Yenişehir*, Atatürk Boulevard, 30s

Source: <http://www.inankara.com.tr> 24 September 2013

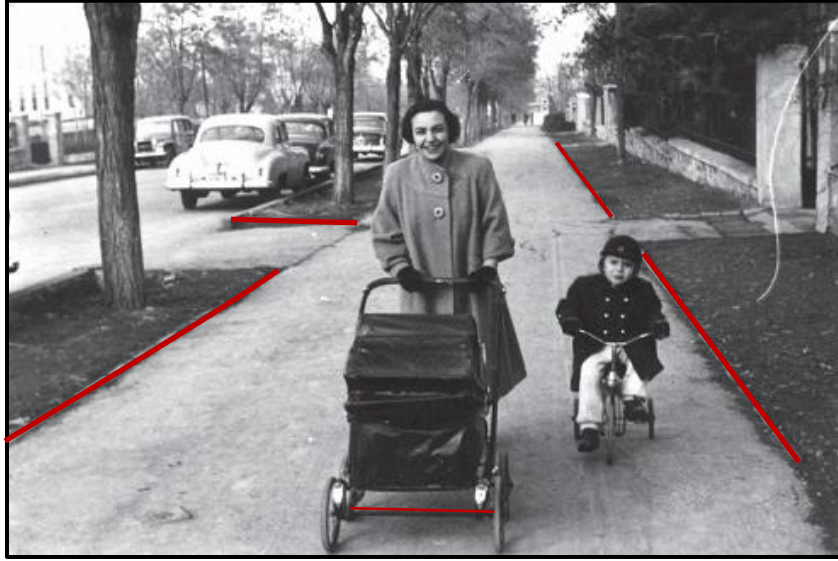


Figure 3.22: the sidewalk as ‘lived space’ also ‘conceived space’, leisure walk as ‘the spatial practice’, Kızılay to Çankaya direction, Atatürk Boulevard, 30s

Source: scanned from *Ankara Kentinin Planlanması ve Atatürk Bulvarının Oluşumu* (2009), ed., Keskinok, Ç. H., *Cumhuriyet Devrimi’nin Yolu Atatürk Bulvarı*, Koleksiyoncular Derneği Yayını, Rekmay Reklam ve Ltd. Şti



Figure 3.23: Sidewalk shop, “iced beer”, Atatürk Boulevard, 1933

Source: Archives National Geographic (Photography by Kurt and Margot Lubinski)

The main activities that support the public life on the Boulevard were cultural, artistic and social occasions. In 1940's, when the villas on the Boulevard gave their place to the 3-4 storey apartment buildings, public life became vitalized by the widespread uses of movie theaters, balls, exhibitions, etc. Socio-cultural relations, entertainments and daily affairs took place in Ankara Palace. In addition, *Halkevleri*,³ "People's Houses", had been planned to be the place where the local people and the bourgeois would meet and considered as administrative building of the public establishment for educational and cultural purposes associated with the 'secular' identity of the nation state (Figure 3.24). In this respect were placed on the center of the Boulevard, positioned by other administrative on the mid-way between the new city and the old city (Yesilkaya, 1997, cited in Koçak, 2008: 94). People Houses in that period, not just had been a passive 'representative space' of the Republic, but also suggested modern life practices to the community. Republic Festival Balls, on the other hand, had participation from all the segments of the society and was celebrated in three different places by different groups. While, public celebrated the Establishment of the Republic in the *Halkevi*, bureaucrats celebrated in Ankara Palas; and, the army celebrated in *Orduevi (the officers' club)* (Batuman, 2002: 54). The first movie theater is the *Ulus Cinema*, which went in service in 1938 in Ulus, is followed by the *Ankara Cinema* (1944) in *Sihhiye*, and *Buyuk Cinema* (1949) in *Kızılay* (Figure 3.25). *Büyük Tiyatro* became an important place for the theatre and opera. *Özen, Meram, Sergen, Penguen cafés* were important places for leisure activities (Batuman, 2002: 54). Moreover, *Gençlik Park* Project was started in 1936 and completed in 1943. It has provided recreational activities and by its large pool sailing, and boating activities was possible in the middle of the steppe's of Anatolia (Figure 3.26). As stated before, together with these facilities a ritual of random activity namely *night walk* that people who dressed well had carried out along the Boulevard. Until 1960's, Atatürk Boulevard sidewalks were the main socializing place for Ankara *high society*.

³ Halkevleri (literally meaning "People's House", also translatable as "Community Centers") is a Turkish state sponsored project, between 1932-1951. The purpose of the project was to enlighten the people and to decrease the influences of the conservative circles. On the Aug. 8, 1951 Halkevleri were closed, in the Democrat Party period.



Figure 3.24: the 'lived space' also 'conceived space', *Halkevi* (People House) on the Boulevard, 1930s- 40s

Source: www.inankara.com 10 October 2013



Figure 3.25: *Büyük* Cinema, on the Boulevard, end of 40s

Source: www.ergir.com 24 September 2013



Figure 3.26: the ‘lived space’ also ‘conceived space’, Modern Leisure ‘as the spatial practice’, *Gençlik Park*, after 1943

Source: <http://www.inankara.com.tr/> 24 September 2013

In addition, The Atatürk Boulevard design principles have decided in respect to national identity of young Republic and its practices. *Hakimiet-i Milliye* or *Ulus* square, as the spatial representation of the Republican ideology, was the most important public space of the Republic in 1930 (Figures 3.27, 3.28, 3.29). *Ulus* Square as a monumental space contained spatial representations of the Republican ideology. Moreover, *Ulus* Square and *Zafer* Monument as the monumental spaces provided a sense of collectivity and membership referring to national unity (Figures 3.30, 3.31). “Monumental space offered each member of a society an image of that membership, an image of his or her social visage” and *monumentality* took in all the aspects of *spatiality* that are identified as the perceived, the conceived and the lived in other words; representations of space, representational spaces (Lefebvre, 1991: 220). The other spatial representations include social and cultural practices as national and memorial ceremonies are held in squares and modern urban life-style is experienced in spaces such as Ankara Palas, Assembly Garden - *Millet* Garden (Yalım, 2002: 182) (Figures 3.32, 3.33). The Boulevard, during first Republican years, has not been a place only for formal parades, but a place for the bourgeois who went in and out the Parliament or Ankara Palace with their fancy clothes and different rituals (Batuman, 2002: 49). Boulevard in this sense was designed as an *appearance space* and the sidewalks were the places where the new social class and the new lifestyle that would pioneer the modernization were made visible to the ‘others’.

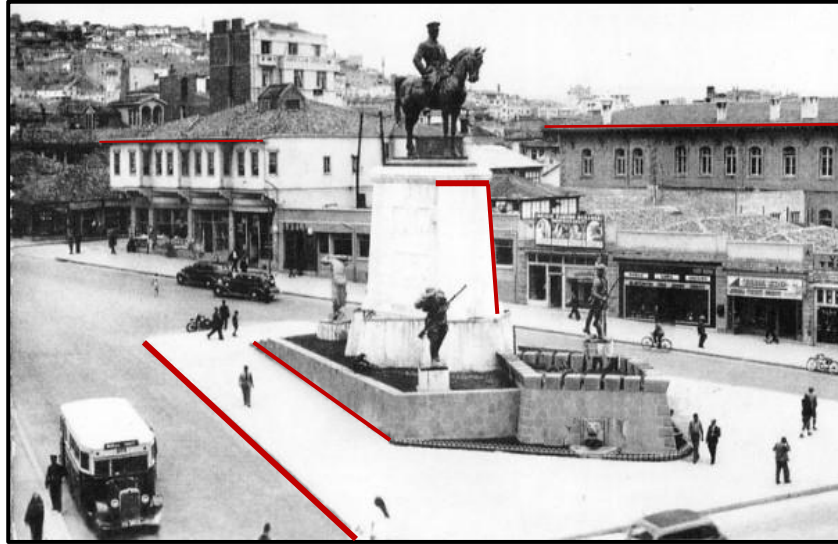


Figure 3.27: the ‘lived space’ also ‘conceived space’, *Zafer Monument, Ulu, Atatürk Boulevard, 20s*

Source: Ankara Postcards and Photography Documents Archive, Belko, Ankara



Figure 3.28: the ‘lived space’ also ‘conceived space’, *Zafer Monument, (on the background İş Bank and Taşhan building), Ulu, Atatürk Boulevard, 30s*

Source: <http://www.inankara.com.tr/> 24 September 2013

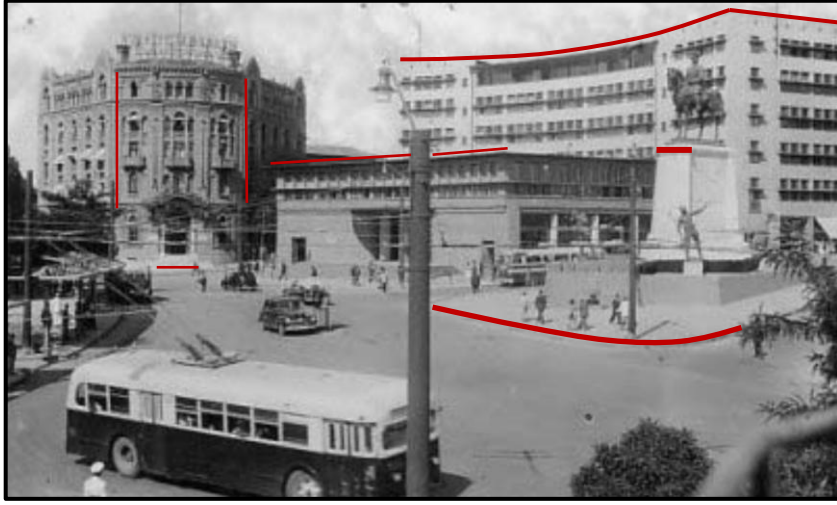


Figure 3.29: New the ‘lived space’ also ‘conceived space’, *Zafer* Monument, (on the background *İş* Bank and *Sümerbank* building), Ulus, Atatürk Boulevard, 40s

Source: Ankara Postcards and Photography Documents Archive, Belko, Ankara

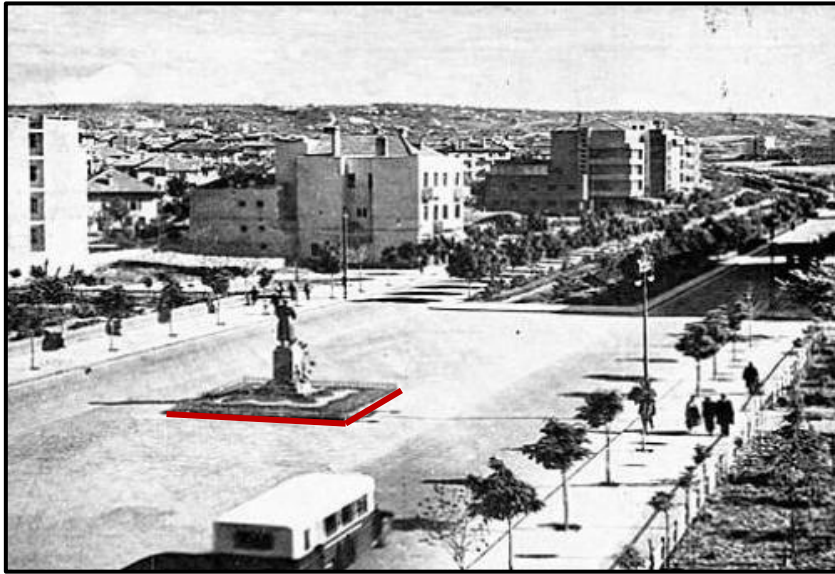


Figure 3.30: the ‘lived space’ also ‘conceived space’, *Gazi* Monument, *Sıhhiye - Yenışehir*, Atatürk Boulevard, 30s- 40s

Source: Ankara Postcards and Photography Documents Archive, Belko, Ankara



Figure 3.31: the 'lived space' also 'conceived space', *Gazi Monument, Sıhhiye - Yenışehir, Atatürk Boulevard, 30s- 40s*

Source: Ankara Postcards and Photography Documents Archive, Belko, Ankara



Figure 3.32: the 'lived space' also 'conceived space', *Millet Garden, Ulus, Atatürk Boulevard, 20s- 30s*

Source: <http://www.inankara.com.tr/> 24 September 2013



Figure 3.33: the ‘lived space’ also ‘conceived space’, Ankara Palace on the Boulevard, 1930s

Source: Ankara Postcards and Photography Documents Archive, Belko, Ankara

In the frame of public space concepts in Ankara in Early Republican Period, while Atatürk Boulevard sidewalks brought together and integrated the social and the political life spheres; after 1940's, life on the sidewalk was radically shifted to the political side. For Batuman, the reasons of this breakdown were economic crisis, failure of *Serbest Firka* experience, which was followed by the consolidation of the single party system and *etatist* economy model (2002: 52). Turkish national bourgeois on the other hand is never in conflict with state authority, besides it always is in an organic relation with the state and therefore the bourgeois people had their own life practices separated from the other classes (Batuman, 2002: 52). In this context, the institutions that gave the public character and democratic background to the Boulevard had been designated as the institutions of the new Regime. *Güvenpark*, *Güvenlik* (Security) *Monument*, *Vekaletler Mahallesi* (Administrative District) including a military zone, *new Parliament*, *Embassy Buildings* and *Cankaya Presidential Palace*, and semi-official *Kizilay* Building were located on the Atatürk Boulevard and sidewalks integrated the social and the political, the official and the civic life, on the public sphere and constituted the spatial representations of the central authority (Figures 3.34 – 3.37). On the other hand, the administrative district was designed as state-society meeting place with squares and greenery usage for public, also had a pedestrian artery, which was parallel to the boulevard. Thus, the administration is considered in integration with the community and it is aimed that the governmental authorities of the Republic to be an inseparable part of the urban life and public experience. By this way, it is impossible that the production of public space in terms of social life in Ankara been designated independently from the political aims and motivations.

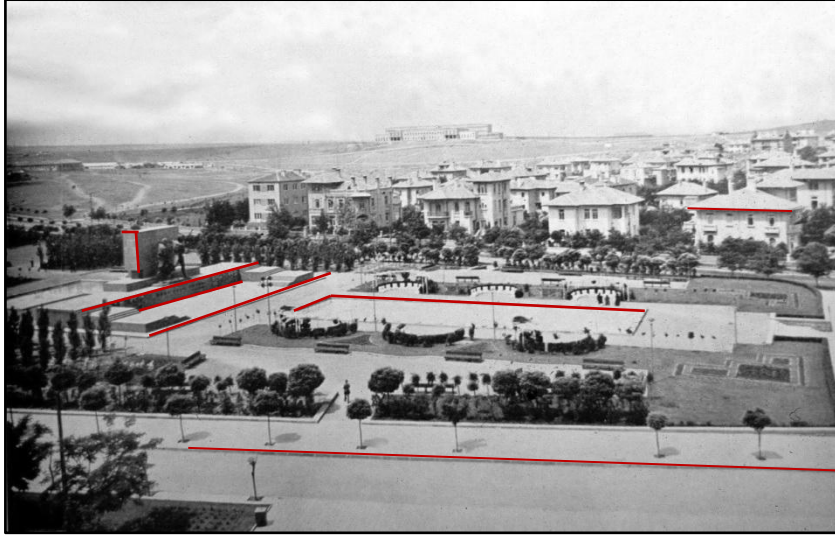


Figure 3.34: the ‘lived space’ also ‘conceived space’, *Güvenpark and Güvenlik Monument*, *Kızılay - Yenışehir*, Atatürk Boulevard, 40s

Source: Ankara Postcards and Photography Documents Archive, Belko, Ankara

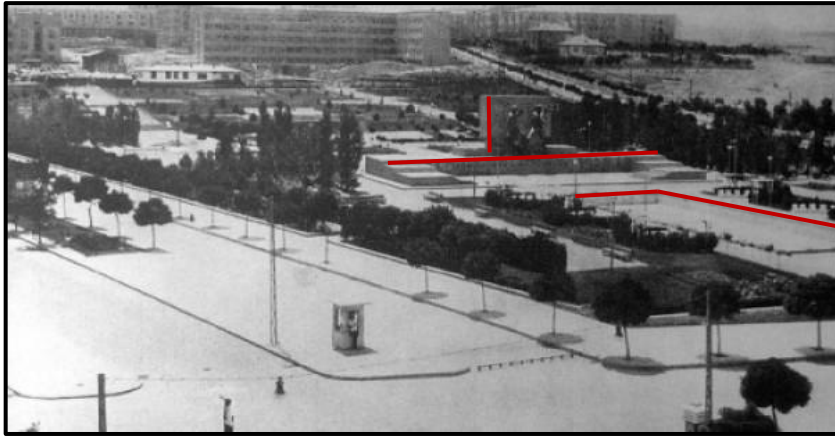


Figure 3.35: the ‘lived space’ also ‘conceived space’, *Güvenpark and Güvenlik Monument*, *Kızılay - Yenışehir*, Atatürk Boulevard, 40s

Source: Ankara Postcards and Photography Documents Archive, Belko, Ankara



Figure 3.36: Representation of the Republic and the central authority, *Güvenlik Monument*, Kızılay - Yenışehir, Atatürk Boulevard, 40s

Source: Ankara Postcards and Photography Documents Archive, Belko, Ankara



Figure 3.37: Representation of the Republic and the central authority, *Güvenlik Monument*, Kızılay - Yenışehir, Atatürk Boulevard, 40s

Source: Ankara Postcards and Photography Documents Archive, Belko, Ankara

However, as being the most significant part of public network, *sidewalks of the Republic* could not been transformed into the social place where is the subject of modern daily life practices; and furthermore, in the following periods, it became the focus the interventions under the effect of latter political authorities and the related ideology.

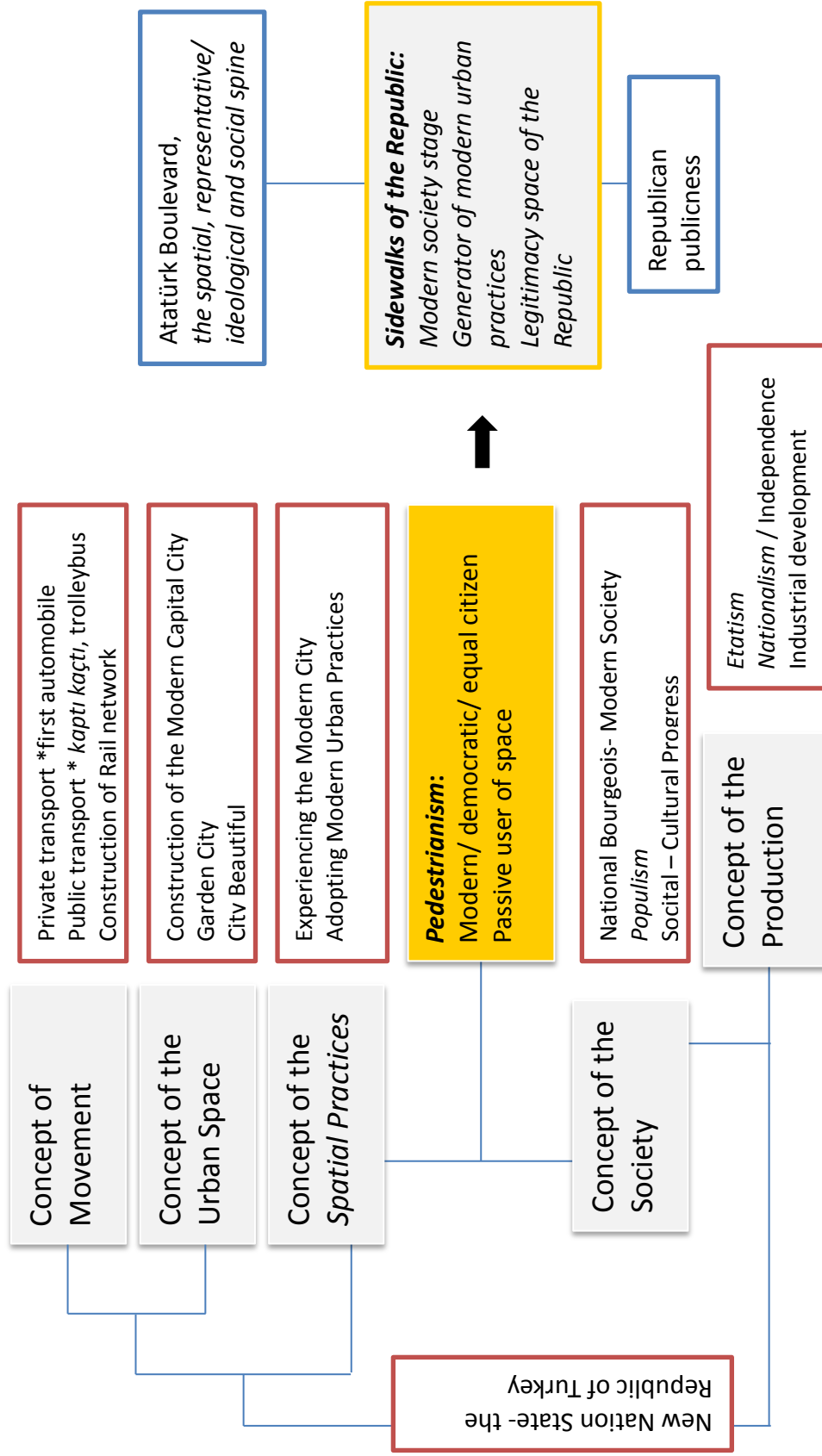


Figure 3.38: Context and concepts of the *Sidewalks of the Republic*

Source: Personal rendering

3.2. Post 1950: The Sidewalk as the Influence Space of Urban Trends and Conditions

3.2.1.1950- 1970 Context: Democrat Party, Liberalization, New *Modernization*, Rapid Urbanization

In 1950s, significant transformation had taken place in the Republican ideals, by the Democrat Party. Democrat Party, had founded in 1946, came to power in 1950. Multiparty process as the new political system and incoming liberal economic policies contrary to early Republican period started to unfold in Turkey (Boratav, 1997: 318 cited in Koçak, 2008: 103); that brought articulation of Turkey's economy into world economy, in the sense of transformation of the "independent 'national' economic structure" to a dependent one.

Economic and social structure of Ankara also changed in this period, as proportion of agricultural sector decreases in total employment, significance of other sectors such as services, commerce, manufacturing and construction increased (Şenyapılı, 2004:178). Population of Ankara increased rapidly because of labor force surplus in rural areas and industrialization in the metropolitan area (Yavuz, 1973:30). In this period, population targets had exceeded projections that Jansen had anticipated. As Şenyapılı states, population was 157 000 in 1940 and reached approximately at 300 000 in the 1950s and the growth rate was maximum between the years 1950 -1955 (2004:179). On the other hand, by the changing political structure and the revision of the eco-political policies, cities under the effect of the economies of agglomeration has become the spaces where the urban problems are also produced (Keskinok, 2002: 53). Parallel to the rise in the population, housing demand in Ankara increased dramatically through 1950s. Ankara, in this period, influenced by intensive migration and over population. Insufficient housing supply gave rise to the flourishing of *gecekondu* in central lands of Ankara and as a result, about half of the populations were living in *gecekondu* areas in the 1950s, as Tapan indicated (1984: 106 cited in Koçak, 2008: 105). Moreover, development strategies manifested themselves in differing investment areas; in this respect; the resources reserved to Urbanization expenses were restricted within the framework of adopted development strategies (Batuman, 2008: 103).

In the frame of the political and economic trends, by this period, the focus of the planning decisions shifted to the efforts of managing and regulating the urban growth rather than the concern of re shaping urban space and the society. Nihat Yücel and Raşit Uybadin Plan (1957) of Ankara had been formed to respond the pressure of urban growth trends directed by the economic reality (Figure 3.39). The plan aims to control and reshape the space in respect to the rapid economic growth of capital (Keskinok, 2009: 53). In that period, transportation investments became the priority of governments, in respect to motor vehicle technology, to support industrial development through the country. Hence, secondary roads and Konya and Samsun highways, connecting Ankara with other markets, were built

initially. On the other hand, the expansion of the city was foreseen through northward and southward, as the new residential development districts were planned.



Figure 3.39: Plan of Uybadin - Yücel (1957), Ankara

Source: Documentation center archive, Faculty of Architecture, METU

On the other hand, the plan could not be properly implemented; according to Altaban, because of the shift in the approach of the central administration to urbanization expenses also Ankara's decreasing in importance in respect to İstanbul (1998: 54). Respect to modified ideologies of the government; partition of the national resources extensively for the development of İstanbul and depletion of the authorial concern regarding the new modern capital affected the planning decisions and slowed down the building process of Ankara.

The settlement of *Gecekondu* (squatter housing) was ‘a space of representation’ of urban migration and unplanned development. Through the populist policies, approach of Democrat Party to *gecekondu* was to legitimize these settlements through amnesty laws (Tekeli, 1998: 12). Furthermore, as existing housing supplies was proved insufficient; a sharp increase in property costs came into being because of land speculations. In this frame, “flat ownership”⁴ (*kat mülkiyeti yasası*) has been institutionalized in 1954. Due to this law, “build and sell” (*yapsatçılık*) method developed among small entrepreneurs, as a new commercial concept (Koçak, 2008: 106). By the legal advantages provided by these acts, real estate market provided the rapid growth of construction industry as “purchasing residential units or buying land was the most popular form of investment among the middle and upper-middle classes” (Tapan, 1984: 106 cited in Koçak, 2008: 106). Unplanned illegal urbanization coupled with legal but unplanned urban texture that further raised the urban problems (Koçak 2008: 108). In result, ‘flat ownership’ as one of the major features of this period, determined the structure and the form of urbanization to come. In this period, the speculative pressures occurred by the urban capital accumulation process has mostly affected the city centers.

In this respect, as the result of unanticipated and unplanned rapid development of Ankara, in 1960s, urban problems as insufficient infrastructure and traffic congestion began to appear at the urban space. Through that period, the city continued to develop north-south direction; and Atatürk Boulevard, as the main arterial spine of the city, began to experience traffic congestion (Figure 3.40). Moreover, transportation services provided by the municipality remained insufficient and as a solution by private entrepreneurs, *dolmuş* and minibus became more widespread through the city and connecting new settlements to the city center. Ankara suffered from urban traffic and air pollution for the first time in these years.

Moreover, *Gecekondu* settlements became as a ‘problem’ in the society. The socio economic profile of Ankara became diversified and decayed, as migrants constituted the large extent of Ankara citizens. In addition, they became the target of populist policies of incomer governments, as “they gained bargaining power vis-à-vis politicians” (Tekeli, 1984: 24). In this respect, operations by municipalities and the government were directed to please squatters.

After the Military intervention did happened at May 27, 1960, new Constitution accepted in 1961 and a new social political period began regarding the democratic political regime and pursuit of the Turkish army. According to 1961 Constitution, social state and planned economic development declared as essentials of the republic and its instructions constituted accordingly. State Planning Organization (*Devlet Planlama Teskilatı*, DPT) established as a constitutional institution and its idea stated as “provide planning based on scientific values

⁴ Flat-ownership refers to a case where two or more people coming together own a flat in the apartment on a single building lot (Tekeli 1998: 14).

could be achieved outside the realm of politics” and became a competent body in the economic development. In this planned political economy period, military gained institutional dominance and participated in political and economic spheres.

Dominant protective foreign trade policies and import substitution economic policies in these years aimed to achieve a vibrant domestic market and growth and accelerated industrialization through country (Doğan, 2002). Between the years 1965 and 1970 urbanization and population growth rate in metropolitan cities reached its peak. Even if estimated to reach 750,000 in the period of 30 years by the second plan of Ankara approved in 1957; the population of Ankara reached 1 million 250,000 in 1970 as a consequence of rapid industrialization through country and urban migration.

Migration from rural to urban gave shape to spatial organization of cities as approximately thirty percent of immigrants lived in *gecekondu* settlements (Osmay, 1998: 144). Concerning, “*Gecekondu Law*” was enacted in 1966 and provided amnesty for illegal housing. By this law, *gecekondu* areas gained legal guarantee as law agreed to protect and provide basic services and infrastructure for *gecekondu* areas (Tekelli 1998, 21). However, the legal loophole led to more illegal housing occupy city as a new investment instrument. On the other hand, build and sell method continued also in this period and shaped urban housing in all cities of Turkey. In addition to illegal and build –sell housing supply in this period mass housing and cooperatives came into being, however remained limited in scale.

The second Plan of Ankara also had anticipated 2-3 storey buildings with gardens as the general urban texture (Şenyapılı, 2004: 221), however it was aborted in the implementation phase. Under the influence of house- building pressure promoted by build and sell concept, in the mid-1960s, “Regional Flat Order Plan” was submitted by the Ministry of Construction and it was accepted that “ all constructions in Ankara would add an extra storey, except of the 2-3 storey housing areas in *Etlik, Yenimahalle, Dikmen* and *Çankaya*” (Altaban, 1998: 54). Moreover, in 1968, a new *flat ownership law* was enacted, allows to “9-10 storey buildings along the Boulevard also on the roads connecting to the Boulevard, and 6 storeys for near regions”. This regulation, however, lead to old buildings demolishes, green spaces vanish and new building became higher and denser. Besides, common architectural character of the buildings got lost and became impure and unclear. In addition to devastation of historical and cultural values by the demolishment and deterioration of Ankara’s urban texture physically and esthetically, also the provision of urban services got difficult and the quality of urban life decreased in diverse matters. From then on, it was urban rent speculations, as a subject of the capitalist system that shaped the production of space of the Boulevard. In the result of these acts, Ankara lost its planned spatial character formed in the Early Republican Period, under the dominance of capitalist relations.

3.2.2. 1950- 1970 Concept: *Sidewalks of the Public*: Re- Production of the Sidewalk by the Economic Vitality, Social Diversity and Political Opposition

In the first planning phase, it was thought that the approaches in Ankara Planning would provide an ideal model for the whole country. For this reason, as also declared by Keskinok, while the major aim was to build a new society, the politics and the design considerations presided the economic interests (2002: 52). In the frame of the specific land policies applied by the government, urban pressure was able to be managed and the development was able to be directed (Keskinok: 2002: 51). Ataturk Boulevard had become the main spatial instrument to create a modern citizen of the young Republic; in this way, the sidewalks were designed to be the most unique and widespread element of the public space network. However, as from the multiparty period had begun on the 1950, which was followed by the second phase of the planning of Ankara; the Boulevard has lost its publicness and identical spatial character, by the emerging social – economic processes and their effects on the society and space.

After 1950s, Ataturk Boulevard became *the public - spatial network on which the different meanings and aims intersect*. The approaches and the aims of the Early Republic period would conflict with the ones, in 1950's. Ataturk Boulevard has always been the target of speculative and ideological interests (Keskinok, 2002: 51). In 1950's Ataturk Boulevard became the major struggle space between the former policies that aims to develop the modern state and society; and the groups that want to benefit from urban growth and rent speculations (Keskinok, 2002: 51). In this sense, Ataturk Boulevard and its sidewalks were one of the most significant subjects and *the arena of the changing economic and ideological trends*.

The urban design understanding of authorities - decision making and planning- had been transformed from which puts the urban life and publicness forefront into the understanding depending on the economic and political benefits. By a plan decision in 1952, Kizilay and its surroundings were defined as the primary business district of Ankara it is allowed to build attached apartment buildings in which the ground floors and basements are arranged as passages. Moreover, by the *Flat Order Plan* (Kat Nizami Planı), the regulation that allows building up to 10 storeys on the Ataturk Boulevard has entered into force at the end of 1960's (Figures 3.41, 3.42). This transformation followed by the demolishment of the former planned structure on the boulevard and the changes in the uses, which is resulted in the loss of the historical identity and the Republican publicness of the boulevard at a significant level (Keskinok, 2002: 53, Batuman: 2002: 56). By the expanding of the development rights, the symbolical pattern, solid-void balance, structure-road relation, garden-city historical identity and green pattern of the boulevard has been damaged, examples of civil architecture buildings has been lost, the monumental structures such as the statues and the monuments has been replaced or lost their monumentality characteristics under shadow of the new huge buildings. Consequently, the increasing densities create an unhealthy urban environment and the historical identity of the city and the boulevard has been damaged.

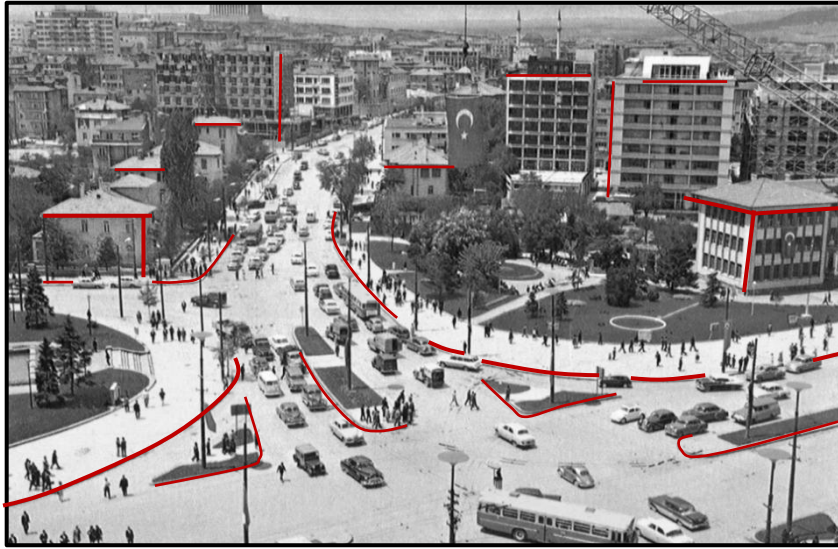


Figure 3.41: Transforming building stock, transforming boulevard scape, *Kızılay*, Atatürk, 60s

Source: www.wowturkey.com 11 September 2013

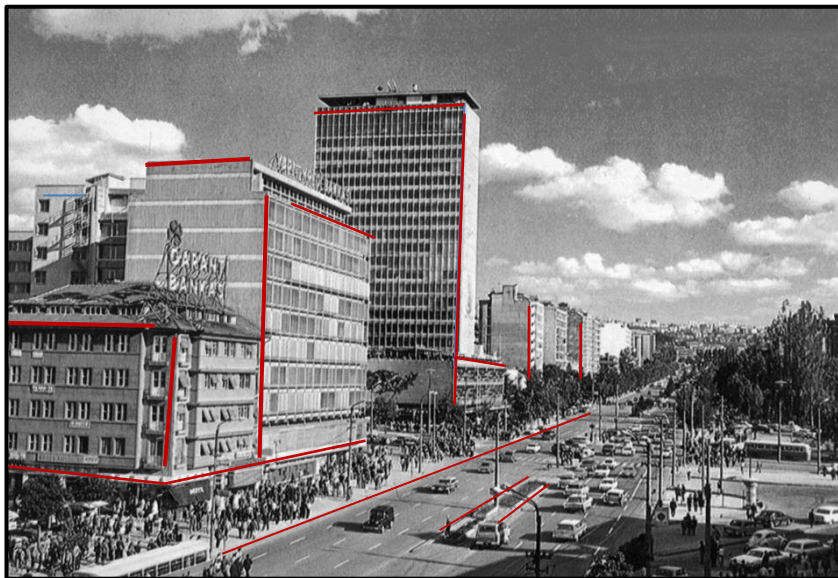


Figure 3.42: Transforming building stock, transforming boulevard scape, *Kızılay*, Atatürk, 60s- 70s

Source: www.wowturkey.com 11 September 2013

While Atatürk Boulevard was transforming into a space where vibrant economic and social activities are concentrated, its spatial characteristics, historical identity and Republican public character had been sacrificed. As new modes of production relations transformed and consumption based on market economy emerged, State directed influence on the architectural has been diminished (Koçak, 2008: 108). Reasoned by “the impossibility of pursuing a national architecture while integrated politically and economically into the international order” and “poor socio-economic status dependent on the rise of construction activities”; architectural style of the buildings came under the influence of a new architectural movement named as the ‘International Architectural Style’ (Tekeli, 1984b: 23). That began to dominate that period’s architectural pattern by the 1950s and office buildings were built according to the recently adopted architectural style.

In this period, commercial character and spatial practices began to dominate ideological and historical Republican identity of the Boulevard. Modern and high storey buildings in terms of this period’s architectural character altered spatial and reprehensive structure of the Boulevard. *Ulus* Office building as one of the first buildings that shaped through the ‘International Architectural Style’ was built in 1950s next to the *Ulus* Square that had a monumental character representing the Republican ideals (Figures 3.43, 3.44). The building entirely altered the spatial organization of *Ulus* Square and its monumentality. Spatial form of the existing square re- shaped and narrowed, also an open space has been designated in front of the building (Koçak: 2008: 109). By reorganization of the square, Atatürk Monument, formerly had been positioned in the middle of the square, moved to the corner of the diminished square and moreover its monumental character has been shadowed by the mass of the building (Koçak: 2008: 109). In this respect, the spatial representation of the square symbolizing administrative power of the Republic has been depressed by the building presenting capitalist business relations.



Figure 3.43: New ‘Representations of space’: *Ulus* office building - ‘international architectural style’; Old ‘Representations of space: ’*Ulus* Square, *Zafer* Monument; *Ulus*, Atatürk Boulevard, 60s – 70s

Source: <http://www.inankara.com.tr> 11 September 2013

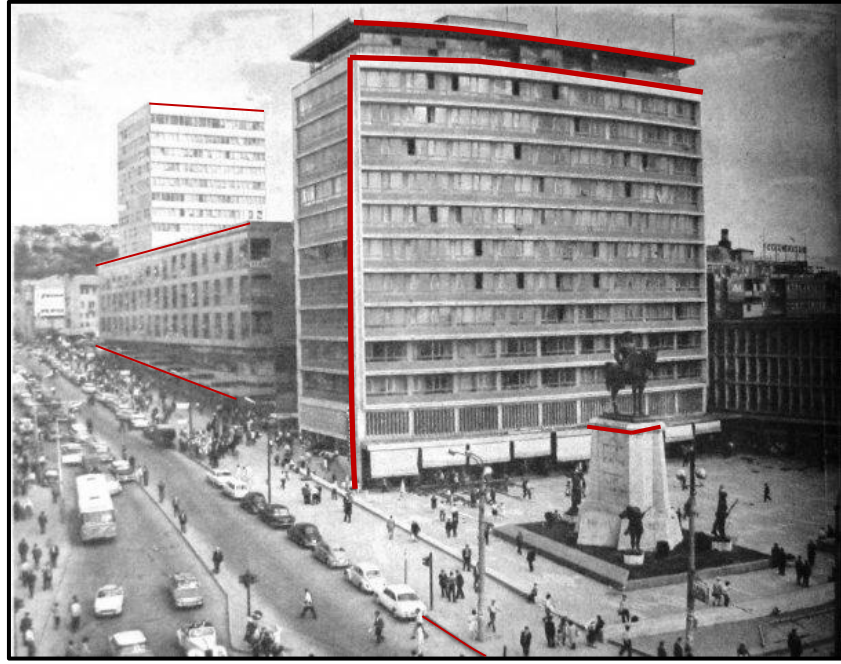


Figure 3.44: New ‘Representations of space’: *Ulus* office building - ‘international architectural style’; Old ‘Representations of space: ’*Ulus* Square, *Zafer* Monument; *Ulus*, Atatürk Boulevard, 60s -70s

Source: <http://www.inankara.com.tr> 11 September 2013

In 1964, *Emek* office building, the first skyscraper in Turkey, was opened at Kızılay Square (Figure 3.45). As Tapan states “the offices tower was combined with lower block of shops and public facilities” and *Gıma*, country’s first department store opened in lower storey, was pioneer of the change in commercial behaviors and spatial patterns on the Boulevard space and at Ankara. *Emek* Office building had been an indicator of growing commercial practices on the Boulevard and by its mass contradicted and dominated on the monumentality of *Güvenpark Anıtı*, Kızılay Square and Administrative District planned and constructed in the 1040s. The skyscraper was then the new symbol on the space that indicates business and commercial character of the Boulevard.

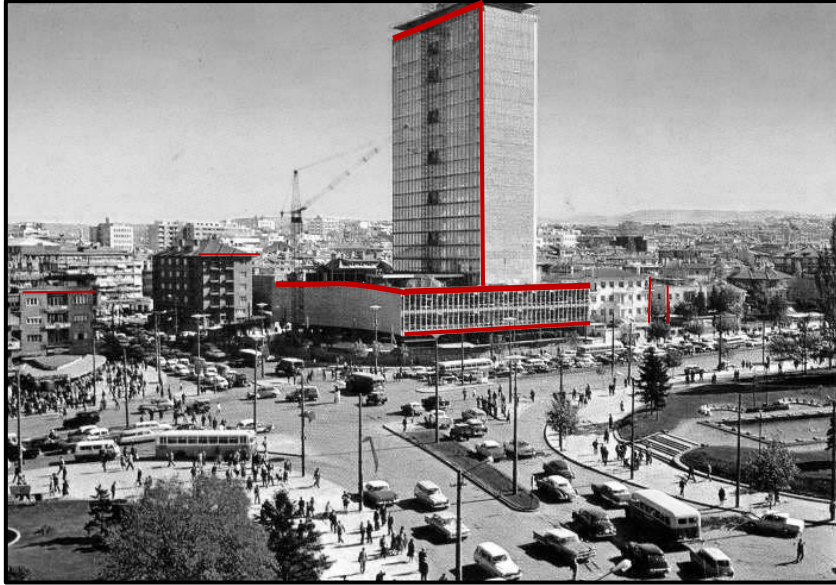


Figure 3.45: New ‘Representations of space’: *Emek* office building, *Gima* Store; Old ‘Representations of space: *Güvenpark*, *Kızılay Park*, *Kızılay Building*; *Kızılay*, Atatürk Boulevard, 60s- 70s

Source: Ankara Postcards and Photography Documents Archive, Belko

On the other hand, by the multiparty system period, attitudes of the political authorities towards public place were different from the former period and demonstrated the identity of *new modernity* understanding through the urban space. The bourgeoisie, who had gained power in politics, consolidated its hegemony through a new understanding of ‘modernity’, which consists of populist discourses, traditional and religious elements (Batuman, 2002: 55). *Kocatepe* Mosque, which has been built on the south part of Kızılay, is the spatial symbol of this new ideological composition. Besides, multi storey *Emek* Office Building that has been built on the center of the Boulevard in 1960’s was designed to present the power of capital and to integrate the technological development concept with the modernity idea (Batuman, 2002: 58). Skyscraper was not solely a symbol for the capital as a spatial instrument but it also reproduced the capital. By the 3-storey shopping center at the lower building supports the consumption activity also becomes a representation for the changing consumption practices on the Boulevard. By this way, monuments that symbolize the Democratic governance of the Republic has been replaced by the image of the new trends, after 1960s. In other words, the Boulevard, which have been once idealized as a social and cultural focus of Republican publicness, now become the *manifestation place of the altering political power and economic trends*.

Ataturk Boulevard is a representative space with the uses and the symbols on it and it reflects the dominant powers and discourses. As Habermas stated, public place is a determining status area and defines the representative power of the governing authorities (Sargin, 2002: 10). While the representative spaces of the Republican period were

democratic government institutions, political monuments- statues, *halkevi*, new social, cultural and recreation activities hold together by public space pattern; after 60s, the representatives spaces of the changing political powers and the capital relations began to conflict with the representations of the Republic and overshadowed it on the physical and symbolical space (Figures 3.46, 3.47).



Figure 3.46: Republican ‘Representations of space: *Zafer Square and Zafer- Gazi Sculpture, Sıhhiye, Atatürk Boulevard, 60s*

Source: Archive of Baykan Günay

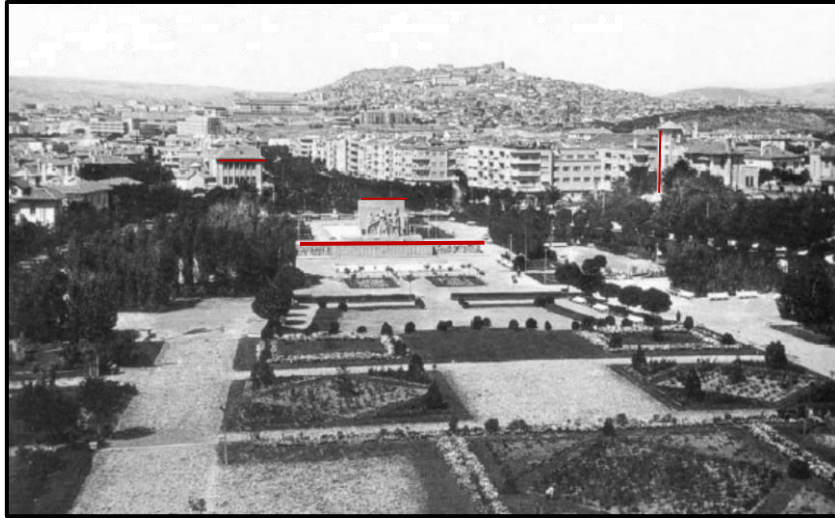


Figure 3.47: Republican ‘Representations of space: *Güvenpark* and *Güvenlik* Monument, *Kızılay*, Atatürk Boulevard, 60s

Source: Archive of Baykan Günay

Democratic Party period (Demokrat Parti) brought multiple urban problems because of the discourses and solutions that the government proposed had been mostly determined by the demands of the low rank- migrant urban groups. Economic problems were followed by the mass migrations from rural to urban; as well as, the inadequacy of employment opportunities and urban services has resulted the emergence of the informal sectors in the urban economy. Small-scale *işporta* (stand) business, unqualified working class, unplanned and illegal urban growth (*gecekondu* settlements) and *dolmuş* (minibus), which is a private enterprise of public transportation, was new concepts of the recent Ankara reality. This (non) urban population and its (non) urban practices was feeding the new government power and was becoming the predominant class in terms of re-producing the urban space.

By the end of 1950s, the group unfamiliar to urban life livening the squatter areas by the new opportunities of transportation (such as *dolmuş*) started to use city center extensively that resulted in the heterogenisation of the users. *Kızılay* has become accessible also for all income groups and *Kızılay* transformed into a life scene on which the low-income groups could also take place. Batuman (2002: 63) explained this diversity in that year, as; Atatürk Boulevard was “a place for the daily life luxury consumption necessities of bourgeois, business district for the great capital, a politic arena for the rising labor protests, a status demonstration for the people coming from squatter areas to be in contact with the urban.” While *Kızılay* region still served as a residential related area for the high-income groups, it had provided working opportunities for the low-income groups (Batuman, 2002: 63). The low-income groups began to have the dominant role of reproducing the space rather than to be just an observer. Batuman explains this transformation by the Set Cafeteria example,

which is located on the terrace of *Emek* Office and the high-income groups isolated themselves from the “socially polluted center” by the “sterilized enclosed spaces” and transformed the chaos of the boulevard into a “urban theatre” to watch from the distance (2002: 63). “Bourgeois kept their distance from public places and look down on the ordinary users” (Batuman, 2002: 63). From the beginning of 1960’s, *Kızılay* had become an urban center, which serves not only to bourgeoisie but also to all the different groups of citizens.

Boulevard was now not only a space of Republican governance functions nor elite social and cultural occasions, but is a commercial spine where the city center related activities are concentrated. In the 1950s and 1960s, commercial activities concentrated in *Kızılay* targeting upper and middle-upper income groups. *Ulus* and *Kızılay* began to operate as dual city centers of Ankara, in similar functions but for different socio - economic groups. *Kızılay* featured as the new city center, where high quality social and commercial activities concentrated for the upper class. As Şenyapılı states, among shops, hotels and recreational areas, the ones had “luxury character” were located in *Kızılay*, the other with lower qualities were located in *Ulus* (2012:217). As early as 1955, the buildings in *Kızılay* were allowed to arrange shopping arcades on their ground floors (Şenyapılı, 20012: 216). The various stores on the Boulevard sold luxuries goods for the middle and upper class, also modern restaurants and patisseries created new spatial practices (Figures 3.48- 3.55).

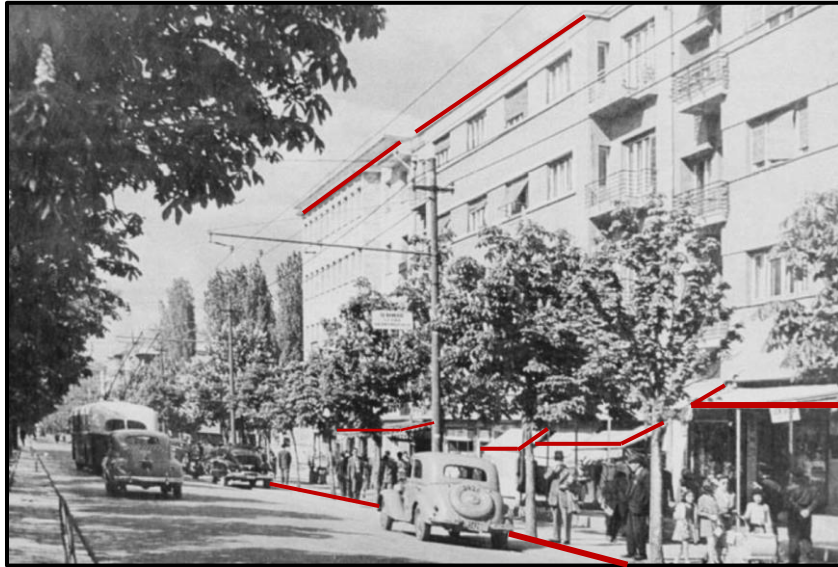


Figure 3.48: Shopping and walking under tents, as the new boulevard ‘spatial practice’, Atatürk Boulevard, 50s

Source: Archive of Baykan Günay

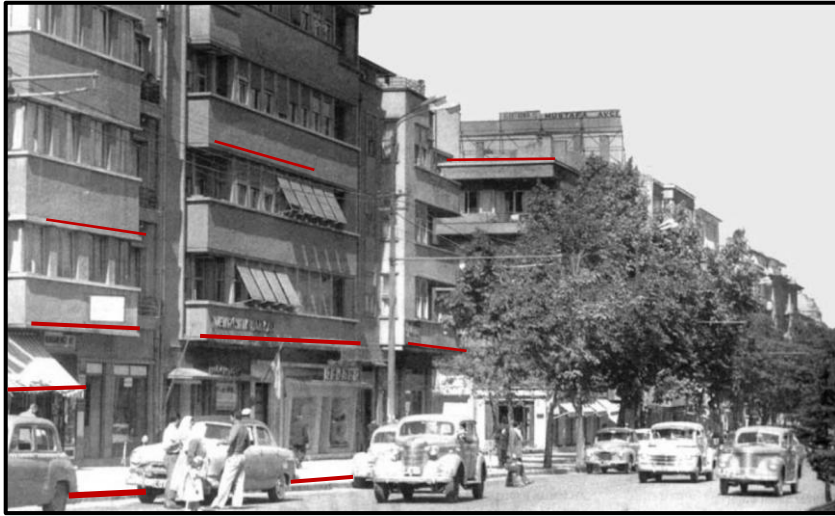


Figure 3.49: Offices and shops as the new boulevard ‘spatial practices’, Atatürk Boulevard, 50s 60s

Source: Archive of BaykanGünay



Figure 3.50: ABC Store, Offices and shops as the new boulevard ‘spatial practices’, Atatürk Boulevard, 60s

Source: www.wowturkey.com 24 September 2013



Figure 3.51: *ABC Store*, Offices and shops as the new ‘spatial practices’, Atatürk Boulevard, 60s -70s

Source: www.wowturkey.com (Personal archive of Osman Toklu) 11 September 2013

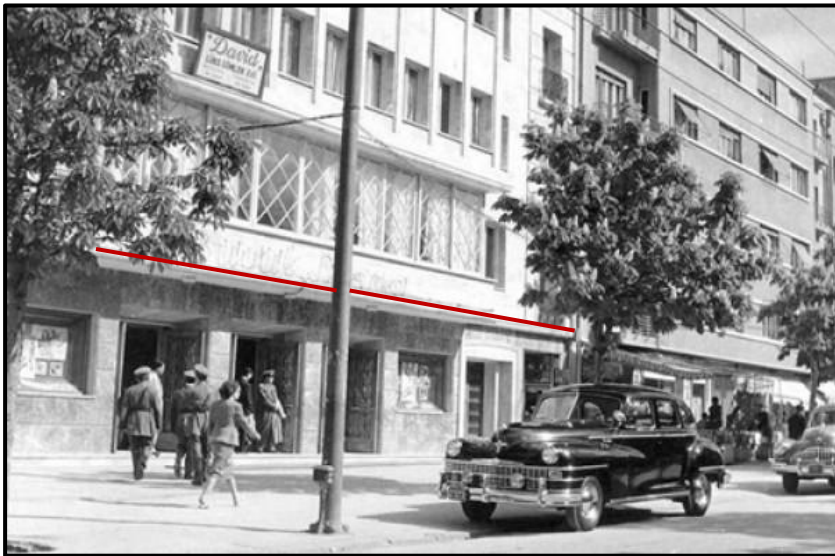


Figure 3.52: *Büyük Cinema* and *Meram Patisserie* as the new ‘spatial practices’, Atatürk Boulevard, *Yenişehir*, 50s

Source: VEKAM Archive



Figure 3.53: *Büyük Cinema* and *Meram Patisserie* as the new ‘spatial practices’, 1956

Source: www.wowturkey.com 11 September 2013



Figure 3.54: *Piknik* dem-bistro Café as the new ‘spatial practices’, *Yenişehir (Sıhhiye – Tuna Street)*, Atatürk Boulevard, 50s

Source: www.ergir.com 11 September 2013

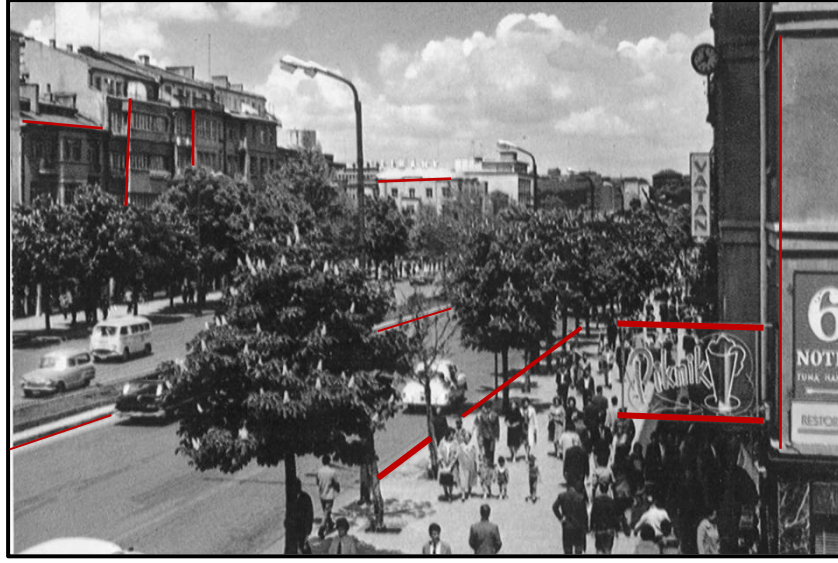


Figure 3.55: *Piknik* dem-bistro Café as the new ‘spatial practices’, *Sıhhiye, Yenışehir*, Ataturk Boulevard, 60s – 70s

Source: VEKAM Archive

On the other hand, the boulevard of the 1960’s had witnessed the political tension of the economic difficulties. Public opposition against the Democrat Party expressed themselves on the public space and sidewalks witnessed the police power against public. Public space, in this frame, had become the subject of society-government struggle. Government, which wanted to dominate the public space, controlled and regulated the space and the acts on it. First, bus and *dolmuş* stops had been moved to other places, then the movie theatres were shut down and the groups including more than 10 people had been banned to walk on the Boulevard (Batuman, 2002: 61). Besides, Meeting and Protest March Act, which has come into force in 1963, have banned the protests that were placed in the 1 km distant near to the Parliament. However, in the following years, the politic struggle continued and even increased as protests went on over the public space and its dominancy. *Sidewalks of otherness*, in this period, have become the *legitimacy stage of social opposition against the state, and subject of control by the state*.

Kızılay became the place of political demonstrations against Democrat Party Government, by the 1960s. Large number of students was gathering for political demonstration at University Faculties around *Cebeci* and *Kızılay*. In April 1960, the universities in Ankara closed by the reason of the clash occurred in the Faculty of Political Sciences in Ankara, aftermath the demonstrations (Batuman, 2002: 61) (Figures 3.56, 3.57). In this period, sidewalks were not anymore where people had been strolling or a choice of going somewhere on foot, but a tool for the political demonstrations where people were gathering in large groups and reoccupied – reutilized the sidewalk space. Against these

demonstrations, government aimed to get control over protests and protesters by “dominancy on organization of space” (Harvey, 1997: 250). After the Military intervention did happened at May 27, 1960, as an example of the control of the space by the regulations and restrictions of the government regarding the sidewalk space established a new discourse on sidewalks and formed the new *pedestrianism* perspectives of authorities, designers and users (Figure 3.58).



Figure 3.57: Demonstrations of Students as the new ‘spatial practices’, *Kızılay*, Atatürk Boulevard, April 29 1960

Source: www.wowturkey.com

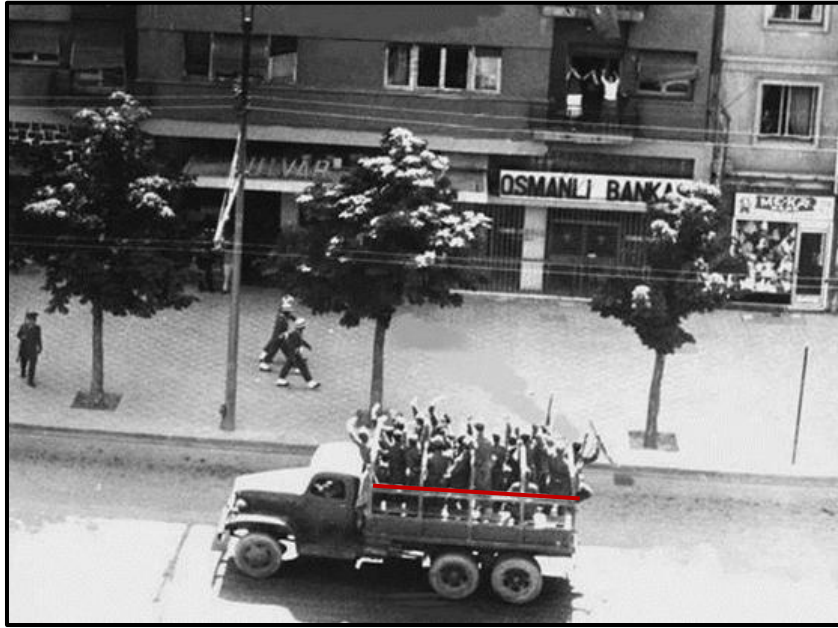


Figure 3.56: Demonstrations of Students and military power as the new ‘spatial practices’, Kızılay, Atatürk Boulevard, April 29 1960

Source: www.wowturkey.com 11 September 2013

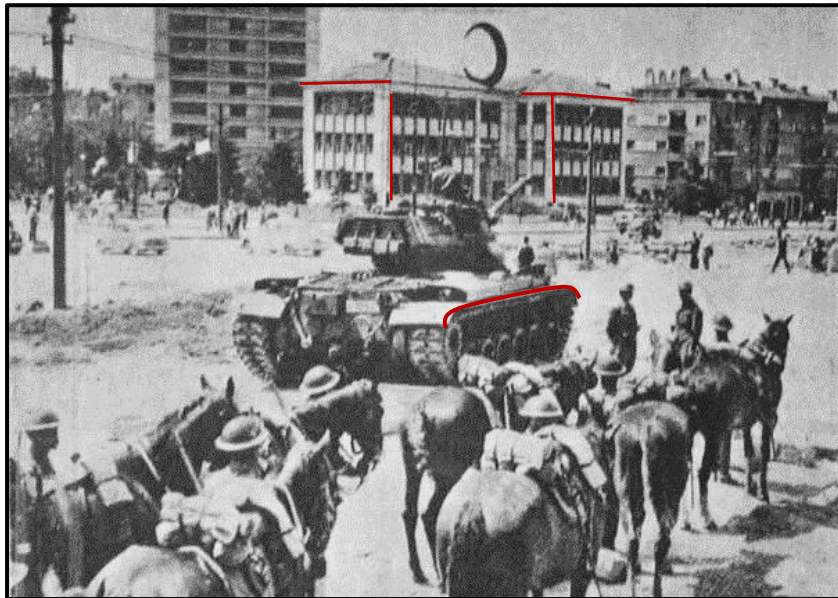


Figure 3.58: Control of space and practices, Ordered Curfew, Military intervention, Kızılay, Atatürk Boulevard, May 27, 1960

Source: www.ergir.com 23 May 2013

The problems occurred and decisions taken in the second phase of Ankara Planning was resulted in the increase in the density of vehicles and people. Following the migration from rural areas to the urban that resulted in the increase of urgent sheltering necessities led to squatter areas emerge in the periphery areas and resulted transportation necessities, which were followed by the emergence of *dolmus*, consequently caused the boulevard traffic became denser and chaotic (Figures 3.59, 3.60). On the other hand, as the mobilized vehicles became common in urban transportation, the highway formation became one of the main factors that direct the urban macro form. In this context, to meet with the requirements of increasing trend of urban motorized transit, also to direct rapid urban growth, additional highway roads (Konya and Samsun Highways) were connected to the Boulevard. So that, the increasing pressure in the heart of the city was tried to be decreased with the transportation-oriented plans. Hence, Ataturk Boulevard has taken the role of being the major transportation route of the city instead of being the public spine, in the following years.

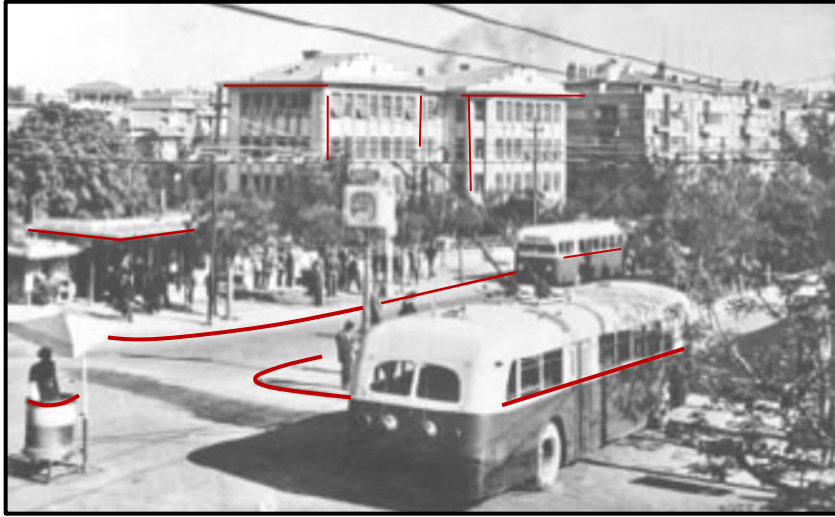


Figure 3.59: Trolleybus and bus stops on the Boulevard, *Kızılay*, 50s -60s

Source: www.wowturkey.com 11 September 2013

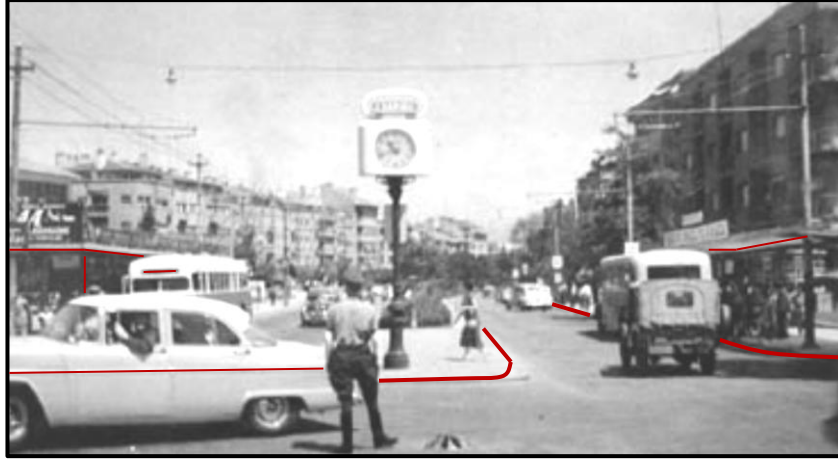


Figure 3.60: Traffic on the Boulevard, *Kızılay*, 60s

Source: www.wowturkey.com 11 September 2013

Therefore, functional character of the Boulevard serving urban transportation tended towards the ideologies and political motivation belongs to new modern Capital city, after 1950s. Boulevard, which was once the spine of the Republican representation and societal progress, has gone ahead rapidly transforming into a traffic channel. In this frame, as mobility became the primary concern regarding the street space, prominence once sidewalks get by planners and authorities in the Early Republican Period and especially by the Jansen Plan has been depleted.

Furthermore, caused by the traffic pressure on the boulevard the sidewalks lost its significance for decision makers. As a result, while road space of boulevard had been decided to be widened, the green segment on the middle of the boulevard got narrower (Dinçer, 2009: 31) (Figures 3.61- 3.68). In this respect, after 1960's, the Atatürk Boulevard space has been the struggle place of its two users: vehicle and human, and after 1970's the vehicles would be the dominant one. Sidewalks, in this context, was not anymore an ideal instrument of ideal society provided through the state will; besides, had a new meaning - as the *last sovereign place of the citizen in the form of the pedestrian* who tried not to be disappeared within the context of changing urban trends, the new transportation and communication concepts.



Figure 3.61: Widening project, reconstruction of the Boulevard and sidewalks, 60s

Source: www.wowturkey.com 11 September 2013

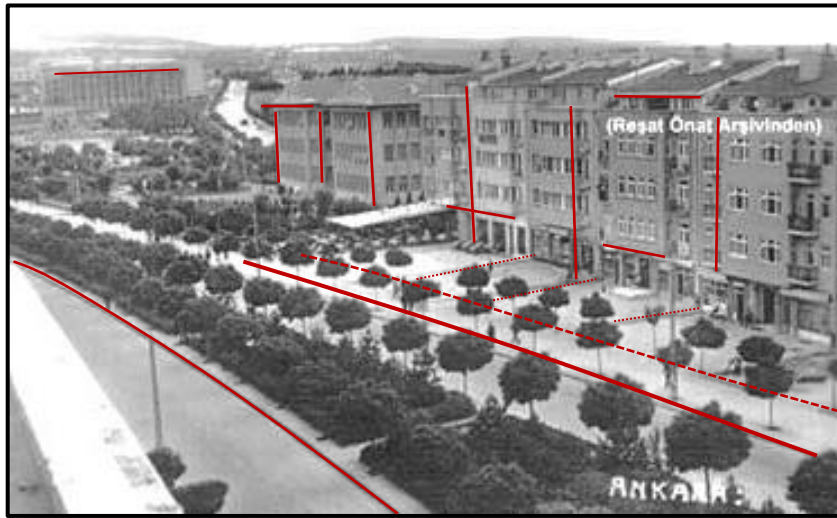


Figure 3.62: Middle segment and sidewalk, before widening project of the Boulevard, (on the background old *Kızılay* Building and TBMM), 60s

Source: www.ergir.com (Archive of Reşat Önal) 23 May 2013

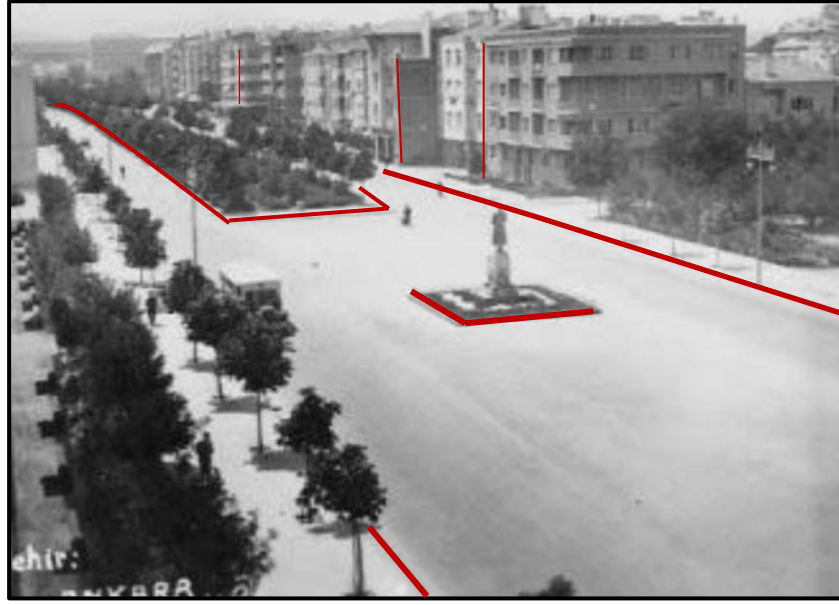


Figure 3.63: Middle segment and sidewalk, before widening project of the Boulevard, *Zafer* Square to *Kızılay* direction, 60s

Source: Ankara Postcards and Photography Documents Archive, Belko

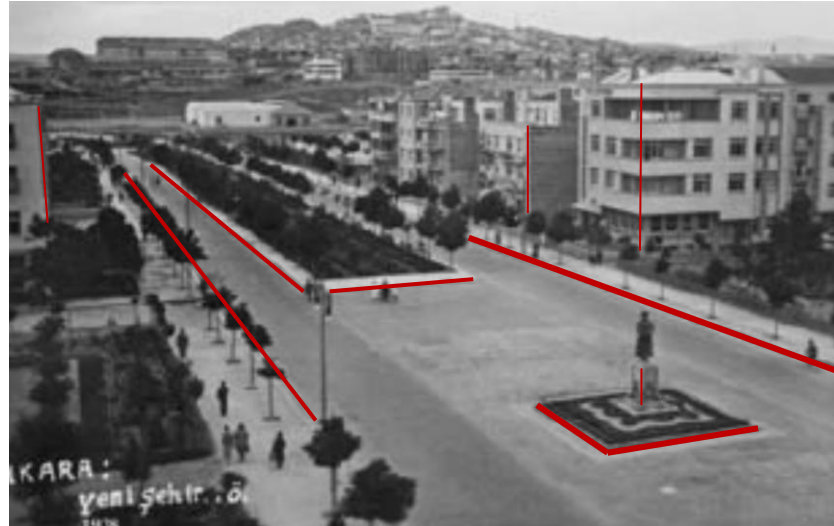


Figure 3.64: Middle segment and sidewalk, before widening project of the Boulevard, *Zafer* Square to *Ulus* direction, 40s-50s

Source: Ankara Postcards and Photography Documents Archive, Belko

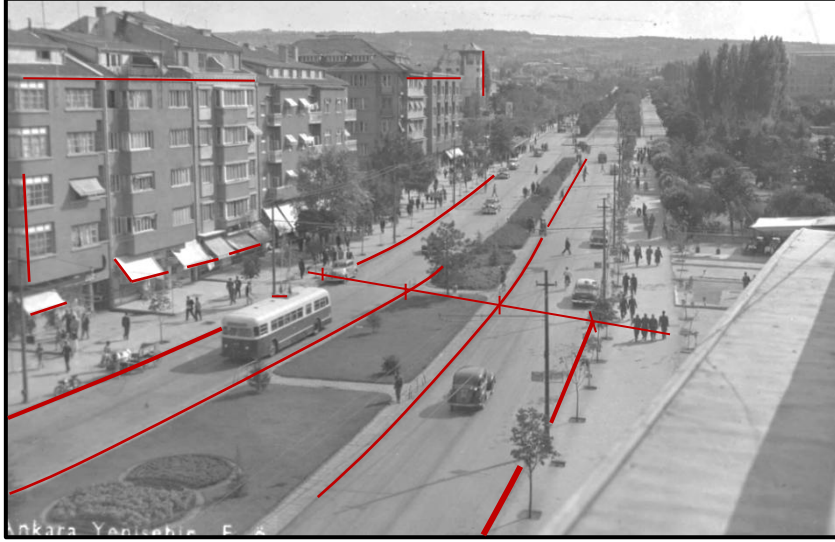


Figure 3.65: Middle segment and sidewalk, before widening project of the Boulevard, *Zafer* Square to *Kızılay* direction, 50s - 60s

Source: Ankara Postcards and Photography Documents Archive, Belko

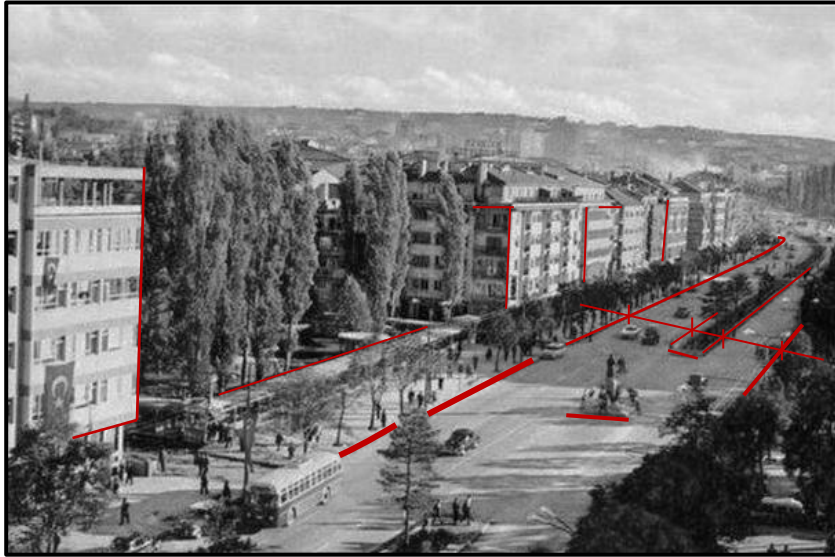


Figure 3.66: Middle segment and sidewalk, after widening project of the Boulevard, *Zafer* Square to *Kızılay* direction, 60s – 70s

Source: VAKEM Archive



Figure 3.67: Middle segment, after widening project of the Boulevard, *Zafer Square*, 60s-70s

Source: www.inankara.com 11 September 2013

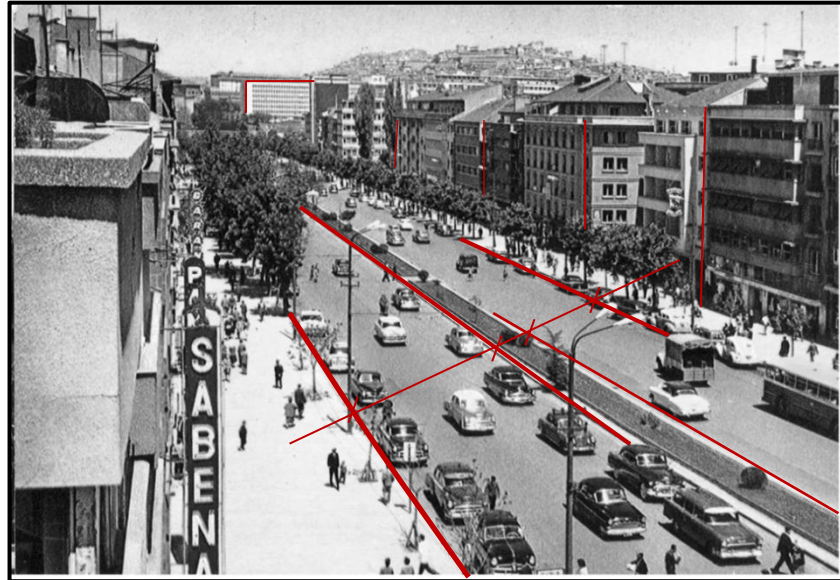


Figure 3.68: Middle segment and sidewalk, after widening project of the Boulevard, *Zafer Square* to *Ulus* direction, 60s- 70s

Source: VAKEM Archive

Sidewalks of Ataturk Boulevard had continued to be the space of social interaction and confrontation up to 1970's; however, the increased building stock and consequently increasing people and vehicle density weakened the public character of the Boulevard. The unique character of the Boulevard was inherited its Republican public identity; however, after 1950s public life did not improve parallel to the human density. In Jansen's Plan, Boulevard was a *public advancement spine* that anticipated with limited density and the pattern of concentrated activities of social, cultural, artistic facilities. In the plan, while the commercial uses were restricted to a low level; the institutions that push forward the social progress also spatial representatives of the modern state were designed as a pattern working together with every-day life along the Boulevard. However, after 1960's, the spaces that represents the Turkish Republic was dominated by the leisure consumption activities. Sidewalks of the Atatürk Boulevard were not anymore an *instrument / stage of the intended social progress* designated as *the modern society stage*, as that had become *the subsidiary of consumption activities* on the Boulevard and *a tool for economic development*. In this perspective, the daily life on the boulevard became ordinary and Republican public life had to be lost. However, Ataturk Boulevard had kept its public character as being the meeting place for different groups and activities, until 70s.

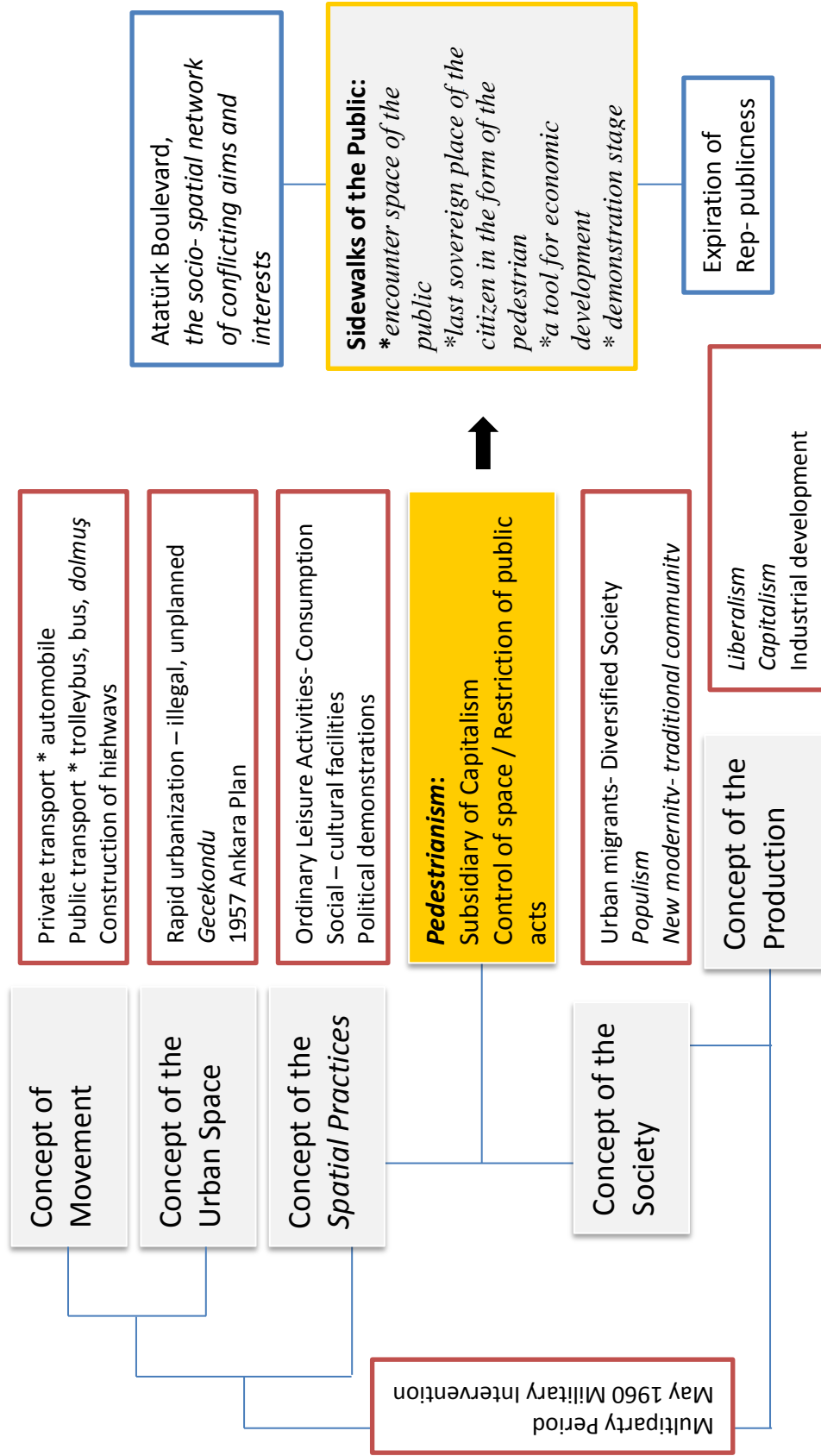


Figure 3.69: Context and concepts of the Sidewalks of the Public

Source: Personal rendering

3.3.1.1970 - 1980 Context: Military Memoranda, Economic Depression, Social Politic Polarization

As the result of the increased political demonstrations and events according at the streets in the late 60s, a military note announced on March 12, 1971 reasoning social and economic unrest through the country. By this way, multi-party politics had been suspended again by military memoranda up to year of 1973.

An economic depression came into existence through the end of this period, related to the ongoing import substitution economic policies continued until the middle of 1970s.

From the institutional perspective of this period, in order the conduct planning studies of Metropolitan Master Plan Bureau of Ankara (*Ankara Nazım İmar Plan Bürosu*) was established in 1970; and in the light of carefully carried analyses, successfully carried out the preparation of long term urban development strategies and planning of investment projects in coordination with relevant institutions (Altaban, 1998; 57).

Most important decision of the Bureau regarding the formation of Ankara was to planning governance services, since administrative functions were deemed as the most important and effective components of the capital city. As Altaban claims, the Master Plan Bureau provided the location choice matter of public institutions as a strategy to direct urban development and spatial development (1998). In this frame, new location for second Administrative District had been envisaged on Eskişehir Road, in order to direct city to develop towards the western corridor; that altered the spatial organization of city and accelerated other decentralization activities. In addition, locational choices of other complex institutions as universities took place on Eskişehir Road in the form of large campuses, in these years.

However, the approach of alienating urban administrative functions from the urban public life contradicted to Republican understanding of urbanism that supports the unity between buildings, people and city, in the frame of social and spatial interaction. According to Keskinok, planning approaches and spatial organization of city in the Republican period based on the principle of populism can be seen as the indicator of idealized connection between administration and citizens (2006: 73). Administrative District had been planned by Jansen in *Kızılay* together with pedestrian links, parks and squares and as the political center of the city had been regarded as spatial representation of nation state and centralization of power. In this context, decentralization and fragmentation decision of administrative buildings from the central city can refer to intentionally depolitization of *Kızılay* and Atatürk Boulevard, differently from Early Republican period and its ideological ideals on space.

Since 1950s, Ankara had a dual composition of housing consisting *gecekondu* areas in peripheries and apartment blocks in the central areas. In this period, sixty-five percent of Ankara is comprised of immigrants and most of them were living in *gecekondu* areas

(Yavuz, 1973: 31). On the other hand, cooperatives and large scale housing projects began to take build and sell system's place, as land costs increased enormously. So, building of apartments as an upward trend continued until the end of the 1960s slowed down and being way of housing supply based on market mechanism were designed to appeal to upper classes rather than solving the problem for middle and lower socio- economic groups (Tekeli, 1979).

Housing as a matter of urban concern was handled as the city's essential problem by the municipalities, in this period. *Akkondu (Batıkent)* mass housing settlement, targeting lower income groups, had been one of the most important projects of the municipal administration in period of Vedat Dalokay administration between 1973 and 1977. Also infrastructural services were supplied for the *gecekondu* areas by the municipality in this period. On the other hand, in the period of Ali Dinçer administration, between 1977 and 1980, municipality had been in collaboration with METU, Department of City and Regional Planning for the *Batıkent* project and *Batıkent* Housing Cooperative Union (KENTKOOP) was established in order to organize the project. In addition, *Aydınlıkevler* Housing Complex of *Türk -İş* and mass housing projects by Emlak Bank was other large-scale housing projects by implemented by institutions.

In this period, car ownership increased rapidly in the wake of automobile production picked up steam as domestic production started. While other modes of transportation as *dolmuş* or minibus can be indicated as the outcomes of the urban rapid expansion, the automobile itself became influential in the spatial organization of the city and bring out the uncontrolled expansion. Moreover, as Tekeli and Okyay claims (1981: 67), authorities did not attach importance to planning of public transportation system by the advance in automobile, therefore public transportation remained insufficient in the city and activity of *dolmuş* and minibus even became more widespread.

In this period by the municipal administrations, projects for structural problems of the city as well as municipal services had been produced. It was the municipal period of Vedat Dolakay when that the study on construction of an underground system (metro) had started. In addition, arrangements of city roads and junctions and a 'special bus lane' was introduced as an attempt to provide a remedy in city traffic (Tekeli and Okyay, 1981: 82).

In these years, political polarization between students became more evident and reflected on space in the form of ideologically identified spaces and districts under the control of certain political groups. Demonstrations took place at *Kızılay* as the result of economic depression through the end of 1970s. Public spaces as streets, sidewalks and bus stops were targets of violent acts that brought out the prohibitions of acts and strict control measures on space. Atatürk Boulevard, where once everybody exchanged greetings turned out to be the place where political slogans had been shouted, whilst even standing on streets inferred political meaning.

3.3.2.1970- 1980 Concept: *Sidewalks of Otherness: Occupation of the Sidewalk by Social and Political Struggle*

By the beginning of 1970's social life had come under the political struggle and violence, the Boulevard and sidewalks became *the legitimate ground for populist opposition*. Although public life anticipation on Atatürk Boulevard in the Early Republican Period can be understood as an exclusionist and repressive, it had been designed with an ideal to integrate and interplay the differences of society. However, until 70s, while Ataturk Boulevard had been becoming a space on where the public pattern and pluralism could be expressed freely; by the violence, pressure and controlling, it has transformed into a 'representation of public space' where certain groups has the dominancy. Until the 1980's, the political violence and governmental control had found its place in the public practices (Figures 3.70, 3.71).



Figures 3.70, 3.71: Political violence and governmental control, Ankara, 70s

Source: www.haberturk.com 19 August 2013

The social collaboration faded away on the squares and sidewalks of the Boulevard, while social polarization reflected on the space as it became concrete in the political level (Batuman, 2002: 66). Multiple political organization groups and the identity took even some neighborhoods and the belonging was tried to be defined by the violence acts. For political identities, the public space became the *space of manifestation* as once for bourgeois. However, manifestation strategy of the dominant groups in the public space was consisting taking the space under control by violence, as their way of control was the restriction of the social rights and the destruction of the social space. Opponents and the other certain groups have occupied the sidewalks and this was resulted in that the other users left the sidewalks. Ataturk Boulevard sidewalks were the space that its publicness had

been controlled and restricted and the social identity of public space had been faced violence. Thus, sidewalks had become a destructed daily life scene, which has been fragmented, controlled and restricted (Figure 3.72).



Figure 3.72: Boulevard and sidewalks as a controlled and restricted life scene, Atatürk Boulevard, 70s

Source: www.wowturkey.com 19 August 2013

On the other hand, while *Kızılay* served as the primary city center in the period, its user profile also became more ambivalent, as attracting more people from varied districts of the city by the help of new transportation opportunities. In this period, administrative functions, commercial, and business services proceeded to become diversified and denser around *Kızılay*. Accordingly, shops and restaurants changed in character and services and products supplied ranged in variety in price and quality to attract a wide mass of consumers; in result ordinary shops, quick food “döner” and sandwich houses became widespread on the Boulevard. Osmay explains this transition by the phrase: “One could observe a sudden increase in the number of shops which sell arabesque music cassettes” (1998: 147). On the other hand, *Tunali Hilmi Avenue*, located around South direction of Atatürk Boulevard parallel, stated to develop as new commercial district, by the opening of

new shopping boutiques and entertainment place for middle upper income groups. *Kugulu* Park that is located on the intersection of the Boulevard was arranged and opened to the public in these years. On the other hand, *Ulus* began to serve for a distinct user profile, noted by Osmay as “low salaried inner and out city workers, city servants and visitors who come to Ankara for Business and other purposes” by its restaurants and cheap hotels (1998: 146).

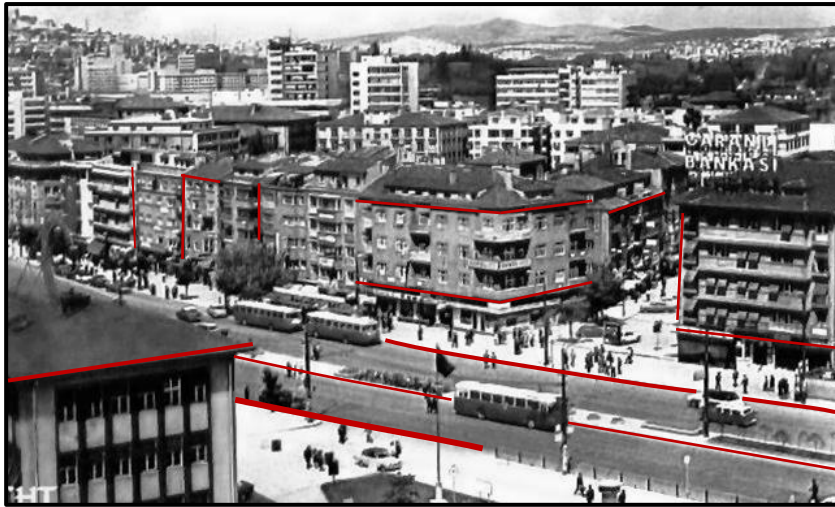


Figure 3.73: Transforming building stock- boulevards scape- boulevard life, *Kızılay*, Atatürk Boulevard, 1977

Source: www.wowturkey.com 11 September 2013

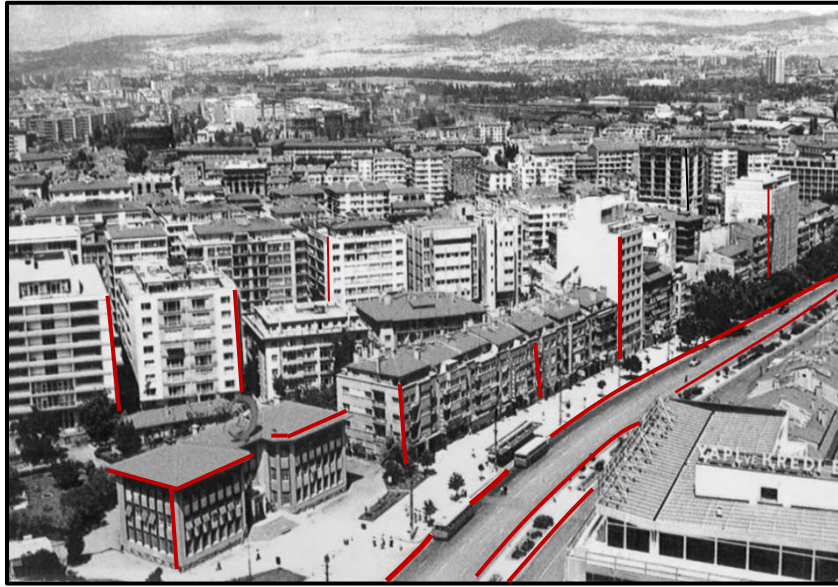


Figure 3.74: Transforming building stock- boulevards scape- boulevard life, *Kızılay* to *Ulus* direction, Ataturk Boulevard, 70s - before the year 1979

Source: www.inankara.com 11 September 2013

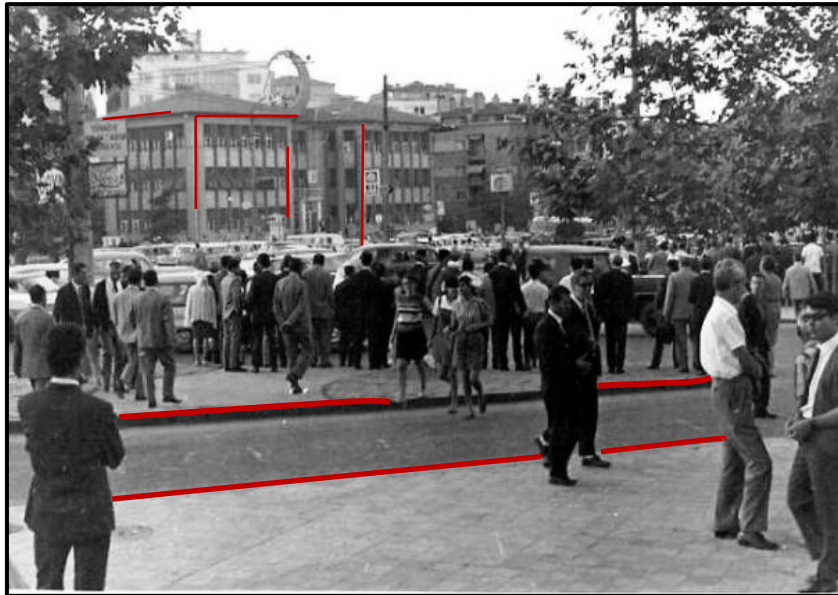


Figure 3.75: Transforming boulevard life, *Pedestrian* and *vehicle* intensity, *Kızılay* Junction, Ataturk Boulevard, 70s

Source: www.inankara.com 15March 2013

In the period, the image of Hittite Sun Disk was declared as the symbol of Ankara and its statue was erected in Sıhhiye Square in 1978. Additionally, a large area in *Sıhhiye* was prepared for the project of *Abdi İpekçi* Park that would symbolized political resistance and open later in 1981 (Figure 3.76).

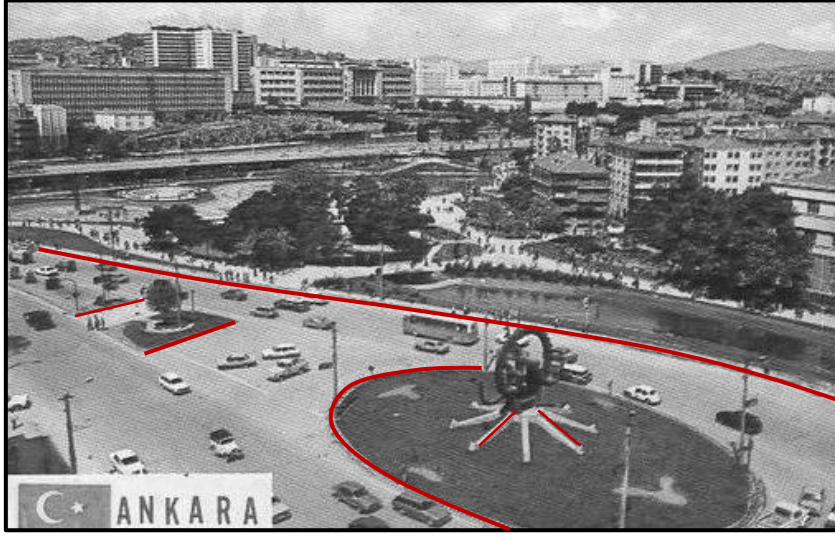


Figure 3.76: *Sıhhiye* Junction and *Abdi İpekçi* Patk, Hittite Sun Disk as the new symbols of Ankara, Atatürk Boulevard, the end of 70s- 80s

Source: Ankara Postcards and Photography Documents Archive, Belko, Ankara

The space of boulevard, from on 1970's has been dominated by vehicle traffic and the proposed solution did not go beyond to attract more traffic to the boulevard (Figures 3.77, 3.78, 3.79). At the end of this process, what was sacrificed were the public space and life on the Boulevard. In this period, the physical dimensions of Atatürk Boulevard Sidewalks had been the target of a great intervention. By Vedat Dalokay, who was a mayor of Ankara between 73 and 77, special bus lanes introduced to control traffic on the boulevard and for that purpose pedestrian area narrowed again (Kesim, 2009: 122) (Figure 3.80). The vehicle lane, which had been 30 m wide in 1940, reached to 50 m including the sidewalks on both two sides and the refuge, in 1980 (Batuman, 2002: 67). After 1980's, by the increased density of traffic on the boulevard, destruction of the sidewalks has rapidly grown to the greatest extend. In fact, dimensions of the sidewalks today are the setback distances of buildings and owned by the private property.

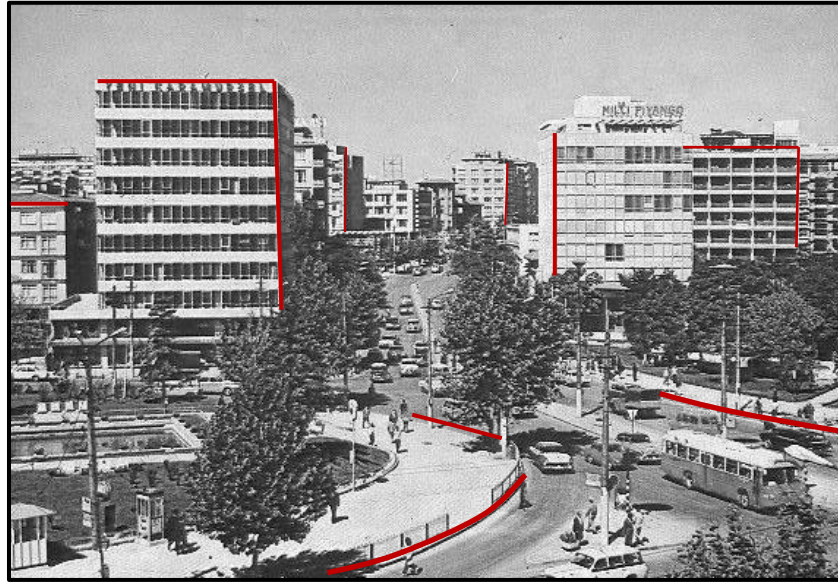


Figure 3.77: *Kızılay* Junction, transforming building stock, Ataturk Boulevard, 70s
Source: www.inankara.com 11 September 2013

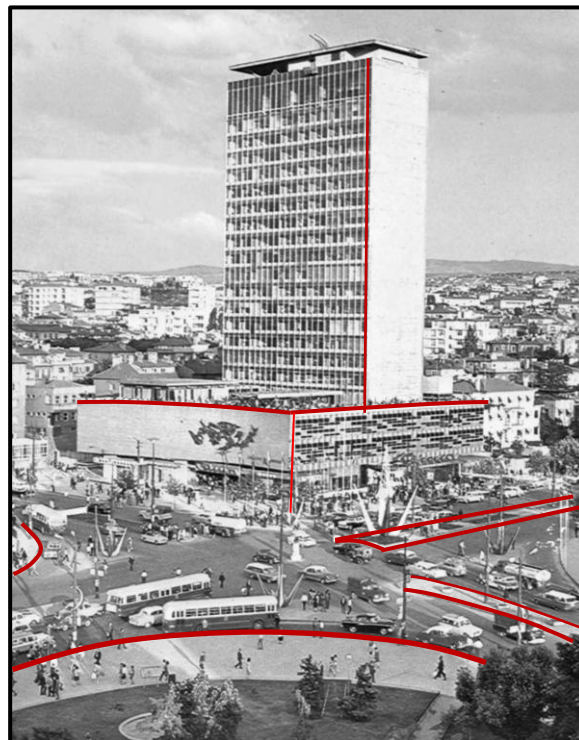


Figure 3.78: *Kızılay* Junction, Boulevard space was devoted to cars, new ‘representation of space’ and its practices: *Emek* Office Building, Ataturk Boulevard, 70s
Source: www.inankara.com 11 September 2013

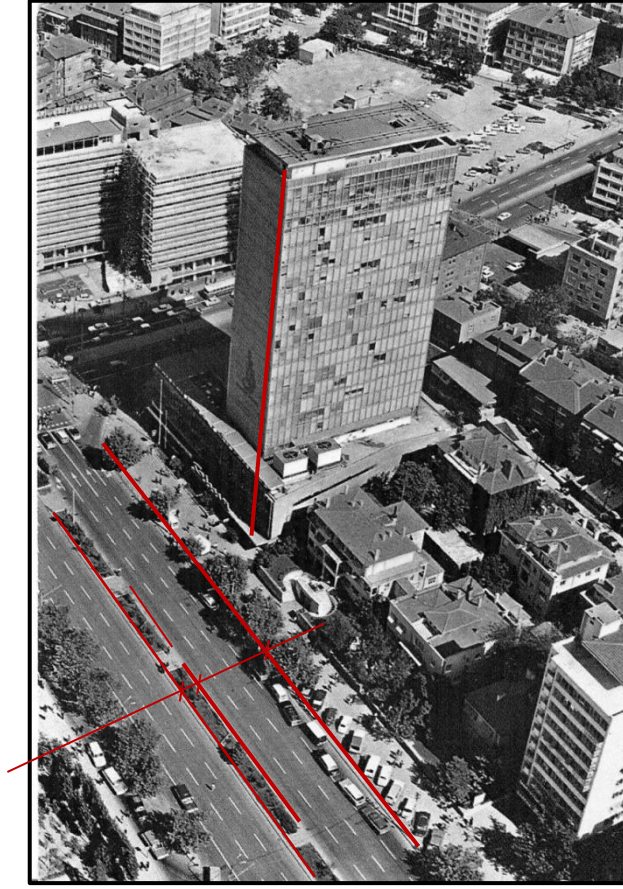


Figure 3.79: Narrowed middle segment and sidewalks, Boulevard space was devoted to cars, new ‘representation of space’ and its practices: *Emek* Office Building, Atatürk Boulevard, 70s

Source: www.inankara.com 11 September 2013

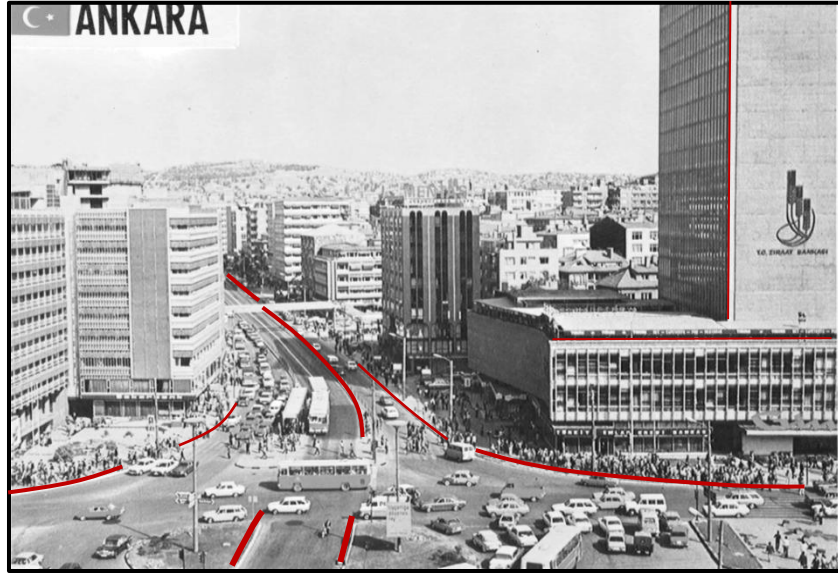


Figure 3.80: *Kızılay Junction*; the second road widening project: introduced bus lanes, crowd on the narrowed sidewalks; new ‘representations of space’: *Emek Office Building*, *Gima Store*, Ataturk Boulevard, end of 70s - 80s

Source: Ankara Postcards and Photography Documents Archive, Belko, Ankara

The 1970’s were the period that Ataturk Boulevard has lost its publicness while had already lost its Republican representativeness. One of the main reason/ actor of the public life destruction on the sidewalks was the regulation and removal of the social activity places. The spaces of gastronomic activities such as patisseries, restaurants, cafes (such as *Piknik*) placed along the Boulevard that has been socially and physically in interaction with outer space left the Boulevard (Batuman, 2002: 67). Another intervention that made a dent in the public life of the sidewalks was the destruction of the social - green places, which provides and reproduces the publicness along the boulevard. In this period, *Güvenpark*, which has been the largest and the most central park of the Boulevard, was spatially fragmented to reserve space for bus and *dolmuş* stops and has been transformed to the “transportation gate of the city”. In a coordinated percept, *Kızılay Park* that was “designed as a stage for Republican publicness” after *Kızılay Building* were demolished in 1979 used as a parking area for a long period. (Batuman, 2002: 68). However, between 1970 and 1995, newly arranged pedestrian places like Sakarya, İzmir Street gained importance in terms of pedestrian activities (Figure 3.81).



Figure 3.81: *Sakarya Street*, pedestrianization – re arrangement of human aspects, Atatürk Boulevard, 70s

Source: www.inankara.com 11 September 2013

To conclude, the only reason of public abundance of Atatürk Boulevard sidewalks was not the inferences on the spatial environment, also the political period broke apart the people from the Boulevard. As Dinçer states, until the 1970's, The Atatürk Boulevard was a place for a leisure walk after the cessation of work (2009, 32). He also implied that after 1970s, The Atatürk Boulevard sidewalks had turned into a "walking band", in the words "*yürüyüp geçilen*" by the aim of transportation (2009, 32). Finally, society withdrew from the Boulevard and its leisure life practices eroded from the sidewalks. As sidewalks had already lost its publicness and the social space qualities, have become even more exposed for the violence and municipality interventions. As a result, as traffic took place of the *pedestrian*, urban public practices were replaced by new control measures of space. In 1970s, as sidewalks of Atatürk Boulevard was 'perceived' as the space of 'otherness' reutilized by opposition groups, meanwhile became the scene for the abandoned social life and controlled -restricted publicness.

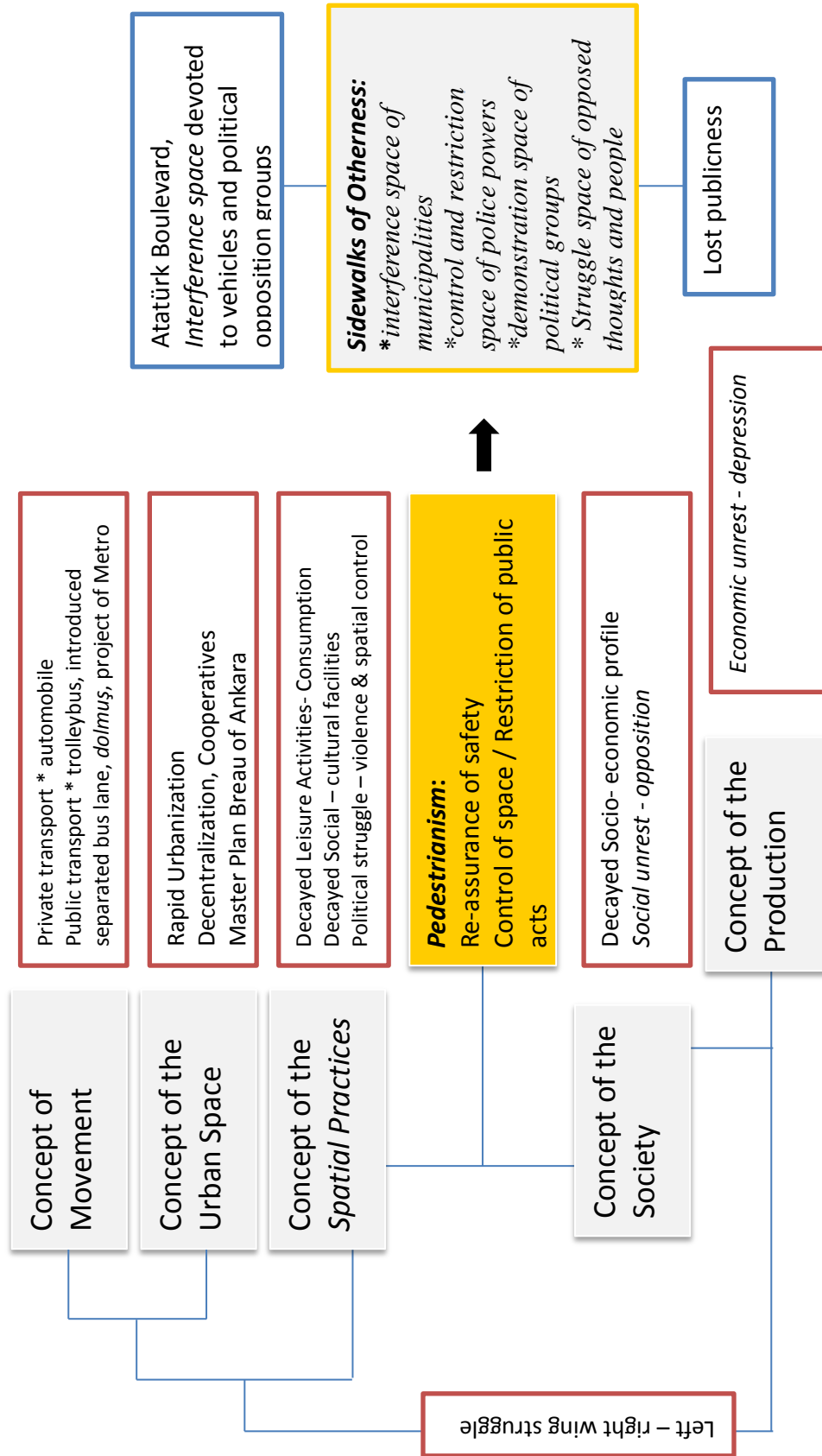


Figure 3.82: Context and concepts of the *Sidewalks of Otherness*

Source: Personal rendering

3.4.1.1980- 1994 Context: The September 12, Neo- liberal Policies, the Second Circuit of Urbanism, Socio- Spatial Fragmentation

Aftermath the military coup on September 12, 1980, the decisions and operations of the military regime influenced on all aspects of life in Turkey. Under the martial laws, means of communication were censored, basic rights and freedoms were restricted (Koçak, 2002: 147). Moreover, a new constitution was drafted by the military authority and was approved in 1982.

According to Boratav (2000: 162), the military coup was also a reaction to the economic crisis experienced between 1977 and 1979 and Militarist policies including economic measures aimed to constitute a strong State against laborers and social oppositions. The Neo- liberal economic policies was adopted in consequence of the crises of capital accumulation model in Turkey by the 1980s, as been the case in other countries (Sengül, 2002 Cited in Kocak: 2008: 147). In this respect and the active role of the state was over in the use of resources.

In Turkey from 1980 onward, capital shifted from production, ‘first circuit’, to non – productive sectors as the ‘second circuit’. The ‘second circuit’ is conceptualized by Harvey as “urbanization of capital” (1985: 6). Economic development was largely depended on real estate sector. Lefebvre (1976: 21) emphasizes on survival of capitalism: capitalism has succeeded in achieving growth “by occupying space, by producing a space”. In his concept of ‘circuit model of capitalism’, the crisis of capital accumulation in the ‘first circuit’, that is, in industrial production, has resulted in the transfer of capital accumulation into the ‘second circuit’, that is non-productive urban spaces such as housing, the financing, and speculation in land. In this respect, while real property became a tool of investment, urbanization entered to a new period, that is post –urbanization.

In this frame, private and public investments gravitated towards metropolitan cities. Urban space investments and rent speculations replaced industrial investment in post 80s period (Şengül, 2001: 109). Accordingly, banks, finance institutions, big property companies, mass housing companies, shopping malls, five star hotels and business centers; particularly came into scene by the early years of 1990s in Turkey, were new catalysts and indicators of financial development as both material and product of the new accumulation model.

On the other hand, the updated political and economic policies of state affected the administrative and legal organization regarding urban planning. Urban administration underwent a redispense in this period, parallel to neoliberal reconstruction of state. In 1984, the Enactment of Metropolitan Municipality affirmed and Mayoralties of Metropolitan Municipality were established in İstanbul, Ankara and İzmir, in the same year. Also, financial resources of municipalities increased in accordance with that authority of municipalities enhanced while control of central government reduced, by amended the *Law of the Metropolitan Municipality Management* (Tekelli, 1998: 24). As a result,

municipalities had got the opportunity to approve illegal *gecekondu* settlement plans and open large areas for building development according to speculative intentions.

As the result of organizational changes in central and urban administration, Master Plan Bureau of Ankara lost its importance and authority in planning decisions regarding Ankara. According to Altaban, conflicts among authorities and inconsistency between local and master plans have brought out a fragmented and unbalanced development on space. Implementation plans had been easily approved by municipalities regardless the decisions of master plan. Moreover, the Bureau was seen as an obstacle for the speculative benefits and as a result closed, hence made into a unit of the Ankara Municipality Metropolitan Planning Bureau in 1984 (Altaban, 1998: 61). Municipal investments on urban space were shaped through the demands of capital owners, in this way large scale urban projects such as mass housing, infrastructure and metro were materialized metropolitan cities (Şengül, 2001: 110, 111). In this frame, spatial organization of cities began to take shape in compliance with the capital accumulation.

1990 Master Plan, as the third plan of Ankara that had been prepared by the Master Plan Bureau of Ankara approved in 1982. The plan brought important decisions regarding the macro form of Ankara in the frame of decentralization strategy (Figure 3.83). By the proposal, it had been aimed to find a solution for the heavy traffic on the city center and answer to the need for shelter by different groups, by the means of suburban settlements planned jointly with the working and leisure spaces. In the frame of 3.6 million targeted developments, extension areas of city designated mainly on North - West and South - West development corridors and mass housing settlements planned at *Batıkent*, *Eryaman* and *Sincan* districts as illegal housing prevention zone provided for low- income groups.

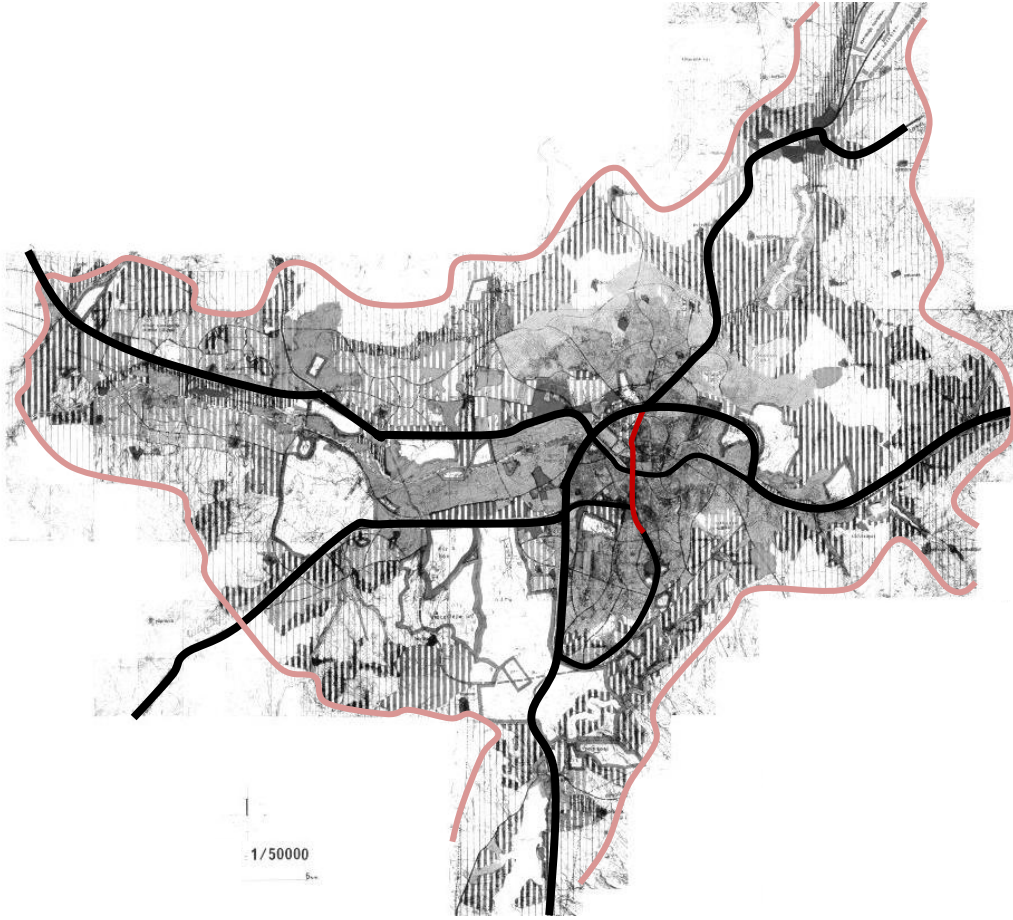


Figure 3.83: Personal rendering on 1990 Ankara Master Plan (1982)

Source: Documentation center archive, Faculty of Architecture, METU

In 1983, Housing Development Administration (Toplu Konut İdaresi, TOKİ) was established to solve housing problem and provide affordable housing for low and middle-income groups at the national level. However, while planned housing construction continued, illegal and unplanned settlements increased. In this frame the “*Gecekondu* Amnesty Law” was adopted in order to legalize *gecekondu* areas, in 1984. According to Tekelli (1998: 22), as the amnesty law provided assurance for *gecekondu*, furthermore it provided occasion for illegal buildings flourished on *gecekondu* areas by the improvement plans. That accelerated transformation of *gecekondu* regions into rent areas, after 1980s.

Dual composition of housing that had come up Ankara in 1950s composed of lower class *gecekondu* settlements and middle and upper class apartment blocks changed after 1980s, by the anew sub-urbanization trend. New suburban settlements developed attendant with mass housing projects; such as, *Batıkent* and *Eryaman* Housing Districts on west corridor

and *Ümitköy*, *Konutkent* and *Bilkent* Housing Districts on South –West corridor. On the other hand, suburban settlements were differentiated according to their locations in city and their income level groups.

Suburbanization at Ankara after 1980s brought with it the new middle class life style. According to Öncü (2005), suburban settlements were preferred by the desire of living far from ‘chaos’ and ‘social pollution’ of big cities both spatially and symbolically. Traffic problems, air pollution, lack of maintenance, unsecure streets, crime and overcrowd pushed people to move far from city center and its associated life practices. By the virtue of ‘Sites’, - the new formation of housing at suburbs providing its users security and services as shopping and sport centers, green spaces and parking lots etc., “middle class families could effectively differentiate themselves from, and avoid interaction with people from lower classes”, at suburbs “where they can exercise strong rules of exclusion and inclusion”, as Ayata noted (2002:25). Thereby, a new perception regarding housing choices has risen beyond the necessity of sheltering. With respect to the new understanding of housing, house changed into resident as became “one of the most evident characteristics of middle class status and its associated life style” (Ayata, 2002:25). As the new mean of capital investment, housing need has been commoditized and suburban settlements manifested the features of the ‘abstract space’ (Lefebvre, 1980), becoming “homogenized, fragmented and hierarchical” in character.

On the other hand, urban suburban development is closely associated with the transportation system and increase in car ownership. In this period, while the lower income groups’ developing settlements along west corridor was provided with new public transportation investments; higher income level suburbs on Eskişehir Road necessitated car ownership due to lack of public transportation opportunities. Underground rail system construction had started; however, Ankaray would start operation in 1996 as light rail system, which connects near districts to *Kızılay* and to AŞTI (Ankara Inter City Bus Terminal), and the metro a year after to connect *Kızılay* and *Batıkent*.

Furthermore, increase in car ownership made it possible to easily access distant areas of city. It can be asserted that gated communities segregated far from urban center have produced its own spatial practices. Differentiated levels of accessibility in terms of transportation from suburbs to city center- *Kızılay*, lead to spatial differentiation of urban practices that rushed up the social differentiation further. Low and middle income groups continued to give preference to work, shop and entertain around *Kızılay*; while high income level groups created their own microcosms around their living districts and abandoned the city center.

3.4.2.1980- 1994 Concept: *Sidewalks of Control and Ordinary Life: The Regulation and Restriction of Sidewalk by Regarded Pedestrianism, Disregarded Publicness*

The period of 1980's has been the breaking point of the political, economic and social trends. Military Coup at 1982 had put an end to the political acts and the social struggle on the street space, however, by this way, social and spatial control became a part of the urban life in every respect. On the other hand, in the frame of the implemented neo-liberal economic policies, the urban space has become the locus of the economic growth that resulted accelerated growth and transformation phase by the help of investments attracted. In the context of changing economic interests, city grew in the periphery; the meaning of urban living space shifted and became the instrument of economic profits. From on, the physical and locational features of the settlements were the major indicators of the status that brought along different lifestyles occurred at gated - isolated parts of the city, for fragmented urban groups.

In these years, , central business activities continued to concentrated in *Kızılay* and uses diversified, as headquarters of Private and Public institutions and offices of services sector, such as finance, banking, real estate, consultancy and insurance etc., took places on the Boulevard (Osmay, 1998: 148). Plazas and shopping centers, such as *GIMA*, *YKM* etc., became the new landmarks and meeting points accordingly changing life style and its spatial practices.

Prestigious central business activities moved towards southwards direction to *Çankaya* District after 1985 (Osmay, 1998: 149). *Atakule*, built at the end of 1080s, was the first example of multi-storey shopping centers in Ankara, but also in Turkey. Moreover, *Karum* was built in 1991 as business, shopping and accommodation complex together with the *Hilton* Hotel in the heart prestigious region near *Kuğulu* Park and towards *Tunali Hilmi* Street, at southward of Atatürk Boulevard.

On the other hand, Real and Galleria shopping malls, built in the second half of the 1990s at *Ümitköy* - on the transport axis outside the city, became the contemporary place to socialize and shop for upper and middle-income suburban citizens, remote from city center.

After 80s, decentralization strategies of the municipality caused an uneven development process in city spaces, leading to periphery areas draw more investment as compared with the central parts of the city. Between the years 1977-1994, *Kızılay* started to lose its importance and the Atatürk Boulevard lost its ceremonial character (Can, 1987: 59). By this period, city center of Ankara *Kızılay* has got into *succession* process that will lead up these places to become transition areas in the long period.

The spatial organization of *Kızılay* and the Boulevard further deformed by new interventions at the period of 80s and 90s. The historical building of *Kızılay* gave the name of the square had been demolished in 1979 and construction of an office tower including a shopping center was found appropriate as the result of coordinated competition. Through

the construction of the new building, site covering the former square was restrained of public access by curtains; through 20 years from 1992 till 2012 as construction was going on. Since therefore, *Kızılay* square lost its public space characteristics and transformed into merely junction space of vehicular traffic (Figure 3.84).

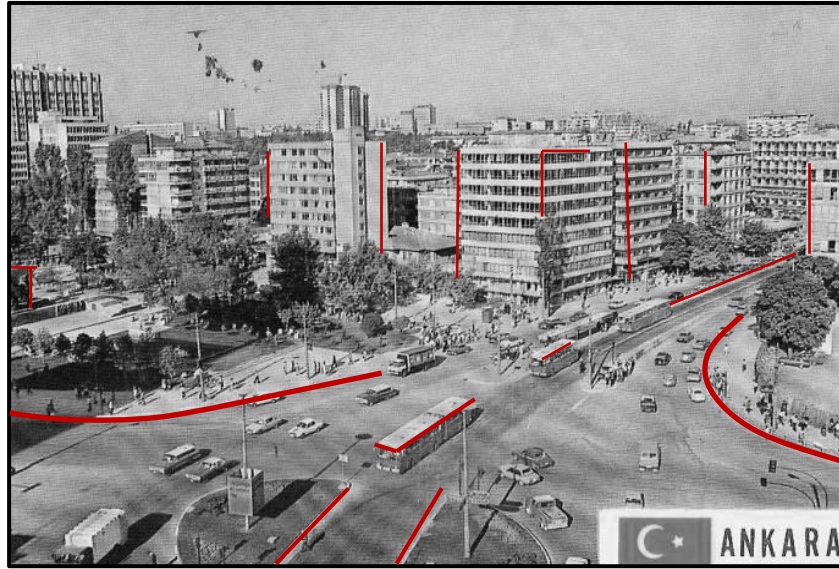


Figure 3.84: *Kızılay* Junction, introduced bus lanes, *Güvenpark* and demolished *Kızılay* Building, Atatürk Boulevard, 80s

Source: Ankara Postcards and Photography Documents Archive, Belko, Ankara

By 1980s, *Güvenpark* was occupied by *dolmuş* and bus stops and the Park has turned into neglected and unsecure place, especially at nights. In this frame, ‘*Güvenpark* Renovation Project’⁵ was prepared in 1986 by Ankara Municipality in order to reorganize *Güvenpark*; according to the project, an underground parking lot accommodating 1500 cars and shopping mall were planned below the park (Can, 1987:60). However, project as an attempt to change spatial configuration of the park also would bring the destruction of historical and symbolical meaning of the *Güvenpark* and loss of its public space characteristics. Against the project public reactions raised with the slogan of “It is not a car park, it is *Güvenpark*” and at the result of the campaign, the project was halted (Can, 1987:61, Batuman, 2002: 67). In addition, *Güvenpark* and *Güven* Monument were declared as ‘First –class Natural

⁵ This project would be brought up again in 2005 by M. Gökçek as the mayor of Ankara Metropolitan Municipality.

Protection Area', by the Committee on Production of Cultural and Natural Heritage of Ankara, in 1994 (Koçak, 2008: 154).

1982, September 12 military coup is a breaking point that changes the social discourses and practices completely. Thereafter, the main squares of the cities would be watched by the closed circuit television systems; thus, political and social life on the urban public space would completely be under the police control (Batuman, 2002: 68). Kizilay Square was therefore broken off from the public life and the socio-political ground for its transformation into a traffic junction was prepared. Simultaneously, the other public places on the boulevard became the subject of the envisaged (non-existing) social pattern. The common intention behind all these projects was to destroy the spaces of the Republican identity and to remove the spatial practices that revive and reproduce these spaces.

Atatürk Boulevard once had been 'conceived' as the generator stage of modern society and its public practices, after 80s completely 'perceived' and 'conceived' as the rejected and wasted Republican public space. In a respective matter, Atatürk Boulevard images eroded from photographs and postcards. Then on, the Boulevard had already lost its representative character regarding the Republic and its space was not anymore an important sight to see or display regarding the both of the Republican or contemporary Ankara. Thence, latter period parks, buildings or monuments that became the new symbols replaced the Republican image of Ankara (Figures 3.85, 3.86, 3.87).

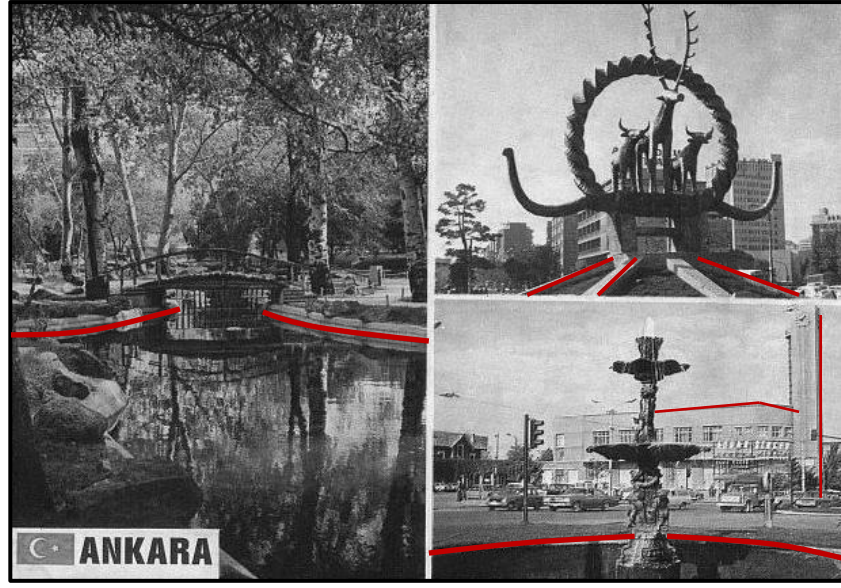


Figure 3.85: New images of Ankara: *Kugulu* Park, Hittite Sun Disk, pool of *Yenişehir* placed on a traffic roundabout, along Atatürk Boulevard, 80s

Source: Ankara Postcards and Photography Documents Archive, Belko, Ankara



Figure 3.86: New images of Ankara: *Abdi İpekçi* Park, along Atatürk Boulevard, 80s

Source: Ankara Postcards and Photography Documents Archive, Belko, Ankara



Figure 3.87: New images of Ankara: *The skyscraper*, along Atatürk Boulevard, 70s- 80s

Source: Ankara Postcards and Photography Documents Archive, Belko, Ankara

Until the 70s, Ataturk Boulevard had been the most important and distinctive public spine of the city where the vehicles and the people were coexisting, however from 1980's due to the rapid increase in the number of motorized vehicles in Ankara on its major function was nothing more than a transit road that connects the multiple parts of the city.

In the context of pedestrianism, the ground on where the urban walker are alienated at the urban life is the modern boulevard. However, boulevards are also the most significant places on where the people and the vehicles are in interaction. Sidewalks on the other hand, are the inseparable part of the boulevard serving as a regulator between pedestrians and the vehicles. If a boulevard that lost its sidewalks it also would lose its people and consequently it loses the essence of it- social life. As Atatürk Boulevard became the dominance space of vehicles after 70s, has estranged from its vehicle-human balance, which gives its social –

spatial identity. In this respect, Atatürk Boulevard that had lost its people so public character was not a boulevard anymore.

City center sacrificed the Boulevard and the public life on it, but it was still trying to live on the back streets. In the scope of pedestrianization, “New Pedestrianized Region Projects” was prepared by General Directorate of EGO in 1982. *Sakarya* Street and its environs, *İzmir* Street and its environs (*Fevzi Çakmak I and II*, *Sümer I and II*, *Menekse I and II* , and *Şehit Adem Yavuz* Streets) with *Yüksel* Street and its environs (*Konur I and Karanfil* Streets) were proposed to be pedestrianized. Although most of them were approved (Figure 3.87), only few of them could be implemented (Kızılay Kent Merkezi Çalışma Grubu, 2004: 13). Today, *Sakarya*, *İzmir*, *Karanfil* and *Yüksel* Streets pedestrianized in that period are considered an important generator of social and economic activities ongoing in *Kızılay*.

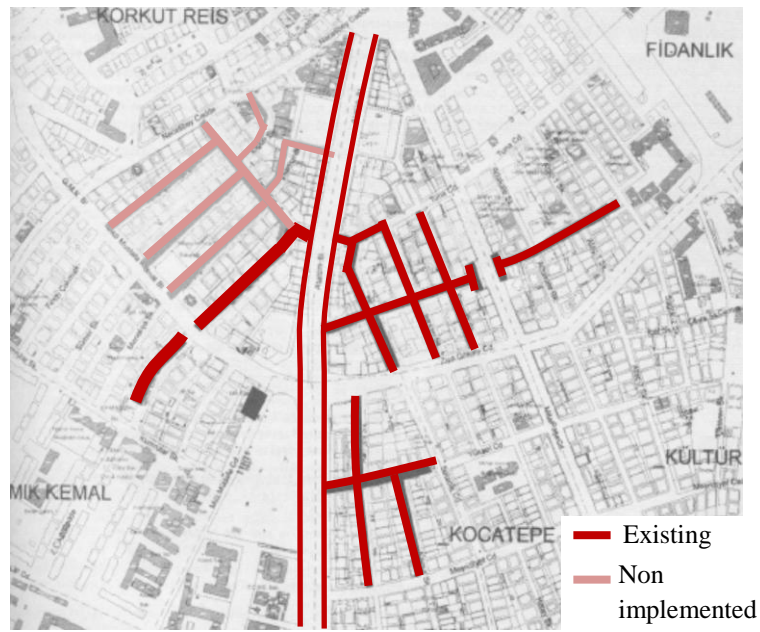


Figure 3.88: Existing and non-implemented pedestrianized streets in *Kızılay*, 1982

Source: Kızılay Kent Merkezi Çalışma Grubu, 2004

Then on, the dominant user of the boulevard neither was certain urban classes nor even people, but the vehicles. While Sidewalks on the other hand, has continued to stand as the space of social spatial fragmentation and state control against the society; on the other hand, in the frame of *pedestrianism*, became the indicator of being disrespected second-class citizen in the urban arena. Sidewalks of Atatürk Boulevard, after 80s, was conceptualized

solely as a road on where *pedestrians* transport; in the frame of the *regarded pedestrianism* so *(dis) respected publicness* that considers continuous flow of the *pedestrian traffic* on the sidewalks and restricts other - no compatible practices, such as gathering and demonstration acts.

Moreover, by the further *anti- pedestrian* interventions happened to be after 1990's, sidewalks that had lost their social and public characteristics in all states of memory also eradicated from the real space.

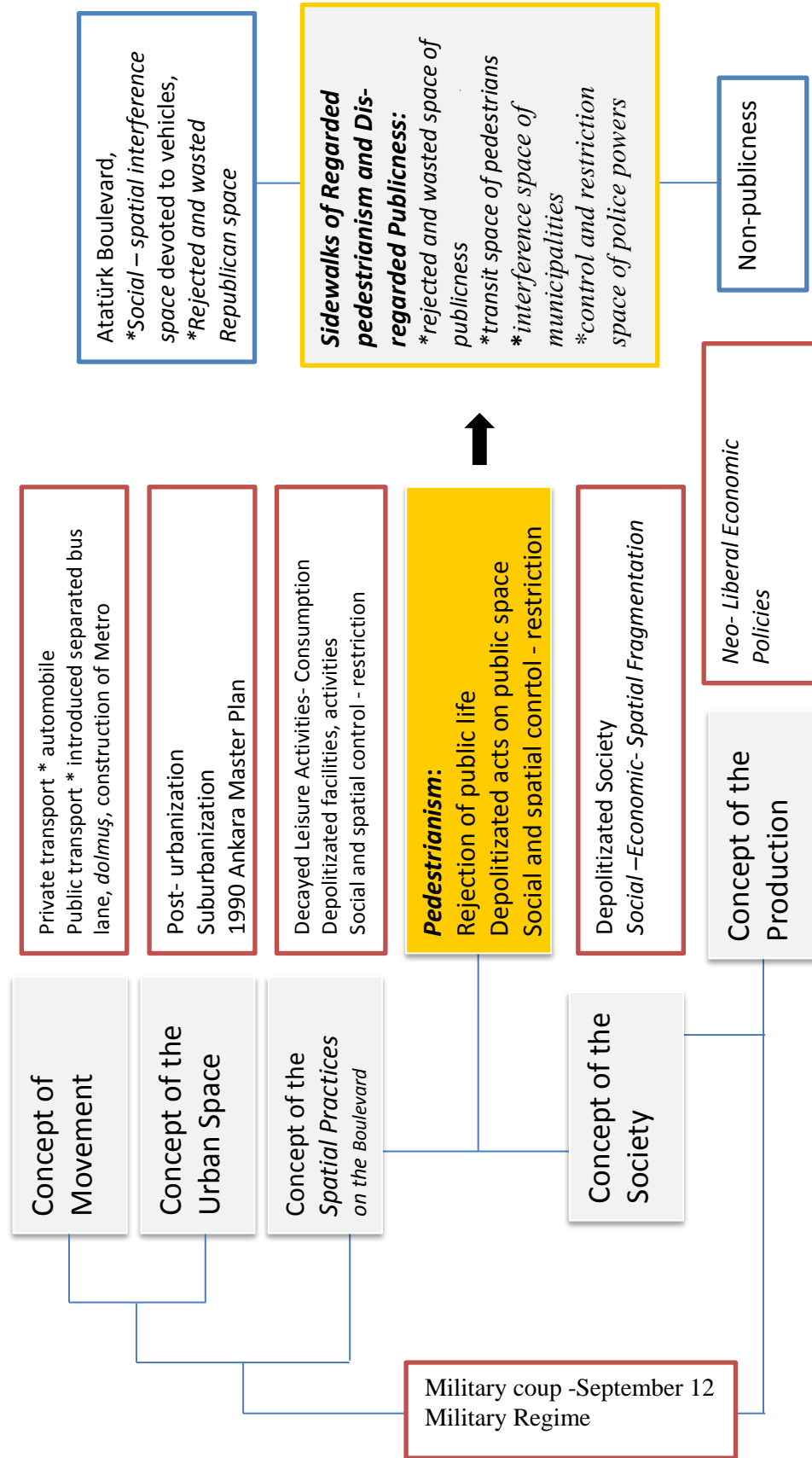


Figure 3.89: Context and concepts of the Sidewalks of Control and Ordinary Life: The Regulation and Restriction of Sidewalk by Regarded Pedestrianism, Disregarded Publicness
Source: Personal rendering

3.5.1.1994- 2013 Context: Pro- Islamist View, Neo - Liberal Policies, Neo- Traffic Regulations, Neo Publicness

Until 1994, Turkey successfully implemented neoliberal economic policies in cooperation with international financial bodies while at the same time ignoring consistency programs and displayed the feature of a developing country in the frame of economic indicators (Boratav, 2002: 169). However, increased public debts resulted in an economic crisis in 1994 (Boratav, 2000: 207).

After the second half of the 1990s, conservative and pro- Islamist view dominated ideologies through the country, and because of conservative groups came into power in municipalities (Koçak, 2008: 165). 1994 was the year when Melih Gökçek, as a member of the Welfare Party (Refah Partisi, RP), was elected as the mayor of Ankara Metropolitan Municipality. Gökçek would be elected three more times in local elections election as a member of the Virtue Party (Fazilet Partisi, FB) in 1999 and as a member of the Justice and Development Party (AKP) in 2004 and 2009.

On the other hand, respective to economic and political trends, urbanization concepts of Ankara and plan decisions accordingly has shifted (Table 3.1). From 1980's onward, in the frame of neo-liberal eco-political trends and respectively the 'second circuit' of capitalism, urbanization have been interpreted as the main instrument of economic development. In the frame of the period identified by the *post – urbanization* since 1980s, the urban growing trends has reached its peak point (above the urban population increase rate) (Figure 3.93), as, thence the suburban growth has reached the urban periphery in 1990's, Neoliberal policies internalized and implemented by the Ankara Metropolitan Municipality.

Spatial organization of new political and economic policies turned to be implemented at both in and outside the city core - especially at newly developing districts. Many new shopping centers were constructed in this period particularly on urban development corridors and at suburban settlements. *Galleria* was the first suburban shopping center of Ankara, built in 1995 at *Ümitköy* where the high and middle income population lived, and *Real* has been opened at *Bilkent* as the first hypermarket of Ankara in 1998 (Koçak, 2008: 176). Moreover, by 2000s, construction of shopping malls became growing trend at all metropolitan cities through the country; that resulted in the change perception related to consumption and public practices. In this frame, *Armada*, as the first shopping mall in Ankara has opened in 2002 on Eskisehir road, and included additionally social facilities as cinemas, restaurants, art galleries and live performance showrooms, etc. Moreover, others fallowed, namely these are: *Akköprü Migros*, *Ankamall*, *Cepa*, *Kentpark*; and, for the lower income groups, *Optimum Outlet*, *Atlantis*, *Forum Outlet* and many more. Shopping malls has become the widespread form of capital investment on urban space and manifestation of new urban social economic practices.

Table 3.1: Approved plans of Ankara and related propositions

Source: Personal rendering

Plan	Approval Year	Plan Target Year	Existing Population (person)	Proposed Population (person)	Urban Settled Area (ha)	Total Plan Area (ha)	Main Macroform Management Strategy	Main Transportation Strategy
Lörcher Plan	1925	-	~65 000	150 000	~280	~700	Development on the South axis, <i>Yenişehir</i>	- Conception of Atatürk Boulevard as the social- spatial- administrative spine of Ankara - Construction of the Boulevard as the primer element of urban development
Jansen Plan	1932	1978	~75000	300 000	300	1 500	Development on the South – West axis, through Atatürk Boulevard, <i>Yenişehir, Cebeci, Tandoğan</i>	-Conception of Atatürk Boulevard as the social- spatial – administrative spine of Ankara -Construction of the Boulevard as the primer element of urban development *Conception of Boulevard sidewalks as the scene and the generator of modern community and modern urban life
Yücel – Uybadin Plan	1957	1987	455 000	750 000	~5 700	12 000	Compact development, density increase, new planned housing districts, <i>Etimesgut, Keçiören, Yıldız, Yenimahalle</i>	- Construction of inter- city highways as the primal element of industrial development *No spatial proposition for Atatürk Boulevard *No proposition for sidewalks
1990 Master Plan	1982	1990	1 200 000	~3 000 000	~22 000	43 000	‘West corridor’ decentralization strategy, Development through <i>Eryaman, Sincan, Ümitköy</i> , home - work space relation, ‘green belt’	-Construction of inter-city highways as the director of urban development (macroform) -Proposition of in-city rapid transit (metro, Ankaray) network *No proposition for Atatürk Boulevard *No proposition for sidewalks

In the period when the car ownership became a necessity rather than a luxurious choice, car ownership rate reached to its peak rate, nearly the one car per four persons, or one car per family. In this respect, vehicle density especially at core urban area overloaded.

In this context of post –urbanization after 80s, the main supporter of the upwarding urban rent was emerged as the transportation investments crucial for municipalities, connecting the suburbs to the central city, through rapid rail investments - the metro and Ankaray (light rail transport) systems. Ankaray light metro line, had started in 1992 in the previous municipal period, was completed in 1996, linking AŞTİ (Central bus terminal) and Kızılay to near central districts. Metro line was completed in 1997 and integrated with Ankaray at Kızılay. Metro underground line has linked city center to *Batıkent* and *Eryaman*-expanding residential areas in the west corridor. Moreover, more buses supplied for this route. On the other hand, to connect suburbs to the central city, the extension of the existing underground network has carried forward. *Kızılay- Çayyolu* line has set forth and *Kızılay- Batıkent* line extended *Eryaman* and *Sincan*. However, none of these planned interventions has completed to this day by the reason of financial inability. Hence, public transportation services remained insufficient regarding the growth of population and urban settled area, also at a critical low level respected to the developed countries (even if automobilization rate is above Turkey) (Figures 3.90, 3.91, 3.92).

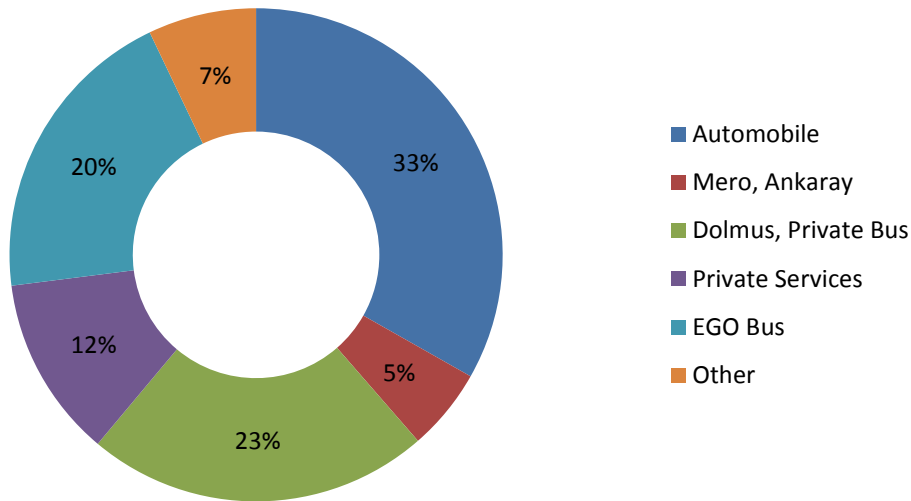


Figure 3.90: Percentages of trips made according to the motorized transportation modes in Ankara, in a workday, 2013

Source: Ankara Regional Plan 2014- 2023, prepared by Ankara Development Agency, 2013

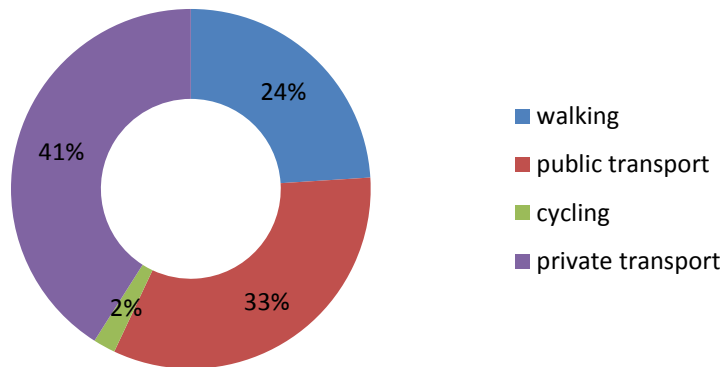


Figure 3.91: Percentages of trips in London, 2013
Source: Transport for London, 2013

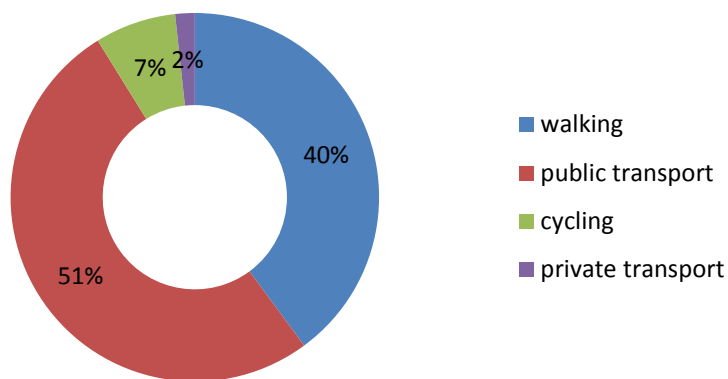


Figure 3.92: Percentages of trips made in Vientiane, 2013

Source: www.Itaacademy.Lta.gov.sg, January 2013

By comparing population growth, urban growth and car ownership rates, through the period ongoing since the establishment of Republic until this year, specified arguments could be concreted (Figure 3.93). First, it is observed that while population growth rate and urban growth rate progressed compatibly until 50s; between the period of 1950s and 1970s, urban population growth had exceeded the urban growth, as a consequence of urban migration and accordingly housing supply fell behind the housing demand. In this respect, *gecekondut settlements* became the most critical urban problem. However, at the period after 1980s, urban growth rate accelerated and exceeded the population growth in the frame of the

‘second circuit of capitalism’ and post-urbanization trend. Respectively, by the decentralization and sub-urbanization process intensified after 1980s, urban settled area enlarged in a breakneck while new development areas characterized by low-density. On the other hand, car ownership levels also accelerated after 1970s as a result of domestic production and onward 1980s as result of increased income level. Moreover, post 1990s car ownership increase reached the peak point in the wake of automobile became an urban necessity due to urban expansion and inefficient public transportation services.

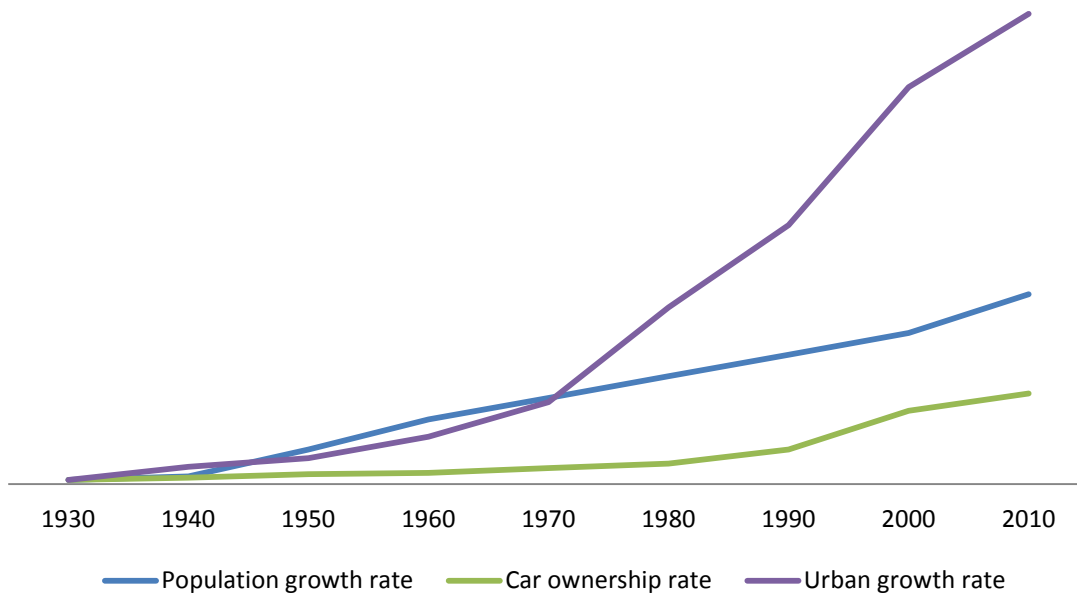


Figure 3.93: Population growth, urban growth and car ownership rates, between the years 1927- 2012, Ankara

Source: DIE and Ankara 2023 Plan Report

3.5.2. 1994- Concept: Neo Sidewalks: The Degenerated and Destructed Sidewalk, by *Degenerated Populism and the Anti- Pedestrianism*

The second half of 1990's is also a breaking point in terms of the meaning and practices of Ankara urban space. The incoming economic and political interests that produced urban spaces brought different urban experiences for Ankara citizens.

Spaces of the new accumulation process that is the urbanization of capital, generated the more individualized and self-oriented livings that abandoned public spaces. The move to suburbs facilitated the fall of the urban public life and created an urbanity that lacked the 'real' urban essence. Suburban development has provided secured, gated, dissociated and homogenous life spaces that followed by the spatial and social fragmentation. Thereby, in Ankara, while North part districts is generally perceived as the dominance space of right wing and low socio- economic profile groups, the Southern part was accommodated by left-wing and middle and high socio- economic groups. In respect to their ideological grounds, differentiated level of urban services provided for the North and South Ankara, by municipalities. Because North residents enjoy more public transportation opportunities to reach the central Ankara, *Ulus, Sıhhiye, Kızılay* and surrounding had the 'invasion process' under the dominance of lower income groups and respectively to the 'succession process' by the abundance of higher income groups. In this frame, not anymore attracting all urban groups, Atatürk Boulevard is not the heart of the city; it has become a transition area and *representation of the city center*.

On the other hand, in company with the suburbanization process, the increasing addiction of people to cars in the comfort of their personal space further supported the fragmented and 'intimate' living. Schneider explains the increasing individualism with emerging urban patterns as follows;

People want a secure and controlled environment. Suburban commuters show a determined preference for private over the public transportation. Automobiles may not be efficient but give people a sense of security and control. With a car go anywhere you want, in the control of your own private space (1992).

A strong attachment to mobility has caused the death of public life as "the erasure of the lively public space contains an even more perverse idea- that of making space contingent upon motion" (Sennett, 1993: 14). Also, Marc Auge exemplified the new understanding of space with an advertisement of automobile: "the irresistible wish for a space of your own, a mobile space that can take you everywhere" (1996: 4). In this respect, car dependent life style and the urban sprawl since 1980s pushed the city center and Atatürk Boulevard into abundance and decadence.

On the other hand, locational and other features of shopping malls – produced through the new accumulation process, have altered the nature of socialization in the frame of shopping activity. The shopping malls are new (representation of) public spaces. They are designed

to stimulate physical and social features of the urban public space; however, cannot be defined as a public space as “it is detached from the context of urban space and reduced into homogeneity” (Lefebvre, 1976: 83). On the other hand, shopping malls are regarded private spaces that address homogeneous groups as intentionally designated to provide limited accessibility and controlled activities. Shopping malls produced the new consumption style, and public activities have been reduced to shopping activity (Koçak, 2008: 178). In this way, shopping malls, in the frame of the new understanding of consumption, has become the contemporary leisure and recreation facilities in cities. On the other hand, the new consumption style produced its own spaces, as “the ‘space of consumption’ became ‘the consumption of space’ ” (Lefebvre, 1991: 354). Thus, *consuming of socializing* is the way of urban public life; practiced at its own *consumed public spaces*. Under the effect of this process, the superior stores on the Boulevard could have survived only until 2000 and then they found new spaces in the shopping malls. Therefore, the Boulevard has also lost its last attraction feature for middle and higher urban groups.

Nonetheless, the public space gained a new function and meaning on the part of governmental authorities. From the second half of 1990’s, in the frame of ‘political Islam’ trend, public places re- gained importance and re- interpreted as a political scene. This time, the Islamic identity desired to be apparent, visible and dominant in the urban public space (Batuman, 2002: 76). First of all, in 1994, the symbol of Ankara Metropolitan Municipality has changed from Hittite Sun Disk, that was specified by Dalokay in 1973, and replaced by a symbol composed of *Atakule* in between two minarets.

After 1994, *Kızılay* Square has gained importance in the eye of the municipality (Batuman, 2002: 76). *Kızılay* has witnessed religious and populist practices as the new ‘spatial practices’ that re- produced the space according to related ideologies, arranged by the municipality on public spaces. In *Güvenpark*, *iftar* rituals have been organized on every Ramadan month (Figures 3.94, 3.95), buses have been arranged to be free of charge through the religious holidays, concerts of the popular singers have been organized at urban spaces where once identified by Republican symbolism (Turker, 2005; Batuman, 2002: 75). Furthermore, *Kocatepe* Mosque became an impressive social gathering place at *Kızılay*, as it was very popular among conservative bureaucrats and hosted important state funerals, fairs and expositions for religious gatherings (Koçak, 2008: 174). Also, at *Kızılay* metro underground station a Masjid has been established, thence every Friday, station hall and passengers’ walking corridors is occupied by a large crowd of people who perform their religious practices. An underground station is a common place for the use of every citizen, however religious practices is performed at *Kızılay* at the expense of the mobility of passengers. This attitude can be explained as the “degeneration of the political characteristics of the public space” and it can be considered as an act coming out against the Republican symbols as well (Batuman, 2002: 76). In respected approach, urban public space has turned into a propaganda tool of the municipality and its related ideologies.



Figure 3.94: *Iftar* rituals at *Guvencpark*, as the new ‘spatial practices, Atatürk Boulevard, 00s

Source: www.ankara.bel.tr 23 September 2013



Figure 3.95: *Iftar* rituals at Boulevard sidewalks, as the new ‘spatial practices, Atatürk Boulevard, 00s

Source: www.twicsy.com 23 September 2013

In addition, in 2005, *Güvenpark* was again subjected to the Renovation Project, even once had been revoked in 1987 in the result of public reaction (Işık, 2007 cited in Koçak, 2008: 168). Due to the propositions of the project that *dolmuş* stops would be located under the ground area of *Güvenpark*, the *Union of Chambers of Turkish Engineers and Architects* reacted against the plan by the declaration published and indicated that it could not be a solution to the traffic problem, moreover would lead air pollution at underground and negative environmental impact on ground level (TMMOB, 2005). In result, it was decided not to implement the project and *Güvenpark* continued to be transit space of pedestrians and a transportation node of Ankara that occupied *dolmuş* and bus stops (Figures 3.96-3.99).



Figure 3.96: *Güvenpark* as the transit space of pedestrians, Atatürk Boulevard, 00s

Source: www.sehirler.net 23 September 2013



Figure 3.97: *Guvenpark* as the transit space of pedestrians, Atatürk Boulevard, 00s

Source: Personal Archive, 2013

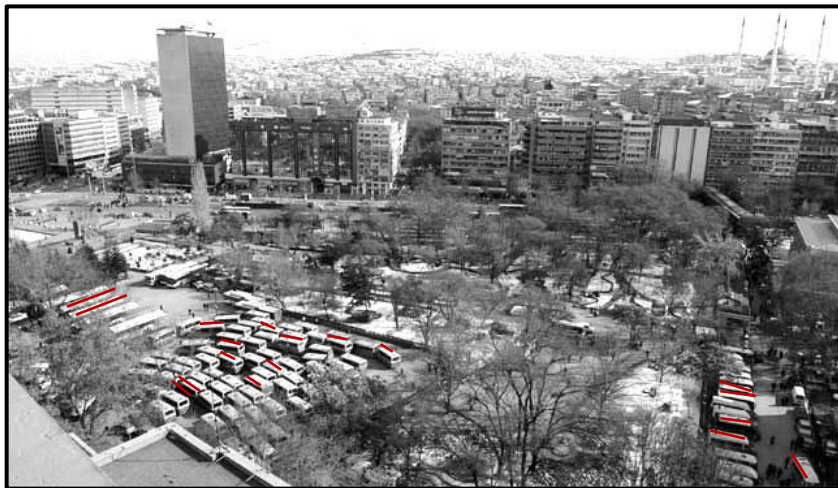


Figure 3.98: *Guvenpark* as the transportation node of Ankara, occupied by *dolmuş* and bus stops, Atatürk Boulevard, 00s

Source: www.ntvmsnbc.com 23 September 2013

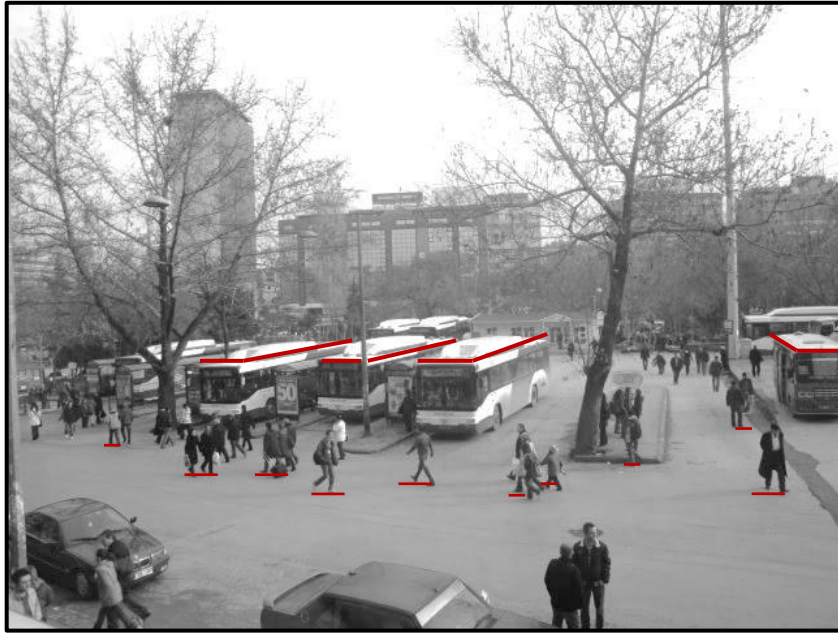


Figure 3.99: *Güvenpark* as the transportation node of Ankara, occupied by *dolmuş* and bus stops, Atatürk Boulevard, 00s

Source: www.panoramio.com 23 September 2013

On the other hand, by the alternative spatial interferences took place on, Republican symbolic character and publicness of *Atatürk Boulevard* was intended to be weakened (Batuman, 2002: 75). By the municipal authority, strange symbols and monumental things placed on the public spaces once symbolized the Republican Ideology (Figures 3.100, 3.10, 3.102). Therefore, after 2000s, populist and ideological acts of the municipality re-produced the urban space and memory. In this respect, symbols and practices of the new ideological and eco-political period submitted on the Boulevard to deform the representations and rituals of the previous period and to build the new ones.



Figure 3.100: New symbols- representations of Ankara placed on sidewalk (dinosaur), Atatürk Boulevard, 00s

Source: www.panoramio.com 23 September 2013



Figure 3.101: Mew symbols- representations of Ankara placed on the sidewalk (?), Atatürk Boulevard, 00s

Source: www.odatv.com 23 September 2013

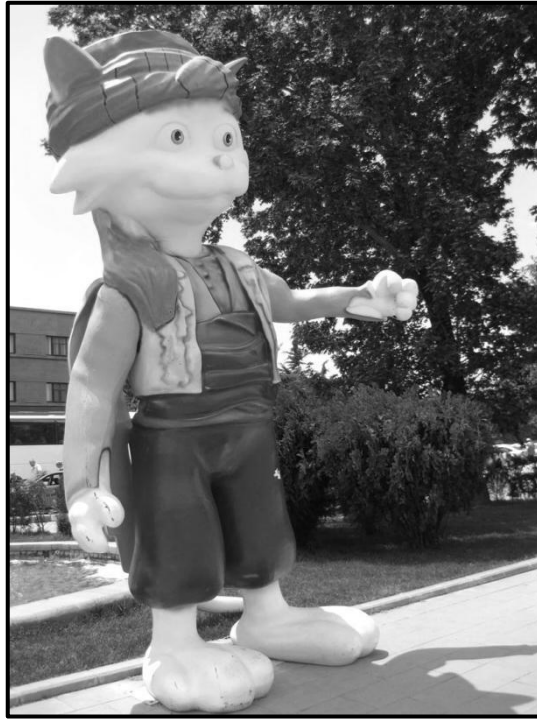


Figure 3.102: Mew symbols- representations of Ankara (Dancing Ankara cat) placed on sidewalk, Atatürk Boulevard, 00s

Source: www.panoramio.com 24 September 2013

On the other hand, *Kızılay*, *Güvenpark* also *Kuğulu Park* continued to be the favorite manifestation space for political groups as worker unions, students, certain party fronts prefer Atatürk Boulevard for their protests, strikes and demonstrations (Figures 3.103-3.111). However, May 2013 witnessed biggest and broad scoped protests and clashes through country since the May 1980. The initial protests in Istanbul at the end of May were led by about 50 environmentalists, opposing the replacement of *Taksim - Gezi Park* with a shopping mall and possible residence as well as reconstruction of the historic *Taksim Military Barracks*(demolished in 1940) over the adjacent *Taksim Square* (Yackley, 2013). The subjects of the protests then broadened beyond the development of *Taksim Gezi Park* into wider anti-government demonstrations (Al Jazeera, 2013). The protests also spread to other cities in Turkey, as protesters took to *Taksim Square* in Istanbul and to streets in Ankara, as well as many other cities through the county. In Ankara, there were approximately 40000 protestors (Hürriyet Daily News, 2013). The range of the protesters was noted as being broad, encompassing both right- and left-wing individuals. While the protesters' complaints ranged from the original local environmental concerns to such core issues as freedom of the press, freedom of expression, freedom of assembly, and the government's encroachment on Turkey's secularism, also the curbs on alcohol, a recent row about kissing in public, and the war. As a result of the lack of mainstream media

coverage, social media played a key role in keeping people informed, with Twitter hash tags *#OccupyGezi* and *#DirenGeziParki* ("Resist Gezi Park") being adopted.

Through the demonstrations, thousands of protesters clash with police in Istanbul, Ankara, Izmir and many more cities through the country. According to the *Amnesty International* declared on 1 June that "It is clear that the use of force by police is being driven not by the need to respond to violence – of which there has been very little on the part of protesters – but by a desire to prevent and discourage protest of any kind". As protests continued across Turkey, particularly in Ankara, police use of tear gas and water cannons led to injuries running into thousands.

Even if it was said by the central authority that the redevelopment plans would go ahead despite the protests, by 2 July the court blocked the *Gezi* Park redevelopment project.



Figure 3.103: Demonstrations of unions, *Güvenpark*, Atatürk Boulevard, 00s

Source: www.sendika.org 26 September 2013



Figure 3.104: Demonstrations of political parties, *Kızılay*, Atatürk Boulevard, 00s

Source: www.toplumsal.org 26 September 2013



Figure 3.105: *Gezi Park* Protests, *Kızılay*, Atatürk Boulevard, May- June 2013

Source: www.kirmizihaber.com 26 September 2013

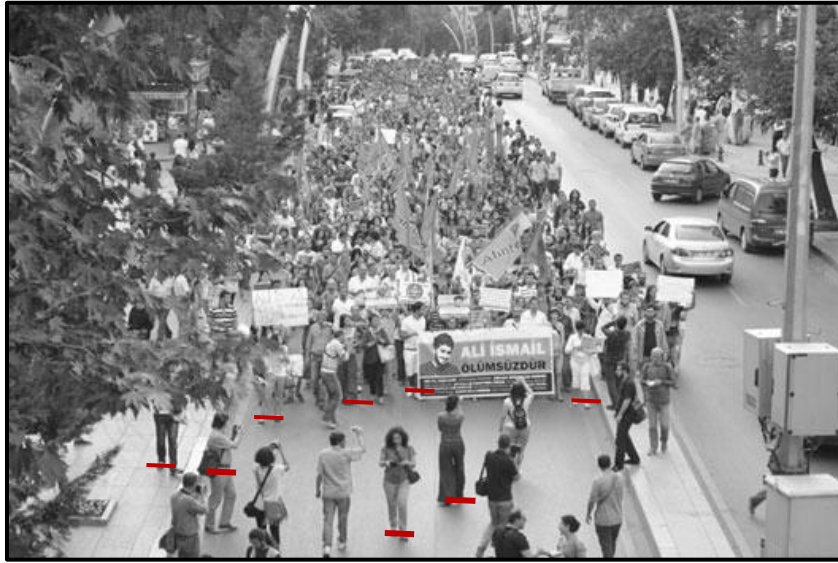


Figure 3.106: *Gezi Park* Protests, *Kızılay*, Atatürk Boulevard, May- June 2013

Source: www.halktv.com 26 September 2013



Figure 3.107: *Gezi Park* Protests, *Kuşulu Park*, Atatürk Boulevard, May- June 2013

Source: <http://www.objektifhaber.com> 26 September 2013



Figure 3.108: Resistance to police powers, *Gezi Park* Protests, *Kızılay*, Atatürk Boulevard, May- June 2013

Source: www.halktv.com 26 September 2013



Figure 3.109: Resistance to police powers, *Gezi Park* Protests, *Kızılay*, Atatürk Boulevard, May- June 2013

Source: www.yurtgazetesi.com 26 September 2013



Figure 3.110: Resistance to police powers, *Gezi Park* Protests, *Kızılay*, Atatürk Boulevard, May- June 2013

Source: www.yuksekovaguncel.com 26 September 2013

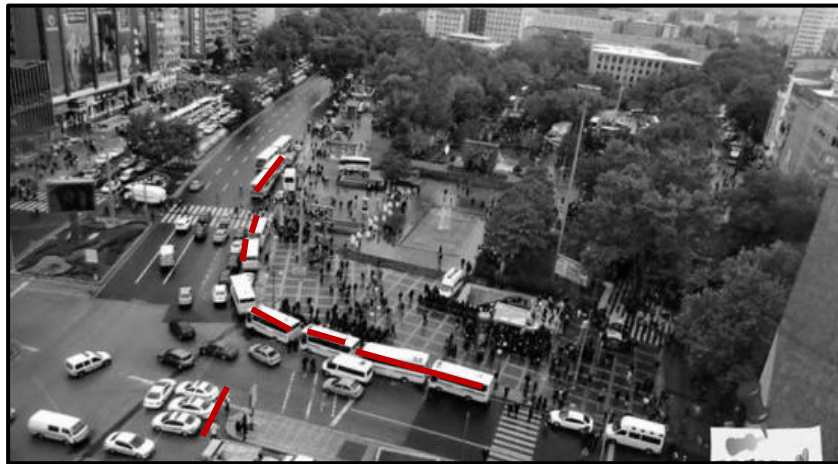


Figure 3.111: Finally occupancy and control of police powers, *Gezi Park* Protests, *Kızılay*, Atatürk Boulevard, May- June 2013

Source: www.ntvmsnbc.com 26 September 2013

On the other hand, even if prestigious stores leaved Atatürk Boulevard, *Kızılay* continued to be a shopping district for low and middle-income groups. Small shops, all know- common trademarks and department stores such as YKM still takes place on the boulevard. The new building of Turkish *Kızılay* Association, replacing the old *Kızılay* Building, had been completed in 2001, however has not been opened until 2012. The new building occupied the area that previously composed the old *Kızılay* bulding, square and park, with its large and high mass. However, to integrate the building with life on the Boulevard, lower floors have been allocated as the *Kızılay* Shopping Mall (Figure 3.112). The new rent landmark of the Boulevard overlapped and shadowed last ruins of the early representations of the Republic. The space that was once generating modern social practices on the forepart of *Kızılay* public- administrative building, now on is allocated by a ‘rent building’ re-utilizes space and re-produces relations of the consumption (Figures 3.113, 3.114). Thus, sidewalks of Atatürk Boulevard has transformed into the *Degenerated space of neo – liberal and conservative ideology and practices*.



Figure 3.112: Anew *Kızılay* Building, Landmark of the *Kızılay* Juction, Atatürk Boulevard, 2013

Source: www.trthaber.com 13 April 2013



Figure 3.113: *Kızılay* square defined by the representations and relations of consumerism, Atatürk Boulevard, 2013
Source: Personal archive

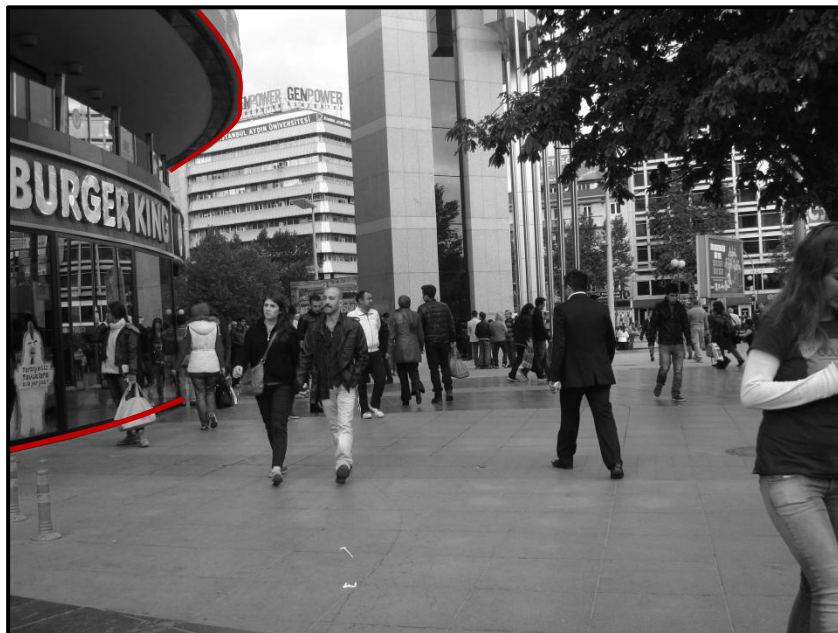


Figure 3.114: *Kızılay* square defined by the representations and relations of consumerism, Atatürk Boulevard, 2013
Source: Personal archive

Furthermore, urban transformation projects were formed intensively in this period, in order to create new rent areas in city and city center. 'Reformation Building Plan for Preservation of *Ulus* Historical City Center', in this respect, had been enacted in 1980 and a competition was held for design of the project in 1986, in the municipal period by Süleyman Önder (Koçak, 2008: 171). *Ulus* as the historical center of Ankara had become a transition space where low income level groups accommodated and small manufactures concentrated after 1980s (Osmay, 1998: 153). Hence, municipality had mean to gentrification and revival also re- integration of the area into the city life. In the competition, the plan prepared by Raci Bademli and his research group in METU was selected among and approved in 1989 (Kıral, 2005 cited in Koçak, 2008: 171). However, the plan was aborted by the municipal period by Gökçek in 2005 and '*Ulus* Historical Center Planning Project' was re-designed by the municipality. Increased land values that would be gained by the renovation were merely in the focus of the municipality at the expense of historical, cultural and social values of *Ulus* (TMMOB, 2006).

As transport problem became inextricable on the Boulevard and through the city, the city core has been dying, meanwhile suburban settlement and new rent areas through the city has been depreciated by losing its accessibility and attraction. In this respect, priority was given to transportation investments, by the municipalities. Construction of Ankaray as light rail system was completed in 1996, which connects near districts to *Kızılay* and to AŞTİ (Ankara Inter City Bus Terminal). Underground rail system – metro started operation in 1997 to connect *Kızılay* and *Batıkent*, also number of EGO buses increased along this road. However, these investments have been applied with a populist manner that the municipalities gave priority to the low-income group settlements while the public transportation opportunities in the southwest corridor of the city were postponed and the residents were subjected to use their private cars. Thus, certain urban regions, which had already been estranged; has completely disconnected from the central city.

Ataturk Boulevard was sacrificed to the unplanned - uncontrolled urban growth, and *anti – pedestrian* transport policies that has been implemented since 1960's. After 1990s, car ownership became a necessity and the ownership level came up to 1 car per 4 person or family. As the result of rapid increase of car ownership, traffic congestion became a critical problem- especially at the city core. Increased dependency on private transportation directed excess traffic volume and pressure on the Boulevard, which is still the most critical artery of Ankara urban core area.

Furthermore, the proposed traffic regulations were only towards the incensement of the vehicle volume and vehicle speed on the critical roads. Adopted transportation policies by the municipality gave priority to motor vehicles and to build new roads and avenues, also new junctions and underpasses on the existing. It is clear that all these measures are only to accelerate traffic speed in the inner city. Likewise, underground tunnel projects on inner city highways- *İnönü* Boulevard Eskişehir Road and İstanbul Road have accelerated vehicle traffic towards *Kızılay* and through the Boulevard. At this point, it should be mentioned about *Akay* underground tunnel project, which was made as a response to the traffic congestion at city center. *Akay* Project has accepted by the Ankara City Municipality in

1994 by the order of “*Akay Multi-Level Junction and the Traffic Regulation Area should be applied*” (Sönmez, 2005:65), and opened to traffic in 2001. However, although this application achieved a decrease in the congestion at *Akay*, it also increased volume of traffic flows through Atatürk Boulevard and thus on Kızılay Junction (Babalık-Sutcliffe, 2005, 302). Hence, to meet transportation volume, traffic capacity of the Boulevard has been increased. However, multi-level junctions, underground tunnels enabled vehicles to drive more rapidly and more continuously towards center without losing any time. Thence, efforts for solving transportation problems with underground tunnel projects and increasing roadway capacity rather than promotion of public transport have increased traffic pressure on the Boulevard. Moreover, transportation policies based on engineering solutions enable vehicles to go through the Boulevard without stopping or shopping at any place. In this manner, Atatürk Boulevard has become just an “expressway” (Figures 3.115- 3.119).



Figure 3.115: A boulevard or an expressway?, Crashing motor vehicle and *pedestrian* traffic, Atatürk Boulevard, 2013

Source: www.ankaramiz.com 13 April 2013

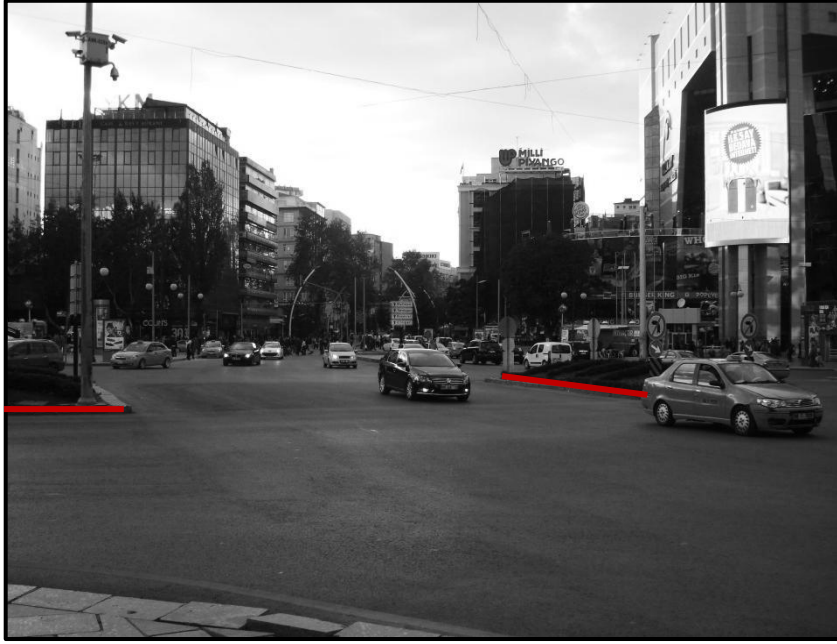


Figure 3.116: A boulevard or an expressway?, *Kızılay* Junction, Atatürk Boulevard, 2013
Source: Personal Archive



Figure 3.117: A boulevard or an expressway?, *Kızılay* to *Çankaya* direction, Atatürk Boulevard, 2008
Source: Personal archive of Çağatay Keskinok



Figure 3.118: A boulevard or an expressway?, *Tunus to Çankaya direction*, Atatürk Boulevard, 2013
Source: Personal archive



Figure 3.119: A boulevard or an expressway?, *Tunus to Çankaya direction*, Atatürk Boulevard, 2013
Source: Personal archive

By this period, vehicles have entirely dominated the space of the Boulevard as people were executed. The expressway encouraged higher speeds, greater use of private vehicles and brought about the suburbanization of city (center). Atatürk Boulevard has been the objective of transport policies that was increasing density, speed and space of vehicle traffic while neglecting the people on the Boulevard. From the urban design of view, the expressway also divided *Ulus- sıhhiye- Kızılay* landscape into separate zones, as it becomes very difficult for people to cross Atatürk Boulevard on foot. Elevated and sinked junctions also reduce the attractiveness of business, consumption and entertainment facilities through the Boulevard.

The interventions that destroy the Ataturk Boulevard spatial pattern- its sidewalks in the most effective way are the interventions that aimed to regulate the traffic flow after 1994. *Sıhhiye* U-turn Bridge, which has been completed in 1997, built partially on the pedestrian areas, made the *Sıhhiye* Square, *Abdi İpekçi* Park and sidewalk network that produce publicness on the Boulevard inaccessible and useless; furthermore, has destructed crucial symbolic places of the Republic (figure 3.120). Moreover, it had negative influence on the spatial practices on the Boulevard. Relationship and interaction between two sides of the Boulevard has been restrained spatially and visually by the block of the bridge and settled barriers underside (Figures 3.121- 3.126). The bridge has stand on the sidewalks and stolen the space of people. *Abdi İpekçi* Park and *Sıhhiye* Square has been reduced to empty, useless and shabby spaces as the access of people prevented. Although *Sıhhiye* had been accommodating crucial facilities of city center such as educational institutions, healthcare services, administrative organs- Palace of Justice and social and cultural institutions such as Opera and Ethnographic Museum, its identical character and social life it was providing have been denied in the result of interventions (Figure 3.127- 3.130). Thus, gradually turned into chaotic, overcrowded and polluted *anti – pedestrian* district dominated merely by traffic.

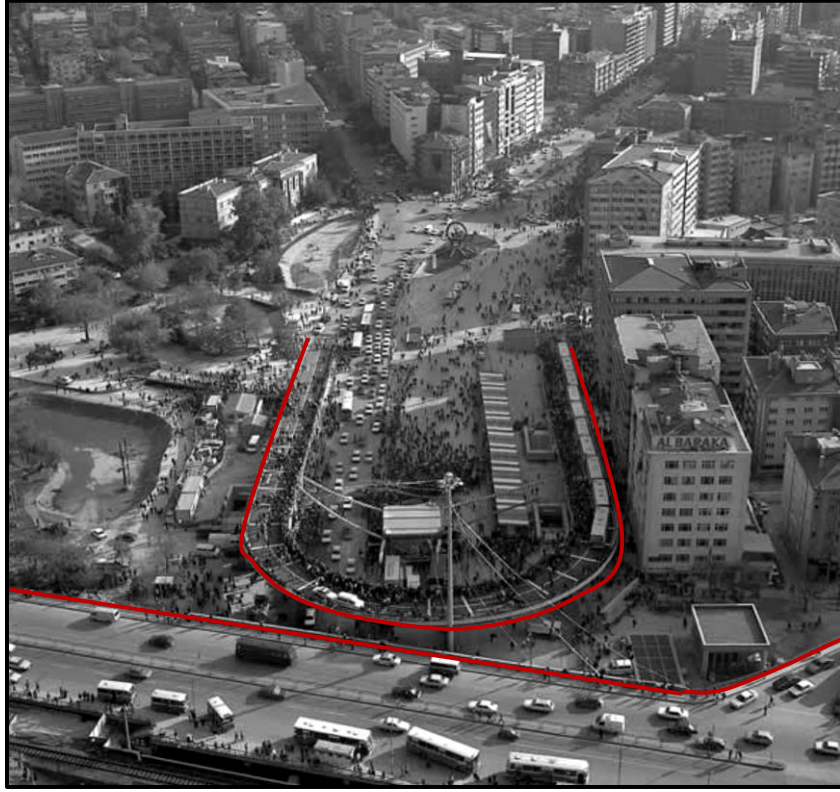


Figure 3.120: *Sıhhiye* U-turn Junction, ceremonies of people (not on the square) on the Junction, *Sıhhiye*, Atatürk Boulevard, 2005
Source: www.ankara.bel.tr 13 April 2013



Figure 3.121: *Sıhhiye* U-turn Junction, the expressway and placed barriers separating two sides of *Sıhhiye*, Atatürk Boulevard, 2013
Source: Personal archive



Figure 3.122: *Sıhhiye* U-turn Junction, the expressway and placed barriers separating two sides of *Sıhhiye*, ruined *Abdi İpekçi* Park, Atatürk Boulevard, 2013
Source: Personal archive

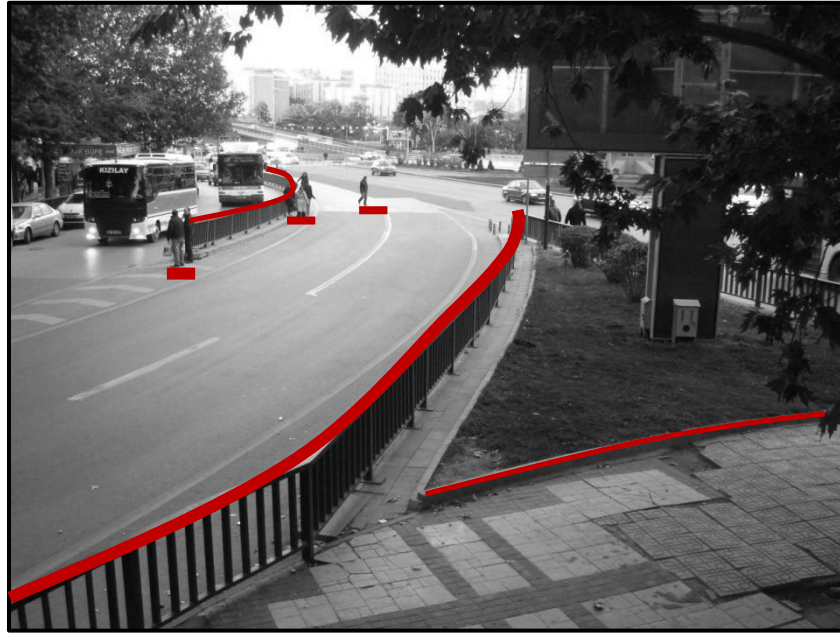


Figure 3.123: *Sıhhiye* U-turn Junction, placed barriers placed on the *pedestrian* road – preventing *pedestrian* crossing, Atatürk Boulevard, 2013
Source: Personal archive



Figure 3.124: *Sıhhiye* U-turn Junction, placed barriers - preventing *pedestrian* crossing, Atatürk Boulevard, 2013
Source: Personal archive



Figure 3.124: *Sıhhiye* U-turn Junction, placed barriers - preventing *pedestrian* crossing, Atatürk Boulevard, 2013
Source: Personal archive



Figure 3.125: *Sıhhiye* U-turn Junction and its material - visual mass, placed on the *sidewalk* - blocking *pedestrian* circulation, Atatürk Boulevard, 2013
Source: Personal archive



Figure 3.126: *Sıhhiye* U-turn Junction and material - visual mass, placed on the *sidewalk* - blocking *pedestrian* circulation, Atatürk Boulevard, 2013

Source: Personal archive

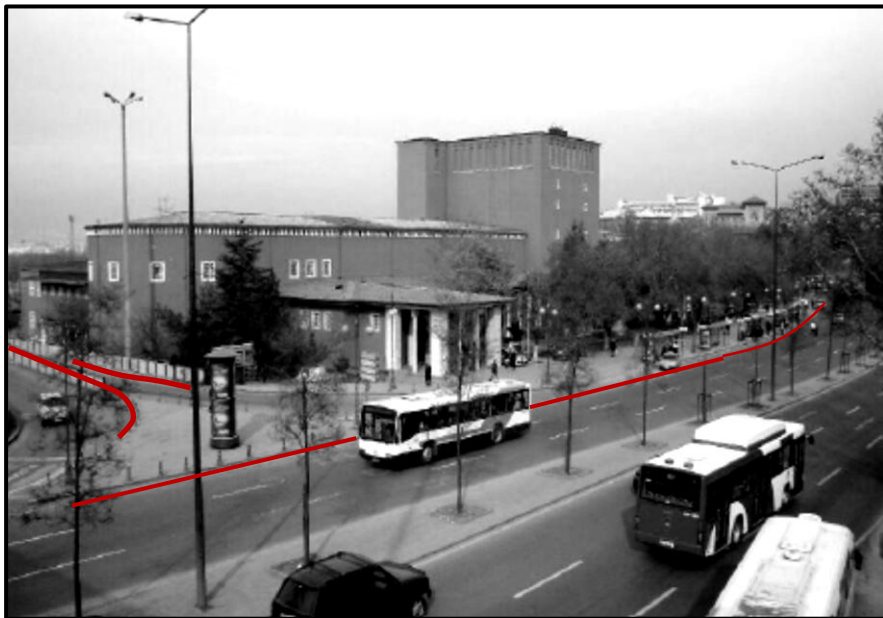


Figure 3.127: Opera Building encompassed by highways, *Sıhhiye*, Atatürk Boulevard, 2005
Source: <http://www.ypm.com.tr> 29 May 2013



Figure 3.128: *Gazi* Monument encompassed by highways, *Sıhhiye*, Atatürk Boulevard, 2013

Source: Personal archive

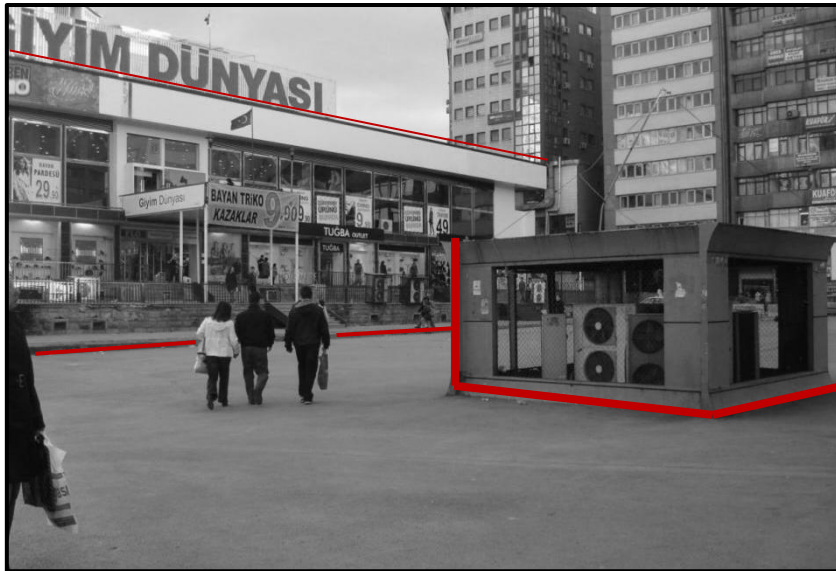


Figure 3.129: Ruined and wasted *Zafer* Square encompassed by cheap stores, *Sıhhiye*, Atatürk Boulevard, 2013

Source: Personal archive



Figure 3.130: Ruined, wasted, deserted *Zafer Square*, *Sıhhiye*, Atatürk Boulevard, 2013
Source: Personal archive

Hence, volume of the traffic on the Boulevard was also needed to be increased and *Kuğulu* underpasses near *Kuğulu Park* on *Kavaklıdere* has been completed 2007. In the construction process, even *Kuğulu Park* and surrounding area of the Embassies had been declared as ‘first class protection area’, existing trees were removed and sidewalk along the Boulevard has been narrowed to create space for the junction (Işık, 2007 cited in Koçak, 2008: 168) (figures 3.131, 3.132). In this way, sidewalks along the Boulevard have become ‘impossible sidewalk’ walking on that is nearly impossible. Thereby, people have been excluded from previously densely used southern part of the Boulevard, as it was now dominated by dense traffic and even has no space to walk on. In addition, number of pedestrian crossing decreased and more pedestrian overpasses constructed not to interrupt traffic on the Boulevard. As a result, the transport policies based on the priority of vehicles brought with even more traffic congestion the Boulevard and lead to more ignorance of pedestrians in city life. Made away sidewalks and displaced people of boulevard, in this respect, represented the disregard through the people - *pedestrians* at the city space and inhabitation of urban public life.



Figure 3.131: Construction of *Kuğulu* Underpasses, Made away sidewalks and displaced people of the Boulevard, Atatürk Boulevard, 2007

Source: Personal archive of Çağatay Keskinok



Figure 3.132: *Kuğulu* Underpasses, The expressway, Narrowed and made away sidewalks - displaced people of the Boulevard, Atatürk Boulevard, 2013

Source: Personal archive

On the other hand, while the sidewalks of Atatürk Boulevard have been destroyed largely, the surviving parts were disabled. The sidewalks cannot be merely seen as the space on where the *pedestrians* go by, they also constitute a transition zone for the surrounding functions and acquire new meanings in respect to them. However, after 1980s, the public functions on the boulevard such as buildings, squares, parks etc., which generates social relations and practices; have been destroyed one by one. Moreover, the symbolic places that create the most important social- public nodes along the Boulevard, such as *Ulus Square*, *Zafer square*, *Abdi İpekçi Park*, *Güvenpark Park*, *Kızılay* and *Kuğulu Park* have been the major targets of urban destruction and renewal interventions.

Therefore, due to the rapid increase in the number of motorized vehicles in Ankara, the intraurban transportation planning has largely focused on the construction of roads, intersections, bridges and similar infrastructure facilities without paying any attention to urban public life moreover even to *pedestrian transportation*.

On the cause traffic acceleration in *Kızılay*, the conflict between pedestrian and vehicles increased through the Boulevard (Figure 3.133). In this context, pedestrians are seen as just an obstacle for vehicle traffic. As mentioned by Babalık-Sutcliffe (2005, 296), the only aim of *pedestrian* - vehicle traffic separation was to serve speed of vehicle flow and thus to decrease traffic. A great number of pedestrian overpasses built in the city center just to be serve vehicle traffic rather than to pedestrians since they required the users to climb up an unreasonably high number of stairs. Although it was seen as a solution, it has restricted the *pedestrian* movement further (Figures 3.134, 3.135, 3.136) In the frame of the *anti-pedestrianism* approach adopted by the municipalities after 1994 in Ankara, *pedestrians* are not realized even rejected in Ankara (Figure 3.137). Neo- *pedestrians* on Atatürk Boulevard are unable to enjoy their fair share from the quasi city, since motorized vehicles invaded into all corners of the urban area. Besides, Atatürk Boulevard operate as a highway crossing the heart of the city, acting like a barrier in the middle of the city center, also not providing any chance to pedestrian accessibility.

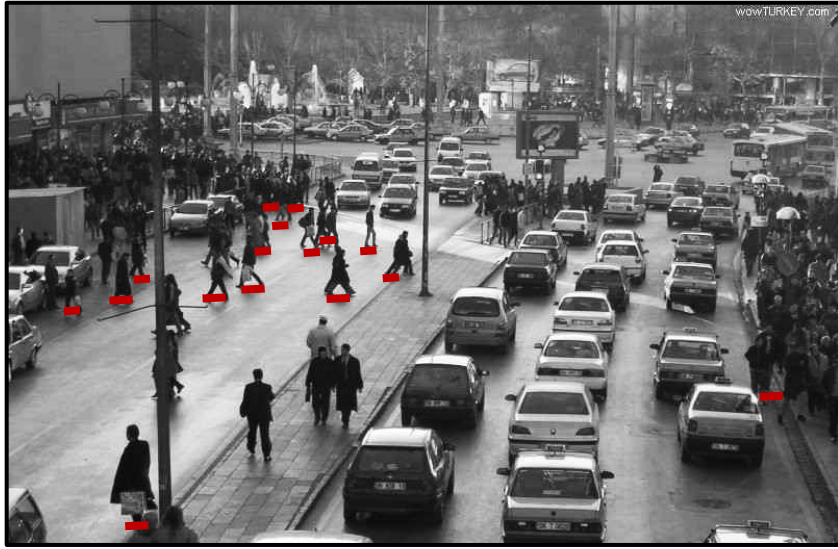


Figure 3.133: Conflict between *pedestrians* and vehicles, *Kızılay* Junction, Atatürk Boulevard, 00s

Source: www.wowturkey.com 12 September 2013

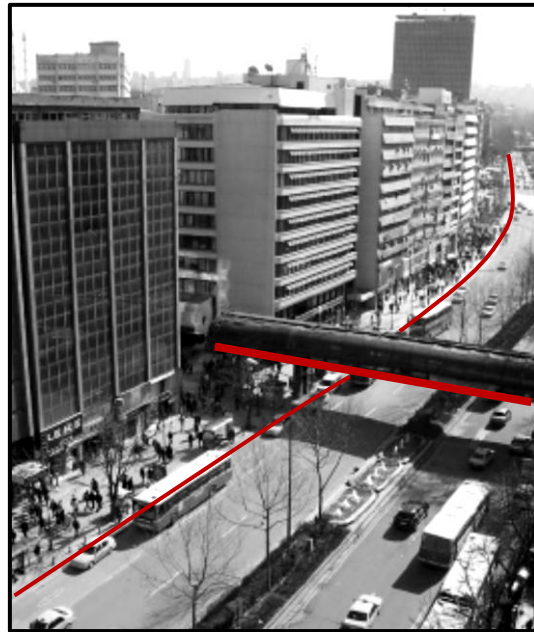


Figure 3.134: *Pedestrian* overpass serving motor traffic on the expressway, *Sıhhiye* to *Kızılay* direction, Atatürk Boulevard, 00s

Source: www.wowturkey.com 12 September 2013



Figure 3.135: *Pedestrian* overpass on the sidewalk blocking *pedestrian* traffic, Kızılay, Atatürk Boulevard, 2013

Source: Personal archive



Figure 3.136: *Pedestrian* overpass on the sidewalk blocking *pedestrian* traffic, Kızılay, Atatürk Boulevard, 2013

Source: Personal archive



Figure 3.137: *Pedestrians* finding their way in the labyrinth of roads: *Sıhhiye* U- Turn Bridge, *Sıhhiye* elevated transit road, priority of motors in the quasi city center, *Sıhhiye*, Atatürk Boulevard, 2008

Source: Personal archive of Çağatay Keskinok

Furthermore, as a remarkable anti –pedestrian regulation, on October 2003, barriers to prevent the *pedestrian* ground crossings across the boulevard were placed at *Kızılay* Junction where the *pedestrian* mobility is the highest (Sönmez, 2005:65). By the decision Ankara Metropolitan Municipality, pedestrians had been banned to cross across the Boulevard and forced to use underpasses. However, this implementation was far from reality as the flow density of pedestrians on the Boulevard was much more than the capacity of underground passages. So, members of the Union of Chambers of Turkish Engineers and Architects (TMMOB) published a declaration and initiated a public reaction campaign to protest decision (2003); and in the end, the arrangement was halted by the Commission of Traffic in Ankara Governorship. These traffic-oriented interventions at the city center and along the Boulevard have extended significant effect on the physical environment as the *perceived* space and social urban practices as the *lived space*; so lowered the quality of urban experience day by day. It is clear that the people were not allowed on the boulevard, anymore. Ataturk Boulevard sidewalks, meanwhile, are the scene of the *exclusion of people* and *rejection of the pedestrian* at urban space (Figures 3.138, 3.139, 3.140).

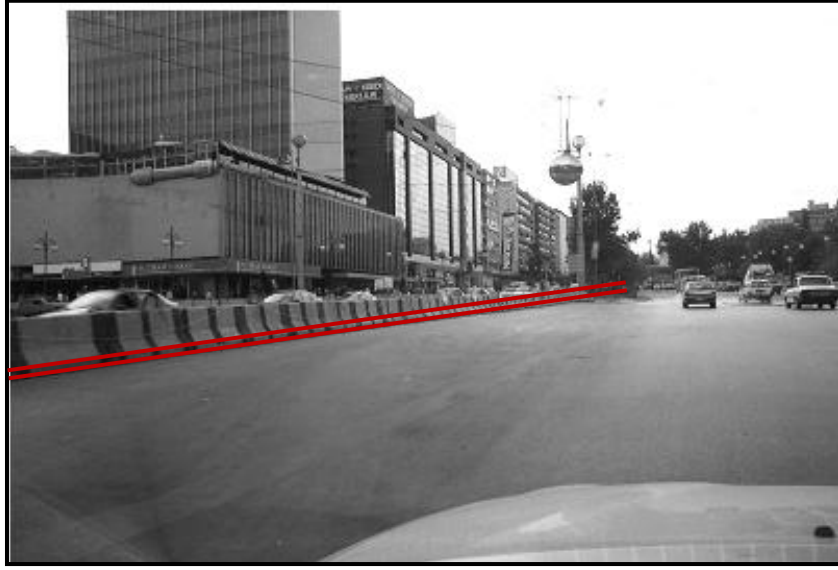


Figure 3.138: Placed barriers restricting *pedestrian* crossing, *Anti - pedestrianism*, Kızılay Junction, Atatürk Boulevard, 2003

Source: Personal Archive of Erhan Öncü



Figure 3.139: Placed barriers restricting *pedestrian* crossing, *Anti - pedestrianism*, Kızılay Junction, Atatürk Boulevard, 2003

Source: Personal Archive of Erhan Öncü

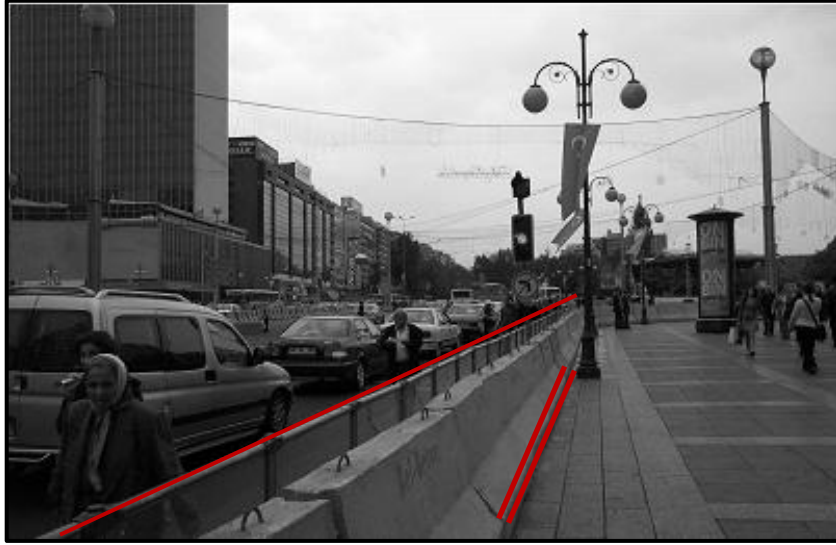


Figure 3.140: Placed barriers restricting *pedestrian* crossing, *Anti - pedestrianism*, Kızılay Junction, Atatürk Boulevard, 2003

Source: Personal Archive of Erhan Öncü

In this context, the existence of the public citizen had been reduced to the *pedestrian* after the 1970s; ignored completely after by 2000s, in Ankara. In other words, the Boulevard sidewalks, which were designed as the producer of social life in the early Republic Period; after 70s, had been transformed into the functional space for *pedestrians'* mobility and lost its social public feature, in the frame of *regarded pedestrianism* - the measure of controlling and restricting non-compatible public acts. However, in the late period after 90s, sidewalks transformed into the (none) space of the excluded urban people and ignored *pedestrian*.

In this period, as the result of the urban decisions taken, the *impossible sidewalks of* Atatürk Boulevard that are not proper to walk is the most apparent manifestation of the radical approach on the *pedestrianism*, and respectively the sidewalk. . *The Impossible Sidewalk* can be defined as an elevated thing situated along the road /highway and on that, one cannot walk. (Figures 3.141- 3.54)

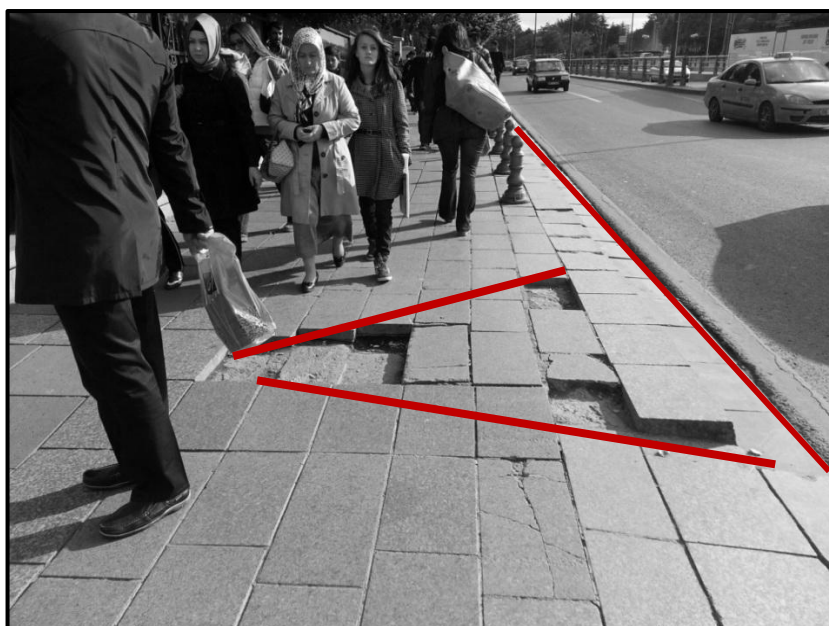


Figure 3.141: The *Impossible Sidewalk*- destroyed, broken, restricted, blocked, removed sidewalks; *Anti pedestrianism*, Atatürk Boulevard, 2013

Source: Personal archive

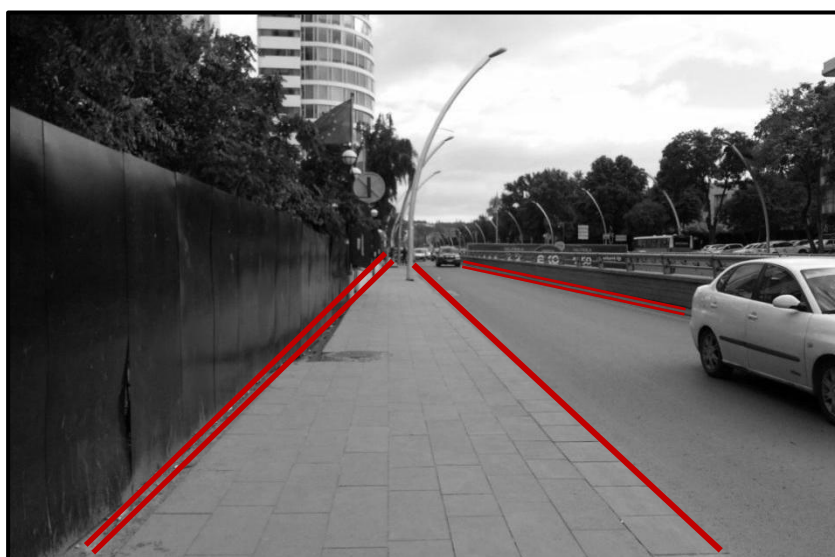


Figure 3.142: The *Impossible Sidewalk*- destroyed, broken, restricted, blocked, removed sidewalks; *Anti pedestrianism*, Atatürk Boulevard, 2013

Source: Personal archive

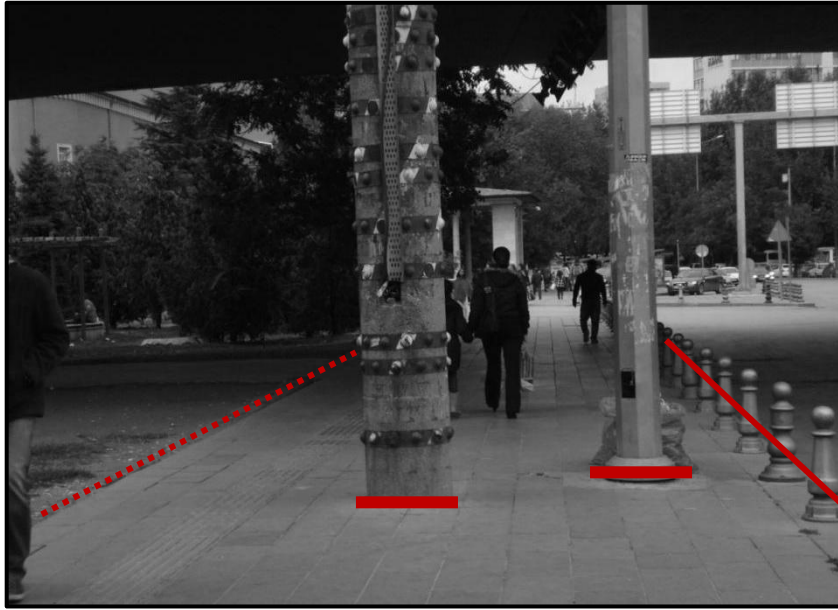


Figure 3.143: The *Impossible Sidewalk*- destroyed, broken, restricted, blocked, removed sidewalks; *Anti pedestrianism*, Atatürk Boulevard, 2013

Source: Personal archive

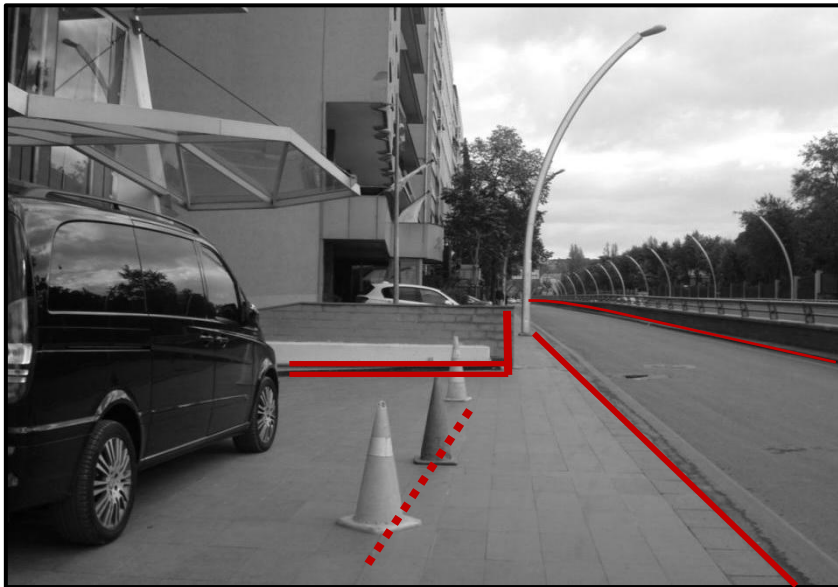


Figure 3.144: The *Impossible Sidewalk*- destroyed, broken, restricted, blocked, removed sidewalks; *Anti pedestrianism*, Atatürk Boulevard, 2013

Source: Personal archive



Figure 3.145: The *Impossible Sidewalk*- destroyed, broken, restricted, blocked, removed sidewalks; *Anti pedestrianism*, Atatürk Boulevard, 2013

Source: Personal archive



Figure 3.146: The *Impossible Sidewalk*- destroyed, broken, restricted, blocked, removed sidewalks; *Anti pedestrianism*, Atatürk Boulevard, 2013

Source: Personal archive



Figure 3.147: The *Impossible Sidewalk*- destroyed, broken, restricted, blocked, removed sidewalks; *Anti pedestrianism*, Atatürk Boulevard, 2013

Source: Personal archive

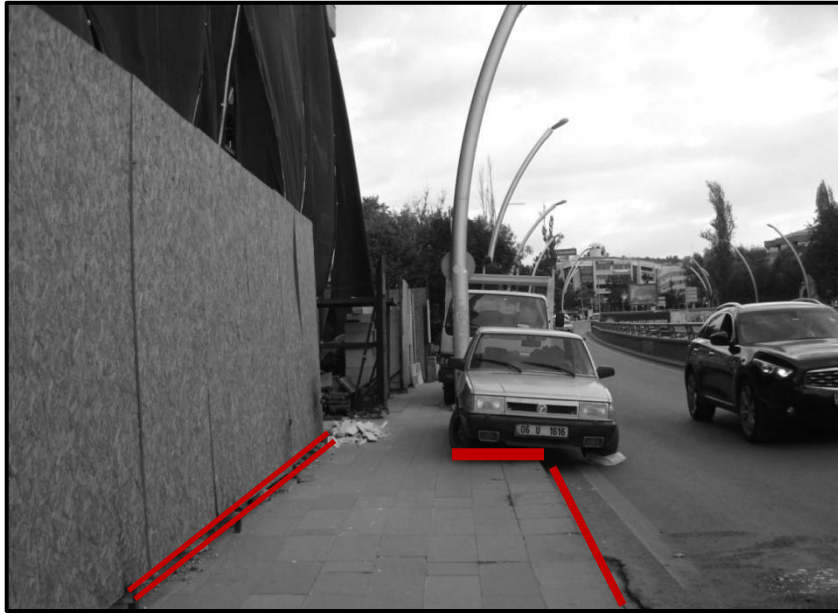


Figure 3.148: The *Impossible Sidewalk*- destroyed, broken, restricted, blocked, removed sidewalks; *Anti pedestrianism*, Atatürk Boulevard, 2013

Source: Personal archive



Figure 3.149: The *Impossible Sidewalk*- destroyed, broken, restricted, blocked, removed sidewalks; *Anti pedestrianism*, Atatürk Boulevard, 2013

Source: Personal archive

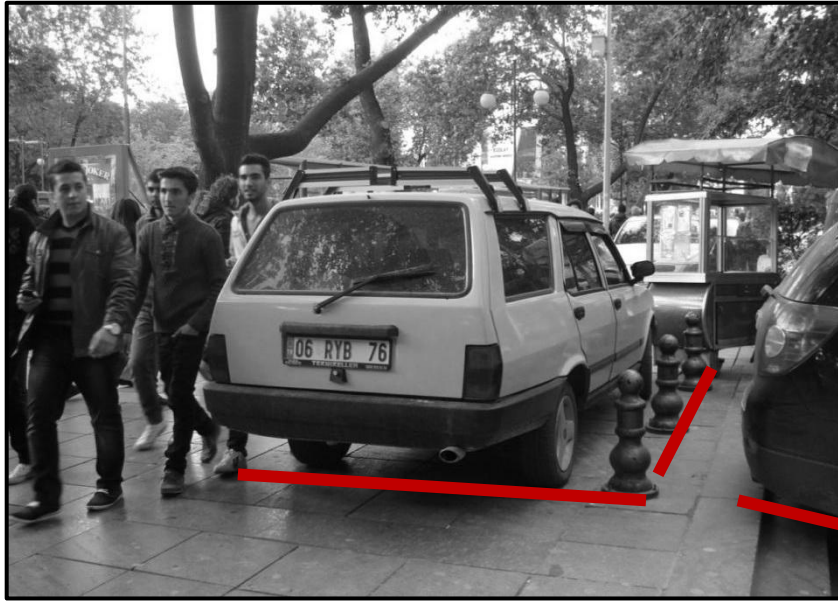


Figure 3.150: The *Impossible Sidewalk*- destroyed, broken, restricted, blocked, removed sidewalks; *Anti pedestrianism*, Atatürk Boulevard, 2013

Source: Personal archive



Figure 3.151: The *Impossible Sidewalk*- destroyed, broken, restricted, blocked, removed sidewalks; *Anti pedestrianism*, Atatürk Boulevard, 2013

Source: Personal archive



Figure 3.152: The *Impossible Sidewalk*- destroyed, broken, restricted, blocked, removed sidewalks; *Anti pedestrianism*, Atatürk Boulevard, 2013

Source: Personal archive



Figure 3.153: The *Impossible Sidewalk*- destroyed, broken, restricted, blocked, removed sidewalks; *Anti pedestrianism*, Atatürk Boulevard, 2013

Source: Personal archive



Figure 3.154: The *Impossible Sidewalk*- destroyed, broken, restricted, blocked, removed sidewalks; *Anti pedestrianism*, Atatürk Boulevard, 2013

Source: Personal archive

However, for Ankara citizens, walking by Ataturk Boulevard sidewalks is a necessity. A large crowd of walking people trying to reach a destination is familiar scene on the Boulevard. The reason of walking along the boulevard is to reach some place from another; and *Kızılay* Junction and *Güvenpark* transportation node is where pedestrian immobility is most dense. Observed that, people are rushing to reach their destination without even looking to around and each other. Walking on the boulevard sometimes is a misery.

Ataturk Boulevard sidewalks, which had been sacrificed by the authorities and decision makers, also have been underestimated and devaluated by its users. Modern citizen have naturalized *being a pedestrian* on the sidewalk and coded *the sidewalk praxis* by the appropriated *pedestrian* behaviors (Figures 3.155- 3.162). According to the approach of respected *pedestrianism* and dis-respected *publicness*, sidewalks are made for walking on. In this context, the basic expectation of an Ankara citizen from the sidewalk is probably able to walk in a safe and un-interrupted way, yet that is what Ankara people long for.



Figure 3.155: The sidewalk praxis, *hurrying – directed pedestrian*, Atatürk Boulevard, 2013

Source: Personal archive



Figure 3.156: The sidewalk praxis, *hurrying – directed pedestrian*, Atatürk Boulevard, 2013

Source: Personal archive



Figure 3.157: The sidewalk praxis, *inured – directed pedestrian*, Atatürk Boulevard, 2013

Source: Personal archive



Figure 3.158: The sidewalk praxis, *inured – directed pedestrian*, Atatürk Boulevard, 2013

Source: Personal archive



Figure 3.159: The sidewalk praxis, *inured – directed pedestrian*, Atatürk Boulevard, 2013

Source: Personal archive



Figure 3.160: The sidewalk praxis, *inured – directed - determined pedestrian*, Atatürk Boulevard, 2013

Source: Personal archive



Figure 3.161: The sidewalk praxis, *inured – directed pedestrian*, Atatürk Boulevard, 2013

Source: Personal archive

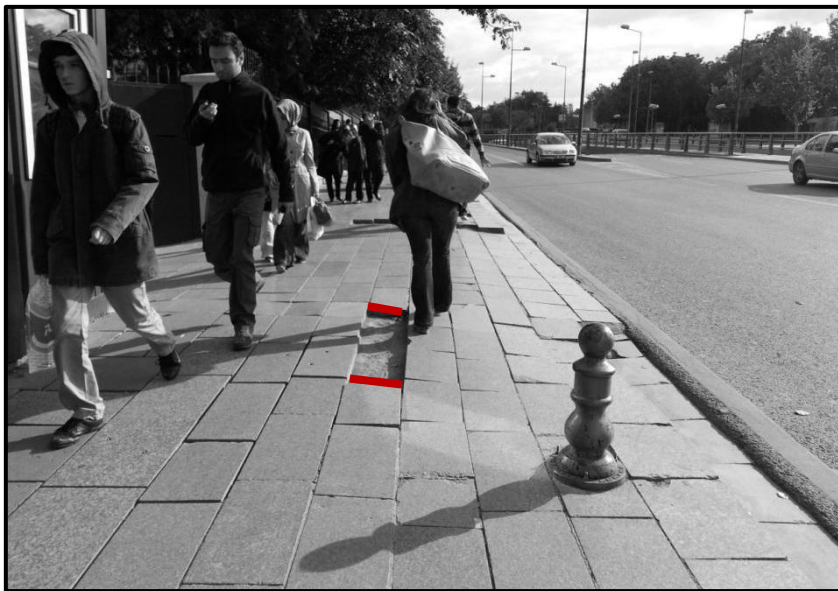


Figure 3.162: The sidewalk praxis, *inured – directed pedestrian*, Atatürk Boulevard, 2013

Source: Personal archive

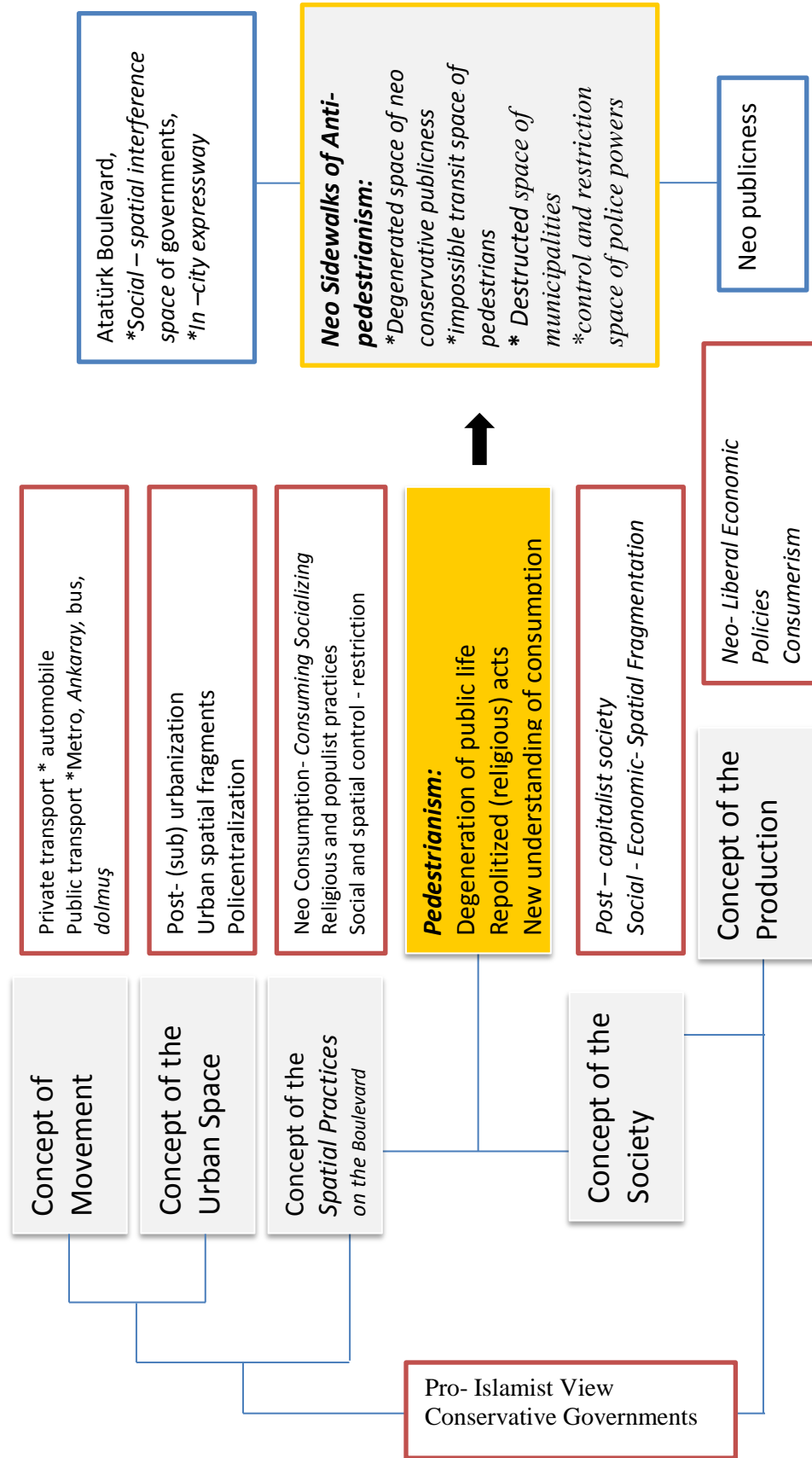


Figure 3.163: Context and concepts of the Neo Sidewalks, by Anti- pedestrianism and Degenerated Publicness

Source: Personal rendering

CHAPTER 4

CONCLUSION

In this study, I have discussed the evolution and transformation of attitudes (ideas, ideals) and practices towards/ on Atatürk Boulevard sidewalks, by means of theoretical knowledge, conceptive ideas, and historical observations also empirical truths. Presented historical reviews, spatial formations, social – political acts have been interpreted in terms of authentically constituted theoretical framework regarding the sidewalk. The object of study is not a science of space, but to provide a conceptual framework and a theory regarding the sidewalk and its production process. Thus, I will conclude this thesis by expressing the theoretical findings of the study that intends to generate new arguments to the literature and provide a framework for further studies regarding this unique and underrated urban space.

Cities comprise several layers of man-made physical elements, however does not just hold the physical existence of space. The urban comprehends the relations and its spaces. Space as a ‘social construct/ product’ constituted/ produced through social relations and practices. Social space is not a thing among other thing, or a product among other product, rather it subsumes things produced, and encompasses their inter-relationships in their coexistence and simultaneity...It is the outcome of a sequence and set of operations therefore cannot be reduced to the rank of a simple object (Lefebvre, 1991: 73). Thus, (social) space unites the physical, the mental and the social.

The *Sidewalk*, morphologically, is the paved walkway along the *side* of a street and its primary function is to separate motor vehicles from pedestrians on the street space and providing them safe and comfortable circulation.

However, conceiving and perceiving the sidewalk just as a materiality of urban functionality would be a reducing so defective approach that victimizes the complex urban actuality. Sidewalks cannot be just considered as transit channels allocated to walking activity in the modern cities. As the material and morphological formation of the sidewalk requires it to be conceived as a linear transition area between varied urban spaces and operations; on the other hand, its users -the human factor procures it to be a meeting place - social space brings together different people, groups and ideas. Therefore, the sidewalk features two separated, sometimes contrasting but also complementary ideas that identify its distinctiveness and assures its importance for the contemporary urban. The sidewalk is the essential element of the modern urban functioning and the most fundamental urban organ that insures the continuity of daily life. Firstly, sidewalks are linear transition spaces that is defined and gained meaning via the bordering buildings and uses; since the sidewalk co- exists and operates in relation with urban functions. On the other hand, the sidewalk is a place/ social space used/ utilized/ inhibited and experienced by people. Therefore, the

social- cultural importance of the sidewalk as a venue for the urban community dictates its status as the preeminent public space of the city. Moreover, as motorized way of transportation keeps an indispensable place for functioning of contemporary urban, critical significance of the sidewalk in the context of urban public life becomes more crucial.

The problematic of the sidewalk is inherited in its production process, since the urban space is a (social) product. If there is a productive process, then we are dealing with history. The Sidewalk is a product of shifting (contextual) urban interests and (conceptual) urban conditions. In the study on the history of sidewalks, *Emergence of the (Modern) Sidewalk* and *the (Modern) Pedestrian* have been discussed, through the interrelated categories of *urban form, concept of movement, concept of walking, concept of production and concept of the social relations*. The interrelated concepts that constitute the sidewalk context in its totality produce *the concept of the pedestrianism* and consequently the sidewalk.

Side-walks' physical existence starts from ancient periods as an integral part of Roman street infrastructure. However, *ancient side-walks* can just be identifies as elevated side walking paths that's main function was raise the walker above the dust and mud so that walkers could keep their feet dry and clean on untrained streets. In ancient and medieval times, since urbanism doesn't possess a complex political entity we cannot mansion a complex social structure. In organic and homogenous pattern of city, walking activity in urban space refer exquisite every- day activity practiced by coequal settlers.

By the break from the Middle Ages in Europe, incoming understanding of humanity also reformed the ideals of the cities. Together they reflect the importance of health, security, religion, and recreation in a well-regulated urban environment and the value of Roman ideals in urban design. Virtuous rulers caring for the welfare of the citizenry had improved paving, sanitary and safety of the streets. On the other hand, as welfare of the merchant class and prosperity of cities had improved, wheeled transportation had become attainable for certain classes and more common at cities. However, until the modern period, priority given to people at the urban space did not much change; that streets were dominated by walkers and appropriated by the variety of other urban experiences.

By the 17th century, identified as the Baroque period, a new concept of movement had arisen by the changing production relations and the emergence of the new merchant class. Changing social and technological structure in this period had provoked the transformation of urban pattern and practices. New dynamics of production led merchants' to move their workshops out of city center, and multiplied transportation necessities between home and work places led to wheeled transit gain importance. On the other hand, in the frame of new social class dynamics, *promenading* in the horse-drawn vehicles became a statue symbol on the baroque avenues, squares and large urban parks, while walking activity were identified as a nebbish obligatory for the lower classes. *Walking people*, in this respect, marginalized in urban space and termed as the *pedestrian*, which also referred who is *poor, dull, deadly, slow* and *banal*. Nevertheless, the *early modern side-walks* were not yet clearly specialized to separate vehicles from the human/ *the pedestrian*.

The sidewalk, as a modern urban element, has diverse aims and motivations in its production process. *The (modern) sidewalk* is a product of (modern) urban administration and its ideological intentions. The sidewalk regulates urban operations but also urban people. In the frame of modernism ideal, sidewalks, as the most common and critical public spaces of the modern city, are where ideas and relations of modernity are generated, operated and secured.

Modernity refers to a post-traditional, post-medieval historical period that marked by the move towards capitalism, industrialization, secularization, rationalization, the nation-state and its constituent institutions and forms of surveillance. Respectively, for Marx, what was the basis of modernity was the emergence of capitalism and the revolutionary bourgeoisie. In this respect, as a concept of modernity, the modernism can be defined as a *socially progressive trend* secured the social relations associated with the rise of capitalism, offering scientific and/or political ideologies in the wake of secularization. In this respect, under system of the capitalism and assurance of the nation state, district and inborn social structure of pre-modern periods evolved in to the equal citizenship in the social system of mass democracy. However, *the capitalist social order* brought the division of labor and significance of wealth and income in urban ranks.

By the technical and economic achievements in this period, especially by the development of railways also by the arrival of trolley stagecoach, new movement concept pushed the city beyond its limits. Rapid growth and unplanned development occupied the city; on the other hand, trolleys and carriages caused great congestion at street space, as the wheeled transportation became attainable to all classes and widespread at urban street. In this respect, clean, safe and illuminated streets in the modern cities became popular operations of urban governance, in order to procure proper practices of the productive system and to regulate its (human) resources in the frame of modern urban relations.

The (modern) sidewalk, as a particular urban coding that supplied image and practices associated with the modern urban particularly, made its appearance accompanied with the (modern) boulevard. At the end of 18th century, modern boulevards have emerged as a tool for adding new values to urban life, and controlling and regulating the growth of the cities. In the frame of Haussmann's restructuring Project of Paris, while boulevards were built to control and regulate the urban practices on the public platform; by the rational order and the services that it provided, became the indicator of the modern city and its associated life style.

On the other hand, the modern boulevard, which has the dichotomy of vehicle and the *pedestrian* led up the new approaches in urban design. The separation of vehicles and *pedestrians* was the typical characteristic of modern boulevards; thence, modern boulevards brought along the concept of the *pedestrianism* and the *pedestrian* discourse. Sidewalks as the indispensable element of modern boulevards became a spatial identity of the modern city and modern urban life; providing the safe and comfortable mobility- transit spaces for the *pedestrians*, in the responsibility of urban governance. Even if, it is the primary thought

that sidewalks is utilized by *pedestrians*; obedience of sidewalk space to vehicles or people is open to question. In the frame of the *pedestrianism*, sidewalk itself is defined increasingly according to logic of vehicular circulation. Furthermore, the *pedestrian* areas designed in the frame of the *pedestrianism* consciously made the urban people forget the social and political potential inherited in the nature of the sidewalks. Hence, *the modern sidewalk* became the essential subject of the traffic-oriented approach; as the *space of otherness of the pedestrian and the refuge of urban walker*.

Therefore, the author uses the *pedestrian* term as the reflection and product of the defective approach and finds more appropriate to use the word urban walker/urban people/ citizen instead of the *pedestrian*. Since, it is the *inhabitants* (rather than *pedestrians*) who transform the space in to a place (social space).

On the other hand, by the mid- twentieth century, cities have reinvented themselves – commercially, politically and spatially in the concept of *post- (sub) urbanization*. In the period after modernism and capitalism, *consumerism* has produced the post- urban spaces that are highly fragmented, consumption oriented and privatized. On the other hand, the consumerist/ post – capitalist society characterized with life style divisions in relation to changing configuration of class, thus high degree of social polarization actualized as social groups distinguished by their consumption patterns. Moreover, transportation and telecommunication technologies brought the non-space mobility and communication practices that concluded the altered urban conception and perception. Cities are designed for automobiles, roads are widened, and *pedestrians* had been thrown to the left over spaces of roads that are *post-pedestrian sidewalks*. *Post -pedestrian sidewalks* are the *non-places* that have been produced by the dominant ideologies that lack the social relations and practices to transmit knowledge, generate meaning, and call for new relations so to re-utilize the space. *Destructed or Regenerated Sidewalks*, in the period of post- urbanism, became the manifestation of the *post* or *anti- pedestrianism* that either rejects people on the urban space or reevaluates as the potential consumers.

Walking activity in urban space is a context sensitive concept. By the technological transportation and communication achievements, walking activity in urban space diverged from being *the necessary ritual of urban life* to *marginal activity of lower classes* in the early - modern periods, evolved to *occupancy of freedom and democracy* in the modern city and reduced to *consuming* in the post- modern period. The modern sidewalk - sterilized, neat, comfortable and out of danger urban public space, brought out a new *urban walking* concept that is *promenading*. Ordinary daily life on the streets had evolved to a public progressive, cultural and intellectual experience in the context of the equal citizenship and democracy. The modern sidewalk became *the modern society* stage experienced by walking that is a leisure activity for all ranks.

On the other hand, urban walking as a proper *pedestrian* activity, realized on the modern sidewalks, is a modern ‘spatial practice’ that is dominated by and comforts relations of production belongs to the capitalism. As citizens became consumer at the public space and consuming became a way of socializing, *pedestrians* attend to the urban space- sidewalks

that lend assistance to the productive system, as the passive users. In this respect, walking as a regenerated urban act became a way of consuming rather than experiencing the urban. After all, formation of the sidewalk (along the modern boulevard) was a social- political project. Beyond being a transportation channel and an urban service area, the modern boulevard and the modern sidewalk is a social space. As it have the characteristics of a public space, the sidewalk acts as a mediator to produce and legitimize different identities and discourses. Social and political relations of the society is transformed and carried on public spaces; therefore, sidewalks of the modern city is a '*tabula rasa*' for the transformations" and function as the generator and enhancer of the productive economy and the modern society. In the frame of modernism project, modern sidewalks provides comfortable and safety physical - social ground for citizens to sustain their daily activities and adapt to the dominant system.

Every production mode creates its own spaces, in the frame of its production relations. On the other hand, produced urban spaces attempts to produce and re-produce people and spaces of that ruling mode of production. Urban space is where the capitalist production is realized, but also by capitalism could survive. In this respect, both urban planning and urbanism are the *strategic instruments* of capitalism and the State, in the production of the regulatory and controlled space.

After the rise of industrial capitalism in the 19th century, modern planning approach securing the changing economic and political ideologies also transformed the public sphere. Modern city planning and building approaches have idealized the functioning and the form of urban space; however, overlooked the social content of it. Well planned, isolated and functionally separated urban spaces have provided directed and regulated urban experiences that minimized the spontaneous social activities and the interaction of inhabitants. Urban space has been divided to functional zones, and so people, objects and activities directed and regulated accordingly. In this respect, *the (modern) sidewalk* as a product of modern urbanism has been conceptualized and designated as a *functional zone separated for the pedestrian (transit)*.

Pedestrianism, as *the philosophy regarding the attitude towards the sidewalk by state, professional authorities and its utilizers*, is a social phenomenon that is shaped through urban concept and concept of movement, in the frame of social- material (productive) relations. The *pedestrianism as the zoning of the acts on the street* and an urban regulatory concept over walking activity at urban space has its actual meaning in the modern city. The *pedestrianism* is a *conceptual filter* and *governmental tactic* that re-shapes and restricts the society in the frame of appropriated behaviors and rights on the urban space. Its idea and discourse reduced urban walking to a mean of transportation and respectively the sidewalk to an object of transportation. In this respect, the modern *pedestrian* has been conceptualized as the passive user of space.

Moreover, *Pedestrianism*, as the discourse on or about sidewalk space and its associated practices, submits the knowledge on the sidewalk in the form of theories, legal regulations, plans, design manuals etc. that re-produces the 'representations of space'. Thus, modern

sidewalks idealized and realized by ‘specialists’ is a ‘dominated space’ as produced, and a *non – place* which lacks its social essence. In this respect, acts on the sidewalk other than walking to a certain end, such as cruising, promenading, chatting, soliciting, shopping, rioting, protesting, demonstrating, skulking etc., as the way of occupying the urban space that re-produces the sidewalk from a ‘dominated space’ into an ‘appropriated space’ by its inhabitants, is restricted by the regarded (modern) *pedestrianism*.

In accordance with the problematic of the thesis, Ankara- Ataturk Boulevard sidewalks have chosen as the main investigation space. Concerning to reveal the actual motivations and pattern of determinants, this thesis looks for the direct and indirect; spatial and non-spatial actors and factors that lead the transformation of the sidewalk rationale and synchronously the space. Through identifying the continuities, breaking points and set of contradictions in the process of production and transformation of Atatürk Boulevard sidewalks, main purpose of the study is to find out the pattern of causalities in the historical context of the case.

As a matter of diachronic consideration, Ataturk Boulevard sidewalks have been produced, reproduced and demolished under various urban conditions, since Ankara was selected as the capital city of the Turkish Republic. Ankara as the capital city had been envisioned as the spatial representation of the nation state and its modern identity .By the establishment of the Republic of Turkey, construction of a brand new *modern capital city* had been the one of major instruments for the imposition of the novel Republican ideology. Therefore, Atatürk Boulevard and public space pattern along the Boulevard is the product of the intention to designate the new urban image of national identity and life scene of the modern –young- democratic society. In this respect, in fist plan considerations, Ataturk Boulevard and its sidewalks had not been formed to meet with the recent needs of existing socio-spatial structure of Ankara in that years, but to attain forward designated urban pattern and its idealized life style. At this point, production and re-production of Ataturk Boulevard sidewalks can be interpreted as the hybrid of imported west urbanization knowledge and practices, also unique political intention(s) and contemporary urban conditions particular to Turkish urbanism dynamics.

In the first years of Republic, Atatürk Boulevard was designated as the spatial representation of the Republican Philosophy and constructed as the most important axis of Ankara with its modern sidewalks. Ataturk Boulevard has been the main design subject in all of the first three plan proposals for Ankara (Leon Jausseley, Josef Brix, Herman Jansen). The common characteristic of these three plans is all of them had proposed a boulevard constituting the main spine of the city, trough the axis between the old and the new city. However, only Jansen Plan had proposed a *continuous* main artery through the North-South direction of the city. The Atatürk Boulevard has been designed as the young republic’s main artery; and in this frame, it is one of the unique examples that a city developed with a planned spine.

Atatürk Boulevard had been designated as the spatial - operational, social - progressive and ideological- representative spine of Ankara. It begins at *the Hâkimiyet-i Milliye (Ulus)*

square and ends at *Çankaya* Residence, linking the old and new city. The main vision of the boulevard is meaningful as it begins at the first parliament where the critical decisions were taken for Turkish War of Independence and *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* Square, as the first (Republican) Square; and reaches to the House of the representation of public authority in Turkey. In addition, the names of the people who made great effort for the development young republic were given to the streets, which are intersecting with the Atatürk Boulevard.

The Jansen plan of Ankara had attained special emphasis to continuous pedestrian circulation and public spaces generating the sense community. In this plan, it is considered that the basic element of the urban experience is the people and the basic spatial element is the public space. The plan proposed pattern of public places for people to enjoy urban life, socialize and by the approach which can be thought as the requirements of a healthy society and a contemporary lifestyle. In this sense, Atatürk Boulevard was designed to be the most important and characteristic public place of Modern Ankara, on which the vehicles and the people are exist in harmony. The sidewalk, as a unique type of the public space that co - exists with other modes of on- street transportation, situated the must component of the Boulevard and the modern urban. In this respect, sidewalks of Atatürk Boulevard, serving the Republican ideology as the spatial formation of the intended life style and genius, had great emphasis in the Jansen Plan.

Being the major element of the unique Boulevard formation, the concept of sidewalk at the case of Atatürk Boulevard, had been produced to legitimate space of the Republic and its ideals. Becoming a capital city, brand new Ankara took its shape via the conscious design attempts of planners and ideological decisions of the State authorities. In the first planning period of Capital Ankara, urban space was built as a tool of modernization in total reformation project. In the early Republican period, it has been thought that social existence and progress were dependently connected with the spatial existence and therefore the spaces which would reproduce the society had been planned in respect to this consciousness. Social relations constituted by the interaction of institutions shapes the perceptions and in turn practices of citizens. Thus, in the Early Republican Period, the Boulevard sidewalks were assigned the installation of a new – modern urban culture into citizens of Ankara and were taken as a tool to shape the society.

The modernist attempts belonging to the design of broad sidewalks comprised re-conceptualization of life practices in the city. Thus, the sidewalks of Atatürk Boulevard are the spaces where the new lifestyle is represented, accepted and adopted. Atatürk Boulevard through *Yenişehir* District attained a vibrant social and political life, where residential areas for bureaucrats, recreative public spaces settled along. *Güvenpark* and *Havuzbaşı* became the most attractive recreation and socializing places for citizens and the spatial representation of bourgeois identity and its identical leisure activities. Through 1930s and 1940s parks, squares and sidewalks along the Boulevard was the *social arena of the modern community*. In addition, until 1960's, Atatürk Boulevard sidewalks were the main socializing place for Ankara *high society*. Boulevard in this sense was designed as an *appearance space of bourgeois* and the sidewalks were the places where the new social

class and the new lifestyle that would the pioneer the modernization were made visible to the ‘others’.

Sidewalk is a spatial formation that takes its life cooperated with defining uses and buildings. In this context, the institutions that gave the public character and democratic background to the Boulevard had been designated as the institutions of the new Regime. Administration is considered in integration with the community and it is aimed that the governmental authorities of the Republic to be an inseparable part of the urban life and public experience. Thus, Sidewalks of Atatürk Boulevard integrated the social and the political, the official and the civic life on the public sphere and constituted the spatial representations of the central authority. By this way, it is impossible that the production of public space in terms of social life in Ankara been designated independently from the political aims and motivations. In this context, in the Early Republican Period, sidewalks of Ataturk Boulevard were the space where the social life (as the ‘lived’ – ‘perceived space’) and the ideological intentions (as the ‘conceived’ ‘representation of space’) had intersected.

However, as being the most significant part of public network, *sidewalks of the Republic* could not been transformed into the social place where is the subject of modern daily life practices; and furthermore, in the following periods, it became the focus the interventions under the effect of latter political authorities and the related ideology.

In the period of post 1950s, Ataturk boulevard sidewalks became the influence space of urban trends and conditions. The urban plans prepared for Ankara after 50s has not provided any propositions regarding sidewalks or any other decisions in the street scale. By 50s getting control over unplanned growth and directing urban macroform had become the primary concern of urban planning activities, under the condition urban problems as urban population, illegal housing, pollution, traffic congestion etc. In this respect, the prominence once Ataturk Boulevard sidewalks had got faded from the scene, as sidewalks reduced to mobility space of *pedestrians*, decayed in its user profile, lost its historical representative identity, regulated and cleared off incompatible activities, disregarded as an out dated urban component, and finally ignored absolutely, in various processes.

In the frame of the political and economic trends, by 1950s, the focus of the planning decisions shifted to the efforts of managing and regulating the urban growth rather than the concern of re shaping urban space and the society. After it had been declared as the Capital City, Ankara went into a rapid process of growth. Until 1957, Ankara’s growth of population went beyond approximately twice of Jansen’s estimations, and rapidly increasing population of Ankara directed pressure on urban space. Thus, the second master plan for Ankara adopted in 1957, had been prepared by Nihat Yücel- Raşit Uybadin, aimed to provide urgent remedy for unplanned- illegal development and urban problems resulted from the by intensive migration and over population. The modified economic and political intentions of that period have led to changes in the framework of urban development strategies. Solutions were directly oriented to the contemporary urban problems and rents; therefore the intentions regarding the idea of creating an ideal city and society was

suspended. In this period, the speculative pressures occurred by the urban capital accumulation process has mostly affected the city centers.

As the consequence of the *Flat Ownership Law* was enacted in 1968, allowing to “9-10 storey buildings along the Boulevard also on the roads connecting to the Boulevard, and 6 storeys for near regions”; most of the apartments on the Atatürk Boulevard had been demolished and replaced by new higher buildings, up to 1970s. By the demolition, rationality behind the Jansen construction disappeared as front setback distances and gardens of the buildings occupied by the masses of the buildings. From then on, it was urban rent speculations, as a subject of the capitalist system that shaped the production of space of the Boulevard.

After 1950s, Ataturk Boulevard became *the public - spatial network on which the different meanings and aims intersected*. In 1950's Ataturk Boulevard became the major struggle space between the former policies that aims to develop the modern state and society; and the groups that want to benefit from urban growth and rent speculations. In this sense, Ataturk Boulevard and its sidewalks were one of the most significant subjects and *the arena of the changing economic and ideological trends*.

In the 1960s, *Kızılay* became a vibrant business and commercial center and the new city center of Ankara, targeting upper and middle-upper income groups. Commercial stores, cafes under shopping arcades and new office blocks extended in the 1960s. Boulevard was now not only a space of Republican governance functions nor elite social and cultural occasions, but is a commercial spine where the city center related activities are concentrated. However, while Ataturk Boulevard was transforming into a space where vibrant economic and social activities are spreading, its spatial characteristics, historical identity and Republican public character had been sacrificed. In this period, commercial character and spatial practices began to dominate ideological and historical Republican identity of the Boulevard. Modern and high storey buildings in terms of this period's architectural character altered spatial and prehensive structure of the Boulevard, moreover deteriorated the monumentality of the spatial representations of political power of early Republican period. In this respect, the spatial representation of the Boulevard symbolizing administrative power of the Republic has been depressed by the buildings and practices presenting capitalist business relations hence the Democrat Party ideals.

On the other hand, by the multiparty system period, the symbolic meanings of Ankara and Ataturk Boulevard, and the meaning of Republican publicness concept has gone into a significant transformation. The bourgeoisie, who had gained power in politics, consolidated its hegemony through a new understanding of ‘modernity’, which consists of populist discourses, traditional and religious elements. This drastic political shift has initially dominated the social and political spaces of Ankara, thus the symbolical spatial pattern of Ataturk Boulevard. In the transformation process of the Boulevard in between different meaning levels, sidewalks became the place of the new images and new urban culture.

Ankara suffered from urban traffic and air pollution for the first time through 60s. Therefore, functional character of the Boulevard serving urban transportation tended towards the ideologies and political motivation belongs to new modern Capital city. The Boulevard, which was once the spine of the Republican representation and societal progress, has gone ahead rapidly transforming into a traffic channel. In this frame, as mobility became the primary concern regarding the street space, prominence once sidewalks get by planners and authorities in the Early Republican Period and especially by the Jansen Plan has been depleted. Moreover, in the consequence of the increased densities of the vehicle transit on the Boulevard post 1950s, that led to the 'traffic oriented' planning decisions and policies excluding the human element on the Boulevard, vehicle vs. human harmony on the Boulevard got lost. Initially in 1960s, Atatürk Boulevard were widened in the expense of middle green segment and the sidewalk space.

Sidewalks of Atatürk Boulevard witnessed the political tension of the economic difficulties, beginning with the end of 60s. Public opposition against the Democrat Party expressed on the public space and sidewalks witnessed the police power against public. Public space, in this frame, had become the subject of society-government struggle. In this period, sidewalks were not anymore where people had been strolling or a choice of going somewhere on foot, but a tool for the political demonstrations where people were gathering in large groups and reoccupied – reutilized the sidewalk space. Government, which wanted to dominate the public space, controlled and regulated the space and the acts on it. Consequence of this and ongoing protests regarding the closure of the universities, bus and *dolmuş* stops on the Boulevard removed and it is forbidden to walk in the Boulevard in groups more than ten people. *Sidewalks of otherness*, by 70s, have become the *legitimacy stage of social opposition against the state, and subject of control by the state*.

Nevertheless, until 1970s, Ankara and Atatürk Boulevard was place of vibrant social life. Although Atatürk Boulevard was a designed structure of an ideological power of a state, it transformed into a promenade that people like spending their times by sharing, observing, using, and experiencing. It was the place of recreation as well as the place of public realm. However, in 70s, under the effect of political events and conflicts, spatial organization as well as social and cultural dimension of the Boulevard life affected negatively. The social collaboration faded away on the squares and sidewalks of the Boulevard, while social polarization reflected on the space as it became concrete in the political level. Spatial regulation measures carried out in order to take control of acts and behaviors of people; and external activities of stores, cafes, patisseries and restaurants along the Boulevard sidewalks were regulated and banned. One of the most important symbolical places of the Boulevard, Pknik was closed in the mid-70s as the result of strikes and financial difficulty. In 1970s, social and commercial life on the Boulevard dissolved as political groups and acts dominated life on the Boulevard. Atatürk Boulevard sidewalks were the space that its publicness had been controlled and restricted and the social identity of public space had been faced violence. Thus, *sidewalks of control* had become *a destructed daily life scene*, which has been fragmented, controlled and restricted.

On the other hand, as traffic jam in the city center came into existence, in the middle of 1970s, conflict between vehicles and pedestrians became more critical. Physical structure of the Boulevard reshaped under the effect of the conflict between vehicles and pedestrians. The proportion of road resigned to traffic was widened as sidewalks –space allocated for people- along the Boulevard was narrowed and transposed to cars. Therefore, functional character of the Boulevard serving urban transportation tended towards the ideologies and political motivation belongs to new modern Capital city.

Hence, Ataturk Boulevard has taken the role of being the major transportation route of the city instead of being the public spine, in the following years. In this frame, as mobility became the primary concern regarding the street space, prominence once sidewalks get by planners and authorities in the Early Republican Period and especially by the Jansen Plan has been depleted.

In this respect, the Atatürk Boulevard space had been the struggle place of its two users: vehicle and human, and post 1970's the vehicles would be the dominant one. Sidewalks, in this context, was not anymore an ideal instrument of ideal society provided through the state will; besides, had a new meaning - as the *last sovereign place of the citizen in the form of the pedestrian* who tried not to be disappeared within the context of changing urban trends, the new transportation and communication concepts.

The period of 1980's has been the breaking point of the political, economic and social trends. Military Coup at 1982 had put an end to the political acts and the social struggle on the street space, however, by this way, social and spatial control became a part of the urban life in every respect. On the other hand, in the frame of the implemented neo-liberal economic policies, the urban space has become the locus of the economic growth that resulted accelerated growth and transformation phase by the help of investments attracted. While spatial organization of cities began to take shape in compliance with the capital accumulation, from 1980s onward urban space became "homogenized, fragmented and hierarchical" in character.

After 80s, decentralization strategies caused an uneven development process in city spaces, leading to periphery areas draw more investment as compared with the central parts of the city. Between the years 1977-1994, *Kızılay* started to lose its importance and attraction and by the *succession- invasion* processes, the activity area in the boulevard changed throughout the time. In the early times of the boulevard, *Ulus* was the place for leisure, later through 1950s and 1960s, *Kızılay* became the favorite place and finally, after 1970s *Kavaklıdere* took over that function. In this frame, in the latter periods, in the result of the succession process, *Kızılay* and surrounding has become the transition area and lost the characteristics of being the city center.

1982, September 12 military coup is a breaking point that changes the social discourses and practices completely. Since 1980, the square began to be controlled by instant polis watch and by the interventions has been reduced to a traffic junction, thus, political and social life on the urban public space would completely be under the police control. In this respect, by

80s, Atatürk Boulevard sidewalks became the subject of the envisaged (non-existing) social pattern and *control and restriction space of police powers*.

Until the 70s, Ataturk Boulevard had been the most important and distinctive public spine of the city where the vehicles and the people were coexisting, however from 1980's due to the rapid increase in the number of motorized vehicles in Ankara, its major function was nothing more than a transit road that connects the multiple parts of the city. As Atatürk Boulevard became the dominancy space of vehicles after 70s, has estranged from its vehicle-human balance, which gives its social – spatial identity. In this respect, Atatürk Boulevard that had lost its people so public character was not a boulevard anymore.

Then on, the dominant user of the boulevard neither was certain urban classes nor even people, but the vehicles. While Sidewalks on the other hand, has continued to stand as the space of social spatial fragmentation and state control against the society; on the other hand, in the frame of *pedestrianism*, became the indicator of being disrespected second-class citizen in the urban arena. Sidewalks of Atatürk Boulevard, after 80s, was conceptualized solely as a road on where *pedestrians* transport; in the frame of the *regarded pedestrianism so (dis) respected publicness* that considers continuous flow of the *pedestrian traffic* on the sidewalks and restricts other - no compatible practices, such as gathering and demonstration acts. Moreover, by the further *anti- pedestrian* interventions happened to be after 1990's, sidewalks that had lost their social and public characteristics in all states of memory also eradicated from the real space.

The second half of 1990's is also a breaking point in terms of the meaning and practices of Ankara urban space. The incoming economic and political interests that produced urban spaces brought different urban experiences for Ankara citizens. Secured, gated, dissociated and homogenous life spaces followed by the spatial and social fragmentation. On the other hand, in company with the suburbanization process, the increasing addiction of people to cars in the comfort of their personal space further supported the fragmented and 'intimate' living. In this respect, car dependent life style and social-spatial fragmentation since 1980s pushed the city center and Atatürk Boulevard into abundance and decadence.

Moreover, produced through the new accumulation process, new consumption places have altered the nature of socialization in the frame of shopping activity. The shopping malls are new (representation of) public spaces. *Consuming of socializing* is the way of urban public life; practiced at its own *consumed public spaces*. Under the effect of this process, the superior stores on the Boulevard could have survived only until 2000 and then they found new spaces in the shopping malls. Therefore, the Boulevard has also lost its last attraction feature for middle and higher urban groups. In this frame, not anymore attracting all urban groups, Atatürk Boulevard is not the heart of the city; it has become a transition area and *representation of the city center*.

Nonetheless, the public space gained a new function and meaning on the part of governmental authorities and urban resistance groups. From the second half of 1990's, in the frame of 'political Islam' trend, public places re- gained importance and re- interpreted

as a political scene. *Atatürk Boulevard sidewalks* has witnessed religious and populist practices as the new ‘spatial practices’ that re-produced the space according to related ideologies, arranged by the municipality on public spaces. Moreover, by the alternative spatial interferences took place on; such as populist symbols and activities that took place on the boulevard, Republican symbolic character and publicness of *Atatürk Boulevard* was intended to be weakened. On the other hand, new building of Turkish *Kızılay* Association as the new rent landmark of the Boulevard overlapped and shadowed last ruins of the early representations of the Republic. The space that was once generating modern social practices on the forepart of *Kızılay* public- administrative building, now on is allocated by a ‘rent building’ re-utilizes space and re-produces relations of the consumption. Therefore, after 2000s, populist and ideological acts of the municipality re-produced the urban space and memory. In this respect, symbols and practices of the new ideological and eco-political period submitted on the Boulevard to deform the representations and rituals of the previous period and to build the new ones. Thus, sidewalks of Ataturk Boulevard has transformed into the *Degenerated space of neo – liberal and conservative ideology and practices*.

On the other hand, *Kızılay, Güvenpark* also *Kuğulu Park* continued to be the favorite manifestation space for political groups as worker unions, students, certain party fronts prefer Atatürk Boulevard for their protests, strikes and demonstrations. Moreover, May 2013 witnessed biggest and broad scoped protests and clashes through country since the May 1980. In this respect, Atatürk Boulevard sidewalks re-occupied by resistance groups, and *control, restriction and violence of police power*.

The last but not the least, Ataturk Boulevard was sacrificed to the unplanned - uncontrolled urban growth, and *anti – pedestrian* transport policies that has been implemented since 1960’s. While car ownership became a necessity in respect to the sprawled urban pattern of Ankara, as the result of rapid increase of car ownership, traffic congestion became a critical problem- especially at the city core. Increased dependency on private transportation directed excess traffic volume and pressure particularly on the Boulevard, which is still the most critical artery of Ankara urban core area. Hence, to meet transportation volume, traffic capacity and speed of the Boulevard has been increased. However, multi-level junctions, underground tunnels enabled vehicles to drive more rapidly and more continuously towards center without losing any time. In this respect, transportation policies based on engineering solutions enable vehicles to go through the Boulevard without stopping or shopping at any place. In this manner, Atatürk Boulevard has become just an “expressway”.

The interventions that destroy the Ataturk Boulevard spatial pattern- its sidewalks in the most effective way are the interventions that aimed to regulate the traffic flow after 1994. *Sihhiye* U-turn Bridge, which has been completed in 1997, built partially on the pedestrian areas, made the *Sihhiye* Square, *Abdi İpekçi* Park and sidewalk network that produce publicness on the Boulevard inaccessible and useless; furthermore, has destructed crucial symbolic places of the Republic. Moreover, by the construction of *Kuğulu* underpasses completed in 2007, existing trees were removed and sidewalk along the Boulevard has been narrowed to create space for the junction. In this way, sidewalks along the Boulevard have become ‘*impossible sidewalk*’ walking on that is nearly impossible.

In this period, as the result of the urban decisions taken, the *impossible sidewalks of Atatürk Boulevard* that are not proper to walk is the most apparent manifestation of the radical approach on the *pedestrianism*, and respectively the sidewalk. *The Impossible Sidewalk* can be defined as an elevated thing situated along the road /highway and on that, one cannot walk.

In the frame of the *anti-pedestrianism* approach adopted by the municipalities after 1994 in Ankara, *pedestrians* are not realized even rejected in Ankara. In this context, pedestrians are seen as just an obstacle for vehicle traffic. A great number of pedestrian overpasses built in the city center just to be serve vehicle traffic rather than to pedestrians. Although it was seen as a solution for pedestrian mobility, it has restricted the *pedestrian* movement further. Furthermore, as a remarkable anti –pedestrian regulation, on October 2003, barriers to prevent the *pedestrian* ground crossings across the boulevard were placed at *Kızılay* Junction where the *pedestrian* mobility is the highest.

In this respect, vehicle bridges, junctions, underpasses and furthermore pedestrian overpasses has stolen the space and life of urban people. The transport policies based on the priority of vehicles brought with even more traffic congestion the Boulevard and lead to more ignorance of *people* in city life. Made away sidewalks and displaced people of boulevard, in this respect, represented the disregard trough the people - *pedestrians* at the city space and inhabitation of urban public life. It is clear that the people were not allowed on the boulevard, anymore. Ataturk Boulevard sidewalks, meanwhile, are the scene of the *exclusion of people* and *rejection of the pedestrian* at urban space.

Unfortunately, today, the Boulevard is a place where people want to manage what they have to do and leave. However, for Ankara citizens, walking by Ataturk Boulevard sidewalks is a necessity. In this respect, Ataturk Boulevard sidewalks, which had been sacrificed by the authorities and decision makers, also have been underestimated and devaluated by its users. Modern citizen have naturalized *being a pedestrian* on the sidewalk and coded *the sidewalk praxis* by the appropriated *pedestrian* behaviors. In this context, the basic expectation of an Ankara citizen from the sidewalk is probably able to walk in a safe and un-interrupted way, yet that is what Ankara people long for.

In this frame through the case of Atatürk Boulevard sidewalks, *the Sidewalk Context* that directly or indirectly affects the sidewalk space have been constituted, in the frame of the *material, social, political, and philosophical* non-urban and urban determinations and formations. In the periodization of historical (re) production process of the Atatürk Boulevard sidewalks, political context is considered as the main criterion since it aroused ideological, economic and social transformations and respectively directed the urban discourse and shaped the urban space. *Construction of the Nation State, Democrat Party Government, Military Memoranda, the September 12 Military Coup, and Pro- Islamist View and Polity* are identified as the major breaking points related to urban political processes of Turkey and Ankara. On the other hand, *Nationalization, Liberalization, Economic Depression* and *the Adaption of the Neo- liberal Policies* are the economic

concepts related to the mode of capital accumulation (relations of production) that utilizes and (re) produces the urban space by its social relations. In this respect, *Modernization*, *New Modernization*, *Social Politic Polarization* and *Socio- Spatial Fragmentation* are determined as the periodical contexts that society and its social rituals went through the changes, ever since the first years of Capital Ankara.

On the other hand, The Sidewalk Concept evaluated and discussed by directly focusing on the morphology and practices that have (been) (re) produced (by) the sidewalk space. *Production of the Sidewalk as an Ideal Society (Citizen) Stage*, in the period that goes from the declaration of Ankara the capital city in 1923 till 1950s, has been conducted as a modern state project; however, in the later periods Boulevard sidewalks as *the Influence Space of Urban Trends and Conditions* were followed by *The Occupation of the Sidewalk*, *The Restriction of the Sidewalk* and finally *The Destruction of the Sidewalk*, under the effect of previously indicated various material, social – political urban conditions.

In conclusion, by the proposition that (social) space is a (social) product, the sidewalk is social and political space and produced by diverse actors and factors. In this sense, the findings of the case study showed the sidewalk is not just a material thing among other things in the city. The sidewalk is the product – manifestation and instrument of crucial urban relations. In this respect, production and transformation process of Atatürk Boulevard sidewalks, which has been once designated to generate a brand new society but then destructed by diverse actors and factors, is also a history of changing claims over space in between state and society. Various urban policies and decisions put into effect till these days, that reduced sidewalks to abstract and non-spaces meanwhile oversimplifying the Boulevard as the mean of efficient traffic flow concludes in the rejection of people along the Atatürk Boulevard sidewalks and the denial of the urban life at Ankara in general.

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