

CONSERVATION OF ARCHITECTURAL HERITAGE IN ATATÜRK  
BOULEVARD IN ANKARA

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BOULEVARD IN ANKARA**

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## **ABSTRACT**

### **CONSERVATION OF ARCHITECTURAL HERITAGE IN ATATÜRK BOULEVARD IN ANKARA**

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The rapid change in our world affects the built environment, and especially in the last decades in Turkey, the main subject of this change is the modern heritage buildings and open spaces. Because of the lack of a clear definition in Turkish legislation and approaches prioritizing physical aspects and age-related data of the cultural assets, modern heritage components are susceptible to demolition. Therefore, the buildings, architectural culture, and symbols of this era are under risk. Moreover, the conservation practices often disregarding the intangible features jeopardize the significance of a place and pave the way for forgetting the lived experiences engraved in material aspects of the cultural assets in question. With the notion of approaching to conservation as a versatile concept rather than something black and white, the thesis proposes a conservation mechanism for Atatürk Boulevard in Ankara with the inclusion of all the aspects, tangible and intangible, that contribute to a place's significance.

With this belief, the main north-south axis of the capital; Ankara Atatürk Boulevard, the focus of Ankara's urban life, is chosen as the case study of this thesis. Ankara Atatürk Boulevard as a strong component of the capital has been witnessing the formation and transformation of the city, the Republic, society, culture, urbanistic approaches, and the architectural practices of Turkey from its foundation in 1923 then

on. Today, the buildings and open spaces located on this axis have different functions or styles, designed by different architects from various backgrounds and eventually contributed to the formation of the area altogether which led it to be the symbol of Republican identity in the country. Furthermore, with the help of its citizens, Ankarans, it had evolved into the very center of urban life in modern the capital.

Following the theoretical and conceptual framework drawn from the different memory concepts and other intangible aspects contribute to the formation of a place's significance as well as the conservation documents related to modern heritage and intangible features, the thesis then focuses on the Atatürk Boulevard. Within the light of the information compiled from its current physical state and visual documents from various sources; the built up and open spaces throughout its history, and from the published materials and literary works; the lived experiences and memories of its users are documented, and its spatio-temporal transformation is tried to be understood. Finally, the thesis proposes conservation mechanisms for the architectural heritage and intangible aspects materialized in the physical components of Atatürk Boulevard.

With this study, it is tried to be understood the formation, transformation, current state of the Boulevard and risks that the Boulevard is facing in addition to the cultural and urban identity and meanings of the capital via the axis. As a result, how can built environment and social aspects are linked, how they should be considered as a whole, and how can it be sustained are tried to be concluded. It aims to construct a base for a holistic conservation measure and mechanism especially to be used in the modern heritage places and be an extensive document for the further studies on the Atatürk Boulevard.

Keywords: Modern heritage, Architectural heritage conservation, Intangible heritage, Atatürk Boulevard, Urban identity

## ÖZ

### ANKARA ATATÜRK BULVARI'NDAKİ MİMARİ MİRASIN KORUNMASI

Uzgören, Günce  
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Dünyamızdaki hızlı değişim yapılı çevreyi etkilemekte ve özellikle son yıllarda Türkiye’de bu değişimin ana öznesi modern dönem yapı ve açık alanları olmaktadır. Bunun nedenlerinden biri de Türk koruma yasasının net bir tanım barındırmaması ve kültür varlıklarının fiziksel özellikleri ve yapıların yaşıyla ilgili bilgilerin öncelikli olarak ele alınmasından kaynaklanmaktadır. Bu durum da modern miras bileşenlerinin yıkımla yüzleşmesine yol açmaktadır. Böylece, bu dönemin yapıları, mimarlık kültürü ve sembolleri geleceğe yönelik risk altındadır. Ayrıca somut olmayan özellikleri çoğunlukla göz ardı eden koruma pratikleri yerlerin önemini tehlikeye atmakta ve söz konusu kültür varlıklarının materyal özelliklerine kazanmış yaşanmışlıkların unutulmasının yolunu açmaktadır. Korumaya iki boyutlu bir kavramdansa çok yönlü bir bağlam olarak yaklaşma görüşüyle, bu tez Ankara Atatürk Bulvarı için yerin önemini oluşturan somut ve somut olmayan bütün yönlerin dahil edildiği bir koruma mekanizması önermektedir.

Bu doğrultuda, başkentin ana kuzey güney aksı ve kentsel yaşamın odak noktası olan Atatürk Bulvarı çalışma alanı olarak seçilmiştir. Atatürk Bulvarı, 1923’te Türkiye Cumhuriyeti’nin kurulmasından günümüze kentin, cumhuriyetin, toplumun, kültürün, kentsel yaklaşımların ve mimari pratiklerin oluşum ve dönüşüm süreçlerine tanıklık etmekte olan başkentin güçlü bir bileşenidir. Günümüzde bu aksta yer alan çeşitli işlev

ve tarzlara sahip yapı ve açık alanlar farklı altyapılara sahip mimarlar tarafından tasarlanmış ve katkılarıyla oluşmuştur. Bu çeşitlilik ve katkılarla da Bulvar; ülkedeki cumhuriyet kimliğinin sembolü olmuştur. Üstelik aks kentlilerin yani Ankaralıların yardımıyla modern başkentin kentsel yaşamının merkezine evrilmiştir. Son olarak tez, Atatürk Bulvarı'nın mimari mirası ve fiziksel özelliklerinde vücut bulmuş somut olmayan öğeleri için koruma mekanizmaları önermektedir.

Farklı bellek bağlamları ve yerin öneminin oluşumunda rol oynayan somut olmayan öğelerin, modern miras ve somut olmayan özellikleri ele alan koruma dokümanlarının incelenmesiyle oluşturulan teorik ve bağlamsal çerçeveyi takiben tez, Atatürk Bulvarı'na odaklanmaktadır. Mevcut fiziksel durumdan ve çeşitli kaynaklardan derlenen görsel belgelerin ışığında; Bulvar'ın tarihindeki yapılı ve açık alanlar, yazılı kaynakların ışığında kullanıcıların yaşanmışlıkları ve anıları belgelenmiş ve zaman mekânsal dönüşümü anlaşılmalı çalışılmıştır. Son olarak tez, Atatürk Bulvarı'nın mimari mirası ve fiziksel özelliklerinde vücut bulmuş somut olmayan öğeleri için koruma mekanizmaları önermektedir.

Bu çalışmayla, aks üstünden başkentin kültürel ve kentsel kimliğinin yanısıra, Bulvar'ın oluşum, dönüşüm ve günümüz durumu ve karşı karşıya kaldığı riskler anlaşılmalı çalışılmıştır. Bunun sonucunda da yapılı çevre ve sosyal öğeler nasıl bağlantılıdır, bir bütün olarak nasıl ele alınabilir ve nasıl devamlılığı sağlanabilir sorularına yanıt bulmak çabalanmıştır. Çalışma özellikle modern miras için bütüncül bir koruma anlayışı geliştirerek bir altlık ve koruma mekanizması oluşturmak ve Atatürk Bulvarı üzerine gelecek çalışmalarda kullanılmak üzere kapsamlı bir belge olmayı amaçlamaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Modern miras, Mimari miras koruması, Somut olmayan kültürel miras, Atatürk Bulvarı, Kentsel kimlik

In memory of my modern grandparents Sadiye & Nafi Aykaç and to my loving  
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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

### ABBREVIATIONS

ACV: Asset of Community Value

AKP: Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi

AMANPB: Ankara Metropolitan Area Master Plan Bureau

ANAP: Anavatan Partisi

ANT: Actor Network Theory

ASBU: Ankara Sosyal Bilimler Üniversitesi

ASO: Ankara Sanayi Odası

AVM: Alışveriş Merkezi

BDDK: Bankacılık Düzenleme Denetleme Kurulu

CHP: Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi

DOCOMOMO: International Committee for Documentation and Conservation of Buildings, Sites and Neighborhoods of the Modern Movement

DP: Demokrat Parti

DTCF: Dil Tarih ve Coğrafya Fakültesi

DYP: Doğru Yol Partisi

ERP: European Recovery Program

GEEAYK: Gayrimenkul Eski Eserler ve Anıtlar Yüksek Kurulu

HGK: Harita Genel Komutanlığı

ICCROM: International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property

ICICH: International Committee on Intangible Cultural Heritage

ICOMOS: The International Council on Monuments and Sites

IMF: International Monetary Fund

ISC20C: Twentieth Century Heritage International Scientific Committee

KORDER: Koruma ve Restorasyon Uzmanları Derneđi

METU: Middle East Technical University

MIA: Merkezi İş Alanı

MP20: Montreal Plan for 20<sup>th</sup> C. Heritage

NATO: The North Atlantic Treaty Organization

NGO: Non-Governmental Organization

PPS: Project for Public Spaces

PTT: Posta Telgraf Teşkilatı

SGK: Sosyal Güvenlik Kurumu

SOM: Skidmore, Owings & Merrill

TBMM: Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi

TDK: Türk Dil Kurumu

TEV: Türk Eğitim Vakfı

TRT: Türkiye Radyo Televizyon

TESK: Türkiye Esnaf Sanatkarları Konfederasyonu

TMMOB: Türkiye Mimar ve Mühendisler Odaları Birliđi

TOBB: Türkiye Odalar ve Borsalar Birliđi

TÜBİTAK: Türkiye Bilimsel ve Teknolojik Araştırma Kurumu

UN: United Nations

UNESCO: The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

USSR: Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

VEKAM: Vehbi Koç Ankara Araştırmaları Merkezi



## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

#### 1.1 Aim and Scope of the Thesis

The *raison d'être* of conservation of a *place* that has *cultural significance* is to pass along this significance to the upcoming generations. This significance exists in the physical forms within the built environment with the help of the architecture and the contribution of the social and cultural aspects engraved in the material features of these places. However, when it comes to practice, the physical/tangible aspects such as architectural forms of a building are taken as the reference instead of taking into account other elements that form the whole especially the social/intangible aspects which jeopardizes the conservation of the places and assets. There is a rapid change in our world, and it has a grand impact on the built environment, and the primary subject of this transformation is the modern era buildings. Especially in the last few decades, modern architectural heritage is facing a risk of disappearance and demolition more than any other period, because modern architecture lacks a clear definition and conservation measures and therefore, they are easily targeted in this change. It is not only the demolition but also the massive change that they are going through, to such an extent that they sometimes cannot even be recognized. They lose their significance, their values, and their role in contemporary urban life and ensemble, and the memories of the people. Therefore, they become the missing pieces of the whole picture, in this case, for the physical and social environments that they are part of which eventually causes urban amnesia.

Every living entity goes through evolution either slow or fast, with each new generation there is an alteration, a change, a transformation that the living entity is facing. That entity can be a biological being or can be an alive building, being used,

which interacts with other entities. Therefore, change is an inevitable reality of the world we live in, and since we are the responsible beings of this world, sustaining what we have been changing is our duty, since we are not here to stop the change but rather manage it.

The buildings and places are subjects of this change as well, though if classified as living subjects, the modern heritage becomes more than a material subject, but rather a part of our lives. As it was stated by Coquet and adopted as resolutions at the 6<sup>th</sup> International Congress of Architects in Madrid in 1904;

“Monuments may be divided into two classes, *dead monuments*, i.e., those belonging to a past civilization or serving obsolete purposes, and *living monuments*, i.e., those which continue to serve the purposes for which they were originally intended.” (Recommendations of the Madrid Conference, 1904).

Therefore, modern heritage buildings and places can be classified as ‘living monuments’ since they are part of our contemporary physical living environment and they exist conjointly with the living people. Even some of the architects of modern buildings are still alive today. Hence, they not only witness but also are part of the change in everyday life, the culture of people living in the built environment of which they share with their users and even their designers. Unlike ancient archaeological sites, museums, and so on; modern heritage structures and open places are in fact highly vivid, they live with their users and produce memories in the present time simultaneously with their user groups while imprinting those memories into their physical aspects and the people’s memories. There is no doubt that they are a part of our physical environment, getting old with the current population, but hopefully will not be mortal as the people who use them and will carry their memories and culture to the upcoming generations with pride engraved in their material aspects.

Today, there are no living witnesses of the antiquity or even the Ottoman times because of their ages, we mostly experience these periods with their tangible heritage, in many cases as observers rather than as users due to changing lifestyles. However, for modern heritage, it can be said that we are a part of them, forming memories and

growing old together with them. The major aim of conserving modern heritage is to produce memories and being able to pass them along to the future generations together with the built environment. Therefore, the importance of documenting modern heritage comes to the scene with the integration of their tangible/physical and intangible/social/cultural aspects.

The roots of heritage conservation are not as deep as architecture or built environment, though from the small object conservation to the conservation of an entire region it had a long journey. Heritage conservation that started with the tangible features of single buildings, of ancient sites evolved within time, the questions of what to conserve and how have become major concerns in the field with the social evolution and the modernization of societies, scholars, architects, art historians, and many more worked on issues of heritage conservation. UNESCO Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage in 1972 focusing on the tangible aspects of the cultural heritage assets was an indicator of the past century's approaches in conservation of cultural heritage. Years of research brought us to the 21<sup>st</sup> century with the theoretical understanding of intangible heritage, modern heritage and the importance of the integrity of a place's every component. However, heritage conservation has not come to a simple conclusion when it comes to practices.

Unfortunately, with conservation approaches prioritizing age value, the importance of heritage for our culture and the built environment is mostly ignored or underestimated. Because of these reasons and risks, 'International Committee for Documentation and Conservation of Buildings, Sites and Neighborhoods of the Modern Movement' (henceforth DOCOMOMO), found in 1988, is observing and safeguarding the modern movement buildings that are facing the threat of being demolished around the world. They promote and foster interest in modern heritage. From then on, although certain awareness has risen, it is rather selective because of the current understanding and the definition of modern heritage conservation in the world as well as in Turkey. The rapid loss of modern heritage is a reality of Turkey as well, in most cases far more devastating than any other country. The studies and works concerning modern heritage

are not only held by DOCOMOMO but also by other bodies and NGOs such as the Chamber of Architects of Turkey, universities, scholars, Conservation and Restoration Specialists Association (*Koruma ve Restorasyon Uzmanları Derneği, KORDER*), Architects' Association 1927 (*Mimarlar Derneği 1927*) and others. Although these bodies and actors are trying to achieve consciousness of modern heritage and its conservation, the legislative framework and general understanding of cultural heritage in Turkey are not always allowing them to succeed. Moreover, when it comes to conservation, the primary assessment in Turkey is done by examining the physical and age-related aspects; therefore, the social inputs are left behind during the valorization and decision-making processes.

However, the intangible heritage understanding comprising the social and cultural customs, traditions, and practices of the societies and groups of people with the inclusion of contemporary urban practices was included in the conservation scene in the past decade. With the formation of UNESCO ICH (Intangible Cultural Heritage) following the 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage, or living heritage, it had found itself a concrete place in the cultural heritage discussions. Since then starting from the last decade, there had been several studies concerning the conservation of intangible heritage.<sup>1</sup>

Besides these discussions on tangible and intangible cultural heritage, again modern heritage assets cannot safeguard its existence and continuity. In many cases, the modern heritage buildings, even if they are registered and protected by law, are being demolished, e.g., Kızılay building constructed in 1929 by architect Robert Oerly was demolished in 1979 along with its garden that had already lost all of its features, or İller Bank building designed by Seyfi Arkan and constructed in 1937, which was one of the most important examples of Turkish modernism was demolished in a hot summer night in 2017 despite it was registered. Not only demolition but also the change beyond recognition is another danger that modern heritage places are facing;

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<sup>1</sup> For more information on ICH, see: <https://ich.unesco.org/en/what-is-intangible-heritage-00003>.

just like the example of the Grand Ankara Hotel (1960-66) designed by Marc Saugey and Yüksel Okan. The prestigious hotel had been used by politicians, journalists, and many other Ankarans until it was abandoned in 2001 to the day of its recent restoration in 2006. With the intensive restoration work, the building underwent many alterations; the iconic hotel became almost unrecognizable. Looking at these given examples, it can be said that the lifespan of a modern heritage building in Ankara is not a long one, with only 46 years for the Kızılay Building and 80 years for the İller Bank Building, a slightly longer life. They are demolished even before their economic life has come to an end, before their ‘expiration date’, which can easily be extended.

The given examples summarize the situation of individual buildings of modern heritage in Ankara. This thesis extends from individual buildings to the Atatürk Boulevard because of many reasons, which are explained below.

Firstly, Ankara became the capital of the Turkish Republic in 1923; therefore, new building types emerged due to the necessities of becoming a capital and modernization has started influencing every aspect of the city from its social life to architecture. The buildings dating back to this era are not only witnesses of a newly constructed city but also the witnesses of a newly established secular and western influenced modern state. Since the city found itself in a fast construction period of administrative buildings, dwellings, parks, public buildings, schools, train station and so on, these public spaces prepare the appropriate setting and milieu for the experience of new practices introduced as part of the needs that modern life provides in urban settlements.

Ankara started to prosper according to the development plan prepared by Carl Christoph Lörcher in 1924, which took *Yenişehir* (meaning new city in Turkish) into consideration. Afterwards, the plan of Hermann Jansen was approved in 1932. In the Jansen plan, *Atatürk Boulevard*, the main north-south axis of the city, was designed as the connection between the historic city and new parts of Ankara, which comprises almost every kind of modern features that a modern capital necessitates, *Yenişehir* was planned as a new district of administrative buildings and housing for the new migrants, later it would be the very heart of the city not only in terms of administration

but also the social and cultural life. Throughout its history, Atatürk Boulevard has been hosting the buildings that are the symbols of the economy, state, culture, education, and other major components, which form a contemporary urban setting. Almost each component has a statement, has their place in the development of Turkish society and state. Therefore, the Boulevard becomes more than the main circulation element in the city, but rather an object of inquiry in its own to observe and understand the changes and history of those components in Ankara and even in the whole country from its establishment until the present time. Today, the buildings and public spaces located on this axis have different functions or styles, designed by different architects from various backgrounds and eventually contributed to the formation of the area altogether. It evolved into the very center of urban life in modern Ankara. Even though Ankara as the capital is quite young, throughout the years, the Boulevard section had gone under changes constantly, but it had and still has a meaning and a place in the memories of different generations of people living not only in Ankara but also in Turkey. In this respect, Ankara Atatürk Boulevard, the focus of Ankara's urban life and documentation of architectural culture in Turkey, is chosen as the case study of this thesis.

As the main axis of the capital, Atatürk Boulevard at present is not receiving the attention and care that it deserves. It is important to indicate the significance of the Boulevard and the architecture forming it, in terms of modern architectural heritage. Therefore, this thesis is based on the discussion of the conservation of the modern architectural heritage with a special emphasis on the collective memory.

Despite the social and memorial aspects attached to modern heritage, the conservation understanding and criteria in Turkish legislation does not include or consider the intangible and social values of spaces and their role in urban history and life. It is very important in conservation for the inhabitants of a city to assess the values of a building or an artifact.

The understanding of modern urban life has different needs and necessities than the old inhabitants of Ankara were accustomed to. Integration of new functions and spaces

helped to produce new, assembled urban culture. While the everyday life (*la vie quotidienne*) concept examined by de Certeau, Lefebvre and other scholars had been going through a transformation, the engagement of inhabitants with the public urban spaces in this transformation completely influenced, developed and nourished the social urban culture. The everyday life practices are considered as how people act, feel and think in their daily life as a routine, and it is highly associated with the space and urban environment. Every society and group of people have different lifestyles, different cultures and even subcultures that they practice in their own physical environments. As it is explained in Halbwachs' understanding of collective memory, they produce memories together in those physical environments, and those environments create a framework for their common memories in the group and to remember the past as well as producing memories themselves, and thus the group members always need a physical and temporal framework to recall (1950). When forming a culture together, the group members find common ground, which leads them to have a sense of belonging.

In this journey of Ankara's societal groups, many different inhabitants who had never experienced modern ways of engaging with someone they had never seen before, such as interacting with people for a short time of the day, sitting in a patisserie with many different people in other tables in the same space, going to a movie theatre sitting next to strangers for two hours (Özaloğlu, 2006). In time, the newly adopted practices become habits, form the major part of the daily and urban life. Thus, the experience of space within the physical environment starts to play an important role in the modern city both for individuals and groups of people. This physical environment creates a context for both individual and collective memories. The physical aspects of space consist of spatial configurations, stylistic issues, technical and aesthetic aspects of its architecture. Beyond these physical aspects, the forms, textures, colors, even the smells, and sounds, basically everything we perceive, are forming the spirit of the place including individual memories which together form the collective memory. As

a result, Atatürk Boulevard became the very center of those activities and practices both in tangible and intangible ways.

There are various factors that complicate the conservation of modern heritage and modern urban ensembles in Turkey. Firstly the 2863 Conservation of Cultural and Natural Assets Act of Turkey, effectuated in 1983 identifies edifices that are built before the end of 19<sup>th</sup> century as cultural asset regardless of their architectural properties, whereas buildings constructed after this period such as the early Republican era can be designated as cultural property by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism according to their importance and quality (Act 2863/Article 6). Due to this vague definition of modern heritage in Turkish legislation; identification, registration, and conservation measures of modern heritage is still an ongoing debate. Moreover, parallel to the current politics in Turkey prioritizing mainly the Ottoman heritage, most of the Republican era buildings are susceptible to destruction. There is a conflict that while the heritage of the recent past or present day is being demolished, the already demolished buildings belonging to the distant pasts are being reconstructed. However, it should be acknowledged that the important thing is to produce quality elements that reflect the present day's values and approaches for the built environment rather than trying to implement elements from the past. In the case of Ankara, it already has many quality components from the recent past, 20<sup>th</sup> century, that form the city. Turkish legislation may make it complicated to safeguard their conservation because of their lack of age value, but it should be noted here that today's places will become tomorrow's cultural heritage. Therefore, cultural heritage is not something black and white or something to be stuck between a timeline. It should be approached with a wider perspective, with a holistic view.

As Bouchenaki notes, over the past century, especially after the World Wars I and II, the world underwent major changes in terms of mentality (1999). These wars destroyed many cities, caused substantial damages both to structures and humans' lives. The destruction of historic buildings and places initiated the action for preventing any future damage in such cases, the risen awareness on cultural heritage

led to the foundation of UNESCO in 1945 in London with the objective of “ensuring the preservation and protection of the world heritage of works of arts and monuments of historic or scientific interest.” (Bouchenaki, 1999). With time, the objectives slowly evolved and started to involve the cultural identities, the 1982 UNESCO report titled “The Cultural Heritage of Mankind” contributed to the foundation of many organizations on protection and conservation of cultural heritage (Bouchenaki, 1999). Bouchenaki also indicates that followed by the Venice Charter in 1964; the conservation field was introduced to the concepts such as movable cultural heritage, industrial heritage, modern heritage, intangible heritage, and many more (1999). Many organizations on heritage conservation were founded to provide preservation and conservation of values of the past, mostly for the heritage places at risk, including the Getty Conservation Institute, Aga Khan Trust for Culture, the World Monuments Fund or Europa Nostra and so on (Bouchenaki, 1999). The international awareness has risen with the help of these institutes and organizations, stated Bouchenaki as follows;

“This is, in fact, the first time in our history that the international community is considering expressions of the creativity of mankind, in both their tangible and intangible forms, as an indivisible whole. As the tangible expression of each national genius is now seen to be part of the world’s heritage, all such expressions must, therefore, be respected, preserved, studied, and passed on to future generations.” (1999).

Since the concept of cultural heritage has been evolving with time and with people, today we come to a point where intangible features of a person, feelings of a place, anything we can sense as people or experience a place a long time ago are valued and seen as worthy to be conserved. The awareness of these aspects as values is a key concept for this thesis because the evolved understanding of cultural heritage conservation brought the field to a holistic understanding with the consideration and valorization of all of the elements both tangible and intangible.<sup>2</sup> Thus, a place is

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<sup>2</sup> For a comprehensive study on the intangible cultural heritage and holistic approach on conservation see: Karakul, 2011.

regarded as a whole with all of its features. Together they form the significance and even spirit of places.

However, when it comes to today's conservation practices in Turkey, there is a conservation approach that is based mostly on physical aspects of built heritage and its age value. Therefore, the Republican era of Ankara is under serious threat. Consequently, many valuable buildings were either demolished or lost their souls, authenticities, and identities. Moreover, although there are very few examples of registered monumental memorials, trees, squares, and sculptures; the main conservation understanding comprises mostly the buildings.

Accordingly, what it is aimed to be conserved becomes the outer shell, façade of a building. However, a place has its spirit with its surroundings, the street where it is situated, its entrance, doorknobs, chairs, wallpapers, but more than that, its spirit lives in the people's memories who touched those doorknobs, waited to meet their friends in front of the entrance, sat on the chairs and gazed the wallpaper while waiting to order. There might be partial guidelines and legislation on architectural conservation, but there is a lack of a conservation approach taking various inputs into consideration. For the case of modern heritage, which is mostly regarded as contemporary architecture without any age value according to Turkish conservation legislation and the mindsets of decision makers, the commemorative value they embrace becomes a key issue. Because modern heritage assets and places are still a part of the living memory of the living citizens of the urban ensembles different than the ancient or relatively old structures and places. Therefore, eliminating the recent past causes the urban amnesia/dementia affecting the society and the country accordingly; thus, create an amnesic society.

There are a limited number of countries which include intangible aspects in heritage in their conservation legislation, such as Romania and the "Law on Protection of Intangible Cultural Heritage" (2008) or Armenia's "Law on Intangible Cultural Heritage" (2009) with the inclusion of 'cultural spaces' but they again do not provide a regulation for the conservation of memories and places that bear memories.

Although, in England, there is legislation called “Asset of Community Value” (henceforth ACV), defined as the land or property of importance to a local community, which is subject to additional protection from development under the Localism Act 2011. It is largely used for communal places such as pubs, parks, stadiums, squares and so on. For example, in the case of a change in use or demolition, the owner is obliged to inform its users, such as the pub’s regular drinkers, in order for them to have the right to express their opinion or even buy the place as the users. It allows people to share a common ground to preserve their memories, the culture, and the spirit of a place.

The role of collective memory is significant for the sustainability of the urban identity that was created by the collective experiences of the urban culture and its groups. The values and meanings can be transferred to the future generations if they are kept alive with the spatial practices by the groups. If the visual image, the spatial framework that is essential to recall is abolished, the collective memory would also disappear with the vanishing of the group members. If the memory cannot be transferred to the future generations, it then causes the disconnections in the urban culture. Therefore, with the transformation of the places that had witnessed the history and had carried individual and collective meanings, the practices and users had transformed as well. When there is no physical place to practice time-honored customs, these customs had died, and for the new generation to experience them, the physical aspects could not be found. The sustainability and strength of trying to create a new culture is controversial as long as we cannot maintain our urban culture that would be erased from the memories after a few generations if it is not supported by visual images.

Within these concerns, the aim of this thesis is to develop a conservation mechanism for modern urban ensembles; a relatively under-investigated issue in the field of conservation, to provide a basis for the conservation of Ankara Atatürk Boulevard, which is the major witness for understanding various dimensions of how modern urban culture transforms through socio-spatial practices embedded in the memory of the inhabitants of Ankara.

Focusing on this aim; the objectives of the thesis are:

- to analyze and understand the significance of Atatürk Boulevard and its spatio-temporal transformation
- to identify the meanings and identities that are engraved in Atatürk Boulevard based on the discussions on collective memory and the concept of modernization
- to determine the components forming Atatürk Boulevard based on the discussions of their meanings and contributions to the urban ensemble within the field of conservation
- to provide a basis for action to conserve Atatürk Boulevard and its components

## **1.2 Methodology**

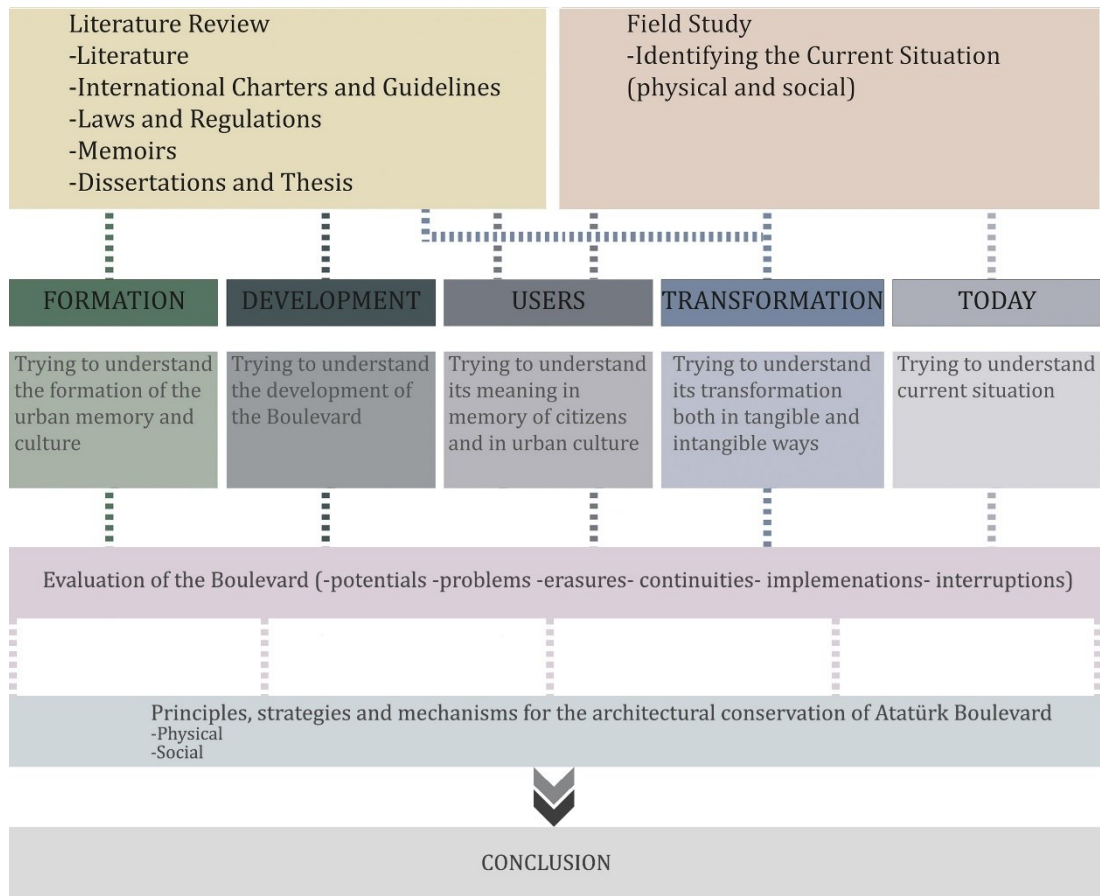
As it is mentioned above, the foundation of the thesis draws on the understanding and evaluation of Atatürk Boulevard with the consideration of its architectural heritage and social inputs to provide a basis for its conservation. Different than the previous studies on the topic, the history and current state of the area are aimed to be analyzed and evaluated by taking into not only its physical aspects but also the lived experiences and their role in the collective memory. To do so, theories on memory, specifically on collective memory, and memory places are studied to understand the link between the built environment and the social groups as the users.

Literature review aims to understand the collective memory, the significance of the place, to comprehend how different people engage with Atatürk Boulevard in different ways and Boulevard's place in the urban memory. Thus, the theoretical framework examines firstly the concepts of memory, identity, significance of place, and societal groups and their relationship with the built environment are identified and discussed within the theoretical framework through the sources that discuss the different approaches on the issue by Halbwachs, Bergson, Boyer, Rossi, de Certeau, Assmann, Norberg-Schulz and so on. The thesis then examines the modern heritage policy documents and moves to memory and place related policy documents through the

international and national legislation, ICOMOS charters and seminars such as Burra Charter (1979), Victoria Falls, Zimbabwe Symposium (2003), Xi'an Declaration (2005), Québec Declaration (2008), ICOMOS seminar on 20<sup>th</sup> Heritage, Helsinki (1995), Mexico City (1996), Montreal Action Plan (2001), and Madrid Document (2001) alongside the DOCOMOMO materials. The links between tangible and intangible aspects of a heritage place are also examined through the international documents on heritage conservation both for modern heritage and intangible heritage.

Finally, the conservation legislation in Turkey and the specific example of ACV under the Localism Act of England is examined because of being an act parallel to the thesis with its inclusion of the link between memories and communities and the places. Moreover, the Turkish legislation and international policy documents, their relationship with intangible aspects and the conservation of modern heritage are overlapped with the support of a timeline.

Furthermore, field studies are held to examine the architectural style, architect, construction date, original and current function, other physical aspects of the structures and open spaces are prepared in order to map the transformation and the cultural significance of the components forming the built environment. The field surveys were held in March 2017, with additional monitoring until September 2018. Although the study mentions about areas neighboring the Boulevard and some other additional notable places in Ankara, it is limited with the lots framing Atatürk Boulevard and their transformation from 1923 until 2018. Followed by that, the literature survey including books, articles, academic studies and dissertations, memoirs, novels, visual documents such as photographs and maps, etc. form the basis for understanding the history of Ankara and specifically Atatürk Boulevard as well as for the analysis of Atatürk Boulevard (**Figure 1.1**).



**Figure 1. 1:** Methodology of the thesis (Author, 2018).

Literature research on modern architecture and styles in Turkey is one of the studies held in order to document and understand the milieu and its lieu in architecture. In addition to that, a general review on the recent history of Turkey and Ankara, and conservation legislation of Turkey are conducted. The written sources on Ankara's physical environment and social life are studied to understand the memory places and practices of the inhabitants of Ankara. Literature review on Atatürk Boulevard, Ankara, and Turkey is examined with the consideration of the collective memory in addition to the data on physical components forming the Boulevard. To do so, instead of oral history and interviews, inference through the written sources and published

materials on Ankara and their juxtaposition with the data from field studies and evaluations are used as the method.<sup>3</sup>

The understanding of physical urban transformation is tried to be achieved through maps and other visual materials. The maps of current state are obtained from the Çankaya Municipality, Altındağ Municipality, and Ankara Metropolitan Municipality whereas Google Earth is used for visual materials in addition to the aerial photos obtained from General Command of Mapping (HGK) for the observation of the physical condition and changes in addition to the published visual documents and maps used in the thesis and dissertations related to Ankara in the Republican and contemporary periods. Moreover, the architectural drawings of the buildings located on the lots neighboring the Boulevard are taken from the municipalities. The information on the registered buildings and monuments and inventory survey sheets were obtained from the Ankara I Regional Council for the Conservation of Cultural Heritage.

Other visual documents such as photographs are taken from various sources, written documents, and archives as well as social media groups and blogs, which are used after careful examination and justification of the date of the photo and name of the place. These social media groups and pages include Ankara Ankara Facebook group, Taşhan Akademisi Facebook group, Bir Zamanlar Ankara Facebook group, Antoloji Ankara Facebook and Twitter page, Ankara Cımbızcısı Twitter page, and Ankara Apartmanları Twitter page. In addition, the blogs of individuals such as Yalçın Ergir and Harun Tekin were used. Finally, the websites and archives of institutions such as VEKAM and Ankara Enstitüsü Vakfı are taken into account.

To map the spatio-temporal change on the Boulevard and events affecting the spatial and social formation of it as well as its users, the significant events and changes in the history of Turkey and the conservation decisions, the physical changes, and urban

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<sup>3</sup> For the sources that subjects Ankara and its place in the literary sources, especially on novels see: (Sazyek, 2018), (Kaynar, 2017).

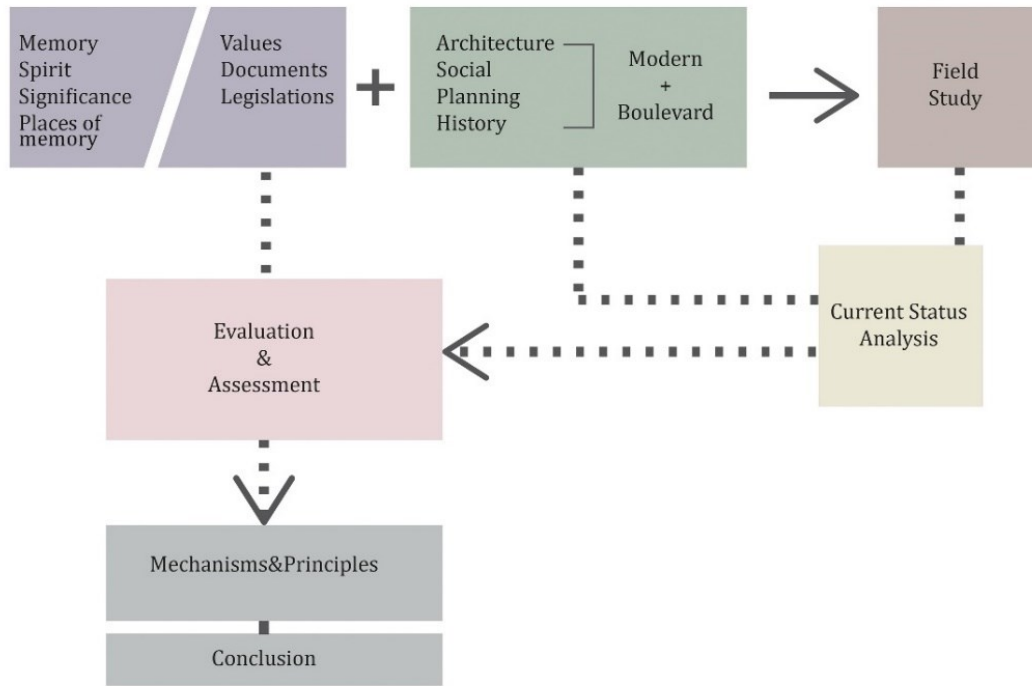
planning timelines were prepared and juxtaposed to be able to examine the impacts they had on each other and on the Boulevard. To do so, having examined the political, economic, urbanistic, architectural and conservation related events and issues, the temporal framework followed in the thesis was divided into six timescale as late Ottoman Era until the establishment of the Turkish Republic, Republican Era: 1923-50, liberal era: 1950-60, coups d'état era: 1960-80, neo-liberal era: 1980-2000, and finally current situation: 2000-present which is also based on Kayın's timescale for conservation (Kayın, 2008). Although other scholars approached to the issue in various temporal frameworks for architecture and conservation contexts including dividing the timeline into ten year periods or shorter periods in some cases, Kayın's division shows parallel dates with the turning points for the study area; Boulevard.<sup>4</sup> Followed by the examination of the spatio-temporal change and architectural representations along the Boulevard, the study area was evaluated in four subsections as erasures, implementations, interruptions, and continuities. After the evaluation of the study area, the outputs are also evaluated through the collective memory and intangible heritage concepts. Since there is a lack of a comprehensive study on the issue taking into accounts of memories and lived experiences for the conservation practices and documentation processes for Atatürk Boulevard, it is necessary to approach the study with the memory. Today, although the young generation of the early Republican Ankara still alive, there is a disconnection in transferring the information including memories and meanings, moreover the eliminated visual framework, namely the changing built environment supports this process. Therefore, it is important to include the social/intangible aspects in the information transferring process, thus, as for the suggestions, the proposals are aimed to be developed for its conservation of architectural heritage especially for modern urban ensembles.

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<sup>4</sup> For different temporal divisions see: (Sözen, 1984, pp. 27-178), (Aslanoğlu, Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Mimarlığı, 1980), (Madran, 2002, pp. 1-167), .

### 1.3 Structure of the Thesis

The thesis consists of four phases following the introduction and including the conclusion (**Figure 1.2**). Firstly, since the memories and lived experiences do not have the place they deserve in conservation practices and studies and especially for the conservation of Atatürk Boulevard, the sources on the memory to be used in the conservation is still deficient. Therefore, for their inclusion and usage in the conservation field, the first part of the thesis covers a theoretical framework that includes the discussion of key concepts on memory and place, focusing on collective memory, the concepts of places of memory (*les lieux de mémoire*), spirit of place (*genius loci*), everyday life (*la vie quotidienne*) are also examined briefly in Chapter II of the thesis. The chapter continues with international documents on intangible and tangible heritage concerning memory, place, and modern heritage as well as the Turkish legislative framework on the conservation of cultural heritage. An introduction is given on the English law ACV, explanatory information on Project for Public Spaces for the evaluation of public spaces, and examples on digital and interactive tools that can be used for heritage in urban ensembles were also given. Finally, the chapter concludes with a brief evaluation of the national and international documents according to the drawn contextual framework.



**Figure 1. 2:** Structure of the thesis (Author, 2018).

The following part of the thesis surveys and maps the spatio-temporal change of Atatürk Boulevard from 1923 until 2018 by identifying and grouping the open and built-up areas according to their functions and periods in order to understand and document the site. It covers the historical development of Turkey, Ankara and specifically the Boulevard, the assessment of the architectural styles, building types and functions and everyday life as well as considering the legal and history of planning framework and their impacts on the city.

Following the analysis and assessment of the spatio-temporal change of Atatürk Boulevard, the following part of the thesis aims to identify how Atatürk Boulevard and its transformation are imprinted on the collective memories of people and had an impact on everyday life regarding the discussions of *collective memory*, *cultural significance*, *spirit of place*. The individual and collective memories embedded in Atatürk Boulevard are tried to be identified by published documents written by people from different backgrounds, by academic publications alongside novels, newspapers, personal memoirs, etc.

The thesis then moves to the evaluation in Chapter IV, which focuses on the main characteristics of the Boulevard and its components while identifying the erasures, implementations, interruptions, and continuities in the built environment and meanings in a holistic manner with the consideration of built-up lots, open spaces, and the naming along the Boulevard through its history. Moreover, the problems, threats, potentials, and strengths of the current day Boulevard are evaluated.

The following part of Chapter IV develops a conservation mechanism for the Boulevard's architectural heritage, which does not only consider the physical and historic but also the social aspects that Atatürk Boulevard has embraced from its appearance in 1923 until present. Afterwards, the thesis concentrates on the development of mechanisms and principles for the conservation of Atatürk Boulevard as the main axis, the symbol of Republican identity in Ankara and a potential memory production place in the current urban setting; based on the international conservation discussions, legislation, and tools on the conservation of modern heritage. The final chapter draws an overview of the holistic approach for the conservation of Atatürk Boulevard's architectural and modern heritage and urban ensembles in general.



## **CHAPTER 2**

### **BRIEF CONTEXTUAL FRAMEWORK REGARDING MEMORY STUDIES AND CONSERVATION**

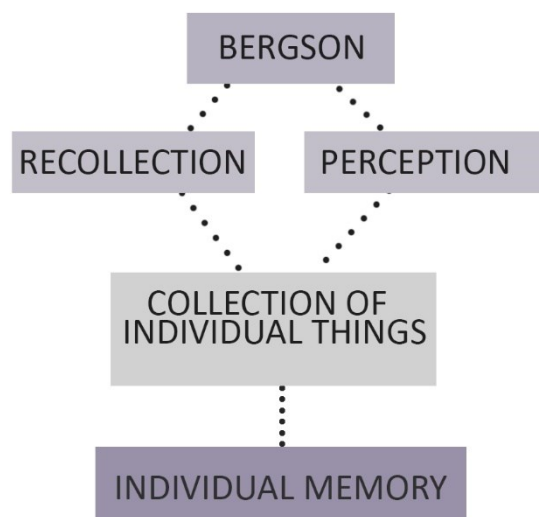
Memory is always associated with the acts of remembering and forgetting. The definition of memory includes, “the faculty by which the mind stores and remembers information”, “the mind regarded as a store of things remembered”, and “something remembered from the past” (Oxford Dictionaries, 2018). The mind stores the information about the past and links this information to the present. The memory, as a research topic, has found itself a place in many different disciplines throughout years from psychology to biology. This thesis aims to examine memory’s relation to architecture, space, and urban culture through the sociological framework developed by different scholars, such as Halbwachs, Assmann, Czaplicka, Bergson, and Boyer. In this respect, different memory types that concern this study are examined through a bibliographical survey focusing on collective memory; individual memory, cultural memory, and communicative memory are also the subjects of this chapter.

In addition to the memory discussions, this chapter outlines a brief overview of the policy documents in the field of conservation. To do so, international and national policy documents and legislations on modern heritage, place, and memory are studied. These documents include Burra Charter (1979), Victoria Falls, Zimbabwe Symposium (2003), Xi’an Declaration (2005), Québec Declaration (2008) focusing on notions of cultural significance, intangible heritage, and spirit of place as well as the ones concerning modern heritage such as; Helsinki ICOMOS Seminar (1995), Mexico ICOMOS Seminar (1996), Montreal Action Plan (2001), and Madrid Document (2001). It will be followed by the Turkish conservation legislation and English Localism Act as two different examples of legislative frameworks. The role of memory in conservation studies is tried to be understood by the parallel examination

of conservation documents and memory studies in this chapter to be used as a basis for the proposed conservation mechanisms in Chapter IV.

## 2.1 Memory and Collective Memory

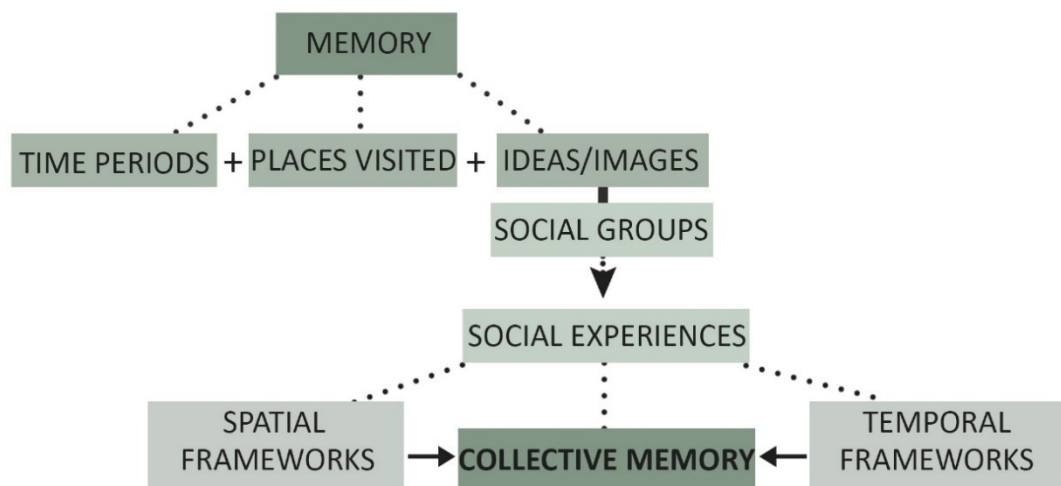
Memory is the utmost archive of our collections of experiences throughout our lives. Those experiences can be individual or with other people or in a social group, but it mostly takes place in a physical space and at certain times. Different scholars approached the subject of memory from different points of views. One of these views is the individual memory approach. According to Bergson, the memory is an individual aspect, which is formed by recollection and perception, and thus he associates memory with consciousness and duration (Boyer, 1994, p. 25) (**Figure 2.1**). Again, Bergson claims that there are two different memories, first one records as images and it imagines, the other one repeats the existing memories; the first one saves the past; the events happening in our daily life (Bergson, 2004, p. 81). Those images we recollect are unique to each individual. For him, the time consists both past and present, it is a *durée* (duration) where present and the past coexist, and he claims that memory is a synthesis of past and present; therefore the memory is a form of duration (Bergson, 2004).



**Figure 2. 1:** Bergson's individual memory theory (Author, 2018).

The images that our memories produce in the duration of our lives include the built environment and what we perceive from that, which can be public spaces, streets, trees, or houses, as a more private space, in an urban setting. If this duration lives in an individual's memory, then it would disappear with that individual. As long as individuals live and be a part of their physical environment, the components that form this environment live as well even if those components no longer exist. In this respect, Halbwachs, who was a student of Bergson, rejected the individual memory approach, a horizontal continuity of perceptions, by claiming that memory is linked with lived experiences if not, it would be decreased to 'history' (1950). Therefore, the memory has a collective form, always linked with the social experiences and associated with spatial and temporal frameworks (Boyer, 1994, p. 26).

Halbwachs' theory of collective memory focuses on social groups and their own experiences. Each social group has memories that they share, which are always recalled with their spatial features and time periods. In an urban setting, the social groups sharing the same spaces may have different memories of those spaces. Thus, as Halbwachs suggests, "our physical surroundings bear our and other's imprints" (1950). He also claims that collective memory lives as long as it is a part of a group or an individual's life experiences (Boyer, 1994, p. 66) (**Figure 2.2**).



**Figure 2. 2:** Halbwachs' collective memory theory (Author, 2018).

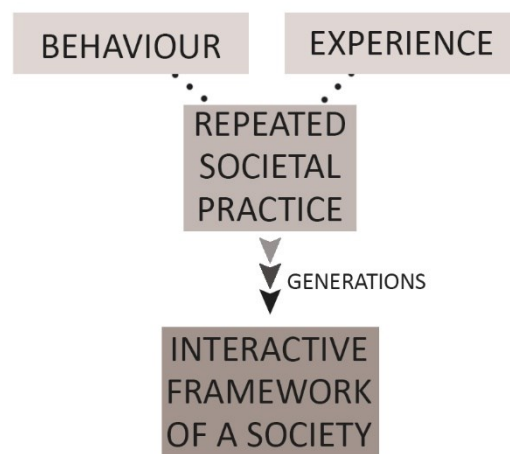
Halbwachs gives the example of our homes, the arrangements and objects of the house make us recall the people we usually see within this physical framework (1950). The same can be adapted to the city: the public places that we see would make us recall the people from our own social group that we lived the experiences together with when we formed a memory in that physical place. Moreover, the spatial framework may also make us recall feelings, such as the sense of belonging. He continues by stating that the group not only have impacts on the space but also adapts to its physical surrounding (Halbwachs, 1950). Thus, there is a mutual interaction and change. The physical environment affects the people who live in that environment as well as the people affect their own physical environment.

In Halbwachs' theory, the members of a group stay united even after they find nothing on their physical surrounding to recall their belonging. This means, once they share experiences in a certain physical environment, they bond as a group, and feel the sense of belonging. Therefore, the collective memory is essential for urban identity and memory. It shapes and forms the soul of the cities together with the built environment. Aldo Rossi notes that “‘The soul of the city’ becomes the city’s history, the signs on the walls of the municipium, the city’s distinctive and definitive character, its memory.” (Rossi, 1986, p. 130).

The social experiences of groups are linked to the built environment, the groups such as students, civil servants, bureaucrats, children, people who use e.g.: the same metro line, or people who share a similar background, same occupation, same age group, socio-cultural or economic status, who share the same routes, same neighborhoods and etc., thus forming specific groups of people in the social urban environment. Their social experiences create images in their individual memories; those images always include the physical surrounding, the components of that physical surrounding such as buildings, street elements, trees, lights, open areas or specific places, which are imprinted on the memory of each individual in those groups. Therefore, together, they form the group’s collective memory. When the memories of those groups are combined, it is possible to determine the collective memory of an urban settlement, a

city, or a part of the city. According to Rossi, memory in the urban structure also determines the consciousness of a city, and that structure is formed by the individual and collective meanings of the urban artifacts (Rossi, 1986, p. 131).

The collective values that are created by the public arise from the social experiences and practices of individuals within the public, therefore, together they shape the urban culture. The culture derives from the repeated acts of groups that continue for a period of time, the practices of certain groups may become the customs, and eventually traditions (Assmann and Czaplicka, 1995). What we call customs/traditions can be explained with the cultural memory theory. According to Assmann and Czaplicka, cultural memory is a collective concept, which is formed by the interactive work of societies and can be passed along to the future through the repeated social acts of generations (1995) (**Figure 2.3**).



**Figure 2. 3:** Cultural Memory theory according to Assmann (Author, 2018).

Just as explained by Halbwachs' collective memory theory, every individual belongs to a number of groups and produce images and memories belonging to that group. The group members produce communicative memories, which can also be called as the everyday memory by their individual everyday interactions with other individuals whom they share a common past image, a collective memory (Assmann & Czaplicka,

1995, pp. 126-127). Assmann states that the time structure of communicative memory is 80-100 years by the interaction of 3-4 generations, in forms of informal traditions and everyday communication. While for cultural memory the time structure is the absolute past, can even be 3000 years, and it is in the forms of ceremonial communication (Assmann, 2008) (**Figure 2.4**).

	Communicative Memory	Cultural Memory
Content	history in the frame of autobiographical memory, recent past	mythical history, events in absolute past ("in illo tempore")
Forms	informal traditions and genres of everyday communication	high degree of formation, ceremonial communication;
Media	living, embodied memory, communication in vernacular language	mediated in texts, cons, dances, rituals, and performances of various kinds; "classical" or otherwise formalized language(s)
Time Structure	80-100 years, a moving horizon of 3-4 interacting generations	absolute past, mythical primordial time, "3000 years"
Participation Structure	diffuse	specialized carriers of memory, hierarchically structured

**Figure 2. 4:** Communicative and cultural memories (Assmann, 2008, p. 117).

Therefore, for the modern urban cultures, it can be said that memory is in communicative form. Again, derived from the collective memory theory, it is shaped by people with a common background and shared images, and it is passed along to the coming generations in the forms of everyday communication among each other and the interaction with the physical environment. Since memory consists of acts of

remembering and forgetting, it is crucial to indicate what to remember and what to forget. According to Assmann, in order to be part of a group explained by the collective memory theory, it is important to make sure following the rules of what to remember and how to do it (Assmann, 2008).

Assmann explains collectivity and collective memory as a unifying force, therefore, cultural and communicative memories formed by the groups of common background can be found dangerous by the totalitarian regimes, and it can be tried to be erased from the group's memory by removing the physical aspects that are part of the images in collective remembrance (Meckien, 2013). The destruction of the Library of Sarajevo by the Serbian armed forces during the Bosnian war can be given as an example of the situation. Or bulldozing the area where today Via dei Fori Imperiali is located during the Mussolini's fascist regime in order to open a large 'modern' road especially for the parades was a statement of his dominance over the city of Rome (Painter & Borden, 2005, pp. 1-19). Another example can be given from Nazi Germany; *Kristallnacht* or the Night of the Broken Glass, was the destruction of synagogues, Jewish-owned shops, and Jewish neighborhoods in the nights of 9-10 November 1938, carried out by the Nazi paramilitary and even German civilians without any impediment intervention by the Nazi government, the act caused major damage and many deaths. The goal is to erase the memory of the societal groups (or minority groups in some cases) by breaking the link between the physical components and the people itself while destroying or demolishing the existing built environment. On this issue, Assmann notes that the destruction of the past is a strategy of the totalitarian regimes; controlling the present while erasing or controlling the past by leaving the culture empty, "because if one controls the present, the past also gets under control, and if one controls the past, the future also gets under control" (Meckien, 2013).

Another approach on the destruction of the built environment takes people, the societal groups as the subject.

“The heritage of a deviant group can simply be eradicated, by either removing or destroying it while leaving the associated people in situ. The intention is that they will subsequently adapt to, and associate with, the remaining dominant heritage” (Ashworth, Graham, & Tunbridge, 2007, p. 105).

That would alter the people’s perception of heritage while leaving them with the given option to bond with. Therefore, in time, the act would slowly make them forget and lose their common link because there would not be any physical components to have a common ground, to remember their common past.

Since memory is a tool to conserve the past from the deteriorative force of the time and connect it to the future, it helps us to conserve the culture as well. To prevent memory becoming the history as Halbwachs suggests, the repetitive acts of remembrance can be achieved with the physical environment that shapes memories (1950). Hence, the built environment plays a key role in the remembrance and conservation. It works together with the memory to preserve and pass along the culture, the sense of belonging, and the spirit.

According to Lynch, nothing can be experienced on its own, the aspect to be experienced should have links to its surrounding and physical environment (1960). He continues that in order to perceive the aspect, it should be taken into consideration with the sequence of events that forms the aspect as well as the memories of the past experiences (Lynch, 1960). The mobile aspects of a city, especially the people who live in and are a part of the city and their practices are important to a city as much as its physical aspects. Lynch says, to be able to fully perceive the city in a holistic way, many inputs should be considered, and the combination of all these components form the image of the city (Lynch, 1960). Therefore, what we as the users of the cities perceive within the urban context as the image of the city is actually a result of the collective work and our interactions with the existing urban fabric and built environment. For example, while the physical existence of a building or a place provides us a visual reference point, us users make the place a landmark (one of the five images of the city according to Lynch (1960)) by our everyday life and spatial

practices as well as the customs and daily conversations such as by referring to the place while describing an address or using the place as a meeting point.

There are common cultural values that live in the common memory of social groups. If those values are kept alive by spatial practices, then they can be transferred to the upcoming generations. Collective memory and culture shape interactively through the repeated societal practices that take place in the physical frameworks. De Certeau states that “spatial practices in fact secretly structure the determining conditions of social life” (1984, p. 96). When the places witness the shared experiences and memories of any community, they become a symbol of that community’s memorial heritage. Nora says: “The collective memory of a social group crystallizes around certain places” (*lieux*) (2006). An image in the collective memory of the groups, the communities, despite its materialistic features, may become a *lieu de memoire* once it gains a symbolic meaning, be a subject of a common practice (Nora, 2006).

Through the interactions of humans with the physical environment, places differentiate, gain their own values for the groups that value them. Every interaction of each individual in the groups unite and strengthen the relationship between the group members and the place. Those interactive practices make the places unique for its users and groups. Through their touch, the places gain meaning more than their physical values. Beyond the physical importance and existence of a place, places have a sense that cannot be seen but can be felt. That sense is explained by the term *genius loci* (Norberg-Schulz, 1980). Although it is not the mere topic of the thesis, it has an impact on the collective memories produced by groups in the places that mean more than just locations. Spirit of place, or *genius loci*, can be understood through human experiences and the physical aspects of a place. Norberg-Schulz explains the *genius loci* phenomenon as: “representing the sense people have of a place, understood as the sum of all physical as well as symbolic values in nature and the human environment.” (1980).

Hence the physical environment gains its meaning, its spirit through the human interaction. As Halbwachs says;

“When a group is introduced into a part of space, it transforms it to its image, but at the same time, it yields and adapts itself to certain material things which resist it. It encloses itself in the framework that it has constructed.” (1950).

The link between the users and the built environment, in this case, the urban artifacts is a major component in the formation and sustainability of the urban culture and collective memory of the city. According to Rossi, the city itself is the place of the collective memory; it bears the history in its physical components as well as in the memories of its inhabitants, therefore “the city is the *locus* of the collective memory” (1986, p. 130).

The people, the social groups, imprint their existence within the city through their touches, interactions, and experiences in the city. The unspoken intangible link between a place and its people can be at the very center of its meaning and its value. Each experience of the individuals forms a whole when it is in the same physical framework, that is also named as the collective memory within the city and of its users. Different groups may have different interactions and experiences through various practices with the same place, though this would enrich the place’s meaning and value. As a result of the multi-directional meanings produced by various people and groups, the groups can get together, find common ground and feel a sense of belonging with the help of the same physical space. Different emotions and lived experiences, practices that take place in the same spatial framework connect people, the memory of different groups come together in the same place, which becomes an aspect that belongs to every one of the users of each group. The place becomes a center that connects people, collects memories, produces new interactions among groups, allows users to have communication through itself.

As in the Halbwachs’ collective memory theory, since memory is linked to the physical environment where it is produced, then when the physical aspects no longer exist memory would also die with the groups that produce them, thus there would be a lack of spatial framework to be able to recall and recollect (Halbwachs, 1950). Since memory is about remembering and recalling, losses in the built environment would

cause the loss of memory, endanger the conservation and sustainability of the link between people and places as well as the urban memory and culture. It is important to generate new memories within the same spatial frameworks in different temporal ones while preserving the existing memories and lived experiences. To be able to enrich the culture and the link between the tangible and intangible aspects of our environment, new memories produced by new generations can be superimposed, and juxtaposition of all of those would give us a strong relationship between the city and its users, a deep-rooted and sustainable culture.

## **2.2 Overview of the National and International Policy and Legislative Documents on Conservation**

Having discussed the memory and its relationship with the built environment, the urban culture and the inhabitants, this part of the thesis focuses on the national and international policy documents on the conservation of the modern heritage and the memory and place as well as the Turkish legislation on conservation.

Today we live in a world that is aware of the importance of the built environment to a certain extent. There are legislations and regulations that help us preserve and sustain our physical environment and artifacts. The lucky ones in the built environment can be protected by law through registering or listing depending on their country ensuring their conservation. Even the general public is aware of the meaning and significance of certain places, mostly the historic landmarks and ancient artifacts, though it is not applicable to all elements surrounding us. It is not fully understood that our built environment that we live in affect our lives and everyday practices as much as we as human beings affect the built environment itself. It shapes our societies, our cultures, becomes the lieu of the rituals, celebrations, griefs, or simply just any memories produced in the places within the built environment.

The societies throughout history have tried to leave their imprints in our world, have tried to be immortal by leaving their traces in the built environment. Humanity produced magnificent structures and still continues to enrich the built environment.

Though while giving, there is a lot that we take away. There are universally accepted buildings to be conserved, mostly those magnificent monuments such as Hagia Sophia in Istanbul or Colosseum in Rome. However, when it comes to relatively new or modest buildings, their identification or conservation methods is another issue. The international documents issued by intergovernmental organizations related to conservation such as ICOMOS, UNESCO World Heritage Committee, etc. such as conventions, charters, memorandums, declarations help us through this process. They provide us guidelines on the issues concerning the conservation of our heritage.

Though, since this thesis is about conservation of modern heritage and its relationship with the non-physical, intangible heritage, this chapter overviews the international documents regarding the modern heritage and the social aspects with the inclusion of memory inputs. As mentioned in the first chapter, the conservation of modern heritage is not well recognized as the conservation of the historic environment, even though the buildings and the components forming our built environment do not have to be old to be granted for conservation. Moreover, even if the modern heritage is considered within the conservation practices, the single buildings become the subject of the conservation per se, without the consideration of their surroundings or intangible aspects that make them unique and valuable.

### **2.2.1 Documents on Memory and Place**

The matter of place and memory became the subject of the conservation prior than modern heritage. There are numerous documents on this issue. One of the key ones is Burra Charter, first adopted in 1979. While being prepared after the meeting held in Australian town Burra by the Australia ICOMOS, the charter underwent some revisions in 1981, 1988 and 1999. Although it was a national document produced by the national branch of ICOMOS in Australia, it is still a major source for the heritage conservation. Focusing on the cultural significance, which is defined as “aesthetic, historic, scientific, social or spiritual value for past, present or future generations”, the charter provides us guidelines and explanations on key components and terms of conservation (Australia ICOMOS Burra Charter, Article 1.2, 1999).

The concept of cultural significance is a tool that helps us to indicate the places' values; those values may differ for different groups or individuals, which should be considered and respected accordingly. The places with cultural significance, or as given in the charter; cultural heritage value, become the objects of conservation. It is defined in the charter that "cultural significance is embodied in the *place* itself, its *fabric, setting, use, associations, meanings, records, related places and related objects.*" (Burra Charter, Article 1.2, 1999). While the term fabric indicates the physical aspects of a place, in the Articles 1.14 and 1.15; associations, "the special connection between people and a place", and meanings, "what a place signifies, indicates evokes or express", were given as the social and intangible qualities and values (Burra Charter, 1999).

These social and intangible values and qualities are determined by cultural groups or as explained above, by Halbwachs' social groups (1950). These are the people who share a common background, as well as values, traditions, customs, practices and so on. Their cultural and social practices are embodied in their physical environment, and their memories are imprinted on the solid tangible features of their built environment. Therefore, the physical aspects, the fabric of a place and the meanings and associations cannot be overviewed and evaluated separately.

The "Code on the Ethics of Co-existence in Conserving Significant Places" section of Burra Charter, focusing on the societal diversity, states that each cultural group may have different values of the same place, they all should have the equal rights of identifying those places and being informed about them. It is given that, in the decision-making process, every group should be encouraged to participate and take action; therefore, the society is responsible for the management of the cultural differences (Burra Charter, 1999). The charter makes it clear that each group's values should be acknowledged, and further explains values as "those beliefs which have significance for a cultural group — often including, but not limited to, political, religious and spiritual, and moral beliefs" that is based on the "Australian Heritage Commission Act 1975, section 4" (Code on the Ethics of Co-existence, 1988). In this

respect, the social value was acknowledged in the charter as the aspects that a place has for a majority or a minority group with its spiritual, national, political and cultural sentiments (Guidelines: Cultural Significance, 1988).

ICOMOS 14<sup>th</sup> General Assembly and Scientific Symposium was held in Victoria Falls, Zimbabwe in 2003 under the title of “Place-memory-meaning: preserving intangible values in monuments and sites”. It was organized to understand the memory and emphasize its importance in the conservation of cultural heritage. Prior to the meeting, a workshop was organized in Kimberly, Zimbabwe. In the workshop, it was clearly stated that the intangible and tangible features of a place are not separable, the link cannot be overlooked; hence they are connected at all times (ICOMOS South Africa, 2003). The workshop further points out that intangible heritage as giving “meaning, values and contexts to objects and places” and warns that these “individual elements cannot be separated.” (ICOMOS South Africa, 2003). From the contemporary intangible heritage to the risks and methodological problems, the workshop covered a wide range of issues regarding intangible heritage. In line with the concern of this thesis, the link between tangible and intangible and the need for a holistic consideration of those aspects are highlighted in the report.

The key factors of the intangible heritage were given by the report as “values, symbolism, remembrance-memories, identity, cultural aspects, living traditions” (ICOMOS South Africa, 2003). It is also mentioned that “there is a need for specific conservation legislations for all aspects of cultural heritage” (ICOMOS South Africa, 2003). Although this thesis focuses mostly on the memory aspect of intangible features, it is acknowledged that other intangible values and components cannot be ignored. The traditions and present day’s practices both have their place in our societies and in the built environment where those societies live with their cultures and memories. The memory is a tool that is able to help and function in recalling and keeping the intangible values, yet it cannot be replaced with the fabric; but serve with the fabric, which can be used as the physical framework in the recalling process of the memories. This study recognizes the bureaucratic approaches to heritage conservation

having a key role in the conservation mechanisms and practices. The importance of documentation is also well recognized together with the changing conditions of social life and contemporary practices, indicating that monitoring is essential.

Again in 2003, the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage was passed by the general conference of UNESCO, held in Paris. In the Article 1, the purpose of the convention was listed as follows:

- “to safeguard the intangible cultural heritage;
- to ensure respect for the intangible cultural heritage of the communities, groups and individuals concerned;
- to raise awareness at the local, national and international levels of the importance of the intangible cultural heritage, and of ensuring mutual appreciation thereof;
- to provide for international cooperation and assistance” (Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage, 2003).

Although the convention referred to intangible heritage as ‘the cultural memory’ as explained above, it was a major step forward for the conservation of intangible features. The member states could ratify and, therefore recognize the convention and use the convention’s text as the guidelines for safeguarding the intangible heritage in their countries.<sup>5</sup> It was ratified by Turkey in 2006 with the Law No. 5448.

In 2005, ICOMOS 15<sup>th</sup> General Assembly was held in Xi’an, China. As a result, a declaration was published titled Xi’an Declaration on the Conservation of the Setting of Heritage Structures, Sites and Areas. The declaration recognized that the conservation practices should consider all the elements concerning the place, which are the subjects of conservation practices (Xi’an Declaration, 2005).

The declaration emphasized the inclusion of intangible aspects was beyond the fabric of the place that had been considered as the major aspects of an object to be conserved.

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<sup>5</sup> For the convention’s text, see: <https://ich.unesco.org/en/convention>

Moreover, the contemporary culture and changing dynamics of the society are also overviewed respectively. It was emphasized that the significance derives from the relationship with the physical, visual, spiritual and cultural context and settings (Xi'an Declaration, Article 2, 2005).

As it was stated in the declaration, the heritage assets are integrated with their cultural and social settings as much as they are integrated with their physical components. Everything that is perceived by people, either the cultural group or just visitors of a place, is forming a whole and should be considered together since integrated conservation can only be achieved when heritage assets are well understood with all of its components.

It was indicated in the articles 12 and 13 that the co-operation with the local communities and institutions as well as practicing an interdisciplinary approach is essential (Xi'an Declaration, 2005). Moreover, raising public awareness and providing an appropriate education and information are key actions in order to promote conservation and improve the efficiency of the actions (Xi'an Declaration, Articles 12-13, 2005).

The communities have especially an important role in conservation since they are the groups that record the memory of the built environment; thus, they should have a voice in the conservation process. They are the key actors to determine and sustain urban culture and memory and store the information while giving the spirit to the places, making the connection between the built environment and intangible factors.

Focusing on the 'spirit of place' or *genius loci*, 16<sup>th</sup> General Assembly of ICOMOS was held in Québec, Canada in 2008. As a result of this meeting, a declaration was announced in order "to preserve the spirit of place through safeguarding of tangible and intangible heritage" (Québec Declaration, 2008). As explained above starting from Norberg-Schulz's understanding of *genius loci*, or the spirit of place can be understood through human experiences and physical aspects, or intangible and tangible elements, in other words, bring meaning to places when band together.

Declaration makes it clear that the relationship between social and physical elements of a place form the spirit of a place through the touches of the users (Québec Declaration, 2008). Therefore, users are the key aspects of this context who are responsible for the construction of the spirit and meaning together with other social actors such as, architects, planners, and managers.

Just like memory, the spirit has a continuous and changing form, since the source of both is the people, the groups or the communities who are the key actors in this process. A place may be valued by different communities and may have different meanings for different groups, which would enrich its significance and values. Therefore, all the communities should be respected through the conservation and valorization process of a place. Mason notes;

“Values are produced out of the interaction of an artifact and its contexts; they don’t emanate from the artifact itself. Values can thus only be understood with reference to social, historical, and even spatial contexts” (Mason, 2002, p. 8).

As emphasized by Mason, the interactions are the key factors on valorization process and merely examining the physical components falls short in this process, to fully understand values of a place, the social aspects, as well as the historical and spatial links, should be taken into consideration.

As mentioned in the Article 1 of the declaration, intangible heritage should be incorporated into all legislation concerning cultural heritage and conservation (Québec Declaration, 2008). While the importance of communication and intergenerational transmissions are well accepted in the declaration, local communities are seen as the base actors through sustaining the spirit, culture, and memories in the built environment (Québec Declaration, Article 8, 2008).

Similar to communicative memory concept explained above, the interactions between generations and vertical communication is as essential as the communication between the group members. By using communication as a tool of conversation, it is easier to spread the culture or even raise awareness in public. The memory does not have a

solid form; it lives in the minds of individuals, or in the collective formation of groups, it gets stronger and has deeper roots as communication is continuous.

Since people are the key actors of culture and they are the ones that give a place its spirit and help it come to life, they should be included in the valorization process with their memories.

In this respect, the ‘Assets of Community Value’ or ‘ACV’ in English legislation is an important example including people and their collective memory into the conservation process. The ACV act was first accepted in 2011, relatively recent, under the Localism Act of England. It is indicated in the act that an asset would be considered as an Asset of Community Value if:

- “its actual current use furthers the social wellbeing and interests of the local community, or a use in the recent past has done so; and
- that use is not an ancillary one; and
- for land in current community use it is realistic to think that there will continue to be a use which furthers social wellbeing and interests, or for land in community use in the recent past it is realistic to think that there will be community use within the next 5 years (in either case, whether or not that use is exactly the same as the present or past); and
- it does not fall within one of the exemptions which we will be putting in regulations, e.g., residential premises and land held with them” (Assets of Community Value – Policy Statement, 2011, p. 6).

The act is widely used for the public areas that are the subject of culture and everyday life of the community that uses them, values them and makes them a part of their collective social life. The assets can be recreation areas such as stadiums, parks or pubs that are important aspects of social life in England. The term local community is significant here because of the indication of Halbwachs’ social groups that were mentioned above (1950). It also mentions the current community, overcoming the

narrow approach of limiting conservation to historical assets, which we seldom come across in conservation legislations.

The voluntary and community organizations can nominate an asset to become an ACV and be included in the list, and the list is controlled by local governments of where the asset is located. If the asset is under individual ownership, the landowner must inform the community and tell the town council in the case of a change in function or sale, followed by the council's notification of the community. The group can purchase the premise if they want to, that is why they are given a six-month moratorium to allow them to raise the needed money, though the landowner would still be able to sell the premise at the current market rate. Once an asset is in the list of ACV, it remains in the list for five years (Localism Act 2011, 2017).

In order to nominate an asset to become an ACV (**Figure 2.5 and 2.6**), the community, or the group, has to prove the links and connection between the place and their community. This connection can be demonstrated through the "Neighbourhood Forum designation" and social media postings proving the connection of the group with the asset such as Facebook groups to supportive evidence alongside the list of groups using the asset, print media articles, websites and so on. Therefore, only the groups that are connected with the asset can nominate that asset as an ACV moreover, those groups should contain at least 21 people as members, whose names and addresses should be provided in order to confirm their links (Localism Act 2011, 2017).<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> For further information on ACV and Localism Act of England, see:  
<http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/2011/20/contents/enacted>

## London Borough of Camden

### Assets of community value nomination form

- Before completing the form, we recommend you contact the Localism Hub at [communityrighttobid@camden.gov.uk](mailto:communityrighttobid@camden.gov.uk), or on 020 7974 4328 or 020 7974 3491 for an initial discussion of your nomination.
- If you have any questions about completing the form, please e-mail [communityrighttobid@camden.gov.uk](mailto:communityrighttobid@camden.gov.uk) or call 020 7974 4328 or 020 7974 3491.
- More information about nominating assets of community value can be found at:
  - <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/community-right-to-bid-non-statutory-advice-note-for-local-authorities> or
  - <http://mycommunity.org.uk/programme/community-asset-ownership>
- Please read the London Borough of Camden's [privacy notice](#) for details of how we will use the personal information we collect from you in this form.
- Submit your completed form by email to [communityrighttobid@camden.gov.uk](mailto:communityrighttobid@camden.gov.uk), or post to: Localism Hub, 5<sup>th</sup> Floor, 5PS, c/o Camden Town Hall, Judd Street, London WC1H 9JE.

	Notes
<b>Name of asset:</b>	
<b>Name of nominating group:</b>	
<b>Organisation type:</b>  Please select whichever apply: <input type="checkbox"/> A neighbourhood planning forum designated by the local authority <input type="checkbox"/> A parish council <input type="checkbox"/> A charity <input type="checkbox"/> An unincorporated body with at least 21 local members and which does not distribute any surplus it makes to its members	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Nominations can only be made by these types of organisation. Please provide documentary evidence of the group's existence and its local connection. This would normally be in the form of articles of association, constitution, charity/company number etc.</li> <li>• If you are setting up an organisation specifically to nominate an asset of community value, an unincorporated body is the most straightforward way to do it. An unincorporated body should have a constitution such as the model small charity constitution available at:</li> </ul>
<input type="checkbox"/> A company limited by guarantee which does not distribute any surplus it makes to its members <input type="checkbox"/> An industrial and provident society which does not distribute any surplus it makes to its members <input type="checkbox"/> A Community Interest Company	<a href="https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/setting-up-a-charity-model-governing-documents">https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/setting-up-a-charity-model-governing-documents</a> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• An unincorporated body must have at least 21 members on the electoral roll in Camden or a neighbouring borough. Please provide a list of names and addresses for verification.</li> <li>• Please note that neighbourhood planning forums, parish councils and unincorporated bodies may nominate assets of community value but they cannot trigger the full moratorium should the owner put the property up for sale.</li> </ul>
<b>Evidence of local connection:</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The nominating group's activities must be wholly or partly concerned with the area of the London Borough of Camden or a neighbouring borough.</li> <li>• This can be demonstrated through the group's constitution, Articles of Association, Neighbourhood Forum designation etc. Please provide links or documents as required.</li> </ul>
<b>Name and address or location of the asset:</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The nominated asset must be in the London Borough of Camden. For assets with a postcode, this can be checked at <a href="https://www.gov.uk/find-your-local-council">https://www.gov.uk/find-your-local-council</a>.</li> </ul>
<b>Extent of the nomination:</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Please describe which parts of the building or land are being nominated, attaching marked-up plans if necessary.</li> <li>• Normally only the parts of the building or land which meet the definition of community value should be nominated. However in some cases, other parts of the building or land may contribute to community value.</li> <li>• You should give careful thought to the extent of the nomination as it may have future implications for the listing.</li> </ul>
<b>Reasons for nomination and supporting evidence:</b>	This section should outline how the asset meets the definition of community value in the Localism Act (see below) in a separate document if desired.  Please include evidence to support the nomination, as separate document(s) if necessary. Evidence could include: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• testimonials, letters of support and statements of users of the asset</li> <li>• event publicity</li> <li>• a petition, a user survey or lists of groups using the</li> </ul>

**Figure 2. 5:** Assets of Community Value nomination form for London Borough of Camden, pages I and II. (URL: <https://www.camden.gov.uk/ccm/content/community-and-living/localism-act-2011/localism-act-2011.en?page=3>).

	<p>asset</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• print media articles</li> <li>• websites</li> <li>• social media postings, Facebook groups etc</li> <li>• photos</li> </ul> <p><i>Definition of land of community value (from s88 Localism Act 2011)</i></p> <p>A building or other land is land of community value if:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• an actual current use of the building or other land that is not an ancillary use furthers the social wellbeing or social interests of the local community, <b>and</b></li> <li>• it is realistic to think that there can continue to be non-ancillary use of the building or other land which will further (whether or not in the same way) the social wellbeing or social interests of the local community.</li> </ul> <p><b>or</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• there is a time in the recent past when an actual use of the building or other land that was not an ancillary use furthered the social wellbeing or interests of the local community, <b>and</b></li> <li>• it is realistic to think that there is a time in the next five years when there could be non-ancillary use of the building or other land that would further (whether or not in the same way as before) the social wellbeing or social interests of the local community</li> </ul>
<b>Name and address of current owner (if known):</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• If known, please provide names and addresses for the freeholder and the leaseholder (where relevant).</li> <li>• In any event, owners' details will be verified with the Land Registry</li> </ul>
<b>Your contact details:</b>  Name: Address:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Please include your position in or relationship to the nominating group to ensure you are empowered to act on its behalf.</li> <li>• Your personal information will be used in accordance with the London Borough of Camden's <a href="#">privacy notice</a>.</li> </ul>

Telephone number(s): E-mail: Position in or relationship to the nominating group:	
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#### Next steps

- Please return this form and any supporting documents preferably by e-mail to [communityrighttobid@camden.gov.uk](mailto:communityrighttobid@camden.gov.uk) or by post to Localism Hub, 5<sup>th</sup> Floor, London Borough of Camden, 5PS, c/o Camden Town Hall, Judd Street, London WC1H 9JE. You should receive an acknowledgement within a few days.
- The Council will contact you if we have any questions about the nomination.
- The Council is required to inform the freehold owner, the leasehold owner where relevant, and the current occupants of the nomination. They may provide information which the Council will take into account when making its decision.
- The Council must make a decision within 8 weeks of receipt of the nomination. The Council will communicate its decision and the reasons by letter.

Form revised April 2016

**Figure 2. 6:** Assets of Community Value nomination form for London Borough of Camden, pages III and IV. (URL: <https://www.camden.gov.uk/ccm/content/community-and-living/localism-act-2011/localism-act-2011.en?page=3>).

### **2.2.2 Documents on Modern Heritage and its Conservation**

The conservation of modern heritage was on the rise in the 1990s, especially after the foundation of DOCOMOMO International in 1988. The ICOMOS seminar on 20<sup>th</sup>-century heritage realized with the cooperation of UNESCO and ICCROM, in Helsinki, Finland between dates June 18-19, 1995 was an important step for the conservation of modern cultural heritage. The aim was to include all types of heritage from all different periods including the present day's cultural heritage. It is stated in the seminar that in a large number of cases, the recent heritage examples have formed by and lived with the integration of social and cultural context of its country, which provides a richness in heritage and represents a reflection of cultural diversity with the inclusion of memory over considerations of materials (Helsinki Seminar, 1995).

In 1996, another ICOMOS seminar on 20<sup>th</sup>-century heritage was organized in Mexico City, Mexico. In this one, the focal point was the relation between tangible and intangible features of the 20<sup>th</sup>-century heritage, how this heritage forms a lieu for the social life in the built environment. Similar to the Helsinki Seminar, it stated that memory and collective imaginaries in addition to the social phenomena and use of spaces should be considered conjointly with the constructed heritage (Mexico Seminar, Article 2.1.4, 1996).

As it was noted in the seminars, modern heritage conservation should consider many aspects besides the physical features of cultural heritage, and there should be a holistic approach with the awareness of memory as well especially for the environments where the built environment mostly consists of modern assets. The importance of collective images in the memories of users has been highlighted as well as the social aspects and spatial functions of the cities. Thus, collective uses and assets' place in cultural life was taken into account.

In 2001, Montreal Plan for 20<sup>th</sup> C. Heritage (MP20) was developed as an action plan and later presented in the Advisory and Executive Committee's meeting in Dubrovnik, Croatia. It proposed a wide global survey of the 20<sup>th</sup>-century heritage in its full

diversity (Montreal Action Plan, 2001). A year later, ICOMOS proposed to dedicate the International Monuments and Sites Day, April 18, to the 20<sup>th</sup>-century heritage. In the survey questionnaire, the legal and legislative framework of the 20<sup>th</sup>-century heritage in each country was aimed to be comprehended. The position of modern heritage in the conservation understanding and practices of countries and in the registrations or listings were also aimed to be understood. The age was a focal input in the survey as well. The questions listed in the Action Plan can be answered for Turkey with the Law No. 2863 concerning Conservation of Cultural and Natural Assets approved on June 21<sup>st</sup>, 1983. This law will be covered under the subtitle National Legal Documents Regarding Conservation of this chapter with the answers of the Action Plan's questions.

Similarly, approaches for the Conservation of Twentieth-Century Architectural Heritage, Madrid Document was developed in 2011 and revised in 2014 by ICOMOS ISC20C as guidelines for the conservation of modern heritage sites between 2011-2012.

The document was underlining the need and importance of the holistic perspective in the conservation practices with all the components included (Madrid Document, Article 1.1, 2014). Like any architectural heritage asset, modern heritage buildings, sites, and landscapes are the witnesses of their own period; they have their place in the users' memory, and in the urban life of their environment. They are the documents of the history, no matter how 'young' they are since, as it was mentioned above, Bergson claims that the time consists of past and present and forms a continuous *durée* (2004).

In the Madrid Document, it is noted that, for an appropriate conservation application, the significance of the architectural heritage must be well understood by performing a careful study of all its attributes, different components, and values that form that significance. Preserving the modern heritage asset's integrity, authenticity and cultural significance, like any other heritage asset, is one of the key aspects of the conservation process (Madrid Document, Article 2.1, 2011).

Therefore, the significance of a place can be indicated by the examination of all of its components as well the social inputs such as its users. Since modern heritage is near past's and even today's heritage, it is important to advocate and safeguard their conservation in order to use them as present day's tangible documents with the intangible values that are engraved within the physical components of the modern heritage. Because built environment and intangible values are very much linked, and the built environment expresses cultural codes within its physical aspects (Karakul, *An Integrated Approach to Conservation Based on the Interrelations of Tangible and Intangible Cultural Properties*, 2011, p. 108). Moreover, it should be approached with the spatial practices and interactions of the users with the places and built environment in the urban settlement so that there can be a holistic understanding, because, without the users, places can be decreased to soulless materials or just artifacts to admire without any personal or societal roots.

The policy documents discussed under this chapter and under the title Modern Heritage and its Conservation give us the international and institutional approach on modern heritage conservation, provide us guidelines and having examined them, we come to the conclusion that the holistic approach is promoted in the modern heritage conservation, understanding of taking into account of many different aspects is a key concept in conservation as well as the conservation of modern architectural heritage.

### **2.2.3 Legislative Framework for Conservation in Turkey**

Besides policies prepared by international organizations and bodies, each country has their own laws and legislation in order to conserve their cultural and natural heritage. Although they are prepared mostly based on those generally accepted international policies, they may differ in terms of content and scope in each country.

When we focus on Turkey, the understanding and perception of conservation have a place in the Turkish legal system. There had been many different stages in Turkish conservation history, from the beginning of conservation works in the Ottoman

Empire until today. Since the focus of this thesis is 20<sup>th</sup>-century heritage and its conservation, current conservation legislation is covered in this chapter.<sup>7</sup>

Even though there were some legislations and regulations regarding the conservation of built heritage, the major focus was monuments and thus, regulations did not have a broad scope in the Ottoman Empire. The 1906 Antiquities Regulation continued to be the legislative framework after the foundation of the Turkish Republic. In 1951, The High Council of Immovable Antiquities and Monuments (GEEAYK) was founded as the central decision-making body for the conservation works (Turkish Law No. 5805). Madran notes that the council brought the understanding of value-intervention to the conservation field by grouping the cultural assets and seeing the demolishment and rebuilding as a part of the conservation practices in certain cases (1996, p. 81). Later, in 1973, the first conservation legislation of the Turkish Republic would be the 1710 Antiquities Act (*Eski Eserler Yasası*) (Madran, 1996, p. 63).

Today cultural heritage in Turkey is protected by the Law No. 2863 approved in 1983 on the Conservation of Cultural and Natural Properties. The law defines cultural assets as follows:

“All immovable and movable properties located aboveground, underground or underwater, that had been related with science, culture, religion and fine arts and/or had been the subject of **social life** [emphasis added], have unique values scientifically or culturally in **prehistoric or historical times** [emphasis added].” (Turkish Law No. 2863, Article 3).

In fact, the law covers places that had been important for the social life, but in terms of temporal framework, it indicates the prehistoric and historical times, therefore the modern and contemporary assets do not have a place in this primary definition. This leads us to the Article 6 about the indication of which immovable cultural and natural properties are to be conserved;

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<sup>7</sup> For more information on history of conservation legislations and measures see: Madran, 1997, Madran and Özgönül, 2005 and Şahin Güçhan and Kurul, 2009.

- a. “Natural properties to be conserved and immovables that were built until the **19<sup>th</sup> century** [emphasis added],
- b. Immovables built after the indicated time [19<sup>th</sup> century] are decided to be conserved in terms of their **importance and characteristics** [emphasis added] by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism,
- c. Immovable cultural assets located in the conservation sites,
- d. Because of their importance in our national history, buildings and designated areas that had witnessed the historical events during the War of Independence and foundation of the Republic of Turkey and houses that had been used by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk **without the consideration of temporal context and registration status** [emphasis added].”

The article continues as, the immovables that are decided not to be preserved by the Conservation Councils in terms of their **architectural, historical, aesthetic, archaeological, and other significances** would not be considered as immovable cultural assets (Turkish Law No. 2863, Article 6).

The law focuses on the properties with historical values and physical significances, yet the intangible values are not mentioned in the article except for the assets and places related to Atatürk and the War of Independence. It can be said that the law does not offer a broad description of values held by cultural assets. As for the ones that are selected and identified to be preserved, they are registered by the Conservation Councils with the “Regulation Regarding Inventory and Registration of Immovable Cultural and Natural Properties” prepared in 1987. In the Article 4 of the regulation on the valorization criterion in the inventory for the single buildings it is indicated that, assets with significant structural or decorative elements, physical stability, has significant material, design and construction technique within the context of artistic, architectural, historical, aesthetical, local, archaeological values can be identified as cultural assets. As for the urban sites, the density of single buildings comprises the indicators of a cultural asset to be conserved, and those having the architectural and

historical integrity (Article 4, 1987).<sup>8</sup> Again the social inputs and values are not a part of this criterion.

In 1999, “Principle Decision No.660 Regarding the Grouping, Maintenance and Conservation of Immovable Cultural Assets”<sup>9</sup> was prepared. In the principle decision, buildings were divided into two groups;

- “Group 1: The buildings which must be conserved with their historical, symbolic, **memory** and aesthetical features within the **cultural data** that forms the society’s tangible history [emphasis added].
- Group 2: The buildings that contribute to the **urban** and environment **identity** and reflect the **local lifestyle** that has the quality of cultural asset [emphasis added]” (Principle Decision No. 660, 1999).

For the first time, in 1999 the memory had its place in the Turkish conservation legislation even though it again indicated the physical aspects of a place. The second group in the principle decision indicates that identity is also a component to be conserved. The local lifestyle mentioned here indicates the local cultural lifestyle more than the urban lifestyle. Hence it does not cover large cities and urban settlements, and it is easy to manipulate these articles in the principle decision. At a time when most of the population is living in cities, it should be considered that cities have their identities and cultures raised by their people’s collective work. In the documentation part of the principle decision, there should be a section for social values and inputs added to the valorization process.

### 2.3 Evaluation of Public Spaces

Public spaces are the core elements of any urban ensemble, thus quality of them make a quality urban ensemble and urban life. They share some characteristics while

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<sup>8</sup> For further information see: “Korunması Gerekli Tasınmaz Kültür ve Tabiat Varlıklarının Tespit ve Tescili Hakkında Yönetmelik, 1987” <http://teftis.kulturturizm.gov.tr/>

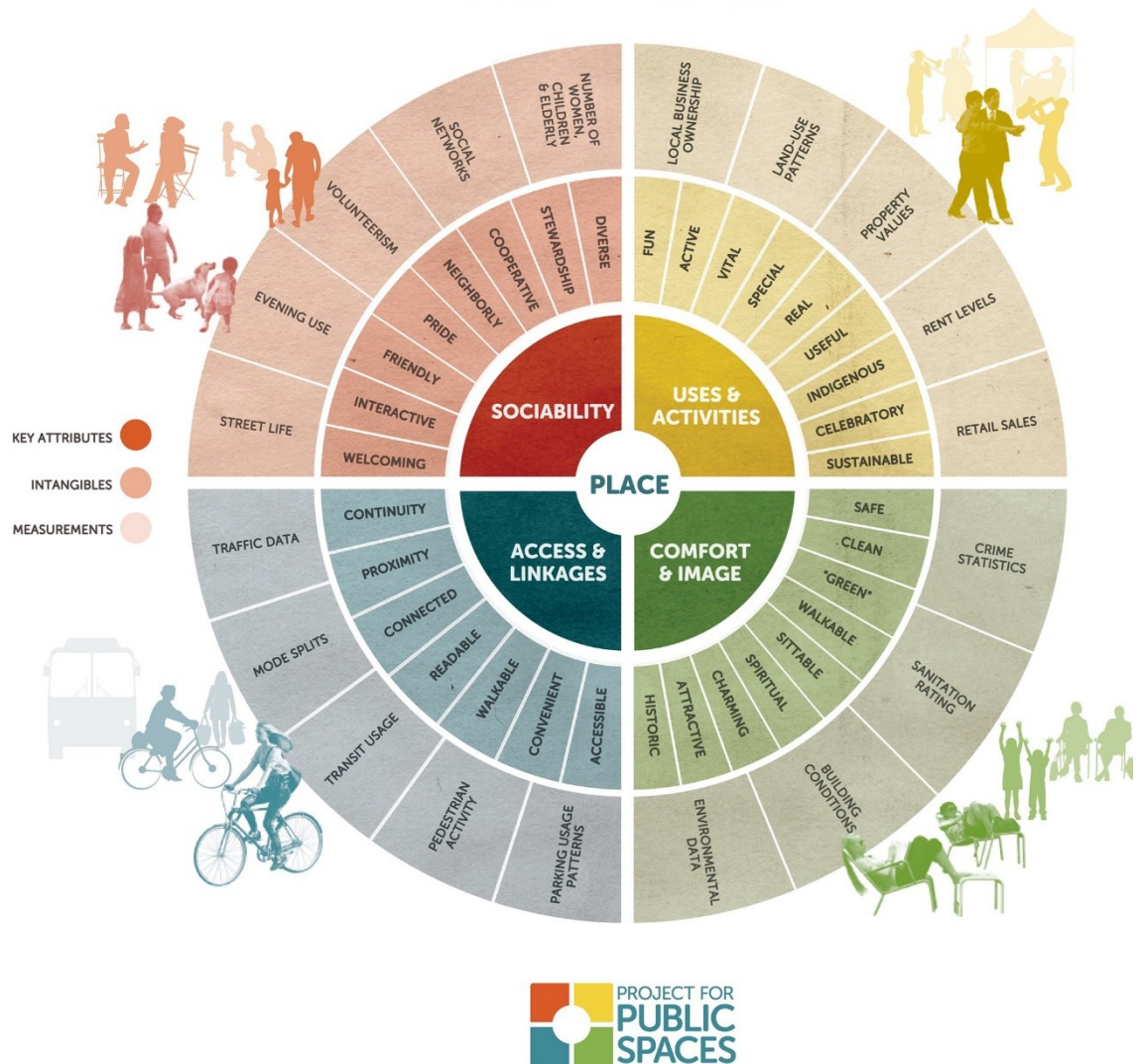
<sup>9</sup> For further information see: “(660 nolu İlke Kararı) Tasınmaz Kültür Varlıklarının Gruplandırılması, Bakım ve Onarımları, 1999” <http://teftis.kulturturizm.gov.tr/>

differing in other aspects. ‘Project for Public Spaces’ or PPS defines public spaces as follows;

“Great public spaces are those places where celebrations are held, social and economic exchanges occur, friends run into each other, and cultures mix. They are the “front porches” of our public institutions – libraries, field houses, schools – where we interact with each other and government. When these spaces work well, they serve as the stage for our public lives.” (Project for Public Spaces).

Especially for the urban ensembles in such time, it is essential to build the connection between the citizens and their shared city and urban ensemble. Public spaces are the key aspects to help build and strengthen this bond which together helps building strong communities tied with their ensembles. This tie between the citizens and their urban ensemble would also help the sustainability and deepening the roots of the collective memory of the citizens which again connects the groups even more. PPS, a non-profit organization, founded in 1975, helps to transform places, building the placemaking movement, and campaigning for systematic change with the motto “it takes a place to create a community and a community to create a place” (Project for Public Spaces). While helping communities in various ways such as with their placemaking services, trainings, public markets services and transportation planning, followed by an evaluation of thousands of public spaces, they developed ‘The Place Making Diagram’ where they contributed the aspects of the successful public spaces as accessible, comfortable, sociable and activity engagement (Project for Public Spaces) (**Figure 2.7**). The public place to be evaluated, i.e., a square, a street corner, a park would be placed to the center and can be evaluated through the inner ring of four aspects. The middle ring shows the qualitative aspects of a place, and the outer one has the quantitative aspects to be measured by statistics or research (Project for Public Spaces).

# WHAT MAKES A GREAT PLACE?



**Figure 2. 7:** What makes a great place evaluation chart or ‘The Place Making Diagram’ by Project for Public Spaces (Project for Public Spaces).

The first of four aspects of a public place, access and linkages can be measured by the physical and visual connection of the place with its surroundings. An accessible public space should be easy to access and get through as well as should be visible and distinguishable from a distance. To help the consideration process of the access and linkages, PPS assembled some questions such as;

- “Is there a good connection between the space and the adjacent buildings, or is it surrounded by blank walls? Do occupants of adjacent buildings use the space?
- Can people use a variety of transportation options - bus train, car, bicycle, etc. - to reach the place?
- Can you see the space from a distance? Is its interior visible from the outside?”  
(Project for Public Spaces).

The second evaluation criteria, comfort and image questions the perceptions of safety and cleanliness as well as the availability of seating options. A good place, according to PPS, should present itself well and should have a good image. Some questions for this criterion are as follows;

- “Does the place make a good first impression?
- Are there more women than men?
- Does the area feel safe? Is there a security presence? If so, what do these people do? When are they on duty?
- Do vehicles dominate pedestrian use of the space, or prevent them from easily getting to the space?” (Project for Public Spaces).

The third one, uses and activities are identified with giving the users a reason to come to a place. If there is not an activity, the places would be empty, and again according to PPS, this means there is something wrong. The principles to keep in mind for the evaluation of uses and activities are the balance in the number of men and women participation as well as the diversity of the ages amongst the users, the usage of the place throughout the day and so on. Some of the questions to consider this criterion are as follows;

- “Are people using the space or is it empty?
- Is it used by people of different ages?
- How many different types of activities are occurring - people walking, eating, playing baseball, chess, relaxing, reading?

- Are there choices of things to do?” (Project for Public Spaces).

Finally, there is the sociability which is hard to achieve according to PPS, the places where people run into their friends, meet and greet their neighbors as well as feel comfortable meeting and interacting with strangers which would strengthen the sense of belonging to a place and an attachment to their community (Project for Public Spaces). Some of the questions for the evaluation of this criterion are as follows;

- “Is this a place where you would choose to meet your friends? Are others meeting friends here or running into them?
- Do people bring their friends and relatives to see the place or do they point to one of its features with pride?
- Are people smiling? Do people make eye contact with each other?
- Do people use the place regularly and by choice?
- Do people tend to pick up litter when they see it?” (Project for Public Spaces).

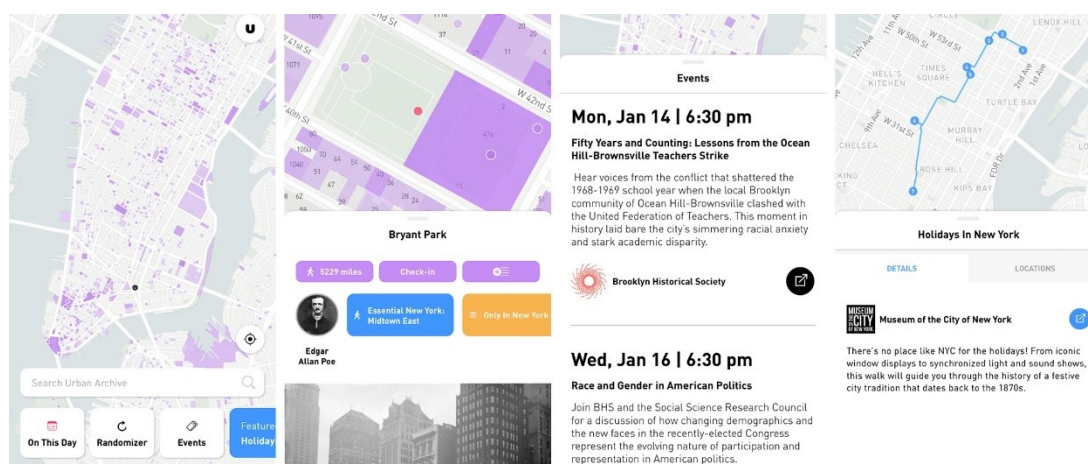
These criteria, in general, help us understand the significance of a public place in an urban environ and amongst its users, the groups in the urban ensemble. Whether the groups feel a sense of belonging and appropriate the places as a part of their community and treat them accordingly.

#### **2.4 Digital and Interactive Tools That Can Be Used for Heritage Documentation and Conservation in Urban Ensembles**

In a time where digitization and technology intertwined with everyday life, it is inevitable to disregard the engagement of technology and lived experiences. Numerous examples are being used as tools for intangible/social values. These specific examples below were chosen to be examined in detail because of their contributors, outcomes (physical and data-related), and context that they created, all of which to be used in the mechanisms part of this thesis in Chapter IV.

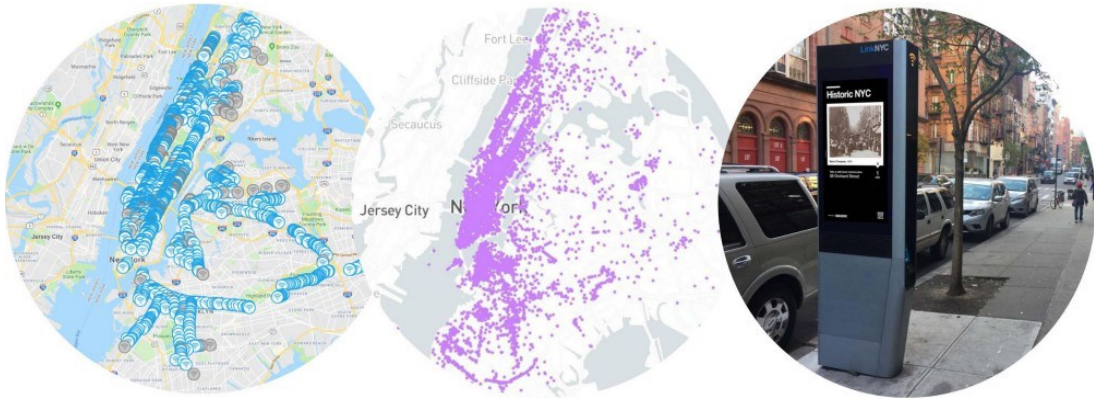
‘Urban Archive’ subjecting New York City in the States is one of them with the motto “The city is your museum”. Nonprofit technology tries to create new connections

between people and places (Urban Archive). While providing a mobile application, they also provide an audio guide with the collaboration of museums, content experts and such, as well as education to uncover location-based history while providing a mapping software called LinkNYC again through location-based historical content (Urban Archive). Working in collaboration with various museums and institutions such as; Brooklyn Historical Society, Columbia University Libraries, Greenwich Village Society for Historic Preservation, Historic Districts Council, The New York Preservation Archive Project, New York Public Library, Museum of the City of New York and many more, the initiative connects the citizens –and tourists– of New York City with its history through the lived experiences and places. Through curated walking routes to tours and even notable people identified with the locations, the application allows the user to have an interactive learning experience where they can also achieve the sources about the information on the places they explore (**Figure 2.8**).

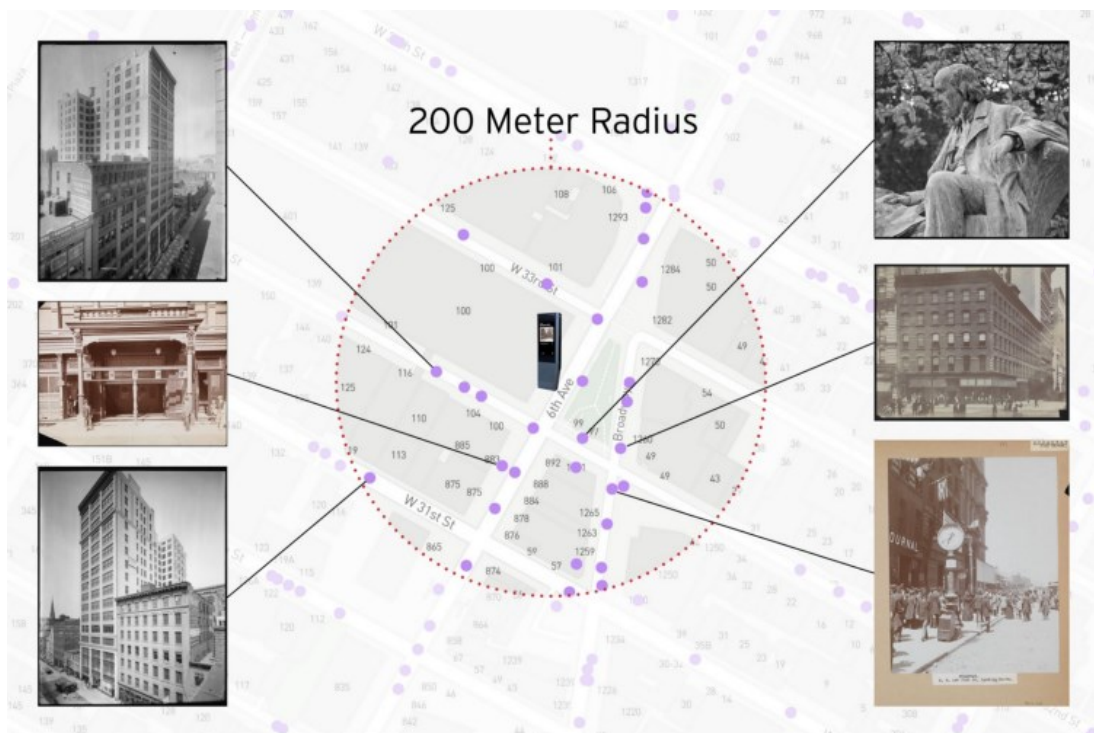


**Figure 2. 8:** Urban Archive mobile application screenshots.

Moreover, with the LinkNYC’s urban kiosks that are places in various locations in New York City, the users, the passengers can see the historical photographs and information about the nearby sites (within 200 meters diameter) (**Figure 2.9, Figure 2.10**).



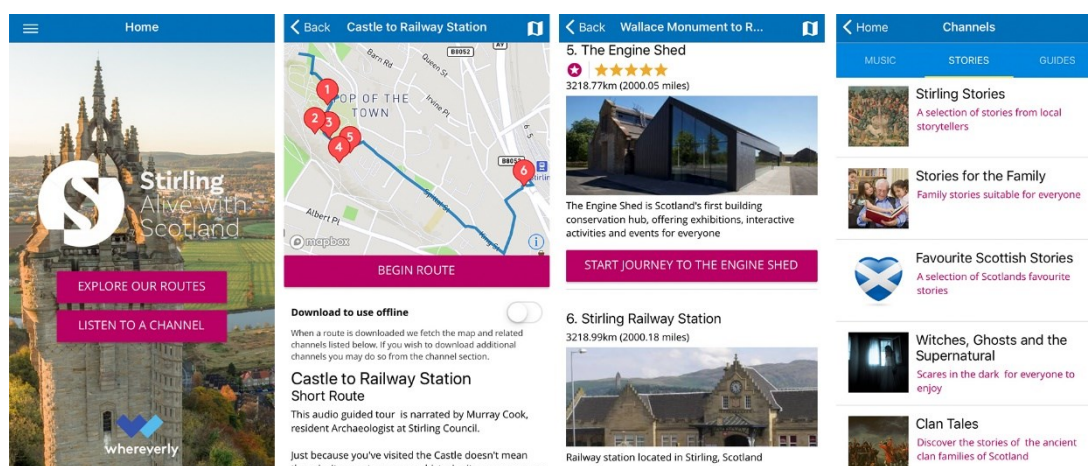
**Figure 2. 9:** Locations of LinkNYC Kiosks (left), map of Urban Archive (middle), LinkNYC Kiosk (right) (URL: <https://medium.com/urban-archive/bringing-history-to-linknyc-kiosks-17f7d63a4129>)



**Figure 2. 10:** Images within 200 meters of a kiosk (URL: <https://medium.com/urban-archive/bringing-history-to-linknyc-kiosks-17f7d63a4129>).

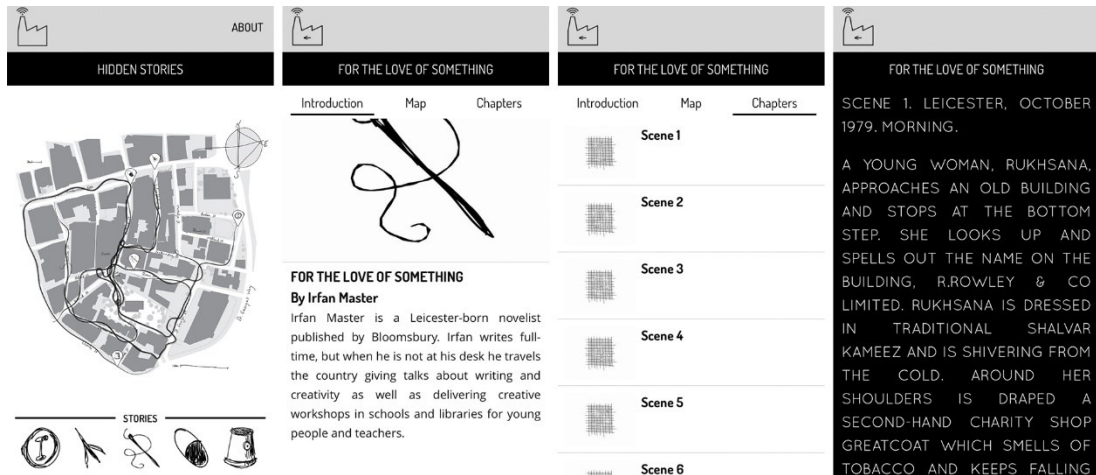
Another mobile application example is ‘Explore Stirling’, which subjects Stirling, Scotland, where they have listening and exploring routes options. Under the ‘Listen to a Chanel’ section, the user can choose to listen to music and songs reflecting Scottish culture, –from music and songs about the area of Stirling to piping–, stories

about the area from the local storytellers, and even ancient clan tales, and finally guides about various subjects accompanied with the walking routes. The routes section, on the other hand, helps the user explore the area with walking, cycling, and driving tours. From historic sites tour to Battle of Bannockburn tour, these audio guided tours help the user to uncover the stories of the area with its social aspects while exploring and connecting with the city (**Figure 2.11**).



**Figure 2. 11:** Explore Stirling mobile application screenshots.

Another mobile application subjecting an urban environ is ‘Hidden Stories’ telling the history of the city of Leicester in England through narratives of the writers and uncovering the literary of the city’s Cultural Quarter to explore urban locations and their history (**Figure 2.12**). Each story is read through the provided route, making it an interactive experience. The application is a part of the project called ‘Affective Digital Histories’ that has the motto of “Recreating de-industrialized places, 1970s-Present” and explores how communities transform with urban decay and regeneration. With the collaboration of the University of Leicester, they collect, analyze, and digitize the data for a broad digital archive (Affective Digital Histories). With the help of the community of Leicester, the initiative collects the personal stories to understand how the groups form their urban ensembles both in economic and cultural ways while uncovering the intercultural relationships formed within the framework of urban transformation (Affective Digital Histories).



**Figure 2. 12:** Hidden Stories mobile application screenshots.

Ankara and Atatürk Boulevard had also been the subjects of various publications, novels, poems, movies and many more. They help us understand the spatial framework, everyday life, and social state of time they take place in and help us understand the change and compare it with today. Since Ankara is the capital and second biggest city in Turkey, despite being a young capital, it has the privileges of being documented and being the subject of various sources. As a city that has been studied for numerous times, it produced more than the visual and published documents.

Similar to the technologies and tools mentioned above, Yenişehir also has a mobile application developed by the Çankaya Municipality. '*Kentin Hikayeleri*' application has two sections, '*Turan Tanyer ile Eski Bulvar*' (Old Boulevard with Turan Tanyer), which directly subjects Atatürk Boulevard and its immediate vicinity, and '*Yenişehir'de Entelektüel Yaşam*' (Intellectual Life in Yenişehir) both provide routes supported by the map of Ankara (**Figure 2.13**). While providing the visual documents for each aspect along the routes, the application also has a sources section and an opportunity to listen to the information, which is covered as storytelling, sometimes through the narratives of the writers, poets, or through sections of memoirs. Although it is very limited, it is a good start for the interactive exploration of the urban environment and its history for the citizens and tourists of Ankara.

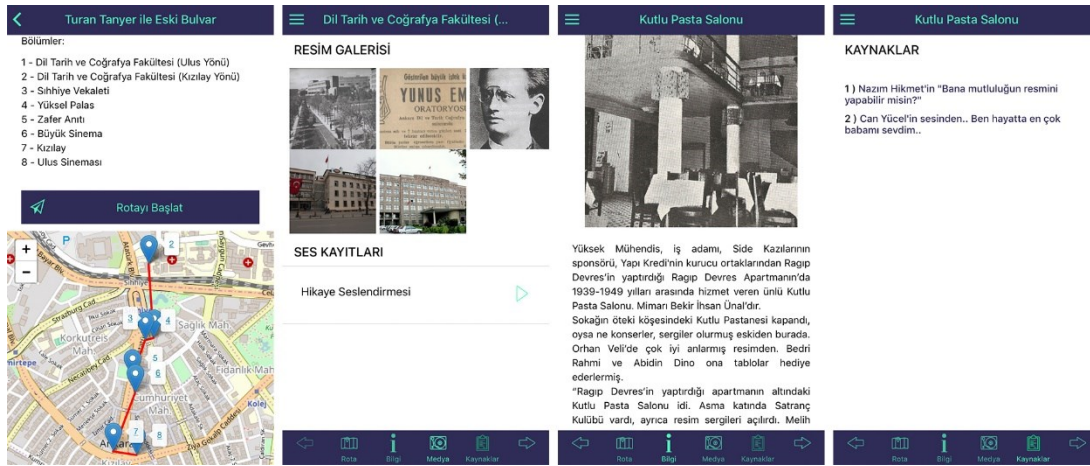


Figure 2. 13: Kentin Hikayeleri mobile application screenshots.

Another open source digital archive for the urban ensembles that also subjects Ankara –Altındağ district– alongside Istanbul’s Şişli district and İzmir Karataş district is Urban Obscura. The project that has various partners such as Başkent and TED Universities Architecture Departments and Bilkent University’s Communication Design Department “aims to exhibit a ground knowledge of urban heritage for related researches and create a digital city archive” and “to develop a collective urban memory” (Urban Obscura). Although it is a significant way to document and spread information and strengthen the connection between the people and the built environment it has not presented a document or database yet. But the initiative realized an exhibition in 2017 under the name *Urban Obscura/ Kentler: Değişen Rotalar Değişen Haritalar* (Urban Obscura/ Cities: Changing Routes Changing Maps) with the participation of numerous artists who presented their artistic works on the changing city from their perspectives.

In addition to them, the ‘*Sivil Mimari Bellek*’ study conducted by Başkent University with the support of TÜBİTAK and VEKAM produced a broad and significant archive and database for the residential structures of Ankara constructed between the years of 1930-80. As a result, it was produced an open access website, numerous papers published in various sources, a large number of presentations, exhibitions and many more. Although it was limited with the residential structures, it is a promising start for

the documentation of the architectural production of Ankara and should be used in further studies.

## **2.5 A Brief Evaluation of the Memory Studies and Conservation**

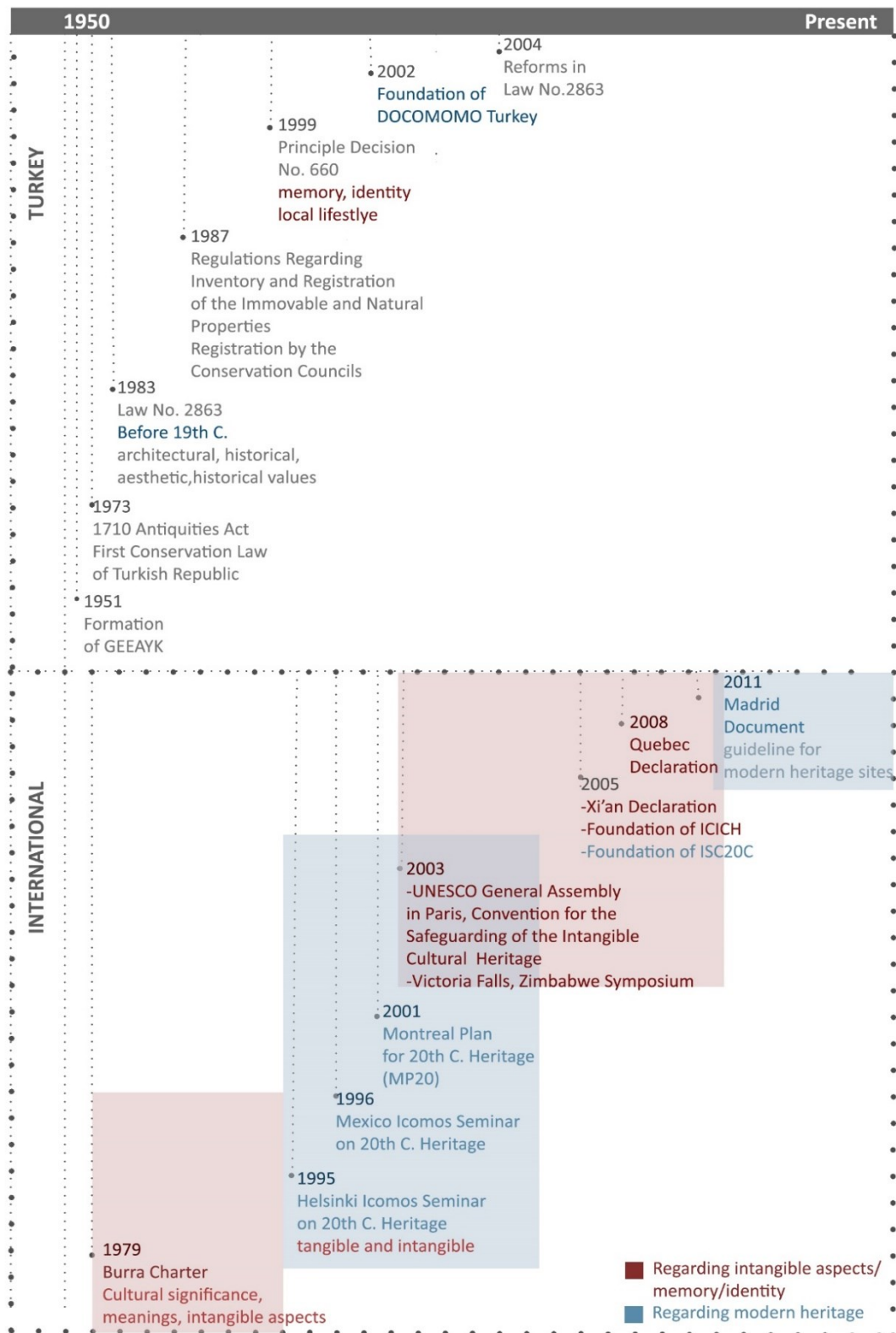
Throughout this chapter a path through the theoretical studies on the memory, the place of modern heritage and memory in the international documents and in the national legislation were tried to be outlined. It leads us to the conclusion that in the temporal way, the memory and place had already become the subject of conservation documents prior than the recognition of modern heritage (**Figure 2.14**).

In the 1990s, modern heritage started to become an issue in the conservation discussions. Following the foundation of DOCOMOMO in 1988, international symposiums and conferences were held and, in Mexico, and Helsinki Symposiums in 1996 and 1995; it is seen the modern heritage found itself a place in the field of conservation. Moreover, intangible values and their relationship with the physical components were taken into account with a major consciousness (**Figure 2.15**). Foundation of the International Committee on Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICICH) and the Twentieth Century Heritage International Scientific Committee (ISC20) branches of UNESCO were also in the 1990s.

Although DOCOMOMO Turkey was founded in 1988 with the aim of raising awareness for the 20th-century heritage, the attempts for the preservation of modern heritage is still very limited. The lack of legislative support makes it even more complicated. Many modern heritage buildings were demolished and many more are in danger. Even in the study area, on the Atatürk Boulevard, four buildings were demolished since 2016, two buildings (Vakıflar Headquarters and İller Hotel) next to the registered İller Bank building which is also demolished with the attempt of rebuilding it on the neighboring lot and Beyazgül Apartment Building in the southwest part of the Boulevard. Advocating the conservation of modern heritage is largely in the agenda of Chamber of Architects, DOCOMOMO Turkey, KORDER, other architectural associations and NGOs as well as the academics in Turkey, though even

with the legal steps taken by these institutes, the safeguarding of modern heritage is largely staying as an attempt rather than an actual action because of the local governments and legal decisions against the institutes. Or in some examples, such as again the İller Bank building, the conservation council ironically decides against the conservation of the building and vote in favor of the demolishment, which is against the law as well as the conservation principles and international policy documents discussed above.

Following the developments in the 1990s, intangible heritage and the importance of terms such as the significance, social aspects, identity, memory and much more seem to have their places in conservation approaches regarding international policy documents (**Figure 2.15**). However, these terms have neither yet included in the Turkish legislation nor in the conservation implementations in Turkey.



**Figure 2. 14:** Timeline showing the Turkish legislation and international policy documents, their relationship with intangible aspects and the conservation of modern heritage (Author, 2018).

Document/ Year	Keywords/Content	
Burra Charter 1979	-social or spiritual values and cultural responsibilities -the special connection between people and place	-intangible aspects>> symbolic qualities and memories -societal diversity
Helsinki ICOMOS Seminar 1995	-20th century -modern cultural heritage -cultural diversity -not be defined only with reference to its architectural forms -memory	-social, cultural framework -present day's cultural heritage -all types of heritage from all different periods
Mexico ICOMOS Seminar 1996	-20th century -modern cultural heritage -relation between tangible and intangible heritage	-memory and collective imaginaries -cultural life
ICOMOS Montreal Action Plan(MP20) 2001	-20th heritage -International monuments and sites day dedicated to 20th Heritage	-full diversity -time constraints
ICOMOS Victoria Falls/ Kimberly workshop 2003	-intangible heritage -meaning -symbolism -identity	-remembrance-memories -cultural aspects, living traditions
UNESCO General Conference in Paris 2003	-intangible cultural heritage -communities,groups	*in 2006, Turkey ratified the convention's text (Law No. 5448)
Xi'an Declaration 2005	-past or present, social or spiritual practices, customs, traditional knowledge	-significance,distinctive character -social values
ICOMOS Québec Declaration 2008	-spirit of place/genius loci -tangible and intangible heritage	-communities/groups -memories
ICOMOS ISC20C Madrid Document 2011	-all of the components -tangible and intangible attributes	-witness of their own period -integrity -cultural significance

■ Indicates places,significance,and intangible features

■ Indicates modern heritage and temporal features

**Figure 2. 15:** Table showing the contents of international policy documents in relation to the content of the thesis (Author, 2018).

When it comes to the questions asked in the Montreal Action Plan mentioned above are examined and answered for the current status in Turkey (Montreal Action Plan, 2001);

1. *“Does your country have specific criteria for listing 20th C. heritage properties? What are they?”*

As for the first question, the answer is no since Turkey does not have specific criteria for listing the 20<sup>th</sup>-century heritage properties. It is up to the Ministry of Culture and Tourism to register modern heritage based on the criteria set by the above-mentioned articles of the Turkish Law No. 2863.

2. *“Are there any legal or regulatory time constraints such as a minimum age, to heritage listing? Who is administering such rules?”*

Yes, there is a time constraint. As mentioned above, the Article 6 of the Turkish Law No. 2863 notes that cultural assets that are built before the 19<sup>th</sup> century become the properties to be conserved. The rule is in the law and the Conservation Councils and the Ministry of Culture and Tourism are the responsible decision-making bodies.

3. *“What are the most recent 20<sup>th</sup> Century properties listed in your country? How old were the properties at the time they were listed? Were there any properties listed at the early stage of your country's listing process or were they listed only recently?”*

Since there is not a country-wide database regarding the dates of registration for cultural assets in Turkey, this question can be answered for the study area. Ulus Business Center was built in 1956 and registered on March 19<sup>th</sup>, 2010. The building was 54 years old when it was registered. In 2015, Austrian Embassy constructed in 1935 and Grand National Assembly's Mosque Complex constructed in 1989 were registered as the first-degree cultural assets, and the mosque complex is the newest and youngest building that was

registered most recently in the study area. The embassy was 80 years old while the mosque complex was 26 years old when registered. In fact, the buildings from the 1920s and 1930s had been the subject of registration from the beginning of the conservation measures in Turkey after the effectuation of Law No. 2863, again in the study area.

4. *“Is listing of 20th C. heritage common in your country? How many 20th C. properties / sites are listed? What % of the total heritage list does it account for?”*

The registration of the 20<sup>th</sup>-century heritage is not common in Turkey. Unfortunately, it is the reverse at present, and the cancellation of registration status is common. Therefore, 20<sup>th</sup>-century heritage is susceptible to destruction at present. Similarly, there is not a country-wide data for the dates of the registered buildings, but we can access the total number of registered cultural assets in Turkey; at the end of 2016, there were 103.571 registered immovable properties in total (Statistics of Immovable Cultural Asset to be Conserved in Turkey).<sup>10</sup>

It can be seen from the answers above that the conservation of modern heritage in Turkey does not yet have a large place in the Turkish conservation and registration works.

As it was mentioned above, according to the Cultural Assets Statistic of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism dated 2016, in Turkey, out of 2134 of 103.571 registered immovable cultural assets are in Ankara (Türkiye Geneli Korunması Gerekli Taşınmaz Kültür Varlığı İstatistiği, 2018). However, the data on the construction dates of registered immovables or the periods they belong to cannot be obtained through this statistic.

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<sup>10</sup> For more information on the statistics of immovable cultural assets in Turkey see: <http://www.kulturvarliklari.gov.tr/>

As for the intangible values, social aspect, and memory studies in the field of conservation in Turkey, there is not sufficient definition of them in the Turkish legislation. When it comes to the practice, there is a lack of a holistic approach to the issue with the consideration of memory and other aspects above the physical materials that form the whole. All of the components that make a place unique and special for anyone, but more importantly for its users or ‘the groups’ should be considered conjointly with the material features. As it was mentioned above, together, those aspects form a sense of belonging, help the culture to grow and sustain, gain importance in social groups, provide a visual framework for the intangible practices or even for any memory formed in that setting.

Just as in Halbwachs’ theory, even current time can be decreased to history if not recalled, and as long as the physical structure that makes us recall and remember our past and our culture is there, it is more certain that practices can last longer by recalling. Therefore, to prevent our present day and collective memory to disappear it is vital to provide the appropriate milieu and setting to sustain memory and practices for social groups, in this case, in the city, or even for an entire country.



## CHAPTER 3

### UNDERSTANDING THE SITE: SPATIO-TEMPORAL HISTORY

The third chapter of the thesis aims to understand the spatio-temporal changes of Atatürk Boulevard as well as the changes that Ankara and the Turkish Republic underwent, utilizing social, urban, and historical/political perspectives. Starting from the end of the Ottoman era, before Ankara became the capital of the Turkish Republic, until today; the socio-cultural and spatial changes are examined in light of the previous scholarly sources and other published documents alongside visual documents such as photographs, architectural drawings, and maps, obtained from various sources including the municipalities, previous scholarly sources, and also social media groups. To understand the built-up areas, the structures, and functions on each lot framing the Boulevard, archives of the municipalities, photographs, maps, and drawings were used. In addition, dissertations and thesis, especially Mustafa Yücesan's Master's thesis entitled "Architectural Flexibility in Urban Centers and a Case Study on Atatürk Boulevard in Ankara Buildings within the Building" (1985) and Mustafa Kandil's Ph.D. thesis entitled "*Mimari Çevrede Değişme Sürecinin Analizi Ulus-Çankaya Aksı (Ankara) Üzerine Bir Deneme*" (1987) were used in order to compare the physical state of the Boulevard of the 1980s and its current situation. For the lived experiences and memories, as mentioned above, instead of oral history, literary sources, periodicals, previous scholarly research and publications were used.

A boulevard can be identified as a wide road with a set of trees or green elements on both sides and sidewalks located in cities (Oxford Dictionaries, 2018). It is one of the major components of an urban settlement that composes many major functions while providing traffic circulation. In some cases, it allows people to perform *promenades*, which can be explained as the leisurely walks in public and often used for being seen by and meeting people (Oxford English Dictionaries, 2018). A boulevard itself can be

seen as a western urban feature while the social activities and functional components it provides can be acknowledged as being western. In the dawn of modern Turkey, Atatürk Boulevard was going to provide these needs and formations regarding social, architectural, and urban modernity in the new Turkish Republic.

The city and its groups, the people that live in the city, created and nourished each other simultaneously, and the culture that was born from this mutual relationship is traced through space and time in this part of the thesis. The culture that was created, raised, and spread as an outcome of this relationship is examined with a focus on collective memory, built environment, and Atatürk Boulevard's users with the help of conceptual and theoretical sources and published documents covering Ankara, Atatürk Boulevard, everyday life in Ankara, and modern architectural movement in Turkey.

After giving information on the social, historic, urban and architectural context of Turkey and Ankara, the chapter then focuses on the Atatürk Boulevard itself. Starting from its formation until 2018, the spatio-temporal change that it went through is examined through maps and information on lots neighboring the Boulevard alongside addressing its importance in the social, political, historic, and architectural context of Ankara.

### **3.1 Ankara as an Ottoman City and the Process of Becoming a Capital**

Ankara had been considered as a candidate for being the capital of the Turkish Republic since the War of Independence times. It had preserved its place as the administrative center of the Representation Council of National Forces from December 27<sup>th</sup>, 1919 to October 13<sup>th</sup>, 1923 when it finally became the capital with the act approved in the Grand National Assembly of Turkey. Before the War of Independence, Ankara was a middle-sized Anatolian town that went through many different struggles throughout the years and at the end, the Turkish Republic took over Ankara as a town with a population of 20.000 (Akçura, 1971). Vehbi Koç, a businessman from Ankara, tells in his memoirs that;

“The majority of Ankara’s population was Muslim Turks. There were also Christians and Jews. Christians would work, earn. They would eat, drink, and enjoy themselves well, dress well, live in nice houses. They would have their weekly holidays on Sundays. Turks would mostly become an imam, *bakkal*, warden, or freighter. Christians were not called for the military service; they would pay the price. Since they did not attend the military service, they had the chance to do business and to open shops more freely.” (Koç, 1973, p. 11).

Even though Ankara had been a center in Anatolia for many different civilizations including Hittite, Phrygian, Roman, Byzantine, Seljuk and more, this memoir indicates that Ankara had the main characteristics of an Anatolian town and its inhabitants towards the end of the Ottoman era. Little more than a hundred years ago, in 1897, an English Consulate was opened in Ankara, and Gavin Gatheral was tasked as the vice-consul. In his report titled “Report on the Population Industries, Trade, Commerce, Agriculture, Public Works, Land Tenure, and Government of City and Province of Angora, Anatolia” and dated October 27, 1879, he notes that Turks were mostly working in the agriculture and animal husbandry while minorities were dominating the trade and. Since Ankara was the center of the Ankara province, there was a large Turkish civil servant population just like today. Also, some of the Turks were working as artisans. Gatheral states that people in Ankara were very polite and kind, they were respecting the state authority and very hospitable to foreigners (1879). Women, including the Christians, were living behind closed doors, with an outsider view they were living ‘a prison life’, he continues; “this ridiculous custom cannot be changed”, also notes that almost every family had two houses, one in the city and one as a vineyard house (*bağ evi*) (Gatheral, 1879, qtd. in Şimşir, 2006, p. 32).

He continues by noting the city was “a pile of gray colored mud and stone houses promiscuously put on top of each other and full of gloom”, the sanitary conditions were so severe that there were many epidemics (Gatheral, 1879, p. 306). The impression given by Gatheral indicates that although Ankara might have been a large town in Anatolia in the conditions of its period, it was not in a better socio-cultural situation nor did it have better planning than the rest of Anatolia and most of the Ottoman Empire. According to Tankut, Ottoman Ankara remained in the medieval

ages as a town considering the urban spatial organization and the urban environment standards (1980, p. 253).

Soon after the Republic, the situation was not that different. Atay says that the streets were narrow and not clean, the houses were cold in winter and hot and dusty in summer, there were no roads, and the most widely available means of transportation were donkeys, Ankara was arid, and there were not many trees (1980, pp. 352-355).

There were many reasons for choosing Ankara as the new capital of the Turkish Republic including its location, its role as the center of the independence movement, its privileges of railway access which had reached the city back in 1892, telegraph facilities, its cosmopolitan features and its character as a traditional Anatolian town, which contrasted with Istanbul and everything it represents including the Ottoman Empire (Tekeli, İ., 1984, p. 324). However, the main goal in choosing Ankara as the capital was rather symbolic. Since the old capital, Istanbul, was associated with the old regime, Ankara, which had the prestige of being the center of the War of Independence, was chosen as the new capital of the emerging Turkish Republic. According to Tekeli, the success of Ankara's development would also be mostly specified with the success of the new regime; the goal of the Republic was to establish a modern state and a modern nation, with this goal, Ankara would become the display window and a new model city of this new state where a modern, contemporary, and western way of living could be born (1984, pp. 324-325).

### **3.2 Boulevard from the Establishment of Republic Until the 1950s as the Early Republican Period**

In this section of this chapter, the formation of Atatürk Boulevard after the foundation of the Turkish Republic and Ankara as its capital until the 1950s is examined. Consequently, the implementations, urban actions, new constructions and their meanings to the Boulevard and the Republic, the everyday life practices in the urban ensemble, and the socio-cultural activity places are discussed. With the aim of understanding the site and the components forming the Boulevard, the impacts of the

era's elements and practices are analyzed and discussed. The state's presence, modern face of the Republic, modernization in the society are examined with the help of the constructed elements and societal practice places, which together help understanding this process.

### **3.2.1 The Formation of Atatürk Boulevard: Lörcher Plan and Its Impacts Between 1924-1928**

After Ankara became the capital of the Turkish Republic in 1923, under the directive of Gazi Mustafa Kemal, the single-party regime of *Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi* (henceforth CHP) (Republican People's Party) had a revolutionary agenda with a comprehensive modernization project as their priority (Bozdoğan, 2001, p. 18). Kemalist regime adopted the high modernist ideal with the social engineering and a top-down modernization approach as one of its foundation ideologies (Bozdoğan, 2001, p. 18). For the modernists, becoming modern was identified with westernization and becoming a part of the western world. Moreover, it was not only about increasing and building the bureaucracy, rationalism, and collectivity but also there was a need for societal transformation to achieve secularism, individual autonomy, and gender equality (Keyder, 2014, p. 39).

Accordingly, modernization started influencing every aspect of the city from its social life to architecture. The buildings dating back to this era were not only witnesses of a newly constructed city but also the witnesses of a newly established secular and western influenced state. Tankut states that the foundation of a new capital also symbolizes the national integration; thus the modern décor that is needed to form the contemporary lifestyle was a necessity, that décor would later be Ankara as the capital (1980, p. 22). After becoming the capital, new building types emerged due to the needs of becoming a capital. The city had found itself in a fast construction period. Kazgan notes that construction of Ankara was the second priority after the railway construction (1977, p. 25).

The search for modernism first started with the Ottoman architects that took the local architecture as a reference such as Vedat Tek and Architect Kemaleddin. On the style inherited from the late Ottoman era, Tekeli notes that;

“Although the [First National Architectural] Movement gained legitimacy and acceptance among Turkish architects, its application was essentially limited to public buildings. For a brief period, some leaders of the Committee of Union and Progress tried to force this national style on housing, but no such measures were ever implemented. When Ankara was established as the capital, the First National Architectural Movement was the dominant architectural style.” (Tekeli İ. , 2005, p. 19).

Moreover, Hasol notes that the First National Architecture, or the National Architectural Renaissance, was considered as the Turkish national style in the pre-republican era (2017, p. 34). Since the Ottoman era architects took the Ottoman architecture as a reference, they could not achieve the radical essences of modernism; therefore, it did not satisfy the needs of the new Republican state. So, the search for new modern architects and architecture had begun.

Ankara was facing a rapid population growth even before the declaration of the Republic. Soldiers, civil servants, officers, and politicians were coming from Istanbul and many others looking for a way of living, a job, were migrating to Ankara.

The understanding of the city governance, the municipality (*Şehremaneti*), which was exclusive to Istanbul at that time was brought to Ankara in 1923 (Cengizkan, 2011, p. 40). Consequently, Ankara Municipality listed the main requirements of the city as the reformation of the municipality, obtaining a city plan, the elimination of sewage and water problems, the illumination of the city, the construction of dwellings, urban transportation, the formation of telephone communication system and the formation of a budget for the city expenses (Cengizkan, 2011). Ankara's growth towards the south started with the mayor of Ankara, Ali Haydar Bey (1924-26), when he expropriated 4 million m<sup>2</sup> area between the old city and Çankaya to form new

neighborhoods (Tekeli İ. , 1982, p. 57). This can also be seen as the first formation of the north-south axis (today Atatürk Boulevard) connecting the old city and *Yenişehir*.

The third mayor of Ankara, Asaf Bey, was aware of Australia's capital Canberra, which was built in 1912 and was thinking that Ankara should also be built as a capital rather than just another city (Cengizkan, 2002, p. 40). Migration to the city, population growth, and the political drive for a new modern nation all required a new urban plan.<sup>11</sup>

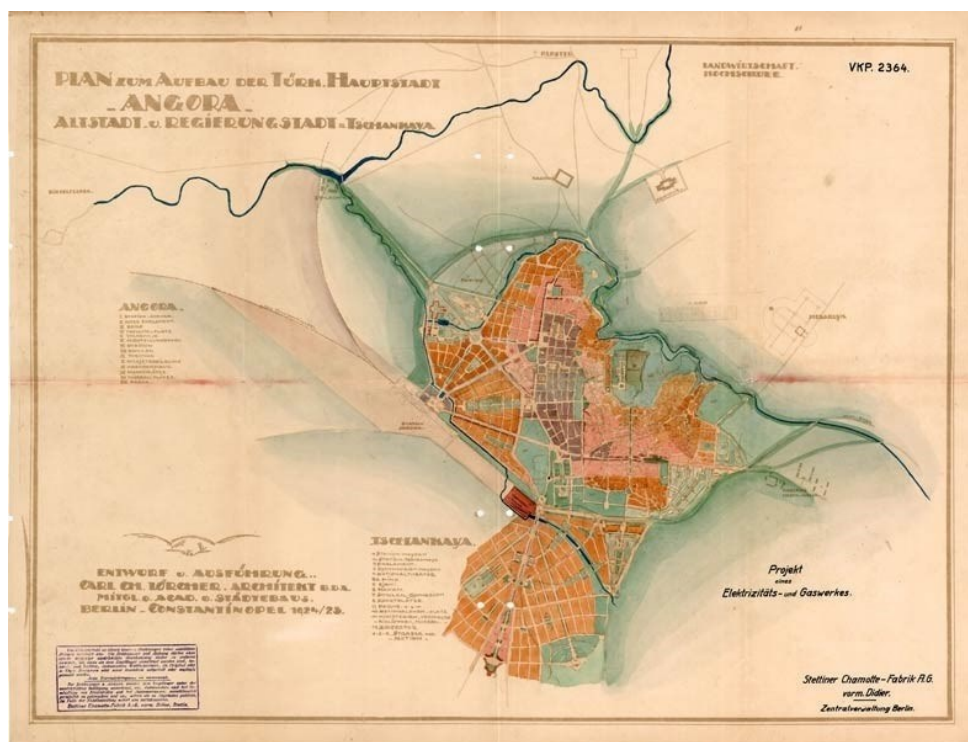
In 1924, German architect Dr. Carl Christoph Lörcher (1884-1966) prepared a 1/2000 scaled plan for the 'old city', and in 1925 a 1/1000 scaled plan for the 'new city' or *Yenişehir*. The 1/10000 plan given titled "Plan zum Aufbau der Türk.(ische) Hauptstadt- Angora- Altstadt u.(nd) Regierungstadt = Tschankaya"<sup>12</sup> dealt with both the new and old city, and it foresaw Atatürk Boulevard as the main connection and circulation element (**Figure 3.1**). Lörcher tried to locate the growing population of the city around the old town and formed an administrative neighborhood in Çankaya. According to Cengizkan, this new 'state neighborhood' also contained accommodation facilities for the state servants, it had a hierarchical formation and this 'New City' had a garden city approach with planned public urban spaces, avenues, parks, squares and so on – which did not have a place in the traditional Ottoman cities – emphasizing the Republic's goals for the first time in the city (2011).

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<sup>11</sup> Although the first known plan for Ankara dates to 1838, designed by Baron von Vincke after the need of a new town plan, this need and action for the plan was also an indicator of a modern formation (Eyice, 1971).

<sup>12</sup> Development Plan of Ankara, the Capital of Turks/ Old City and Administrative City = Çankaya.

Uluiş notes that the only connection between the old and new cities was the Boulevard that was going to be constructed as the new prestige axis of the administrative city (2009). The author continues by stating that the luxurious boulevards of Europe were taken as the architectural model in the design of this new prestige boulevard as the extension of the north-south axis of the city in Lörcher's plan (2009).



**Figure 3.1:** Lörcher Plan, 1924-25 showing old and new city  
(URL: <http://www.goethe.de/ins/tr/ank/prj/urs/geb/sta/loe/trindex.htm>).

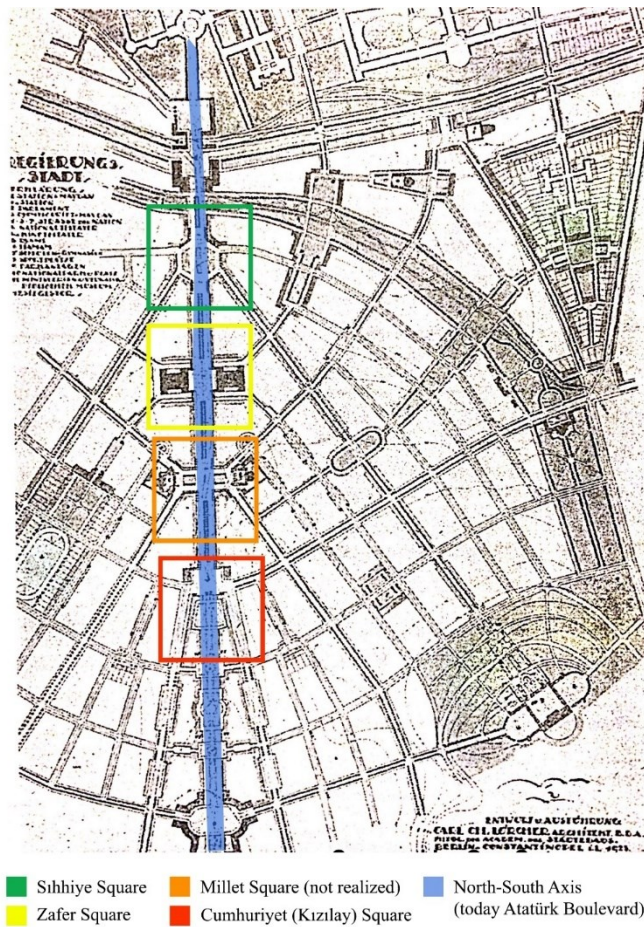
In the new city plan, we see the early formations of the city, especially the public and open spaces. Lörcher also suggested many public squares that would connect and intersect roads on the old and new city connection line. Later on, the *Yenişehir* would transform itself into the administrative district.<sup>13</sup> *Yenişehir* starts with Sıhhiye, expands towards today's Kızılay as the north-south settlement in 1924 plan. The

<sup>13</sup> Lörcher Plan also brought the understanding of producing development plans instead of cadastral plans. Lörcher's Plan is seen as a plan that reflects 19<sup>th</sup> century Europe's dominant ideas. Lörcher's Plan for Ulus and its nearby surroundings could be summed up as, existing/old buildings' lots are invalid, and fell short, for the new business center; the existing urban pattern should be transformed. A part of Hacıbayram and Citadel are the places that were preserved in the plan.

squares foreseen in the plan were Sıhhiye Square, Zafer Square, Millet Square and Cumhuriyet Square<sup>14</sup>, Millet Square was never realized but was designed to be an open space with green areas on both sides of the Boulevard, just as Zafer Square (**Figure 3.2**). In Sıhhiye, a train station (Yenişehir Station) was placed and towards the south, administrative functions would be located. Lörcher proposed cultural activities such as museums, theatres and so on around Sıhhiye Square (Uluiş, 2009), (Cengizkan, 2002). These open spaces can be found in Jansen's plan and even at present day. The axis also has a dominant presence in the Jansen's plan. Uluiş states that along with providing a modern look, the Boulevard has more of a primary function as the main connection line of all the symbolic buildings that were significant to the new regime (2009).

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<sup>14</sup> Cumhuriyet Square, also known as Kurtuluş Square was the first name of today's Kızılay Square (15 Temmuz Kızılay Milli İrade Square)



**Figure 3.2:** Image showing squares and the Boulevard on 1925 Lörcher plan; “Regierungs Stadt” New city; 1/1000; (Author, 2018 on Lörcher, 1925 from Cengizkan, 2002, p.46).

Lörcher’s plan and the government’s approach also affected the architectural development of the city. While the First National Architecture was mostly supported by the Republican government at first, the form and style of the future constructions were also important concerns for the authorities. It was tried to be achieved a country-wide unity with the protection of national Turkish architectural language by taking Ankara as an example. The main features of the First National Style (the period between 1923-28) adopted for mainly large-scale public buildings was the use of new materials as well as local ones, even though there were Seljukid, Ottoman and Islamic elements on their façades. Moreover, they showed parallel features to European neo-classicism with the proportions and composition rules, and they used reinforced-

concrete and modern fittings, whereas most of the architects from that period were already known architects of the Ottoman era (Batur, 1998, p. 220). Between the years 1923 and 1927, there was an intensive construction in the city, mostly on the empty lots and at the periphery of the old city. Until the end of 1927, there was a concern about the disorderly urban growth, and the main reason behind was that Ankara would not achieve a modern city-state in terms of its urban functionality and its appearance (Tankut, 1980, p. 44).

The existing urban fabric of 1928 shows the Yenışehir and its presence in the urban fabric as well as indicating the empty lots around the Boulevard and open public spaces and green areas realized after Lörcher plan (**Figure 3.3**).

The map in **Figure 3.3** shows that the lots neighboring the Boulevard were largely empty between today's Kızılay and Sıhhiye Squares. Moreover, it indicates the early foundations of the Kızılay, Zafer, and Sıhhiye squares as well as Yenışehir's urban fabric. The buildings on the Boulevard are identified as Ministry of Health (Teodor Jost; 1927) and Cemil Uybadin Palace (1927, demolished in 1957), two buildings, which had a major significance in the image of the Boulevard. Yet the Boulevard was not near the completion, even though this map shows the existing situation of Yenışehir when Hermann Jansen planned the city as the next urban planning action for the capital.

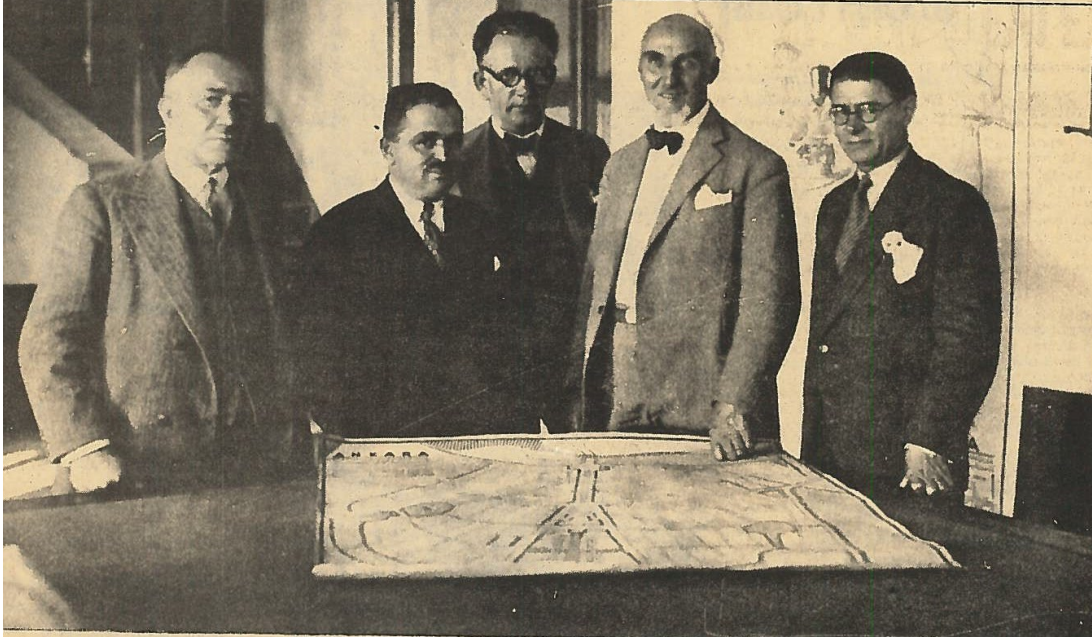


**Figure 3.3:** Existing open and green areas and buildings in 1928 (Author, 2018 on the plan dated 1928 in Ankara Elektrik ve Havagazı Company's file dated 1939 from Cengizkan, 2002, p. 47).

### 3.2.2 Jansen's Ankara and Atatürk Boulevard Between 1928-1938

The rapid population growth and irregular development in the city necessitated a new urban plan. According to Tankut, Turkish urbanism starts with Ankara (1984, p. 303). In 1927, a competition was organized for a new master plan for the capital. Three foreign competitors, who were Joseph Brix, Léon Jausseley, and Hermann Jansen were invited to Ankara to examine the city. In 1928, three proposal projects from each urbanist were sent to the municipality (Tankut, 1984, p. 306). The competition was important for the formation of the built environment of Ankara, as the newly

constructed city, on scientific bases rather than populist approaches (TMMOB Chamber of Architects Ankara Branch, 2005). In 1929, the project suggested by Hermann Jansen was approved by the jury (Hakimiyet-i Milliye, 27.05.1929) (**Figure 3.4**).<sup>15</sup> Until then, Lörcher's plan was the only plan guiding the capital's development.



**Figure 3. 4:** Left to right; Prof. Celal Esat Arseven, President of the Construction Committee Hilmi Bey, Robert Oerly, Prof. Hermann Jansen and the mayor of Ankara Asaf (İlbay) Bey (50 Yıllık Yaşantımız, 1975, p.41).

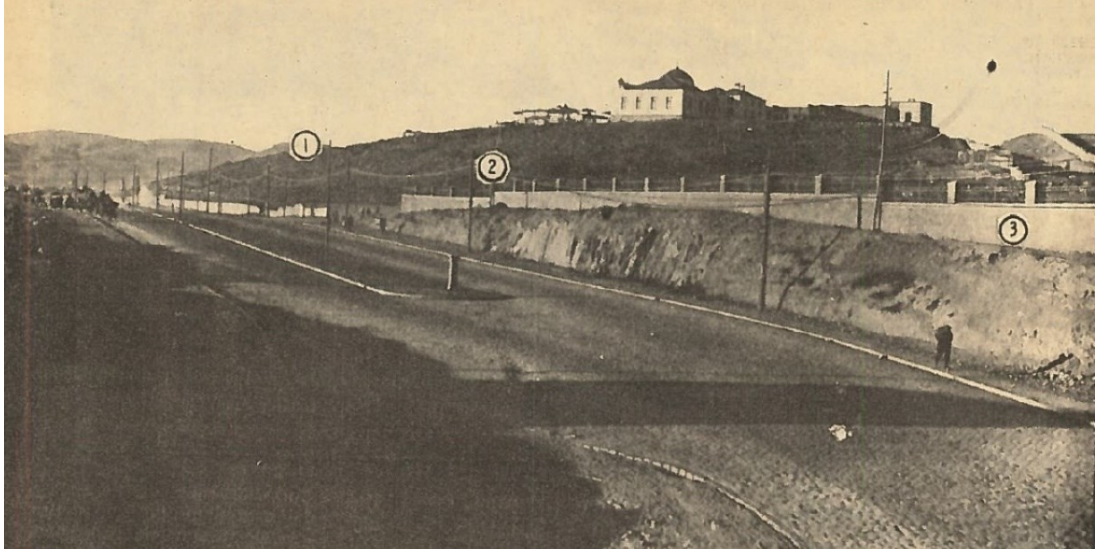
Jansen took the English Garden City approach as a reference, houses with gardens rather than apartment blocks were suggested in the city center, whereas green recreational areas were proposed both inside and outside the capital (Tankut, 1984).

Jansen also considered emerging *Yenişehir* district as an input and designed the surroundings accordingly. For the vehicle traffic, one major road, Atatürk Boulevard, which was longitudinally divided by a wide green section with many trees, was suggested, whereas the secondary roads were thought as narrow and quiet roads (Tankut, 1984, pp. 307-308). The definition of a strong axis, Atatürk Boulevard, going

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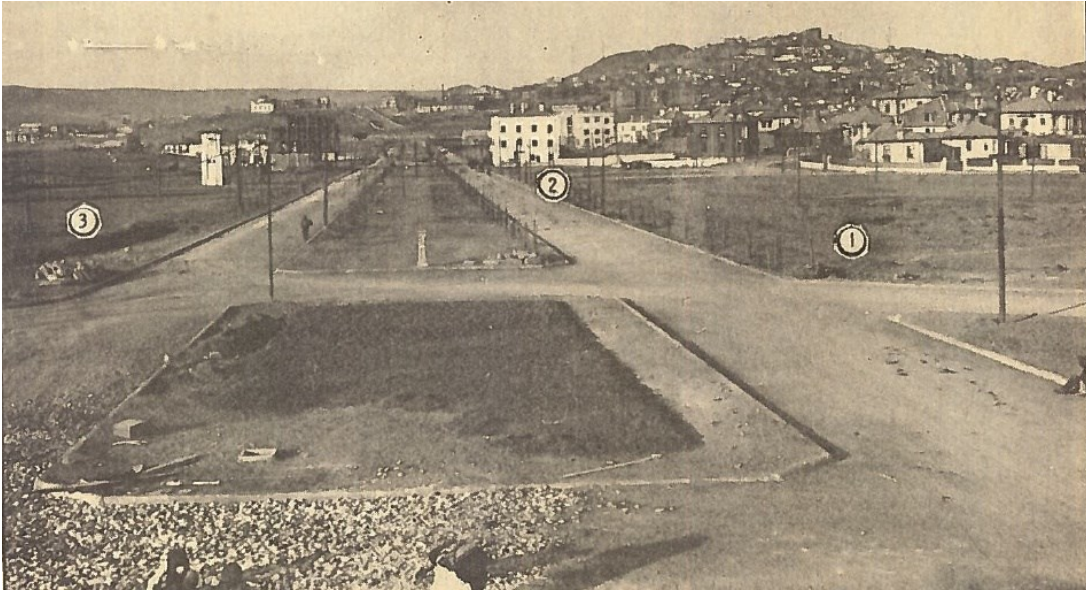
<sup>15</sup> The plan was in the middle of Jausseley's renovating plan, and Brix's conservative plan that keeps the traditional pattern entirely. While preserving the old Ankara, Jansen brought an applicable, realistic approach.





**Figure 3. 6:** From today's Opera towards Ulus direction, 1926 (50 Yıllık Yaşantımız, 1975). In **Figure 3.6**, we see the early formations of the Boulevard. The area where number 1 is located would later host Radio House, whereas, on number 2 İsmet Paşa Girl Institute and number 3 Faculty of Language, History, Geography (DTCF) would be constructed (**Figure 3.6**). In 1926, the northern section of Atatürk Boulevard was rather empty as well. There was Taşhan as the first hotel in Ankara (Hotel d'Angora), Millet Garden, the first Grand National Assembly building, Mekteb-i Sanayi (Hamidi Sanayi Mektebi), Eti Palas (Lozan Palas), *Posta ve Telgraf Umum Müdürlüğü* (*Büyük Postane*- Post Office), and Osmanlı Bank was forming the Ulus Square and Boulevard's north section.

In **Figure 3.7**, which shows the Boulevard from Kızılay towards Sıhhiye, number 1 is today's Yapı Kredi Bank and Soysal Business Center, number 2 is Piknik, a popular dining/fast food place of its time that no longer exists, and number 3 was the location of now demolished Kızılay Headquarters before its construction. The Boulevard is being under construction as the connection between old city (which can be seen on the far-right corner of the image, on the hill with the Ankara Citadel) and Yenışehir (which can be observed on the right with detached houses) (**Figure 3.7**).



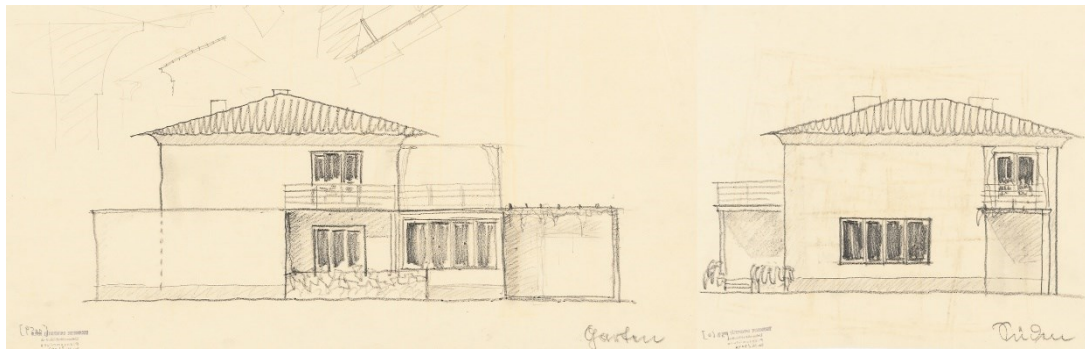
**Figure 3. 7:** From Kızılay looking towards Sıhhiye, 1927 (50 Yıllık Yaşantımız, 1975).

Jansen's 1928 development plan shows the main zoning he intended to realize, with greenbelts surrounding the city and roads. He anticipated to create a green capital while keeping the already built-up areas especially in the old city, which were still near the center of the extended city (**Figure 3.8**).



Figure 3. 8: Jansen's Development Plan, 1928 (URL: <https://architekturmuseum.ub.tu-berlin.de/index>).

The final development plan, presented in 1932, kept Ulus as the commercial center while Yenışehir was designated as a residential area. Hermann Jansen did not suggest a commercial district in the new neighborhoods, which later caused a problem with the growth of the city (Tankut, 1984, p. 304). The residential areas in Yenışehir were divided by greenbelts, and the suggested building types were low-story single structures, mostly located in a green lot, almost like a garden city (**Figure 3.9**).

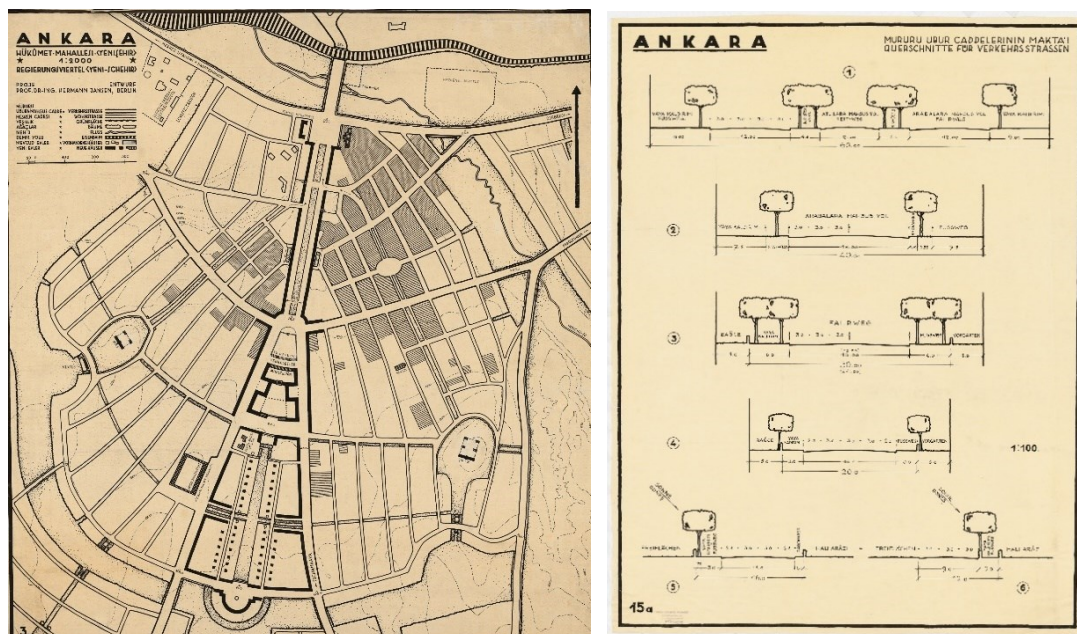


**Figure 3. 9:** Hermann Jansen’s conceptual drawings for Ankara Bahçelievler Cooperative (URL: <https://architekturmuseum.ub.tu-berlin.de/index>).

In Jansen’s 1932 Ankara Master Plan, Atatürk Boulevard was kept and improved as the main north-south axis of the city. The northern section between Ulus Square and Hergelen Square, between Sıhhiye Square and Kızılay Square and the area between Ministry of Internal Affairs up to the southern section terminating with Çankaya hill were designated as the “1<sup>st</sup> degree old avenues”, whereas between Kızılay Square and Ministry of Internal Affairs was indicated as “1<sup>st</sup> degree enlarged avenue” (**Figure 3.10**). In addition to that, the section between Hergelen Square and Sıhhiye Square was drawn as “1<sup>st</sup> degree new avenue” (**Figure 3.10**). It also shows the built-up areas and green spaces in 1932 (**Figure 3.10**).



It can also be observed that in Jansen's Yenışehir plan, or Administrative Area Plan, the Boulevard was designated mainly as the circulation avenue rather than housing area, and most of the lots neighboring the Boulevard were empty, whereas the housing in Yenışehir was concentrated on the east of the Boulevard near Sıhhiye Square (**Figure 3.11**). It is also clear that towards the south of Yenışehir, there was a large quantity of empty lots neighboring and around the Boulevard beside the administrative area (**Figure 3.11**).



**Figure 3.11:** Jansen's 1/2000 scaled Yenışehir Plan (left), ([URL: https://architekturmuseum.ub.tu-berlin.de/index](https://architekturmuseum.ub.tu-berlin.de/index)), Jansen's street section for traffic roads (right) ([URL: https://architekturmuseum.ub.tu-berlin.de/index](https://architekturmuseum.ub.tu-berlin.de/index)).

As for the street sections, Jansen intended to create large roads and avenues with green borders for the traffic roads. His design approach was mainly used for the Boulevard, even though he foresaw a road for chariots as well as for vehicles, yet the road for chariots were later used by bicycles (**Figure 3.11**).

Although Jansen's plan used the major references from Lörcher's plan, it had many new impacts on the city and its development. The plan emphasized the importance of nation-state with open and close public space understanding, which was derived from

the idea that the plan was prepared in the light of Atatürk's modernization principle (Tankut, 1980, pp. 18-19). Although, Tankut states that Jansen was only responsible for connecting the old and new city while using the built-up areas and street names formed during the competition process, he also developed the idea of the capital city (1980, p. 246). Jansen's impacts on the Boulevard can be listed as; Ulus, Sıhhiye, Zafer, and Kızılay Squares were kept based on Lörcher's plan and improved in the new plan. While Ulus was designated as the commercial center, Yenışehir was foreseen as the administrative center. The formation of the Ministries area, formation and development of the Embassies-Bakanlıklar-Kavaklıdere areas, and a neighborhood of civil servants in Kızılay center were in the plan. It was intended to create a city with large parks and green areas and low-density dwellings with gardens while creating a large boulevard of a width of fifty meters with housing and public buildings on both sides of the boulevard towards Çankaya.

During the implementation of the Jansen plan, buildings on the lots framing the Boulevard were still under construction. Since the construction of Ankara as a capital and the Boulevard as the young Republic's prestige axis were being realized simultaneously with the nation-building and modernization projects, each building constructed during that era had a statement and role in the representation of the new Republic. The Jansen plan's effects and implementations were realized until 1939 when Jansen himself left the country.

### **3.2.3 Architectural and Social Representations Along the Boulevard Until 1950**

At the same time as the approval of Jansen plan in 1928, the modernist era in architecture had also accelerated. Earlier implementations were mostly held by foreign architects, predominantly German-speaking, who had formed the new capital's modern face. The year 1926 was the beginning of employing the foreign architects, who introduced international principles to Ankara's architectural scene. Starting from 1927, the First National Architecture started to fade away (Aslanoğlu, 1984, pp. 275-276).

These foreign architects were mostly employed by the state itself to realize the modern face of the Republic with the new constructions of mainly the public or administrative buildings such as schools, banks, ministries, hospitals, in addition to the embassies under the employment of various countries, and lastly the monuments and statues in the new capital. The examples are elaborated in the following subsections of this chapter, yet, to summarize, Theodor Jost, Clemens Holzmeister, Bruno Taut, Ernst Egli, Robert Oerly, Henrich Krippel can be given as German-speaking architects and sculptors contributed to the modern capital.

For instance, Clemens Holzmeister was a significant figure; he designed mostly monumental buildings with large rectilinear courtyards, classical “U” or “H” shaped schemes accompanying symmetrical and axial plans and façade organizations, bringing European neo-classical modernism to Ankara (Batur, 1998, p. 220). While Holzmeister exhibited the characteristics of The Vienna School of Architecture of the Early Modern Movement, Egli, for instance, was an anti-stylist and functionalist while considering the regional conditions and Turkish architectural traditions (Batur, 2005, pp. 81-85).

Meanwhile, Turkish architects started to come to the scene alongside the foreign ones, including Şevki Balmumcu, Seyfi Arkan, and Sedad Hakkı Eldem. From then on, the buildings designed by Turkish architects also had electricity, proper infrastructure, plumbing, elevator and other modern necessities while the structures were in reinforced concrete (Cengizkan 2002, p. 87). These developments would indicate that Turkish architects were also capable of designing for the purpose of the Republic and understand the necessities of a modern way of living in Ankara by abandoning the classical features and Ottoman inspired designs. The features could also be seen in dwellings and apartment blocks, contemporary comfort elements such as hot water, bathtub, electricity, elevator and so on started to appear indicating that the inhabitants were also becoming familiar with these aspects and embrace the modernity in their everyday life.

Towards the end of the 1930s, Turkish Republic and Ankara were more established. There was still a big growth in the city and the urban population had increased and the architectural scene began to undergo a change accordingly. In 1939, Hermann Jansen left Turkey. Even before his departure, the principles of Jansen's plan had already been abandoned since the Republic had different priorities than the construction of Ankara now.

The 1940s was a period that Turkey was going to deal with many different challenges and go through many changes. After his death in 1938, Atatürk left a growing young Republic, but the difficulties in the world slowed down the acceleration of that growth and the country had to adapt to different priorities. The beginning of World War II hit Turkey as well as the rest of the world. The economic instabilities, the difficulties in commerce and political changes had led to a crisis. In addition, in 1946, the Turkish Republic had a transition to the multi-party system with the first general elections of its history. With the transition to the multi-party system, the government loosened the strict modernist and interfering attitude on the everyday life of the Turkish people (Uludağ, 1998, p. 73). All of these had effects on the built environment too, starting from Ankara.

The reflections of the worldwide growth of nationalist ideologies on architecture had affected Turkey; causing a desire to create a national architecture that can also be associated with the reaction against the presence of foreign architects (Aslanoğlu, 2001, p. 69). The growing population of young Turkish architects was still in search of an architecture that is suitable for the country's condition that was shaped with the Republican ideologies; causing a search for a nationwide style, once again after almost twenty years (Nalbantoğlu G. , 1984, p. 263). The abandonment of international style was not only a reaction but also a reasonable choice. Because of Turkey's economical and physical conditions in those years, there was a shortage of materials and technologies to construct the international style buildings. Between 1939-43, not only the imported ones but also prices of local construction materials were higher than ever (Batur, 1983, p. 1394).

Although the Second National Architecture had commenced in the mid-30s with a seminar organized by Sedad Hakkı Eldem, it did not have a substantial impact until the 1940s. The presence of Ottoman building elements and civil architectural forms alongside the monumental, neo-classical, masonry architecture was because of the political and cultural relations with Germany. This also indicates the effects of German architects in architecture education, e.g. Holzmeister and Bonatz. The use of alternating rows of brick and stone, stone-clad buildings; openings reminding the form and proportion of Ottoman civil architecture were also the style's features (Aslanoğlu, 1984, p. 279). Moreover, in the dwellings, large eaves, smaller openings replacing row windows, and narrow projections were seen (Nalbantoğlu G. , 1984, p. 264).

Following Jansen's departure, the foreign architects left Turkey one by one. By 1944, although there was not a drastic change in the built environment like the first years of the Republic, the voice of Turks in architecture started to rise and it would keep being heard from then on.

### **3.2.3.1 Boulevard as the Scene of the Independent Economy and Economic Power of the State**

The bank buildings constructed after 1923 were the symbols of an independent economy and economic power. While early ministry buildings representing state power were located in the north of the Boulevard. Towards the south were schools, recreation areas, and cultural functions that can be found primarily in the 1930s and even in the early 1940s to provide the public education for a modern nation and make available the spaces to practice western leisure and recreational activities. In fact, bank buildings started to be constructed before the Jansen plan designed in the First National Architectural style such as; Ottoman Bank (today's Garanti Bank) (Giulio Mongeri; 1925) and Ziraat Bank (Giulio Mongeri; 1926-29) (**Figure 3.12**).



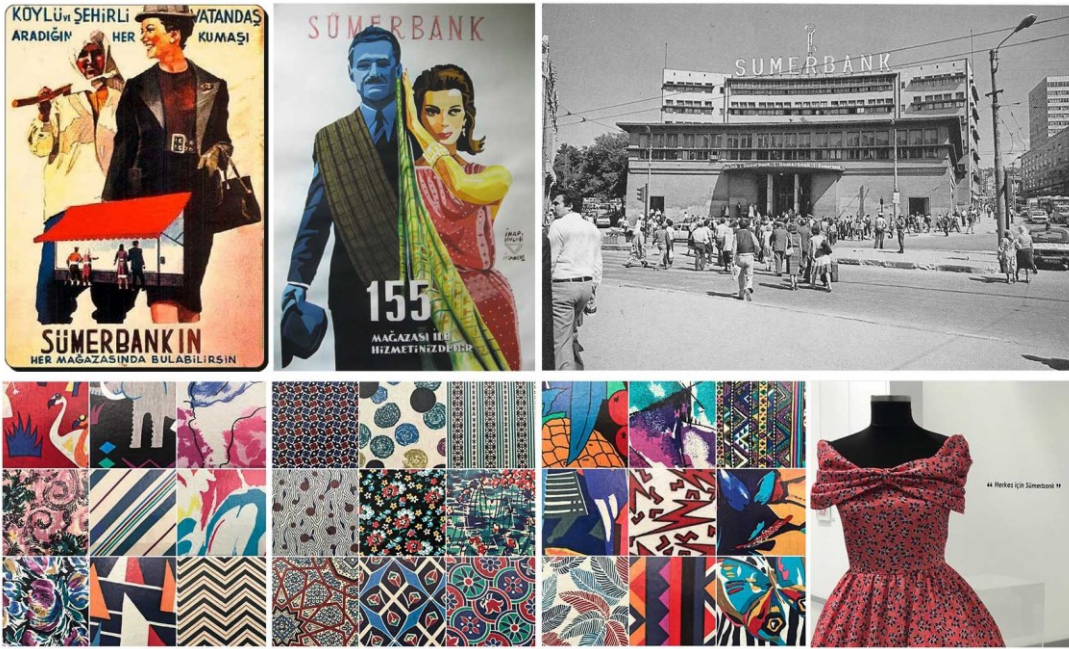
**Figure 3. 12:** Ottoman Bank (left) and Ziraat Bank (right) (Author, 2017).

While with the rise of the employment of foreign architects, especially from the German-speaking countries following the Jansen Plan, bank buildings with modernist and neo-classical features started to rise in the northern section such as; Central Bank (Clemens Holzmeister; 1931-33), Emlak Kredi Bank (Clemens Holzmeister; 1934-35), First Etibank Building (Sami Arsev; 1935-36), İller Bank (Seyfi Arkan; 1937-37) and Sümerbank (Martin Elsaesser; 1937-38) (**Figure 3.13**). These banks began as state initiatives were the statements of economic power and independence, they also provided the influence of the presence of the state in the capital (Altan, 2005, p. 28) . Built in the modern architectural style that provided a common language in architecture especially in France, Germany and the Netherlands starting from the early 1920s; the buildings were the manifestations of being modern and international while utilizing the modern architectural style as Turkish Republic's national style.

Sümerbank here is especially significant not only for the development of the society but also the city, the axis, and the state itself since it had major effects on industry, economy, social life, as well as on the urban culture and planning (**Figure 3.14**).



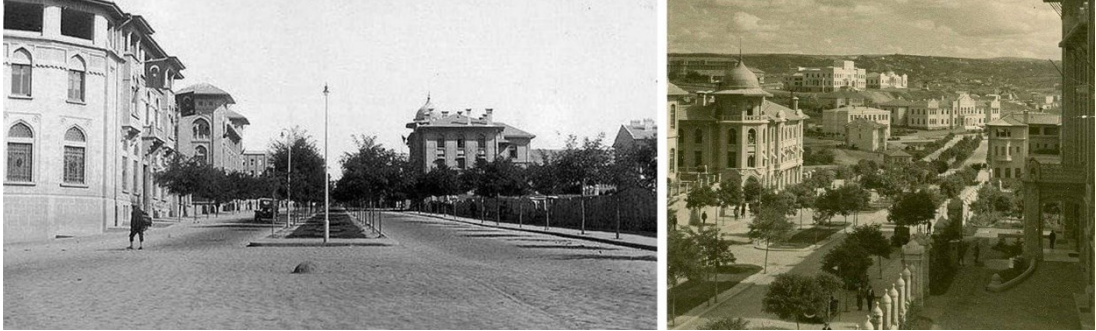
**Figure 3. 13:** Central Bank (top left), Emlak Kredi Bank (top middle), First Etibank (top right), Sümerbank (bottom left) (Author, 2017), İller Bank Boulevard façade (bottom middle), İller Bank East Façade (bottom right) (URL: <http://kot0.com/seyfi-arkanin-iller-bankasi-yikilmek-isteniyo/>).



**Figure 3. 14:** Sümerbank posters designed by graphic designer İhap Hulusi (top left) (Bozdoğan, 2001, p.150) Sümerbank Headquarters in Ulus Square (top right) (URL: <http://www.madeinturkeydergisi.com/2018/01/01/sumerbank/>), Sümerbank fabrics (bottom) (from the “Dressing a Nation: Sümerbank Patterns Between 1956-2000” exhibition, Dilara Zengin, 2018).

The demolishment of Taşhan and the construction of Sümerbank building provided a new arena for urban culture, while erasing a period from the urban memory. Sümer Holding was mostly responsible for fabric production with its factories in many different locations in Turkey and provided a significant labor force. Its cheap and accessible fabrics helped ‘modern’ Turks to keep up with the contemporary western fashion and with the western world accordingly. Its building constructed after a competition organized by the state highlighted the square with its slightly concave mass, whereas the Sümerbank shop selling fabrics and clothes made by Sümer Holding enhanced the commercial uses in Ulus. İller Bank was again founded by the state in the early years of the Republic to provide funding to municipalities for realizing new constructions and infrastructure works in the developing and therefore modernizing cities of the new regime.

With the presence of these bank buildings in the northern section, the area where then known as the Çankırı Avenue in the Lörcher plan was named as *Bankalar Avenue* (**Figure 3.15**). All of which were significant examples of their era; these bank buildings formed the northern section of the study area and acted as the representatives of their period as well as the newly established state and its economic power.



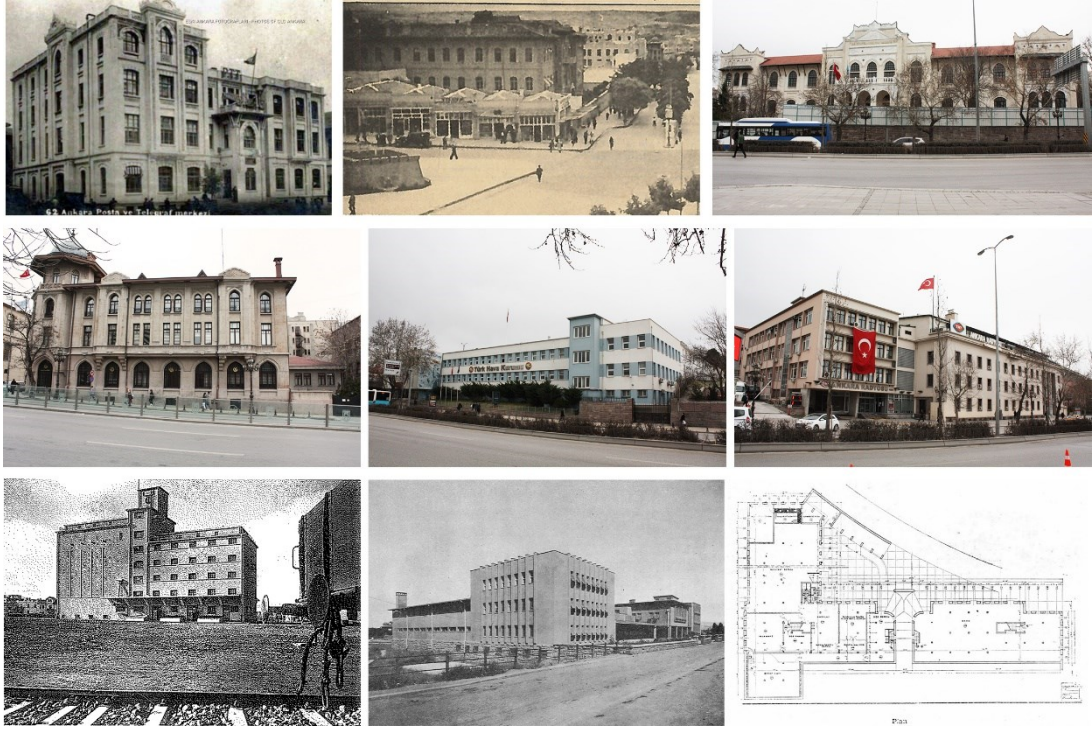
**Figure 3. 15:** Bankalar Avenue from the South in the first years of the Republic (left), Bankalar Avenue from the north (right) (Eski Ankara Fotoğrafları Facebook Group, (URL: <https://www.facebook.com/groups/EskiAnkaraFotograflari/>)).

### 3.2.3.2 Boulevard as the Scene of a Newly Established State

The administrative and public buildings, particularly the ministries were the major components of the Boulevard starting from its formation onwards. The ministry buildings arose mostly in the southern part of the Boulevard; in the administrative district, were the necessities of becoming the capital and the representatives of the state. While there were ministry and public buildings in the northern part as well, such as; Ministry of Education built in 1900 as *Darülmualimin*<sup>16</sup> and used as a hospital during the World War I and as accommodation for the parliament members during the War of Independence (burnt in 1947), PTT Headquarters (General Directorate of Turkish Post) (1925, demolished in 1974), Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Hariciye Vekaleti, Arif Hikmet Koyunoğlu; 1927-1930), General Directorate of *Tekel* (Monopolies) (Giulio Mongeri; 1928), Turkish Aviation Association (Ernst Egli; 1933-34), and Radio House or Ankara Radio (Ernst Egli; 1938). Moreover, near the northern section, where the Court House is located today, there was the grain silo (German Company Miag; 1933-37, demolished in 1986), and in the next lot, the factory and storage facilities of the Department of Monopolies (*İnhisarlar Umum Müdürlüğü*) (Ahsen Yapanar; 1937-39, demolished c. 1985) (**Figure 3.16**). in Sıhhiye, in the place of today's Abdi İpekçi Park next to Ministry of Health, there was the hangars of the Ankara Municipality's public buses until the 1960s.

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<sup>16</sup> *Darülmualimin* or the male teacher's schools functioned between 1848-1924 in the Ottoman Empire and the first year of the Republic.



**Figure 3. 16:** PTT Headquarters (top left) (Eski Ankara Fotoğrafları Facebook Group, (URL: <https://www.facebook.com/groups/EskiAnkaraFotograflari/>), Ministry of Education (top middle) (50 Yıllık Yaşantımız, 1975), Ministry of Foreign Affairs (top right), General Directorate of Tekel (middle left), Turkish Aviation Association (middle, middle), Radio House (middle right) (Author, 2017), Grain Silo (bottom left) (Cumhuriyetin Başkenti, 2007, p.157), Department of Monopolies Storage (bottom middle and right) (Arkitekt, 1943, pp. 135-136).

Most of the ministries were located towards the south of Yenışehir in the newly constructed buildings. The first one was the Ministry of Health (Theodor Jost; 1926-27). It can be regarded as the first representative of international architecture in Turkey (Goethe Institute, 2011, p. 304) (**Figure 3.17**). The article on the building published in *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* dated July 4<sup>th</sup>, 1927 indicates the importance of the Boulevard and the significance of the ministry building in Boulevard's development and the city's architectural representation;

“... The ministry building is truly the most pioneering building of Ankara. It resembles the most modern, most recently constructed buildings of Europe. Also, the building's construction in Yenışehir has a farther significance. In the cause of our Ankara's construction, we accepted constructing the massive and monumental buildings on

Yenişehir and Gazi Avenue<sup>17</sup> that forms Yenişehir's spine as a principle. Ministry of Health led to Yenişehir's development by realizing it first.”

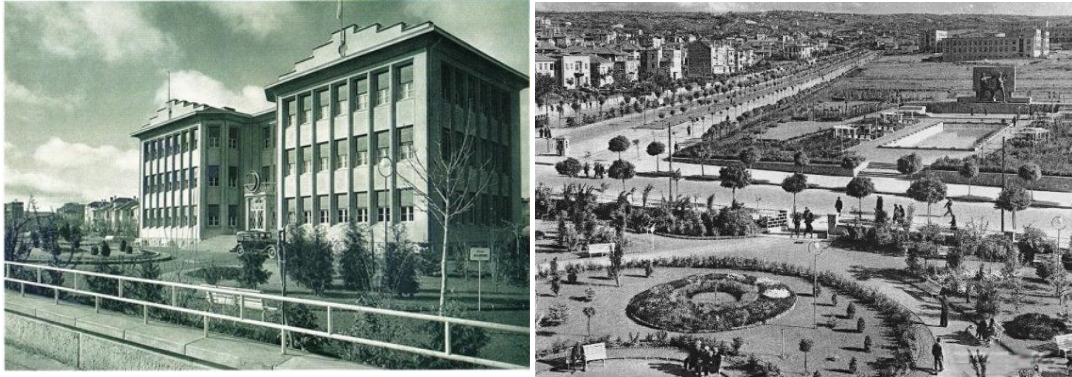


**Figure 3. 17:** Ministry of Health (top left) (Author, 2017), Kızılay Headquarters (top middle) (Mimdap, URL: <http://www.mimdap.org/?p=19848>), Supreme Court (top right) (Author, 2017), Ministry of Interior Affairs (middle left), Ministry of Public Affairs (middle right) (Goethe Institute, URL:<http://www.goethe.de/ins/tr/ank/prj/urs/geb/geb/par/trindex.htm>), Grand National Assembly of Turkey, aerial view (bottom left) (URL: <https://www.aydinlik.com.tr/turkiye/2017-temmuz/yeni-tbmm-binasi-icin-yer-araniyor>), Grand National Assembly, view from the north façade, (URL: [https://www.tbmm.gov.tr/yayinlar/tbmm\\_binalari\\_tr\\_20102016.pdf](https://www.tbmm.gov.tr/yayinlar/tbmm_binalari_tr_20102016.pdf)).

<sup>17</sup> Gazi Avenue was the former name of the Sıhhiye-Kızılay section of the Boulevard before the Jansen Plan.

Located at the beginning of the Yenışehir; *Sihhiye* (Health) Square was named after the building itself, which can be seen as one of the first examples that a component of the built environment gave its name to the place of its location in the Ankara's Republican history.

In another square in the south of the Sihhiye, another structure gave its name to the area it was located; Kızılay Headquarters building (Robert Oerly; 1929, demolished in 1979). The building had been used both by the inhabitants of Ankara and the Red Crescent staff for the following forty years. It was easily embraced by the users with its park, buffet in the lot and the big red crescent on top of the modest building, which led the square where the building was located to be renamed to *Kızılay* (meaning red crescent) from Kurtuluş (**Figure 3.18**). The building and its red crescent preserved its iconic and symbolic meaning until it was demolished in 1979 (Cengizkan, 2002, pp. 76-77).



**Figure 3. 18:** Kızılay Building in the 1930s (left) and its park looking towards the Boulevard and Güvenpark (right) (URL: <http://www.mimdap.org/?p=19848>).

In the administrative area, in addition to the Ministry of Agriculture and Forest (1945-46), the governmental buildings designed by Clemens Holzmeister such as; Ministry of Interior Affairs (1932-34) the Ministry of Public Works (1933-34), Supreme Court (*Yargıtay*) (1933-35) arose as well as the Grand National Assembly of Turkey whose project designed by Clemens Holzmeister and approved in 1938 could not be completed until 1961 (**Figure 3.17**).

### 3.2.3.3 Boulevard as the Scene of Modern Education

Although the Mekteb-i Sanayi (Hamidi Sanayi Mektebi, Industrial School) located between the Ulus and Hergelen Squares was not new but rather a building constructed in 1905 as a school, it served as the ‘Ankara Arts School’ during the early years of the Republic (**Figure 3.19**).

Nevertheless, there were new structures constructed as modern school buildings: İsmet Paşa Institute for Girls (Ernst Egli; 1930) and Ankara *Olgunlaşma* Institute. Both buildings were serving in their modern buildings with an aim of raising a modern and westernized youth as a nation while providing the vocational skills to the students. Besides their buildings, these schools were significant representations of the new modern Turkey with their education and products designed and manufactured by their students (**Figure 3.19**). With their fashion shows and parades, they stood for the modern Turkish fashion in Turkey as well as in the world. Even the fashion icons of the period; Sophia Loren and Farah Diba visited the school and wore clothes designed by the students of the Olgunlaşma Institute (Milliyet, 1967), (Milliyet, 1974) (**Figure 3.19**).



**Figure 3. 19:** Industrial School (top left) (Author, 2017), İsmet Paşa Institute For Girls (top middle) (Cumhuriyet Devrimi'nin Yolu: Atatürk Bulvarı, 2009, p. 168.), Fashion show in İsmet Paşa Institute for Girls in 1947 (top right) (Ankara Ankara Facebook Group URL: <https://www.facebook.com/groups/652425118148971>), Ankara Olgunlaşma Institute

(bottom left) (Author, 2017), Sophia Loren's visit to the Olgunlaşma Institute in 1974

(bottom, right) (Ankara Olgunlaşma Institute's Archives

URL:[http://ankaraolgunlasma.meb.k12.tr/icerikler/calismalar\\_632164.html](http://ankaraolgunlasma.meb.k12.tr/icerikler/calismalar_632164.html)).

Another significant construction of an educational complex of the era was Ankara University's Faculty of Language, History, and Geography (DTCF) designed by German architect Bruno Taut and Austrian Franz Hillinger and built between 1937-39. In the draft of the law proposed in the Grand National Assembly of Turkey dated May 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1935, the foundation reason for the faculty was given as:

“The need of research institutes that would teach Turkish culture with a scientific method on one hand, and the need of raising teachers and completing the knowledge of our existing teachers in terms of the newest and scientific methods of our national language and history for the secondary education necessitated the establishment of a Faculty of Language, History, and Geography in our governmental center, in Ankara.”

The faculty building with its parallel block to the Boulevard is still a major component of the Boulevard as well as of Ankara, with Atatürk's saying “Our true mentor in life is science” inscribed on top of the entrance in the front façade welcomes the faculty members and students and salutes the commuters of the Boulevard since 1939 (**Figure 3.20**).



**Figure 3. 20:** Ankara University's Faculty of Language, History, and Geography (DTCF) building, its entrance from the Boulevard side, and its balustrade detail (left, Cumhuriyet Devrimi'nin Yolu: Atatürk Bulvarı, 2009, p. 169) (right, Author, 2017).

### 3.2.3.4 Boulevard as the Scene of Diplomacy and International Relations

After Ankara became the capital, embassy buildings that were the representatives of foreign countries in the old capital Istanbul, started to move to the newly established

capital. The Early Republican Embassy buildings of Ankara can be considered as an integral part of the urban development of the city as the new capital of the Turkish Republic both in architectural and historic ways.

The moving process was rather longer than expected by the Turkish government. Foreign representatives did not believe that Ankara would remain as a permanent capital city and were also concerned with its insufficiency in providing the needs and life that Istanbul does (Kezer, 2017). To accelerate the process, İsmet İnönü, Prime Minister of the time, provided lands for embassy constructions as grant between the years 1925 and 1926, the Turkish Republic allowed them to construct their buildings with their own materials brought from abroad without any customs tariff and with their own labor force (Şimşir, 2006).

The first purpose-built embassy building on the Boulevard was the Soviet Union's embassy designed by Marvick Lyudvig, constructed between 1924 and 1926 and opened in 1926, which unfortunately is no longer in the picture today (Atay, 1998, p. 412) (**Figure 3.21**). Şimşir indicates that the ambassador of the USSR Yakov Zaharoviç Suriç who started his duty in Ankara in 1923 initiated the construction of the embassy building on Atatürk Boulevard (2006, p. 341).

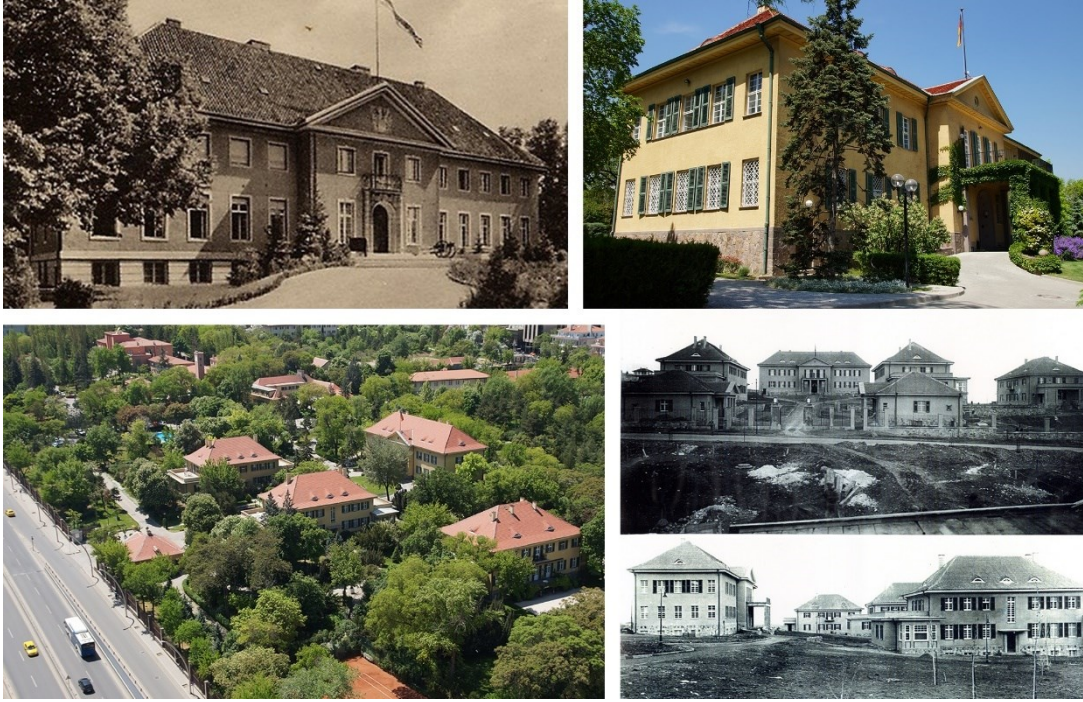
There were also many events hosted by the ambassador Suriç that Atatürk himself would also attend in the embassy building (**Figure 3.21**). On the soirées, Atay tells in his memoirs that;

“Soviets were the first ones to build an embassy building on the Çankaya Avenue. During the on and off town electricity era, their large and well decorated saloons stayed as the only luxury in Ankara for a long time. Comrade Suriç often hosted crowded events, offered plenty of vodka and caviar. We would feel ashamed of the parliament members who are yet getting used to the social life falling down the stairs because of falling for these offers (1998, p. 412).



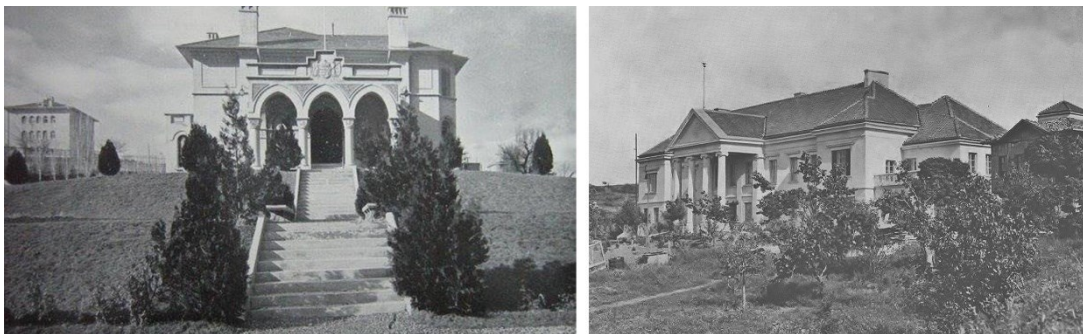
**Figure 3. 21:** USSR Embassy building from the Boulevard (Cumhuriyet Devrimi'nin Yolu: Atatürk Bulvarı, 2009, p. 212.) and Atatürk attending to a soir  e in the embassy in 1927 (URL: <http://www.turkey.mid.ru/0img/20-30gg/foto%208.jpg>).

The second embassy building that is still being used is the German Embassy, which opened in 1928. With its 60.000 m<sup>2</sup> land designed by L  rcher, the designer of the first Ankara plan, and Gross & Listmann; it can be defined as a green diplomatic campus. Today as one of the greenest parts of city center, the land contains seven buildings. The area of 28.000 m<sup>2</sup> was registered as an embassy area in 1924 and in 1927, the area reached to its current boundaries as 60.000 m<sup>2</sup>. Having taken the Neudeck Farm as a reference, the embassy buildings were designed in Prussian Palace style with the effects of the German ambassador of the time, Rudolf Nadolny (Goethe Institute, 2011, p. 326) (**Figure 3.22**).



**Figure 3. 22:** The estate of Marshall Paul von Hindenburg, the president of German Reich, in a postcard dated 1928 (top left) (URL: [https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Neudeck\\_\(Prusse-Orientale\)#/media/File:Neudeck.jpg](https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Neudeck_(Prusse-Orientale)#/media/File:Neudeck.jpg)), German Embassy buildings (Courtesy of German Embassy archives).

Another embassy building in the study area is the Polish Embassy located on the corner lot across today's Kuğulu Park towards the Çankaya hill, built in 1929 and opened in 1930. It was designed by the Polish architect Bohdan Pinevski and constructed by Karol Iwanicki on a 24.576 m<sup>2</sup> lot as the first Polish representative in Turkish territories (Renda, 2004, p. 291) (**Figure 3.23**).



**Figure 3. 23:** Hungarian Embassy (left) (Waldapfel, 1937) and Polish Embassy (right) (İşçen, URL: <http://yavuziscen.blogspot.com/p/eski-ankara-fotograflar-10.html>).



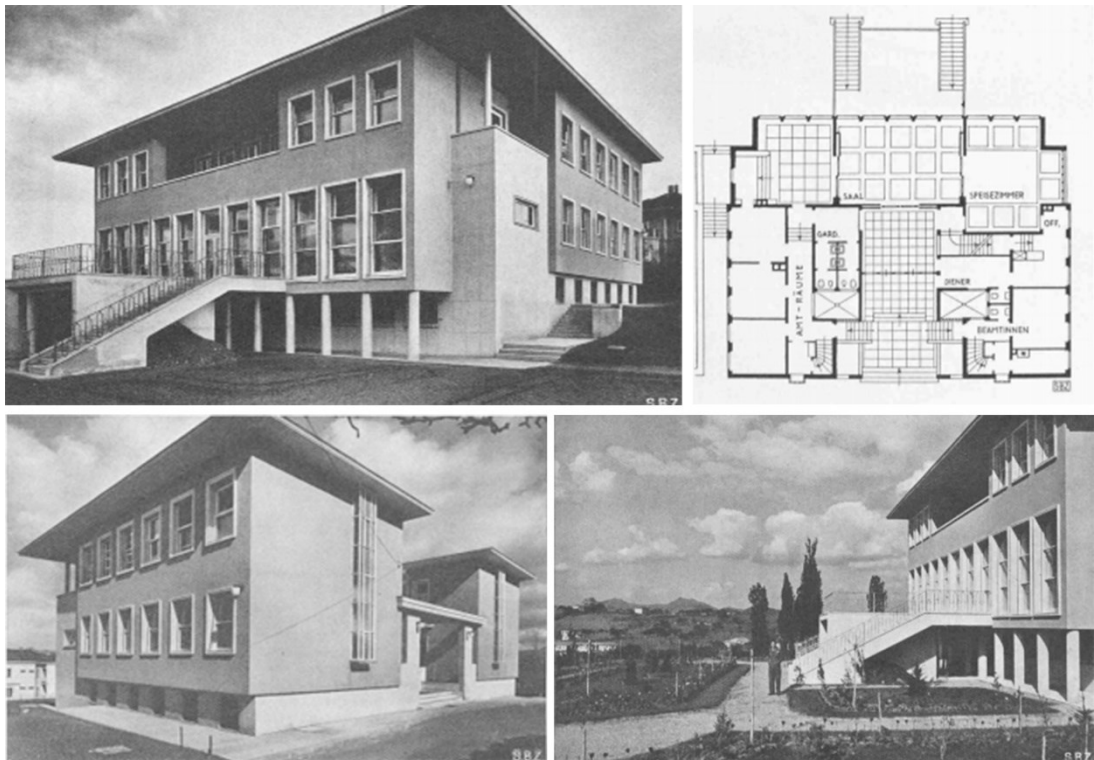
**Figure 3. 24:** Royal Palace of Dedinje in Belgrade (top left) (URL: <http://www.novosti.rs/>), Serbian and Bosnian-Herzegovinian Embassy buildings (Author, 2015).

In 1933, Hungarian embassy designed by Giulio Mongeri was constructed (**Figure 3.23**). In 1936, today's Serbian and Bosnian-Herzegovinian (at that time Yugoslavian Embassy), designed by Ivan Ivancic, was constructed by Kosta J. Jovanovic, and located in an 8026 m<sup>2</sup> land containing three buildings. The embassy complex of which its construction initiated by the Kingdom of Yugoslavia was designed in the Morova style seen in the Morova River area by taking the Royal Palace of Dedinje in Belgrade as a reference (**Figure 3.24**).

Following these pioneer countries, many other embassy complexes started to be built next to each other on the Boulevard; Belgian Embassy constructed by Jacques Aggiman (1929-30s), Austrian Embassy (Clemens Holzmeister; 1935-36), Czechoslovakian Embassy (today used by Czech Republic and Slovakia) (Alois Mezera; 1936-38), Swiss Embassy (Ernst Egli; 1936-38) located on a 10.860 m<sup>2</sup> area and the Italian Embassy (Paolo Caccia Dominioni; 1938-40) with the master builders from Lombardia and Friuli regions of Italy, as the representative of their countries, cultures, as the symbol of the international relations that the young Turkey was establishing in its capital (**Figure 3.25**), (**Figure 3.26**), (**Figure 3.27**), (**Figure 3.28**). Having built with different styles, these buildings provide a major architectural variety to the Boulevard as well as a large green area that unfortunately cannot be reached and used by the public.



**Figure 3. 25:** Belgian Embassy (left) (Waldapfel, 1937), Falih Rıfkı Atay's house used as former Czechoslovakian Embassy (middle) (Zelef, 2017 from VEKAM library and archives), Embassy of Czech Republic (right) (Author, 2017).



**Figure 3. 26:** Swiss Embassy buildings in 1947 ("Zwei Gesandtschafts- Gebäude in Ankara." Schweizerische Bauzeitung 15 Feb. 1941: 74).



**Figure 3. 27:** Austrian Embassy building, its courtyard (left) and its east façade (right) (URL: <http://www.goethe.de/ins/tr/ank/prj/urs/geb/bot/ost/trindex.htm>).



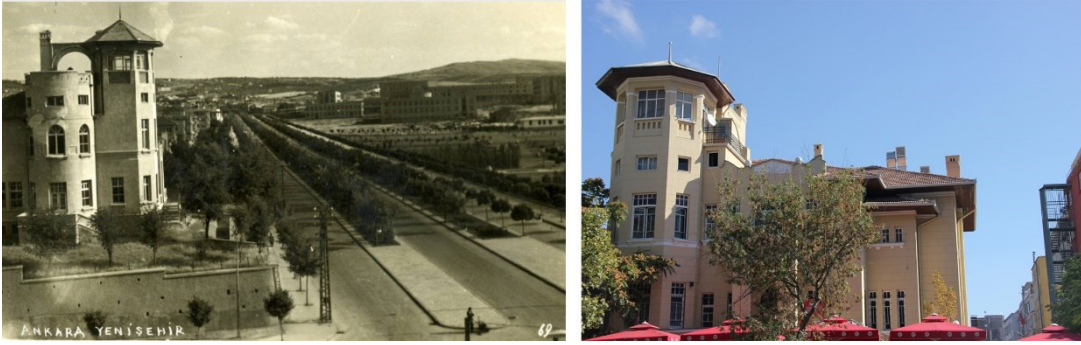
**Figure 3. 28:** Italian Embassy complex and axonometric drawings (top left and top right) (Courtesy of Italian Embassy archives), Chancery building (bottom left) and chapel (bottom right) (Author, 2015).

### 3.2.3.5 Boulevard as the Scene of Modern Housing

As mentioned above, after becoming the capital, Ankara faced a significant population growth. Since the new inhabitants were mostly civil servants and politicians, and the growth of the city was towards and around Yenışehir, new apartment complexes started to be built on and around the Boulevard. At first, there were some who used the *bağ evi*s or built detached houses on the southern part of the Boulevard towards the Çankaya hill where the presidential complex hosting Atatürk at the time was located.

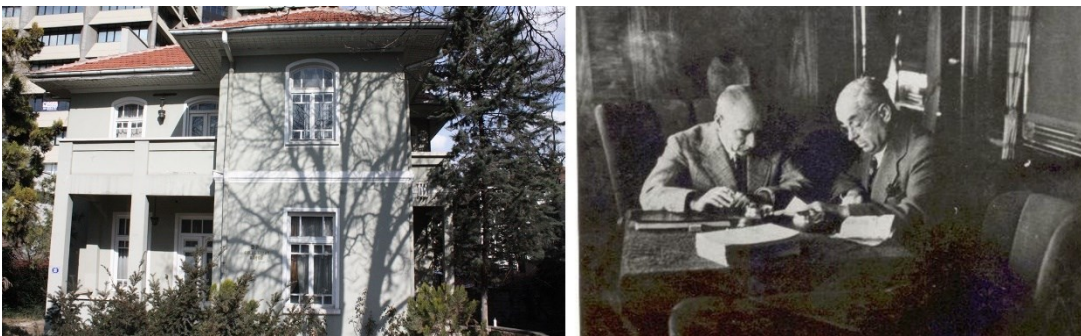
Starting from the north; one of the most known examples was Mehmet Cemil Uybadin Palace, belonging to a parliament member and later the Minister of Interior Affairs, which was built between the years 1925-26. It was one of the few single houses with a tower in Ankara. Another example can still be seen today on the Gazi Mustafa Kemal Boulevard (**Figure 3.29**). Located at the Kızılay Square, the building was forming a major image of the city while being an essential physical frame forming the collective memory of the city and citizens until it was demolished in 1957. However, in his Ankara novel, Karaosmanoğlu criticizes the building alongside some other buildings in Yenışehir:

“New Ankara was developing with dazzling rapidity. Apartment complexes, houses, administrative buildings were rising on the fields from Taşhan to Samanpazarı, from Samanpazarı to Cebeci, from Cebeci to Yenışehir, from Yenışehir to Kavaklıdere as if they were erupting from the ground. While each one of them had some colors and shapes according to the knowledge of the builder and the taste of the owner, for a careful eye, it was obvious that the *exotique* architecture that was dominating almost all of them seemed strange. For example, it was impossible not to come across a villa without a tower or eaves between the ones on the way from Yenışehir to Kavaklıdere. These houses with towers and large eaves that take an example from each other and that look like some of them are designed by the same architect, resembled the feudal lords’ castles in the middle of the ditches surrounding them” (Karaosmanoğlu, 1991, p. 127).



**Figure 3. 29:** Uybadin Palace and Atatürk Boulevard looking towards the south in 1930 (left) (VEKAM archives, URL: <http://digitalcollections.library.ku.edu.tr/cdm/singleitem/collection/AEFA/id/48/rec/1>), former Chancellery of Hungarian Embassy located on Gazi Mustafa Kemal Boulevard (right) (URL: <http://envanter.gov.tr/anit/index/detay/37555>).

Another building owned by a parliament member as a rest stop on the way to Çankaya was the house of Celal Bayar, who later became the first civil president of Turkish Republic. Bayar used the house until 1950, Atatürk often visited as a guest, Democrat Party (henceforth DP) was founded in this building, many politicians used it as a meeting area and office. Designed by architect Arif Hikmet Koyunoğlu in the First National Architectural Style in the 1920s, the two-story building with large eaves with ornaments underneath, arched windows and hipped roof is still standing on the Boulevard (**Figure 3.30**).



**Figure 3. 30:** Celal Bayar's house (left) (Author, 2017), Celal Bayar and Mustafa Kemal Atatürk working in the Celal Bayar House (right) (URL: <http://demokratlarkulubu.blogspot.com/2014/08/ankara-cankayadaki-celal-bayar-kosku-ve.html>).

Across the Boulevard, there is another example of the era, Renda Palace, built in the 1920s and commissioned by Sait Bektimur. The building now belongs to Kızılay and

is abandoned, waiting for the realization of Celal Abdi Güzer and Lale Özgenel's refunctioning project as a cultural center dating 2007(**Figure: 3.31**).



**Figure 3. 31:** Renda Palace in 2016, (left), (Google Maps Images; “Kızılay Renda Köşkü” URL: <https://www.google.com.tr/maps>), the suggested conservation and adaptive reuse project dated 2007 (right) (URL: <http://cagaw.com/proje/kizilay-renda-kosku-koruma-ve-yeniden-islevlendirme-projesi>).

On the hill, where today's Slovakian Embassy is located, another parliament member and journalist, Falih Rıfkı Atay's house was located. Used as the Czechoslovakian Embassy residence for a while, the building then demolished for the construction of today's embassy in 1936. Another house reused by another country was the parliament member Mithat Alam's house designed by architect Arif Hikmet Koyunoğlu. The two-story reinforced concrete building is still being used as the Embassy of Israel.

Last but not least, the first prime minister of Turkey, İsmet İnönü's house Pink Palace (*Pembe Köşk*) was constructed on the slopes of Çankaya. After the *bağ evi* was bought from Mehmet Uzunzade in 1923, İnönü moved to the estate in 1925 and lived here with his family until his death in 1973 (*Pembe Köşk*, n.d.). Many firsts in the social and cultural life took place in this house after Ankara became the capital; the first ball of Ankara was hosted there in February 22<sup>nd</sup>, 1927 alongside the first concerts, exhibitions, scientific meetings, chess and billiard contests, horse ridings and so on (*Pembe Köşk*, n.d.). The building and its garden that witnessed the political, social, and cultural life of new modern Republic as well as the life of a modern Turkish family, is now being used as a house-museum (**Figure 3.32**).



**Figure 3. 32:** İsmet İnönü's residence Pembe Köşk with its garden (left), its dining room and corner of the living room (right) (URL: <http://www.ismetinonu.org.tr/index.php/pembe-kosk>).

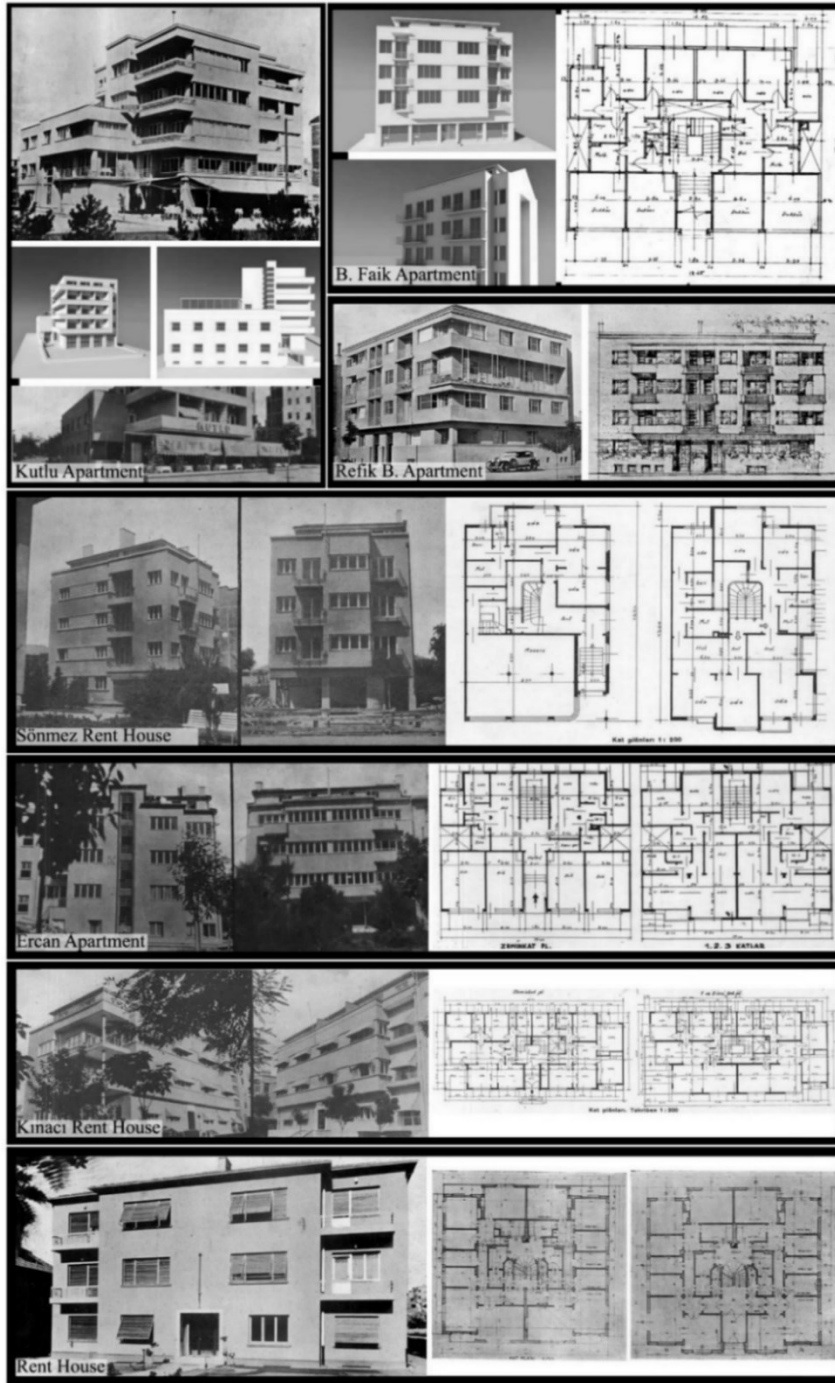
Besides these single houses, the apartment complexes were also rising on the Boulevard, especially close to Yenışehir between Kızılay and Sıhhiye Squares. The rapid population growth, changes in everyday life practices, and modernization had their effects on the development and increase of these apartment complexes in the 1930s and 1940s, also known as *Kira Evleri* (Rent Houses).<sup>18</sup> An article published in *Arkitekt* in 1937 on the apartment buildings along the Boulevard indicates that the adjacent buildings on Atatürk Boulevard cannot be more than four-story high and has to be five meters far from the Boulevard (Ünsal, 1937).

The examples located on the Boulevard that could be identified in this thesis are; Refik B. (Zafer) Apartment (Architect Refik; 1933), parliament member Ragıp Soysal's Soysal Apartment that was designed via competition (Bekir İhsan Ünal; 1934-35), Foto Apartment (Seyfi Arkan; 1935), Kutlu Pension House (A. Reşat, Celal Biçer; 1936), Sönmez Apartment; (Bekir İhsan Ünal; 1936), Ercan Apartment (Bekir İhsan Ünal; 1936), Kınacı Apartmet (Bekir İhsan Ünal; 1936), Tuna Apartment (Bekir İhsan Ünal; 1937), Tevfik Balıkçioğlu Apartment (architect unknown; 1937), B. Faik Apartment (Bekir İhsan Ünal; 1938), Rent House (Zeki Sayar; 1938), Toygar

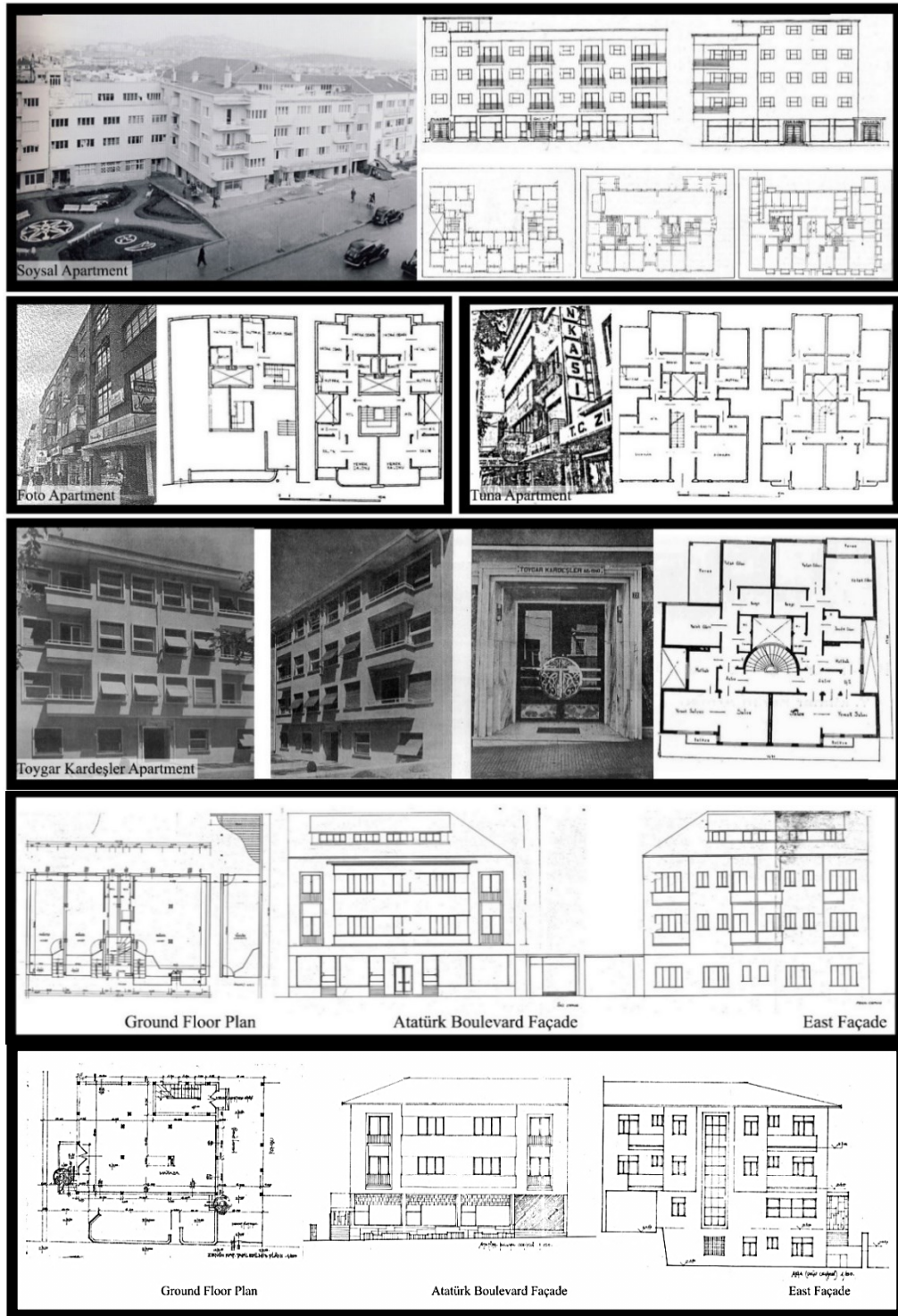
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<sup>18</sup> The production of multi-story apartment complexes in the 1930s and 1940s were mostly commissioned by the newly emerging urban bourgeoisie with their own savings; these buildings were mostly constructed to provide an income and were rented out to the people who wanted to be a part of the middle-upper class lifestyle but could not afford to buy their own apartments (Görgülü, 2016, p. 170).

Kardeşler Apartment (Kerim Arman; 1940), Öztrak Family's Bulvar Apartment (unknown architect; n.d.), movie producer and director Turgut Demirağ's And Apartment (unknown architect; n.d.), Bay Halit Apartment (unknown architect, n.d.) which had a passageway underneath (Bilge Sokak, later on the lot the German Goethe Institute was built which still has the Bilge Sokak passageway underneath). Moreover, according to the site plan obtained from the Çankaya Municipality, there were Egyptian Embassy on its north and Japanese Embassy on its south (**Figure 3.33**) (**Figure 3.34**).



**Figure 3. 33:**Kutlu Apartment; (İşçen Archive, URL: <http://yavuziscen.blogspot.com/p/eski-ankara-fotograflar-5.html>) (Sivil Mimari Bellek, 2014, p.29), B. Faik Apartment; (Sivil Mimari Bellek, 2014, p.39), Refik B. Apartment; (Refik, 1933, p. 104), Sönmez Apartment; (Ünal M. B., Sönmez Kira Evi, 1937, p. 238), Ercan Apartment; (Ünal M. B., 1937, p. 239), Kınacı Rent House; (Ünal M. B., 1937, p. 237) Rent House; (Sayar, 1939).



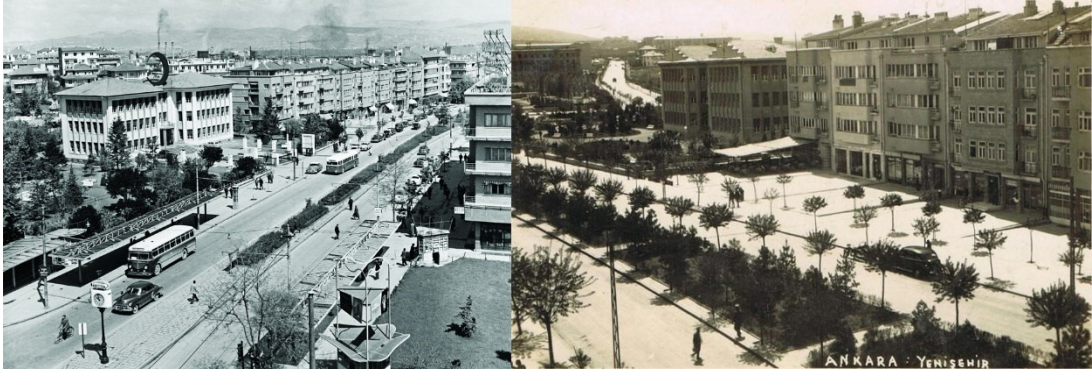
**Figure 3. 34:** Soysal Apartment; (Işın, 2010, p. 239); (Ankara'da Bir Apartman Proje Müsabakası, 1934), Foto Apartment; (Aslanoğlu, 1980, p.396, Ankara Municipality Development Directorate Archives from Aslanoğlu, 1980, p.329), Tuna Apartment

(Aslanoğlu, 1980, p. 397, Ankara Municipality Development Directorate Archives from Aslanoğlu, 1980, p. 333), Toygar Kardeşler Apartment; (Arman, 1941/42, pp. 99-101), Apartment prior to Vakko (Çankaya Municipality Archives), Bay Halit Apartment (Courtesy of Çankaya Municipality Archives).

These apartment buildings, which formed the modern living conditions and the face of the Boulevard, were designed by Turkish architects unlike the administrative buildings predominantly designed by German-speaking architects.

In the most flourishing years of construction industry between 1931 and 1934, the environmental standards had risen in the new neighborhoods, the interest in green areas on the rise, the roads were partially complete, and Ankara started to look like an orderly city. Moreover, modern living conditions that the Republican era provided to Yenışehir encouraged its inhabitants to be a part of the urban culture (Tankut, 1980, pp. 253-254).

This new urban inhabitants of Yenışehir were now worrying about the beauty and order of the city, which initiated a volunteer maintenance of the streets, parks, and gardens by the inhabitants, and at one point the beauty was such a major concern that Boulevard's silhouette had gained an importance as the symbol of the city as well as the Republic (Tankut, 1980). Accordingly, a decision on the silhouette of Boulevard was taken in 1934 stating that; "the lower and upper parts of the Boulevard had to be a whole within themselves, and the eaves should be continuous" (Committee decision No: 107, 30.06.1934). Moreover, the roof types should be consistent as well; if the first building had a terrace, the rest should have a terrace, if the first one had a hipped roof, then the rest should have the same (Tankut, 1980). Another decision was made with the concern of Boulevard's façade orientation: "The parapet walls of the gardens, their height, width, the material that will be used (cut stone), the number of the entrances and their range are determined" (Committee decision No: 184, 16.12.1934) (Tankut, 1980, pp. 221-222) (**Figure 3.35**).



**Figure 3. 35:** The apartment buildings and Kızılay Headquarters in the 1940s, from Kızılay Square towards North (left) (URL: <https://www.ego.gov.tr/tr/sayfa/6/ego-genel-mudurlugu-tarihcesi>), looking towards Kızılay Square, the shops under the apartment buildings can be seen while the one next to Kızılay Headquarters is Özen Patisserie's second shop (İşçen, URL: <http://yavuziscen.blogspot.com/p/eski-ankara-fotograflar-4.html>).

While the apartment buildings were rising on the Boulevard and shaping its silhouette in Yenışehir, most of them had other functions as well such as movie theater, restaurant, patisserie, and other commercial functions such as Kutlu Patisserie under the Kutlu Apartment or Ulus Cinema located under the Soysal Apartment. Therefore, these apartment buildings did not only provide a modern housing but also contributed to the city's modern everyday life practices and cultural scene which will be elaborated below.

### 3.2.3.6 Boulevard as the Scene of Culture, Recreation, and Social Life

Going back to the early years of the Republic, the population of Ankara had reached to 74.000 by the year 1927. The historic town, the center of entertainment and administration, was full of life day and night while Sıhhiye and Kızılay were quite (Tankut, 1980, p. 54). It was difficult for the *Yenışehir* people to go to the old town for errands and shopping even though Hermann Jansen emphasized the pedestrian connections in transportation, assumed that the narrow roads crossing the gardens would be enough even after fifty years. The planning approach of not defining a commercial district in *Yenışehir* in order to have one city center, eventually caused the appearance of shops on almost every street (Tankut, 1980, p. 275).

With Jansen's plan, Republic's modernization principle had found a body to itself. The plan tried to fulfill the requirements of the modern, western lifestyle. According to Tankut, the modern living conditions that the Republic provided *Yenişehir* encouraged the small community living in this new neighborhood to adopt urban lifestyle, whereas the urban beauty concerns had risen and the streets, gardens, parks had started to be under the volunteer responsibility of the citizens (Hakimiyet-i Milliye, 08.09.1932 qtd. in Tankut, 1980, p. 253). The silhouette of the city was transforming, which affected the social life as well.

Meanwhile, the old inhabitants of Ankara would still sit on the sidewalks and throw the melon peels to the floor, dust sacks on passing people in narrow streets (Hakimiyet-i Milliye, 15.10.1932 qtd. in Tankut, 1980, p. 254). It indicates that even though new Ankara and its people were the modern display window of the Republic and living the life that the government was trying to promote; there were still conflicts between them and the inhabitants of old Ankara because the behaviors of the old Ankara inhabitants were determined by tradition (Tanrıkulu, 1985, p. 23) (Figure 3.36).



**Figure 3. 36:** Figure showing the change in the appearance after the Republic; warden, civil servant, gendarme, policeman, security, marine, and woman (left) (Karagöz, 1927; “Revolution Panorama”, 50 Yıllık Yaşantımız, 1975, p.96), Ankarans having a picnic in an open recreation area with the participation of women (right) (50 Yıllık Yaşantımız, 1975).

Whereas, the new group of people was the migrants, mostly from Istanbul, who moved to Ankara to work in the government related jobs, civil servants working in the ministries or the parliament members. They formed a new and large social group.

Moreover, with the arrival of embassy buildings, foreign representatives and their related committees also started to appear.

Indeed, the everyday life of the city was not the same as Ottoman times, but the old inhabitants were the same, and it created a differentiation in the population and its practices. The isolation of Yenişehir and its social conditions and the conflict between new and old Ankarans can be examined through Karaosmanoğlu's novel;

“All the houses in Yenişehir are like an ego and egoism castle. These houses that are surrounded by the garden walls, located at least forty, fifty meters away from each other, are seen as the egoism houses before anything else to any eye that looks from outside. It is obvious that there is neither a community nor a neighborhood life in here. Each family is withdrawn in their tusk tower. That is why; Yenişehir is in a constant silence and solitude” (Karaosmanoğlu, 1991, pp. 149-150).

With the changed urban environment, the buildings adapted to the change while the inhabitants were keeping pace with that contemporary environment and functions in it. Therefore, the population, urban planning, architecture, and the social life form an endless loop that constantly affected each other.

The modernization ideology had been seen as the acceptance of western consumption norms in the everyday life and the practices of the intellectuals that completed their education in the western countries and Istanbul's commerce bourgeoisie were forming a new style of living (Nalbantoğlu G. , 1984, p. 259). Again, Karaosmanoğlu's Ankara entertains the balls and events in Ankara Palace with an orchestra, drinks, and tangos just like the ones that can be found in western countries. It is also known that president Atatürk himself was attending those events alongside the representatives of foreign countries. However, the locals did not even hear about what tango is as it can be seen in the passage in the novel;

“‘What is not to know? Here, let me tell you: There is *tango* inside,’ he said.

‘Tango? What did you say, tango?’

‘Who is tango?’

Stub man could not explain it in any way. Because the meaning that the word *tango* represents was indefinite to him as much as it was broad.” (Karaosmanoğlu, 1991, p. 111).

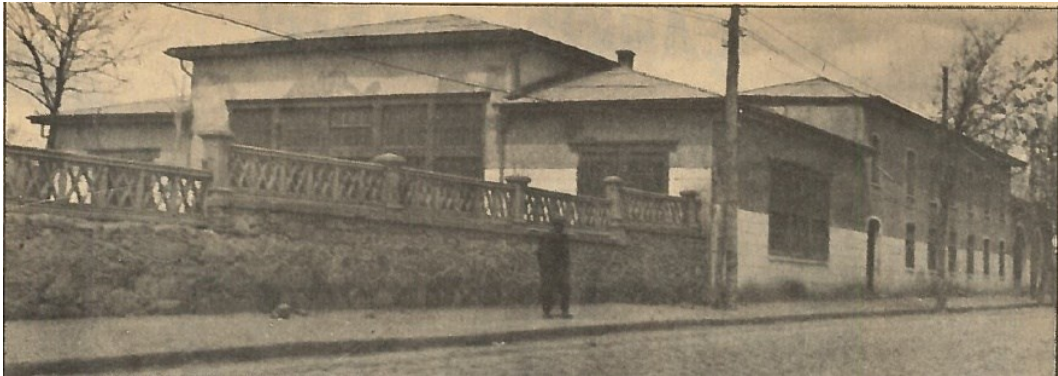
Ankara Palace was built in 1927, right across the parliament. It was built according to the First Turkish National Architecture style and was again another representative of the Republic. The palace was also serving as a meeting place for the politics. After the long meetings in the parliament, politicians were meeting in the hotel and kept having their discussions. Most of the government or private balls were taking place there, and it also provided accommodation for the guests arriving from outside of Ankara whether they were related to the politics or not.

Simultaneously, similar but less formal events were being held in the modernly decorated apartments. The apartment lifestyle can be evaluated as the symbol of the twentieth century. The dual lifestyle that started in the 1920s became even clearer in the 1930s. While the apartment buildings were the representatives of a modern way of living and an indicator of prestige in the 1920s, it started to become an inevitable actor for the urbanization in Ankara later on. Indeed, the civil society did not suddenly abandon their old customs, values, rules, and practices but they brought them along, yet there were not an enough number of followers ready to adopt the new ones without a doubt except the limited group of intellectuals. Nalbantoğlu states that the life forms and attitudes exclusive to the bourgeoisie might have been brought to Ankara by those distinguished people, but they were not generous about sharing them with the local middle class, whereas the practices brought to Ankara lacked an economic base contrary to Istanbul or Izmir (Nalbantoğlu Ü. , 1984, pp. 291-296). The urban culture is formed and being expressed by the urban public spaces with the participation of both higher and lower income groups. Cultural places (movie theaters, theaters, exhibition hall), recreation areas (parks, patisseries, restaurants, *gazin*os), shopping areas, streets, boulevards, squares and other public spaces formed and nourished the

urban culture and became the milieu for everyday life practices (Özaloğlu, 2006, pp. 7-12).<sup>19</sup>

The imported modern practices included recreation and entertainment, as the new inputs to the social life of the city. In the first years of the Republic, both groups of inhabitants were using Ulus and its surroundings for their everyday life practices and daily needs. Thus, there were a few entertainment locations; one was Fresko's Bar (**Figure 3.37**) opened in 1925 in the Millet Garden in Ulus Square, another one was Elhambra Bar opened a year later (**Figure 3.38**).

One of the most significant places was indeed Taşhan (later to be called Hotel d'Angora) located in Taşhan Square, which took its name from the building itself. Then Taşhan and today's Ulus Square was first opened by the Ankara's Governor Dr. Reşit Bey in 1876 after the proclamation of the constitutional monarchy, and Taşhan had been constructed by İsmail Bey in the late 1880s (Madran, Altan, & Özgönül, 2005).<sup>20</sup>



**Figure 3. 37:** The only 'modern' leisure place in Ankara in the 1920s, Fresco's Bar in 1925 on the Bankalar Avenue (later to be called Atatürk Boulevard) (50 Yıllık Yaşantımız, 1975, p.49).

Taşhan, housed the first and only restaurant of Ankara; Karpiç. Its opening in 1928 was initiated by the state itself and most of its guests were politicians, bureaucrats,

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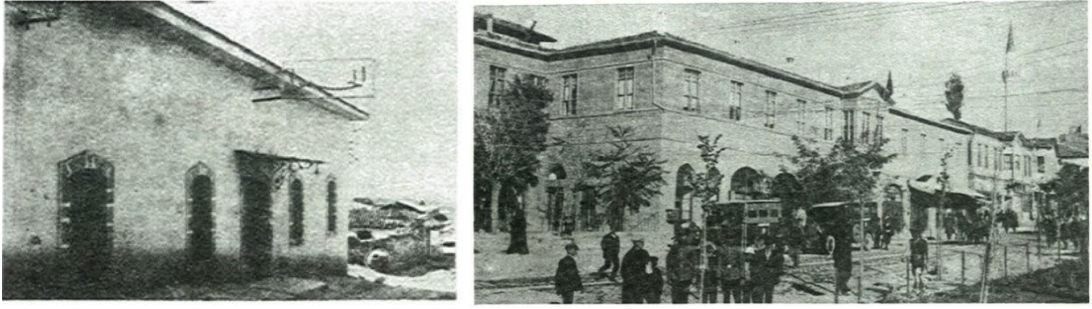
<sup>19</sup> Gazinos were popular entertainment activities starting from the 1940s up to 1970s where men and women dress up nicely to enjoy live music, and food and beverages.

<sup>20</sup> İsmail Bey was the letterman of Ankara's governor Abidin Paşa.

rich businessmen, ambassadors, and upper class as the only western style dining place with its western cuisine and exquisite service (Anadol, 2003, p. 83), (Nalbantoğlu Ü. , 1984, p. 298) (**Figure 3.38, 3.39**). Owned by the Georgian migrant Juri Georges Karpovitch, the restaurant witnessed many new practices and important people of its time including Atatürk himself. In the memoirs of Beki Luiza Bahar, the restaurant and its owner *Karpiç* was described as;

“Karpiç Restaurant is like a history page because of witnessing the events and conversations happened between the important people of Atatürk’s era. (...) You could see the black caviar in open boxes in the refrigerator while men were having an aperitive at a bar near the restaurant’s entrance. In my childhood, I ate most of the food that I still remember the tastes such as *stroganoff*, *kievski*, *karski* there for the first time like many other people. *Baba* Karpiç would walk around the tables and greet the guests one by one, ask how they were doing, offered fruits to the children himself. He was a charismatic, beloved person” (2003, pp. 104-105).

The restaurant where even Atatürk organized a meeting of the council of ministers had to move across the Boulevard, to Millet Garden, in 1933 when Taşhan was demolished. It served under the name ‘*Şehir Lokantası*’ (City Restaurant) but kept being called as Karpiç (Şenyapılı, 2006). In Millet Garden, there was also a movie theater in a small wooden structure before Karpiç moved there. It was called as Büyük (Big) Cinema, housing also theater plays for children. It served to Ankarans until it was burned down in 1928 (Şenyapılı, 2006).



**Figure 3. 38:** Elhambra Bar (left) (Tanrıkulu, 1985, p.23), Taşhan and Karpıç Restaurant (right) (Tanrıkulu, 1985, p.26).

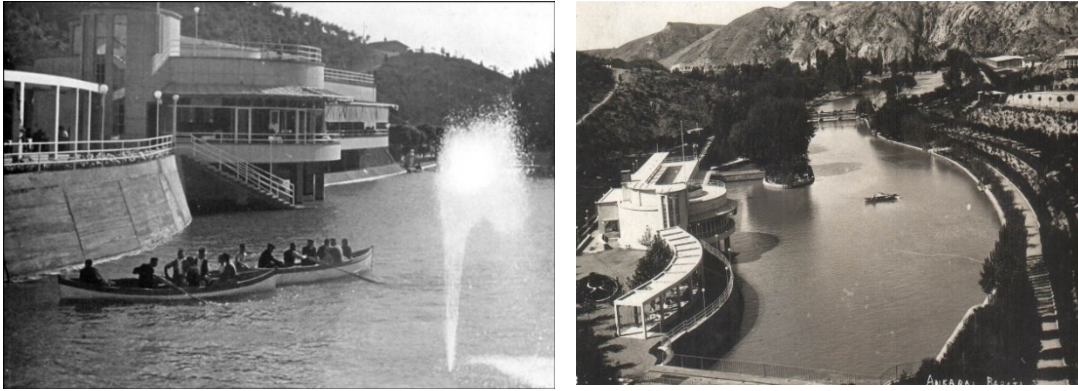


**Figure 3. 39:** Karpıç Restaurant's advertisements (Tanrıkulu, 1985, p.23).

After Taşhan was demolished, and Sümerbank was constructed, there were Yeşil Fıçı and Yıldız Restaurant located next to the lot together with Fresco and Elhambra Bars. They were amongst popular food and beverage places of the Boulevard in the late 1920s and 1930s. The Republican reforms, especially the alphabet reform in 1928 had big impacts on the society. With the rapidly changing and growing environment and population, the customs and socio-spatial habits evolved as well. The cultural activities gained acceleration, the participation of the public in those activities was a major change in Ankara's life as well as its inhabitants. Movie theaters held a large place in the everyday life and the socio-spatial practices and undertook a cultural and educational role in the society. Yeni Cinema, and Klüp Cinema at Taşhan were some of the first movie theaters in Ankara. Yeni Cinema with its large navy-blue seats, the

saloon had a special lodge, ‘Reis-i Cümhur lodge’ reserved for Atatürk. The building was demolished during the Ulus Square rearrangement project in 1956 (Ergir, 2004).

The city itself and its inhabitants affected each other in this context. With the construction of Çubuk Dam alongside the Gençlik Park and Millet Garden, recreation areas and their practices came to the scene. Moreover, Çubuk Dam’s *gazino* (Theo Leveau; 1938- demolition 2016) brought a new approach to entertainment life (Figure 3.40).



**Figure 3. 40:** Çubuk Dam and its *gazino* (URL: <http://ankara.imo.org.tr>).

In addition to these newly adopted functions and practices, another activity associated with the modern lifestyle introduced to the everyday life of Ankara were patisseries. The concept would carry its place in the city for many decades. Patisseries were the venues where women, men, and children were sitting together, mostly located on the main roads, have outdoor seating areas allowing customers to watch people and create a social environment.

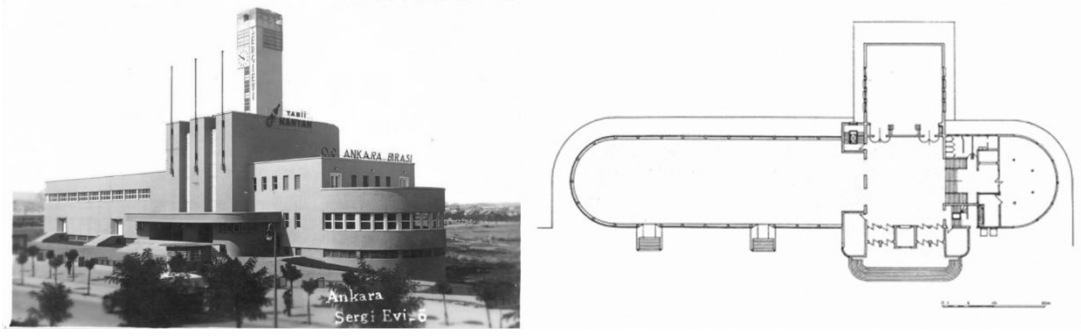
Around 1927, the single-story shops located in the Ulus Square were demolished, and a hotel housing the first patisserie of Ankara –İstanbul Patisserie owned by Hafız Bey– was built at the corner of Atatürk Boulevard and Anafartalar Avenue, where today Ulus Business Center’s higher block is located. It was functioning as a hotel and a modern patisserie; therefore, it was the second place after Karpıç for the intellectuals and parliament members to meet (Nalbantoğlu Ü. , 1984, p. 298). Most of its clients consisted of single men or those who were in Ankara temporarily, they would go there

to sober up after a night of drinks. Therefore, Burhan Asaf Belge complained about the patisserie being like a corner coffee house even though it should have resembled a Viennese coffee shop (Şenol Cantek, 2003, p. 278), (Belge, 1929).

In an article published in Milliyet Newspaper on the transformation of Ankara and Turkey through the first 50 years of the Republic, the patisserie was described as follows;

“İstanbul Patisserie had habitual and frequent clients. Hıfzı Nalbandoğlu from the entourage in first years of Ankara, later on, Professor Feridun Nafiz Uzluk, Mehmed Nuri Gencosman, Namdar Rahmi, Enver Behnan Şapolyo, Dr. İzzeddin Şadan, Sadri Etem, Nahit Sırrı, Refik Fenmen, painter Saip, music lover Ahmet Yekta İstanbul were the stable group of the patisserie. When in Ankara, Hüseyin Rahmi Gürpınar and Yahya Kemal Beyatlı would also directly go to the patisserie right after Grand National Assembly. The patisserie served as an unofficial gathering place of educated people of the time that was demolished in 1955 and gave its place to Ulus Skyscraper” (Elli Yıllık Yaşantımız, 1975, p. 52).

In the early years of the Republic, providing new activities and places of performance was a part of the state’s agenda. For this purpose; many buildings were constructed such as *Sergievi* (Exhibition House) (Şevki Balmumcu; 1933-34), which was designed after an international competition held by *Milli İktisat ve Tasarruf Cemiyeti* (National Economy and Savings Association). Aslanoğlu notes that, geometrical simplicity in the Bauhaus expression is the first feature that catches the eye in the structure’s interior and exterior, its mass, and its details (2001, p. 108). In an era when buildings constructed by the state were mostly designed by foreign architects, the success of Şevki Balmumcu’s project was a significant event (Aslanoğlu, 2001, p. 108). Opened on October 29<sup>th</sup>, 1934, in the 11<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Republic, the building hosted many exhibitions until its function was changed into the Opera Building by Paul Bonatz between the years 1946-48, which later gave its name to the neighborhood where it was located (**Figure 3.41**).



**Figure 3. 41:** Sergievi from the Boulevard, Atatürk Orman Çiftliği Beer commercial on its north façade (left) (VEKAM archives, URL: <http://digitalcollections.library.ku.edu.tr/cdm/singleitem/collection/AEFA/id/13/rec/1>), Sergievi's floor plan (Ankara Municipality Development Directorate Archives from Aslanoğlu, ).

Another state-initiated construction was the Orduevi Building (Clemens Holzmeister; 1930-31) in the lot where Pavilion-Exhibition building *Zabitan Yurdu* (Officer's Mess) or Hale Gazinosu with its arched façade was once located (Ayoğlu, 2010, p.73). The building with a U-shaped plan scheme was initially three-story high before two stories were added to the structure. Similar to many buildings on the Boulevard, today the complex is located horizontally to the road with its two smaller elongated masses in the north-south directions were added later. Besides its accommodation function, the building served as a cultural and even commercial place with shops and a restaurant on its ground floor, with a *pavyon* inside that the license of which was taken in 1954, and with its movie theatre opened in 1965 (**Figure 3.42**).



**Figure 3. 42:** Orduevi building when it was first constructed with its original forms and number of story (left) (URL: <http://www.boyutpedia.com/804/5951/orduevi-binasi>). Orduevi in present day (middle), its additional building located in the north of the original one (right) (Author, 2017).

During the early years, the state authority also transformed the Taşhan into *Ulus* (Nation) Square. In 1927, a monument subjecting Atatürk and the war victory was placed in the northern end of the axis. The funding was provided through the collective and civil efforts of the public, and Austrian sculptor Heinrich Krippel's Victory monument was located in the square and acted as an unofficial place for the state ceremonies until the construction of Anıtkabir, the Mausoleum of president Atatürk, in 1953. Therefore, the state's presence in the square was quite dominant in the early years of the Republic, at least until the 1950s.

In the northern section of the Boulevard near Ulus Square, there was Lozan Palace as one of the first hotels in Ankara besides the nearby Taşhan. The building that belonged to İbrahim Akoğlu first served as Eti Palace (**Figure 3.43**). The construction started in 1924, and in 1940 it underwent a major renovation and used as a hotel with its restaurant on the ground floor until 1948 when Akbank moved to the building.

In 1932, single-story shops were constructed in the Ulus Square under the name Şehir Shop (first known as Muhasebei Hususiye Shop). The significant commercial functions and food and beverage places located there can be listed as Osman Nuri's confectionery where later his son Ali Uzun took over and who later opened another shop in Yenışehir that is still functioning today (Ergir, 2012). Moreover, Akba and Hachette bookstores were located there, as well as Karpiç (Ergir, 2012). Akba Bookstore opened in 1932 moved to Şehir Shop in 1934 and was a well-known meeting point of its time (Tanyer, 2013). Karpiç Restaurant was managed by Baba Karpiç's niece Tamara until 1962 and finally around 1970s it was closed for good. Akba bookstore moved to Emek Business Center (the Skyscraper) in 1960 and was closed in 1968 while Hachette moved to Yenışehir before the construction of 100. Yıl Shop (Tanyer, 2013).

Moreover, Berkalp Bookshop, another popular bookshop of the era, was opened in 1941 in the shops under the Maarif Vekaleti (Tanyer, 2013). *Uğrak* (Frequented Place) Buffet was also a frequently visited place just like its name (Girgin, 2007).



**Figure 3. 43:** Lozan Palace construction (left) (URL: <https://www.istanbulmuzayede.com/urun/342189/ankara-fk-lozan-palas>), Lozan Palace Hotel's advertisement (middle) (Tanrıkulu 1985, p. 23), today Lozan Palace's building being used by Akbank, from the Boulevard (Author, 2017).

In the late 1930s and early 1940s, the commercial functions, leisure, recreational and cultural activities exceeded the Sıhhiye train bridge and arrived to Yenışehir. Patisseries, restaurants, shops and even movie theaters were serving on the ground floors of the modern apartment buildings. Two of the most popular patisseries of the Boulevard were Kutlu, located under the Kutlu Apartment, and across it was Özen Patisserie on the ground floor of Armağan Apartment at the two sides of the İzmir Avenue's Boulevard entrance (**Figure 3.44**). They were not only patisseries but also the places of cultural activities such as exhibitions and concerts as well as literature discussion meetings, and chess tournaments, such as an exhibition of famous Turkish artist and writer Bedri Rahmi once took place in Kutlu in 1943. Moreover, across the Boulevard, there was Galatasaray Club. In his memoirs, the former Turkish ambassador Semih Günver describes these places as follows;

“Galatasaray Club was located in the place of the modern *Türkiye İş Bank*'s lot on Atatürk Boulevard. It was a chic and elegant *lokal*. It had a restaurant. We would meet with friends and play bridge in the evenings. The road side of the *lokal* was a large terrace. Its top was covered with a colored canopy. Wicker chairs and tables were located at this terrace. We would sit there and watch the people passing by. (...) Across Galatasaray Club at the entrance of the Uçar Street [İzmir Avenue], there were two patisseries called Kutlu and Özen. You could not forget the taste of the cakes, juices, and ice creams that Özen on the left was selling. On the other hand, Kutlu was a more assertive patisserie. It was decorated elegantly. A small orchestra would play western music in the evenings between 16:30 and 18:30. Mostly couples would come here, they would sit, have a conversation, and listen to music without being bothered” (Günver, 1984).

Moreover, in the novel *Kürdün Meyhanesi*, Aksoy states that;

“Özen Patisserie on the Boulevard is like a *lokal* where authors meet. One cake is 5 *kuruş*. Kutlu across the street is more elegant with its balcony opening to the Boulevard, its chic décor, and the variety of its cakes. (...) We were sitting in Özen Patisserie. [Nurullah] Ataç loved to sit in Özen and read newspapers. The ones who wanted to see him would come to Özen” (Aksoy, 2000, p. 95).



**Figure 3. 44:** Kutlu Patisserie on Boulevard in the 1930s (left) (La Turquie Kemaliste, no. 32-40, Aout 1939-Decembre 1940, p.70). Meram Patisserie, 1939 (right) (Eski Ankara Fotoğrafları Facebook Group, (URL: <https://www.facebook.com/groups/EskiAnkaraFotoğraflari/>).

These patisseries were also witnessing the diplomatic scene in Ankara. During the World War II, in the 1930s when the flag with gammadion was flapping on top of the German Embassy, the strong presence of Nazism on the Boulevard could be felt dominantly. Germans would go to Özen Patisserie and sing *Lili Marleen*, especially if they won a battle, later when the course of the war had changed, Englishmen would be the ones who sang the song in the patisserie (Ergir, n.d.).



**Figure 3. 45:** Orhan Veli in front of Kutlu Patisserie on the Boulevard (left) (Antoloji

Ankara Facebook Group, URL: <https://www.facebook.com/antolojiankara/>), Ayşe Kulin's family in their apartment in Soysal Apartment, c. 1959 (Taşhan Akademisi Facebook Group URL: <https://www.facebook.com/groups/TashanAkademisi/>).

In Soysal Apartment, Ulus, the first movie theater of Yenışehir, was opened in 1939. Especially in the 1950s, Soysal became a cultural hub while having people living on the upper floors, because of its location on the Kızılay Square, the environment that it provided. It became a subject of Ayşe Kulin's novel as well. In her novel Kulin talks about her early years in Ankara as a resident of the Soysal Apartment, and notes that, in the basement of its Block A, there was a rhythmic dance and ballet school run by Madame Morga, and famous Süreyya Restaurant (Kulin, 2010). Süreyya Gazinosu opened by former staff of Karpiç Restaurant, Serj was a notable place in the Yenışehir culture, in front of it there was a large green area, it was also a place where people could dance with live music (Şenyapılı, 2006).<sup>21</sup> The *gazino* served as an informal meeting place for politicians, which, sustained the role of Karpiç and brought it to *Yenışehir* when the center was moving towards *Yenışehir* (İşçen, 2011). As an elegant place, it was not possible to enter without a reservation, the embassies were having their events there, it was a club for the rich and high bourgeoisie where a new Italian or Argentinian orchestra was playing in each fall (Şenyapılı, 2006), (Arcayürek, 2005). The cinema and the restaurant that witnessed many events in the changing socio-cultural and even political scene in Ankara stayed open until the demolishment of the Soysal Apartment in 1966. In Vitali Hakko's memoirs Süreyya is mentioned as follows;

"... we spent that night in Pera Palas. Next day we went to Ankara with Wagon Lit. After placing my wife of two days to Ankara Palas, I quickly went out to visit our clients. But that night, we were going to have dinner in Süreyya. Süreyya was the most famous, most popular restaurant of the day's Ankara. My pianist friend from Istanbul, Perez made our reservation. We were hosted like kings at Süreyya that night. Caviars, smoked fish, champagnes... When it came to pay the check, that gentleman Süreyya made me feel embarrassed by saying he could not accept money from the newly married couples, our friendship with

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<sup>21</sup> The name Süreyya was given to Serj by Atatürk when he was working at Karpiç Restaurant.

Süreyya that lasted many years in Istanbul after Ankara had started that night” (Hakko, 1997, p. 111).

While there were restaurants where only some part of the society could go and dine, the roots of the fast-food culture were also blossoming along the Boulevard. That root was the Goralı Buffet opened in 1945. At first it looked like a pickle and charcuterie shop, later on it started to serve a menu called ‘Goralı’ in the mid-1950s. The Goralı Sandwich became a trademark that can now be found in many fast-food shops around Turkey. The buffet located at the Zafer Passage exit of the Büyük Cinema was founded by Şefik Goralı, an immigrant from Yugoslavian town Gora, served in its initial place until 1966 when they moved the buffet to Ali Nazmi Passage’s Sakarya Avenue entrance.<sup>22</sup> İşçen describes the place and its significance in Ankara’s social life as follows;

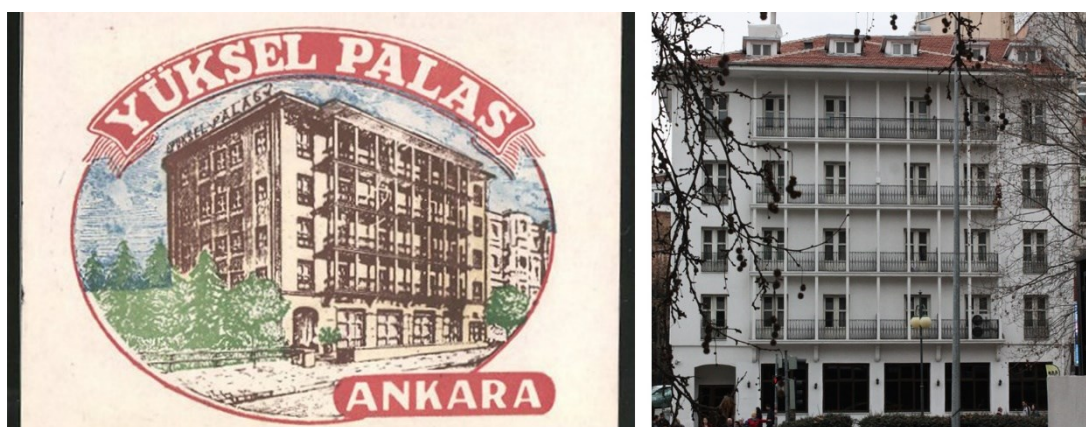
“First of all, Goralı in Ankara was not only a place to eat sandwiches. It was one of the places where going there became a pattern just as Ankara Muhallebicisi, Piknik, or Milka Patisserie. Actually, it was a small shop. There was not a place to meet and spend a long time in the shop where most of the time the ones who could find a place to sit would find themselves lucky. Nevertheless, Goralı succeeded to become an important meeting point for ordinary and prominent citizens of Ankara. It was not a place to meet someone, but once one went there, it was inevitable to meet someone. (...) Girls and boys would eat their sandwiches while laying eyes on each other. Sometimes the excitement of coming across a celebrity would be lived. In the years when television first came into our lives, TV hosts such as Cenk Koray, Bülent Özveren, İzzet Öz, vocal artist Yıldırım Gürses, Tansel as the owner of the famous vinyl record shop in Kocabeyoğlu Passage, theater actor Semih Seren, and some of the journalists were amongst the clients of Goralı. The bureaucrats and politicians of the governmental offices in Bakanlıklar and Kızılay would visit Goralı as well” (İşçen, 2012).

In addition to the individual food and beverage places and entertainment spots on the Boulevard, the hotel culture as a lieu of leisure activities and a place of food and beverage was starting with the hotels in Ankara. Across Orduevi, one of the first hotels of the Boulevard was constructed. Although it was rather late, it had significant effects

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<sup>22</sup> Ali Nazmi Passage was a passage that had entrances on both Sakarya Avenue and Atatürk Boulevard.

on the social life of the new Ankara and especially Yenışehir. The hotel was then known as Yüksel Palace, used today as the Sergeant Guesthouse as a part of the Orduevi. Opened in 1949, the hotel's owner was the parliament member Emin Sazak from Democrat Party (**Figure 3.46**). Together with Lozan Palace and Gül Palace, Yüksel Palace as one of the first hotels, provided a social scene as well with its hall on the ground floor where journalists, authors, theater actors and actresses, and many more spending leisure times next to its windows (Kentin Hikayeleri, 2017). Its restaurant was managed by Chef Bekir (Uluay) who was first working in Karpiç Restaurant and learned many things from Baba Karpiç, and later opened the popular restaurant Washington (Bahar, 2003, p. 106).



**Figure 3. 46:** Yüksel Palace's logo showing its building (left) (URL: <http://www.ak-ansichtskarten.de/ak/92-Alte-Ansichtskarte/32727-weitere-Laender/6717736-Kofferaufkleber-Ankara-Yueksel-Palas-Hotel-in-der-Tuerkei>), Yüksel Palace's Atatürk Boulevard façade (right) (Author, 2017).

As for the open and recreational spaces of Ankara, the first significant open space of the new capital after Ulus Square was today's Kızılay Square. The area designed as a prestige square by Lörcher and named as Cumhuriyet (Republic) Square used to be known with the name Tosbağa Yatağı in the Ottoman era (Batuman, 2000), (Cengizkan, 2004). Since the square did not have a central element during the first years of the Republic like today, a fountain 'Su Perili Heykel' was located between 1925-1930 and started to be used as an urban park (**Figure 3.47**). With the statue, the

square undertook the duty of the beginning of the ‘Havuzbaşı’, or poolside culture that would last in the upcoming years in Ankara (Büyükyıldız, 2009).



**Figure 3. 47:** Su perili fountain and the municipality’s orchestra at the back (left and middle) (Vekam Library and Archive, URL: <http://digitalcollections.library.ku.edu.tr/cdm>), people sitting around the Havuzbaşı as a leisure activity c. 1920 (right) (50 Yıllık Yaşantımız, 1975).

The name Cumhuriyet Square that carried the spirit of the modern Republic until the placement of the fountain left its place to the name ‘Havuzbaşı’ amongst the inhabitants of Ankara. Moreover, the fountain would not be the only built element that renamed the Square during the short but intense Republican history of Ankara. There was also the municipality’s orchestra (Riyaset-i Cumhur Muzikası) playing western music in the afternoons in the same place, which introduced the urban western notions of public spaces and recreational needs to the city. The orchestra was described as follows;

“The pictures and news of the Ankara Municipality Band’s evening concerts or the citizens of Ankara resting by Havuzbaşı after a promenade in the Atatürk Boulevard in the spring evenings often appeared in the daily news of the day. Havuzbaşı was the terminal place of the southern section of Atatürk Boulevard that is known as the ‘promenade’ place of Ankara citizens with its large road median with acacia trees in the middle and with its wide sidewalks where boulevard cafes were located under the shade of horse chestnuts on both sides” (Çağlar, Uludağ, & Aksu, 2006, p. 179).

The Square that was named as *Kurtuluş* (Salvation, Liberation) Square in Jansen plan took the name Kızılay in the daily conversations when Robert Oerly’s Kızılay Headquarters with its large crescent on its Boulevard façade opened in 1929. 1929 was also the year that the Su Perili fountain was removed from the square. Nevertheless, the Kızılay Park arrangement was completed in 1933 and the area kept

being a meeting point and recreation center for the public with its fountain/pool (Türkyılmaz, 2015, p. 126). The park continued its function as an urban recreation area of the inhabitants of Ankara with the sandbox at the back of the park and the kiosk selling the Kızılay mineral water for decades. With the building constructed as a statement of the national solidarity of the era; Havuzbaşı started to be known as Kızılay Park, and Yenışehir as Kızılay in the daily life of Ankara (Sahil, 1990). Hence, the square was named after a physical component for the second time in its history.

Another fountain pool of the era worth mentioning along the Boulevard was the one in front of Ministry of Health in Sıhhiye Square. The Nemfos Fountain with its small baby figures, or the nymphs from the mythology, was later relocated and put in front of the train station, and today it is in İzmir Avenue (**Figure 3.48**). Türkyılmaz quotes from a journal of the era, Yedigün as follows;

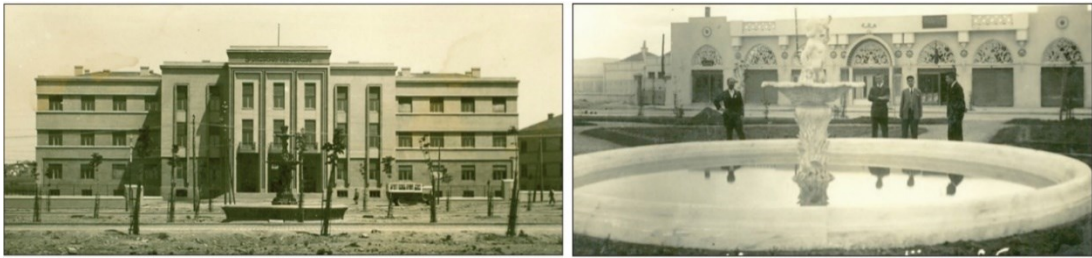
“Right after passing the train bridge in Yenışehir, suddenly, the landscape changed completely. I came across with a gallery formed of green tableaux. The pine and acacia trees planted in the middle and two sides of the neatly organized road were swinging with spring breeze. A slender water was flowing from the baby statues to the pool between the tree branches with a sweet sound” (Şevket, 1939, p. 16), (Türkyılmaz, 2015, p. 121).

Another open-air recreational area towards the south was the Zafer Park (also known as Zabitan Park) in Zafer Square. With the parks on two sides of the Boulevard and Atatürk Monument by sculptor Pietro Canonica, erected in 1927 in the middle of them on the Boulevard, the park was a significant element of Ankara reflecting the ideology and goals of the new Republic (**Figure 3.49**). Located between two Squares on the axis; Kızılay and Sıhhiye, was a significant component of the Boulevard not only because of its spatial and physical features but also with its social ones.

Similar to the ones in Sıhhiye and Kızılay Squares, there was another fountain pool in Zafer Square. Zafer Park, or parks since there were two parks on both sides of the Boulevard when it was first realized, hosted two fountain pools in each park in the

early years of the Republic (**Figure 3.49**) (Türkyılmaz, 2015, p. 121). As Memluk notes;

“Zafer Parks are located in both sides of this statue [Pietro Canonica’s Atatürk Statue; 1927] as two small pocket parks. These parks frequently used by the ones who go out for a Boulevard promenade, or the ones who run errands on the Boulevard, used especially in the summer months by all Ankara citizens, are formed of green chambers with fountain pools in the middle and connected to their surroundings with radial paths. (...) These parks were addressed as Zafer I and Zafer II amongst Ankarans” (Memluk, 2009, pp. 83-84).



**Figure 3. 48:** Nemfos Fountain in front of Ministry of Health in Sıhhiye Square (left), the fountain pool in front of Hale Gazinosu in Zafer Square (right) (Vekam Archives, retrieved from Türkyılmaz, 2015).

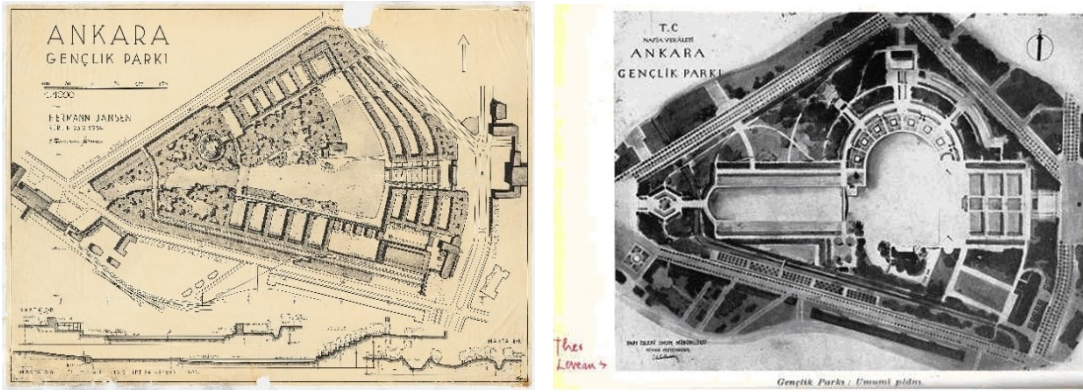


**Figure 3. 49:** Zafer I Park (east) and Atatürk Monument the lot of today’s Zafer Shop (left), Zafer II Park (west) and Atatürk Monument with Orduevi (Korkut Erkan Collection retrieved from Türkyılmaz, 2015).

The public spaces of this area were mostly used by the new citizens of Ankara living in Yenışehir. The promenades and the recreational time by the fountain with an orchestra as a western open-air leisure practice made the place the lieu of the bourgeoisie and the ‘polite’ people just as stated by Orhan Veli in his *‘Altındağ’* poem (Kanık, 2003, p. 109). Although it was not widely used by different social groups of

Ankara, Kızılay Square and the Boulevard's Kızılay section were popular public spaces of the time. Meanwhile, the promenade serving pedestrians and allowing bicycle use until the 1950s was one of the most important open spaces that emphasized and strengthened the public space significance of the Boulevard (Bilsel, et al., 1997).

One of the most important recreational areas of the history of Ankara is undoubtedly Gençlik Park, opened on May 19<sup>th</sup>, 1943 on the Commemoration of Atatürk, Youth and Sports Day in Turkey. Once the malaria center of the city because of the swamp and mosquitos, soon served as the open-air recreation and leisure place for the inhabitants of Ankara for a long time (**Figure 3.50**). Uludağ expresses that modern urban life in Republican Ankara could have been achieved by the new non-traditional social norms developed in new urban spaces (1998, p. 68).



**Figure 3. 50:** Hermann Jansen's initial Gençlik Parkı Plan in 1934 (URL: <https://architekturmuseum.ub.tu-berlin.de/index>)

Theo Leveau's Gençlik Parkı plan, 1936 (URL: <https://www.peyzajmimoda.org.tr>).

Gençlik Park was one of those new places where recreational needs were satisfied. Uludağ continues by stating that modernization of urban life can be achieved by the change in everyday life, which is the hardest transmission and Gençlik Park was an intervention to the traditional everyday life forms (1998, p. 74). With its large pool, various food and beverage places, tea gardens, restaurants, Göl Gazinosu, open-air theater, and even with its Lunapark and the train circling in the park, it was a part of

many people's lives through generations (**Figure 3.51**).<sup>23</sup> Zeki Müren would perform in the gardens in Gençlik Park for a very small price, Emel Sayın's first-ever performance took place in here, while people would rent a small boat to cross the pool to reach the small island in the middle (Arcayürek, 2005, p. 74). From the day it was opened, it has a place in the memories of every inhabitant of Ankara (Sönmez, 2015, p. 509).



**Figure 3. 51:** Gençlik Park and Göl Gazinosu in the middle of the pool, 1973 (top left), Göl Gazinosu Füsun Önal and Erol Büyükburç performing, 1971(top right), Lunapark in the park, 1973 (bottom left), a winter in Gençlik Park, people ice-skating on the frozen pool, Göl Gazinosu's ship at the background, 1976 (bottom right) (Antoloji Ankara Facebook Group URL: <https://www.facebook.com/antolojianskara/>).

Güvenpark located next to Kızılay Garden in the Kızılay Square was a significant public place of the era. The park was a part of the open-air green system foreseen in Jansen plan. Although it had the features of the park-square initially, in time it lost a significant amount of its originality and integrity with the interventions to area, even though it was one of the places that had the traces of history (**Figure 3.52**). The Güven

<sup>23</sup> The permanent Lunapark was placed in the park one year after the temporary Italian Lunapark visited Gençlik Park and attracted a considerable attention.

(Trust) Monument creating integrity with the park was designed by sculptors Anton Hanak and Joseph Thorak in 1935 and imprinted in the memories of many citizens through the history of Ankara. Together with the components framing Kızılay Square (Kızılay Park, Atatürk Boulevard) that bear the traces of the Republic, Güvenpark was a place where a modern, western way of living could be experienced for Ankara's new inhabitants who were mostly the bureaucrats (Bayraktar, 2013, p. 25).



**Figure 3.52:** Güven Monument (left) (Hasan Hüseyin Doğan Archive, Antoloji Ankara Facebook Group URL: <https://www.facebook.com/antolojianskara/>), Güvenpark and Güven Monument looking towards Kızılay Square towards North (right) (Taşhan Akademisi Facebook Group, URL: <https://www.facebook.com/groups/TashanAkademisi/>).

### **3.2.4 General Decisions and Implementations Concerning the Boulevard and Its Evaluation from Its Establishment Until 1950s**

From the establishment of the Turkish Republic until the 1950s, Ankara was in a fast development including the construction of many administrative and public buildings and open spaces as well as the private housings, apartments, social and cultural complexes, and recreational areas. In addition to these, the municipality and state decisions and implementations regarding the Boulevard nourished its status as a prestige axis, helped the city to become a more 'modern' place, and to gain the appearance and functions of a capital city. The decisions and implementations can be listed as; the beginning of the public autobus services between Çankaya and Keçiören in 1924 and the cobblestone paving in the Taşhan Square in the same year, the construction of modern infrastructure and water supply in 1925 (that was sufficient until 1928), the installation of electricity polls between old and new city between

1928-30, the construction of Çubuk Dam between the years 1931-36, which was Ankara's water supply. In 1933; the concerns regarding the building façades were rising, and in 1934; the building façades along the Boulevard also became an issue, though it was paused until 1938 when the aesthetical concerns including the façades and the backyards were once again increasing (Tankut, 1980). In 1935, autobus transportation had started between the Ulus and up to Kavaklıdere section of the Boulevard. The beginning of trolleybus in 1944, as well as the widening of the former Bankalar Avenue section of the Boulevard in the same year, were prominent implementations affecting the urban life of the Boulevard. Both transportation implementations helped connecting the old town including the Ulus section of the Boulevard and Yenışehir physically and socially, thus, the people of Yenışehir, mostly the bureaucrats, could now easily go to Ulus which was the main center both commercially and politically at the time.

As for the physical state of the Boulevard, its construction was terminated in 1929, next year in April 1930, the Kızılay-Sıhhiye Squares section of it was widened to forty meters, and the roads were regulated as three-lane together with the Kızılay- İnönü Square section (Ünal S. G., 2015, p. 294). This three-lane regulation included a median lane in the middle in the service of the pedestrians and bicycles and highlighted the urbanistic feature of the Boulevard as a modern open public sphere in the city. Later on, the road in Sıhhiye Square acting as the informal division between the old town and new city was widened, and the railway bridge on the square was rehabilitated, and a new thirty meters-wide railway bridge was constructed (Ünal S. G., 2015, p. 294). Last but not least, the Boulevard from the Ulus Square until the Çankaya Palace, unified under the name of Atatürk Boulevard in 1940.

From the foundation of the Republic, the state had visible efforts to manifest its presence and its ideals in material forms in the capital. The components of the city and the Boulevard, which were mainly designed as the representation of the new regime, demonstrate the state power over the city and the use of architecture as a tool for promoting the new regime and unifying the nation in material forms. There, the place-

making in the service of memory production that Forest et al. discussed can be observed during the political and social transition period of the early years of the young Republic;

“For societies undergoing political transition, place-making and memory processes are significant spatial practices through which the national past is reconstructed and through which political and social change may be negotiated” (Forest, Johnson, & Till, 2004)

During this period, we see the construction in the service of the political regime rather than the destruction, whereas the efforts and attempts of modernization and becoming a part of the western world were the major concerns.

While the constructions were mostly being realized under the act of etatism, the private constructions were also affecting the social and physical state of the city as the capital of this newly established country. The purpose-built buildings, especially the ones that have the administrative or other state-related functions, and the embassies built for the diplomatic purposes were carefully designed, constructed, and used; and they eventually became the modern face of the new Turkish Republic. The national and international group of architects formed the modern capital of Turkey together. The buildings and public spaces located on the axis had different functions, styles; designed by different architects from many different backgrounds and eventually contributed to the formation of the area together. Consequently, the Boulevard became the very center of the urban life in modern Ankara.

From 1923 until 1950, the modernization spirit can be observed intensely. The social scene of Ankara as an Anatolian town was not lively at all. After becoming the capital, the Republican elites, artists, authors, and other well-educated people who migrated to Ankara for different reasons from being a parliament member to a high school teacher contributed to the social life in the city. They formed their habits, own everyday life practices and own tactics in the city together with the city's intangible features and significance in a collective way. The architectural and urban features that provided them a visual background, strengthen the link between the citizens and

Ankara during that era just as in the Halbwachs' understanding of the collective memory (1950).

During the early Republican era, the symbols of an independent modern state were constructed through the Boulevard simultaneously with the formation of the Boulevard and the urban planning efforts. To sum up, the physical components of the Boulevard built in the early years of the Republic undertook the notion of building a nation as well as the city itself, and the citizens of Ankara undertook the notion of nourishing and being a part of this process.

### **3.3 Boulevard After the Transition to the Multi-Party Period in the 1950s**

Following the transition to the multi-party period, 10-year DP rule had started in 1950 with the second general elections in Turkey. Moreover, during and after the Marshall Plan (1948-51), in the 'tractor years' of the 1950s, the population of Ankara had grown and transformed with major migration to the urban areas from rural areas (Batur, 1998, p. 233).<sup>24</sup> In 1950, Turkish Republic had its second general election and a ten year Democrat Party rule under the leadership of president Celal Bayar and prime minister Adnan Menderes had started. According to Sunar, during the DP period, many aspects had changed and the government adopted a more liberal approach to the economy, which directly affected the society first in a positive way but towards the end of their period, it would start to change (1983). He continues by noting that the cultural reforms carried from the Republican era were approached as being linked to the socio-economic development carried by the DP (Sunar, 1983).

In this setting, an architecture for a liberal model was forming accordingly. Batur explains the formation of this new model as; the architectural request was coming from the government itself before the 1950s, but with the changing socio-economic

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<sup>24</sup> Marshall Plan, officially known as European Recovery Program, ERP, was the aid initiated by United States of America after the Second World War, given to the European countries to recover the damages and help rebuilding the economies ("Marshall Plan"). "Marshall Plan." *Wikipedia*. Wikimedia Foundation, 12 Dec. 2018.

base, the values and tastes of business entrepreneurs (small or big) became major inputs (1983, p. 1400). In addition to that, the construction of administrative and governmental buildings was not on the agenda as it was before, especially starting from the war times and economic difficulties when the construction industry nearly stopped. Hence with the changing economic formation, new building types such as offices, markets, etc. were introduced to the Turkish architectural repertoire (Batur, 1983, p. 1400). After the Marshall Plan, since the construction materials were cheaper and easier to reach, it led to a construction investment once again, this was also the time when Turkish architecture was free from its continental-European links and opened to the Anglo-Saxon world (Batur, 1983, p. 1401). Bozdoğan and Akcan note that the politics that had the Atatürk's Western-oriented culture did not change while the meaning of western had changed and the meaning became "American" from "European" in the people's collective understanding (2012, p. 105), (Tekeli İ. , 2005, p. 28). Becoming the "little America" dream, strengthened by the strong presence of United States with Marshall Plan and NATO membership, was promoted by the DP government as well (Bozdoğan & Akcan, 2012, p. 105).

As it was mentioned above, during the nation-building process starting from the establishment of the Republic, the state was sparing its limited sources for Ankara and other Anatolian towns, their construction, and development. But with the DP government, the interest had once again shifted to Istanbul, as the Ottoman capital, which was left in the shadow of Ankara for the past twenty years (Bozdoğan & Akcan, 2012).

Bozdoğan and Akcan note that using the architecture to express the 'Turkishness' was not the case anymore amongst the Turkish architects since the ethnic diversity of Anatolia was not as rich as before (2012, p. 114). Instead, the architects were now trying to adopt the international features of modernization in the context of internationalization by deriving it from the national pride; hence the presence of private clients alongside the state-run constructions and architectural demands were on the rise (Bozdoğan & Akcan, 2012, p. 114).

New forms of interpretations of the materials began to arise with the spread and development of the international style becoming dominant after 1952. Tekeli emphasizes that the government buildings built by the competitions had grid patterns, geometrical plans and modular principles on the façades were the indicators of international style and Turkish architecture was no longer destined by ideologies (1984, p. 29). Concrete, glass and steel materials and the curtain wall technique found in the high-rise buildings, a large quantity of which were offices or commerce buildings, were the widely-seen elements of the style. The integration of plastic arts with architecture was another aspect of the time in addition to the reliefs on the façades, mosaic and glass panels, murals and paintings as the indicators of collaboration between artists and architects in the Turkish modernism of the 1950s (Bozdoğan & Akcan, 2012, p. 130). The shift in the focal point towards Istanbul indeed did not mean the total abandonment of Ankara. The representatives of 1950s modernism found their places in Ankara as well, though not as much as Istanbul.

Even though Ankara was now left behind because of the rising interest in Istanbul, the prestige projects held in Ankara were again being constructed on the Boulevard. Meanwhile, in 1951, the number of stories on the Boulevard has risen to five stories with the council of ministers' decision (Tankut, 1980).

In the 1950s, the population in Ankara had a major growth especially with the migration from the rural areas. The urban life created along the Boulevard was still nourishing, the promenades continued, the artists' gatherings, poems, novels and intellectual discussions were still part of the everyday life, but now there were also 'others' using the Boulevard. Just as in the first years of the Republic, there was a two-fold life, but this time not starring the locals and the migrated elites, but the elite locals and rural migrants. This duality would accelerate in the next decades as well.

These new habitants settling illegally on the lots of the old city center around the Ankara Citadel and historical center, the uncontrolled growth in the city, insufficient infrastructure, new constructions all led Ankara to have a new urban plan.

### **3.3.1 Planning Attempts and Yücel-Uybadin Plan**

Since Ankara reached Jansen plan's foreseen population of 300.000 at the beginning of the 1950s, the city had the appearance of an unplanned city in the first half of the 1950s. Despite having an urban plan, the city was affected mostly by the growth in the speculations and the birth and the uncontrolled growth of the slums in and outer skirts of the city (Bademli, 1987). After the competition held, Raşit Uybadin and Nihat Yücel's plan was chosen amongst twenty other projects that entered the competition in 1955 and approved in 1957.

The plan that did not have an urban form concern foresaw that the population which was 455.000 in 1955 would go up to 750.000 in 2000 (Günay, 2006). The population in 1950 was 289.197 and just in ten years it would be 902.000; therefore, it doubled in ten years. In this rapid population growth, Yücel-Uybadin plan's population expectancy was 1,5 million. Moreover, Yücel notes that, this growth left Ankara in a state to face the formation of slums (1990, pp. 17-24). The plan had to deal with this unorganized growth as well as having to deal with the increase in number of stories during this process, though before the planning attempts in 1951, it was already allowed to build five-story buildings in Atatürk Boulevard as mentioned above (Yücel, 1990, pp. 17-24). Çalışkan notes that, the plan could not deal with the urban center of the city because of having different priorities such as population growth and accordingly, like the Jansen plan, Yücel-Uybadin plan also had to consider the boundaries of the city while respecting the Jansen plan especially in terms of its holistic approach and the integration of the green to the city (2009). He continues by emphasizing that, during that process, unlike the Republican times, the decision makers of the new urban developments were the local governmental bodies (Çalışkan, 2009).

Cengizkan and Kılıçkiran note that in the 1950s the local government brought the large and flamboyant structure politics to Ankara from Istanbul; multi-story constructions were started to be allowed in the city center, the density had been increased and roads were enlarged starting with the Atatürk Boulevard (2009). The

roads were constructed on top of the Bentderesi river and high story apartment blocks were constructed in order to prevent the squatter settlements around the old river, first periphery road and Esenboğa Airport were also opened during this period (Cengizkan & Kılıçkiran, 2009, p. 26).

The economic change in the country effectuated by the governmental change led to an urban population transformation as mentioned above. Thus, the change in the urban population had its effects on the urban social structure and the urban culture accordingly. The industrialization process led to the migration of rural inhabitants to metropolises and other big cities to work in the industrial sector. The quantity of migration could not be overlooked. This created a conflict between the two different Ankara population once again after the Republican era, but this time, in a reverse way.

Yücel-Uybadin plan's decisions and impacts concerning the Boulevard can be listed as; the pressure of the rent-seeking attitudes of the politics in the public places had risen, Ulus was kept as the main center while suggesting commercial uses in Kızılay. The density on the Boulevard had been increased together with the allowance of the high-story buildings on the Boulevard. Finally, it was driven away from the understanding of the open spaces, squares, and public spaces.

Moreover, during this period, the Boulevard was widened in 1957 due to the traffic caused by the large quantity of users of the Boulevard especially after the allowance of seven story apartment buildings on the Kızılay section with the decision of the Planning Commission (Göksu, 1994, pp. 264-265).

### 3.3.2 New Constructions on the Boulevard and Their Effects in the 1950s

In the 1950s, the constructions on the Boulevard continued, either through destruction caused by the speculations and pressures on the constructions on and around the Boulevard or through the buildings on the empty lots, though it was not as intense as the early Republican era.

In addition to the apartment buildings built in the 1930s and early 1940s, there was another prominent example that cannot be left unseen; Büyük Apartment next to it, the Büyük Shop (or Büyük Han) (**Figure 3.53**). Located in the lot where once Mayor Vasıf Bey's three-story building in a garden was located, the hotel and movie theater complex was first approved in 1947 as a hotel, and the second project was approved as an apartment complex in 1952. The architect of both buildings attached to each other is Abidin Mertaş, a famous architect of the era. The still standing buildings have had a significant part in the Ankara's urban life.

One of the most prominent examples of the era and a still-standing one is Cenap-And House next to today's Kuğulu Park (**Figure 3.53**). Designed in the Second National Architectural style, the architect of the house built in 1955 was Emin Onat, who is a well-known architect and pioneer of the architectural style who also won the competition held for Atatürk's Mausoleum built in 1953. The two-story house is still being used with its original function by the Cenap-And family and continues to salute the users of the Boulevard as a unique example on the axis.



**Figure 3.53:** Büyük Apartman and Büyük Shop attached (left), Cenap And House (right) (Author, 2017).

In addition to the early embassy buildings constituting the ‘embassies area,’ in Kavaklıdere/Kuğulu there were some new embassy constructions. Towards the north of where many embassies are located, the Embassy of United States was constructed in 1957 by Eggers&Higgins Company, and the readjustments were held by Haymil Construction Company. With its embassy building, three office buildings, and one residence for the security staff, the embassy now located on a 3600 m2 area. Across the Cenap-And House, Bulgarian Embassy was built in 1959, according to the documents in the Çankaya Municipality’s archives, the architects that ‘took responsibility’ for the construction was Rahmi Bediz and Demiştas Kamçıl (**Figure 3.54**).



**Figure 3.54:** U.S Embassy in Ankara (left) (U.S Embassy Ankara’s official Instagram account, URL: <https://www.instagram.com/abdbuyukelciligi/>), Bulgarian Embassy (right) (Author, 2017).

Near the embassies, towards the Çankaya hill, one of the first cooperative apartment houses of Ankara, İlbank Blocks were constructed despite the opposition of the residents of the area (**Figure 3.55**). Before the blocks, there was a small timber frame house that had a stream flowing through the ground floor. All three blocks that are eight-nine story high were designed to have a communal area on the terrace. The site of the blocks constructed in 1957 by Fatih Uran connects the Boulevard and İran Avenue. The ground floors of the blocks were left open to allow the wind to avoid the drought of the stream. Nevertheless, the ground floors were closed in 1961 and rented out for commercial uses.



**Figure 3.55:** İlbank Blocks and architectural drawings (top left; Sivil Mimari Bellek, URL: <http://www.sivilmimaribellekankara.com/YapiDetayi.aspx?anah=259>, the rest; Çankaya Municipality Archives).

Another building that made Atatürk Boulevard ‘the Boulevard’ is Bulvar Palas without a doubt. Built on the lot of an old mudbrick Ankara house demolished in 1947, the Palace witnessed many events in the Ankara’s and Republic’s history as a hotel with 33 rooms at first (**Figure 3.56**). It was designed by Zeki Gökay, opened in 1953. In addition to that, Emin Onat’s first building on the Boulevard, gazino in Zafer Square was completed in 1952 (**Figure 3.56**). The one-story building later became the Zafer Shop, which is still being used today. Another commercial building of the era which still functions, is the Kocabeyoğlu Pasajı commissioned by Sabit Kocabeyoğlu in 1958 where the Toygar Kardeşler Apartment was located until its demolition in 1955 (**Figure 3.56**). The building that connects the Boulevard and İzmir Avenue with its two entrances, is one of the first examples of the ‘pasaj’ on and around the Boulevard.

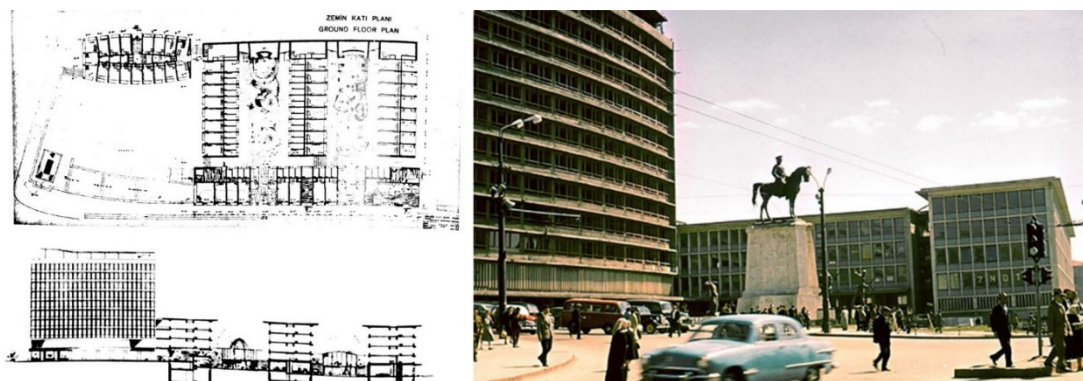


**Figure 3.56:** Bulvar Palas’ Boulevard façade and its new extension (left), Kocabeyoğlu Pasajı (top right), shop in former Zafer I Park and Zafer Underground Shop (bottom right) (Author, 2017).

One of the conspicuous examples in Ankara was Ulus Business Center (Orhan Bozkurt, Orhan Bolak, Gazanfer Berken; 1954) designed via competition held by the General Directorate of Retirement Fund (*Emekli Sandığı Genel Müdürlüğü*) is the first

high story building on the Boulevard. The business center as complex of retail shopping and offices, which had an impact on Ulus Square where it was located, in terms of its perception, appearance, and function that affected Ankara accordingly (Figure 3.57).

The construction of multistory buildings started to change the perception of the city center, starting with Ulus Business Center after the demolition of one-story shops in the Ulus Square. The building's strong presence and dominance over the square can be considered as the symbol of change in the state power, with its glass curtain walls and high story block, now the presence of liberal economy and American influence found a body to itself in architectural forms. Moreover, the choice of location, Ulus Square can also be considered as a statement since it had been the center of War of Independence and the birth of the Republic. The building with its commercial function and many notable shops of the era that are imprinted in the memories of the citizens became the very place of the social and commercial life of Ankara.



**Figure 3. 57:** Ulus Business Center's ground floor plan and section from the Boulevard façade (Ulus Business Center's advertisement brochure, retrieved from Cengizkan, Kılıçkiran, 2009) (left), Ulus Square, business center's high and low block and Victory Monument looking from Sümerbank's location (URL: <http://v2.arkiv.com.tr/>) (right).

Another prominent example can be the Emek Business Center or 'the Skyscraper' (*Gökdelen*) (Enver Tokyay and İlhan Tayman; 1959-64) in Kızılay Square, another square on the same axis, Atatürk Boulevard. Its resemblance to the UN Building in New York can be associated with the global feature of the international style (Bozdoğan & Akcan, 2012, p.126) (Figure 3.58). *Gökdelen*, as the first skyscraper of

the capital, quickly gained landmark status in the busy center of the city (Bozdoğan & Akcan, 2012, pp. 126-127). The reliefs on the façade designed by artist Kuzgun Acar, which later somehow got lost, were one of the examples of the integration of plastic arts and architecture (**Figure 3.58**). The Etibank Offices in Ankara (Tuğrul Devreş, Vedat Özsan and Yılmaz Tuncer; 1953-55) was also an important example of the era, though it no longer exists (**Figure 3.59**).



**Figure 3. 58:** Gökdelen (Skyscraper) in Kızılay Square under construction, Kızılay Garden on the left, Güvenpark on the right (left) (Harun Tekin archive, URL: <http://hartekin.name.tr/>), Kuzgun Acar's 'Türkiye' Relief on the entrance of the Gökdelen (right) (URL: <http://evvel.org>).



**Figure 3. 59:** Etibank Building from the Boulevard façade (left) (URL: <https://i.pinimg.com/>), Şadi Çalık's Etibank relief (right) (URL: <http://www.mimarlikmuzesi.org/>).

### 3.3.3 Socio-Cultural Life in the 1950s

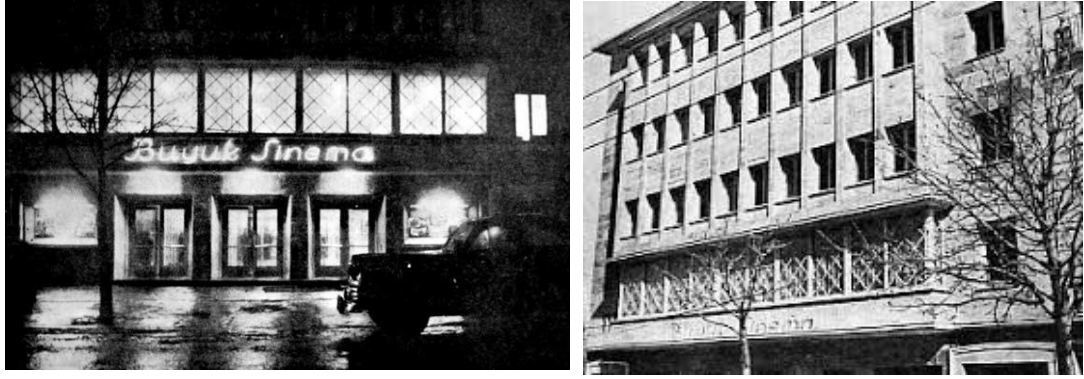
In the changing political and social conditions of the 1950s, the users of the Boulevard and their practices were also changing. Nevertheless, the cultural and social life created during the early Republican years and especially in the 1940s, continued to be developed further.

The two commercial centers as Ulus and Kızılay changed the functions along the Boulevard, especially around those squares. In addition to the urban developments, the construction of the Ulus Business Center had a major impact on the square. Public culture, recreation, and leisure activity places were gathering towards the Kızılay Square now while the Ulus Business Center and its vicinity were now the place for the former one-story shops which were once in the Boulevard periphery of Nafia Vekaleti.

Although a dual centered capital was emerging, Kızılay was mostly being used by the upper and upper-middle class Ankarans. The intellectual life was nourishing the urban culture via the places along the Sıhhiye-Kızılay section of the Boulevard. Yenişehir's literary journal, Mavi can be an illustrative example on the cultural environment and productivity of the era.

In this social settlement, going to the movie theaters was still a major activity for Ankara people. Büyük Cinema located on the Boulevard was opened in 1949 with the figures of Turgut Zaim on its curtain and walls, the President of the Republic of the time, İsmet İnönü was the very person who opened the movie theatre and, it started to be a social hub for Ankara citizens following the opening with the movie 'Deception' and it continued to be for a very long period. In the 1950s, politicians including İnönü and Menderes were also the visitors of the movie theater (Ergir, Düş Hekimi, n.d.). Movie theaters had already become a practice in the everyday life of the inhabitants from different backgrounds and professions from the working class to the politicians, but it can be said that the Büyük Cinema brought a new social vision to the urban life

of Ankara since it was not only a movie theater but also a concert hall hosting other cultural activities (**Figure 3.60**).



**Figure 3. 60:** Büyük Sinema Movie Theater's Entrance (left), and its Atatürk Boulevard façade (right), (Ankara Ankara Facebook Group, URL: <https://www.facebook.com/groups/652425118148971/>).

Patisseries were again popular, the ones on Atatürk Boulevard such as Özen Patisserie opened in the 1940s, and Büyük Patisserie in the same building as Büyük Cinema run by Larissa Marika were gathering places. In 1953, a new wave in the food and beverage sector would start with Piknik, which was a charcuterie (**Figure 3.61**).



**Figure 3. 61:** Piknik in Kızılay and a newspaper article on Piknik dating back to 1955 (Yalçın Ergir archive, URL: <http://www.ergir.com/Piknik.htm>).

Such place had been introduced to Ankara for the first time, it had a unique 'fast-food' kind of settlement while the service was almost flawless (Ergir, 2011). Piknik imprinted in the memories of citizens just like any other important firsts in Ankara but

maybe in a deeper way. It was a meeting point of many citizens from many different backgrounds. In her novel ‘Yenişehir’ where different people from different socio-cultural groups were subjected, Sevgi Soysal mentions that people in Piknik were observing the customers and gazing at the people walking through Atatürk Boulevard.

### **3.3.4 Boulevard as a Political Scene**

The ten-year rule of DP, which started with the promises of religious freedom, economic growth, industrialization and such, began to fall apart towards the end of the decade. The financial difficulties and other struggles led DP to exercise pressure to the opponents and limit the democratic rights such as tightening the press law limiting the right to use the state radio, as the most significant media at the time while the government had unlimited access to broadcast to promote their actions (Sarıbay, 1991, p.126). Following these developments, a Parliamentary Investigation Committee consisting only of the DP deputies who were granted with the juridical powers was formed to investigate the “subversive activities” of the opposition (Batuman, 2000, p.74), (Sarıbay, 1991, p.127).

The changing socioeconomic and sociocultural situations in the country affected the cities. Accordingly, Ankara was indeed becoming a part of this change. Especially towards the end of the 1950s, the political climate in the country had its impact on the society as well, and since Ankara is the capital, it was inevitable for the city to be a political arena. The open and public spaces, therefore, started to be appropriated as political arenas. Since the Boulevard was hosting many governmental functions including the ministries and the Grand National Assembly of Turkey, its political and bureaucratic associations cannot be overlooked. Moreover, the higher education facilities on and around the Boulevard helped it become a political arena with the participation of the students into demonstrations day by day starting from the Kızılay Square.

The events happening in the Turkish political scene drew the attention of the public, especially the youth, namely the students. The increasing number of the universities,

especially the ones in Yenişehir had their effects on the socio-cultural life and the everyday practices in Kızılay. The area between Kızılay and Sıhhiye were the gathering place for the students for entertainment and cultural activities. The presence of the students, thus, could be felt intensively in Kızılay Square as well. Moreover, their participation in the political issues inevitably made the Square a political arena. The formation of the investigation Committee for the “subversive activities” mentioned above resulted in student riots and demonstrations in Kızılay Square on April 19<sup>th</sup> that caused the arrest of 5 students in addition to the 22 detained (Feyizoğlu, 1993, pp.9-12). On April 28<sup>th</sup> supportive demonstrations were organized in both Ankara and Istanbul where a student was shot dead, and many were wounded (Batuman, 2000, p.74). On April 29<sup>th</sup> the universities were shut down in Ankara and Istanbul for one month after the martial law was declared (Ahmad, 1976, p.209).

For the May 1<sup>st</sup>, the students whose permanent residences were not Ankara were forced to leave the city, though it did not stop the small demonstrations happening in Kızılay Square almost every day. Students were gathering along Atatürk Boulevard every afternoon to protest the government and the most significant one would be the protest with the password ‘555K’; meaning the 5<sup>th</sup> day of the 5<sup>th</sup> month at 5 PM in Kızılay (**Figure 3.62**). The password quietly spread for a counter-demonstration against the DP’s meeting to be held on the same day in Kızılay Square.

Author Erendiz Atasü describes the atmosphere as follows;

“We were wandering around in Kızılay ... The center of the city, which was losing its order and gradually becoming chaotic, was isolating us from the periphery. On the last days of May 1960, an official came to our classroom and declared that we should go home alone after school, not walk in groups in the street, never join a crowd, stop immediately if a police officer asks to, never run away, never ask or say something... 555K; it was written everywhere. The fifth day of the fifth month, at five o’clock in Kızılay. The ordinary life had ended or was ending. We were aware of this... The streets were attracting us. There was the scent of adventure on the street corners” (Cengizkan, 1996, p. 53 qtd. in Batuman, 2000, p. 75).



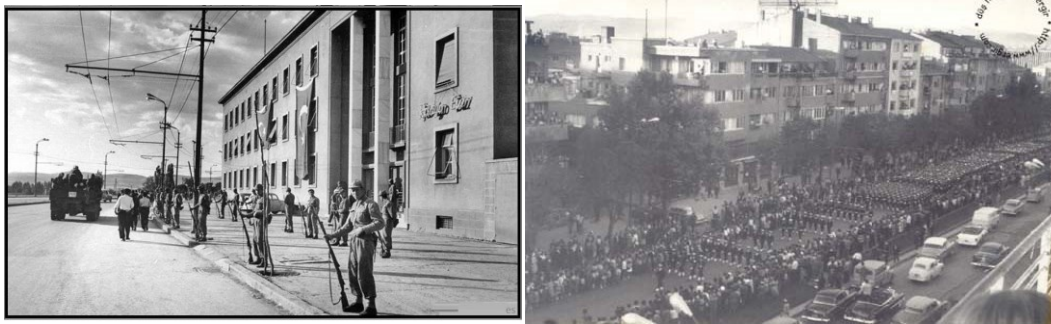
**Figure 3. 62:** 555K Protests in Kızılay, May 5th, 1960 (TRT Archives, URL: <https://www.trtarsiv.com/izle/102378/555k-olayi-ve-darbe-soylentileri>).

While Prime Minister Adnan Menderes was approaching to the square, the cheers and protesting slogans were being heard simultaneously (Feyizoğlu, 1993, p.38). The 555K can be seen as the appropriation of the Kızılay Square as a political arena. It was not only in the physical sense but also as the transformation of the spatial practices with the participation of the students which helped the production of a new meaning for the Square. This newly emerged meaning of the political arena for Kızılay Square preserved its place in Ankara's urban life at least until the 1980s.

The protest led the government to have precautions to prevent the student demonstrations, on May 6<sup>th</sup>, it was declared that it was forbidden to gather in groups of more than ten in open spaces as the boulevards and streets of the city, the next day bus stops were moved from Kızılay (Feyizoğlu, 1993, p.39) (Batuman, 2000,76). Towards the tenth-year anniversary of the DP's political power, the precautions were falling short, Kızılay was still a gathering place and a center where people pass by or spend time every day, not to mention the protests happening every evening after work/school at 5 PM (Batuman, 2000, pp. 74-75).

Finally, the cadets of the Turkish Military Academy started a silent march from the Military Guesthouse located in the north towards Kızılay without the interruption of civilians and the police. By the time they reached the National Assembly, they had returned to Kızılay with the participation of the high-rank officers, with the support of the civilians, the crowd of soldiers and cadets had reached to 60.000 (Feyizoğlu, 1993, p.44). As a result of these events happening in the country, on May 27<sup>th</sup>, 1960 Turkey

would wake up to a new period. The incident that shifted the Turkish history was the 1960 coup d'état (**Figure 3.63**). Consequently, the DP government's duty was terminated. This was the first coup d'état of Turkey, which would be followed by many throughout the years. Until 1961 elections, Turkey was ruled by the military forces. The long-term effects of the coup were felt for many years in the politics and even in the society of Turkey.



**Figure 3. 63:** May 27th, 1960, soldiers in front of Radyo Evi, tanks are being driven on the Boulevard (left) (Taşhan Akademisi Facebook Group, URL: <https://www.facebook.com/groups/TashanAkademisi/>), Soldiers on the Boulevard's Kızılay section with citizens as audiences (right) (Yalçın Ergir Archive, URL: <http://www.ergir.com>).

The contribution of the student demonstrations to the coup cannot be overseen, and for the first time in the history of Kızılay Square, different groups from various backgrounds appropriated the square, which led to a new meaning for the public space in the capital for the subordinate social groups (Batuman, 2000, p.76). After being the scene of the political protests in the 1960s and following the coup, the square was renamed as 'Hürriyet Meydanı' or Liberty Square, though the name remained as Kızılay Square in the collective language of the citizens (Kızılay Meydanı, 1960).

As Arendt states;

“Since politics is something that needs a worldly location and can only happen in a public space, then if you are not present in such a space you are simply not engaged in politics” (qtd. in D’Entreves, 1994, p. 148).

The presence of the subordinate groups and especially the students in the public space indicated their participation in the politics. Moreover, the existence of the political

powers on the public spaces is inevitable since it needs a physical place to influence the public and to promote itself as Arendt notes (D'Entreves, 1994, p. 148). Therefore, it can be argued that Kızılay Square gained the status of public space and its qualities in the 1960s, though this caused a struggle leading to the destruction of the public sphere, which led to the domination on physical and social environments especially through the 1980 coup (Batuman, 2000, p.80).

In the 1960s, the social equality, freedom of expression, and growing labor class resulted in the participation of the working class in the mass meetings, and this time they did not even need the help of the students nor the upper class. In this era the posters subjecting the “greedy boss” or “dirty capitalist” appeared for the first time in Turkey (Batuman, 2000, p.81) (Ecevit, 1973, p. 153). The political activation of labor was only starting, and now the lower income groups namely the working class also had Lefebvre’s the ‘right to the city’ by using the public space and being a part of it and not being stuck in the periphery (1996, p.34).

Meanwhile, the daily life continued in Kızılay Square since it also bared the central business district feature. While the upper and upper middle class were using the public place as a district for consumption and cultural activities, the political groups were using it as a political arena, which made the square a place where various meanings juxtaposed. Therefore, the occupation of the square was perceived as a significant political achievement (Batuman, 2000, p. 83).

### **3.4 Boulevard During the Period of Coups d’état Between 1960 and 1980**

On March 12<sup>th</sup>, 1971 Turkey faced another military intervention. Even though it was not as bold as the previous coup, it caused the division in the society as leftist and rightists, which caused confrontations resulting in armed battles in the cities. The situation had escalated over the years and on September 12<sup>th</sup>, 1980 the military

intervened once again in a more violent manner and this time it would affect the entire society like no other time (Bozdoğan & Akcan, 2012, pp. 199-200) (**Figure 3.64**).



**Figure 3. 64:** September 12th, 1980, military walking down with rifles and tanks (left), from Kızılay Square towards Ziya Gökalp on the day of the coup (Ankara Ankara Facebook Group, URL: <https://www.facebook.com/groups/652425118148971/>).

Bozdoğan and Akcan emphasize that during the coup regime led by General Kenan Evren, excessive levels of censorship and other disciplinary methods were imposed, even architectural magazines and journals were closed, sports activities, walking on the streets past midnight, and naming the children with leftist names were all banned, many were sentenced to death, filed as suspicious, fired from their jobs or imprisoned (Bozdoğan & Akcan, 2012, pp. 200-201). The consequences of the coup d'état formed the society of the post-80s in Turkey.

To go back to the architectural scene of the country, Bozdoğan and Akcan note that the period between 1960 and 1980 was squeezed between three coups d'état and, unlike the previous architects, the new generation was using the profession to raise their voice against the government (2012, p. 171). Engaging with the society's problems was one of the attitudes of the profession at the time, hence the situation made most of the architects volunteer for the society's problems such as squatter settlements in the urban areas. These developments led the profession to leave the international style, which was associated with the States and moved the architects towards the search of an actual regional architecture putting the human in the center, which derived the interest to historic preservation (Bozdoğan & Akcan, 2012, pp. 171-172). According to Tekeli, the profession was also influenced by the rapid

industrialization after the 1960s, the main aim of the industries was not to solve the housing problem but to produce upper-class housing by contractors (2005, p. 32). There was a high momentum of the build-and-sell process all over the country, which excluded the architects and formed monotonous urban textures in the urban settlements, and slowly all the cities in Turkey were folded in the same look. The author also continues by adding that another significant building type and business that emerged in Turkey during this period was industrial buildings (Tekeli İ. , 2005, pp. 32-33).

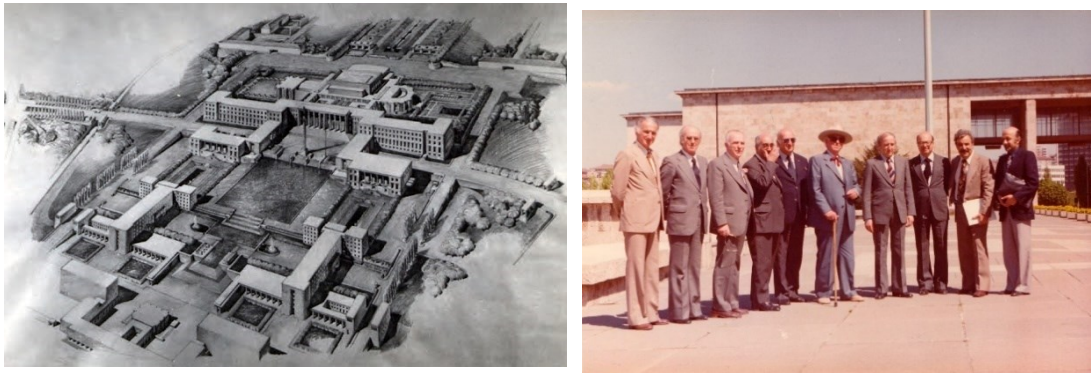
After the 1960 coup d'état, Turkey and Ankara as the capital entered to a new period regarding the economy, social structure and life, urban culture, and architecture which again affected each other. The International style and architectural forms and materials influenced from American practice could easily be observed in the buildings built in the 1960s, such as 100. Yıl Shop, Yapı Kredi Bank in Kızılay, Grand Ankara Hotel and many more.

The period between 1970s and 1980s, witnessed significant changes affecting both Ulus and Kızılay squares (as Ankara's old and new centers) as well as the Atatürk Boulevard. These changes affecting the built environment is discussed in this part of the thesis, including the transfer of Grand National Assembly to its current place designed by Clemens Holzmeister in the south of the ministries in 1961 (**Figure 3.65**), the allowance of ten story buildings on the Boulevard the same year, and the allowance of an additional one story in 1968 along the Boulevard and its surrounding. Moreover, during this period there were also significant changes in the understanding of cultural assets in Turkey, which resulted with the enactment of 2863 Conservation Act. Therefore, the conservation actions regarding the study during this period are also examined in this section of this chapter.

In the 1960s, the architecture scene in the capital was still following the international forms and materials even though rationalism was more common in the beginning, freedom in architectural styles and forms were started to be encountered such as organic, modular, and brutalist architecture descending from the modernist

architecture in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, thrived between the 1950s and 70s in the world (Tekeli İ. , 2005, p. 29).<sup>25</sup>

Middle East Technical University's campus was notable for modern Turkish architecture (Altuğ Çinici, Behruz Çinici; 1961-80). The foundation of METU was also an important event that altered Ankara's status of being a government city alongside its significance for the education system in Turkey, Ankara was now becoming renowned for its education and students were changing the everyday life and practices.



**Figure 3. 65:** Clemens Holzmeister's Grand National Assembly Sketch (left) (URL: <http://web2.bilkent.edu.tr>), Clemens Holzmeister in front of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey with Ziya Payzın, Sadun Ersin, Orhan Alsaç, Mukbil Gökdoğan, Kemal Ahmet Aru, Cahit Karakaş, Hayati Tabanlıoğlu, Vedat Dalokay, Behruz Çinici (right) (SALT Araştırma, Hayati Tabanlıoğlu Archive) (URL: <http://blog.saltonline.org>).

Bademli notes that, during the 1960s while Ulus was losing its charm, a second Central Business District (*MIA*) was formed in Kızılay in the south, emphasizing that in such environment, moving the Grand National Assembly was a significant milestone (1987, p. 156). This was followed by the shift in the commercial and social center as well. The centers were now moving towards the Yenışehir and even up to Çankaya, which started to become the upper-income residential area. The ministry buildings and other government buildings were now all in the same area. Starting from the 1960s, the ministries and other governmental buildings spread to the mostly rental buildings in

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<sup>25</sup> The name was originated from the raw concrete (*béton brut*) since the concrete material was being used exposed, later exposed brick would be used as well, they often have bold geometries and used in the public architecture (World Monuments Fund).

Yenişehir and Ulus (Altaban, 1987, p. 37). Thus, this brought all the civil servants and government workers including politicians to spend their time in the same area.

In 1968, a new regulation called District Height Regulation was prepared, (*Bölge Kat Nizamı*), which had been changed several times during the implementation of Yücel-Uybadin Plan. Bademli emphasizes that it caused the rise of density in the city, which negatively affected the urban infrastructure and related services, which were already falling short (1987, p. 109).

Bozdoğan and Akcan emphasize that in the 1960s and 1970s, construction materials and techniques were largely taken into consideration by the architects (2012). However, despite these technologies and developments, Turkey was getting poorer in the 1970s. There were power outages, heating was a major problem especially in the cold winter days, even the basic supplies were hard to obtain, including the agricultural tools and materials as well. In this environment, International Monetary Fund (IMF) provided a significant amount of aid. Moreover, the industrialization in Turkey and open commerce and free capital flow led up to the local automobile production. This affected the urban conditions and formation; the cars were now everywhere. The roads were falling short and could not handle the traffic. Again, a need for a new plan emerged. Accordingly, in 1969 the Ankara Metropolitan Area Master Plan Bureau (AMANPB) was founded (Makroform). Between the years of 1970-75, 1990 Master Plan was developed with a time-frame of twenty years. In this scheme, it is said that, since Ankara was the capital, it was necessary to spatially reorganize the administrative functions around the ministries and TBMM (Altaban, 1987, p. 40). Though in 1970, Ulus was still the most important center of the city. AMANPB designated 17.140 workplaces in 1970 32% of which in Ulus and 14% in Kızılay central districts (Bademli, 1987, p. 156).

### **3.4.1 New Implementations and Constructions on the Boulevard During the 1960-80 Period**

In the 1960s after the coup d'état, the wind of change started from the Ulus Square in the beginning of the Boulevard on the north. Following the expropriation of the Ulus Square in 1959 and urban regulations after 1960, the square and northern section of the Boulevard underwent a major transformation. Two new buildings were constructed next to the Ziraat (Agriculture) Bank building, which was constructed in the early 1920s with the First National Architectural Style, and additions to the Central Bank building was still under construction in the late 1970s. Another bank building annex, designed by Vedat Özsan in 1963, was built next to the İller Bank building (Baydar, 1993, p.47). The Ministry of Education dating back to 1920s was demolished, and most importantly, the Victory Monument in the square was relocated. This relocation reshaped the square together with the construction of the Ulus Business Center.

The demolition of the ministry building, the relocation of the Grand National Assembly in 1961 diminished the state's dominance on the Ulus Square. In addition, contemporary additions to the existing buildings, new constructions and new regulations concerning the square promoted rather the international style. Hence, the manifestation of the national state in architectural forms was no longer a concern. Consequently, it could be observed that the changing political situation was embodied in the built environment in one of the most significant places in Ankara as well as in Turkey.

Another significant construction in the Ulus square during the 1960s was the 100. Yıl (100th Year) Shop designed by architects Semra Dikel and Orhan Dikel in 1967 as a competition project. The building emphasized the commercial feature and centrality of the square while describing and characterizing the features of the square such as Sümerbank and Ulus Business Center. Located in a corner lot across the First Grand National Assembly of Turkey, the building was constructed in the location of former Millet Garden. The building was also a representative of the changing architectural

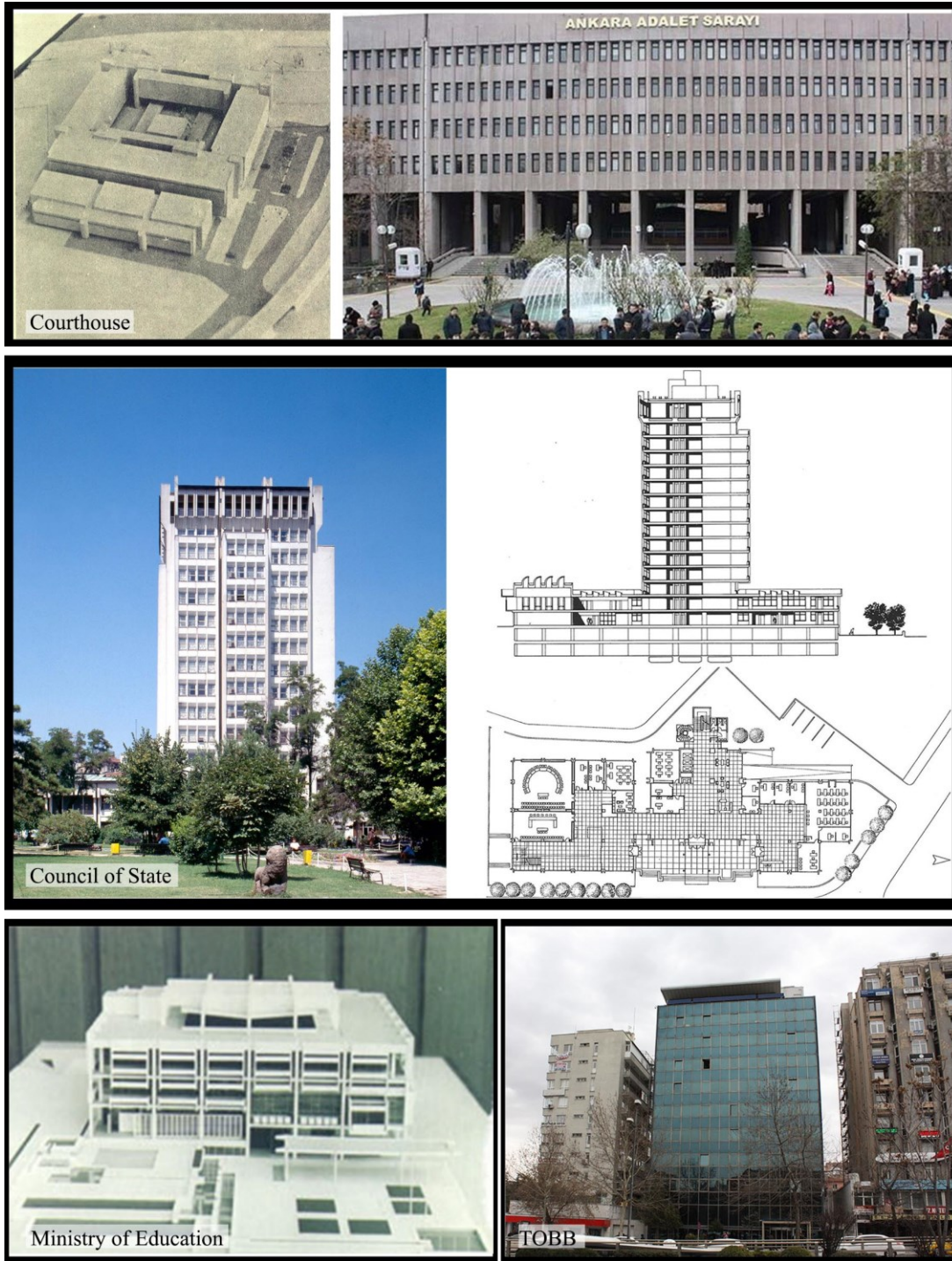
approaches in the 1960s. It is framing the intersection of both avenues with its two neighboring low blocks while leaving its higher block at the back, by doing so respecting the square.

The rise of the number of stories allowed on Atatürk Boulevard to ten stories gave way to a demolition and rebuilding process. The bank buildings as the prestige projects were slowly taking their places along the Boulevard once again, though this time in Yenışehir mostly on the lots where four or five-story apartment buildings were once located. The construction of Yapı Kredi Bank's building (M. Gökdoğan, A. S. Oran, W. Tiedje; 1968-71, aluminum sunshades on the façade by Lütü Zeren) located across the Skyscraper in the square where Soysal Apartment Complex (Bekir İhsan Ünal; 1934-35) was once located was one of the indicators of this change.

Moreover, the private bank Yapı Kredi's building in the Kızılay Square, just next to the Skyscraper – which was a state investment – was also an indicator of the change in the economic approaches and social structure of the time. İşbank's Yenışehir branch (Kadri Erkman; 1975) followed the Yapı Kredi Bank alongside the İstanbul Bankası (today Ziraat Bank's Yenışehir branch) (Uğur Eken; 1978) between Sıhhiye and Kızılay Squares. Vakıfbank Headquarters in Kavaklıdere part of the Boulevard (Zafer Gülçur, Ertur Yener, Erdoğan Elmas; 1973-75), İşbank (Ayhan Böke, Yılmaz Sargun; 1972-76), Töbank (today TESK) (Yalçın Oğuz, Beate Oğuz, and Metin Hepgüler; 1975) were the other bank buildings arose on the Boulevard in the 1960s and 1970s (**Figure 3.66**).



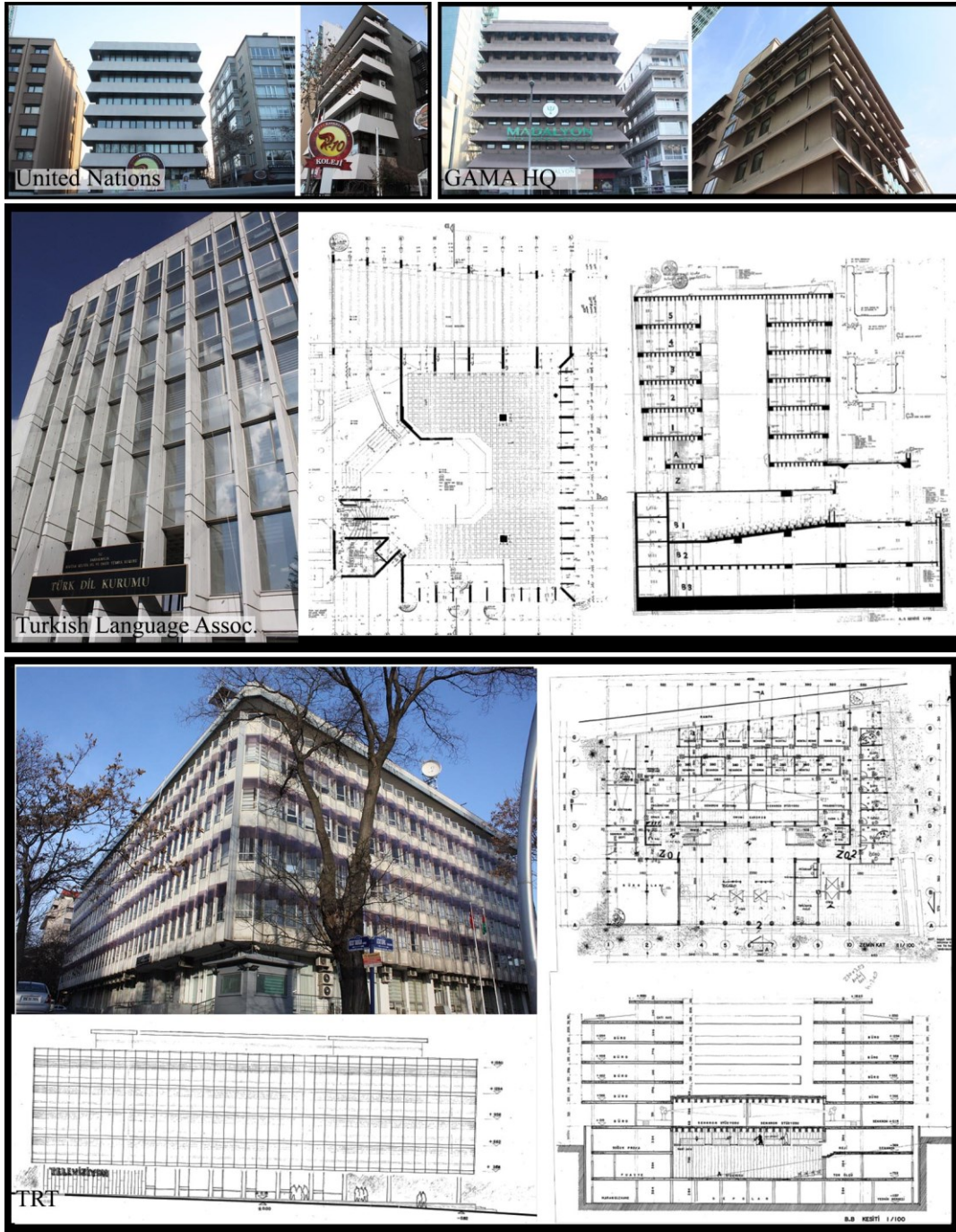
**Figure 3. 66:** Yapı Kredi Kızılay (Author, 2017, Arkitekt (353), 1974), Vakıfbank Yenişehir (Mimarlık (149), 1976), İş Bank Kavaklıdere (Auctor, 2017), Arkitera URL: <http://www.arkitera.com/proje/6510/isbank-genel-mudurlugu>), İş Bank Yenişehir (Author, 2017), Töbank (Author, 2017, TESK Archives), İstanbul Bankası (Author, 2017, Çankaya Municipality Archives).



**Figure 3. 67:** Courthouse (Mimarlık, 1974 (3), Hürriyet Newspaper), Council of State (Arkiv, URL: <http://www.arkiv.com.tr/proje/danistay-binasi/5890>), Ministry of Education (Mimdap, URL: <http://www.mimdap.org/?p=615>), TOBB (Author, 2017).

While the bank buildings were once again rising on the Boulevard, though this time towards the south, there were also new constructions of administrative and governmental buildings located mostly in the southern section of the Boulevard. Nevertheless, there were still some examples in the northern section such as the Courthouse (Umut İnan Architecture Studio in collaboration with Umut İnan Yüksel Erdemir, and Edip Önder Us; 1978-87). For example, the Council of State or *Danıştay* building (Doğan Tekeli, Sami Sisa; 1969-78) constructed after the demolishment of three-story *Şur'a-yı Devlet* building, a prominent example of its era on the Sıhhiye Square was initially designed in the brutalist style, though during the construction it was plastered and demolished in 2016 despite the court decision against its demolition (Tekeli D. , 2016). The new Ministry of Education (Yılmaz Sanlı, Yılmaz Tuncer, Vedat Özsan, Güner Acar; 1962-67) was constructed in the northern end of the governmental district near Güvenpark after the demolishment the old Ministry of Education in Ulus. The ministry was one of the pioneers of the 1960s governmental functions on the south following the relocation of Grand National Assembly of Turkey. Another example of the administrative functions on the south is the TOBB building (the Union of Chambers and Commodity Exchanges of Turkey) (İlhami Ural; 1961) (today Ministry of Internal Affairs Undersecretariat of Public Order and Security, *Kamu Düzeni ve Güvenliği Müsteşarlığı*) in Bakanlıklar or Akay across the Grand National Assembly (**Figure 3.67**).

Towards the south in the Kavaklıdere section of the Boulevard, United Nations Headquarters (today Kavaklı Koleji) (Fikret Cankut, Ö. Çakırer; 1972), Turkish Radio and Television Association (TRT) (Rahmi Bediz, Demirtaş Kamçıl; 1971-1975), Turkish Language Association (TDK) (Cengiz Bektaş; 1974-1978). GAMA Holding Administrative Building (today Madalyon Psychiatry Center) (Vedat Dalokay; 1979), and Grand National Assembly's Public Relations building (Behruz Çinici with the consultancy of Clemens Holzmeister; 1978, demolished in 2016) took their place on the Boulevard as well as in the collective memory of the Ankarans (**Figure 3.68, 3.69**).



**Figure 3. 68:** Former United Nations (top left) (Author, 2017), Former GAMA Holding Headquarters (top right) (Author, 2017), Turkish Language Association (Author, 2017, Çankaya Municipality Archives), TRT (Author, 2017, Çankaya Municipality Archives).



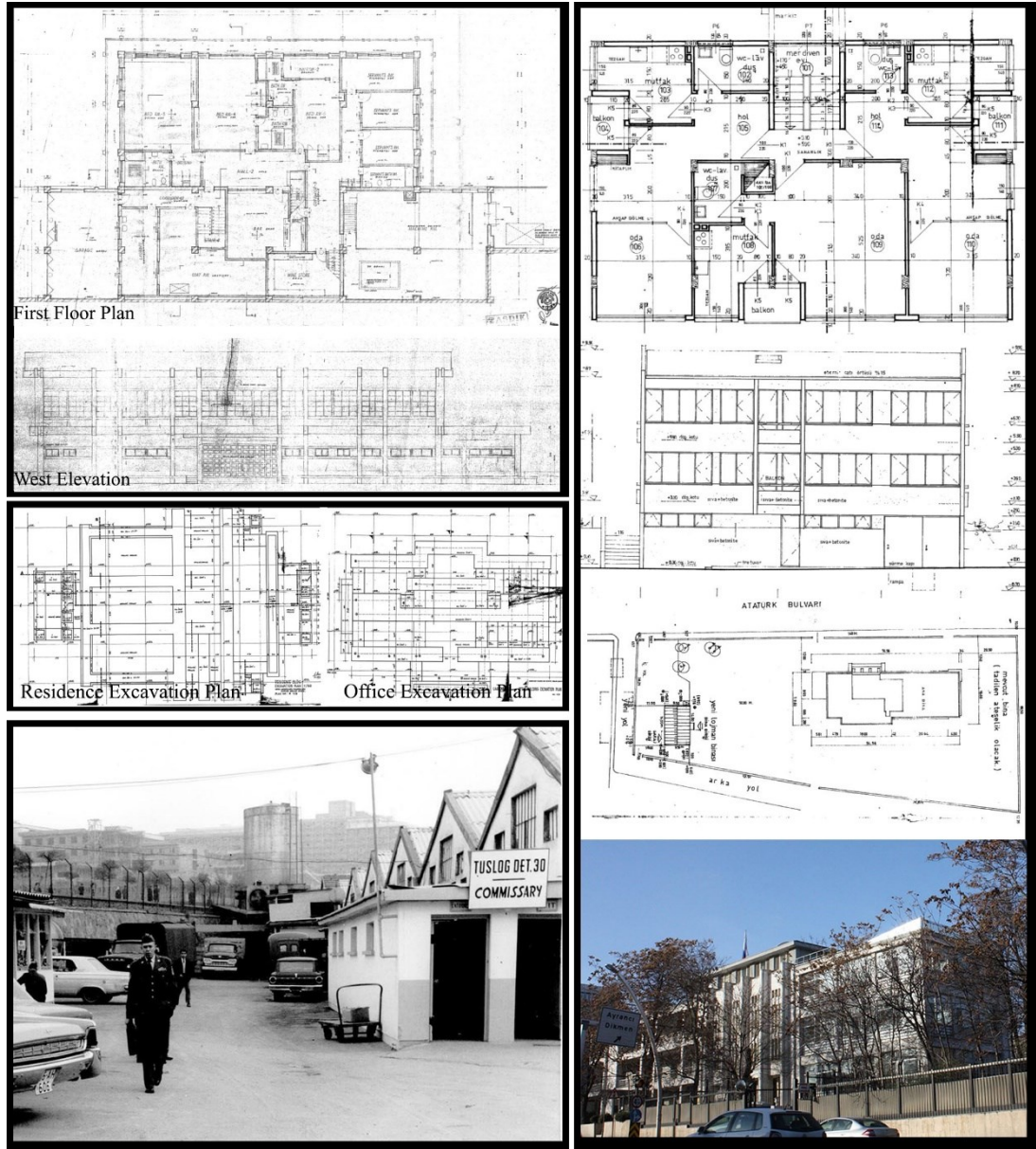
**Figure 3. 69:** TDK Building's interior and its atrium (left and middle), TDK Building's Atatürk Boulevard façade (right) (Arkitera, <http://www.arkitera.com/proje/3233>).

Two important examples which changed the silhouette of Atatürk Boulevard, were TDK building with its extensive glass walls without the support of slabs and its spacious, luminous atrium with exposed materials, and the İş Bank Headquarters constructed as the tallest building in Ankara (**Figure 3.70**). The building had an open office plan set on a hexagonal form without the existence of columns, instead, there were loadbearing peripheral walls, rounded and perforated strips (Türkiye İş Bankası A.Ş. Genel Müdürlük Binası, 1978, pp. 4-6). Bozdoğan and Akcan perceive these approaches in architecture as part of the technology and science developments rather than a western-influenced architecture (2012, pp. 189-193).



**Figure 3. 70:** İş Bank Building from the east façade (left) and interior of İş Bank Building, conference hall (right) (Arkitera, URL: <http://www.arkitera.com/proje/6510>).

In this era, the international presence in Ankara was felt with the help of the already existing embassies on the Boulevard. In addition, the Tuslog American Military Base on the edge of the Sıhhiye in the 1960s, newly constructed foreign embassies and chancelleries such as; Embassy of Japan and its Japanese Garden in a 5913 m<sup>2</sup> land (T. Sakamaki, 1962-64), Egyptian Embassy (Bülent Hatunoğlu, Memdough Moustafa; 1967-71), USSR's lodging on the same lot where their first embassy was once located (Bülent Kuyumcu; 1978) were the newly added foreign representatives and elements on the Boulevard in the era (**Figure 3.71**).



**Figure 3.71:** Embassy of Japan (top left) (Çankaya Municipality Archives), Egyptian Embassy residence and office buildings excavation plans (middle left) (Çankaya Municipality Archives), Tuslog American Commissary in 1963 (Antoloji Ankara Facebook Group URL: <https://www.facebook.com/antolojankara/>), Russian Embassy's new lodging building's plan and elevation, site plan and the Boulevard's façade of the embassy's Undersecretariate of trade (right) (Çankaya Municipality Archives), (Author, 2017).

Along with the foreign representatives as functions, the foreign architect's works during this era cannot be overseen, although there are not as many as the examples in the early years of the Republic. Two of the most significant elements of the Boulevard were designed by foreign architects; Grand Ankara Hotel (B y k Ankara Oteli) (Marc Saugey, Y ksel Okan; 1958-65) and Opera Intersection by the famous Italian architect Pier Luigi Nervi (1969-72), both prominent examples on the Boulevard, successfully reflected the international architectural approaches of their era and provided a connection with the international world (**Figure 3.72**). Grand Ankara Hotel as an example of the organic architecture brought a new perspective to the two-sided prismatic hotel architecture in the 1950s (a reminder of Hilton Hotel, Skidmore, Owings & Merrill- SOM, Sedat Hakk  Eldem; 1952) with its more fragmented and angular forms and brutalist fa ade (Bozdo an & Akcan, 2012, p. 185) (**Figure 3.73**). In addition to its architecture, the hotel's location had a significant place since it was across the Grand National Assembly, serving as a meeting point for the politicians by undertaking the Ankara Palace's role during the Republican era.



**Figure 3. 72:** Grand Ankara Hotel (B y k Ankara Oteli), southwest fa ade from the Atat rk Boulevard (URL: <http://www.boyutpedia.com/804/5893/buyuk-ankara-oteli>), Grand Ankara Hotel's dynamic canopy (Photo: Sel uk Balamir (URL: <http://v3.arkitera.com/h11315-buyuk-ankara-oteli-nin-gelecegi-ne-olacak.html>)).



**Figure 3. 73:** Grand Ankara Hotel's original façade and site plan (left) (Balamir & Erkmen, 2018), Opera Intersection (Author, 2017).

Besides the new constructions mostly held after the demolishment of 4-5 story apartment buildings after the commencement of the rebuilding process, there were also new apartments built on the dwelling lots, though later, most of them were turned into offices and commercial function spaces. Except a few examples, they were mostly located on the southern section of the Boulevard in Kavaklıdere and towards Çankaya. Some of the examples from the north to south can be given as; Beyaz Saray Apartment (İlhan Erol, Aykut Erten; 1964-65), Ayduk Koray Apartment (Vedat Özsan; 1973-75), Köprülü Apartment (Özkan Atabek; 1973-75), along with Çakmak, Beler, Sümer and Sefaretler Apartments constructed in the 1970s (**Figure 3.74**).

Also, towards the south up to Çankaya, there were 5-6 story apartment complexes, which are still being used partially as housing and partially as offices; some examples

can be given as apartments by Cengiz Taraz; 1965, Sami Çelik; 1966, Teoman Artan; 1970 and so on (Figure 3.75).



**Figure 3. 74:** Apartment buildings of the 1970s between the Sıhhiye and Kavaklıdere section; Ayduk Koray Apartment, Köprülü Apartment, Çakmak, Beler, Sümer and Sefaretler Apartments (Author, 2017, Çankaya Municipality Archives).



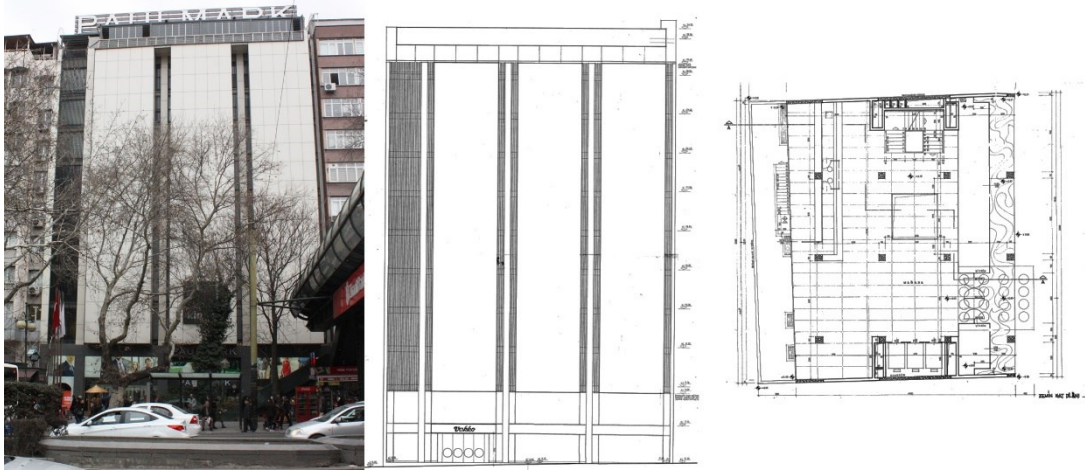
**Figure 3. 75:** Apartment buildings on the east side of the Kavaklıdere-Çankaya section of the Boulevard (Author, 2017).

Meanwhile, a new type of commercial use was emerging on the Boulevard with the 9-10 story Business Centers or *İş Hanı* along the Boulevard. Those business centers were mostly hosting commercial functions on the ground floor (and sometimes on their basements as well, like the pasajs) and offices on the upper floors. Those upper floor functions would leave their places to the private education centers in the late 1990s and the new millennium. The *İş Hanı* concept that had its first roots in the late 1950s with the Ulus Business Center (Ulus *İş Hanı*) and the Skyscraper spread towards the south in this era. Especially the section between Kızılay and Sıhhiye were now the place where these buildings emerged. Some examples of this can be given as; Sanlı Han in the place where four-story American Military lodgings were located (Sungurtekin Oktay; 1969-70), Koç *İşhanı* (Umut İnan; late 1970s), Batı Han (Ünal Tümer; 1976), Uğurlu *İşhanı* (Vedat Özsan; 1977), ASO *İşhanı*, demolished to build today's ASO Headquarters (Naim Bektioğlu; 1978), and many more in addition to another Emek Construction building, Lale Sitesi (Adnan Unaran, Adnan Yücel; 1968) was being constructed by the Retirement Fund.

Those business centers create the dominant physical features of today's Boulevard on the Sıhhiye-Kızılay section and the east side of the Kızılay-Akay section. The prestigious offices of doctors or legal and law offices were taking their places on the Boulevard in these business centers starting from the 1960s and with an accelerating pace towards the end of the 1970s. The upper floors would also host the luxury services or even regular services with high quality such as the hairdressers, photographers, tailors, fashion houses, and many more, while other functions such as the advertising offices, and international travel agencies were offering high-quality service compared to the ones located in Ulus (Batuman, 2000, p. 60).

Also, the bureaucracy and the private offices engaging business activities with the state desired to be in Kızılay and Bakanlıklar, close to the governmental district especially after the relocation of the Grand National Assembly (Akçura, 1971, p. 123). Hence, with the rise of the Kızılay as a commercial center, the traditional commercial role of the Ulus was left in the shadow of Kızılay.

In this setting, a famous Turkish haute-couture brand, Vakko, opened its Ankara branch in 1973 in a newly constructed building designed by their architect Abdurrahman Hancı in Kızılay in the place of a four-story building (**Figure 3.76**). It was a noteworthy event both for Ankara and Kızılay as a commercial center as well as for the social life in the city, which is covered in the upcoming section of “the Socio-Cultural Life in the Boulevard During the 1960-80 Period”.



**Figure 3. 76:** Vakko’s building, today used by another textile brand, Paulmark (left) (Author, 2017), Vakko building’s Boulevard façade (middle), and first floor plan (Çankaya Municipality Archives).

Moreover, in this era, a copy of *Güneş Kursu/Bereket Anıtı* or Hittite Sun Disk (Nusret Suman; 1978) found in Alacahöyük Excavations, was located in Sıhhiye Square as a gift to the city from Anadolu Insurance. The Sun Disk was embraced as the city’s symbol in 1973 by the mayor Vedat Dalokay. The monument that was the embodiment of the city’s symbol was restored in 2001 by the Ankara Governorate’s Environment Protection Foundation (**Figure 3.77**).



**Figure 3. 77:** Hittite Sun Disk Monument in Sıhhiye Square (left), Ankara Greater Municipality's logo (right) (URL: <https://m.bianet.org/bianet/kultur/186894-hitit-gunesi-kursu-tartismasi-yeniden>).

As for its physical state, the Boulevard was sided by two large sidewalks with green strips and large medians before the 1970s. The median used to be planted with chestnut trees in the 1970s, but after the 1970s, thus, the Boulevard started to lose its pedestrian feature with the increased population and diminished medians on both sides of the sidewalks in this era.

### **3.4.2 Conservation Attempts and Their Examples Along the Boulevard**

As it was covered in Chapter II of this thesis, the conservation of cultural heritage existed in the Ottoman period with the successive regulations of *Asar-ı Atika*. Even though the High Council of Immovable Antiquities and Monuments (GEEAYK) was founded as the central decision-making body for the conservation works in 1951 (Turkish Law No. 5805), it was mainly concerned with the conservation of historic monuments. In 1957, GEEAYK was granted with the authorization in the urban scale with the understanding of urban conservation site and the historical urban conservation sites (Turkish Law No. 6785). The development act changed in 1972 required the permission of GEEAYK for new constructions in the immediate vicinity of the historic monuments therefore, GEEAYK's authority was recognized in the development act for the conservation of historic monuments.

Later, in 1973, the 1710 Antiquities Act, the first conservation legislation of Turkish Republic, was enacted with the alteration of the Turkish Law No. 5805 (*Eski Eserler Yasası*) (Madran, 1996, p. 63). In the European Architectural Heritage Year in 1975, ‘Identification and Registration’ and ‘Conservation Planning’ units were constituted within the General Directorate of Antiquities and Museums of Turkey in line with principles determined in the Amsterdam Declaration in the same year.

With these developments, the first registrations initiated with the identification of cultural assets. The first-ever registered building on the Boulevard was the Ministry of Health registered in 1956 (and the only one until 1972) as a first-degree cultural asset, following the establishment of GEEAYK. In 1972, more buildings were registered as the first-degree cultural assets including Garanti Bank (old Ottoman Bank), Ziraat Bank, First Grand National Assembly of Turkey, and *Tekel* (Monopolies) Headquarters in the northern section of the Boulevard, in Ulus. This reveals that, although the Ministry of Health was a modern building, the first attempts of conservation of the built heritage in the study area have started in the 1970s with the buildings identified as the representatives of the First National Architectural Style.

Ministry of Public Works and Ministry of Internal Affairs in the Governmental District were the ones followed the registration process when they became first-degree cultural assets in 1973. Both buildings designed by Clemens Holzmeister are the prominent examples of the foreign architects’ international approaches and set an example for the administrative and governmental buildings of their era, and thus, were then included in the cultural assets of the Turkish Republic.

Finally, the two single houses were registered in the study area as the second-degree cultural assets; in 1975, first Prime Minister İsmet İnönü’s Pembe Köşk built in the Ottoman Era and in 1976, Celal Bayar House as the first degree and Cenap And Evi as an example of Second National Architectural Style. Moreover, next to Cenap And Evi, Kuğulu Park was designated as natural site in 1976.

### 3.4.3 Destructions on the Boulevard During the 1960-80 Period

The rapid demolition and rebuilding process indeed affected the entire Boulevard. The perceived image of the axis transformed from four to five-story apartment complexes, public buildings, and open and recreational spaces to high-story buildings attached, and some low story buildings from the previous decades or new high story blocks in between interrupting the continuity of buildings. Although the motive for the demolition of the existing buildings ranged, the main reason was the allowance of the construction of the high story and larger buildings, which could host more space, therefore would bring more rental income. The rising popularity, centrality, and commercial features of the Boulevard, especially on the south resulted in this transformation together with the allowance of the high story buildings, which also gave way to the transformation of the Boulevard.

Following the transformation of the Ulus Square initiated with the relocation of the Victory Monument and the construction of Ulus Business Center and 100. Yıl Shop; the Postal Services Headquarters (*PTT* building) – built in 1925 in the First National Architectural Style – was demolished in 1974. While some of the same era buildings such as Garanti Bank (old Ottoman Bank), Ziraat Bank, First Grand National Assembly of Turkey, and *Tekel* (Monopolies) Headquarters were being registered in its vicinity. This destruction of PTT resulted in the construction of a new building for the same function in 1982 with a brutalist façade. Nevertheless, in the north between Ulus and Sıhhiye Squares, there was not a massive destruction process. Most of the demolition was realized from Sıhhiye towards the south except for the governmental district and the embassies, both located on the west wing of the Boulevard between the Kızılay and Kavaklıdere. Mostly the apartment buildings were being subjects of this reconstruction process, located between the Sıhhiye and Kızılay and on the east side of the Boulevard from Kızılay to Kavaklıdere. Many of these apartments were replaced with the 9-10 story business centers (*işhanı*) or other commercial or administrative functions, the demolition of Soysal Apartment Complex to construct the Yapı Kredi Bank building is an illustrative example. The

building constructed in 1935 was demolished in 1967, giving it only a 32 years lifespan and erasing the memories and experiences of its users and even people passing by every day who use the building as a physical framework in their everyday experiences in the Kızılay Square and Ankara in general. Kutlu Pension House that hosted Kutlu Patisserie built in 1936 was also demolished in the late 1970s to construct the Koç İşhanı, while its approximately 30 years life had come to an end, the memories encrypted in the Ankarans minds had also been interrupted. In addition to these, many other new buildings were constructed on the lots of single to five-story apartment buildings such as today's TESK building, the apartment complexes neighboring it towards the south, the İşbank building in Kavaklıdere, and many others. Moreover, the USSR Embassy, the first purpose-built embassy building in Ankara and the Turkish Republic, was demolished in the 1970s to build the still standing Russian Undersecretariat of Commerce.

Another demolishment in this period, and maybe the most significant one was Kızılay Headquarters in the Kızılay Square where it gave its name to not only the square but also the Yenışehir neighborhood. As mentioned above, Kızılay Headquarters was built in 1929 as a representation of the national solidarity and demolished in 1979 despite being registered as a cultural asset. The large metal red crescent (*kızıl ay*) on its Boulevard façade helped to rename the square by the citizens in their collective everyday language. Moreover, its park, Kızılay Parkı, provided Ankarans an outdoor leisure activity place. Even though through the years, it underwent major changes and diminished in size, its meaning in the collective memories of the citizens did not diminish, though until its destruction. Madran explains its importance and demolishment process as follows;

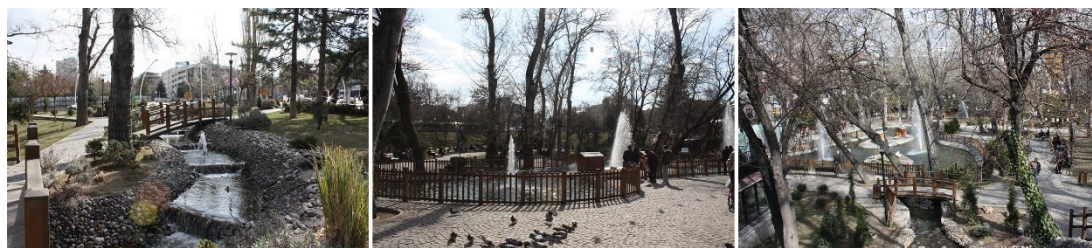
“First of all, they say “Kızılay building is an indicator of a certain architectural style”; with its vertical lines. Secondly, it gave its name to here. At one stage, it was tried to give a name as ‘Hürriyet Square’ in the 1960s, and nobody could know, everyone was asking each other; “Where is Hürriyet Square?” So, they abandoned the idea and continued with the name Kızılay Square. Thirdly, it is a building that represents a very important institution” (Madran, 2004 qtd. in

Ankara'nın Göbeğinde Boş Duran Kızılay Binasının Dünü Bugünü, 2018)

Madran continues by stating that the building was one of the few registered early Republican period buildings by the GEEAYK, and in 1974 or 1975, he and his colleagues were asked to prepare a report about Kızılay building and the same day in the afternoon, the High Council decided that the building can be demolished after the architectural surveys and detailed photographs were taken (2004 qtd. in Ankara'nın Göbeğinde Boş Duran Kızılay Binasının Dünü Bugünü, 2018). This significant building was demolished in 1979 to construct a building for income on the same lot. Kızılay Square's increasing importance, centrality, and commercial features would bring a large amount of income without a doubt, except that the building in question could not be fully finished and opened until 2012, leaving the former site of the demolished Kızılay building located in the very center of the capital empty, then without a use for decades. According to Batuman, in this process, Kızılay Park on the Kızılay building's lot became a flower bed by getting smaller every passing year and following the demolishment of the building, the area started to be used as a parking lot until the construction of the Kızılay rental income building (2002, p.68). Therefore, after its short life of 50 years had come to an end, a witness of the capital's development and history was erased from the built environment as well as the collective memories of its users and citizens passing by and identified it with the Kızılay Square itself. With the demolishment of such structure encrypted in the urban memory giving its name to the square and neighborhood it was situated, a landmark and an image of the city disappeared along with a period of time and lived experiences.

In addition to the building destructions, some green and recreational areas had also been interrupted in this era; Güvenpark was one of them. During the construction of the Ministry of Education between 1962-67, a major area of the Güvenpark was taken to include in the new construction's project area. Another significant open green area, converted from the former wood yard area, *Kuğulu* (Swan) Park that was opened in 1958 was divided and cut to open a new road that passes between the Polish Embassy and the park after a protocol signed with the Polish Embassy between the years 1973-

77 during Vedat Dalokay's mayorship. The park was reorganized in 1975 according to the project designed by Mayor Dalokay who was also an architect (Çapanoğlu, 2009, p. 119). First known as Kavaklıdere Park, the green area gained its current name after the Mayor of Vienna, a friend of Dalokay, sent eleven swans to Ankara as a gift, two of which were named Ankara and Vienna as an indicator of this friendship between two cities (Çapanoğlu, 2009, p. 119) (**Figure 3.78**) .



**Figure 3. 78:** Kuğulu Park at present day (Author, 2018).

#### **3.4.4 The Socio-Cultural Life in the Boulevard During the 1960-80 Period**

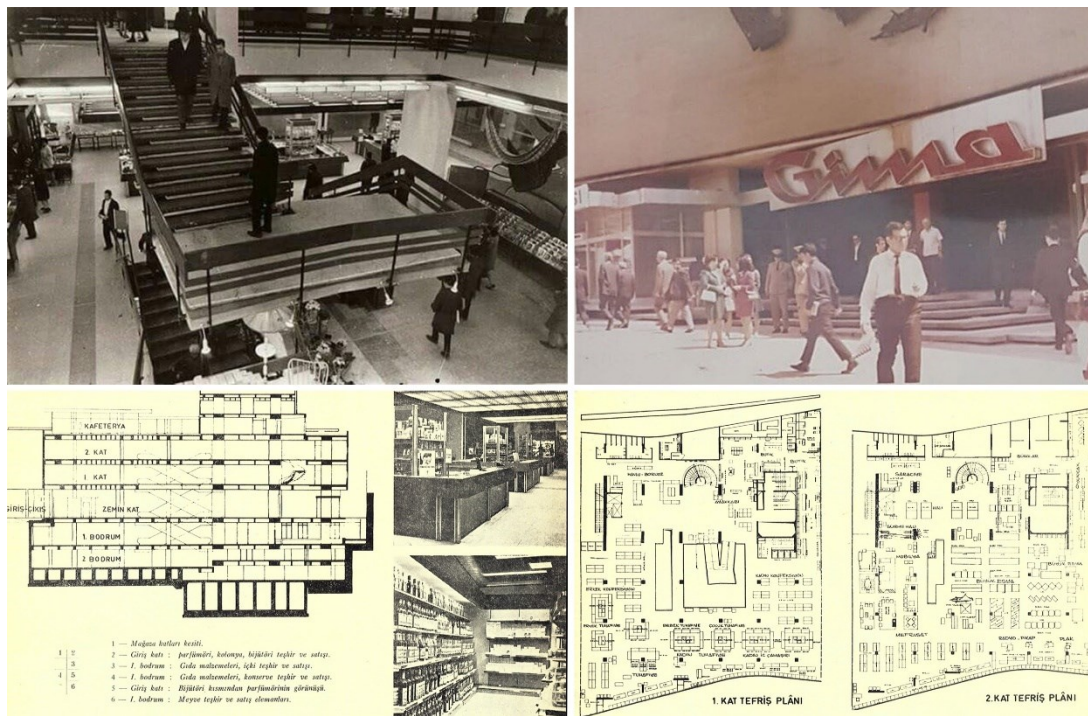
During the 1960s and 1970s, Turkey underwent major events and transformations both politically, economically, and therefore socially. The change in the citizens of the capital alongside other big cities were discussed and had become subjects of many published sources, novels, and even movies. Ankara was once again facing a major population growth with the migration from rural areas, which led to a division in society and dual life in Ankara. With the move of the commercial centers from Ulus to Kızılay and leisure activity places from Sıhhiye-Kızılay to Kızılay-Kavaklıdere, the assigned functions were sliding towards the south in the Boulevard. The newcomers, namely the rural migrants, were being subjects in the literature and movies of the time, for instance, Yılmaz Güney's movie *Sürü* (Herd) that takes place in 1978-79 Ankara subjecting a rural family that came to Ankara with their sheep and their observations and cultural differences is one of the significant examples.

Arcayürek notes that after the first coup d'état in 1960, Ankara could not go back to its old days and nights (2005, p. 140). The political change and tension in the country, thus, affected the social life of Ankara, maybe more than other cities in Turkey since it is the capital hence the center of politics and bureaucracy. Though life continues;

post-coup and even inter-coup Ankara was still trying to sustain its everyday life. The life was happening around the Atatürk Boulevard, students, politicians, civil servants, housewives, children, they were all using the Boulevard in their everyday life. The social environment in the capital was once more being shaped by architecture. Restaurants, cafes and performance places in hotels and new ‘modern’ buildings were the frequent places that Ankarans were visiting. Sıhhiye-Kızılay section and towards the Çankaya Hill in the south were now the places of commerce and leisure-oriented activities even though Ulus Business Center, Gençlik Park, and Opera were sustaining their social offerings in the north. The promenade culture rooted from the early years of the formation of Yenışehir was also sustaining during this era at least until the mid-1970s. An example subjecting this promenade culture can be observed in *Sancho’nun Sabah Yürüyüşü* or Sancho’s Morning Walk by author Haldun Taner. The short story telling a parody of social and political events of the 1960s Ankara through the eyes of a dog named Sancho and his morning walks indicates that the promenades along the Boulevard where people –and even dogs– meet and run into acquaintances were sustaining their place in the Ankara’s social life in this era. Moreover, the patisseries, emerging fast-food culture pioneered by Goralı and Piknik were still amongst the popular gathering and food and beverage places. Piknik, where Sevgi Soysal wrote her novel *Yenışehir’de Bir Öğle Vakti* (Noontime in Yenışehir) while gazing the Boulevard’s users and people passing by, as mentioned above, was a pioneer and significant notable place in Ankara’s social life. In her novel, Soysal examines the dual life in Ankara and how people from different social backgrounds experience especially Kızılay Square as follows;

“He was surprised. This kind of street vendors is found in Ulus. They even came to Kızılay... Now everybody was shopping in Kızılay. Even the low-income civil servants come to Gima instead of going to the Hal for shopping... for him, the goods bought from Ulus were worthless. He would like to remark “this is bought from Kızılay” since his childhood... He believed that shopping from Kızılay was a privilege; hence he began to buy his needs from the most expensive shops in Kızılay, as soon as he started to earn money” (Soysal, 1996, p. 14).

Soysal's novel helps the reader to understand and question the user group of Kızılay. It was once a privileged place where privileged upper class would shop and use, but especially after the 1960s, and after the appropriation of the area as a political scene by various income groups and the relocation of the commercial functions in the city, it also became a public sphere to be used for every citizen. The rural migration's inevitable role here should be acknowledged. In addition to that, Gima, opened in 1967, is the first big supermarket of the capital located in the Skyscraper that had two elevators, where the newspaper's office Cüneyt Arcayürek was working for also situated on the fourteenth floor as well as the Akşam Newspaper on the sixth floor (Arcayürek, 2005, p. 64). Gima had major impacts on Turkish consumption habits. Its 7000 m<sup>2</sup> divided into five-stories was designed by Utarit İzgi and Önder Küçükerman in a scale from the tags to the exhibition units (**Figure 3.79**).



**Figure 3. 79:** Gima Store's interior in the 1970s (top left), Gima's Ziya Gökalp Entrance (top right) (Antoloji Ankara Facebook Group, URL: <https://www.facebook.com/antolojiankara/>), Gima section and photos of interiors (bottom left), furnished floor plans of first and second floors (bottom right) (İzgi & Küçükerman, 1967).

Similar to the western, especially American department stores, Gima was the first shopping experience that included many different products under the same roof; there, one could buy groceries and clothing at once for the first time. The opening of such a prominent place was honored by the minister of state Refet Sezgin (Gökdelen'de Türkiye'nin en büyük mağazası Gima açıldı, 1967). Moreover, Soysal continues to portray the square from her spot in *Piknik* through the eyes of her characters;

“It is not possible to go out for a walk on the street. Rudeness everywhere! (...) Just across the street, in the middle of Kızılay, by the windows of the beautiful building that was finished very recently, a dirty woman was begging with a child in her arms (...) She looked at the woman with hatred. They even settled in the middle of Kızılay. This city was driving her mad. “Once you would not meet any tramps on the streets of Ankara” she told herself, there was law, there was the authority, there was order...” (Soysal, 1996, p. 43).

The ignorance of the presence of ‘others’ from the foundation of the Republic by the bourgeoisie or the elites, was still continuing, but maybe this time in a more repulsive way. The use of ‘their’ public space by ‘the others’ slowly started to push the upper-income class away from Kızılay.

Nevertheless, this ignorance did not stop Kızılay nor the Boulevard to be the lieu for entertainment, leisure, gathering, and food and beverage places. Restaurant Cevat, opened in 1959 under the Soysal Apartment’s Block B, was amongst the popular ones with its small green area in the front looking towards the Skyscraper and the Boulevard, it was another place to gaze the Boulevard and its everyday life being lived. The Set Cafeteria opened soon after on the terrace of the Skyscraper introduced another activity to the capital, observing from the top. The café on the ground floor in the Square was not a secure and safe place anymore, due to the urban chaos and political climate of the capital (Batuman, 2000, p. 89). On the other hand, Set Cafeteria offered a safe and secure zone, overlooking the Boulevard and thus, providing an observing and watching space with a broader sight where people would go to spend time and even take pictures (**Figure 3.80**). Moreover, it offered a distinguished space

for the upper and upper-middle class of Ankara with the monthly fashion shows and evening concerts.



**Figure 3. 80:** Woman looking towards Ankara with binoculars at Set Cafeteria, Gökdelen, Atatürk Boulevard in front of her (left) (Ankara Ankara Facebook Group, URL: <https://www.facebook.com/groups/652425118148971>), Set Cafeteria from the same angle with its colorful chairs in the 1980s (right) (Ankara Ankara Facebook Group, URL: <https://www.facebook.com/groups/652425118148971>).

It was not long after that the Restaurant Cevat was closed. This was also because of the demolition of the Soysal Apartment in 1966 as well, therefore sharing the same destiny with many other Boulevard cafes and social practice places; disappearing with the buildings that they are situated in including the Süreyya Gazinosu and Ulus Movie Theater located in the same apartment building.

In 1970, a well-known Ankara patisserie, Flamingo, first opened as a cocktail saloon next to Ulus Movie Theater in 1955, moved next to the Skyscraper on the same lot as today's Gama Business Center and it closed its Kızılay branch in 1983. In 1970 the charcuterie section of Piknik, the first place in Ankara to serve espresso, is closed, in 1982 it was taken out from the building due to the demolition and moved to İnkılap Street where it could only resist until 1986.

Gençlik Park was still one of the major leisure activity places; it provided a recreation area as well as cultural and entertainment activities. From theater groups performing in the 'gardens' including Gönül Ülkü and Gazanfer Özcan to famous stars of the era taking the stage in the gazinos in the park, it was amongst the most popular places in the capital (Şenyapılı, 2006). In an era where the Ankara Radio was in every house,

people could listen to their favorite vocal artists from the radio in the gazinos as in the example of Göl Gazinosu in Gençlik Park. TRT (Turkish Radio Television) also acted as a tool for opening to the world and helped the nightclub culture to flourish in the city with this internationality (İpekeşen, Ankara'nın Düünden Bugüne 88 Yıllık Sosyal Yaşamı, 2011). Moreover, Göl Gazinosu's stage was where even Zeki Müren was performing for a very small price as well as hosting Emel Sayın's first performance ever (Arcayürek, 2005, p. 74). Later the gazino started to be used as a civil marriage ceremony venue for a long period of time.

Most of the hotels in the capital had nightclubs either at their basement floors or terraces (or both), including the Grand Ankara Hotel with its basement nightclub where Gönül Yazar and Salim Dünder performing as soloists, or orchestras by Erol Pekcan and Yaşar Güvenirgil on its rooftop (Şenyapılı, 2006). Bulvar Palas was being used for the government balls on the national holidays such as April 23<sup>rd</sup> Children Ball or October 29<sup>th</sup> Republic Ball during the 1950s and 1960s (Şenyapılı, 2006, p. 331).

Towards the south of Grand Ankara Hotel, Lale Sitesi or Akün building as it is known today in the everyday language was rising in 1968. The complex taking its name from the Ankara Lale movie theatre consisted of two blocks; one lower block with a movie theatre (today Akün theatre) and a theatre hall, and one higher block with offices for the employees of Emek Construction. Later, Lale movie theater changed hands and took the name Akün, the combination of its owners' names; Recai Akçaoğlu and İrfan Ünal, whereas there was also the theater known as *Çağdaş Sahne* (Contemporary Stage) in the complex (Aycı, 2013). With its patisserie next to the main entrance from the Boulevard where people gathered after the movie screenings and its nightclub located in the higher block, Lale Sitesi was a significant attraction of the 1970s Ankara (Aycı, 2013). Şinasi Theater (access from the Tunus Avenue parallel to the Boulevard) with its artworks by Hamiye dated 1973 and Akün with its wall paintings and other artworks by Cemil Erem dated 1972 are still serving to Ankarans. It can be said that Lale Sitesi complex played a significant role in the relocation of the socio-cultural

center from Kızılay to Kavaklıdere with its social and cultural activity places (Aycı, 2013) (**Figure 3.81**).



**Figure 3. 81:** Akün Theater and Lale Sitesi (Author, 2017).

A new entertainment activity was introduced to the youth of Ankara in the 1960s, the game salons with *langırtı*s or foosball tables. The pioneer was the Ali Baba Game Salon in Büyük Cinema's upper floor in Büyük Patisserie's place after it was closed in 1963 as well as another game salon located in Gençlik Park.

Another place closed in the 1970s that was the pioneer of the food and beverage sector in Ankara, and modern Turkey was Karpıç Restaurant. Karpıç, opened in 1932, was managed by Baba Karpıç's niece Tamara until 1962 and finally closed in the early 1970s. The reason behind this was because many other places were opened in the capital, or Ulus lost its popularity amongst its clients, or 100. Yıl Shop was constructed, or because Grand National Assembly moved to the south. In any case, when it was closed, it buried a period of Ankara's social and political life and memories of its users with itself. Now remembered fondly by many lucky ones who had the chance to dine there, it lives in the narratives of its former clients and memoirs thanks to people who wrote them down.

In the middle of the 1970s, a very popular and famous brand opened its Ankara branch in its newly constructed ten-story building in Kızılay. The place that became a main social and cultural activity place alongside its commercial function was the Vakko building opened in 1973. The structure and its interiors were designed by Abdurrahman Hancı, where it hosted one of the first art galleries of Ankara, a café, and male, female, and children's fashion sections. It quickly became a gathering place amongst Ankara citizens, its 500 m<sup>2</sup> art gallery and its café brought a new perspective to the shopping experience. Owner of the brand, Vitali Hakko notes that their Vakko Ankara store was amongst the institutions and places to be shown to the foreign representatives and official guests together with their factory (Hakko, 1997, p. 178). The gallery was opened in 1976 in the sixth floor of the building with the exhibition “Yaşayan Bedri Rahmi” (*Living Bedri Rahmi*)<sup>26</sup> (Figure 3.82) (Yaşayan Bedri Rahmi Sergisi, 1976). Hakko tells about the story of the art gallery in the store as follows;

“I told Abdurrahman Hancı, Mustafa Pilevneli, and Ferit Edgü that if they take the responsibility of this, I would do anything I could to spare one whole floor as an art gallery. At that time, there were two private art galleries in Ankara, stuck in the basement floors. It was not something to be surprised by, because painting was not an art branch that has a market as it has today. Thanks to them, Hancı, Pilevneli, and Edgü accepted to realize this unrequitedly. Thereby, Ankara gained an art gallery that a capital city deserved. With the opening of our shop, we presented the first Fikret Mualla exhibition to the art-lovers. (...) Eşref Üren's retrospective followed the Fikret Mualla Exhibition. After that the retrospective of Avni Arbaş who returned to Turkey after many years. Later, Abidin Dino sent his Flowers from Paris. (...) Our gallery brought dynamism to Ankara's art scene” (Hakko, 1997, pp. 223-224).

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<sup>26</sup> Bedri Rahmi Eyüboğlu was a Turkish painter and poet who died in 1975. He worked with Vakko for many years producing prints and drawings for the brand. In addition, his concrete decoupage at the entrance of the Vakko Factory in Istanbul was located there alongside other works from various Turkish artists.



**Figure 3. 82:** Vakko Art Gallery's opening news in Milliyet (Milliyet, 1976), 6<sup>th</sup> floor plan of the building where the art gallery was located (Çankaya Municipality Archives).

The store became an indicator of possession and wealth since the brand Vakko was a high-end haute-couture brand as well as being an indicator of a modern western lifestyle as it was portrayed in the movie “*Köyden İndim Şehire*” (From Village to the City, director; Ertem Eğilmez; 1974) where four brothers come to Ankara to spend the money they found from their father's heritage and buy expensive clothes to their villager wives to help them look modern urban women (**Figure 3.83**). Moreover, the entrance of the building became a meeting point amongst Ankarans for many years just as Gima in Kızılay Square.



**Figure 3. 83:** The Boulevard entrance of Vakko in the movie (left), women's fashion floor inside the building in the movie (right) (*Köyden İndim Şehire*, Eğilmez, 1974, 57<sup>th</sup> and 56<sup>th</sup> minutes).

In the late 1970s, a place that is still serving to the citizens of the capital was opened with the construction of Uğurlu İşhanı in 1977. The place engraved in many Ankarans memories is Kıtır located in between the Cenap And House and Kuğulu Park (**Figure**

**3.84).** On its website it is presented with the title “*Her yaşın bir Kıtır’ı var*” or “Every age has a Kıtır”, it is written as follows;

“Ankara’s unchanging face continues to serve the taste without getting tired, getting old for 39 years. Kıtır, where familiar faces meet, new friendships are born is in its usual place with its unchanging décor and dynamism... Kıtır with its Kuğulu Park view that is accompanied with music and chat, its names-scratched wooden tables, its yellow lamps dangling from the ceiling, is the place where we share our table without any strangeness in every lunch break, after work or school and with its same taste for generations is one of the addresses that comes to mind when thought of Ankara. (...) Kıtır is a significant part of being Ankaran” (Her Yaşın bir Kıtır'ı Var, n.d.).



**Figure 3. 84:** Kıtır Bar (Her Yaşın bir Kıtır’ı Var, n.d.).

Most citizens of Ankara who are the users of the southern section of the commercial center of the city that started to become popular in the late 1970s most probably have memories in Kıtır. Since it serves alcoholic beverages, it may not serve to every group in Ankara. But then again, neither Karpiç nor Piknik as the major and most significant food and beverage places in the capital served to the entire social groups of Ankara. Nevertheless, it is a notable place in the capital that is still serving, therefore collecting the memories of the citizens.

### **3.5 Boulevard in the Neo-Liberal Era from 1980 Onwards**

The 1980 coup d’état changed Turkish politics and society irremediably. The post-modern approaches in architecture, change in the consumption habits, the TV as a window to the world, and the oppression that can be felt in every corner of the cities transformed the everyday practices and leisure activities of the Ankarans as well as the space production and architectural formations in the city.

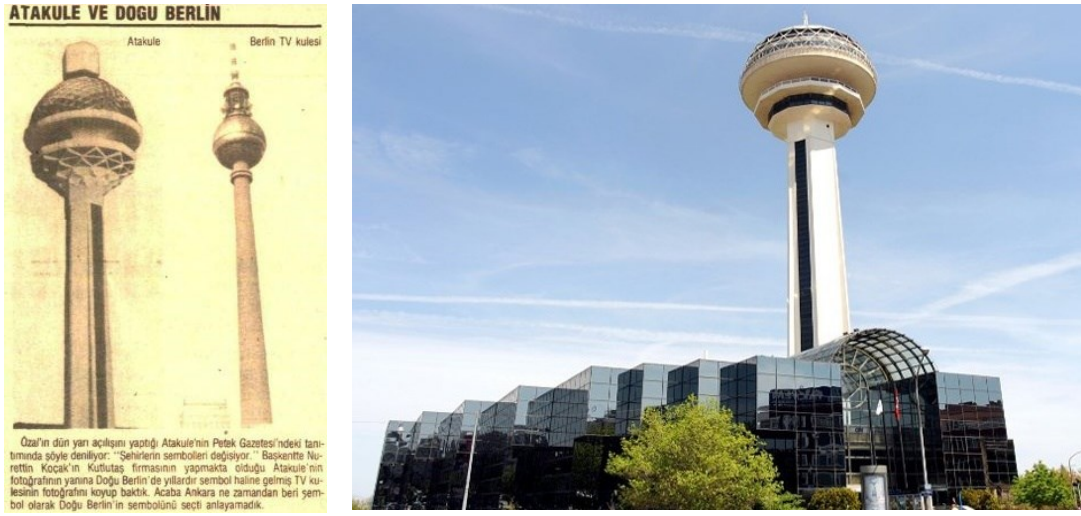
During the military regime of 1980-1983, the state's policy of secular ideals and goals had shifted to a more conservative tendency with the 'Turkish-Islamic Synthesis' (*Türk-İslam Sentezi*), which strengthened the dominance of Islam in the country with the help of 1982 Constitution. Therefore, the post-1983 period was when the roots of contemporary Islamism in the country could be traced (Göle, 1997, p.55), (Grigoriadis, 2009), (Yılmaz, 2004). Afterward, in the first general elections after the 1980 coup, Turgut Özal became the prime minister of Turkey in 1983 until his death in 1993 with his *Anavatan Party* (ANAP), which strongly supported the transition to the neo-liberal system (Göle, 1997). The liberal economy adopted with the IMF aid, caused damage to the economic self-sufficiency of the country and the politicized architectural culture after came to an end the coup d'état in 1980 (Bozdoğan & Akcan, 2012, pp. 195-196).

Bozdoğan and Akcan note that the neo-liberal economic policies and globalization alongside the export-oriented production dominated the Turkish economics (2012). With the rise of the free market and non-agricultural production, the rural population in Turkey faced a large loss (2012). The poverty problems, inequalities in the income of the society had risen. All forms of art and culture including the architecture of Republican modernization understanding were interrupted by the 1980s' postmodernism and the varied expression of popular culture, and therefore vernacular or historical references were getting popular in architecture (Bozdoğan & Akcan, 2012, p. 204). According to Korkmaz, even though the changes in the post-industrial society commenced in the 1970s, it began to be widely seen in the everyday practices in the 1980s, in this postmodern culture, especially after the 1980s when the colored television became a major part of a household and a medium of mass communication, the everyday lives were shaped through the power of media (2005, pp. 1-2). In this media-based new culture, the author calls the postmodern architecture of the era as 'architecture for display' promising people the good old days, exotic places, history, and the vernacular (Korkmaz, 2005, p. 4). In a few words, it promised a life like gazing a display window or live in a theater scene. The socio-economic changes after the

1980s showed itself in the architecture with the recreation places, entertainment, luxury residences and so on (Korkmaz, 2005, p. 4). This movement found itself a place in a rather new function: shopping centers (*AVM*, short for *Alışveriş Merkezi*). Balamir draws attention to the cultural diversity and plurality in those shopping malls with their sacred-public spaces (2003). People from different backgrounds would be a part of the same space and they would slowly make the shopping mall experience a part of their urban practices.

Although Ankara could conserve its spine and major components designed by Jansen in 1928, after the 1980s these changes affected the city. As the main public space and the spine of the city, Atatürk Boulevard was the reference point of Ankara, though it began to lose its power due to these changes and transformations of the period followed by the decentralization started of the city (Korkmaz, 2005, p. 5). Meanwhile, Bademli emphasized that in 1985, the administrative functions, prestigious commercial activities and services were gathered in Kızılay that tended to grow towards Çankaya, while Ulus was left to lower-income groups' and rural migrants' services, commercial activities, which specialized more in wholesale and storage (Bademli, 1987). Some of the functions of the central business district such as prestige service facilities, art galleries, international companies' management units began to be located outside of Kızılay (Bademli, 1987, pp. 157-158). Ankara Metropolitan Municipality commissioned a group from METU in 1985 to plan a wider metropolitan area than the 1990 Master Plan, which adopted the strategy of decentralization through public transportation. The Ankara 2015 Plan was the first plan that took decentralization as its major goal in Ankara's planning history (Çalışkan, 2009, p. 38).

At the time where most of the architectural practice was being held in suburban areas and outside of the center-western part of the city, one major example and keystone emerged on the hills of prestigious Çankaya in the terminus of the north-south axis. Atakule (Ragıp Buluç; 1989), Ankara's first and Turkey's second shopping center with its iconic tower with a rotating restaurant and its mirror glass box-like volume, found itself in the postcards and even in the city's logo (Balamir, 2003), (Bozdoğan & Akcan, 2012, p. 208) (Figure 3.85).



**Figure 3. 85:** Image comparing Atakule's tower and Berlin TV Tower saying, "We did not understand since when Ankara chose East Berlin's symbol as its own symbol." (left) (Cumhuriyet Gazetesi, 24.03.1984), Atakule before demolithment of its lower mass (right) (Arkitera, URL: <http://www.arkitera.com/haber/19477/atakulenin-avmsi-yeniden-doguyor>).

The shift in the social and commercial centers in the city, the growing *AVM* culture, and even the nighttime curfews all around the country touched every citizen's life no matter they were politicized or apolitical. As mentioned above in this chapter, Turkey was ruled by military constitution until 1983, which accelerated the outcomes of the neo-liberal policies in the country and the architectural production as well.

Within this climate and the growth in the city towards the west, helped the Boulevard slowly become a circulation element and a passageway. Moreover, the open spaces and squares of the Boulevard, especially Kızılay Square were driven away from the politics after the 1980s.

The so-called ‘AVM culture’ pioneered by Atakule spread over the city from the 1990s and then on. Since, the city center, especially the MIA on the north-south axis and its surrounding lots, had exceeded its limits, this new culture was now being experienced in the outer parts of the center. Moreover, the new constructions were now being realized especially along the Eskişehir road on the west following the İnönü Boulevard where predominantly governmental buildings were located. The city’s growth towards the west and on the fringe affected the structuring of the area and vice versa. The car ownership was at its top, and the circulation in the city was being affected by this.

With the Ankara 2015 Plan’s public transportation attempts, underground-metro transportation was now a need and a tool for the plan’s goal. In 1993, Ankara’s and Turkey’s first automatic metro system’s construction had started. In 1996, Ankaray crossing Kızılay from its north-east to its south-west and in 1997, the metro starting from Kızılay and going towards the west, had started the service. Kızılay is the intersection of those two metro lines as the very center of the city.

However, the Kızılay MIA was growing towards the south, Çankaya, and there, a second shopping mall Karum (Von Gerkan, Marg un Partner with Yılmaz Gedik/Koray Construction Company; 1988-91) was built which quickly became a part of the citizens’ lives and a landmark of the city (Bozdoğan & Akcan, 2012, p. 208).

The 1990s was important for Ankara. In 1994, Melih Gökçek became the mayor of Ankara and a new era in the city that would come up to 2018 had started. One year after the election, Akay intersection was suggested to ease the traffic and provide continuous flow on the Boulevard. Despite the objections of the professional chambers and court decisions, it was built in 1998 and opened in 2001 (Gören, 2015). The 1990s were also the time when overpasses became widely seen in Ankara, especially around Kızılay and throughout the Boulevard (**Figure 3.86**).



**Figure 3. 86:** Overpasses along the Boulevard between Sıhhiye-Akay section (Author, 2017).

Meanwhile, Oerly's Kızılay building giving its name to the square (Kızılay Square) had already been demolished in 1979 and was replaced with a new building that was designed via competition in 1992 (Nesrin-Affan Yatman; 1993) (Kızılay Binası). The square that already had lost its features now had a completely different look. Moreover, it would stay empty until 2012 when it was finally functioned as a shopping mall (**Figure 3.87**).



**Figure 3. 87:** Old Kızılay building, looking towards the Boulevard, c. 1970 (left) (URL: <http://eskiturkiye.com/>), New Kızılay shopping center building, from Güvenpark (right) (Author, 2017).

In the last decades, many Republican era buildings fell victim to either new constructions or renovation projects. The user groups of the Boulevard majorly changed in this period, thus the Boulevard and its components slowly but steadily lost their values or physical existence. Therefore, this part of this chapter examines and informs about the constructions and destructions on the Boulevard along with the conservation activities and the socio-cultural life along the Boulevard from the 1980s then on.

### 3.5.1 Destructions and New Constructions on the Boulevard After the 1980s

The demolishment and reconstruction process started in the 1970s accelerated even more after the 1980s. The high story buildings were now replacing the relatively new 4-5 story components of the Boulevard. The rapid change that affected primarily the middle section of the Boulevard, Sıhhiye-Kızılay, and Kızılay-Kavaklıdere, transformed the perception of the Atatürk Boulevard. Especially the growing number of business centers continued to rise along the axis. Therefore, various apartment buildings were replaced with the 9-10 story business centers, some preserving only their names and owners. For instance, Kınacı Rent House (1937-1982) was demolished, and Engürü İşhanı (1983) was constructed. Refik B. Apartment (1933) was replaced with Zafer Apartment (1982), Tuna Apartment (1937) with Tiryaki İş Merkezi (late 1980s), Foto Apartment (1935) with Foto Cemal İş Hanı (1980s), Bulvar Apartment (1938-1980s) with Bulvar İş Merkezi (1980s), And Apartment (n.d) with And Çarşı İşhanı (Rahmi Bediz, Demirtaş Kamçıl; 1982), Tevfik Balıkcıoğlu Apartment (1937) with Balıkcıoğlu İşhanı (late 1980s), and Armağan Apartment (n.d) with Armağan İşhanı (early 1980s) (**Figure 3.88**).



**Figure 3. 88:** Engürü, And, and Balıkcıoğlu Business Centers and Shops (Author, 2018). Many buildings also housed governmental functions such as the today's Kavaklıdere Tax Office housing some departments of Ministry of Finance, certain floors of Atahan İşhanı being used by various ministry departments, or Ragıp Devres İşhanı being used by the Bağ-Kur offices in the early 1980s.

The high story buildings with the mixed use of office and commercial functions were now dominating the Boulevard even more than before. Exposed materials, aluminum, glass, and curtain walls were the most noteworthy aspects of these new constructions, reflecting the architectural approaches of their era.

Şekerbank Headquarters (today Turkish Union of Municipalities) (Oral Vural; 1986-89) in the place of a two-story building once used by the Brazilian Embassy, TÜBİTAK Headquarters (Gündüz Özdeş; 1992) in the place of a five-story building in 1969, Celal Bayar Business Center (former GAMA-GÜRİŞ Business Center) (Erhan Kocabıyıkoglu, Cemal Kayalar; 1986) on the lot next to Celal Bayar House where two-story Islamic Countries Research Center was once located, Semiha İsen Apartment (donated to Darüşafaka by Semiha İsen) (Tuğrul Pekiçten, CMT Architects; 1992) in the place of a five-story building can be given as examples regarding the reconstruction on the lots neighboring the Boulevard in the 1980s and 1990s (**Figure 3.89**).



**Figure 3. 89:** TÜBİTAK (top left), Semiha İşen Apartment (top right), Goethe Institute (bottom left), Şekerbank (middle), and GAMA (bottom right) (Author, 2018).

Moreover, Goethe Institut (Kültür Han or Türk Alman Kültür Merkezi) (Kaya Yenen; 1980) in the place of Bay Halit Apartment, Kök Çarşısı (unknown architect; 1986) on a lot of four-story building, Atahan İşhanı (unknown architect; 1981), GAMA Business Center (Oktay Veral, Sezar Aygen; 1987-89) on a lot hosted three and four-story buildings that once used as a hotel by American military members, SSK Ersin İşhanı (Yüksel Erdemir; 1983-88) on the lot of the four-story building formerly hosting Japanese Embassy in the 1950s, and many more are the examples from this era (**Figure 3.89**). Moreover, another significant construction on the Boulevard in this era was the Parliament Mosque Complex (Behruz and Can Çinici; 1989) with its non-

traditional approach to mosque architecture without any reference to classical features and elements such as the minaret or the dome (Bozdoğan & Akcan, 2012, pp. 219-220). The mosque emerged in the Turkish National Assembly's boundaries and received Aga Khan Award for Architecture in 1995 (**Figure 3.90**).



**Figure 3. 90:** Grand National Assembly of Turkey Mosque, general view (top left), ceiling detail (top right), general view of the interior (bottom) (Arkitera, URL: <http://www.arkiv.com.tr/proje/tbmm-camisi>).

Another implementation on the Boulevard in the new millennia was the ‘Atatürk Square’ constructed in 2001 on the Boulevard’s intersecting point with İnönü Boulevard towards the west in Akay Junction. Although the area does not have the

characteristics and qualities of a “square” but rather have a traffic island or median nature, it houses a monument fountain with the inscription “Atatürk Square, on October 29<sup>th</sup>, 1923, the republic was proclaimed. Ankara’s member of parliament, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk was chosen president. The name of the state became the Turkish Republic” both in Turkish and in English. Although it was said the square and monument was going to be demolished in 2017, it was indicated that the square was undergoing maintenance, and it still preserves its place on the Boulevard (**Figure 3.91**).



**Figure 3. 91:** Atatürk Square in March 2017 (left) and in September 2017 (right) (Author).

The constructions and destructions along the Boulevard in the 1990s and onwards certainly continued. Kızılay Rental Income Building (Kızılay Shopping Mall) constructed via competition opened in 1980 (Nesrin Yatman, Affan Yatman; 1993-2012). Its lot that had been used as a parking area between the demolition of Kızılay building in 1979 and the construction of the new shopping mall in 1993 finally had a new function. There were other new buildings, additions, and alterations on the Boulevard in this era. Çankaya Primary School (Güleş Sağlam; 1992), the first constructed building in 1927-28 by Architect Ali Rasim and opened in 1929, and its name given by Atatürk himself, was demolished in 1960. Until the new construction in 1992, the school served in its prefabricated building constructed in 1960-62. Moreover, in this era, MNG Holding-TV8 building (Gülümser Kocabıykoğlu, Erhan Kocabıykoğlu; 1993- façade facing by Desos Precast; 1998-2001), TEV Building (today’s Aydınli retail building) (unknown architect; 1979-83- conversion to retail and

offices by Aytemur Gürdal; 2002) were built and Bulvar Palas was converted into business and shopping center in 1993 by Merih Karaaslan with the addition of a high story block in 2001. Although, the building was not refurnished, rather was demolished and the new construction had its identical Boulevard side façade.

Furthermore, towards the present day, ASO Service Building (Mustafa Yücesan, Hülya Şalk Yücesan- Doku Architects; 2007-2008), Mango Retail Building (Hülya Şalk Yücesan, Mustafa Yücesan- Doku Architects; 2012), Polish Embassy's one-story additional building (Elçin Güvengiz; 2016) in addition to the Embassy of USA's residence constructed in 1997, annex to the the Swiss Embassy's lot (Mehmet Gündoğmuş; 2001) and annex to the Embassy of Israel (David Cassuto, Cengiz Kabaoğlu, and Gülgün Kabaoğlu; 2012), Residence of Turkish Parliamentary Speaker's Office (Erkan İnce; 2013) were constructed along the axis (**Figure 3.92**).



**Figure 3. 92:** Residence of Turkish Parliamentary Speaker's Office (top left) (URL: [http://www.yapi.com.tr/haberler/tbmm-baskanlik-konutu-ilk-kezgoruntulendi\\_124902.html](http://www.yapi.com.tr/haberler/tbmm-baskanlik-konutu-ilk-kezgoruntulendi_124902.html)), Embassy of Israel's annex and its existing structure (top right) (Courtesy of Çankaya

Municipality Archives), ASO Headquarters (bottom left), Mango retail building (bottom middle) (Author, 2017), Polish Embassy's Annex, floor plan and elevation (Courtesy of Çankaya Municipality Archives).

Although it is covered in detail in the upcoming subsection titled 'Conservation Decisions Concerning the Boulevard after the 1980s', registered buildings had been the subjects of demolition as well. Towards the present day, in the last decade, Mosque in Ulus (Muharrem Hilmi Şenalp- Hassa Architects; 2013-2017, who also prepared Ankara Historical City Center Renewal Project in 2009) on a large area where İller Bank and its additional buildings were located was built. Besides the ones that were replaced by other structures, the lot of Etibank Building (1950-60) demolished in 2013 is still waiting for a new construction.

There were also some functional changes along the Boulevard especially in the north in Ulus. Emlak Kredi Bank converted into PTT Pul Müzesi (PTT Stamp Museum) between 2010-2013 by Abidin Turhan, and Sümerbank was converted into Ankara Social Sciences University in 2016 are among other examples (**Figure 3.93**).



**Figure 3. 93:** Ankara Social Sciences University, former Sümerbank (left), PTT Stamp Museum, former Emlak Kredi Bank (right) (Author, 2017).

Moreover, two parks and recreation projects were realized on the Boulevard in this era. Sıhhiye Park was then renamed as Abdi İpekçi in memory of assassinated journalist Abdi İpekçi in 1981 in a 36.800 m2 area with Metin Yurdanur's *Eller* (Hands) Sculpture dated 1979, which was maintained in 2000. Seymenler Park was also opened (Selami Sözer; 1983) with sculptures by İlhan Koman, Burhan Alkar, and Tuba İnal in 1991. Moreover, Gençlik Park underwent a renovation project in the early

2000s held by Öner Tokcan. The eastern park of the Zafer Square, was converted into Zafer Underground Shop in 1980. The two-story gazino building dating back to 1952 by Emin Onat was converted into a large shop, and the green area of the former park was destroyed and paved with the addition to the underground shopping facility (Cengizkan, 2002, p. 51).

Atatürk Boulevard also hosted many sculptures and monuments in the post 1980 period: Atatürk and Freedom Monument in Grand National Assembly's campus (Hüseyin Gezer; 1982), Atatürk Monument in *Meclis Park* (*Milli Egemenlik*, National Sovereignty Park) (Hüseyin Gezer; 1983), monument in front of Ministry of Education located for Atatürk's 100<sup>th</sup> year of birth on November 24<sup>th</sup>, 1983 on the teacher's day (Tankut Öktem), *Balerinler* (Ballerinas) sculpture (Metin Yurdanur; 1992), and TESK Monument (Metin Yurdanur; 2001).

Another significant component on the Boulevard in this period was the Sıhhiye U-turn bridge (YPM-Yapı Proje Merkezi; 1997), acting as a division on the Boulevard together with the Sıhhiye bridge (**Figure 3.94**).

As it is understood from the large number of projects, demolition, and rebuilding examples that, after the 1980s the Boulevard experienced a major transformation. Especially towards the south, the buildings dating back to the late 1970s until present day form the current face of the Boulevard.



**Figure 3. 94:** Sıhhiye Bridge before the construction of Sıhhiye U-turn (left) (Harun Tekin Archive), Sıhhiye U-turn from top (URL: <http://www.ypm.com.tr/project/sihhiye-u-donusu-ust-gecidi/>), from Sıhhiye Square, and under the bridge (Author, 2017).

### 3.5.2 Conservation Decisions Concerning the Boulevard After the 1980s

The 2863 Law on the Conservation of Cultural and Natural Properties was effectuated in 1983. Following the first conservation legislation of Turkey; Law No. 1710, 2863

Law is still being used for the cultural and natural assets at present albeit some amendments in 1987 and in 2004.

Starting from the 1980s, the registration of the modern heritage cultural assets had accelerated including the sculptures, monuments, green and urban areas. In 1980, the conservation in Turkey would start to include the modernist architecture of the 1930s with the registration of İller Bank (1936-37), Emlak Kredi Bank (1934-35), Sümerbank (1937-38), Turkish Central Bank (1931-33), First Etibank Building (1935-36) as the first-degree cultural assets. In addition to the modernist architectural examples, the Opera building, first built as the Sergievi in 1933 as a modern component on the Boulevard then converted into the opera building with the classical additions between 1946-48, was also registered as the first-degree cultural assets besides the Ulus Vocational School (early 1900s) as second-degree and Victory Monument (1927) as the first-degree cultural assets. All located between the Ulus-Opera section of the Boulevard on the north, their registration started a new wave in the conservation of modern heritage along the Boulevard. Registration of these assets as the modernist architecture components of the 1930s is a significant turning point in the conservation scene. Moreover, including the Victory Monument as a single component to be conserved also opened the way to the registration of other monuments and sculptures.

In 1986, more modern era buildings were included in the registration process; Faculty of Language, History, Geography (DTCF) (1937-39), İsmet Paşa Institute for Girls (1930), Ankara Olgunlaşma Institute, and Radyoevi (1938) were all registered as the first-degree cultural asset. Being regarded as significant components on the Boulevard, they were now protected by the conservation law. Towards the end of the decade, Orduevi (1929-33) was registered as the first-degree cultural asset in 1988 and more importantly, in 1989 Gençlik Park was registered as the first-degree natural site.

When we come to the next decade, in the 1990s registrations continued with the inclusion of single buildings, sculptures, monuments, and parks. Turkish Aviation Association (1933-37) was registered as a first-degree cultural asset in 1991, and in

1993 Bulvar Palas, one of the first hotels and a significant gathering place even for the governmental ceremonies, was registered. But it was not the original building that was registered, instead the new construction imitating its Boulevard façade was the registered asset.

Atatürk Statue (Pietro Canonica; 1927) was registered in 1994; it did not include the Zafer Park and Zafer Square where it was located, though they were also registered ten years later, in 2004. Güvenpark and Abdi İpekçi Park (1981) were both designated as the first-degree natural sites in 1994. Güven Monument in Güvenpark ((Anton Hanok, Joseph Thorak; 1935), Güneş Kursu/Bereket Anıtı (Hittite Sun Course Monument) (Nusret Suman; 1978), *Balerinler* (Ballerinas) sculpture (Metin Yurdanur; 1992), Atatürk and Freedom Monument (Hüseyin Gezer; 1982), Atatürk Monument in Meclis Park (Hüseyin Gezer; 1983), *Başöğretmen* Atatürk Monument (Tankut Öktem; 1983), and *Madenci* (Miner) Monument (Metin Yurdanur; 1991) were the monuments and sculptures that were registered in 1994 as well.

In addition to the registered assets in the 1980s and 1990s, in the new millennia; Israel Embassy in 2003, Supreme Court (1933-35) and Ministry of Agriculture and Forest (1945-46) in 2007, Ulus Business Center (1954) in 2010, third Grand National Assembly's campus (1938-60) in 2012, TBMM Mosque (1986-89) that won Aga Khan Award in 1995 and Austrian Embassy (1935-36) in 2015 were all registered as the first degree cultural assets.

Many restoration, renovation, and maintenance works were realized in this period as well. For instance, Grand Ankara Hotel underwent a major renovation in 1980, and in 2006, the retirement fund, the owner, put the hotel on the market. The hotel's renovation project proposed dramatic changes on the façade and the interior. Therefore, it attracted a lot of reaction from professionals and organizations including the chamber of architects which took legal action against the company leading to a change in the initial renovation project that proposed a neo-classical façade facing (Balamir & Erkmen, 2018).

Despite the registration applications, legal actions, and petitions initiated by chamber of architects the building was not registered. The renovation project was then given to the architect Gökhan Turgut Hakan. Following a number of alterations in the renovation, his project was accepted by the chamber of architects and the municipal aesthetics community. In this new renovation, the architect transformed the hotel into an energy-efficient green building. The dramatic changes on the façade and its interior changed its perceived image in the city, and the characteristics of the structure that was associated with its environment, the Boulevard was now lost.

Just a little south, the Lale Sitesi underwent façade maintenance between 1993-95 and between the years 2003-04, it was renovated, and its movie theatre, Akün was refunctioned as Akün Theater by Lebi Bilgin after Özgür Ecevit's design where he tried to sustain the 1970s characteristics of the place. Between 1994-99 all the buildings in the German Embassy's large campus underwent an extensive restoration. The first skyscraper in Turkey, Emek İşhanı's façade underwent maintenance by Emek Construction between 1999-2001, only to be sold to Talip Kahraman Construction company in 2006, which later made changes to its façades and realized yet another renovation project that altered the outer appearance of the landmark. In 2005, major restoration work was done in İller Bank; nevertheless, it did not stop it from being de-registered in 2016 to be demolished in 2017. As mentioned above, Renda Palace Cultural Center project by Celal Abdi Güzer and Lale Özgenel was prepared in 2007, though it had not been realized yet. In 2016, Zafer Shop in Zafer Square underwent renovation, as well as the ongoing renovations and restoration works in Opera building, Sümerbank building and İşbank tower that had started in 2018.

When we go back to the early 1980s, High Council of Immovable Monuments and Antiquities declared the 150-hectare area of the historical center as the "Urban, Historical, Natural and Archaeological Site". Accordingly, following two competitions, "Ulus Ankara Historic City Centre Restoration Site Conservation Master Development and Implementation Plan" was prepared. However, in ten years,

it could not be applied holistically apart from a limited area in Ulus, which did not cover the lots neighboring the Boulevard. Ten years here is especially important because when we come to the 1990s, as mentioned above, the local government changed from a social-democrat mayor to a more conservative one in 1994. Consequently, the application of the Conservation Master Plan was left on hold. Furthermore, local elections in 2004 followed by the general elections in 2002 that put Justice and Development Party (AKP) in power, strengthen the control of the existing mayor who also later became a member of the AKP.

In 2005, the Conservation Master Plan, approved in 1990, was canceled with Ankara Municipal Council's decision No. 210 even though it was against the conservation legislation.<sup>27</sup> Consequently, the municipality designated Ankara historical city center that also includes Ulus as the 'Ankara Historical City Center Renewal Area'. In 2004, 'Ulus Historical City Center Project', proposing the demolishment of 100. Yıl Shop, General Directory of Sports and Youth, Ulus Business Center and four other buildings constructed between the years 1937 and 1967, was approved by the Ankara Municipal Council in order to create an urban square that could be integrated with the Victory Monument. Moreover, it was also decided that some other nearby buildings were to be demolished to construct a new large shopping center and a parking garage behind the square. In 2010, with the initiatives of Chamber of Architects Ankara Branch that actually had started in 2005, Ulus Business Center was registered as the first-degree cultural asset while General Directory of Sports and Youth's block attached to the Business Center and is located right behind the Victory Monument was left unregistered. However, the exclusion of 100. Yıl Shop and the high block of Ulus Business Center, which were both winning competition projects, endangers the

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<sup>27</sup> In the Article 6 of the Law No. 2863 approved in 1983 on the Conservation of Cultural and Natural Properties, it says that "The plans cannot be canceled by the related institution unless there is a new conservation development plan or conservation development plan revision prepared and approved or unless there is jurisdiction."

(Turkish Law No. 2863, Article 6) (URL: <http://teftis.kulturturizm.gov.tr/TR,14437/korunmasi-gerekli-tasinmaz-kultur-ve-tabi-varliklarin-.html>).

integrity of the square. Thus, both being quality examples of their era, they are now susceptible to destruction.

Moreover, in 1985 Ankara Municipality started a renovation project for Güvenpark to make the park an urban center again with shopping and car park area. In addition to that, the municipality proposed a rearrangement in the park including the relocation of the Güven Monument to be seen better as well as the construction of an amphitheater behind the monument. To fully implement the project, it was needed to dig 20m down which would erase the existing green area of the park (Batuman, 2000, p.107). The project was partially accepted, and Güvenpark Underground Shops (Oktay Veral, Sezer Aygen; 1986) was realized. Although it drew reactions of the public, a civic group called “*Çevre Duyarlılığı Grubu*” (Environmental Sensitivity Group) with the slogan “*Otopark değil, Güvenpark*” (Güvenpark, not carpark) opposed the project with an extensive support by the Ankara citizens, with 60.000 signatures that they managed to gather, it paved the way of a legal action that resulted in the cancellation of the project based on an expert report prepared in 1986, following the legal action (Batuman, 2000, p. 108). The report stated that the long-term development strategies of Ankara and the nature of Güvenpark were disregarded in the project, whereas the project did not take into account of the historical, aesthetic, symbolic, and environmental values of the park (Batuman, 2000, p.108).

Another public initiative that was formed around the same era was “*Ulus Girişimi*” or Ulus Initiative that later became a part of the ANKARAM Platform, a component of the TMMOB. Ulus Girişimi, formed with the efforts of Chamber of Architects Ankara Branch, organized and rationalized the shopkeepers and artisans of Ulus as well as various NGOs and initiatives in 2005. They planned meetings in Ulus on each Saturday to support the shopkeepers of the area that would be affected by the demolition and to revitalize the area while applying to the Cultural and Natural Heritage Conservation Board for the registrations of the buildings in question (Uysal, 2005, p. 2). The platform’s efforts also helped the Ulus Business Center to be registered in 2005.

Moreover, Kavaklıderem Association established in 1996, undertook the responsibility of rehabilitating Kuğulu Park that was left neglected in the 1990s. The park which was left with only two swans – the animals that it takes its name from – was now being the home for the celebrations of the world environment day every year “*Kavaklıderem Bahar Şenliği*” (Kavaklıderem Spring Festival) with the collaboration of the mayor of the time Doğan Taşdelen, the events helped the citizens of Ankara, especially of Kavaklıdere to embrace the park as their open green space (Çapanoğlu, 2009, p. 120). In September 2000, the pedestrian road crossing the park was intended to be transformed into a vehicle road. With the initiative of Kavaklıderem Association, announcements were made on national TV and in newspapers, they initiated a collaboration with architects, planners, professional chambers, universities, environmentalist associations, NGOs like Çiğdemim and Esatlılar Association, and even political parties such as CHP, ANAP, and DYP supporting the struggle against the park project (Çapanoğlu, 2009, p. 120). Despite the collected signatures from the park’s users and Ankara citizens, the Mayor Melih Gökçek insisted on the traffic road even though it was opposed against after understanding that the park was in fact registered as a natural site in 1976 (Çapanoğlu, 2009, p. 120). With the pressure of the public opinion and legal actions taken against the project, it was decided that ‘the park was not suitable for the vehicle road’ in 2001 and next year Çankaya Municipality left the administration of events in Kuğulu Park to Kavaklıderem Association (Çapanoğlu, 2009, p. 121). The park was eventually protected from a wrong decision with the help of the public sensitivity that was initiated by an NGO. Consequently, the actual users of the park and citizens of Ankara became in charge of their own public green area.

In 2006, two underpasses with the name ‘Kuğulu underpass project’ started on the Boulevard in the section between the Kuğulu Park and Grand National Assembly. While the project increased the number of lanes on the area from four to six by including the bus stop lay-bys to the road, it decreased the size of the sidewalks to an extent that it was not sufficient for the pedestrians, therefore leaving the road for the use of the vehicles only (Ankaram Platformu, 2006). The project caused the section

of the Boulevard to become a traffic circulation axis rather than a pedestrian-focused, urban component in the service of the citizens. On the Atatürk Boulevard side of Kuğulu Park, the trees exported and planted only a year ago were uprooted and the area was desired to be included in the project by the Cultural and Natural Conservation Board (Çapanoğlu, 2009, pp. 122-123). Though, with the opposition and resistance of the citizens of Ankara under the leadership of ANKARAM Platform including the Kavaklıderem Association, it could be prevented once again. The physical access to the park from the Boulevard was blocked with the trucks and dozers, while a 21 day 24 hours watch organized with the participation of the citizens where signatures were gathered, movie screenings, concerts were organized, and informative presentations about the road and contemporary examples from the world were shown (Çapanoğlu, 2009, p. 122). With this civil resistance, minimum damage was given to the trees, and it set an example for the civil resistance with the participation of the citizens on the issues concerning their own built environments.

While each example disregarded the inclusion and participation of the citizens as the users of the urban ensemble, the citizens still tried to express their thoughts and reactions on the issues. Some succeeded, some did not, but it brings the notion of ‘right to the city’ in mind. Every citizen of a city as its users should have the right to access and use their urban areas and its components as well as to be a part of the decision-making process on the issues concerning their cities as pointed out by Lefebvre;

“The right to the city, complemented by the right to difference and the right to information, should modify, concretize and make more practical the rights of the citizens as an urban dweller (citadin) and user of multiple services. It would affirm on the one hand, the right of the users to make known their ideas on the space and time of their activities on the urban area; it would also cover the right to the use of the center, a privileged place, instead of being dispersed and stuck in ghettos (for workers, immigrants, the ‘marginal’ and even for the ‘privileged’)” (1996, p.34).

Though, unfortunately, the civil or professional resistance did not always work in every case. In the 2010s, the Boulevard and even Ankara as a city faced a major transformation. A massive mosque resembling classical Ottoman architecture was

built just across Gençlik Park, the symbol of the secular and healthy young Turkish nation, next to İller Bank. The construction started in 2013 and ended in 2017 and transformed the *Hergelen* (or *İtfaiye*) Square, where it was located with its immense mass that is incompatible with its environment, the Republican era buildings, and open spaces (Fig. 9). The project area of the mosque allowing 7000 people to worship, is equal to the Gençlik Park's area. Moreover, in its vicinity, fourteen other mosques have still been used. Özaloğlu states that the mosque was transformed into a political propaganda tool rather than having a religious function, it was important that it was seen from everywhere, dominating its surroundings and transforming its environment in terms of societal use; in other words, it helped rebuilding the collective memory by spatializing the neo-liberal Islamic discourse (Özaloğlu, 2017).

Although the mosque's presence was very dominant, it was still behind the İller Bank building, therefore could not be fully seen from the Boulevard. Thus, the bank building, which was one of the most important examples of Turkish modernism, was included in the mosque project area in 2014 and demolished in a hot summer night in 2017 to be rebuilt in the next lot despite being registered in 1980. Even though the Burra Charter clearly indicates that;

“The physical location of a place is part of its cultural significance. A building, work or other component of a place should remain in its historical location. Relocation is generally unacceptable unless this is the sole practical means of ensuring its survival” (Burra Charter, 1999).

In this case, it was not going to be moved, but to be rebuilt, and the reasoning for this act was that the building was not ‘earthquake resistant’. Regardless of the public opinion tried to be created by Chamber of Architects and other initiatives, its eighty years lifetime came to an end even though it underwent a comprehensive restoration in 2005. While its architectural, historical and document values were disregarded, it was demolished even before its economic life had come to an end, before its ‘expiration date’, which could have easily been extended.

Another building that was demolished despite being a significant component of Ankara as a modern heritage building was the Aga Khan Award winner Grand National Assembly's Public Relations building. Despite the attempts and efforts of the chamber of architects to register the building in 2012, it did not get the chance to be protected by the conservation law (Balamir, 2016). The event that paved the way for its demolition was the July 15<sup>th</sup>, 2016 coup attempt. Even though the building was not damaged in contrast to the Parliament Mosque and the Parliament building itself during the coup attempt night due to the bombings, it was under maintenance and waiting to be refunctioned (Balamir, 2016). It was declared that the building did not fulfill the modern needs, fell short in terms of use, and as a result, demolished in 2016 and a 'modern public relations building' (Meclis'e modern ve akıllı yeni Halkla İlişkiler Binası, 2014) built in 2014 as if the original one was not a modern architecture building.

### **3.5.3 The Changing Social and Cultural Scene and Activities of and in Ankara After the 1980s Through the Boulevard**

Following the coup, because of the night-curfew and distressing environment in the politics that significantly affected the society, ended the nightlife and disrupted the daily leisure activities in urban life. During the post-1980 coup era, Kızılay Square was driven away from the politics and became a circulation and passage element; the organization of the square as a junction and intersection supported with the Güvenpark renovation project, metro project and new Kızılay Shopping mall to be realized had their effects on this (Batuman, 2000, p107). Güvenpark became a hub for the security forces, which would be the case once again in the 2010s.

The nightclub culture with their DJs replacing orchestras that had increased towards the 1980s was interrupted with the 1980 coup. Mostly located towards the south and even up to Çankaya, those nightclubs had a brief but lively life in Ankara's social and entertainment scene.

Although most of the restaurants along the Boulevard had been closed in the late 1960s and 1970s, the still functioning ones were replacing the relatively cheap tavernas (İpekeşen, 2011). The increasing slums in the periphery of the city indeed had its effects on the city, both spatially and socially with the help of the inhabitants of these slums. Similar to Ulus in the 1960s, now upper-income groups were leaving Kızılay. This also led to the departure of the brands and places used by the upper-middle class as well; they were now moving to the south. The AVM, or shopping mall culture also supported this move. Now the traditional commercial areas and street shopping were replaced with the compact shopping experiences of the AVMs, which frequently housed the international brands.

The neo-liberal developments in the economy resulted in the existence of international approaches in the consumption and altered the previous habits of the citizens. This had its marks on the food and beverage sector as well as the leisure time activities. Now the chains, especially the international ones, were popular amongst the citizens. While the place that brought the fast-food culture to the city, Piknik, was closing, the first McDonald's of Ankara was going to open in the following years just a few buildings next to Piknik's old shop.

Towards the 1990s, most of the food and beverage places were leaving their places to the fast-food chains just as in the McDonald's example. Most of the cultural activity places were either closing down or moving towards Çankaya and even to the west where new settlements were emerging in a rapid velocity. The only movie theater left along the Boulevard; Akün was refunctioned as a theater, thus, the period when movie theaters were opening to the streets had come to an end. Now the movie theaters were mostly found in the newly constructed AVMs in large contemporary settings where they can play several movies simultaneously, unlike Akün and many other old movie theaters which hosted one large cinema hall.

With the departure of the upper-income class from the Boulevard's north and center and the relocation of the dwellings used by this group, the prestige functions in the business centers in Kızılay-Sıhhiye section started to leave the Boulevard. Many

moved to the new settlements in the west or new skyscrapers along the Eskişehir Road, the road connecting the old city and new settlements in the west. The offices emptied by doctors, legal bureaus, international companies, and high-end functions were now taken by the private education facilities. Especially towards and during the 2000s, the preparation centers for university exams were almost in every business center along the Boulevard's Sıhhiye-Kızılay section. Nevertheless, they were going to be emptied as well in the last decade due to the governmental decisions on the closure of private education centers for the university exams. Some were replaced with private language education centers, driving schools, and such, while a few adapted themselves as private highschools. Therefore, although the commercial functions still occupied the ground floors, the upper floors of a large number of the buildings were left empty.

As for the cultural activities, besides the Opera, PTT Stamp Museum, Akün as mentioned above, Goethe Institute, and İnönü's Pembe Köşk that is open twice a year, and Sevda Cenap And Culture Center, and Dost bookstore –which is closed in 2018– there is not much left along the Boulevard. The recreational activities provided by the open-air green areas were limited with the few parks left along the axis. Gençlik Park, for instance, was first left to the citizens from the squatter houses which affected the families, later was charged with an entrance fee in the 1980s. Although this practice was then abandoned, it has not come to its old state and popularity amongst the Ankarans and tourists. Abdi İpekçi Park, on the other hand, had become a passageway together with the Sıhhiye bridge. Kuğulu Park is still widely used by the citizens along with Seymenler Park, especially in the spring and summer.

The large green components of the Boulevard, despite being private, have been the embassies without a doubt. Though, the fences and walls built around them especially in the 1970s and 1980s separated them from the users and made them fragmented components along the Boulevard. The squares, similarly, were diminished and their physical qualities as squares were interrupted with implementations and decisions regarding the Boulevard. They became nodes and junctions left to the vehicles rather than open urban places in the city ensemble.

The last strikes for the Boulevard as an urban component were mostly held during the post-1980 period. The overpasses, road expansions, underpasses all caused the withdrawal of pedestrian usage of the Boulevard. Even the Kızılay-Sıhhiye section that had been a promenade and leisure activity place in the 1930s and 1940s became a place where people pass by rather than spending time. Kavaklıdere-Bakanlıklar section, likewise, was left to the vehicles with the diminished sidewalks and enlarged vehicle roads. It can be said that the security problems also had their effects on this. High walls and fences of the embassies, Grand National Assembly, and the Ministries, unfortunately, contributed to the current state of the Boulevard.

Moreover, the events happened in the last decades had also paved the way. Güvenpark that became a hub for the security forces following the 1980 coup (Batuman, 2000) was again the place where the heavy existence of the police after a series of events. Gezi Park events in the summer of 2013, terrorist attack in the spring of 2016 and finally the coup d'état attempt in the summer of 2016, all considerably increased the ID controls and security surveillance making the area a place to avoid rather than a place to spend time.

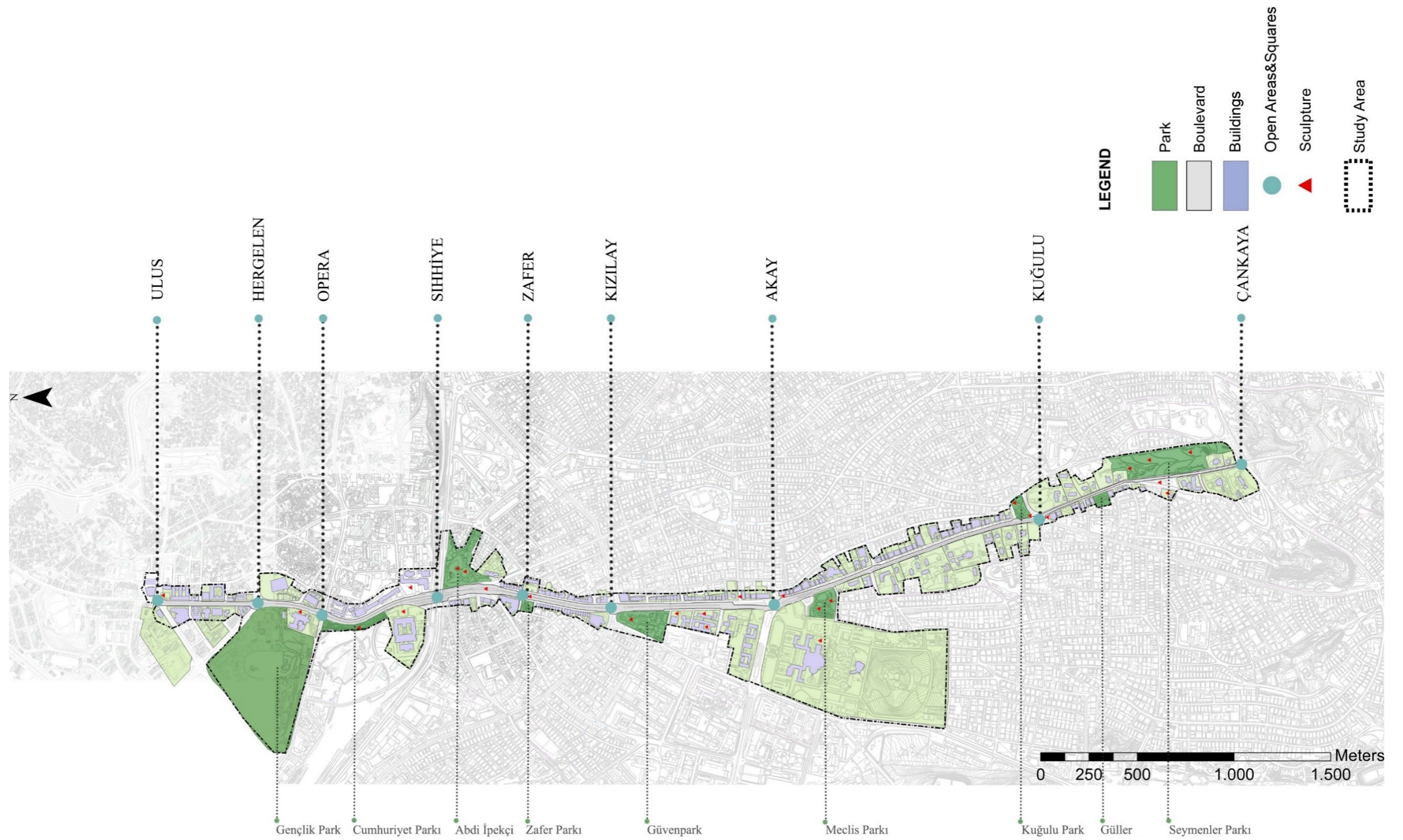
### **3.6 The Current State of Atatürk Boulevard**

Today the Atatürk Boulevard is a 5.7 km long urban axis spreading from the Ulus Square to Çankaya Palace. The north-south axis of the city still houses many different functions within its formation including the governmental, administrative, commercial, cultural, and even residential facilities alongside the open and green spaces. It is a strong component of the capital of Ankara where one can indeed observe the transformation of the city, the Republic, the society, the culture, the urbanism approaches, and the architectural practices of Turkey from its foundation then on. Even though it underwent major changes through its short but intense history that started with the Lörcher Plan in 1924, towards its 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary, it is still an important element in the urban ensemble and preserves its place amongst its users' everyday practices. Just walking through the Boulevard would help one to have a perception of walking through the pages of history, and if know where to look at, even

imagine the roots of the urban identity and culture of the capital. The urban identity formed with the collective practices and efforts of the Ankarans of all generations for the past 95 years with the help of the built environment as the physical framework of collective memory, thus, can continue, again through the practices of generations with the help of the spatial components.

Consisted of eight squares and junctions (Ulus Square, Hergelen (Erbakan) Square, Opera Junction, Sıhhiye Square, Zafer Square, Kızılay (15 Temmuz Milli İrade) Square, Akay (İnönü) Square/Junction, Kavaklıdere Square/Junction) and 75 lots on the west and 114 on the east framing the Boulevard, it now has 189 lots in total. The Boulevard today hosts nine public parks (Gençlik Park, Cumhuriyet Parkı, Abdi İpekçi Parkı, Zafer Parkı, Güvenpark, Meclis Parkı, Kuğulu Park, Güller Bahçesi, Seymenler Parkı) the functions and usage of which frequency vary (**Figure 3.95**).





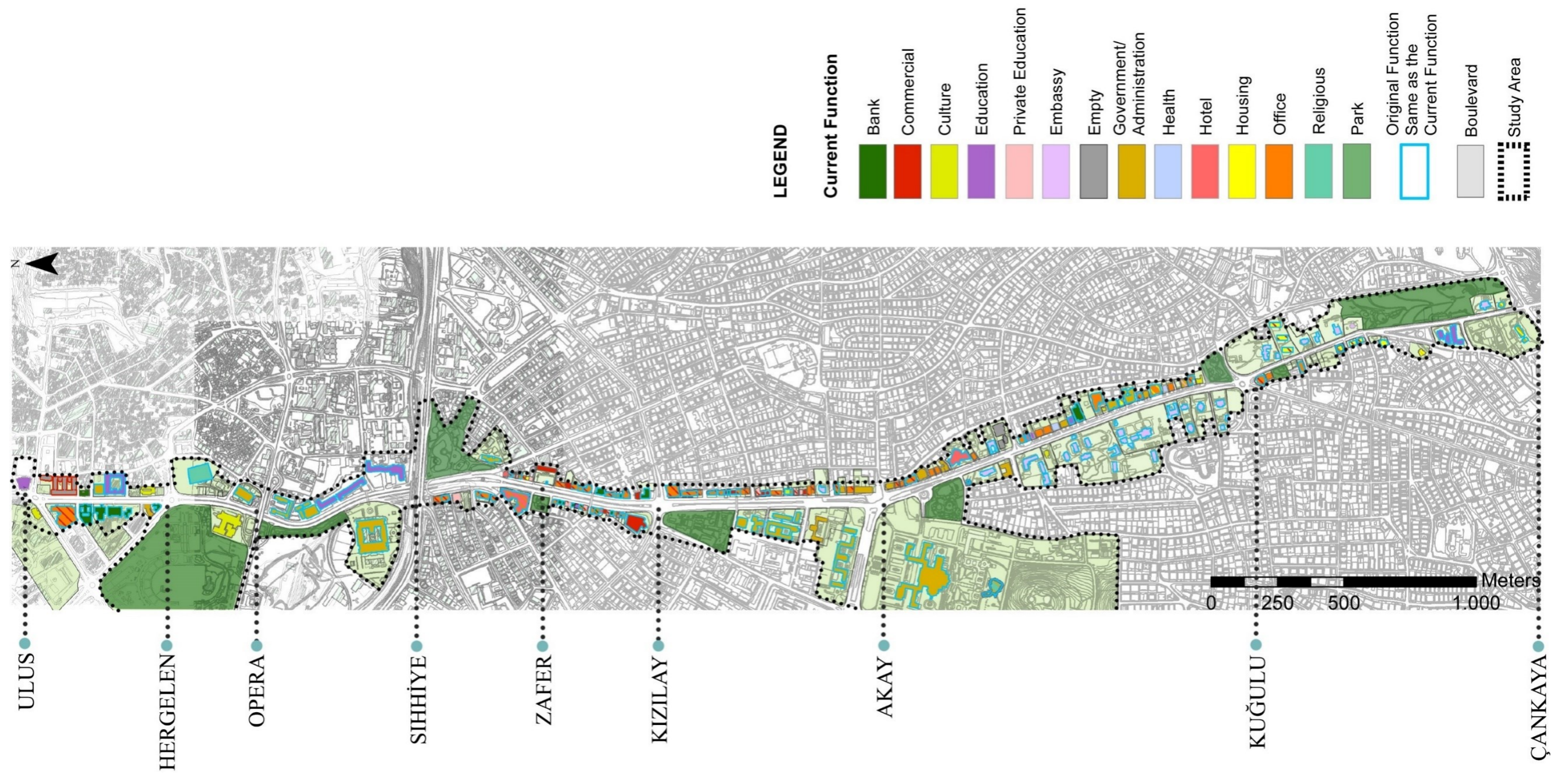
**Figure 3. 95:** The open and green spaces along the Boulevard (Author, 2018).



Among these 189 lots housing different functions and some multiple structures in their boundaries, the construction dates of the buildings forming the Boulevard and their architectural styles vary richly. From an Ottoman Era school (Ulus Vocational School) and dwelling examples (Mithat Alam House, Israel Embassy) to the first and second national architectural style examples and modernist structures of the 1930s and organic, brutalist, rational, international styles along the Boulevard contribute to the formation of the area together **(Figure 3.96)**.

At the present day, it can be observed that the physical formation of the Boulevard had transformed massively. The urban axis was initially designed to connect the old and new parts of the young capital and provide a modern urban element to house the indicators and representatives of the new modern Republic. It may follow the same route, which it was intended to, during its first implementation period, but both the Boulevard and the components along it have gone through transformations. The Boulevard that was designed as a three-lane urban road, surrounded by green belts, modern structures of the modern Republic, and housing facilities with gardens had become a passageway and a circulation element with the diminished medians to add more lanes, and loss of the gardens to replace the loss of space in the sidewalks. Moreover, the visual and physical perception of the Boulevard which initially started with the maximum five-story buildings (for the administrative functions) and two/three story dwellings today had become a standard ten or more story buildings **(Figure 3.97)**.





**Figure 3. 96:** Current function and and the unchanged functions of the components along the Boulevard (Author, 2018).





Figure 3. 97: Number of Stories along the Boulevard (Author, 2018).



Today, thirty-two buildings, eight monuments and sculptures, and seven parks are registered as cultural or natural assets along the Boulevard in addition to the third-degree natural sites that are situated in the southern section of the Boulevard mostly consisted of the embassies' areas (**Figure 3.98**). In **Figure 3.98**, the colors of the assets indicate the construction dates, the frames (if exist on the buildings) indicate the registration statues –of which their registration degrees can be understood again through the colors of the frames–, and the monuments and sculptures can be seen as triangles, if registered, with an addition of small dots. Amongst these registered assets, it can be observed that the 20<sup>th</sup>-century architectural heritage could not find itself a broad space in the conservation decisions. Although it is known from the previous decisions and actions that, registration does not always truly protect an asset, and it can still be a subject in the demolition or massive transformation as in the example of İller Bank and Kızılay buildings, which were both demolished despite being registered. Moreover, the social and cultural aspects of the places are often disregarded in the conservation measures and the components along the Boulevard are evaluated to become the cultural assets according to their physical features such as architectural styles or construction dates.

Through the registration dates, it can be observed that the first registrations held along the Boulevard are the first national architectural style buildings, mostly the administrative functions were considered as cultural assets such as the bank buildings of the early 1920s, which are quality examples of the first national architectural style in the capital. Eleven of the Boulevard's components were registered as cultural or natural assets before the 1980s, five of which are the first national architectural style examples (Ziraat Bank, Ottoman Bank, Department of Monopolies, Celal Bayar House), two of which are Ottoman Era structures (First Grand National Assembly, Pembe Köşk), three of which are neo-classical examples of the 1930s modernism (Ministry of Health, Ministry of Public Works, Ministry of Internal Affairs), and one is second national architectural style (Cenap And House) in addition to Kuğulu Park registered as natural site. Between the years 1980 and 2002, twenty-five components

of the Boulevard were registered as cultural and natural assets, including the elements other than buildings and parks; monuments and sculptures. The registered elements during this period include the Ottoman Era structures and modern era components. Especially during the 1990s, the registration of the sculptures and monuments increased remarkably (**Figure 3.99**). In **Figure 3.99**, in addition to the information given on **Figure 3.98**, the names of the registered assets are given as well as their registration dates.

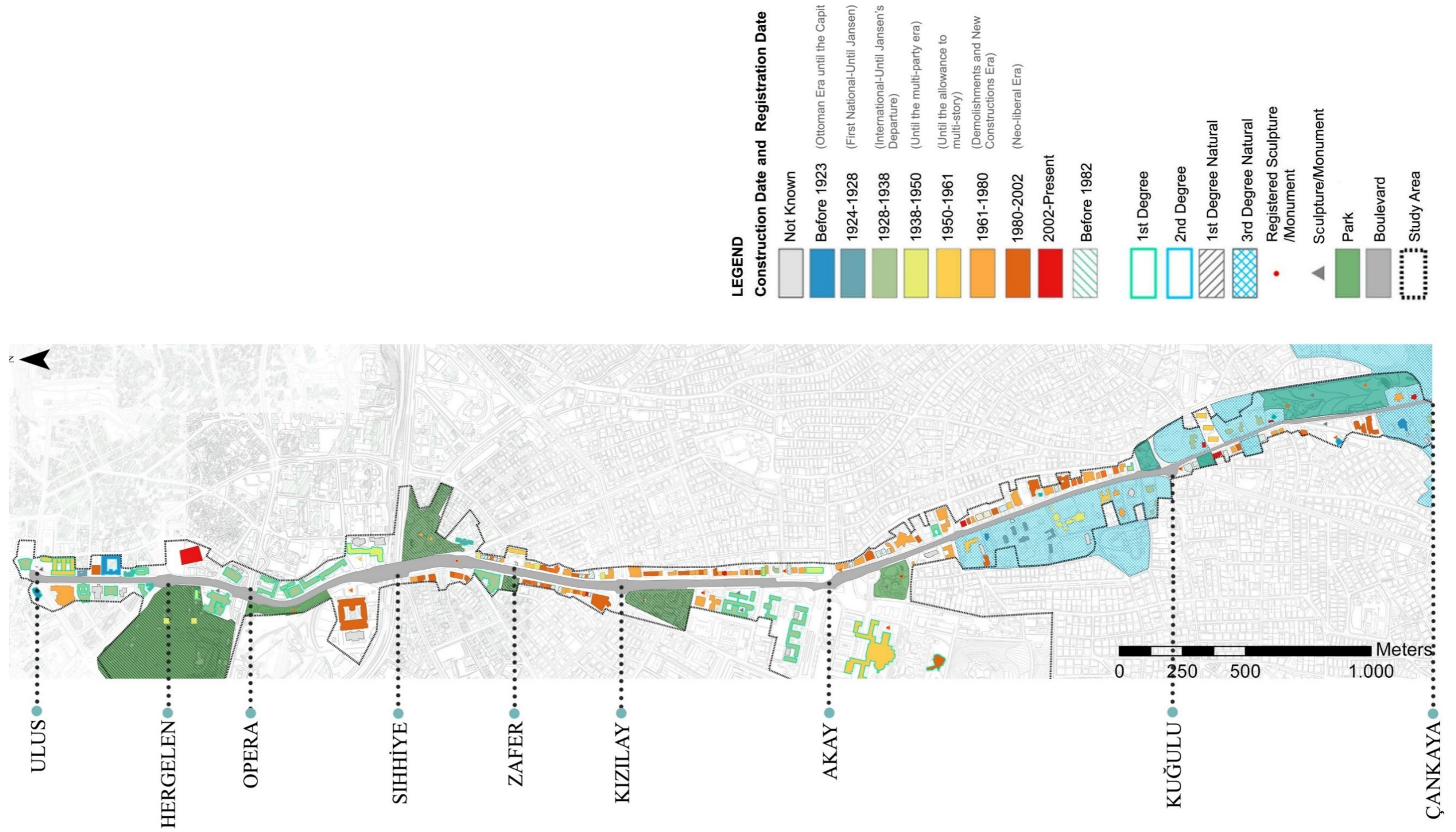


Figure 3. 98: Construction date and conservation status along the Boulevard (Author, 2018).



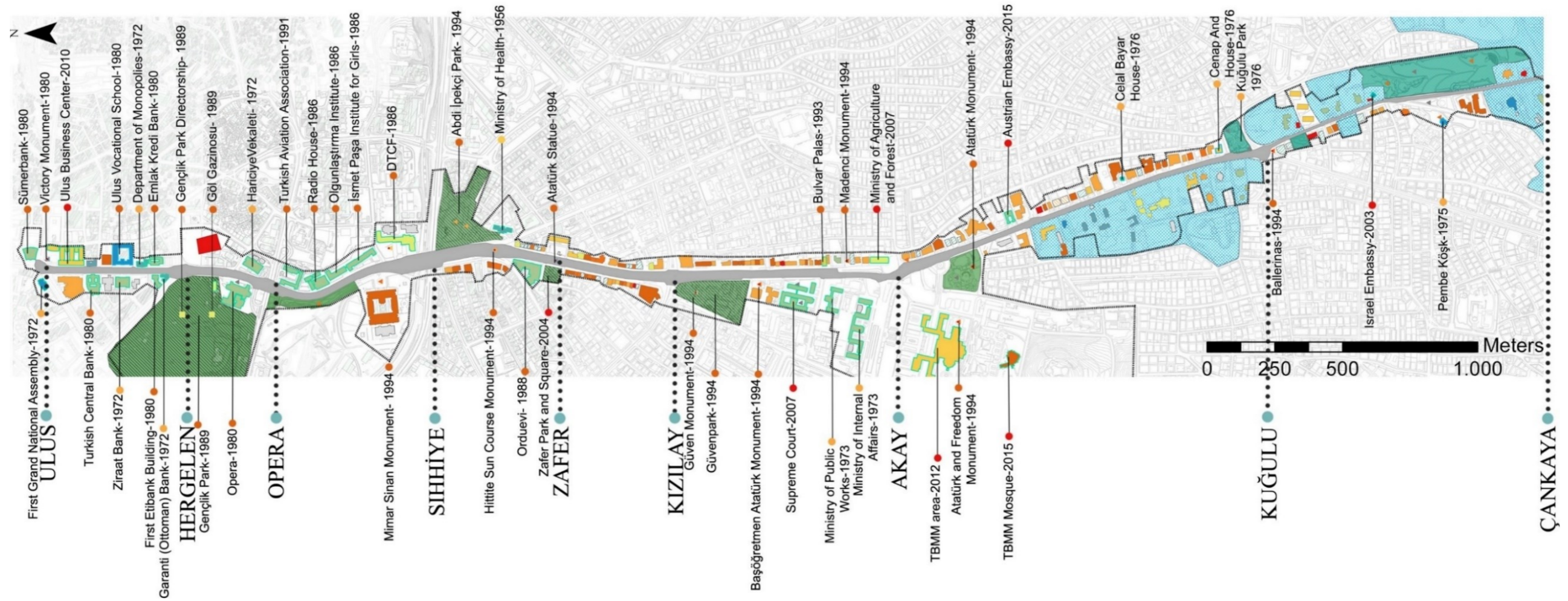


Figure 3. 99: Construction date, heritage status. and registration date of the Boulevard's components Author, (2018).

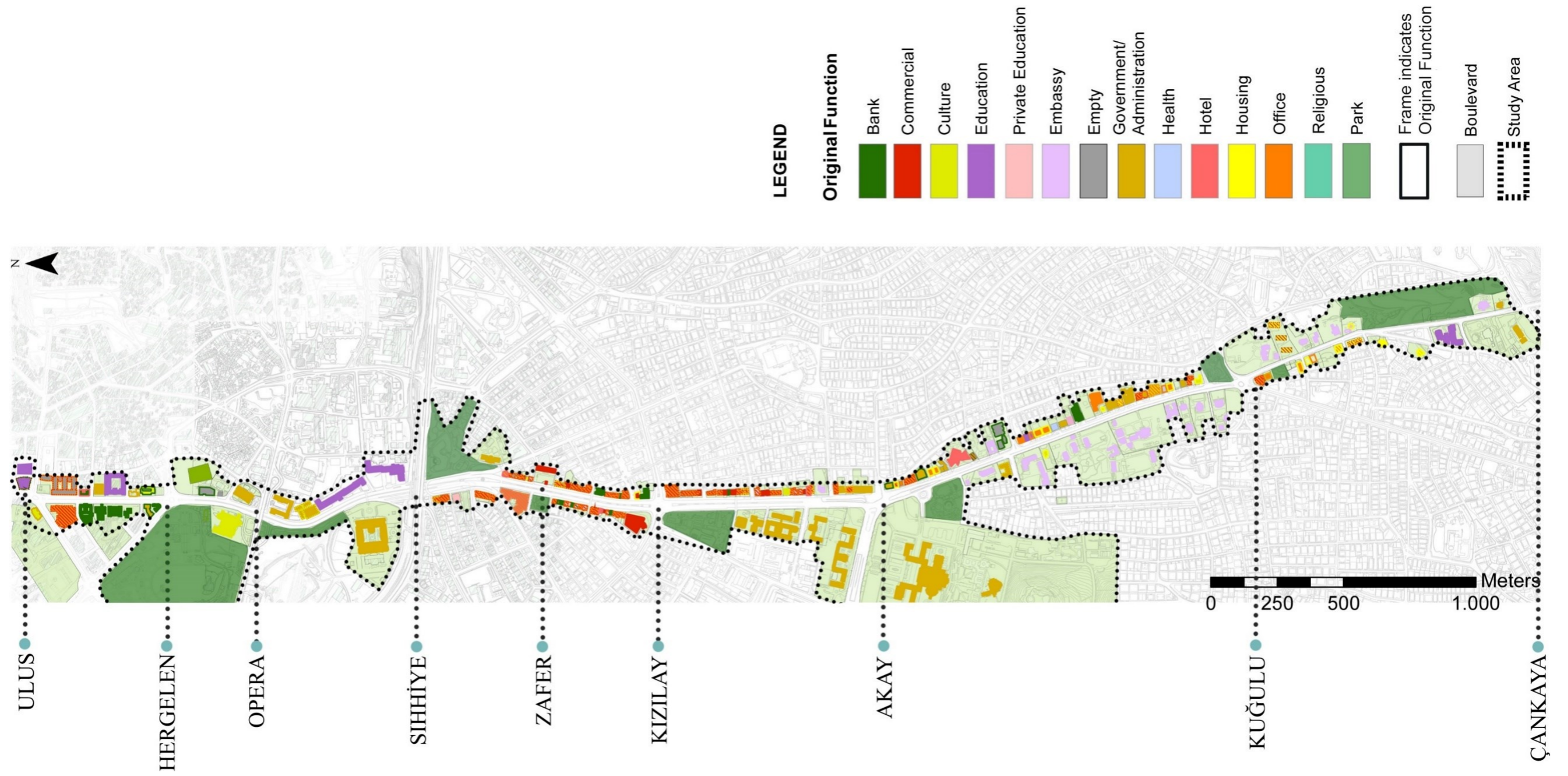


Today, the functions along the Boulevard include administration/governmental, commercial, culture, education, private education, embassy, health, accommodation (hotel), housing, offices, religious and parks. Although these functions had been a reality of the Boulevard since its formation, their density and locations had changed, while some functions were later introduced to the Boulevard's scene such as the health, religious, office, and a relatively new formation; private education centers, some initial formations along the Boulevard were lost due to the high density of the population and rapid growth of the urban center. The vineyards of Ankara, mostly located in the valleys near the southern section of the Boulevard, Kavaklıdere and Çankaya were lost with the rapid construction process in the capital (**Figure 3.100**).

Atatürk Boulevard has been the scene of various events and meanings as it was examined in Chapter III. However, in the current situation, it can be addressed as a stage that bears meanings and lived experiences of all the eras that it had been through such as the Republican era, multi-party era, coups d'état era, neoliberal era and so on. Each of these periods had been concretized and became more dominant in different sections along the Boulevard. Therefore, different sections of the Boulevard carry different meanings and functions belonging to several eras and lived experiences through the history of the Turkish Republic. For each era, the Boulevard had been a showcase of each political power's actions, and a place to display the social, political, and international tendencies through the built environment.

The first example of this is the Republican period without a doubt since the city was designated as the capital in this era in 1923. The Boulevard was formed as the connection where Republican identity was displayed, and it was intended to form a display window for the new Republic through the Boulevard. Each intervention along the Boulevard, from destruction to construction had had a meaning through its history.





**Figure 3.100:** Original functions of the components along the Boulevard (Author, 2018).



## CHAPTER 4

### EVALUATION AND MECHANISMS AND PRINCIPLES FOR ARCHITECTURAL CONSERVATION OF ATATÜRK BOULEVARD

To trace the functional and spatial formation and transformation of the Boulevard, examining it in sections would ease the understanding of the process. Each individual section bearing different meanings and significance have been the subject –and sometimes the target– of various eras starting from the early years of the Republic until the current day. The Boulevard, thus, can be seen as a stage where different events occurred through history and a stage where one can observe the formation and transformation process of the Turkish Republic.

To analyze it, the Boulevard is divided into seven sections starting from the north and moving along the south. Those sections were designated through the architectural representation, function, meaning, construction date, and urban plans through Boulevard's history. While each section has integrity within itself, the squares that had been designated in the Lörcher and then Jansen plans are the indicators of these divisions; they were intended to be the key points along the Boulevard which connect or divide different functions and meanings along it and help them link with their surrounding neighborhoods. Moreover, they host physical and social barriers that help us differentiate them from each other and divide them into sections.

#### 4.1 An Overall Evaluation of the Boulevard

Today, different sections along the Boulevard carry different identities and meanings (**Figure 4.1**) as well as functions (**Figure 4.2**). Firstly, Ulus-Hergelen-Opera section is displaying the Republican identity as a documentation of the early Republican ideals and architectural and social approaches. After the Opera Square, until Sıhhiye Bridge, they show a togetherness in terms of function and also scale. After the Opera Square,

the components along the Boulevard are modernist architectural examples consisted of predominantly cultural and education functions. The Opera Overpass built in the early 1970s also became a physical barrier that divides the two sections of the Boulevard and promoted their difference.

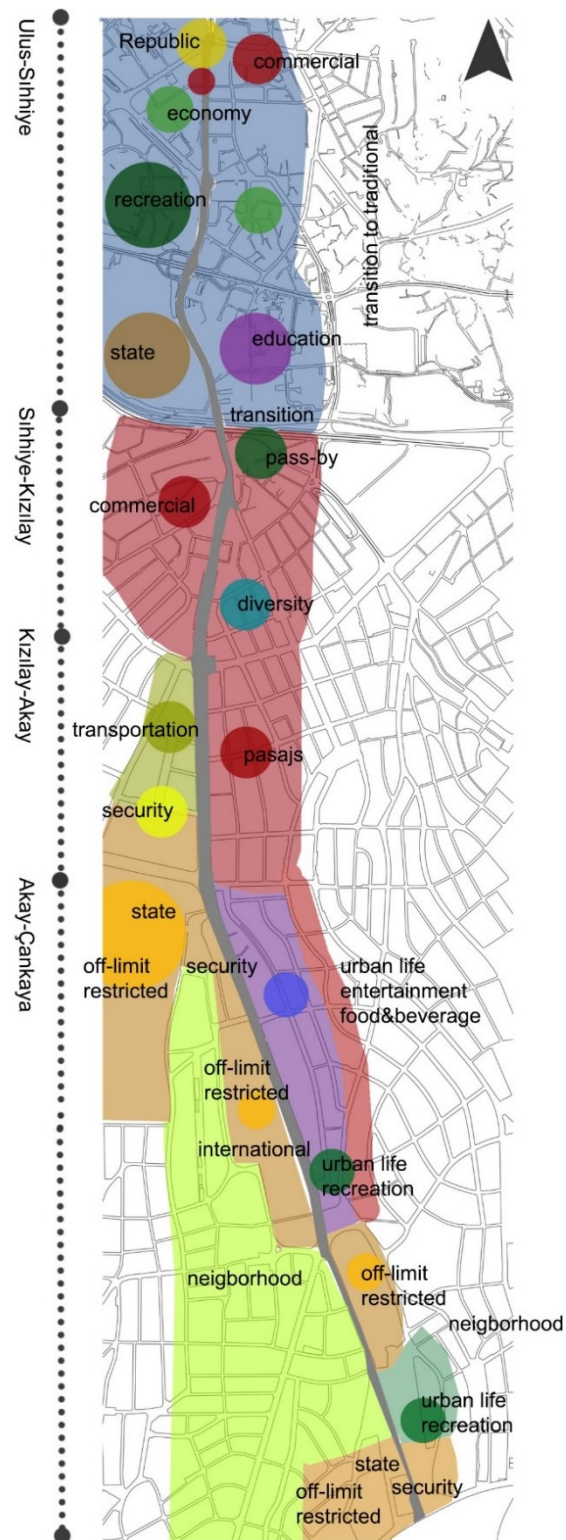
Sıhhiye Bridge had been a physical and social barrier from the beginning of the Ankara's early years as the capital. This is where *Yenişehir* started, and the old city ended. Therefore, the inhabitants, the users and thus, the functions and meanings in the Sıhhiye-Kızılay section differentiated from the northern section. Zafer Square in the middle of this section, again a node designated in the first urban plans of Ankara, had been a connection between Sıhhiye and Kızılay Squares and a liaison for the neighborhoods surrounding it and an open leisure and recreation place for the *Yenişehir* inhabitants. Through the history of the Republic, the components of this section underwent similar transformations and mostly carried similar functions and architectural representations.

Kızılay, on the other hand, was the point where the administrative area had emerged. The changing meanings and physical state of this square had been transformed and even enhanced with each and every change in the capital's history from the political powers to socio-economical changes through time. The square and its surrounding as a center for the residential and then the administrative area had been reinforced as the commercial center towards the end of the 1950s then on. With the construction of the Skyscraper that had become a symbol for the international tendencies both socially and economically, the area's meaning in the collective understanding of Ankarans had been altered. Acting as a collection and division space both for the circulation and the functions and meanings, the square had been an important component of the Boulevard and a space for different functions in the south and the north. Though, the meaning and the transformation of Kızılay Square's eastern part had been similar to the Sıhhiye-Kızılay section. These areas are also where the cultural representations of Ankara had been born and nourished especially in the 1940s and 1950s with the help of cultural, commercial and food and beverage places.

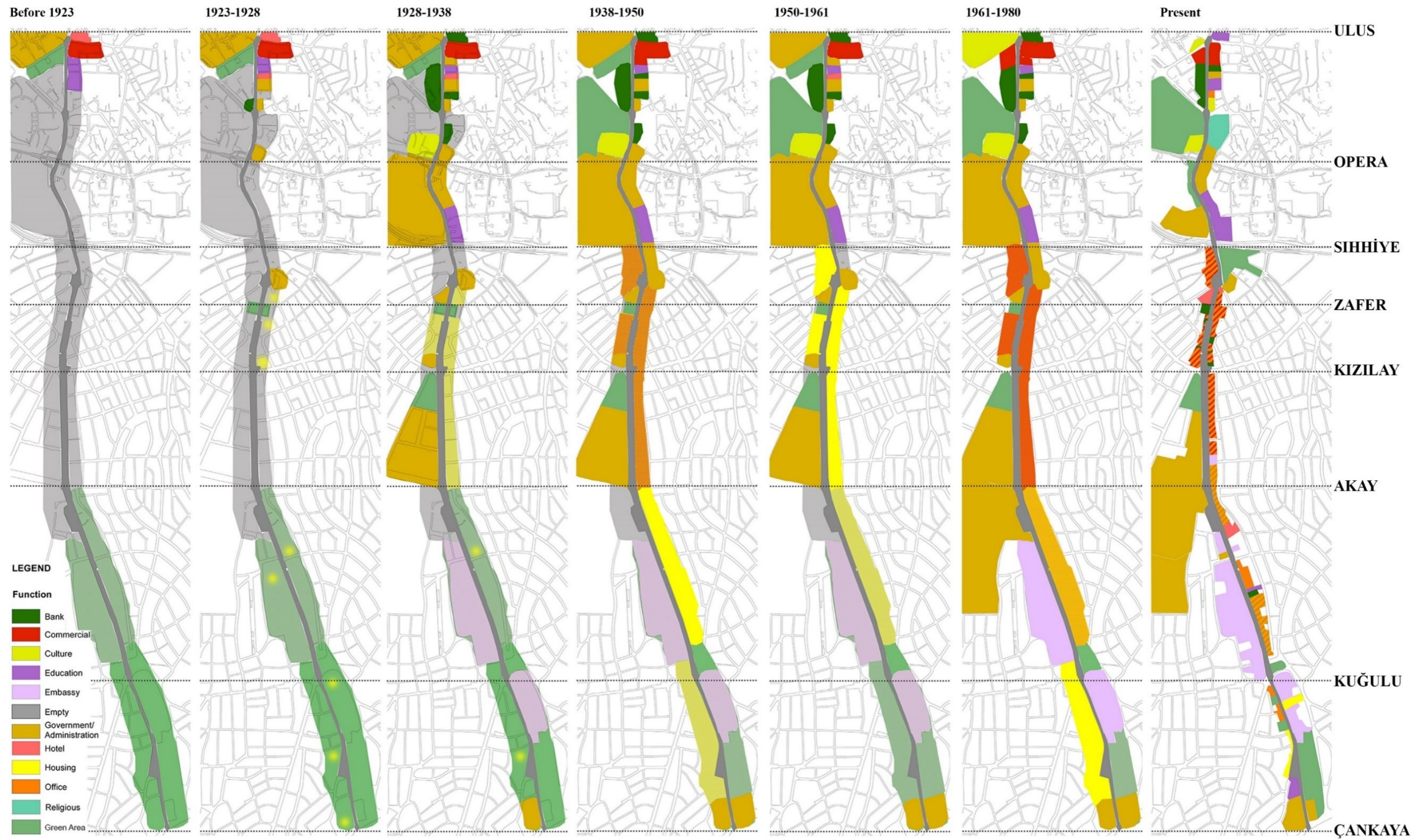
At the end of the ministries, where current Grand National Assembly is located, the İnönü Square (current Akay Junction) acts as another barrier where the representation of the Turkish Government ends. In the following years, with Eskişehir Road connecting the Boulevard at this point and with the underpasses, this area became a physical barrier as well. Though in the early years, towards the south from this point, there were the vineyards and prairies of Ankara, which later were partially replaced with the embassies in the west as the representation of the foreign countries in the capital's spatial formation.

From Kuğulu Park or Kavaklıdere up to Çankaya Palace, the section changes not only in terms of its functions and architectural representations but also regarding its topography. The Boulevard stretching from Ulus until Kuğulu Park almost without any hills or diversions starts going uphill from here towards the south.

Moreover, the change in the physical state of the Boulevard with the demolitions and new constructions in line with the urban decisions, architectural approaches, social, economic, political impacts changed the visual and physical perception in each different period (**Figure 4.3, Figure 4.4**).

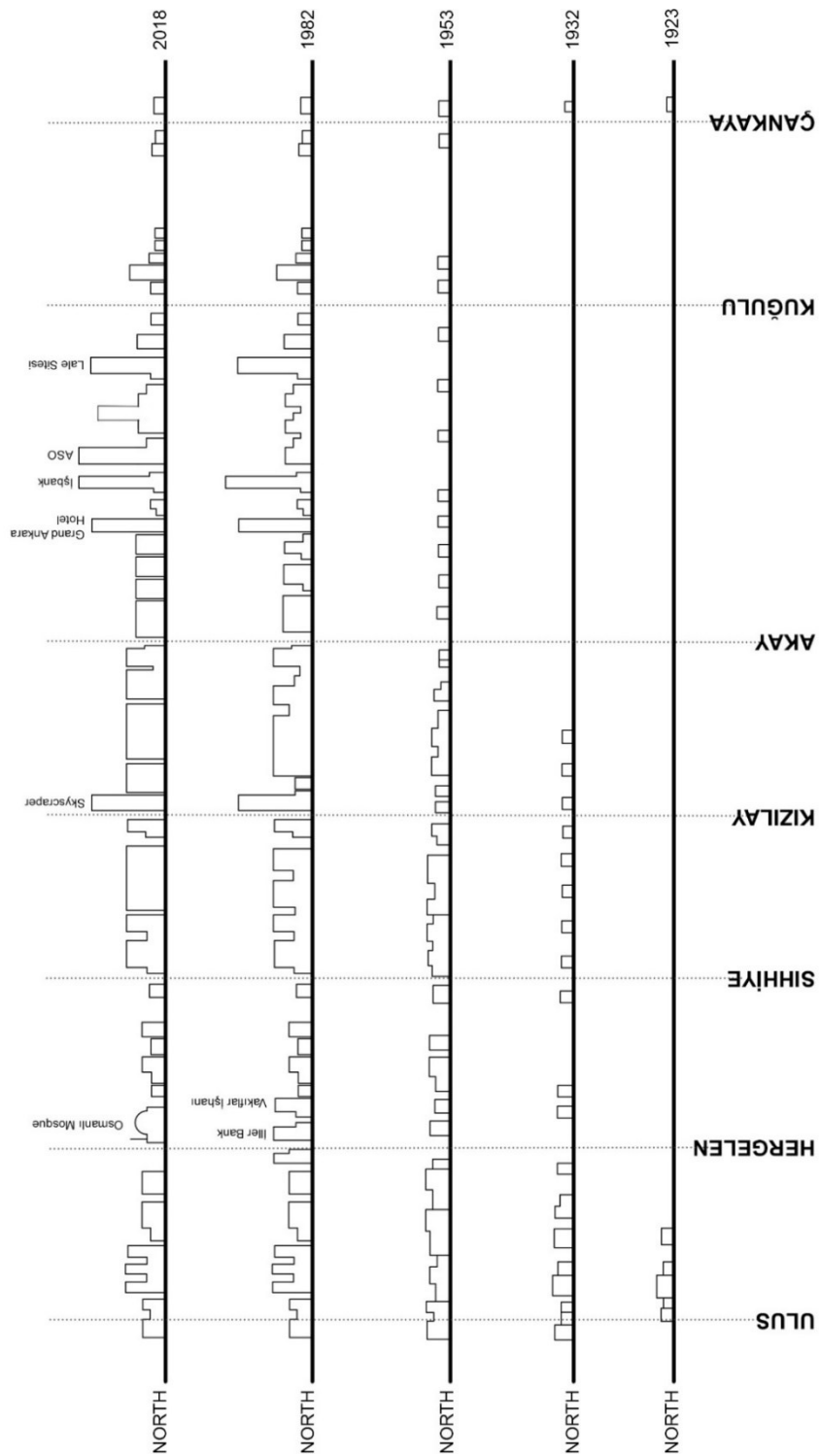


**Figure 4. 1:** General meanings and identities along the Boulevard at the present day (Author, 2018).

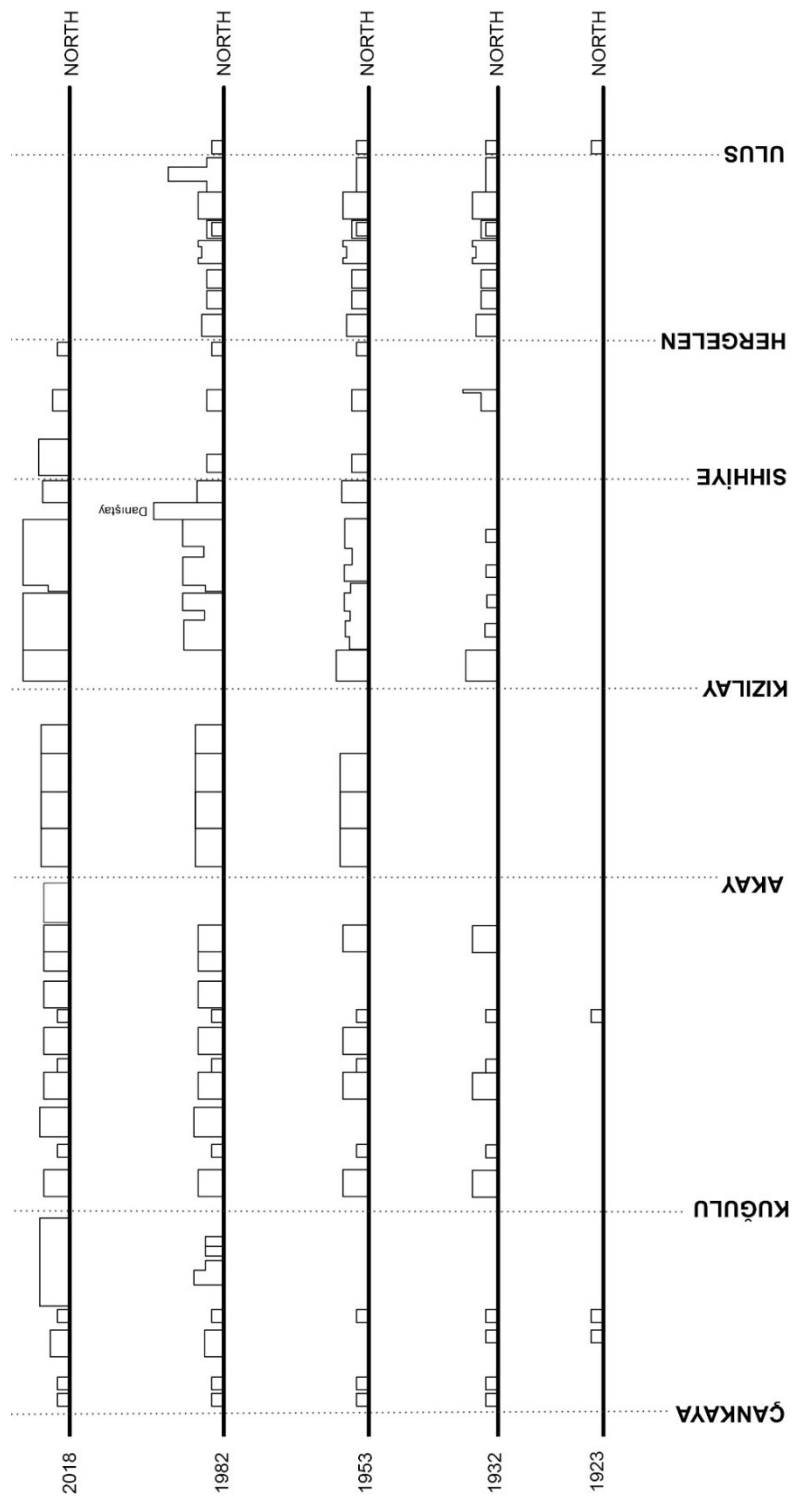


**Figure 4. 2:** Function changes along the Boulevard in different periods (Author, 2018).





**Figure 4. 3:** East side's silhouettes of the Boulevard in different eras designated by Kandil, 1987 with the addition of the silhouette in 2018 (Author, 2018 edited from Kandil, 1987, pp. 137-144).



**Figure 4. 4:** West side's silhouettes in different eras designated by Kandil, 1987 (Author, 2018).

#### 4.1.1 Ulus-Opera Section: Republican Representation

Starting from the north towards the south, it is seen that the urban identity of this section of the Boulevard is formed in the first fifteen years of the Republic. Former Taşhan, today's Ulus Square in the north had been a significant place even before the Republic located between the train station and the Ankara Citadel. With the formation of the parliament and the use of the first Grand National Assembly of Turkey in the Taşhan Square, the area became a political center and slowly evolved into a social and commercial center as well.<sup>28</sup> In the following years of the establishment of the Republic, the south of Ulus Square started to house the bank buildings of the early Republican period, which helped this section to be addressed as *Bankalar Caddesi* (Banks Avenue). Other administrative functions and of course the Gençlik Park, then, helped the area to have the Republican image that could partially be sustained until today. This is also the area where most of the buildings belonging to the First National Architectural Style exist alongside the first examples of the modernist era architecture.

This section of the Boulevard is also the area that had least changed in terms of demolition and new constructions besides some exceptions of demolition such as; the Postal Office and İller Bank, new constructions such as; Ulus Business Center and the 100. Yıl Shop, and the newly constructed mosque in the place of İller Bank. Nevertheless, following the late 1960s until recently, it has not changed substantially regarding the built environment. While the functions and physical state of the components had not majorly changed, its intangible aspects, uses, and users changed substantially.

Ulus Square and its surroundings were the commercial and cultural center of the early Republican years that could be sustained at least until the 1970s with the help of the Ulus Business Center and 100. Yıl Shop, taking over the one-story shops providing the commercial uses in the square before the construction of these two buildings with business and commercial function. As it was mentioned above, the section owes its

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<sup>28</sup> For an extensive study on Ulus Square see: (Ayhan Koçyiğit, 2018).

intangible transformation to the changing population, politics, local governments, and shift in the commercial centers in the city with the help of the other urban developments and historical events through the history of Ankara and Turkey.

The bank buildings constructed as the representatives of independent economy, administrative functions bearing a statement of an independent Republic, and the use of Ottoman Era components as the governmental administrative functions make the area where Republican identity concretize and represent itself in the built environment. Not to mention the major success in transforming the swamp area to Gençlik Park as a western recreation area where modern Turkish youth could experience and produce modern practices and memories. However, it can be said that with the relocation of Grand National Assembly to the south of the administrative area the political meaning of Ulus Square that had been used for the official ceremonies until the 1960s is lost. Moreover, one can argue that refunctioning the First Grand National Assembly of Turkey as the War of Independence Museum leaves it in a state where the meaning of the era and area live in the past.

In addition, the construction of the Ulus Business center, as mentioned above, brings a new meaning to the square as well as to Atatürk Boulevard and Ankara; the international approaches in the built environment with the relation of the liberal politics. Moreover, Ulus Business Center and later 100. Yıl Shop both created and enhanced a commercial centrality in the square while leaving its Republican emphasis behind.

This section of the Boulevard displayed a physical continuity in terms of scale until the annexes constructed next to Emlak Kredi Bank (D. Eğilmez, V. Özbayır; 1963) and next to İller Bank (V. Özsan; 1963) following the construction of Ulus Business Center that was the first high story building along the Boulevard (Baydar, 1993, p.47). This section is also where one can observe the first roots of the Republic and the first architectural implementations and approaches in the architectural scene of Turkey. Although some conservation attempts had been realized, unfortunately, the integrity of this section could not be sustained, and the conservation of the area is restricted to

the buildings-scale conservation rather than an integrated and holistic approach. Nevertheless, the area has the highest density of registered cultural assets and natural site with the inclusion of Gençlik Park. This can be again interpreted as the prioritization of the age value and other physical aspects of structures in the conservation approaches and practices in Turkey given the fact that this section of the axis hosts ‘the oldest’ buildings along the Boulevard.

Though recently, especially in the last decade, the components in this section had faced a significant loss both physically and function-wise. Unfortunately, the buildings and open spaces of this section of the Boulevard faced either demolition or the refunctioning which jeopardizes the original meaning of the places forming the area. The functional changes whether they are efficient or not can be seen through the examples of Sümerbank (conversion to a university building) and Emlak Kredi Bank (conversion into the Postal Services Stamp Museum). Both bank buildings as representatives of an era and an idea of their period, now not only live in their locations with their changed functions but also with the meanings of their new functions. Because one cannot imagine a building as being solely a physical element, but rather a structure with its assigned meanings and lived experiences. Therefore, changing the assigned functions of the elements of the physical environment alters the meaning and perception of the built environment and lived spatial experiences as well.

In addition to everything mentioned above, İller Bank deserves a special parenthesis here. As a winner of the architectural competition for the building and the lot, İller Bank could survive forty years without any disturbance. As a component of the Boulevard, İller Bank provided a particular example of the Turkish Modernism as a work of a Turkish architect with the help of the regional materials. Just the mentioned features should have been enough to sustain its existence, but unfortunately, the prominent example of the Turkish modernism, our national pride, was demolished in order to accentuate a mosque resembling Ottoman Era religious architecture. The large mosque complex challenges the secular image of the Republic created in such ensemble. It remains unclear why the exclusive example of its era was demolished

after it had been restored extensively in 2005. Likewise, the mosque constructed in Hergelen Square begs the question, why would an area that does not host dense dwelling areas need a mosque while housing a large number of mosques that are already serving the community.

#### **4.1.2 Opera-Sıhhiye Section: Republican Representation Continued**

Towards the Opera in the south, the modernist examples of the 1930s can be found. Some of the prominent examples are the Turkish Aviation Association, İsmet Paşa and, Olgunlaşma Institutes, DTCF (Ankara University, Faculty of Language, History, and Geography) and of course the *Sergievi* (Exhibition House), which was later converted into the Opera House. Though the area was intended to host an opera building by demolishing the *Sergievi*, the transformation of the building into the Opera House is a significant loss for the modern capital and the representation of the modern architecture in the Turkish architectural scene.

The most significant change of this section of the Boulevard is the replacement of the grain silo and factory and storage facilities of the Department of Monopolies (*İnhisarlar Umum Müdürlüğü*) by the courthouse. At the present day, the area between the Courthouse's lot and Boulevard is a green belt named as Cumhuriyet (Republic) Park though it cannot be acknowledged as an area integrated with the city and the Boulevard. Throughout the history of the capital and the Boulevard, this section of the Boulevard hosted the same buildings and functions, especially on its eastern side, the education facilities and other administrative and governmental functions have been the indicators of the modern Republic. They have been the lieux where modern Turkish students, therefore youth, had been educated as the representatives of the modern Turkish Republic. Besides their architectural features, the education facilities along this section are the institutes where worldwide prominent figures visited and had the change to be introduced to the Turkish nation, society and the country. Especially the fashion shows hosting Farah Diba and Sophia Loren in Olgunlaşma Institute can be regarded as the young Republic's integration with the western world

and achieving its modernization and modern nation goals (Milliyet, 1967), (Milliyet, 1974).

Moreover, the Radyoevi or Radio House in this section has a special place. Although many Ankarans have not physically been inside its building, the structure bears all the news, songs, poems, and expressions of the Republic following the establishment of the Ankara radio, especially during the early years of the 20<sup>th</sup>-century when the radio was a major (and the only) mass media element. It is also important for another reason; for being the place where the first coup d'état of Turkey was announced by Alparslan Türkeş. It may not be a pleasant memory of the citizens of Ankara and Turkey, but it is indeed important for the troubled history of the Turkish Republic given the fact that with the Radyoevi, the coup d'état could now find itself a physical place and spread through this place.

Moreover, DTCF can be regarded as an important fragment of not only the Boulevard but also the Turkish Republic. Because of holding the state of the modern education and the Turkish youth formed by this modern education as well as being a part of the critical thoughts about the events throughout the intense history of Turkey, it should be respected and addressed accordingly. Besides, the Presidentship Symphony Orchestra was playing in DTCF in the evenings until they moved to their own building. Therefore, the building also has a place in the cultural scene of Ankara's urban ensemble.

Furthermore, the area that ends with the Sıhhiye bridge, which had been a division of old and new city since the beginning of the capital, has been serving to the capital for almost a hundred years. Though, still acting as a physical barrier, the bridge had been considered as a social barrier as well as it can be observed in Karaosmanoğlu's Ankara novel. Therefore, this section of the Boulevard can be seen as the educational and cultural representation of the Republic in addition to the physical features of the area formed mostly by the German-speaking architects such as Ernst Egli and Bruno Taut, who are the significant actors of the materialization of the Republican ideals. Later, the Opera Overpass, designed by Pier-Luigi Nervi and built between the years 1968-

1973 in the Opera intersection, can be seen as a symbol of representation of the international scene in the Republican section of Ankara with Ethnography and Painting Sculpture Museums in the background, thus superimposing different eras and architectural and urban approaches in the same place.

Just as the Ulus-Opera section of the axis, this section is also a place where the Republican identity is materialized and has survived until the current day without major changes. Besides, it can be observed that this section of the Boulevard has transformed the least both in terms of its tangible and intangible aspects.

#### **4.1.3 Sıhhiye-Zafer-Kızılay Section: Every Era's Section**

This is the section of the Boulevard where Yenışehir starts. It is also where Altındağ Municipality's boundaries end and Çankaya Municipality's begin. This part of the axis first emerged as a residential area with single detached houses rather than as an administrative, cultural, and educational zone; even though the Ministry of Health, the first purpose-built ministry of Ankara, is located at the Sıhhiye Square. Moreover, towards the south, the *Orduevi* (Officers' Club) building constructed in the 1930s and later in the 1940s Yüksel Palas and Büyük Çarşı (with Büyük Cinema on its ground level) aided the area to evolve as a center for cultural and leisure activities rather than solely the residential quarter of the capital. With the gazinos both in Orduevi and in Zafer I Park, and later the Süreyya Gazinosu and many others paved the way for the area to become a hub for the food and beverage sector.

In time, the single detached houses had slowly been demolished, and the first four/five-story apartments were constructed along the Boulevard. Most of these apartments were quality examples of their era and functions acted as the representatives of the modern way of living in the urban environment. Many hosted patisseries, restaurants, shops, and even cinemas on their ground and basement floors, transforming the area into an urban hub for the cultural and leisure activities of the citizens. It can be observed that this section is the lieu for afternoon promenades where Ankarans mostly exchange greetings, run into acquaintances and spend quality time

in their everyday life practices. The area would get crowded after work or school with Ankarans walking back and forth, and it can be understood that this section was serving the urban population as an open-air recreation area for decades (Şenyapılı, 2006, p. 348).

Moreover, this is also the section of the Boulevard where many firsts had their roots in the Ankara's urban culture and identity. These include the aforementioned fast-food culture that started with places such as Goralı and Piknik. With *Sanatseverler Kulübü*, movie theaters such as Ankara, Büyük, and Ulus Cinemas, and even the patisseries with their evening concerts or the afternoon discussions of the period's poets, writers, artists who were mostly working in schools as teachers, ministries and newspapers as writers or advisors such as Nurullah Ataç or Orhan Veli. This section can be seen as the birthplace of the modern nation's modern practices and the production of urban identity and culture through the collective work of the citizens. In addition, this area is also one of the places in the capital where the literature scene had blossomed, with the literary journal of 1950s Yenışehir "Mavi" and many bookstores along the Boulevard located between Sıhhiye and Kızılay Squares. Besides all the other cultural activities, the musical scene of Ankara was also flourishing here with the help of the gazinos hosting famous vocal artists, orchestras, quartets playing in the patisseries as well as the first vinyl shops of Ankara located along the Sıhhiye Kızılay section of the Boulevard.

Sıhhiye-Kızılay section has another significance in the urban memories and history of Ankara since it hosts the Orduevi, the cadets would have parades along this section of the Boulevard in addition to the evening torchlight processions. Later, these parades would be the tours de force during several coups d'état of the Turkish Republic's history. Last but not least, because of its central location in the city and being close to the higher education facilities, it also became a lieu for the protests along with Zafer and Kızılay Squares.

Sıhhiye-Kızılay can also be considered as the section that underwent through the most transformation along the Boulevard because of the changing functions and meanings

and the high story buildings along the Boulevard. Zafer (Victory) Square and its parks, which all carry symbolic meanings of the Republic and the victories of the war –just as its name– rapidly lost a part of its entity and became a shopping center. The surrounding lots, on the other hand, were transformed into commercial and office functions from the initial residential functions. Moreover, the first multi-story offices and commercial buildings started to be constructed here in addition to the first pasajs. It can be observed that almost every lot had a demolishment and construction process, some three or four times with the demolishment of the initial single detached housing unit, then the four/five-story apartment building and finally the high story office and commercial buildings. While the area had been undergoing various changes, it also gained new meanings while losing some to this transformation with the loss of the residential areas and unique commercial functions after the construction of multistory buildings which were inhabited mostly by the shops that did not offer cultural benefits to the city.

#### **4.1.4 Kızılay-Akay Section: Governmental Representation with Sıhhiye-Kızılay Section's Continued Meanings**

This section of the Boulevard hosts administrative functions on the west and commercial and office functions on the east. Starting from the north in Kızılay Square, the area gained its significance with the Kızılay building that gave its name to the square and later to its surroundings. While the fountain pool aided the area to be used as an open-air recreation place, the municipality's orchestra and their concerts, Kızılay building's Kızılay Park and Güvenpark later transformed the area into an urban node and a center of the city. Moreover, the Skyscraper (Emek Business Center) provided a unique image in the square after the demolishment of the Uybadin Palace in the 1950s for its construction. In the following years, the square had slowly diminished in size, and Güvenpark that was once a recreation and open space for the citizens slowly left a large amount of its area to bus and dolmuş stops.

The area that had been the scene for the demonstrations leading to the 1960 coup continued to be used for protests in the first years of the 1960s. However, when it was

1963, it was banned to gather for demonstrations within one-kilometer area of the Grand National Assembly affecting both the Kızılay Square and Atatürk Boulevard since the Grand National Assembly had already moved to its current campus at the south end of the administrative area in 1961. Although the political use of the square and its surrounding decreased, it did not leave it entirely abandoned in terms of its political use.

Following the Yücel-Uybadin plan, the area became a second commercial center in the city after Ulus. Although the new commercial features of the square and its surrounding were mostly in the service of the upper and upper-middle class Ankarans, it was connected to the entire city with the transportation network, and it was slowly embraced as the center of the capital by the inhabitants. In such center, the first skyscraper of Turkey, the *Gökdelen* as the prestige project of the 1960s, was implemented with the newest commercial feature; Gima where one could find various objects and needs. With the patisseries, restaurants, ‘cafeterias’, cultural activities such as Ulus cinema, and with the recreation features, Kızılay truly became an urban center in the late 1950s and 1960s. Gama-Gürüş headquarters located just south of the Skyscraper is an illustrative example of the 1980s and 1990s prestige projects, with its reflective glass façade and colored façade elements, it was intended to be unique, different, and an advertisement element (Baydar, p.49, 1993).

The west of the Kızılay-Akay section of the Boulevard had been designated as the administrative area in the early years of the capital and had been mostly shaped accordingly in the 1930s with the purpose-built ministries as well as the Grand National Assembly although its construction continued for decades due to the economic difficulties especially during World War II. The buildings on the administrative area all have the features of the modernist architecture’s neo-classical features. Predominantly designed by the German-speaking architects, these buildings became the modern face and the national pride of the young Republic. Ending with Güvenpark and Güven Monument at the north end corner where the area meets the Kızılay Square, it intended to create a compact area with the state facilities. Even

though the construction of the Ministry of Education in the 1960s diminished the size of Güvenpark, it was still integrated with the rest of the ministries.

On the other hand, the west hand side of the Boulevard on this section hosted mostly dwellings similar to the Sıhhiye-Kızılay section of the Boulevard except for a few embassies, which were mostly disappeared from the urban scenery except for the Belgian Embassy. Throughout the years, the area underwent physical and functional transformations. For instance, the empty lots in the early years of the Republic were first filled partially with single detached houses, later replaced by the apartment buildings and finally with the high-story office and commercial functions. The food and beverage places along this section were mostly located towards the Kızılay Square in the north. Nevertheless, some leisure activity places could be found near Akay Square. This includes the Bulvar Palace, a place with a long history in the capital's social life and later the Batı Cinema and Batı Han with the food and beverage places as well as the entertainment places at the Boulevard entrance of the Olgunlar Street. Akay Square, also known as İnönü or Bakanlıklar (Ministries) district had been a place where the gravity of the capital could be felt with the help of the civil servants and politicians working in the ministries and the parliament. Until a few decades ago, the Ankarans could come across the parliament members and ministers walking along this section of the Boulevard.

Later, with the increased security measures, the west part of this section became isolated from the Boulevard and thus, from the inhabitants of Ankara. The physical state of this section mostly consists of the high-story buildings built in the 1970s and 1980s on the one side and ministries on the other. Therefore, it can be said that its current image was formed in the 1970s and 1980s. The middle lane, the median that was in service of the pedestrians and the bicycles, could preserve its existence until the mid-century. Since the road that served the Ankarans as a promenade sided with chestnut trees was diminished in size and then disappeared, the physical and functional state of the road itself had been jeopardized and finally lost.

The components carrying symbolic meanings can be found in this section. Firstly, the Kızılay building as a representation of the Republican solidarity became a visual background for the western recreational activities and urban life. Its demolition in 1979 can be interpreted as a statement of the destruction of Republican-era buildings and an opposition against the law since it was a registered cultural asset. It is also an indicator of the shift in the interests and priorities of institutions towards the economic advantages, namely the income that its location could bring. During the 1990s, pedestrianization projects subjecting the sub-roads meeting Atatürk Boulevard such as İzmir, Sakarya, Yüksel, and Olgunlar Avenues and Streets enhanced the societal uses and nourished the urban identity of the area. These pedestrian sections became the places where recreational and social needs of the Ankarans could be satisfied in an urban setting. However, the buildings framing the Boulevard separated these pedestrianized sections from the axis while acting as a physical barrier. Meanwhile, these newly designated pedestrian areas also gained symbolic meanings in the 1990s with the sculptures located such as the ‘Human Rights Monument’ in Yüksel Avenue and ‘Miner Statue’ in Olgunlar Street. Miner Statue placed after the Major Miners March in 1990 to honor the miners and commemorate the event is one of many significant symbols along the Boulevard.

Nevertheless, in the current day, the area has become a transportation hub together with the Kızılay Square with the contribution of the metro project, underpasses along the Boulevard as well as the İnönü Boulevard, and Eskişehir road that was enlarged following the urban growth towards the west.

#### **4.1.5 Akay-Kavaklıdere Section: Foreign Representations with the Adaptation to the Time**

This section of the Boulevard has different characteristics on its west and east sides. While the west hand side had not changed since the 1930s, the eastern part of it underwent major transformations. This section located near the valleys had been the vineyards and prairies of Ottoman Ankara. Consisted of vineyards, empty lots and a limited number of houses (the vineyard houses that are not used throughout the year),

this section of the Boulevard is where the first purpose-built embassy buildings were constructed. The trend that had started with the USSR embassy building as the first purpose-built embassy structure followed by the German, Serbian, Hungarian, Italian and later American, Bulgarian, and Egyptian embassies. Although the original USSR embassy was demolished, the lot is still being used by the Russian Embassy. Located on mostly large lots, this section of the Boulevard and the lots themselves have reached to the present day with minimal changes. Throughout the years, they became rich green fragments along the Boulevard, many of them host endemic vegetation and even plant species from their home countries. They formed living environments and complexes within their boundaries; for example, the Italian Embassy resembles an Italian town with its small piazza, *orto* (small vegetable garden), and its chapel, or German Embassy with its large garden where embassy's horses can walk around.

Today, these embassy buildings altogether form a large green section along the Boulevard and a third-degree natural site. However, they are not individually registered as cultural assets. Unfortunately, over the years, they became fragmented and disintegrated from the Boulevard with the physical boundaries of their high walls and fences due to the privacy and security measures. The only lot that does not consist a built-up area belongs to the Embassy of Greece. At present, it is an empty lot surrounded by fences.

The other side of the Boulevard has a different story that resembles the Sıhhiye-Akay section of the axis. The area that had been occupied by the vineyards and prairie areas in the Ottoman Ankara had been in its original state in the early years of the Republic as well with the exception of a few single detached houses. One of which is the President Celal Bayar's house that he used as recreation and resting area on his way between the First Grand National Assembly in Ulus and Çankaya Palace up the Çankaya hill at the very end of the Boulevard in the south. In the following years, greeneries and vineyard lots had been inhabited as the residential areas.

After the permission for five stories along the Boulevard, most of these residential areas were replaced by the apartments most of which were constructed in the 1950s

and 1960s and are dominantly occupied by the offices and some governmental functions at present. Later, especially with the relocation of the Grand National Assembly to its present location, the area started to house certain administrative functions such as the Turkish Language Association (TDK), Ankara Chamber of Industry (ASO), UN Headquarters, TUBITAK (scientific and technological research council of Turkey) as well as some of the banks' headquarters such as Vakıfbank and İş Bank. This is also where skyscraper-like structures are located. Although they may be considered as incompatible with their surroundings, most have lower blocks that are integrated with their neighboring lots while having high blocks. Again, most of which are quality examples of their eras, and successful representatives of their institutes. As in the northern sections of the Boulevard, they were generally constructed after the demolishment of former residences and other low story structures.

Moreover, as for the transformations in the symbolic meanings, the İş Bank Headquarters using their purpose-built building since 1977 had moved to Istanbul in 2000, leaving their high-story structure to BDDK (*Bankacılık Düzenleme Denetleme Kurulu*, Council of Bank Audit and Regulation) in the same year. Moreover, it is planned to move the Turkish Central Bank, Vakıfbank, Halkbank, and Ziraat Bank's – that have been established in the early Republican period – headquarters to Istanbul as well. Moving these banks' control centers to the Ottoman capital of Istanbul can be regarded as a symbolic act challenging the initial Republican ideals of the independent economy and Ankara as the capital of this economically independent republic. With these prospective relocations, Ankara would lose its significant characteristic as a Republican capital indicating the opening of a new era in the country.

Akay-Kavaklıdere (or İnönü-Kuğulu) section of the Boulevard ends with Kuğulu Park, again a registered natural site. The park had been the house of the Kavaklıdere, the stream that flows through the valley, a green area that has been used by the Ankarans for an extended period of time. Still an important component of the urban

life in Ankara and a significant fragment of the axis, the park continues to serve the citizens of Ankara and provide them a physical framework to produce new memories.

Finally, the physical state of this section had been significantly affected by the Kuğulu underpass project realized in 2006. With the project –two underpasses constructed between the Kuğulu Park and Akay section of the Boulevard– the project, unfortunately, diminished the pedestrian features of the area, left it with narrow sidewalks, and large traffic roads supporting the high-speed traffic circulation. Once a pleasant section of the Boulevard to walk down and gaze the surrounding had become an area to avoid, especially when one is walking.

#### **4.1.6 Kavaklıdere-Çankaya Section: From Greeneries to Upper Class Housing with a Continued Foreign Representation**

The southern end of the Boulevard, an uphill (and the only sloped section of the Boulevard) area of Kavaklıdere Çankaya section is where vineyards were located similarly to its neighboring northern section, Kavaklıdere. This is also where the early embassies continue along the Boulevard, but unlike the embassies on the north area, they are located on the eastern side of the Boulevard rather than the western side. Yet, not all of them are purpose-built like the ones in the previous section. Some used the single houses, likely the vineyard houses or the parliament member's former residences as in the example of the Israel Embassy, or they used the buildings later to demolish and build their own structures on the lots as in the example of Czechoslovakian Embassy. Besides the embassies along the eastern part of this section, there are also the prairies and other empty lots. Later one was filled with the İlbank blocks during the construction of the apartment blocks in the western side of this part of the axis. These high blocks are quality examples of their era with their intention to provide a living environment rather than just bearing dwelling function with their common terraces, restaurants and ground floors spared for the commercial uses. In the 1960s and 1970s, the western side of this section was filled with the apartment buildings mostly inhabited by the upper-middle and upper class Ankarans, many of which still stands today. Together with the apartment buildings located along

the Cinnah Avenue, the west parallel of the Boulevard, they are quality examples of the dwelling architecture of modern Ankara in the 1960s and 1970s.

This part also bears one of the most significant green areas of the Boulevard, the Seymenler Park that was designed as a green recreation area in the 1980s and is still serving the Ankarans with its large formation again on a natural valley hosting a stream that starts in the Japanese Embassy's lot. These areas are also registered as a third-degree natural site, even though they were once registered as first-degree natural sites. Their registration status was only decreased to third-degree in 2012.

This section also hosts one of the oldest schools of Ankara, Çankaya Elementary school. Although its building had been demolished and constructed twice, the area had been educating the young students of the neighborhoods of Çankaya and Kavaklıdere. Moreover, the area hosts the first Prime Minister of the Turkish Republic, İsmet İnönü's residence, which was again an existing building and bought and altered by İnönü family.

Last but not least, at the very south of the Boulevard, there are governmental residences such as the Prime Minister's residence and residence of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. They form an integrated area within themselves. They are again quality examples of their era, especially the Hariciye Köşkü designed by one of the pioneers of the Turkish Modernism, Seyfi Arkan. However, just as the embassies, they are withdrawn from the Boulevard due to the fences and walls built as the security precautions and measures. Moreover, today, it became a security forces hub and a vehicle traffic area rather than being in the service of the pedestrians. In addition to everything mentioned above, the President moved to *Küllîye* in 2015, and the presidential residence known as the Çankaya Palace was left to the Prime Ministership. The palace that served to the presidents of the Turkish Republic for 90 years starting from the first president Mustafa Kemal Atatürk had a symbolic meaning not only in the capital but also in the country. As stated by President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan; "The Presidentship moving from Çankaya to *Küllîye* is not only a spatial change. It is also a mentality change." (Sabah, 2016).

#### **4.1.7 Impacts of the Transformations Along the Boulevard**

The demolition, construction, and relocation of specific components of the Boulevard have a significant impact on the physical and social transformation of the axis. The banks' headquarters, for instance, had been located in the northern section of the Boulevard while with the changes in the commercial centers they started to move towards the south, firstly to Yenışehir, between the Sıhhiye-Kızılay section along the Boulevard and later between the Akay-Kavaklıdere section. Furthermore, commercial features, especially the luxury ones had been moving towards the south in the history of the capital. The socio-cultural practice places also have gotten their shares in this process. The locations of the food and beverage, social, cultural, and recreational and other leisure activity places have been shifting towards the south with every changing urban situation of the capital and therefore the Boulevard.

This shift towards the south can also be observed for the residential areas. Starting from the Sıhhiye-Kızılay section of the Boulevard in the early years of the Republic, they had been moving towards the south with each passing decade.

Besides the functional relocations, some destruction and new implementations have significant roles in the transformation of the Boulevard alongside the functional changes of some buildings located along the axis. As mentioned above in chapter three, if one must start chronologically, the demolition of Taşhan that bore both Ottoman and Republican lived experiences caused a state of amnesia with the loss of memories and lived experiences materialized in its physical being with its demolition. Demolishment of the apartment buildings did cause not only the losses of an era in the architectural culture but also caused the loss of the functions that they bore in their entities such as the patisseries, restaurants, cinemas, bookstores and much more.

Kızılay building's demolition, likewise, withdrew a spatial framework in the society's memory frame, such component giving its name to an entire neighborhood and the very center of the capital of the Turkish Republic was lost with the simple

demolishing act. Moreover, similarly, the demolition of İller Bank, a registered component of the Boulevard just as the Kızılay building, was demolished while taking away the meanings and lived experiences as a spatial framework in the urban ensemble with its physical being.

The physical and/or functional changes also had their impacts on the Boulevard and the city, firstly the refunctioning of Sergievi as the Opera House and reorganization of the structure accordingly was a significant impact on Turkish Modernism. While it still carried a cultural function, the meaning and symbolic representation of the building was now lost. Later, museumification of the symbolic and significant structures along the Boulevard, especially the First Grand National Assembly of Turkey changes and limits the meanings of these components and perceptions towards them while forcing them to be stuck in the past. Likewise, converting the Sümerbank building that has such symbolic meanings while bearing the previous generations' lived experiences and memories into a newly established university, again, changes the meanings and representations of these eras and components.

Just as destructions, new constructions also have impacts and help the area transform in various ways. For instance, the construction of Ulus and Emek Business Centers have symbolic meanings of liberal and international policies while being the materialized components of the DP's approaches just as the administrative, educational, cultural and many other functioned buildings of the Republican era being the representatives of the young Republic. Later, the YapıKredi Bank building in such ensemble in Kızılay Square, İşbank and Vakıfbank Headquarters in the southern section indicated their dominance, thus the capital's dominance, over the city and the built environment's homogeneity and harmony. Kızılay AVM, likewise, can be regarded as an illustrative example of the importance of the capital and dominance of capitalism over the other institutional and moral values.

As for the functions, the expansion and transformation towards the south had to skip the Ulus-Sıhhiye section since it hosts the buildings that have sustained their functions such as the bank buildings Radio House, Turkish Aviation Association, Opera, DTCF

and so on. Just as the northern section of the Boulevard, the commercial uses could not cross the embassies area, thus the embassies formed a barrier preventing the commercial uses to locate up to Çankaya Hill. Nevertheless, it can be observed that the initially designated functions of the Boulevard had not been lost, but instead relocated along the Boulevard, especially from north to the south. Although these constant relocations alter the dynamics of the urban axis, they still act upon their symbolic meanings and make the Boulevard a significant urban component.

#### **4.2 Boulevard as a Public Place**

The urban population shapes the cultural or the urban identity of the city, forms its hubs, tactics, gathering points, recreation areas and collective meanings for the places in an urban environment. Public spaces are the very places where different societal groups can gather, interact, create, and express a collective sense of togetherness through their practices. While the practices vary, they are the elements that connect the citizens and their urban ensemble. From the Greek Agora (or Roman Forum) in the antiquity then on, public spaces are the locus for public debates, expressing the thoughts, and openness in the democratic settlements in the Western world. Arendt identifies the public sphere as lieu where individuals gather to observe the practices of power and make statements on the issues related to the public life in the urban settlement in the Greek Agora (2018). Henaff and Strong note that; “public space means simultaneously: open to all, well known by all, and acknowledged by all” (2001, p. 35). Therefore, public spaces are the inseparable fragments of the urban settlements, through which the citizens can see, be seen, and express themselves and through which they can be a part of a group.

Many city centers host public spaces that are widely used by citizens from different groups in their daily lives. They are accessible to everyone, and every citizen has the right to use and be a part of them. Nevertheless, shaping the public spaces through the decision makers can affect the practices of the users/groups as well as the urban environment of a city. Hence, the public space becomes a tool for expressing and imposing political thoughts and power, and a nourishing or restricting environment

for the different practices, identities, and ideologies. The state power, therefore, becomes the imposing and deciding body on what to practice, what to remember and what to forget through the control of the public spaces.

Since Atatürk Boulevard as a whole is a public space, the components forming it also have the characteristics of public and private spaces. The Boulevard's public and private spaces are designated through the accessibility and use rather than ownership status (**Figure 4.5**). Although, if a place is private regarding the ownership, it should be preserved for the public benefit. Whether they are public or private, if owned by the government, then the public benefit should be provided by the government by safeguarding their conservation, integration, and communication with the public. Therefore, each component can be conserved while preserving the whole, and thus can guarantee their existence in the collective memory. Since the collective memory is a significant aspect in the urban ensemble, the continuity and sustainability of it are very important especially for the sustainability of the public spaces as the significant components of the urban ensembles and the indicators of their characteristics and qualities.



**Figure 4. 5:** Public and private places along the Boulevard according to their use and accessibility (Author, 2018).

It can be seen from **Figure 4.3** that the southern sections where governmental functions and embassies are concentrated are predominantly private in terms of use and access, whereas the parks and other open green spaces are observed as public. Moreover, the cultural and commercial functions are also identified as public spaces that are in the service of the society. The semi-private places were designated by examining again the use and access. The mixed-use places which have commercial

functions –especially on the ground floors– and more private functions on the upper floors such as the offices and governmental bureaus (i.e., the business centers) are defined as semi-private places. Besides the publicly used buildings and open green places, the squares and junctions along the Boulevard are public spaces as well, while the Boulevard as a whole is a public space despite not meeting most of the criteria and mostly not bearing the characteristics of a public space indicated in the PPS explained in Chapter II (**Figure 2.7**).

For the accesses and linkages, while different sections and even different sides of these sections carry different characteristics, all of its sections and the Boulevard as a whole carry a common feature, they are easily and conveniently accessible from both neighboring streets and districts and from further places of Ankara thanks for being a transportation hub and the center of the capital. However, the accessibility in terms of universal design is debatable.



**Figure 4. 6:** Boulevard's sections evaluated through the PPS chart (Author, 2018).

If the sections along the Boulevard are evaluated through the PPS Chart for their public space qualities (**Figure 4.6**), it can be seen that the Ulus-Opera section has a fair amount of uses and activities due to the functions and neighboring areas, it is

active, special, real, useful, and indigenous. For the comfort and image, it can be said that –although partially–, it is clean, green, walkable, attractive, and historical. It is easily accessible, readable, has good proximity, connected, and again walkable. Lastly, the weakest part of this section is the sociability aspect; it is diverse, and the stewardship can be felt but other than these it does not have a high quality of sociability.

Opera-Sıhhiye section on the other hand, although it can be seen as a continued section of the Ulus-Opera, it is not as active despite having three educational facilities (DTCF part is more active than the rest of the section), it is useful, real, and special. For the comfort and image, it is green and clean, but not as walkable compared to its neighboring northern section, lastly, it is indeed historic. It is again well connected with the city because of its central location and transportation opportunities including the Yenışehir train station under the Sıhhiye Bridge. For the sociability, it is cooperative and again diverse; moreover, it has more social networks thanks to the education facilities, especially the DTCF.

Sıhhiye-Kızılay is more walkable, and it is useful, active, real and special than the northern sections. Though for the comfort and image, it is not as qualified as the northern sections, it is green and walkable, but it is hard to point out the historical or attractive characteristics. For the sociability, it is hard to say that this section is very strong. It can be noted that there is a street life but not in its highest potential, whereas again because of its centrality, it is a diverse place.

Kızılay-Akay section, on the other hand, is very accessible and linked to the city due to its central location just as the Sıhhiye-Kızılay section. But mostly because of the ministries, it is not used for various activities as much. Although it is green and mostly walkable, it cannot be addressed as safe, attractive, or charming. For the sociability, it is again very weak, it is quite diverse but not friendly or welcoming. There is no evening use, and street life is very limited.

Akay-Kuğulu part is the least green one, although it hosts the embassies as one of the largest green areas along the Boulevard, they are not physically –and often visually– accessible while Kuğulu and Meclis Parks are not sufficient enough to provide an overall green state for this section. The large trees that continuously come from the Opera section until Akay are not present on this section. Though, it can be regarded as clean but not attractive or even walkable. It is not as easy to reach as other sections, but it is still connected with the rest of the city and proximate to its neighboring sections as well as the neighborhoods framing it. Because of having the residential areas surrounding it, it can be regarded as neighborly, unlike other sections. But it cannot be assessed as friendly or welcoming. The stewardship can be felt –Çankaya Municipality–, especially in Kuğulu Park.

Lastly, the Kuğulu-Çankaya section of the Boulevard can be regarded as active due to the existence of the large urban park Seymenler. This section, again thanks to Seymenler Park, is green, clean, feels safer than other sections along the Boulevard, it is also historical and sittable –again because of the Seymenler and Güller Bahçesi Parks. Though it is not very well connected, this section is the only section along the Boulevard where traffic runs one-way. But it is readable, convenient and provides continuity. Sociability score is the highest on this section, because of having the residential functions, it is neighborly, more welcoming, friendlier, and cooperative. The number of women, children, elderly are quite balanced, but evening use is not very different from the rest of the Boulevard.

#### **4.3 Evaluation of the Spatio-temporal Changes of the Boulevard**

In this part of the thesis, the spatio-temporal changes of the Boulevard and their analysis are evaluated. To do so, the evaluation is divided into four subsections as continuities, interruptions, implementations, and erasures. Apart from giving a general overview in the bigger scale, the constructions, destructions, and relocations are highlighted along the Boulevard. The places designated in the aforementioned subsections were identified and determined according to the meanings, functions, and identities that they bear from the foundation of the capital until the 1950 as the

Republican era, and whether they bear the same characteristics and qualities of that period in the current day.

#### **4.3.1 Continuities**

As mentioned above, there are indeed continued components of the Boulevard as well as functions, names, and meanings in the collective memory from the Republican era. First of all, since the Boulevard is a component where Republican ideals and identity were materialized, the continued aspects from 1923 to 1950 give us the Republican representation and the components that could survive until present time along the axis.

The survived open-spaces, buildings, monuments and sculptures from the Republican until the DP period is mostly gathered in the Ulus-Sıhhiye section of the Boulevard while towards the south, it can be observed that administrative functions such as ministries and embassies also ensured their survival. The functions have an important role in this sustainability, but their conservation status is also an indicator of their continuity. Because as mentioned above and illustrated in **Figure 3.99**, the conservation decisions in Turkey have mostly concerned with the age value, therefore registration of the earlier constructions and components is a more frequent practice.

Currently, the density of built-up areas and their construction dates are mostly homogeneously divided within the aforementioned sections. As it was examined above, it is clear that the northern section of the Boulevard between the Ulus and Sıhhiye Squares houses the early constructions, which contribute to the formation of the Republican identity along the Boulevard. Similarly, the embassies section on the west hand side of the İnönü-Kuğulu section of the axis is generally from the same era that could survive until the present day. The relatively new constructions along the Boulevard are located between the Sıhhiye-Akay section of the Boulevard whereas some new constructions, or older buildings that are incompatible with the sections they are situated in can be found as individual spots scattered along the Boulevard.

Moreover, if the socio-practical continuities along the Boulevard are examined, it can be observed that the meanings and spatial practices have changed significantly since

the establishment of the Republic. Within the light of Chapter III, it is seen that the meanings of the places along the Boulevard have been in a relocation and move towards the south while some were lost especially their cultural meanings. Although the buildings and open spaces have been mostly survived in the northern section of the Boulevard, their uses amongst the citizens were diminished. Ulus' commercial uses are mostly left to the lower income groups with the limited use of the Boulevard, whereas upper-income class is mostly withdrawn from Kızılay and its surroundings. With the relocation of the various ministries and other administrative functions towards the west in the Eskişehir Road, the political meaning and bureaucratic centrality of the area had faced a major change. Moreover, moving the bank headquarters to Istanbul interrupted the continuity of the meanings of Ankara and the Boulevard. Nevertheless, the residential area up to Çankaya still retains the functional and physical continuity of the Boulevard for now.

Furthermore, as a result, the density of the demolitions and new constructions along the Boulevard are dominantly realized between both sides on the Sıhhiye-Kızılay section and on the eastern side of the Kızılay-Akay Section. On the other hand, the embassies section and the area between Opera and Kızılay comprise are the least affected lots along the Boulevard (**Figure 4.7**).

As a result, the physical continuity on the spots and sections shown in **Figure 4.8** were interrupted and could not be sustained. Whereas the first-time constructed lots along the Boulevard that could be sustained until the present time with their initial buildings provides continuity within their entities.



**Figure 4. 7:** The density of the demolition and new constructions throughout the years along the Boulevard (Author, 2018).





**Figure 4. 8:** The physical continuity from 1923 of the lots along the Boulevard (Author, 2018).



### 4.3.2 Interruptions

The Boulevard's components, open-spaces, meanings, its entity had been exposed to various interruptions. Although this part subjects the interruptions from the early Republican era as well, it focuses on especially after the 1950s and the 1980s and whether the first assigned meanings and socio-spatial practice places could survive or not in addition to their physical continuity. The destructions and new constructions altering the socio-spatial practices and visual images in the collective memory of the Boulevard and Ankarans are examined in this part. The constructions, relocations, destructions concerning single components and places as well as the general urbanistic decisions have their shares in this process. When the built environment along the Boulevard is evaluated, it can be observed that the identity, practices, and meanings of certain spots were either lost or altered (**Figure 4.9**).

Starting from the north in Ulus Square, Taşhan's demolition for the construction of Sümerbank was a major decision disregarding the memories it bore in its physical entity. Taşhan as the witness of the late Ottoman Ankara and early Republican period as well as the transformation and transition between these two eras is now lost with the lived experiences it formed and nourished. Recently, Sümerbank building was given to the ASBÜ (Ankara Social Sciences University), which once again altered the dynamics of the area through the same lot. Sümerbank as a proud representative of the Republican ideals of being independent and contemporary had been affected through this alteration.

Moreover, after closing down Sümerbank shop attached to its higher block, this refunctioning altered the practices of the square once again. Indeed, the construction of Ulus Business Center followed by the 100. Yıl Shop had already transformed the area in many ways.

The relocation of the Victory Monument and the reorganization of the square supported the existence of these two commercial places. Although both lots hosted commercial functions with single-story shops along their Boulevard façades with the

famous shops associated with Ankara such as Hacı Bekir, Emel Kundura, Akman, and many more, the perception of the square had changed with the physical transformation of the area while implementing the international notions in the politics and economy in the very center of the Republic's roots. In the following years, the demolition of old PTT building to replace it with a brutalist façade multi-story structure interrupted the visual and physical continuity along the northern section of the axis.

In the next node, Hergelen, or as it is addressed today; Erbakan Square, faced major interruptions recently. As mentioned above, a mosque resembling the classical Ottoman architecture was constructed in the next lot where İller Bank was once located. Firstly, the mosque is utterly incompatible with its surroundings, in size, function, architectural style, materials, and so on. It can be regarded as an interruption not only in physical aspects but also the meanings and practices of the area. The square, once a significant place of collecting, connecting and distributing people from various cities and towns, with the green background of Gençlik Park and the park's intention of western recreational practices in the service of Ankarans now has an entirely new meaning, a religious one. It is a component where neo-Islamic discourse is embodied and incarnated within the city. Likewise, the demolition of İller Bank is a symbolic departure from the Republican ideals and modernism. Since İller Bank was found incompatible the mosque and its surrounding interrupting the mosque's visibility, it was demolished in a hot summer night despite all the opposition and its legal status. In such an ensemble where secular ideals of the Republic can be felt densely, it is a major interruption of its both physical state and social aspects and meanings carried from the Republican era.

Moving towards the south, continuing with the visual perception, the conversion of Sergievi into Opera House altered the physical characteristics of the building while altering the background in the Opera Square. One of the most prominent examples of Turkish modernism was now lost and replaced with yet another incompatible façade and interior organization with its surroundings. Moreover, although a significant component of the Boulevard and an important example of its era, Opera Overpass

brought a physical barrier to the square dividing the axis. While the axis had already been divided by the Sıhhiye Bridge further south, Opera Overpass leaves the section between Opera and Sıhhiye Squares in solitude and isolation.

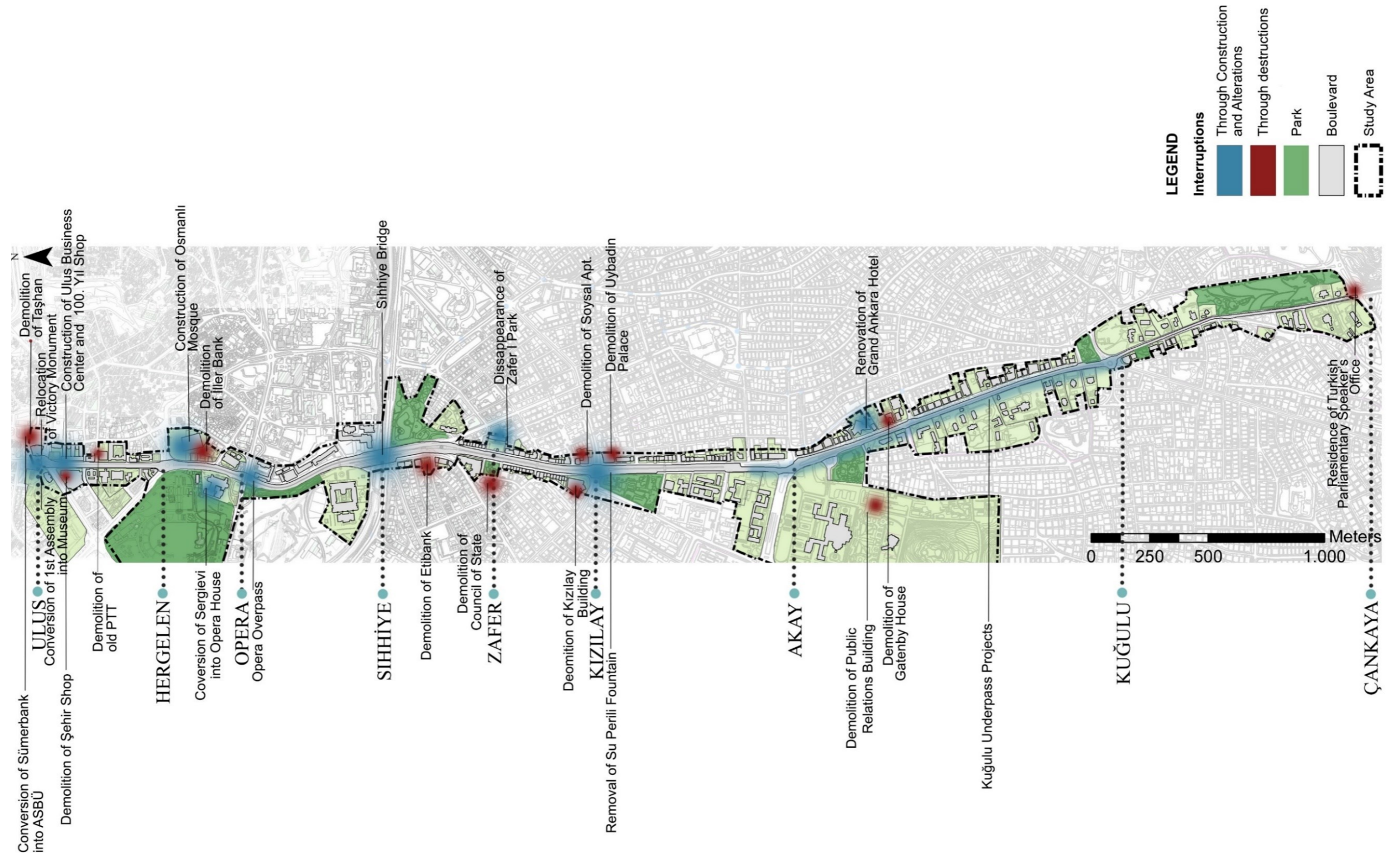
Although Sıhhiye Bridge had been a social and somehow physical barrier in the axis, specifically Sıhhiye U-turn constructed in 2000 had strengthened the physical barrier's effect in the area while interrupting the social and pedestrian circulation. Another interruption to the south of Sıhhiye Bridge was the demolition of Etibank building associated with the Sıhhiye Square. Accordingly, a quality example of the 1960s architectural culture had been erased from the urban and collective memory. Similarly, the construction of the Council of State building, and its later demolishment had also been an interruption on the axis while altering the meanings and practices of the square. Also, in the same area, the disappearance of Zafer I Park has a special place because the square was perceived as two integrated parks on its both sides, and it was a whole with all of its components including the Atatürk Monument. Even though the Zafer Square was constructed below ground to ensure the continuity of the park did not fulfill the initial attempt. The area had a plain grass surface until it was paved with stone when it entirely lost its characteristics.

Kızılay Square on the other hand, as the main center of the city at the present day, underwent various interruptions. Starting from the implementation of Su Perili Fountain contributing the area to gain the characteristics of urban public space, and later the construction of Kızılay building and Soysal Apartment complex with all the functions it carried, it was used fondly by the Ankarans. Nevertheless, the first interruption to the area was made by the removal of the fountain pool, followed by the construction of Emek Skyscraper after the demolition of Uybadin Palace, then demolition of competition project Soysal Apartment all of which have altered the dynamics of the area. Although the demolition of apartments along the Sıhhiye-Kızılay section bearing various meanings and significant places within their entirety and replacing them with 9-10 story business centers was an interruption to the city and the axis, the demolition of Soysal had a major impact on this process. Constructing

the Yapı Kredi Bank on Soysal's lot was an indicator of a new era just as the construction of the Skyscraper, with its dominance over the square altering the visual and intangible perception of the urban ensemble.

Similar to the demolition of Soysal, the demolition of the Gatenby House of the 1930s – and the only example of Mendelsohn School style along the Boulevard (Baydar, 1993, p.51)– erased a period of Ankara's urban life with the loss of Milka Patisserie located in the building. While the demolition of Grand National Assembly's Public Relations building to replace it with a new construction altering the integrity of the TBMM campus can be regarded as a major loss for the Turkish architectural culture. Nevertheless, not only demolitions and constructions have interrupted the Boulevard, but also the renovation of the Grand Ankara Hotel can be evaluated as an interruption. Although its mass composition and its physical being have continued, the renovation changed the perception of the building as well as its location and handing over to a major international hotel chain completely altered the meanings as well as the uses of the building.

The Kuğulu Underpass projects, as it was discussed above, has cut down the relationship between the people and the Boulevard by excluding the pedestrian uses along the section. Therefore, it withdraws Ankarans to experience the area as an image of the city, a path as in the Lynch's five images of the city (1960). Lastly, the demolition of the Residence of Turkish Parliamentary Speaker's Office and its replacement with a new construction resembling Second National Architectural Style is an interruption to the integrity of the Boulevard's southern end.



**Figure 4. 9:** Interruptions along the Boulevard throughout its history (Auhtor, 2018).



### 4.3.3 Erasures

The erasures along the Boulevard has been a reality since the Republican period, though here, it is examined in the time scope from the late Ottoman period onwards, especially for the erasure of the Republican era and identity of the Boulevard. Here, erasure implies disappearance of a physical place or a practice embedded in those places as an urban or governmental action rather than a natural process. Although some erasures brought more qualified functions of physical components, they are still worth mentioning as erasures (**Figure 4.10**).

Firstly, starting from the Ulus Square in the north, Taşhan was the pioneer of these erasures. Thus, the place witnessed the transition to the Turkish Republic from the Ottoman Empire – hosted many notable people in the early years of the War of Independence and the Republic and of course the location of Karpiç Restaurant – was demolished to build the Sümerbank regardless of the physical and social values it carried. Later, the one-story shops were demolished, erasing a period of commercial activities and urban life in the square and the city.

Moreover, the loss of Millet Garden is also an erasure from the memory because as an open green area, it was a place where recreational needs were spatialized during the lunch breaks or after work. Besides, it was a successful adaptation of an Ottoman open-air recreational space into the new capital and the new Republic. The new PTT building was also an erasure from the spatial framework in the collective memory of the capital. Furthermore, the demolition of İller Bank, as mentioned numerous times, is a massive loss and erasure along the Boulevard. The representative of an era, a culture, an approach, and an architectural style was now lost with the meanings engraved in its material features.

Moving towards the south, Sergievi is one of the major losses of Ankara and Turkish architectural culture. Although the building was not demolished, it was changed beyond recognition, leaving its place in the urban culture and memory empty. The grain silo of the 1940s was another component that was erased from the urban

ensemble. Although it was not in an interactive relationship with the citizens, it still provided the required spatial framework as the background.

The recent destruction that altered the meaning and perception of the Sıhhiye Square is indeed the demolition Etibank Building. Etibank Building displaying its shorter façade to the Boulevard was a quality example of its era and a major component in the collective memory as a stage in the spatial framework. The loss of Zafer Park I should also be considered as an erasure since it disrupted the integrity of Zafer Square as a whole. Council of State's demolition, although it was a component introduced after the Republican era, can still be regarded as an erasure, because it had become an integrated aspect of the Zafer Square especially together with the Zafer II Park that still exists today. Furthermore, the five-story apartments of the 1930s and 1940s along the Sıhhiye-Kızılay and further southern sections along the eastern side of the Boulevard had been erased from the urban ensemble together with the functions, meanings, and memories they carried.

The loss of Kızılay building, on the other hand, was a major one as mentioned various times throughout the thesis. Not only an early Republican era building but also a landmark of the area, the Boulevard, and the city had been lost with its demolition. Besides, the loss of Su Perili Havuz and Kızılay Park were also important in terms of urban collective memory and the physical and social entity of the square and the Boulevard. The demolition of Uybadin Palace to construct the Skyscraper caused another lost era, but then, the altered meaning and functions of the Skyscraper, namely the closure of Gima and Set Cafeteria, also erased a period of the urban culture and memory. Moreover, the removal of Kuzgun Acar's 'Anatolia' reliefs is a significant erasure not in the spatial but visual framework of the city's collective memory.

The demolition of Gatenby House and the loss of Milka Patisserie can be regarded as another important loss. Because not only the physical component, the Gatenby House, but also the lived experiences were now ceased. It can be regarded that the demolition also erased a certain spatial practice from the Akay-Kuğulu section of the Boulevard.



**Figure 4. 10:** Erasures along the Boulevard through its history (Author, 2018).



#### 4.3.4 Implementations

Some functions and components along the Boulevard are implemented in certain spots –mostly by the political powers rather than the changing dynamics in the society and the city–, altering and/or challenging the existing meanings, identities, and dynamics of their urban ensemble especially from the Republican era. As for the implementations, it can be observed that over the course of time, some new components that are incompatible with their surroundings either in size, form, or architectural style and/or concerning their functions were put or implemented to their locations which caused the alteration of the social and spatial practices within these ensembles. These implementations sometimes juxtapose with the interruptions sometimes introduce new functions or meanings and sometimes erase the existing ones (**Figure 4.11**).

Firstly, starting from the northern end of the Boulevard, Ulus Square, the construction of Ulus Business Center completed in 1954 and later 100. Yıl Shop in 1967 implemented new meanings and altered the dynamics of the area. While Ulus Business Center can be regarded as the materialization of the liberal policies of DP government and Americanization and internationalism, 100. Yıl shop also supported these meanings introduced by the business center. Moreover, Ulus Business center as the first more than five-story building along the Boulevard opens a new era in the physical composition of the Boulevard. Hence, with these two significant implementations, it can be interpreted that the square was driven away from its initial meaning of political representation as well as being identified with the War of Independence. Although both lots once housed commercial functions with the addition of Millet Garden in 100. Yıl Shops' lot, the presence of these two new constructions can be evaluated as physically significant and very much seen despite being withdrawn from the square, thereby respecting the square.

In Zafer Square, likewise, another component, Zafer Shop was implemented, though this did not introduce a new function in the ensemble where it is located –the commercial functions were already existing in the Sıhhiye-Kızılay section– it emptied

the meaning and uses of Zafer Square if one may argue. Moreover, the implementation ceased the existence of Zafer I park. Nevertheless, it also brought a lively dynamism in the area, yet the sustainability of this dynamism could be argued.

In Kızılay Square, on the other hand, there had been various implementations, starting from the construction of Emek Business Center of the Skyscraper completed in 1964. As the first ‘skyscraper’ of Turkey, it was not compatible –can also be argued that it still is not– with its surroundings. With its function, mass, form, materials, and especially height, it brought new meanings to the square, namely consumerism, internationalism, observation while being a dominant component in the urban ensemble. These meanings were supported by the existence of Gima Department Store and Set Cafeteria. Gima, on the one hand, can be regarded as implementation in the consumption habits of the Ankarans, altering the traditional one product shopping by gathering various products in it.

On the other hand, Set Cafeteria, located on the terrace of the Skyscraper brought an understanding of observing the city from the top with a broader view, thus holding control over the square. In the same area, construction of Yapı Kredi Building ended in 1971 brought a new meaning, liberal economy, because despite Skyscraper was the property of Retirement Fund in the service of their retirees’ incomes. Moreover, the bank’s construction was also an indicator of the demolishment and re-building process coming after the 1968 ten-story allowance and the bank buildings as the prestige projects were now located in the southern parts of the Boulevard.

Another Retirement Fund income building, Grand Ankara Hotel, is the first multi-story building on the south of the Boulevard. While being significant with its architectural features and characteristics, together with the parliament’s relocation to its current location, the area became a hub for the politicians, bureaucrats, and even journalists, whereas the hotel as the first five-star hotel of Ankara started to serve aforementioned entourages as well as the upper-class Ankarans. Thus, it brought new meanings and dynamics to the area while being differentiated from its surroundings with its dynamic mass.

İş Bank building in Kavaklıdere can also be seen as an implementation while being the highest building along the Boulevard; it disconnects the continuity just as other high-story buildings on the axis. While altering the visual and physical perception of the area, it also brought another high-story building on the lot across the street, ASO's new high-story building completed in 2008. While being a landmark in the city, it dominates its surroundings, which are consisted of 7-8 story buildings and single or two-story embassies.

Towards the south, yet another Emek Construction or Retirement Fund building, Lale Sitesi completed in 1968 implements the cultural and entertainment meanings in its location with its nightclub that could not last long and Akün Movie Theatre. While being another multistory structure on the Boulevard, instead of forming a barrier it connects the parallel street of Tunus Avenue with the Boulevard with its stairs next to the building leading to Tunus Avenue in the lower level. It alters the everyday life of not only its surroundings in Atatürk Boulevard but also in Tunus Avenue.

Towards the southern end of the Boulevard, two open green spaces had also altered the urban practices and uses of their locations, Kuğulu, and Seymenler Parks; both enhanced the urban public characteristics of the Boulevard with their existence. Moreover, they can also be regarded as the connection of the area's past with its present, because this section of the Boulevard as mentioned above, was the greeneries and vineyards area of the axis in the Ottoman and early Republican eras. Especially Seymenler Park created a new social and urban environment in the neighborhoods and components surrounding it since it was opened in 1983. Both parks also connect their parallel roads and neighborhoods with the Boulevard by acting as green circulation elements.

Last but not least, coming close to the present day, maybe the most significant implementations along the Boulevard were Kızılay AVM and Osmanlı Mosque. Starting from the Kızılay AVM, the project has various meanings. Firstly, it was constructed on top of the demolished Kızılay building's ground where the memories it carried were buried. Although Kızılay building was demolished in 1979, the

construction of the AVM could only be finished in 2012, and between 1979 and 1993 its lot was used as parking lot leaving a valuable location in Ankara and the memories of its citizens empty. Even though the building withdraws itself with its diagonal void in the front, it also dominates its location. Besides its physical features, the function of the building can be interpreted as the implementation of this new consumption habits just as the skyscraper with Gima. However, after decades, this time it came to the scene with the AVM culture. Therefore, it implemented not only a physical component but also a new culture and meaning in the square.

Finally, recently, the Osmanlı Mosque, –which was named after completion– was the most significant implementation along the Boulevard in the past decades. This time, the implementation is not even the physical representation of its own era because of resembling classical Ottoman mosques, though it is the socio-political implementation of our era and a revolt against the secular ideals of the Republic, even the name ‘Osmanlı Mosque’ supports this. The given name can be seen as the regression to the Ottoman ideals and promoting and glorifying the imperial times over the Republic. The area as mentioned above is where the Republic’s soul can be felt the most and is identified with the Republic and Republican revolutions. Though, implementing such an image alters the socio-spatial practices of the area, which did not include religious practices as the dominant matter. With its size, style, function, it is indeed incompatible with its environment, not to mention dominant over it. Moreover, not only implementation but the erasure it caused, the demolition of İller Bank, is also irreversible and enhances the mosque’s materiality and presence over the square.

Finally, the Central Business District gives us the commercial area of the current day with the inclusion of neighboring streets. Along the Boulevard, Sıhhiye-Kuğulu section is designated as the *MIA* while parallel streets and avenues are included in some parts. Moreover, *MIA* continues on the south of Kuğulu with Cinnah Avenue parallel to Atatürk Boulevard. The spatial designation of the Central Business District can also be compared with the commercial areas along the Boulevard and be observed that they overlap.



**Figure 4. 11:** Implementations along the Boulevard throughout its history (Author, 2018).



#### 4.4 Transformation of the Boulevard Through the Given Names of Different Sections and Squares/Junctions Along the Axis

From the early formation of the Boulevard until the present time, the sections, open spaces and squares forming the Boulevard had been addressed differently. Sometimes they became the indicators of the components of the built environment, sometimes they address the events and practices using these locations as a scene.

To trace its history through the given names and their meanings, it is better to start from the northern end of the urban axis (**Figure 4.12**). In the northern part and the starting point of the Boulevard, as it is known and mentioned above, there was the Taşhan located until the construction of Sümerbank building. Therefore, the square and urban public space were being addressed as Taşhan Square in the Ottoman Era and the early years of the Republic. With the establishment of the Republic and the existence of the first Grand National Assembly of Turkey, the area started to be known as *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* Square, indicating the nation's power over the country and the hegemony of the nation. Followed by that, in the Jansen's initial plan, the square was named as *Millet* Square, though in the plan dated 1932, it can be observed that the area was renamed as *Ulus* Square. Although Ulus and Millet both mean "Nation" it is possible that the linguistic revolution realized in 1932 had an impact on this; because Millet is an Arabic word in origin whereas Ulus is a Turkish word. At the present day, for over 80 years, the area is still known and addressed as Ulus Square and even as 'Heykel' (Sculpture) by some.

The initial name of the first section of the Boulevard was named as *Çankırı* Avenue, which is still the name of the avenue that continues towards the north after the Atatürk Boulevard. Though with the rapid construction of numerous bank buildings, the area was later renamed as *Bankalar* Avenue.

In the south of the Ulus Square, there is the area initially known as Hergele or Hergelen Square indicating that everyone, especially the new-comers to Ankara would come here, later with the fire station on the east of the Square it started to be addressed as

*İtfaiye* meaning ‘Fire Station’. Finally, in 2013, the square was renamed as Erbakan Square in memory of the former Prime Minister of Turkey between 1996 and 1997.

Continuing along the Boulevard towards the south, the next junction/square is the Opera Square; although today it hosts the Opera Building, it was intended to be the area of an Opera House before the conversion of the Sergievi into Opera. This section, from Hergelen to Sıhhiye, was known as Cumhuriyet Avenue in the first Jansen plan and following the construction of the buildings along the eastern part of this section.

Sıhhiye Square was initially named as Lozan Square, indicating the Lausanne Peace Treaty, but with the construction of the Ministry of Health on this very spot, the area started to be addressed as *Sıhhiye*, meaning health, though it is not a Turkish word just as Millet, it was not changed into ‘*Sağlık*’ (Health in Turkish). Today, it is still known and officially named as Sıhhiye Square.

Next, Zafer Square that was again initially foreseen in the Lörcher Plan survived until the present day with its original name. The section between Sıhhiye and Kızılay Squares was named as Gazi Avenue in 1927 and later Yenışehir Avenue for a short period of time in the 1930s addressing the new city in the capital. Though, from Hergelen Square until Kızılay Square, the section had been renamed several times such as the Millet (also known as Ulus) Avenue before the 1932 Jansen Plan, then Mustafa Kemal Avenue with the Jansen Plan and *Atatürk Umanı* in 1936.

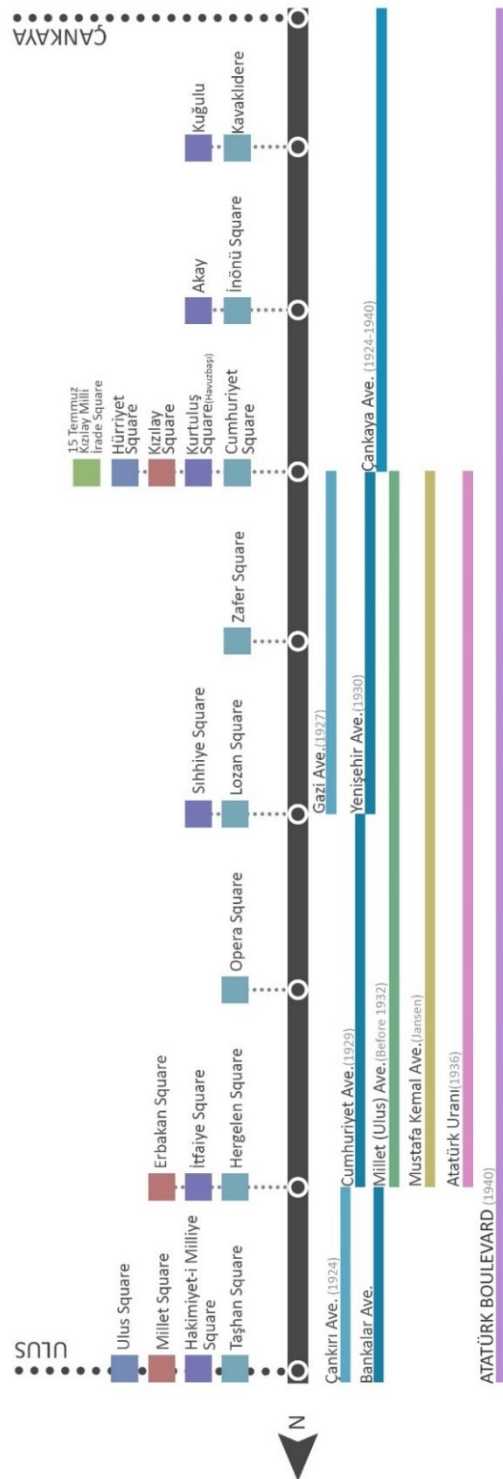
Today still addressed as Kızılay Square, is the most changed square of the Boulevard in terms of naming. First known as Tosbağa Yatağı in the Ottoman Era (Batuman, 2000), it was named as *Cumhuriyet* (Republic) Square in the Lörcher Plan. Later it was renamed as Kurtuluş Square, though with the help of the fountain-pool located on the square, it was started to be called as *Havuzbaşı* (poolside) amongst the Ankarans. Following the construction of Kızılay building, the square started to be addressed as Kızılay, although its continuity was interrupted with the renaming of *Hürriyet* (Liberty) Square as a result of the political demonstrations led to the 1960 coup, it could not have a broad and profound place in the urban everyday language of the

citizens. So that the Kızılay name continued to be used, even after the demolition of the Kızılay building in 1979. Though lately, the square became a scene in the coup d'état attempt on July 15<sup>th</sup>, 2016, and to commemorate the event and the losses during the coup night, the square was renamed as *15 Temmuz Kızılay Milli İrade* (July 15<sup>th</sup> Kızılay National Will) Square and its name in the bus and metro stops were also reorganized accordingly.

Moving towards the south, the Square located at the corner of the governmental area and the ministries, it was first named as İnönü Square but later became Akay Intersection/Junction, and often addressed as *Bakanlıklar* (Ministries) amongst the citizens of Ankara. Finally, the last square/junction along the Boulevard is the area first known as *Kavaklıdere*, taking its name from the stream (*dere*) with 'Kavak' (poplar) trees. With the formation of *Kuğulu Park* (park with swans) and with its swans, the square that later became a junction was renamed as *Kuğulu*. As it is known, the Boulevard ends at Çankaya. Çankaya also gave its name to the Kızılay-Çankaya section of the Boulevard, and the section was addressed as Çankaya Avenue from 1924 until 1940. Last but not least, the whole axis, from the Ulus Square in the north, and Çankaya Palace in the south, thus the study area of this thesis, was unified under the name "Atatürk Boulevard" in 1940. As a result, the change data of each square and junction gives us a division as names that come from Ottoman Era, urban plans of the Republican era, from the physical components such as buildings parks or monuments, and sudden namings. Taşhan, İtfaiye, Opera, Sıhhiye, Havuzbaşı and Kızılay, Kavaklıdere and Kuğulu Squares names are given after the physical components of the Boulevard, whereas Taşhan and Kavaklıdere had been addressed the same in the Ottoman Era as well as Hergelen Square. Taşhan Square took its name from the Taşhan building, İtfaiye from the fire station, Opera with the Opera House, Sıhhiye with the Ministry of Health building, Havuzbaşı from the Su Perili Fountain Pool, Kızılay from the Kızılay building and Kavaklıdere from the stream with poplar trees. Whereas, Hakimiyet-i Milliye, Millet and Ulus, Lozan, Zafer, Cumhuriyet and Kurtuluş, İnönü are the Republican era names that come with the urban plans and

named by the Republican political power. Finally, Erbakan, Hürriyet and 15 Temmuz Kızılay Milli İrade are the sudden namings, Hürriyet and 15 Temmuz Kızılay Milli İrade being named after the political events took place in Kızılay Square.

If examined within the light of previous evaluations of continuity, erasures, interruptions, implementations; the namings along the Boulevard can be interpreted as continuities, namely, Ulus, Opera, Sıhhiye, Zafer, Kızılay, Akay, and Kuğulu squares. For Kızılay and Hergelen Squares, the later namings could not find themselves broad places in the everyday language of the Ankarans, whereas for Ulus, Sıhhiye and Akay the previous namings were abandoned. Although all the namings coming from urban plans can be considered as implementations, the physical components that the open spaces are named after can also be seen as implementations such as Kızılay, Havuzbaşı, Sıhhiye, Taşhan, Opera, Kuğulu and so on. Then there are also interruptions, such as Hürriyet Square, Erbakan Square, 15 Temmuz Kızılay Milli İrade Square disregarding the meanings, histories, and stories these places carry. These renamings can also be considered as erasures since they erase the previous meanings identified with these open spaces. Lastly, it can be observed that the entire Boulevard is being addressed as Atatürk Boulevard today which can be seen as an important continuity.



**Figure 4. 12:** Timeline showing the different names of the squares and sections of the Boulevard (Author, 2018).

#### **4.5 Problems of and Threats to Atatürk Boulevard**

Today, connecting a 5.7 km axis, the Boulevard faces several problems and has multiple weaknesses. First of all, because of the distance on its formation from Ulus Square to Çankaya Palace, and as a consequence of the events happened affecting the axis, it has different identities and carries various functions and divisions on its different sections mentioned above. Therefore, each section bears a different role in the formation and provides a fragmented perception which jeopardizes the integrity of the Boulevard as a whole. Furthermore, the Boulevard is within the responsibility of two different municipalities alongside the Metropolitan Municipality of Greater Ankara; Altındağ and Çankaya Municipalities which belong to two different political parties. The section from the Ulus Square until Sıhhiye Bridge belongs to Altındağ Municipality whereas from Sıhhiye Bridge up to Çankaya it belongs to Çankaya Municipality. This also causes problems in terms of decisions concerning the physical state of the Boulevard from the sidewalk materials to the lighting elements or trashcans. Therefore, it is again a fragmentation measure in the integrity of the Boulevard.

Another problem that the axis has is the lost identities of the open spaces and their integration with its entire existence. Most of the open spaces including the green areas and squares had lost their qualities as public spaces, and they became isolated from the Boulevard and urban life in the city. Besides Seymenler Park, the parks and green spaces and recreation areas are left in a state where they are fragmented and isolated and cannot display a cohesiveness with the Boulevard. The security issues also have a role in this, especially for the embassies and ministries sections, because even though they can be considered as private places, in the initial formation of the axis, they were not visually separated from the axis, therefore, a passenger along the Boulevard could always experience them as a visual framework in their memories. But today, not only the physical access but also the visual access is restricted for these areas. Moreover, initially, the ministries area provided citizens' access within their lots had become high-security zones, disconnected component of the Boulevard and the urban life.

Furthermore, two of the capital's centers are located along the Boulevard as the Ulus and Kızılay Squares. These centers attract thousands of people every day, and they became the transportation hubs in the capital. Almost every public bus line is connected with Kızılay Square not to mention many more using the Boulevard within their regular routes as having the stops along the Boulevard including Akay and Ulus Squares. Moreover, although *dolmuşs* never use the Boulevard as their routes, the *dolmuş* lines designating Güvenpark as their parking, departure, and arrival points leave both the Boulevard and their parking areas in a disjointed position. In addition, to becoming a transportation hub, especially together with the metro lines' arrival, the pedestrian uses along the Boulevard had been diminished, and today, it had become a circulation element where the privilege belongs to the vehicles rather than the pedestrians.

Bearing the main centers in the city, the Boulevard hosts a large number of users throughout the day. Though, the users of the Boulevard are not the inhabitants of the neighborhoods surrounding it, which is understandable since the neighborhoods framing the Boulevard mostly do not consist of residential areas and rather have commercial and administrative functions. This firstly leaves it in an almost abandoned state during the night and a swarming state during the day. Most of the users of the Boulevard today are formed of passengers who use it as a transportation connection, students who use the education and private education institutes, civil servants and other workers who work in the administrative and commercial functioned places along the Boulevard. It can be argued that the Boulevard had lost its place as a cultural and social center. Not having a stable resident group, affects the sense of belonging and decisions of its users. So, today it serves to a diverse group of people, and thus, several societal groups and these diverse groups are only passing-by along the Boulevard rather than using it in their everyday practices.

Again, different sections along the Boulevard have various meanings and uses, and the evaluation above had mostly considered the northern and middle sections of the

Boulevard since the south and the neighborhoods surrounding the southern section have residential areas where neighborhood culture could be sustained.

The functions and meanings along the Boulevard underwent critical and numerous transformations as mentioned above. Though this left the Boulevard in a state where leisure time and cultural activities are not a part of the spatial practices taking the Boulevard as a scene. Although there are still some fragments of cultural activities along the axis such as the Opera, PTT Stamp Museum, Akün Theater, and Pembe Köşk, it is not a significant place of the cultural scene of the capital as it once was in its history.

Another issue to mention is about the physical appearance of the components along the Boulevard. Unfortunately, especially from the Sıhhiye Square towards the south, the visual perception along the axis is hard to perceive with a large number of signs on the building façades. The buildings and components along the Boulevard as mostly quality examples of the Turkish architectural culture are hidden behind the large signs sometimes covering the entire Boulevard façade and unable to present their entity.

Last but not least, as mentioned above, the lack of conservation measures and the limited age-related scope in consideration of the cultural assets put the components of the Boulevard which are dominantly consisted of the 20th-century elements at risk of disappearance and change beyond recognition. Therefore, their existence, significance, and of course their meanings in the collective memory of its current and past users are ceased in this legal measure.

Either as a part of the change or some other reasons, the newly introduced functions can be considered as a threat to the Boulevard's urban life and entity. Because they can interrupt the spatial practices conducted in the places along the Boulevard or implement new practices, which may not be compatible with their environment. Moreover, taking out some functions may also affect the spatial practices and urban life and culture. As an example of the newly introduced practice, the recently built mosque in Hergelen Square after the demolition of İller Bank can be given. While the

Osmanlı Mosque alters the meanings and practices of the area by challenging its initial meanings from the Republican era, Hergelen Square had already become a junction rather than a square where the traffic circulation is busy and often disordered. As for the elimination example, all the lost elements and functions along the Boulevard can be used as illustrative examples such as the patisserie culture, gazinos, cinemas, bookstores, the loss of the promenade road and many more. Moreover, for the Kızılay Square, the loss of the Kızılay Building followed by the demolishment of Soysal Apartment and the construction of the Skyscraper alters the meanings and uses of the area. Demolishing Soysal Apartment is not only a physical loss but also a social one with all the functions and uses it carried such as the Süreyya Gazinosu, Ulus Cinema, later Restoran Cevat and many more.

It can be conducted that, most of the commercial places along the Boulevard either had to close down after the demolishment of their host building, or be relocated, and to be closed soon after just in the example of Kutlu, Özen, Meram Patisseries, or Süreyya, Cevat, Piknik, Milka, and many other. Therefore, the demolishing process is causing problems in the sustaining the social aspects, meanings, and identity of the places while erasing the spatial framework in the collective memory of the citizens.

#### **4.6 Potentials and Strengths of Atatürk Boulevard**

Although the potentials and strengths of the Boulevard are examined throughout the thesis, it is evaluated as a whole in this part as well. First and foremost, the Boulevard is the representation of the Turkish Republic's almost a century old architectural and urbanism culture. Especially the Republican identity can clearly be seen along the northern section of the Boulevard and in the buildings of the administrative functions throughout the urban axis. It bears the representatives of different eras, approaches, styles within its formation with the contribution of various architects and designers from different backgrounds and approaches and even from different nationalities. It is the physical documentation of the history of the Turkish Republic with the historical, political, social events happened within the time scope of its existence which altogether affected the decisions and implementations along the axis.

It bears various statements including the economic independence as a young Republic with the bank buildings, the importance of the education and shaping the young minds of the young modern Republic with education facilities, modern housing –despite being almost completely lost–, cultural activities and recreational and leisure time practices, with the administrative and governmental buildings as a state authority itself, embassies as a recognized country in the international world and many more.

The Boulevard is also a place where the modern urban culture is born and improved, a modern urban identity is formed and lived, memories are produced –often collectively–, and new practices are introduced in everyday life in the urban ensemble. Even though it is argued whether this identity and culture could be sustained or not, it is still a reality and an important feature of the Boulevard as well as the capital. The firsts of the modern life have had their existences along the Boulevard ranging from monuments, sculptures, buildings to functions and activities.

Despite being fragmented, the Boulevard houses numerous green areas, many of which are public parks. It is a great potential and strength both for the Boulevard and the city. Because they are located in the very middle of a capital city with a 4.5 million population. Their involvement in urban life can be improved with the right decisions and implementations, and they can become places to escape the chaos of urban life or just pausing points in the city.

Some weaknesses and problems can also be considered as potentials and strengths as well or can be turned into positive attributes. Such as the centrality of the Boulevard within the urban entity of the capital and being connected with the entire city especially with the Kızılay dolmuş and public bus lines and metro and Ankaray lines. Being a transportation hub and an easily accessible area brings people from all over Ankara who belong to different societal groups to the Boulevard. Therefore, it is a meeting point of all Ankarans where they can interact with each other and therefore form and sustain the urban culture and identity of Ankara. Moreover, it would help the people of Ankara to feel a sense of belonging to their city and their wider group as the Ankara citizens besides their smaller and more specific societal groups. Not having

a stable resident group as its users can work as the appropriation and embracement of the area as a part of being Ankaralı and as a symbol of togetherness where the whole Boulevard belongs to every inhabitant of the capital.

Furthermore, it is true that different sections of the Boulevard have different meanings, functions, and physical attributes, but it provides a richness and diversity in its formation which nourishes its meanings and values accordingly. Just the togetherness of the same functions –that are mostly quality architectural examples of their periods– provides a uniqueness to the area such as the former Bankalar Avenue with the early bank buildings, education facilities of the early Republican period, administrative area with its integrity within its formation, and the large and well-preserved embassies area.

Just as the firsts in the practices, the Boulevard also hosts architectural and functional practices which increase its document value such as the first Skyscraper of Turkey (Emek Business Center in Kızılay), the first five-star hotel of Turkey (Grand Ankara Hotel), the first department store of Turkey (Gimnastik) while the Boulevard itself is a product of the first urban plan of the capital. Moreover, the Boulevard has another significant value; being the daily route of the founder of the Turkish Republic, Atatürk, as well as various prime ministers and presidents as the important political figures in the history of Turkey. Since the Boulevard starts with the first Grand National Assembly in the north and ends with Çankaya Palace in the south, the residence of Atatürk and later other presidents, and Atatürk himself used this very route of 5.7 km every day. So, if Article 6 of the Turkish conservation law of 2863 suggests the conservation and protection of elements as cultural assets with the statement of;

“Because of their importance in our national history, buildings and designated areas that had witnessed the historical events during the War of Independence and foundation of the Republic of Turkey and houses that had been used by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk **without the consideration of temporal context and registration status** [emphasis added].” (Turkish Law No. 2863, Article 6),

then it should include the entire Boulevard as an immovable cultural asset to be conserved.

The entire axis had been the witness of many major events in the Turkish political, social, and cultural history. Besides being used by the politicians, it had been a lieu where artists from various branches had experienced and used the area as a nourishing intellectual discussion milieu and exhibition place with the inclusion of famous names of the Turkey's cultural history from the fine arts to literature, music to journalism and many more. Moreover, many literary works that cover and subject the Boulevard had been published, so many that it gives us a perception of the physical and social environment of the Boulevard in different eras and the everyday life practices in the capital through the examination of the Boulevard. If such a place could become the subject of numerous works, it is clear that it has a major significance.

#### **4.7 Objectives, Principles, and Mechanisms for the Conservation of Atatürk Boulevard**

This chapter of the thesis proposes an extensive approach for the conservation of Ankara Atatürk Boulevard and its components. Therefore, it suggests objectives, principles, and mechanisms for its architectural heritage's conservation. As it was discussed in the Chapter II in the thesis, there are various concepts and components that form the place and its meanings and significance, which can be divided as physical/tangible and social/intangible values and inputs. Since modern architectural heritage lives and ages together with its users, its components are inseparable from the people. The people, thus, are the key elements in the conservation process and the sustainability of the practices materialized in the physical built environment.

Nevertheless, the physical environment is also crucial to sustain the culture and identity. As it was discussed in Chapter II, people always remember within a time frame and with images. Those images are formed by and take place in the physical places. Thus, if the component forming the physical framework is eliminated, then the amnesia starts.

The cultural and identity-related amnesia has become a reality for the societal groups of Ankara. With the rapid change in the city's built environment, it becomes harder

and harder to remember and continue the urban practices and values each and every passing day. Therefore, the linear continuity of the culture becomes fragmented, and the traditions and practices linked to societal groups and their built environment cannot be transferred to future generations. If the memory is a duration as the synthesis of past and present as Bergson suggests, and the time is a *durée* where past and present coexist (Bergson, 2004), it can be said that the time has stopped for the Atatürk Boulevard. Because while the Atatürk Boulevard of the past lives in the personal memories of the citizens, the physical state had been in constant change and the link between its past and present is interrupted. When Halbwachs' collective memory concept is examined, he states that the physical components live as long as the groups who engraved them in their memories live even after the disappearance or demolition of the physical component (1950). This can explain the similarities in the memoirs of Atatürk Boulevard's users. Because the lived experiences used the Boulevard as a spatial framework since its formation had been stuck and left behind in the memories of its users which threatens the continuity of the meanings and identity of the Boulevard while risking its conservation.

If the memory is linked with the lived experiences and material aspects, to avoid it becoming the history as Halbwachs argues (1950) we need to take action and safeguard the existence of our built environment as well as transferring the memories of the earlier periods while producing new ones in the same spatial framework for a strong and sustainable cultural and urban identity. Therefore, the cultural and communicative memory that Assmann argues (2008) can be sustained through the repeated societal practices derived from the experiences through generations to form an interactive framework of the society though it highlights the need of the communication.

Therefore, the conservation actions should include a communication tool through the physical environment and collective and individual memories of the users of Atatürk Boulevard in addition to the actions needed to be taken for the spatial and physical conservation of the area.

As the 'living' heritage components, the modern heritage buildings should be considered and evaluated in a holistic manner. The conservation of social/intangible values and components can be regarded as a more complicated task than the conservation of the tangible/physical features of an asset. However, without conserving the culture, the identity, and the spatial practices as well as the meanings of a place, conserving the physical aspect as an object would pave the way for the loss of the spirit of places.

The conservation of the built environment, therefore, reinforces the sense of belonging. The continuity of the identity and characteristics of urban ensembles can thus be achieved with the collective work of the users and decision makers as a whole with the conservation of the architectural assets. Since architectural assets are the key components that form our living environments and urban ensembles are providing us the visual framework to recall our collective memories as Halbwachs suggests (1950), then it is crucial to have physical components to remember our past as well as our present, and therefore carry our memories that form our culture and identity to the future. As Ruskin states "we may live without her [architecture], worship without her, but we cannot remember without her" (Ruskin, 1849). As the constant reminders of our memories, the components of the built environment should be conserved, as we all agree. Though 'why conserve the recent past' is another question that had been asked many times over the last decades. Bertrand Golberg, a Bauhaus graduate who was once an advocate of tearing down the structures every twenty-five years puts it thoroughly;

"...I believe we will find in our recent past all of the discoveries we need, both technological and sociological, to forge a successful urbanism. We will find that we have the resources from the past to build whatever we think for the future. (...) Our past has given us the ability to build whatever we think. What should we think to provide for the twenty-first century? To preserve our recent past is to preserve our future." (Goldberg, 1995, p. 14).

Yet, in a time of rapid change, it would be naïve to think or imagine we can remember every bits and piece of a place or an event or to think that we are able to sustain the

existence of its every component. The change is inevitable, but memory can be a tool to bring the past to the present and the present to future as a protection as well as a conservation mechanism. We go through changes in a constant state, our cities, societies, generations, architecture, built environment, culture, and even our climate is experiencing a transformation, or putting it in a better way a metamorphosis. Because change does not always happen in a desirable way, but it is important to know how it can be dealt with. Since every decision is made by people, every building is designed and constructed by us, the people, and every culture belongs to and formed by the people, it is impossible to exclude us from the decisions on our living environments. People, societal groups, human beings, however we are named and called, we are the users of our own environments.<sup>29</sup> We are the ones who value them, and who created their intangible values. Therefore, without the integration and inclusion of the societal groups, the users, we cannot achieve a thorough conservation mechanism. Consequently, after the spatio-temporal evaluation of Atatürk Boulevard, objectives, principles, and mechanisms are developed for its conservation.

#### 4.7.1 Objectives

The objectives to be taken into account for the conservation of the Boulevard are consisted of safeguarding the **continuity** of the uses, users, identities, meanings, and functions of the Boulevard. Improvement of the **connection** between the past and present, and the users and the Boulevard is another significant aspect. Highlighting the **lived experiences** through the physical spaces is important. Besides the conservation of the physical components of the axis, **conserving** different **identities** of different sections along the Boulevard while safeguarding the conservation of its **Republican identity** as a whole is essential. Prioritizing the community, benefit of society, and public usage is another must.

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<sup>29</sup> As given in the actor-network theoretical approach (ANT) that believes in the coexistence of social and natural worlds within the networks of relationships, human and non-human actors in a network should be treated equally (Latour, 2005). Although it is not in the scope of the thesis, the situation can be approached through the ANT and human, non-human theoretical methodology.

Therefore, within the light of the key concepts mentioned above the objectives are as follows;

- Atatürk Boulevard as the main spine of the city should be regarded and approached as a whole.
- Because of being the imprint of Ankara as the capital city, its Republican identity and its components related to its capital city identity should be conserved.
- The Boulevard itself as well as the aspects framing it including the built-up and open spaces which created an integrated assemble should be conserved.
- Since it was tried to create and nourish a modern way of living that takes the Boulevard as a scene, the importance of the lived experiences should be noted, and their continuity and the production of new quality experiences should be valued.
- Since it had many quality components from various different architectural styles, eras, and functions as the representation of Turkey's architectural culture for almost a century, they should be valued and conserved.
- Because of its central location and various functions, it is used by various different societal groups, therefore the user groups valuing them should be indicated and taken into account –and involved– in the decisions concerning the Boulevard.

#### **4.7.2 Principles**

The principle decisions are significant to form a mechanism for the conservation of Ankara Atatürk Boulevard. Since it is mentioned numerous times throughout the thesis, the collaboration and togetherness of the social/intangible and physical/tangible components and values are the essential points of this thesis. Therefore, the principles are divided as regarding physical and social aspects, which leads to the mechanisms of holistic conservation in the upcoming subsection. In order to realize the objectives mentioned above, following principles were formed;

- Atatürk Boulevard should be conserved in a holistic manner with its tangible and intangible aspects,
- It should be conserved with its built-up and open spaces, functions, and users,
- Users have to be involved in the conservation process from the evaluation to the implementation.

#### **4.7.2.1 Decisions Regarding Physical Aspects of Atatürk Boulevard and Legislative Decisions Regarding Their Conservation**

In the light of these principles, the actions and decisions needed to be taken for the conservation of Atatürk Boulevard are developed. Physical decisions on the conservation of the Boulevard consist of various aspects from regulation proposals to registration suggestions. The principles are as follows;

- The Boulevard should be designated as an urban conservation site because of its various meanings, values, and aspects, such as; being the physical witness of the formation and development of the Republic, Ankara as the capital, transformation of the architectural culture in Turkey, being a scene and stage for the history of Turkey, having the various edifices as the representations of their institutions, times, and statement of an independent Republic. And most importantly, for being the route of many politicians throughout the history of Turkey as well as of the founder Mustafa Kemal Atatürk himself.
- The open spaces, especially the squares and junctions along the Boulevard should be reorganized to regain their open public space qualities in the urban ensemble.
- The parks along the Boulevard, especially Gençlik, Cumhuriyet, Abdi İpekçi, and Zafer parks should be reintegrated with the city and urban life by promoting the user groups and their activities within the city and the parks while integrating the open green spaces with the Boulevard.
- To enhance the continuity and connection along the Boulevard, a public transportation system that connects its very north end to its very south end, such as a tram, should be introduced. This would also encourage different

groups of the capital using specific sections along the Boulevard to get out from their designated zones and explore and use the entire Boulevard and their neighboring districts.

- Pedestrian uses along the Boulevard should be enhanced by cutting down the traffic circulation, providing traffic regulations, and more crosswalks connecting the east and west of the Boulevard.
- New constructions should be regulated by a commission responsible for the physical state of the Boulevard. They should be approved by this commission regardless of their municipality. They should reflect their own time with their architectural style and organizations, and the replicas and misrepresentations should be avoided.
- The visual pollution caused by the unregulated signboards should be eliminated by regulations concerning the format.

Besides these decisions concerning the physical condition of the Boulevard, to safeguard its entity and continuity, a legal action should be taken, and some individual buildings also should be conserved by registration (**Figure 4.13**). For example, some relatively older buildings should be registered because of being the unique examples of their periods, styles, and functions left along the Boulevard, and sometimes in Ankara. Lozan Palas (current Akbank Building), Yüksel Palas, Büyük Shop and Büyük Apartment, Kocabeyoğlu Passage, and Soysal Han are named as registration proposals.

In addition to them, the continuity of the embassy buildings and other foreign representations along the Boulevard should be safeguarded by registration as well, because of their uniqueness in Ankara, their integrity within their entirety, often their characteristics of representing their home countries' identities, and of course being the witnesses of the Turkish Republic as an internationally recognized state, they should be registered as well. In addition to them, the German School on the Boulevard should also be considered for registration for its uniqueness and architectural value.

Moreover, the structures designed via competition as the quality architectural and structural examples of their era, i.e., Ulus Business Center (its higher block is not registered), 100. Yıl Shop, Courthouse, Ministry of Education, Emek Business Center (the Skyscraper), Vakıfbank Headquarters in Kavaklıdere. Besides being competition projects, these buildings and complexes are also the quality examples of their periods and Turkish architectural culture.<sup>30</sup>

Moreover, other prominent examples of Turkish architectural culture along the Boulevard should be registered because of their quality physical features as well despite their young ages such as; Ulus Ziraat Bank's annexes, Grand Ankara Hotel, İşbank Headquarters, Turkish Language Association, Lale Sitesi, and İlbank Blocks.

In addition to the registration suggestions, the renovation works especially on the façades should be held carefully. The façade facings on the 20<sup>th</sup> century buildings with Seljukid, Ottoman, and Islamist figures and forms with the use of 20<sup>th</sup> century materials i.e., aluminum, is a reality in Turkey, and its examples can be found along the Boulevard as well as such as TV8 Building and SGK Provincial Directorate. Therefore, the renovations should be held with the consideration of the structures' own eras, or if necessary, the present day's architectural and design approaches to avoid misrepresentations, replicas, and incompatible examples. This also applies for the use of ancient components such as pediments, Corinthian, Ionic, and Doric columns on the façades and so on.

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<sup>30</sup> Although Kızılay *AVM* is also a competition project, the damage it does to its surroundings, Kızılay Square, is more than its contributions. Therefore, it is not suggested for registration.





**Figure 4. 13:** Registration suggestions according to the physical qualities of the components (Author, 2018).



#### **4.7.2.2 Decisions Regarding Social Aspects of Atatürk Boulevard and Legislative Decisions Regarding Their Conservation**

The importance of the consideration of the social/intangible values and meanings is indisputable as highlighted through the thesis, social aspects play a key role in the conservation of Ankara Atatürk Boulevard. Because they are the inseparable aspects of the Boulevard starting from its formation, the Boulevard and the components forming it should be regarded holistically. Thus, the decisions regarding the social aspects of the Boulevard are listed as follows;

- Within the light of the previous evaluations, there should be a communication tool for the conservation of tangible and intangible aspects of the Boulevard. The importance of components forming the Boulevard should be highlighted for the collective memory with the help of the community involvement methods.
- The cultural activity places should be increased by opening new ones, such as theaters, cinemas, galleries, museums, concert halls and so on as well as organizing and promoting new urban activities in the open public spaces along the Boulevard.
- An urban council consisted of Ankarans that works together with the municipalities should be formed specifically for the Boulevard, where citizens and users of the Boulevard themselves can have a voice over the decisions concerning the Boulevard, organize events especially in the open spaces along the axis, and thus, have the right to the city (Lefebvre, 1996).
- The tools and mechanisms of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, namely the current technology, should be used in the conservation of the Boulevard and the integration of its tangible and intangible aspects; the physical being of the Boulevard and the people.
- Municipalities should work together on the issues concerning the Boulevard regardless of the political parties they belong to.

- The naming especially of the open spaces should not be interrupted by sudden naming to ensure the continuity of the meanings and memories of the citizens.
- There should be a prior study on the meanings and memories of the Boulevard among its users in addition to the study conducted in this thesis. It can be realized by oral history studies and interviews which was not within the scope of the thesis.
- The information compiled from the users should be collected in a database to be accessible by everyone in the future.

Moreover, the places that have symbolic and commemorative or memorial meanings or values should be conserved and continued, even if they do not carry any physical significance. Therefore, they should be included in the legislation and given legal conservation status with a system similar to the English ACV which safeguards the conservation of places through their community meanings and experiences regardless of their physical features **(Figure 4.14)**.<sup>31</sup>

All squares and junctions should be registered because of various reasons including their historical status of being formed in the Lörcher and Jansen plans and survived together with the Boulevard as well as for their integration with the components framing them. However, Ulus Square should be registered as an ACV since it witnessed the formation and transformation of the Turkish Republic by being the lieu where the idea of an Independent country was born and developed. Although the Victory Monument and lower block of Ulus Business Center are registered cultural assets, the plaza of the business center that also houses the Victory Monument forms a functioning urban center within the square, it had been the location of many lost Ankara shops and enterprises, but thanks to its location facing the square it still helps Ankarans to produce new memories.

Lozan Palace on the other hand, is one of the first hotels of Ankara, therefore, one of the places helped the Ankarans to experience the modernity and create a modern urban social life. Even though its function has changed, it can still be a part of the conserved urban culture in the city.

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<sup>31</sup> For more information on ACV, see: Chapter II, 2.2.4 Legislative Framework for Conservation of Modern Heritage in Different Countries of the thesis.

Hergelen Square had been the place where people first met Ankara (unless came by train), it is the witness of the migrations, changing urban life, as well as its mostly lost framing lots.

Sıhhiye Square is another suggested ACV, it is the first place where people met Yenişehir after passing the Sıhhiye Bridge, also it hosts one of the first ministry buildings (and modernist buildings) in the capital while being a recreation place in the early Republican era. Yüksel Palace, just as Lozan Palace had been a notable place in the first decades of Ankara (although it is constructed in the 1940s), and again had changed function, but it still bears the memories of the citizens while being a survivor that salutes the passengers coming from the Ulus side of the Boulevard.

Although Zafer I Park is lost, the damage can be irreversible, it can gain the qualities of open public space again. Moreover, since it is designed together with the square and the Zafer II Park, and they still exist, it should be considered as a part of the whole and become an ACV for being a part of the Ankarans memories. In addition, the Zafer shop as one of the frequently used location –especially with the bookstores– amongst the Ankarans should be conserved because of its memorial characteristics. Moreover, this area has political meanings as well, therefore, it should be considered as lieu of a collective sense of togetherness with the reference to the Turkish history. Büyük Cinema and Büyük Apartment should also be considered as ACV even though they do not bear their original functions, they are still standing material beings of the past where urban memories were engraved. Since there is not much components left from the early years of the cultural, commercial, urban life along the Boulevard, the still standing ones should be treated as ACVs concerning their meanings for the citizens.

While Skyscraper should be regarded as an ACV because of being a dominant image in the citizens' collective memories, its entrance from the Gima side had been –and still is– a significant place for the Ankarans by carrying the role of the meeting point in Kızılay. Similar to Zafer Square, but maybe even more, Kızılay Square should be an ACV as well. Because from the beginning of the Republic, the square had been the place where western recreational needs were met with the orchestra, the Su Perili Havuz, later with Kızılay Park and Güven Park while being the end point of the promenades along the Boulevard. Moreover, it is the place where various political events from different ideologies had occurred. Therefore, it can be said that this square truly belongs to each citizen of Ankara from every social groups.

Similar to Gima's entrance, Vakko building had been a meeting point as well, although following the closure of the Vakko shop –and its art gallery– it had partially lost this feature, it is still an existing component of the Boulevard and the collective memory of its citizens. Therefore, it should be considered as an ACV as well. Although Grand Ankara Hotel is merely a location right now rather than what it initially represented, this place had been the witness of the cultural, entertainment, and political life of the Ankara for a very long period of time. It can be considered for the registration just for these features. Lale sitesi with the Akün and Şinasi theaters, is still a cultural center on the Boulevard's southern section. Although it has lost its initial cinema function, it still carries the memories of the past generations while helping the present ones to produce new memories in its entity. Lastly, Kıtır is a still standing food and beverage place frequently used by many Ankarans. Therefore, it is still witnessing the social life of Ankara, and thus, should be designated as an ACV. Moreover, its almost original interiors provide the users a continuous spatial framework in the different temporal ones, thus connecting the generations and different users from different times. On the other hand, Dost Bookstore located on the same lot as Kıtır could be considered for the ACV if it was not closed down in 2017. Unfortunately, together with Bilgi Bookstore in Sıhhiye-Kızılay section of the Boulevard –as one of the first bookstores in Yenışehir– that was closed in 2014, Ankara lost two major pieces from its culture and urban memory.

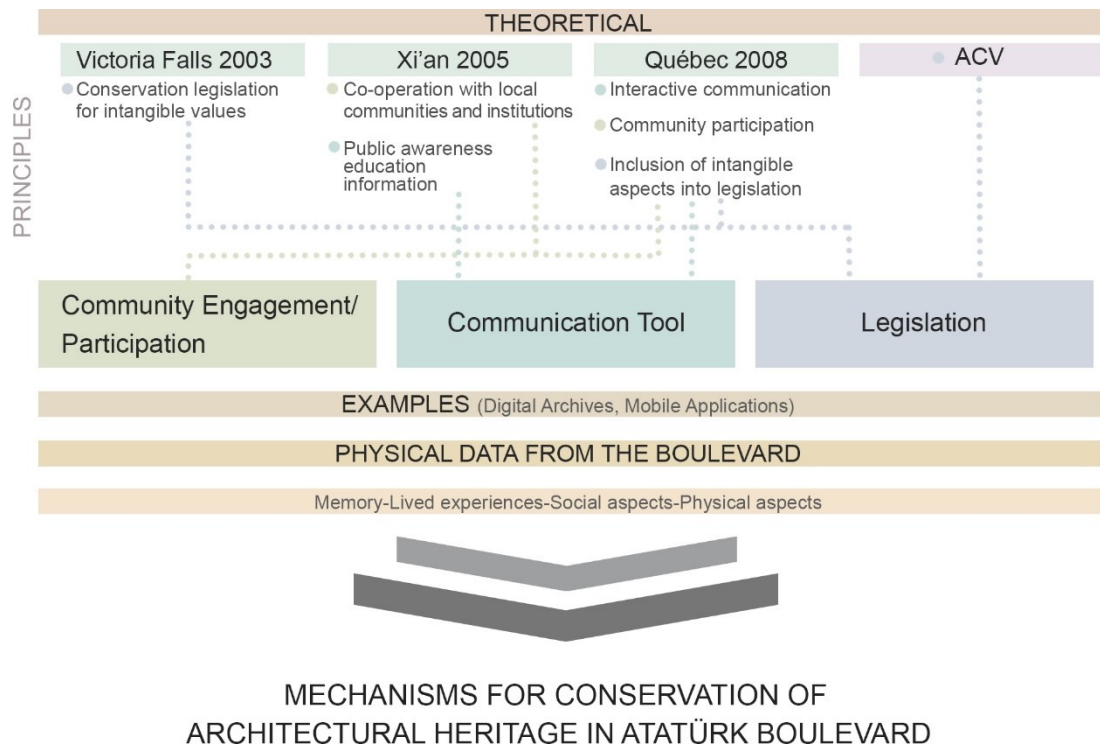


**Figure 4. 14:** Registration suggestions for the ACV according to the social aspects of the places (Author, 2018).



### 4.7.3 Mechanisms

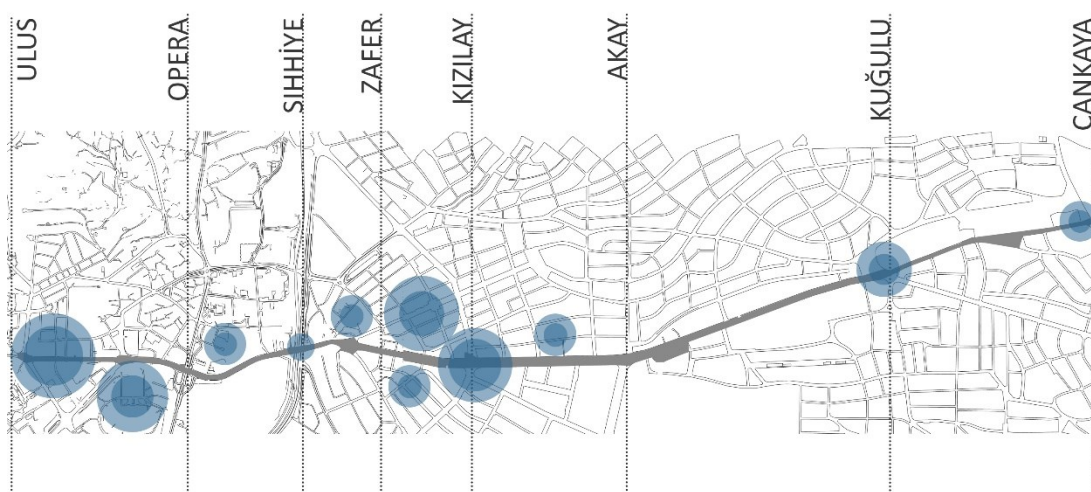
As given in Chapter II, various policy documents include and suggest inclusive methods and mechanisms both for the conservation of modern heritage and intangible heritage. Therefore, they were taken as the basis for the mechanisms proposed in this thesis, as well as the data achieved from the field study and literature review for Atatürk Boulevard (**Figure 4.15**).



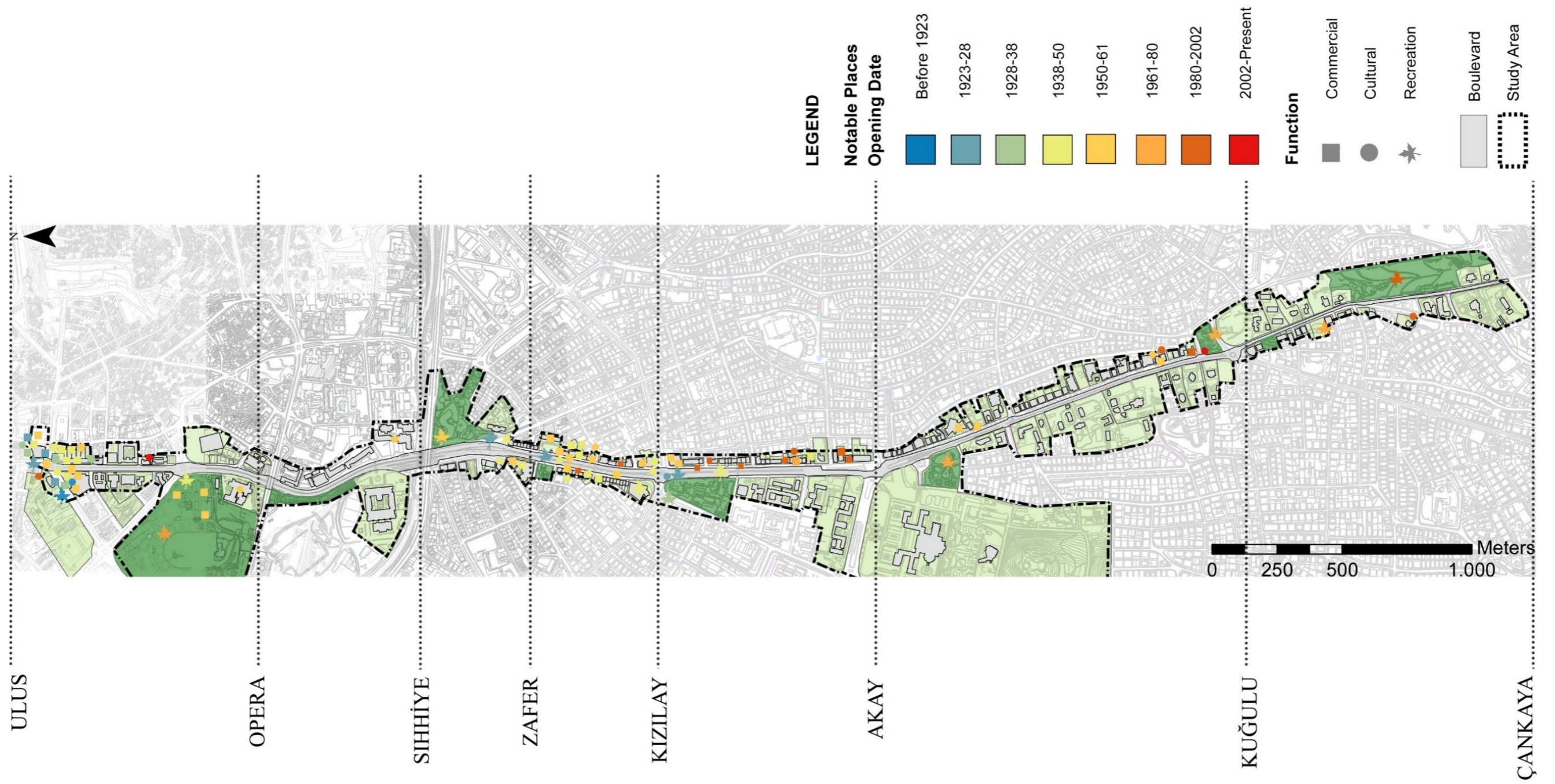
**Figure 4. 15:** Chart illustrating the basis and formation of the mechanisms proposed for the conservation of architectural heritage in Atatürk Boulevard (Author, 2018).

Hence, for its conservation, the places mentioned above –besides the Boulevard as a whole– should be integrated with the contemporary city and citizens. Togetherness and cooperation are key aspects in this sense. Since modern heritage and modern urban ensembles were born, live, and age –hopefully not die– with their users, it is inevitable to include the people who created their own urban ensemble and urban identity. In order to make Assmann’s communicative memory to cultural memory, the continuity, namely the repeated practices and vertical communication between the generations

are essential. In addition, the cooperation and communication of the citizens and decision-makers is a key aspect for the conservation and sustainability of both tangible and intangible aspects. From the research conducted, places bearing the memories of the Ankarans mentioned in the sources used for this thesis are not displaying a evenly distributed presentation on the map (**Figure 4.16**). Therefore, there are still a large portion of places waiting to be illuminated in the memory of the city and its citizens. Moreover, while Atatürk Boulevard had been continuously producing memories from the early Republican until recent past, it is rather more difficult for it to produce new ones at the present day (**Figure 4.17**). While this jeopardizes the past of the Boulevard and Ankara as an urban ensemble, it also jeopardizes its future, leaving it under risk. Because, especially after 2002, Atatürk Boulevard struggles to produce new meanings and memories while struggling to conserve the already existing ones. To eliminate, or at least minimize this, communicative mechanisms are suggested. To achieve these, a brief examination is realized under the subsections of community engagement, and tools for documenting, transferring, sharing the lived experiences and producing new memories in the urban ensemble.



**Figure 4. 16:** The density of the information regarding memory on different sections and parts of the Boulevard achieved from the sources used in the thesis (Author, 2018).



**Figure 4. 17:** Notable places that contributed to the formation of the urban identity of Ankara and engraved in the memories of the citizens according to the sources used in the research (Author, 2018).



#### 4.7.3.1 Community Engagement as a Conservation Mechanism

As it was mentioned above in the third chapter, every citizen has the “right to the city” or “*la droit à la ville*” as it was explained by Lefebvre; it is not only the freedom to use the privileged place, the center, but also having a voice in the decision-making process as the ones who built the city and its urban identity (1996). Therefore, the community engagement in the decision-making process and in sustaining the cultural identity through generations is essential.

Although the community engagement in the heritage practices had been a topic especially in the international policy documents regarding memory and place as it was examined in Chapter II, it is a rather new concept in Turkey which is not yet widely realized and utilized as a conservation tool in the field. It is important that the professionals and actors in decision-making in the field of conservation bond and work together with the societal groups of the specific places. Whereas, urban *citadins* and users should look after and make claim to their rights and values; it is essential that the groups come together and work together. Especially municipalities play a key role in this process. City councils are significant formations as the first step in the participation of people in the decision-making process of the local governments.<sup>32</sup> Moreover, the District Councils and Neighborhood Forums increased in number and popularized especially after 2013 in Turkey are considerably important for the unification of societal groups who use and value the same places, in our case Atatürk Boulevard, to gather and decide on their own social and urban ensembles. If these formations, organizations, and initiatives work together with the municipalities, decision-makers and other actors and initiatives in the conservation and urban formation fields with the support of the legislation, then the groups can use their collective values and memories in the conservation of built environment and social values and can fortify their sense of belonging to their groups and urban ensembles.

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<sup>32</sup> For working procedures and principles of the City Councils see; *Kent Konseyi Yönetmeliği* (October 8<sup>th</sup>, 2006), Official Gazette No. 26313.

In addition to the formations mentioned above, other initiatives covered in the third chapter of the thesis bear significant roles as well and can be the gateway to the community engagement. For instance, the neighborhood or district associations such as Kavaklıderem, Çiğdemim, Esatlılar Associations, which are also a part of the ANKARAM Platform that tries to be the voice of Ankarans with the variety of formations in its entity. Moreover, *Gazete Solfasol*, a journal subjecting Ankara, is organizing panels and conferences including the ‘Local Government Forums’ is a significant contribution for the community engagement to discuss and decide with the citizens. The impact they can have on the decisions on city had already been illustrated by number of events noted in the third chapter. Their integrity with the city and citizens is promising, not to mention essential.

As for the legislative framework, the Localism Act 2011 of England and ‘Asset of Community Value’ that comes with it as explained in chapter two is a prominent step for to acquire the right to the city. As it was stated by MP Greg Clark, UK’s Minister of State for Decentralization;

“We believe that the freedom of local communities to run their own affairs in their own way should be seen as a right to be claimed, not a privilege to be earned. The Coalition will embody this principle as a series of specific rights that can be exercised on the initiative of local people.” (Greg Clark, cited in Department for Communities and Local Government, 2012, retrieved from Neal, 2015).

#### **4.7.3.2 Tools for Documenting, Transferring, Sharing the Lived Experiences and Producing New Memories in the Urban Ensemble**

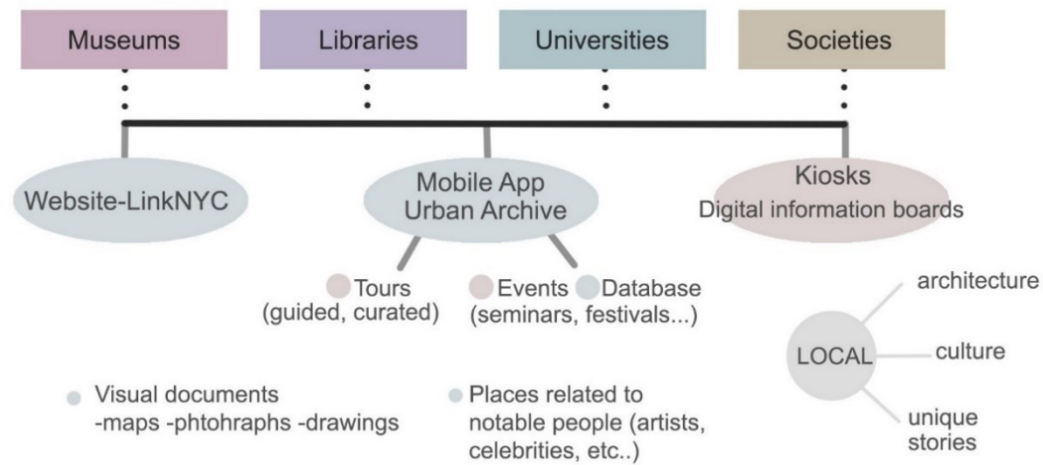
Having given the technological tools, namely the mobile applications and online databases in Chapter II, the thesis proposes a digital tool that can be used for the documentation, communication and continuity, collectivity of Atatürk Boulevard. The potential of these tools should be exploited further since they can provide a basis for data collection and interaction between the social and physical aspects should be developed in order to take further steps.

Even though a place does not have the physical qualities and characteristics to gain conservation status, it can still be conserved because of its significance in the collective memory, thus the tools for documenting, transferring, and sharing the lived experiences undertake major roles in this.

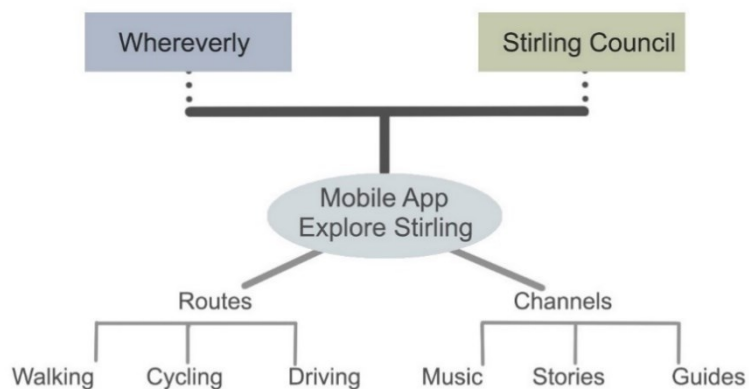
Since the meaning and continuity of the study area, Atatürk Boulevard, are under risk –because of the conservation approaches prioritizing the physical aspects, which are often insufficient–, a communication tool that can safeguard the conservation of the Boulevard’s tangible and intangible aspects together should be formed. Hence, the importance of the Boulevard and the components forming it for the collective memory should be highlighted through the support of the community involvement methods.

For an urban ensemble such as Atatürk Boulevard, a one-sided approach would not be enough to capture, understand, and express its meaning and identity, therefore, a juxtaposition of the examples given in Chapter II should be realized and a new tool with the inclusion of local governments, universities, archives, museums, libraries, societies, and people should be developed (**Figure 4.18, Figure 4.19**).

### Urban Archive (New York City, USA)

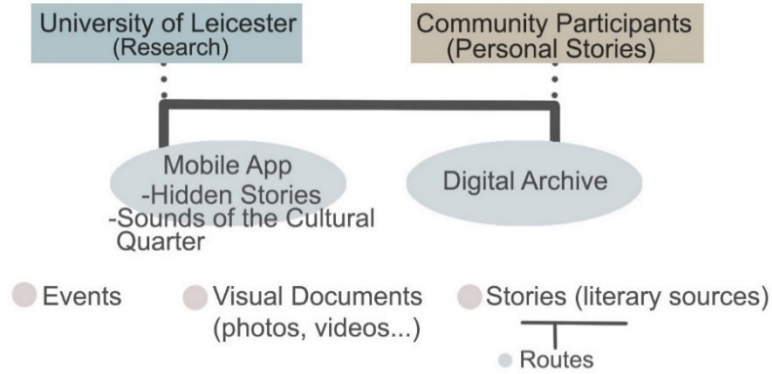


### Explore Stirling (Stirling, Scotland)

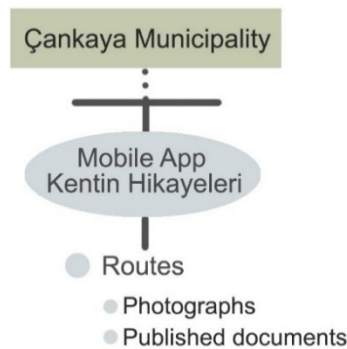


**Figure 4. 18:** The formation and scope of Urban Archive and Explore Stirling mobile applications (Author, 2018).

### Affective Digital Histories (Leicester, England)



### Kentin Hikayeleri (Yenişehir, Ankara, Turkey)



**Figure 4. 19:** The formation and scope of Affective Digital Histories project and Kentin Hikayeleri mobile application (Author, 2018).

In order to achieve that, it should be formed a database consisted of the memories and lived experiences of the Ankarans related to the places of these memories and it should be updated with the current data as well (**Figure 4.20**). It can be supported by the literary works and movies subjecting Ankara and the places where the memories take place. The information on the lots –the buildings, open spaces, their architects/designers, construction/demolition dates, uses, functions, commercial, cultural, etc., places located in each building and their opening and closure dates known in the history and current day– should also be given. This also should be

supported with the visual documents such as photographs –of both the buildings/open spaces and the people–, architectural drawings –if there is any–, maps, if possible, the tickets of the past events in the cultural function places, menus of the food and beverage places, old advertisements, price tags, information about the owners and so on. This would help the current and future generation Ankarans to connect with their built environment while informing them. It can be started with the Boulevard and gradually add neighboring blocks and districts, and eventually cover urban borders of Ankara.

The information can be gathered with the help of the various organizations, initiatives, and institutes as in the example of Urban Archive. Because it takes a collective work to create an identity and collective memory, thus it would also take a collective work to conserve them and conserve the heritage in a holistic way. Therefore, VEKAM, universities' library and archives, especially Atılım University's digital archive on Ankara, national library of Turkey, municipalities, newspapers, journals and their archives, TRT archives, other formations such as the chambers; Chamber of Architects, City Planners, Interior Architects, Landscape Architects, Civil Engineers, or platforms such as ANKARAM, Kavaklıderem, Esatlılar, etc., and many more should be in collaboration and cooperation for the aforementioned database.

Moreover, if realized under a mobile and web application, then it can provide curated routes as in the example of the beforementioned mobile applications. These curated routes can be in a wide range of concepts for instance; following the literary journey of Ankara with a route following the bookstores of Ankara or the places mentioned in the literary works subjecting Ankara, or tracing the musical history of Yenışehir, or even recreating a typical afternoon promenade along the Boulevard with the inclusion of the stops along the way such as the patisseries, shops, and many more. The possibilities are endless and are left to the imagination of a collective team.

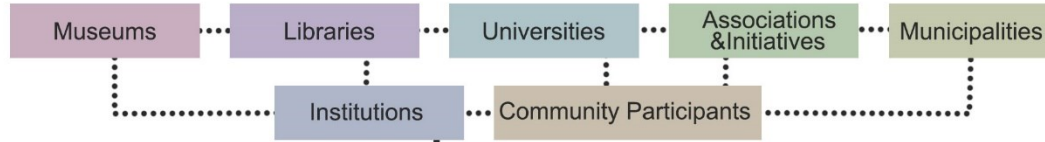
Furthermore, digital boards, or kiosks can be implemented along the Boulevard, working based on a geo-tag and connected to the database, the screens can show the

information about its location and components in its vicinity just as the LinkNYC Kiosks in New York City, USA.

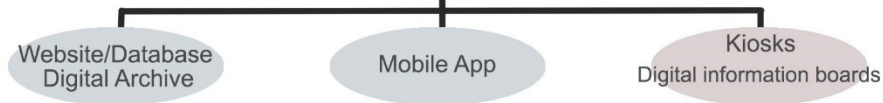
In addition, even though there are some examples that have been done in the last decade, there can be organized tours with a group of people and a tour guide. Salt Ankara and Chamber of Architects Ankara Branch have been organizing similar tours in the last couple of years. Moreover, the number of urban talks about Ankara can be increased and these should be available to everyone and accessible by anyone. Additionally, the oral history projects should be conducted as it was mentioned above, not only to be used in the database, but also to be delivered to the public by organized talks and screenings to help the vertical communication between generations. People from different societal groups and different parts of Ankara can talk about their lived experiences and perceptions on the change along the Boulevard and Ankara which would enhance the diversity of the meanings and collective memories on the built environment. This should be documented, and the documentation should be repeated in every ten years with new participants in order to use in the database. Nevertheless, the announcements should be held carefully and access to wide range of groups from the upper class to low-income groups.

## Reconnecting with the City (Atatürk Boulevard, Ankara, Turkey)

### • Contributors



### • Outcomes



- |                          |                    |          |                           |
|--------------------------|--------------------|----------|---------------------------|
| ● Visual Documents       | ● Stories          | ● Routes | ● Events                  |
| ● Photographs            | ● Oral History     |          | ● Tours (curated, guided) |
| ● Architectural Drawings | ● Literary Sources |          | ● Panels                  |
| ● Maps                   | -novels            |          | ● Seminars                |
| ● Videos                 | -poems             |          | ● Screenings              |
| ● Advertisements         | -memoirs           |          | ● Festivals               |
| ● News                   | -...               |          |                           |
| ● Menus                  |                    |          |                           |
| ● Signs                  |                    |          |                           |

**Figure 4. 20:** Scope and formation of the proposed database (Author, 2018).

## **CHAPTER 5**

### **CONCLUSION**

The relationship between the physical/tangible and social/intangible components of a place together contribute to the significance of a place. In the urban ensembles, this relationship plays a key role because they carry various meanings and serve to number of groups, each having their own values and meanings – and sometimes the same ones in a collective way– for the urban ensembles, which together enhance the diversity and thus the significance of the urban ensembles. In this sense, conserving solely the physical components forming the urban ensemble while disregarding the social aspects and meanings contributed to the formation of the area would diminish the significance, and jeopardizes the sustainability and continuity of the place. Furthermore, collective memory formed by the collective lived experiences of the groups establishing and using an urban ensemble is a major aspect in the identity of a place, and indeed the sustainability of it. The collective memory formed within a temporal framework by using a spatial framework does not have to be stuck between a timeline and can be an effective tool in the conservation practices as well. Therefore, the places and people and groups forming these memories can also be the tools for the conservation while being the subjects of it. Especially for the modern heritage, since its components are living monuments aging together with their users, the citizens in our case, the significance of the collective memory cannot be disregarded.

With the consciousness of the importance of collective memory and other social/intangible aspects and their relationship with the physical components in the modern urban ensembles, the thesis proposes an inclusive approach for the conservation of Atatürk Boulevard, as a modern urban ensemble, by considering the

social/intangible and physical/tangible aspects altogether without cherishing one over the other.<sup>33</sup>

From the day the Turkish Republic was established, the built environment has been in constant change, and Ankara as the capital and Atatürk Boulevard as its main north-south axis has experienced it intensively. This change has been parallel to the politics, urbanism decisions, social changes, and architectural culture in Turkey, all of which affecting each other constantly. This thesis first maps the tangible and intangible changes that Atatürk Boulevard in the capital of Ankara underwent and discusses in relation to memory, identity, and architecture and their conservation. In addition to that, the spatio-temporal change is also examined through the built-up lots framing the Boulevard, by identifying the functions, construction dates, architects, and the number of stories –as a parallel feature to the urbanistic decisions affecting the Boulevard–.

The components of the city and the Boulevard that was designed as the representation of the new regime give us the state power over the city and the use of architecture as a tool for promoting the new regime and unifying the nation in the material forms. With the change of the political scene in Turkey and the abandonment of the Republican ideals during the multi-party period –especially with the DP regime starting from the 1950s–, the liberal tendencies had dominated the country while the influence of the United States could now easily be perceived. Although with the shift in the urban focus from Ankara to Istanbul, the international and Americanized architectural forms and materials could easily be observed in the buildings built in the 1950s and 1960s, such as Ulus Business Center and the Skyscraper. During the 1970s and the 1980s, we observe the change in the understanding of cultural heritage assets in Turkey, the effects of the change in the urban centers and transformation of the area within this context. From the 1980s onwards, the existence of the local governments can be felt densely. Also, especially in the last decade, the destructions of and

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<sup>33</sup> Some of the conclusions of this thesis were presented during and/or published in the proceedings of “*Koruma Sempozyumu*” in Ankara, Turkey, “The City (Re)Shaped” in Leeds, UK, and 16<sup>th</sup> Biennial Conference of IASTE “Politics of Tradition” in Coimbra, Portugal. For information see references; Uzgören, Özgönül (2017), Uzgören, Özgönül (2018a), and Uzgören, Özgönül (2018b).

interruptions on the built environment are observed as parallel to the political tendencies in the country and of the local governments.

Currently, we see traces of the past 95 years along the axis, the transformation of a nation, a city, and the modern architecture in Turkey. Atatürk Boulevard had been carried various meanings and had been the scene of various aspects; independent economy, newly established state, modern education, diplomacy, and international relations, modern housing, culture, recreation, and social life, political representations, urbanism, and architectural culture of Turkey. The altered physical aspects and spatial framework accordingly paved the way to the transformation of the intangible meanings and practices along the Boulevard. With each changing physical component and function, the social practices were affected, whereas when the social practices are altered, the continuity in the lived experiences, and therefore collective memory had been impacted, eventually causing urban-scale amnesia. In such urban ensemble where the social/intangible aspects are as important as –sometimes even more important than– the physical ones, excluding the intangible inputs in the decision-making processes, or evaluating a place solely on physical aspects separated from its intangible features and meanings cause risks in the conservation practices. Moreover, since the components forming the Boulevard are predominantly 20<sup>th</sup> century assets, the conservation legislation in Turkey falls short to safeguard their existence and continuity.

The constant change has been affecting the Boulevard deeply, although the information of the transformation of each lot gives us never-changing spots in the bigger picture, those spots are not safe either as it can be understood from the abovementioned destructions. Today the current government is demolishing heritage buildings and importing their symbols on certain spots that promote political views and change the everyday practices of these locations, which endangers the Republican identity in Ankara just as in the example of İller Bank and newly constructed mosque.

Modern architecture and open spaces are easily targeted in this change. Most of the early Republican era buildings and open spaces had been susceptible to destruction due to the lack of a clear definition and conservation measures in Turkey for the modern heritage, and the political power has a significant impact on this transformation. Just as Kafka's Gregor Samsa, awoke one morning from uneasy dreams, the citizens of Ankara found a registered building demolished as in the example of İller Bank in the study area or thousands of trees cut to make a new highway and much more which causes the metamorphosis of the built environment as well as the identity of the city.

Therefore, the destruction of the built environment in the service of politics can be seen in this respect. In addition to the demolishment, new constructions in such significant urban ensemble should be respectful to their environment in which they are situated, as in the example of the newly constructed mosque with its massive presence. Besides the physical features of the structure, its function also dominates and changes the spatial practices of the area, which can easily be associated with the central and local government's conservative and Islamist tendencies.

In conclusion, today, the components forming Atatürk Boulevard as a part of Ankara as the prestige project of the Turkish Republic do not receive the respect that they deserve and are facing systematic destruction with the support of the governmental power. According to Nora; when the places witness the shared experiences and memories of any community, they become symbols of that community's memorial heritage (2006). The transformation of Atatürk Boulevard, the symbol of the Turkish nation's memorial heritage, causes disconnection between the people and their built environment while jeopardizing the partially lost Republican identity of the area as the nation's shared heritage. Shaping the urban fabric in accordance with the changing politics causes conflicts with each and every political will that comes to power.

In this process, the users of these places could not have a voice over the demolition and transformation of these places, but if it was given the change to do so, as in the

example of ACV, their existence could have been safeguarded by their legal protection. Therefore, not only the lost meanings, practices, and components, but also a lack of spatial settings to produce new meaningful collective memories in social groups, and even as a nation is causing problems. Consequently, the thesis suggests a conservation status similar to ACV; thus, the memory places engraved in the urban memory and ensemble can be transferred to future generations. With the registration of public spaces including the open areas and even the entrances of some significant buildings and functions such as the Vakko and Gima entrance can safeguard their existence not only in the memories but also in the actual everyday life.

In this sense, it is known that the conservation measures, especially in Turkey, has a lack of holistic approach, which risks the continuity and conservation of the built environment and the meanings engraved in the material aspects of the components forming it, particularly for the modern heritage. In order to evaluate and conserve the modern urban ensembles, in this case Atatürk Boulevard, it is formed mechanisms and principles for the conservation of its architectural heritage, where it is given the physical, social, and conservation decisions, to be followed by the mechanisms consisted of community engagement methods and tools for documenting, transferring, sharing the lived experiences and producing new memories in the urban ensemble.

Therefore, the thesis defined the objectives, principles, and mechanisms for the conservation of Atatürk Boulevard. Within the objectives for the conservation of the Boulevard, while safeguarding its continuity, connection and with the consideration of its identities and lived experiences, the decisions concerning its holistic conservation were conducted.

To sum up the principle decisions, it ranged from a broader scale such as the designation of Atatürk Boulevard as an urban conservation site as a whole, to a more specific and smaller scale decisions, i.e., the regulation of the signs on the buildings along the Boulevard. As for the decisions regarding the social aspects of the Boulevard, the need for a tool for community engagement and communication is

highlighted, increment of cultural and recreational activity places as the quality features of an urban ensemble are suggested in addition to the suggestion of an urban council consisted of Ankarans to decide on their own ensembles and have ‘the right to the city’. Because public spaces are the inseparable fragments of the urban ensembles and since Atatürk Boulevard as a whole is a public space bearing public and private functions and places in its entity, therefore, every citizen should have a right to use it as a part of their everyday urban experience. Moreover, registration proposals are also made for both physical aspects and places with social meanings and lived experiences along the Boulevard.

As a result, it is important to involve the people to the conservation since they are the ones who create and experience their own urban ensembles and the identities that come with the material aspects of the built environment. Therefore, the people again be a part of the tools for transferring their lived experiences and help to safeguard of the spatial frameworks of their collective memories. The vertical communication through the generations has a key role in this transfer process since for communicative memory to become cultural memory; there is a need for the repeated societal acts and communication between generations. This communication can be improved and enhanced with the help of technological tools and activities under the pioneering of municipalities and then the associations, initiatives, and organizations.

Consequently, for the community engagement, more focus and power should be given to the City Councils and form a special council within the body of the municipalities to work with the groups of Ankara that use and value the Boulevard to be involved in the decision-making and implementation processes. As for the documentation, transferring, sharing and producing memories, an urban database with the inclusion of information on built-up areas and physical components and the social/intangible aspects and memories is suggested. The use of different media tools is a significant aspect for the access to the information and the broadness of the data in the database. It was proposed that more activities should be organized involving the different

societal groups of Ankara and the communication between generations through the Boulevard should be encouraged and supported.

The proposals on the mechanisms can pave the way for a holistic conservation understanding, legislation, and therefore practices in Turkey while safeguarding the social/intangible aspects, especially in the modern urban ensembles. With the proposal of a mechanism similar to ACV, the places that do not have physical qualifications of a cultural asset can be registered and thus, conserved. Hopefully, it can alter the conservation understanding in the country and bring it to a more fulfilled, broad, and holistic state. In addition, with the community engagement, the citizens, the users can experience an enhanced sense of belonging, both to their groups and to their living environment, urban ensemble. The database, likewise, can enhance the sense of belonging while informing the users and groups as one of its outcomes. Moreover, it can promote the interest in the Ankara's urban history and even in conservation. Furthermore, it can increase the awareness for the importance and conservation of the study area, Atatürk Boulevard, and hopefully be a base study for other urban components and ensembles as well as the further studies on Ankara and Atatürk Boulevard in a broad range of disciplines.

The thesis subjected the Atatürk Boulevard's current boundaries from Ulus Square in the north until the Çankaya Avenue in the south with the inclusion of lots framing the Boulevard with the buildings, open spaces, monuments and sculptures, basically the components forming its entity. The research consisted of written and visual documents including the literary works, memoirs, and periodicals, visual archives, and even social media groups. Although the thesis was limited with the Boulevard, it is acknowledged that there should be a research in a broader boundary that includes other elements and places that form the identity of the city. This can start with the blocks framing the Boulevard rather than just the lots, then gradually expand and include other areas especially the Celal Bayar Boulevard as the east-west axis, and İstiklal and Hipodrom Avenues in the west in order to capture and understand the urban identity, integration and transformation of the area, especially for its Republican times and meanings. The

intersecting streets along the Boulevard should also be a primary inclusion in a further study to embrace the urban culture formed in the capital as well as to understand the produced memories and lived experiences in a more holistic way. Moreover, for a more elaborated and comprehensive result, an oral history study should be conducted.

In conclusion, Atatürk Boulevard is one of the most significant components of the capital city with every aspect and meaning it has been carried through its lifespan. It is where the Republic was born, strengthened, and its ideals and ideas were concretized. It is not only a circulation element in the city, but also where one can trace the transformation of the Turkish Republic, political approaches, nation, Ankarans, their practices, architectural culture in Turkey and many more. Due to the meanings and practices Atatürk Boulevard bears together with its physical aspects, holistic conservation measures should be initiated to make it available for the production of new memories in such an urban ensemble.

When the built environment faces a rapid change or demolition, it erases the memories and experiences associated with it. However, it is complicated to build, even more complicated if it is realized with the collective work of the society. It should be kept in mind that no government or political power is eternal, but the culture, the identity, and societies can be and therefore, our living environments, our cities, should be conserved in such a holistic manner that they pursue their tangible and intangible aspects.

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