

TRANSFORMATION OF COLLECTIVE MEMORY
IN THE CASE OF ANKARA ATATÜRK BOULEVARD

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO
THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF NATURAL AND APPLIED SCIENCES
OF
MIDDLE EAST TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY

BY

EBRU UĞUZ

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR
THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF SCIENCE IN URBAN DESIGN
IN
CITY AND REGIONAL PLANNING

DECEMBER 2008

Approval of the thesis:

**TRANSFORMATION OF COLLECTIVE MEMORY IN THE CASE OF
ANKARA ATATÜRK BOULEVARD**

submitted by **EBRU UĞUZ** in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree
of **Master of Urban Design in City and Regional Planning Department, Middle
East Technical University** by,

Prof. Dr. Canan Özgen
Dean, Graduate School of **Natural and Applied Sciences**

Prof. Dr. Melih Ersoy
Head of Department, **City and Regional Planning**

Assist. Prof. Dr. Anlı Ataöv
Supervisor, **City and Regional Planning Dept., METU**

Examining Committee Members:

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Baykan Günay
City and Regional Planning Dept., METU

Assist. Prof. Dr. Anlı Ataöv
City and Regional Planning Dept., METU

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Adnan Barlas
City and Regional Planning Dept., METU

Prof. Dr. Ali Cengizkan
Architecture Dept., METU

Inst. Sevin Osmay
City and Regional Planning Dept., METU

Date: 04.12.2008

I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work.

Name, Last Name: Ebru Uğuz

Signature:

ABSTRACT

TRANSFORMATION OF COLLECTIVE MEMORY IN THE CASE OF ANKARA ATATÜRK BOULEVARD

Uğuz, Ebru
M.S. in Urban Design, Department of City and Regional Planning
Supervisor: Assist. Prof. Dr. Anlı Ataöv

December 2008, 181 pages

In Turkey, one of the main problems of architecture and urban design seem to be the rapid transformation of physical environments, street experiences, and consequently the transformation of collective memory. One consequence of this basic problem can be the loss of the meaning of urban space. This calls for an historical examination of salient features of urban space that compose the collective memory.

In this respect, this thesis aims to explore the changing physical characteristics of the boulevards through examining the transformation of collective memory. To provide empirical evidence for this, the thesis will study the transformation of collective memory of inhabitants from different age groups about the Atatürk Boulevard, by exploring the changing salient features of urban space and human experiences in space through a period of the last 60 years.

Key Words: Collective Memory, Street Experience, Human Experience, Transformation of Physical Environment

ÖZ

ANKARA-ATATÜRK BULVARI ÇALIŞMA ALANI ÖZELİNDE KOLLEKTİF BELLEĞİN DÖNÜŞÜMÜ

Uğuz, Ebru
Yüksek Lisans, Kentsel Tasarım – Şehir ve Bölge Planlama Bölümü
Tez Yöneticisi: Yrd. Doç. Dr. Anlı Ataöv

Aralık 2008, 181 sayfa

Türkiye’de mimarlık ve kentsel tasarımın temel problemlerinden biri fiziksel çevrede, sokak deneyimlerinde meydana gelen hızlı değişim ve bunların beraberinde getirdiği kollektif bellek dönüşümüdür. Bu temel problemin bir nedeninin kentsel mekanın anlamını yitirmesinden kaynaklandığı söylenebilir. Bu beraberinde, kentsel mekanda kollektif belleği oluşturan belirgin özelliklerin tarihsel bir değerlendirmesini yapmayı gerekli kılmaktadır.

Bu bağlamda, bu tez bulvarların fiziksel karakterindeki değişimi, kollektif belleğin dönüşümü üzerinden incelemeyi amaçlamaktadır. Bunun için deneysel bir kanıt oluşturmak adına, farklı yaş gruplarından kişilerin Atatürk Bulvarı özelinde kollektif belleklerdeki değişimler, kentsel mekanın ve insan deneyimlerinin belirgin özelliklerdeki değişimler gözönüne alınarak son 60 yılın değerlendirmesi yapılacaktır.

Anahtar kelimeler: Kollektif Bellek, Sokak Deneyimi, İnsan Deneyimi, Fiziksel Çevrenin Dönüşümü

To my family ...

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This work would not have been possible without the support, guidance and encouragement of my supervisor, Assist. Prof. Dr. Anlı Ataöv. I also introduce my special thanks to Inst. Bahar Gedikli under whose support and helpful ideas I shape this thesis topic and draw the framework. I wish to express my deepest gratitude to Assoc. Prof. Dr. Ali Cengizkan with whom I learn to reshape my ideas and how the methodology turn into practice.

I also wish to express my thanks to jury members Assoc. Prof. Dr. Baykan Günay, Assist. Prof. Dr. Adnan Barlas, and Inst. Sevin Osmay for their guidance, advices and encouragements.

I dearly thank all of my friends which, from my childhood until graduate school, have joined me in the discovery of what is life about and how to make the best of it. However, because the list might be too long and by fear of leaving someone out, I will simply say: *thank you very much to you all*. Some of you are, anyway, quite lucky: thank you Ahmet Ünver, Çiğdem Ünal and Zeren Erik for being my very best friends.

I cannot end without thanking my family, especially my mother, Nedret Uğuz. My special thanks going for her. She bore me, raised me and supported me in every part of my life. Furthermore, I owe to my sister, Elif Uğuz and my brother, Emre Uğuz. They help me to become the person who I am and clean my way on the life to protect me and make me the princess of our family.

Lastly but most importantly, I would like to thank to my darling, İlhami Güngör who help me for all my studies and decisions and whenever I feel the darkness and gloomy of the life, he hold my hand and support me to find the light again and give the hope to continue. *Thank you very much, I can not imagine a life without you.*

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Aim of the Study

Urban spaces – streets, boulevards, parks, squares, plazas, and waterfronts – are the social arenas of urban life; they are the places of experience and communication. In urban places, we can gather, act, watch, walk, sit, talk; thereby we can satisfy our collective needs. In addition, urban spaces are the places of cultural interchange which help create a community. Unfortunately, massive economic, technological, and social changes have taken place in our cities began to accelerate since the 1970s. Turkish cities are also in a state of loosing their public space including streets, boulevards and public plazas due to many reasons ranging from political decisions derived by short-term economic interests to the lack of maintenance of the physical environment. Our cities,

‘...have been permitted to grow with no concern for the future and with no thought of the community or the terrible costs which this uncontrolled development creates...’ (Rudofsky, 1964: 16).

The understanding of the public place also changes because the urban governments are in the race of a growing phenomenon which is based on the process of rent and sell of the city land parcel by parcel. Shopping malls, parking lots, fast traffic roads, and amusement parks are presented to urban communities as alternative public places. Although public spaces were ‘proud

repositories of a common history, sense of a shared destiny' (Kostof, 1992: 187), offer to create a city sense, help to awaken the social and collective togetherness, and cultural background of urban life, the public places unique to our time may be thoroughly privatized. 'Their motive may be no more noble than to lure us to buy' (Kostof, 1992: 187). This is an obvious indicator that the political powers' priorities are far from the public interest, in other words, there exists a lack of consideration of social and cultural aspects of urban space.

Within the urban context, environment is where life emerges. It includes users and physical variables. These users and physical variables interrelate with one another. This interrelation creates activities and, this, in turn, generate events. Human beings gain experiences through performing activities. In this respect, cities provide the vital setting for people (users) to perform and to configure themselves. Physical environments are the places of activity and practice which generate the human experiences in the cities. Thus, the development of human experience is strongly related to the existence of interaction and communication between people within their spatial environment.

Interaction and communication permit people to come together to act together in the environment. This process requires collectiveness and sharing. People share their activities and practices and create the feeling of becoming a group and consequently to a community. This simultaneously also grows the feeling of belongingness.

This rationalization of developing a sense of identity through socio-spatial processes calls for giving a special attention on how the collective memory of space plays an essential role. The collective memory of space contains the inferences from dynamic processes of human and social production of social space, collective consciousness, social will, and critical interpretation. It is a shared socio-spatial history of a specific group of people who coincidentally

have constructed collective environmental experiences. These shared activities, events make people create a sense of common background.

Figure 1 shows the conceptual schema of the process of developing a sense of belonging, identity, and eventually, community as a result of transactional relations between people and environment, and their environmental experiences emerging from that relationship. In the following schema, we will see how these concepts interrelate with each other and how conceptually the development of the collective memory appears. The following conceptual schema shows that collective memory develops through some interrelations. These interrelations begin with the people who act as users in their physical environment. These users interrelate with their environments through their activities. The use of the space through the activities generates the human experience. People, spatial environment and human experiences help people to communicate and interact. Additionally, experiences and activities help people to develop a meaning in their environment. Upmost, the use of the environment through these concepts develops belongingness, identity and consequently sense of a community. Within this context, the collective memory bases on this generalization.

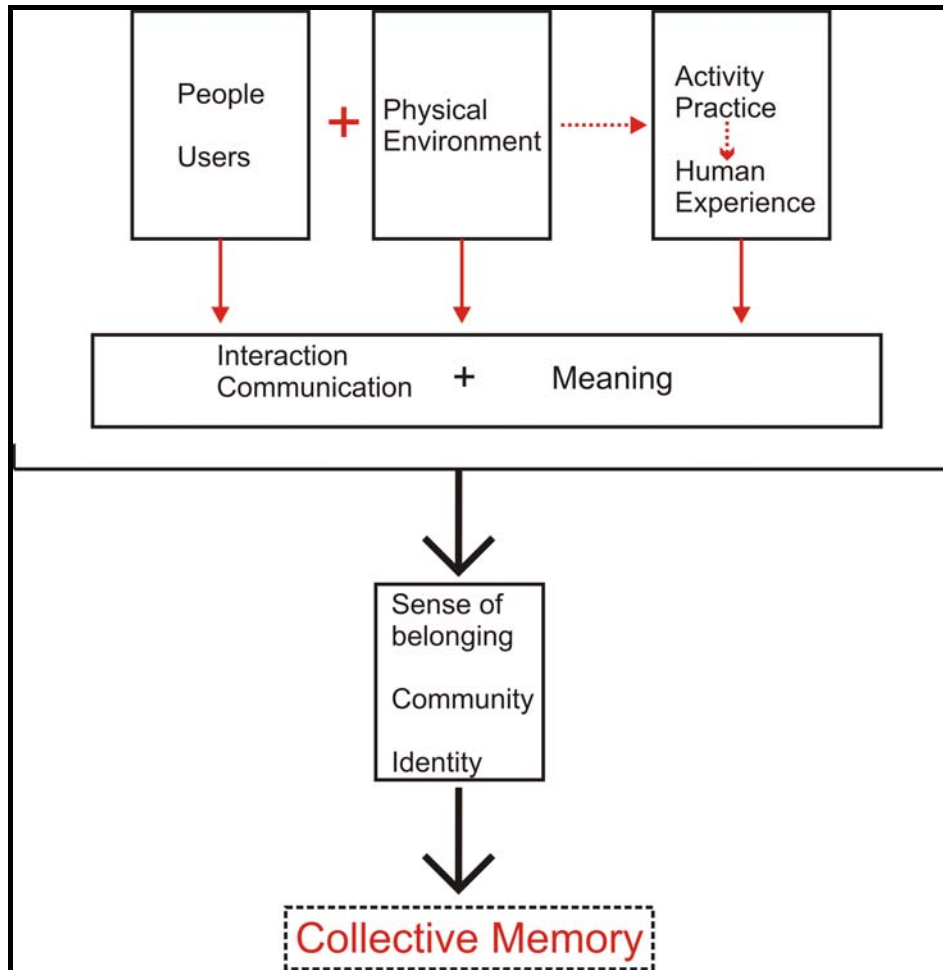


Figure 1: The conceptual development of collective memory
 Source: Personal rendering

The never ending circle of changing nature of life allows the formulation of different collective memories of space in different periods of life. This makes the collective memory an intangible concept that differs from period to period. For instance, a particular environment can evoke different memories for a particular group. For example, a playground area is turned to a supermarket area through the years. And a group of children got used to play in this playground in their childhood. But through the years, they grow up and started to use the supermarket. However, this physical change creates these people to have different memories at different times. The reason of this difference mainly arises from the differences of the experiences which change according to the dynamic processes of economic, social, political dimensions of urban

life specific to the period of interest. The time elapses and the spatial environments evolve with massive economic, technological, and social changes. To this end, the collective memories transform in accordance with the spatial use and experiences, which, in turn, may change the meaning of space.

This thesis aims to respond to the question of **how the collective memory about the Atatürk Boulevard has changed since the 1950s in the citizens' minds**. The following will be determined as sub-questions in this thesis:

- The socio-spatial meaning of the Atatürk Boulevard
- The changing environmental experiences of people
- The socio-spatial reasons behind the changes in the collective memory of the Atatürk Boulevard

Within this context, I will analyze collective memory for three different time sequences. These time sequences are before 1970s, between 1970 and 1995 and after 1995. I made these differentiations according to the transformations of the spatial environment to investigate how these changes affected the users' collective memory.

1.2. Rational of the Study

By responding to the research question through the empirical consequences of the Ataturk Boulevard, I aim to make a contribution to the field of urban design on various levels, including theoretical, methodological, and practical professional ones.

Throughout history, the street has served as a mediator between our public and private lives. The traditional value of the street is also undergoing through a change and, in many instances, is losing its human aspect. It is not only

loosing its human aspect, but also loosing the meaning and the collective memories. In today's cities, the basic physical environments where people generate their experiences are the streets and boulevards because they are the 'locus of everyday life'. In other words, streets and boulevards are the places of activities and events. In this respect, they are the places of experiences. Within this sense, when the streets and boulevards transform, the experiences, use and the meaning transform dependently. As a result, the memories transform.

Within this context, to reveal the changing socio-spatial processes of urban life gains importance because collective memory records the unwritten transformations on people's lives, it tells us the non-visible transformations instead of the visible ones. At that critical point, in this thesis my theoretical contribution emphasizes the need for explaining the production of space in reference to dynamic processes that takes place within space. Beyond planning, these dynamic processes are the living processes that the users of the spatial environment face with and they are not determined by the planning processes. Accordingly, theoretical contribution of my thesis helps materializing spatial and non-spatial components in an inquiry but this would not suffice the explanation of the spatiality of urban life so my methodological contribution would help at that point.

Within the methodological context, this thesis emphasizes the role of collective memory studies in revealing the changing socio-spatial processes. It evaluates the Atatürk Boulevard as a social urban place for the community, also draws the changes in the collective memory and the street experience. This thesis is a rewriting of the collective memories by comparing different time sequences to observe the changes on the boulevard as an urban physical space and the impacts of these changes on the collective memory.

I will use in-dept-interviews with Atatürk Boulevards inhabitants over 50, and over 60 years old and additionally 5 inhabitants who are between 25-40 years old to unearth the dynamic processes mentioned above. These age groups will be helpful to define different time sequences. The comparison between different time sequences will demonstrate the transformations of the collective memory of these inhabitants. I believe this discussion of the boulevard as an urban place and the effects of the physical change on the collective memory will open up a new point of view through the centre of a country's capital city.

According to my practical professional contribution, Atatürk Boulevard was the place of social interactions and experiences which permit the development of a shared memory and meaning of Ankara citizens. Unfortunately, it has been transformed in the recent years by the political interventions to an autobahn which excludes pedestrians and their experiences. In consequence, it is chosen as the case study of this thesis due to its changing character since it constructed. Atatürk Boulevard was the physical space of a journey from Romans to the Modern Turkish Republic. However, my observations as a citizen of Ankara, nowadays it permits this journey to materialize only by vehicular transportation. Instead of being a communication space where people can share and develop a sense of place and belonging, it is a physical channel of transportation. It may be a vital and charming place for the citizens of Ankara if it gives the opportunity for social interaction. Merely, the most important aspect of this interaction can be provided by the movement, not by the vehicular but the pedestrian means.

1.3. Outline of the Study

The thesis is composed of five parts: 1) Introduction; 2) Street Experience and Collective Memory; 3) The Research Methodology 4) Research Findings and 5) Conclusion and Discussion.

The introduction presents the aim of the research, the rationale for studying it and the outline of the study.

In the second part of my thesis, I introduce the theoretical background of spatial collective memory. I will specifically concentrate on street experience and the formation of collective memory. To clarify the street experience, I will express the relation of boulevard and city, boulevard and users' needs, human experience and communication. I will explain the relationship between boulevard and users' needs by defining the concepts: sense of place and sense of belonging. Furthermore, I will frame the human experience in terms of perception and cognition, emotional responses and behavioral responses. Additionally, I will narrate collective memory; the relation of memory with the city, boulevard as the place of collective memory and the transformations on physical environment and their effects on collective memory.

In the third part, I briefly present the historical development of the Atatürk Boulevard and discuss my assessment of the boulevard as part of the urban space system.

The fourth part presents the methodological issues of the study. Within this respect, I discuss the methods and techniques that I used to gather and analyze the data. This part also provides the rationale behind choosing the selected tools.

In the fifth part of my thesis, I present the findings of the inquiry. Within this context, I discuss the transformation of collective memory that it witnessed through years. The history of the area will be cited from the memories of Ankara citizens and I will evaluate the Atatürk Boulevard and the changing collective memory by comparing different time sequences.

In the last part, I will conclude my research in accordance with my findings and discuss the subject in reference to my theoretical findings and the practical needs, and I will present the possibilities for future research.

CHAPTER 2

STREET EXPERIENCE AND COLLECTIVE MEMORY

Urban spaces – especially streets and boulevards – are parts of the landscape of everyday life (Francis, 1987: 23). Various everyday activities take place in urban places. They are the people places while the activity places as well. Streets and boulevards are two main urban spaces. Besides they help shape cities physically, they function as the main urban spaces where people can gather, walk, watch, talk, sit and observe. Streets and boulevards as urban spaces are the places where people spend most of their day times. They satisfy their collective needs.

The cities are in the state of change and this change causes transformations not only in the physical environment but also in the street experience and collective memories of the urban people. The collective memory represents the unwritten records of these changes. It witnesses all the phases of these changes as well as the consequences of these transformations. This part will form the basis of the collective understanding of the street and boulevard as part of urban place and an experience place and while doing this, I will explain the change in the collective memory of urban experience due to the loss of urban elements of street and especially boulevard.

At last, while the boulevard is the main concern of this thesis, unfortunately in the literature there are not many reviews for boulevard as the place of

experience. For this reason, in this thesis I will support the boulevard concept with the street concept in an integrated framework.

2.1. Street Experience

Here, in this part I would like to explain the concept of street experience by giving the relationship between the boulevard and city, the relationship between the boulevard and the users, human experience and communication.

Street and boulevard defines a delimited surface between buildings, it is a three-dimensional space which houses the activities between these different surfaces (Anderson, 1986). Stanford Anderson (1986: 16) claims that a street is more than a physical space and he argues that street is the place of communication and human experience. This ‘suggests that it has reference to ideas and patterns of behavior’. According to this argument street is the place of existence and interaction (Anderson, 1986:16). Stanford Anderson brings out the human aspect of streets by indicating that “the street is human movement institutionalized. ...the road and the street are social institutions and it is their acceptance by the community that gives them the name and the function” (Anderson, 1986: 14).

Furthermore, although boulevards are the properly designed and landscaped physical environments, they act more or less in the same way with the streets. They house the people, experience and actions, and let users to communicate and create a social arena. In other words, in the contextual terms, a boulevard and a street are exactly same in terms of community making, cultural variables, urban identity and collective memory but content wise, the boulevard differentiates from a street due to its physical attributes.

The street and the boulevard are what people do there, they are the places of social actions which are mixture of real experiences and images from the

media of them we may not have experienced but which are real to us. Street experience is the sum of experiences and actions in the physical environment that people use for their daily activities and interact through their activities and practices. Whenever, people leave their private spaces, they start to interact with the elements of the physical space around them. This is the moment that starts the experience and communication. Street is the place of activity and these activities follow one another in the environment. Experience is the entire series of these activities and their didactic consequences.

In addition, the street and boulevard constitute the physical milieu that allows urban life to flourish. In other words, the representations of the street and the life emerging on its streets mediate urban experience (Miles, Hall, Border, 2000: 18). Urban experience is 'the set of practices' (Miles, Hall and Border). The city and the street are the places which accommodate these practices. Moreover, cities including the streets are 'the places where things happen and people act' (Miles, Hall and Border, 2000: 20). Street is the place of activity and people. It represents the people and their experience. 'It is a place where doing occurs' (Miles, Hall and Border, 2000: 20). To this end, urban streets and boulevards are the terrains of urban life, urban activities, and so they are the places of urban experiences.

Street experience is not a constant concept. It develops and changes over time. In different time sequences, the experience may change according to the transformations of technology, ideas, moods of people, points of views, political, religious, cultural changes or simply the changes of accustomedness and familiarities. Street is the place of these changes. It is the place which houses all these transformations by means of both physical adaptation and communication.

2.1.1. Boulevard and City

Boulevard and street are one of the most deterministic elements of the city form. In line of Jane Jacobs who emphasizes the role of the street in people's urban experiences in her book *The Life and Death of Great American Cities: The Failure of Town Planning*: "Think of a city and what comes to mind? Its streets." (1961: 39). There is a strong relationship between the street, the boulevard and the city because urban spaces especially the streets and boulevards shape the physical, social, cultural spaces of the cities.

The street represents the smallest linear urban element, which, in turn, can shape the city form. If a street forms the smallest unit of a city, it may include the spatial aspects of which a city is composed. Furthermore, the main streets, especially the ones that form the city core, may accommodate the social, economic, political, cultural aspects of that city. It may represent the identity of urban life. From an urban design point of view, it consists of the whole of a part. While a city is the whole, a street is the part of that whole.

The street has historically experienced many changes consistent with the changes the city has faced. 'Because streets embody movement, access, and public life, they play a major role in the management and transformation of cities' (Moudon, 1987: 16). This emphasizes the relationship between changes occurring in a city and the changing face of a street and boulevard for they generate one another.

As Jacobs, MacDonald and Rofé denote in their book of *The Boulevard Book*: "Although today boulevards lost their meaning, they were the 'symbol of specialness' when they first occurred". They were constructed over the defensive works of the cities because there lack open spaces for the public realm. They transformed into public pleasure promenades.

‘The promenade was a public ritual that developed as European urban culture grew to embrace a new concept of society and associated ideas about leisure. During the Middle Ages, most cities had few public spaces that could function as settings for public social rituals. As polite society developed in newly arranged cities in the 16ⁿ and 17ⁿ centuries, rituals of public display became increasingly important ways to define who belonged to society – and who didn’t – and to provide a milieu for social interaction. Promenades were built as places where the nobility and the new bourgeoisie could display their status and interact with others for their class’ (Jacobs, MacDonald and Rofé, 2002: 74-77).

This may rationalize that boulevards also function as one of the most important parts of cities. They are the places of people with its movement of vehicles and goods and like streets they have much to teach, not only about the design of a particular type of street but about streets in general. They may well serve as boundaries of districts or as connections between areas or for the city as a whole, but they are most intimately experienced in small segments, as part of daily urban life or as special destinations: as places for the enjoyment of the city, as promenades, and as comfortable places for walking. *‘It is important to design, build and maintain the boulevards because they capture the imagination that they are grand and worldly. They are optimistic statements about the power and the magic of urban places, of cities. They have long since evolved beyond their authoritarian origins’ (Jacobs, MacDonald and Rofé, 2002: 36).*

Boulevards and streets are the places of people’s daily life. If they respond the needs of the local community, those settings can create a pleasing urban environment for everyday living and meaningful places of the memory.

2.1.2. Boulevard and Users' Needs

Under the title of street experience, the boulevard emerge as an activity place because it provides people the opportunity of being together with others, sharing with them, interacting with them in face-to-face relations at the outdoor. These concepts, as I have discussed in the introduction section strongly related with the collective memory. The changes in use and the changes in the users' needs affect the meaning and the memory variables. As a result, here, I will discuss the boulevard in terms of users' indicators which consists the concepts of sense of place and sense of belonging.

Rather than being a channel for movement, boulevard is a social place because it is the 'locus of everyday life' (Boyer, 1994: 75). It is the place of activities, where people spend their day times. Simply, we live and work on a boulevard. We share our activities through the boulevard. They are legitimate places of our daily activities.

People are the living beings who exist both individually and collectively. The boulevard is a place to be alone and to be with the community at the same time. It is a 'place to be private, to wonder what it was once like, or what it could be like' (Appleyard, 1981: 4). Boulevards are the places for the wandering with or without a purpose. They have meaning for people, invite them to participate in a social atmosphere and encourage them as users. The users sometimes have an aim for being on the boulevard like shopping, meeting with friends or to go somewhere else and pass by; sometimes they just walk and look around. This places boulevards 'as the mediator between the wider community and the private world of the individual' (Appleyard, 1981: 13).

Additionally, boulevards are places of collective existence according to their social and commercial encounter and exchange character. They are where you meet people – which are a basic reason to have cities in any case (Jacobs, A.,

1995: 4). As the place of activity, street is the place of movement that houses these activities. Movement of people: ‘of fleeting faces and forms, changing postures and dress’ (Jacobs, A., 1995: 13).

Boulevard is the possibility place for users because of social interactions it provides. *“You see people ahead of you or over your shoulder or not at all, absorbed in whatever has taken hold of you for the moment, but aware and comforted by the presence of others all the same. It is possible to stand in one place or to sit and watch the show. Everyone can use the boulevard. Being on it and seeing people, it is possible to meet them, ones you know or new ones. Knowing the rhythm of a boulevard is to know who may be on it or at a certain place along it during a given period; knowing who can be seen there and avoided. Or the meeting can be by chance and for a split second but immensely satisfying. Boulevard is the place of feeling greeted and welcomed to part of something larger than oneself. The boulevard is a place to be seen, as well as to see.”* (Jacobs, A., 1995: 14)

2.1.2.1. Sense of place

Collective memory relates to the idea of getting accustomedness. This, in turn, increases the significance of the sense of place. Because streets and boulevards are the terrains that people use them, relate them with their lives and ascribe meanings to identify them in terms of their experience and use. For this reason, here, I will discuss the concept of sense of place in terms of users’ needs for the streets and boulevards.

There are two different approaches for explaining the ‘sense of place’. First one argues that a sense of place occur when one get accustomed to a place and start to learn its peculiarities (Jackson, 1994: 151). Sense of place is not a thing that exists accidentally; people or users create it in a particular time. It is the result of habit or custom (Jackson, 1994: 151). On the other hand, second one argues that a sense of place comes from one’s response to features which

are already there – either a beautiful natural setting or well-designed architecture. A sense of place comes from being in an unusual composition of spaces and forms – natural or man-made (Jackson, 1994: 151). These two approaches both true. A sense of place occurs in response to the features and grows by experiencing, learning and getting accustomed to a place.

Sense of place develops through the events in an environment. Users assign a meaning to a place by engaging in actions. For instance the significant meaning of a gathering place for the community conveys the symbolic sense of unity, in other words, a sense of place corresponding to a sense of community.

In the historical periods, the locality or a sense of place are the features that are god-given and they make people to come together to celebrate, visit or reverence to it (Jackson, 1994: 157). The activity became a ritual in time. These rituals made people gather and create a sense of belonging. People gave meanings to these gathering places and there, one can see the development of sense of belonging. But in today's world the sense of place is strongly relates with the people's experience in that particular place. The experience varies in intensity; 'it can be private and solitary, or convivial and social' (Jackson 157-158). The place can be a natural setting or a crowded street or even a public occasion. What moves us is our change of mood, the belief but vivid event. And what automatically ensues, it seems to us, is a sense of fellowship with those who share the experience, and the instinctive desire to return, to establish a custom of repeated ritual (Jackson, 157-158).

Sense of place relates with sense of time. Users of a particular environment do not feel in the same way with the users of the same environment who live in a different time sequence. This is basically because of the experiences resulted from the use of the environment. Nevertheless, collective memory at that point changes because of the transformation of sense of place and sense of time. In

different periods of time, people use their environment in various ways, so they obtain different experiences and different familiarities. The meaning differs from one time sequence to the other. While the experiences and use transform, the memories which witnesses different times, transform at the same time. For one user a particular environment mean a lot while for the other it means nothing.

2.1.2.2. Sense of belonging

Streets and boulevards are important parts of the landscape of everyday life. People need streets and boulevards for daily activities as travel, shopping, and interaction with friends and relatives. They have meaning for people, invite them to participate in a social atmosphere and encourage them as users. But sociability is a large part of why cities exist and streets and boulevards are a major if not the only public place for that sociability to develop.

It seems vital and necessary for human beings to be outside. Thus, streets provide the setting which can respond to this need. Studies (Appleyard, 1981: 92) show that people like the opportunity to be outside. Particularly, urbanites may need more to be outside due to the contemporary life style which requires human beings to live and work inside longer hours. Consequently, streets and boulevards can function as what constitute the outside for many urbanities; places to be when they are not indoors.

People participate on the streets and boulevards on social networks along their life times (Appleyard, 1981: 124). Through the stages of this interaction, people learn others, different ideas, thoughts, lives, being a part of society from the street or at least when they are on the street. Streets and boulevards are the places which house the socialization that develops through participation and communication. Socialization is what people learn on their physical environment and by which people learn being a part of a community (Jacobs, A. and Appleyard, 1987: 473). Streets and boulevards are the basic

opportunity places that people can share their experiences by interacting with the others. As the users of the same environment, the feeling of the belonging develops. Apart from being an individual, people seek for being a part of a larger group.

2.1.3. Human Experience

Here, in this part I will concentrate on the relationship between human experience and the environment to investigate how people respond through their environment in emotional, behavioral and perceptual terms and thus how they construct the memory. In this respect, under this title I will discuss the human experience in the subtitles of perception and cognition, emotional responses and behavioral responses. First of all, people need to perceive an environment and then give responses emotionally and behaviorally according to how they interact with that environment in terms of perceptual and cognitive attributes. This is a way of interaction between people and their environment. Though, memory occurs within this interaction.

Collective memory in its basis is the memory of the people who shared a common background. This shared background occurs by sharing the same space and the same events and activities at this specific place. Within this simple frame, the memory of the shared background base on everyday activities of the people. These everyday activities cover the common experiences emerged from the use of the common environment. When this common environment appears as street and boulevard, in turn they become the places where the act of doing occurs. The understanding of human's relationship with the world around him/her, the sense of "where" is the basis of experience. Experience includes the environment, lifeless elements and people in that environment.

Within these features, humans live in the process which based on act and react. People who are sharing the same specific environment develop some

certain responses through this environment as the result of these acting and reacting processes. These responses may frame the experiences of the users of that environment. Experiences may vary through the perceptual and cognitive processes, emotional and behavioral variables.

2.1.3.1. Perception and Cognition

The first variation for the development of the human experience is perception and cognition of the environment. Here, in this part I will address the human experience and memory construction in terms of perception and cognition.

The users of the boulevard as the users of the built environment interact with this environment not only in social and physical way, but also in psychological way. The simplest psychological interaction between the user and the environment is that the environment helps people to satisfy their needs. However, these needs develop over physiological, sociological, and psychological variables or the interaction of all these concepts (Barlas, 2006: 21). Additionally, cultural variables also affect our needs in an environment. Here, I will deal with the psychological variables to clarify how they influence the experiences, uses, meaning and memory.

The information in the environment and the interaction of this information with the users basically occur over the perception and cognition. In the ecological theory of perception, the information is the basis of perception and the senses of the users work as perceptual systems and develop their experiences over these issues (Gibson, 1969: 87).

Cognition, on the other hand, is about the accustomedness of the users. It refers to the whole of the information that people gather from their environment. In other words, it 'refers to the acquisition, organization, and storage of information' (Barlas, 2006: 23). Cognition has an impact on the

development of thinking, learning, remembering, feeling and mental development (Barlas, 2006: 23).

Perception and especially the cognition affect the memory because as Barlas indicates memory is the collection of one learns and this learning shapes by basic cognitive processes which are categorization and generalization (Barlas, 2006: 23). According to Lang, these processes affect the way of people's behavior in the environment, their responds to their surrounding. He argues that the responds of the users through their environment depends on their categorization of the environment and its elements, 'on the associations they have built up over time, and on the reinforcements they have received' (1987: 94).

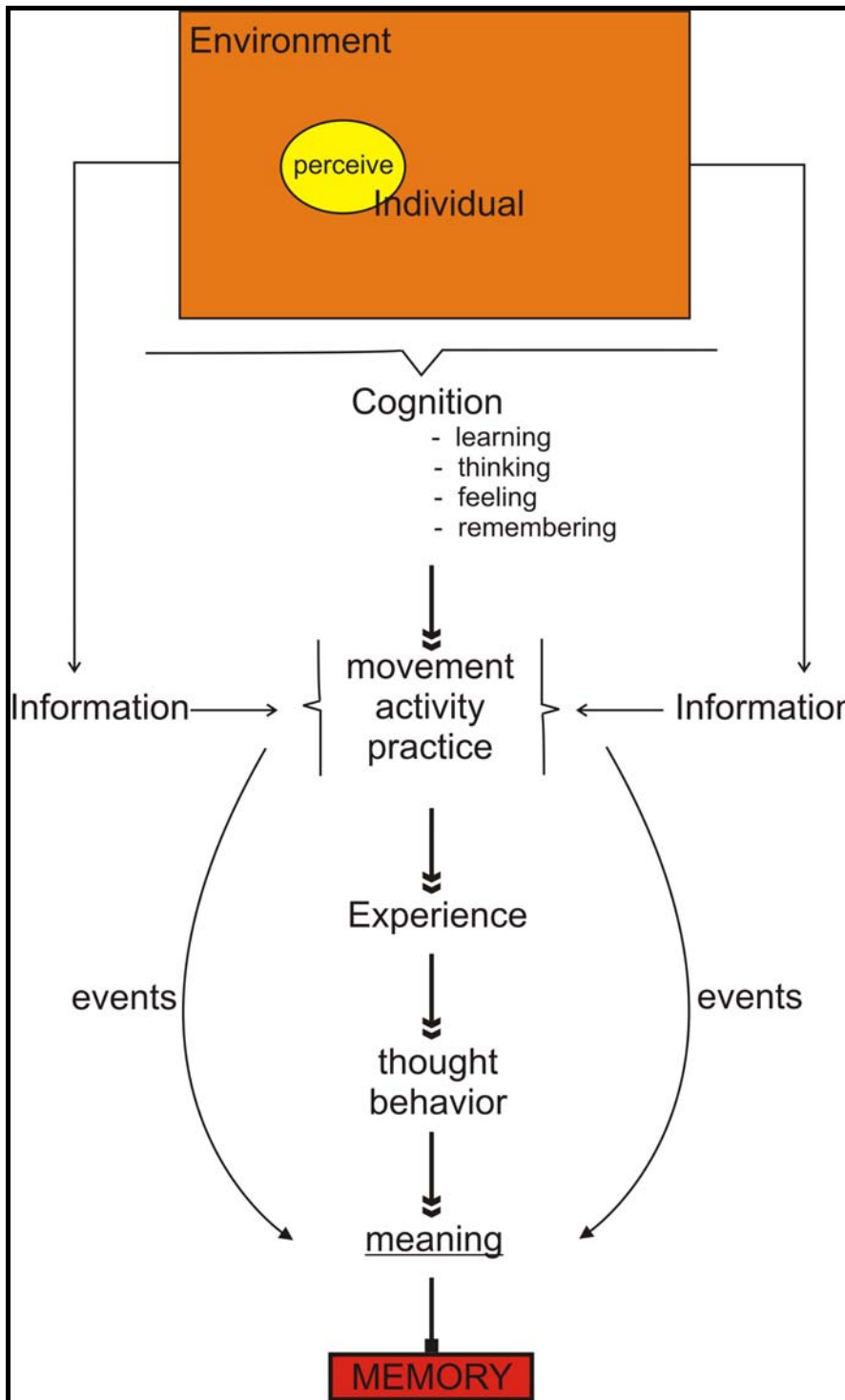


Figure 2: Memory in Psychological Order
 Source: Personal rendering

Although there is not a constant schema for the memory construction in the literature, as I have prepared and showed in Figure 2, memory is not an independent concept from psychological factors. Because to build a memory an individual in his/her environment perceive the surrounding in his/her consciousness frame. If the memory is the retention of, and ability to recall, information, experiences, and procedures (skills and habits), it means it is strongly related to the psychological variables.

The information that the individual get from the environment collected in terms of learning, thinking, feeling and remembering. These concepts lead the individual to decide upon his/her movement, and activity which help the individual to create his/her behavior, thought and experience as responds to these concepts. The affect of cognition and perception over users is the meaning that the individuals give to their environment. At last, memory is the overall concept of all these relationships. It functions as a collector or recorder of the experiences, behaviors, thoughts developed by perception and cognition.

2.1.3.2. Emotional Responses

The second variation for the development of human experience is emotional responses. Here, I will concentrate on emotional variables and how they affect the experiences and in turn, collective memory. The users in an environment develop responses to this specific environment in accordance with their psychological attributes. One of these responses is the emotional ones. Emotional responses create the people preferences about this environment and these preferences strongly relate with the uses and experiences which are necessary for the collective memory.

Humans experience their environment through their comprehension. They perceive their environment and start to feel and as a reaction, they respond in

different ways. Ataöv indicates in her bibliographical research: Nasar, Kaplan and Kaplan, Lang, Wohlwill all argue that the responses of the human ensue from the observation of oneself in his/her environment and the interaction between these two: observer and environment (Ataöv, 1998). *‘Both individual characteristics and environmental attributes affect how people respond to what they see in an environment’* (Ataöv, 1998).

One can like an environment and find it a pleasant place while the other can dislike the same environment because of the feelings that it evolves like fear or anxiety. These responses of the people firstly shape according to their individual ‘personality, affective state, intentions, and socio-cultural experiences’ (Ataöv, 1998). However, according to the researches, the individuals who have the similar cultural, educational, physiological, or socio-economic characteristics respond in similar ways (Nasar 1997; Stamps 1997, 1996, 1992a, 1992b; Rapoport 1993; Michelson 1987, 1976).

Emotional responses strongly related with perception and cognition (Ataöv, 1998; Berlyne 1971, 1960, Berlyne and Madsen 1973). The way we perceive our environment is the way we response emotionally. We may feel pleasure to an environment and feel anxiety through another, and dependently we develop our future experiences through these environments. These emotional responses relate with these specific environments’ visual characteristics. The reason behind that is the elements that these environments house and our emotional appraisals through these elements. Different environments recall different feelings and thoughts for different individuals.

2.1.3.3. Behavioral Responses

The third variation for the development of human experience is behavioral responses. Here, I will discuss the behavioral attributes within the frame of activity, culture and collective memory. The users in an environment develop some responses to this specific environment in accordance with their

psychological attributes. One other response is the behavioral ones. Behavioral responses develop through the activities generated in this specific environment. Behavioral variables help to awaken the sense of place and sense of belonging through these activity levels and they have an influence on the meaning development or the community building.

According to my research question, to identify the transformation of the meaning and the memory of the users, the evaluation of activity, culture and behavioral responses to them come into prominence. Because people always looking for creating meaningful environments according to their uses and activities. This environment concurrently is the mirror of their educational, physiological, socio-economic and most importantly cultural lives. This cultural environment occurs by its users' way of perception, adaptation, and deriving a meaning to their environment. When we concern street and boulevard from this perspective, people who use a certain environment within their daily activities interact with each other and their emotional and perceptual responses start to resemble with each other in its cultural terms. At that point, a common language appears and within this common language, there exist common collective memories and stories.

The humans are always in interaction with their environment. This is an endless process. Because environments house our daily activities and they have an effect on our daily activities (Ataöv, 1998). Whenever there are people, there exist activities. Activity is the term that defines the acting process of people in an environment. Different from being alone, the activity starts with going to a place/space and takes the opportunity to meet with others (Gehl, 1987: 175). Activities occur within these contacts in the social environments. According to Jan Gehl, outdoor activities in public spaces can be divided into three categories, each of which places very different demands on the physical environment: first; necessary activities (like going to school, work, shopping, etc.), second; optional activities (standing around enjoying

life, or sitting and sunbathing), and third; social activities which occur spontaneously, as a direct consequence of people moving about and being in the same spaces (Gehl, 1987: 11).

The social activities basically develop on the attractions between people which mean people are attracted to other people (Gehl, 1987: 25). These attractions create contacts between people and thus, they gather with and move about with others and try to place themselves near others. New activities begin in the vicinity of events that are already in progress (Gehl, 1987: 25). In other words, people usually seek for the opportunity to meet with others or to observe them. Daily activities in the public spaces of a city enable one to experience other people functioning in various situations. *These modest “see and hear contacts” must be considered as part of the whole range of social activities, from very simple and noncommittal contacts to complex and emotionally involved connections* (Gehl, 1987: 17).

The attraction between the people and the attraction between people and environment are the two determinants of the behavioral responses within the activity and environment relation. Firstly, I will discuss the attraction between people and secondly I will discuss the attraction between people and their environment.

As Gehl argues, people and human activities are the greatest object of attention and interest. Even the modest form of contact of merely seeing and hearing or being near to others is apparently more rewarding and more in demand than the majority of other attractions often in the public spaces of cities (Gehl, 1987: 31). According to these brief descriptions of activity and human attitudes towards these activities, city streets, especially the ones at the city centers and the public places are the basic activity places in today’s cities. Because in the city streets, people like the idea of being with other people and have passive relations and contacts with them. Although seeing and hearing a

great number of unknown people in a limited range of activity are passive kinds of socialness, urban character and urban culture mainly develop over this form of contact.

When people start to involve in complex and emotional connections with other people and with their environments, then they start to become a part of a common culture as a response which shaped influentially within the activities. In other words, integration of various activities and functions in and around public spaces allows people involved to function together and to stimulate and inspire one another. In addition, the mixing of various functions and people makes it possible to interpret how the surrounding society is composed and how it operates (Gehl, 1987: 103). When people start to share their activities which are communal activities at the same time then they start to share a common background, common interests and common problems (Gehl, 1987: 55). These commonalities provide a common culture. Within this context, activities may be a function of culture, primarily of a set of rules. These not only define the setting itself, but also define both the set of activities available to members of that culture and that subset of activities appropriate in specific settings (Rapoport, 1987: 81). Moreover these rules along with the emotional, perceptual and cognitive variables lead people to attribute meaning to the street: to judge it (Rapoport, 1987: 81). Judging leads to evaluating and giving meaning to a place and at last identifying it (Rapoport, 1987: 82). In short, *'people notice and draw meaning from their environments and then respond accordingly'* (Ataöv 1998, Nasar 1997; Rapoport 1990).

Throughout history people try to create meaningful places where they congregate spontaneously and where they customarily continue daily activities (Moudon, 1987: 23). These meaningful places can appear basically by the activity settings. The society needs these 'meaningful public places build on the bits and pieces of the city's social history' in the community building (Moudon, 1987: 17). In this context, street and boulevard appear as

meaningful places and provide people respond emotionally, behaviorally and perceptual-cognitive frame.

The attraction between the people and their environment is the subject matter of the environment-behavior research. It approaches to the matter from investigating the relationship between social and behavioral patterns and the physical environment (Ataöv, 1998). The focus of the environment-behavior research is how people react to the visual quality of an environment (Ataöv, 1998). *‘People respond to an environment’s visual quality by assessing feelings and behaviors that result from previous experience with that environment, by deriving inferences from environmental cues, or by recalling similar places.’* (Ataöv, 1998). Within this frame, the importance of activity places come from the importance of the physical planning of these activity places. The physical planning can affect the relations of people with each other both with the relations with their environment. As Gehl indicates, *‘just as it is possible through choice of materials and colors to create a certain palette in a city, it is equally possible through planning decisions to influence patterns of activities, to create better or worse conditions for outdoor events, and to create lively or lifeless cities’* (1987: 33). Additionally, Lang argues that the spatial aspects of built and natural environments affect people’s emotional and behavioral responses (1987). *‘Lang considers shapes, proportions, rhythms, scale, degree of complexity, color, illuminations, and shadowing as the structural aspects of environments’* (Ataöv, 1998) and structural dimensions usually neglect human experience (Ataöv, 1998). Hence, certain physical and perceptual characteristics are needed to provide environmental quality appropriate for pedestrians’ to develop their experiences on the streets and boulevards (Moudon, 1987: 83).

For instance, if a city is surrounded by multi-storey buildings, extensive automobile traffic, underground parking facilities, and long distances between buildings and functions, one sees the automobiles and buildings more than

people then in this environment there will be less activities and this environment will not be a human-prior place because, in such cities, mainly in today's Turkish cities, automobiles have more priority than people. In Jan Gehl's words, 'in such places pedestrian traffic is more or less impossible, and because conditions for outdoor stays in the public areas near buildings are very poor. Outdoor spaces are large and impersonal.' (1987: 39).

2.1.4. Communication

There are alive and lifeless elements in the environment. Here, I will indicate the communication between these elements and the necessity of the communication for the collective memory. The memory is an individual aspect that people create their own memories according to what they have lived and how but the communication between people, people and physical elements develop similar memories. In this sense, these similar memories provided by communication become collective. Thus, the development of the collective memory and the community building strongly relate with the communication.

As I have reviewed in the previous chapter, there is a strong relationship between the environment, people and people's responses to the features of their environment. The intersection of these features explores the communication which invites people to discover and interact with the information around them. In other words, people communicate by the help of the physical environment. This communication can occur between people, between elements and people, or between the physical environment and people.

People socialize by sharing, observing their environment but most importantly by communicating. Communication is the way of representing individuals' one-selves. There are various ways of communication but here what I want to indicate is that communication helps street as an urban space be livable and

active and perceive as a social arena. As Allan Jacobs determined that ‘communication remains a major purpose of streets, along with unfettered public access to property, and these roles have received abundant attention, particularly in the latter half of the twentieth century. Streets moderate the form and structure and comfort of urban communications’ (Jacobs, 1995: 3).

The most important of all these interrelated properties is the communication. Street and boulevard are the carrier of communication and they are the carrier of life by communication. The people who are different from the physical, solid space varied the street by communicating personally, by written language or by movement and exchange of goods (Czarnowski, 1978:73). By means of communication, it is possible to evolve the role of the street. It is important to understand the functional role of the street within the range of communication to identify its meaning and character by means of definition.

2.2. Collective Memory

The conjunction between space and memory has been theorized by a variety of authors from different disciplines. The concern in these pages is to show the relationship between memory and transformation of the physical space, rather than processes of memory itself. I will first review collective memory in accordance with the city, then discuss how boulevards and collective memory relate and what kinds of effects appear on the collective memory with the transformations of the physical space.

My review about the collective memory covers the literature around the concepts of city, community creation, identity development, public space and culture. In the literature, there are various researches on the relation of city and collective memory, community, identity and culture or the role of the public places in the construction of the collective memory. Additionally, how the collective memory and human experience relate each other. However, there is not a research which discusses the collective memory to find out the

dynamic processes in planning that transform with the inferences on the physical space. Consequently, this thesis will support the existing findings by a real-life research and by examining the collective memory I will intend to unearth how the dynamic processes are affected by the inferences on physical space.

2.2.1. Collective Memory and City

Here, I will define the collective memory in terms of city, community, culture, sense of belonging and identity to express the relationship between the city and the collective memory.

Besides being the locus of everyday life, the street is the locus of collective memory. Collective memory is a representation of the past that is shared by members of a group, such as a generation or a nation-state. According to the French sociologist Maurice Halbwachs who first introduced the concept in 1925, stated that "...remembering is shaped by participation in collective life and that different groups generate different accounts of the past." (Halbwachs, 1950: 39). In line with this view, memory cannot be constructed independently from its environment. Collective memory is shaped within the lifetime of people. In addition, it is premised on the notion that the past is never really "past" and thus that it persists into the present and notify the future. Collective memory identifies the lifetime, not the whole of the history. That's why it can be said that today's mean of collective memory may be considered as it covers the modern means of time, that the people who lived, or still living, shared in the 20ⁿ century and the beginning of the 21ⁿ century.

"Recollections, memorializations, and commemorations" (Larry, 2002: 74) of what went before are meaning-making cultural resources which create personal, group, and national identities. In terms of the identity, collective memory has no direct function as a cognitive device allowing us merely to know the past (Larry, 2002: 74). It is, instead, an active agent in experiencing

that past, in ascertaining the past's moral gravity, in molding and legitimating/de-legitimizing moral attributions about the past, and in spurring or retarding political action premised on some understanding of the "morality" of that past and the bearing of that moral past for the future (Larry, 2002: 74).

Collective memory is the basis of the social knowledge rather than the written history; it is much more experimental or oral and lived or shared. The citizens shape their own memories by giving means to certain events, places or structures. The agglomeration of these memories which differ or resemble from each other creates the collective background of that society.

Markers of memory are everywhere in the city. They are buried in language and dialect, found on commemorative plaques, on buildings and battlefields; etched into automobile license plates, and woven through the city's visual and literary cultures. Markers of memory are also powerfully encoded into popular cultural practices -- sports teams, local bands and theatre groups, and the buildings that have housed these activities. The markers of the specific and more universal history find expression in different areas and neighborhoods, in buildings and monuments strategically built or 'placed', and at the same time invested with the symbolic and material life of the city (Belanger, 2003: 61).

Collective memory has been central to the creation of community and the life of that community throughout history. Nevertheless, the structure and content of memory narratives have changed significantly from pre-modern, modern, and into the global era. The collective memory is becoming the most important subject of the rapidly changing world of today. It becomes harder to realize what is happening around us. As a result, finding new linkages between today, past and future become considerable. This combination between the past and the future exists in the idea of the 'place' (Boyer, 1993: 164). Like the memory flows through the life of a person, the place is also

flows through. The value of history seen as collective memory -collective to its place- is that it helps us to understand the significance of the place, its individuality.

It is needed for the citizens to generate a sense of belonging and collective identity. This belonging can be created and felt in the public space, which is a shared environment characterized by mixing and cross-fertilization, shared public life, artistic expression and architecture, of the cities. It is the space that facilitates movement at various speeds. Public space provides a framework for the construction of collective memory, reflects class differences and conflicts (between cultures), and provides a setting for public performance events, whether part of institutional culture or of a more subversive nature (Boyer, 1993: 111). With its public space, a city is an agora, a forum, an organizational place, a place for creativity; a city is an engine for social change and a place where memories gather. Collective memory and the city can be concluded with the words; “What happens in cities, happens in nations” (Boyer,1993:58).

2.2.2. Boulevard as the Place of Collective Memory

‘Streets more than a mere traffic channels situate within the city’s solid network. It is a complex civic institution, culture-specific and capable of dazzling formal variation and calculated nuance.’ (Kostof, 1992: 220) More than any other element of the urban infrastructure, streets both record and determine the history of city form. Moving along a city’s streets, one can readily discern much of the residents’ lifestyles, visions, and opportunities for the future. Thus, streets and their layout reflect the societies that have created them (Moudon, 1987: 13).

Additionally, the street is embodied in the practice and memory. It triggers recall of a contingent knowledge of values, actions, relationships and

anticipations; the street is an image of solidarity, loss, and shared practices (Fyfe, 1998: 174). Whether practices happen alongside the street, in it, behind it, or just off its main frontage, the street is a significant part of what is happening; the street informs, and its image is informed by these practices. The street is not only an actual material place, but embodied with all sorts of meanings and metaphors; of escape, discovery, of home (Fyfe, 1998: 164). The street offers an opportunity, a place to be (as well as to be seen). The street becomes a place of sharing; of conflict, confrontation between different members; of ownership (Fyfe, 1998: 164).

It is the locus of celebration of everyday action and city's memories. Memory is important in the practices, informed of a past and informing a future.

'Memories are part of culture and depend, in various ways, upon the physical setting and how people remember the course of events leading up to the present. (...) Arte-facts and the fabricated environment are also there as a tangible expression of the basis from which one remembers, the material aspect of the setting which justifies the memories so constructed' (Radley, 1990: 49).

Memories are of course contingent, unstable, and constantly in further practices. They inform us today in different way from the way they may inform a practice tomorrow. These practices are rituals which are inscribed on the knowledge of the street, as the bits of the street where they happen, or lead to, and from, are inscribed in the rituals themselves (Fyfe, 1998: 166).

The streets are symbols of a community and of its history; they represent a public memory (Jacobs, 1995: 11). The bits of the street are both along the street space itself, huddled around it; just hidden from its view, and very clearly the wider setting of the street-way itself. In this way, we see the street

less as a way of focused presentation, and instead discover its overhang, its lack of borders and boundaries, and fluidity. Our different memories may render the same street to end in different places, overhung by different memories or cut back, revealing all; in our own lives, streets may have different limits at different times. So sites around the street and practices that happen in these sites may be more or less prominent in the signs around us. To understand images of the street, it is necessary to attend to its margins, to what happens in the corners, what is seemingly off the street, and where it connects, leads and anticipates (Fyfe, 1998: 163).

A group belongs to a part of space, this group transforms the space 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 (Rossi, 1982: 77). The city is the locus of the collective memory. This relationship between the locus and the citizenry then becomes the city's predominant image, both of architecture and of environment, and as certain artifacts become part of its memory, new ones emerge. In this entirely positive sense great ideas flow through the history of the city and give shape to it (Miles, Hall, Border, 2000: 172-173).

In conclusion, the collective memory and the street as public space are the representations, assemblages, and exchanges between the users and the environment. Finding the roots in the collective experience of everyday life, the collective elements are ordering experiences of that chaos (Boyer, 1994: 76). The disappearance of social and cultural aspects of street is the demolition of the collective memory belongs to that place.

2.2.3. Transformations of Physical Environment and Their Effects on Collective Memory

The next question is the transformations of the physical environment and how these changes affect the structure of the users' life in terms of human experience; perceptually, emotionally and behaviorally and of their communication with others and the physical environment. Within this frame, I will discuss how these changes affect the people's remembrances, collective memory and meaning that they construct through years for that specific environment.

Throughout history the street has faced with various changes but the most important of these changes was the one after industrial revolution. Industrialization generated considerable changes in the physical environment. The most important reason of this change was because of the technological changes in automobile industry. The automobile gained speed and the physical form of the streets were forced to be changed. After the speed has accelerated, the urban street had to adapt this newly formation. Because after the speed increased, the automobile started to need more space and also the number of automobiles increased and the urban streets dedicated more space to automobiles. This alteration made the streets change through as automobile traffic channels. Therefore, streets became the networks of public urban space that can organize and unify cities (Moudon, 1987: 35).

This newly introduced technology changed the meaning of streets; as they were the parts of community rituals and traces, now they became the places of struggle with the automobiles. One of the major topics that has to be identified here is that the approaches through the physical quality of the urban street. Design, planning, and management activity in transforming urban streets became the important matters of the urban theory (Anderson, 1986: 74). While previously streets were the places of people, after these considerable changes

they became the places of automobiles. As a result, the concerns of streets for being safer, more secure, and comfortable places came into discussion (Moudon, 1987: 28).

New forms of urban streets including, “pedestrianized” streets, auto-restricted zones, malls, traffic-managed neighborhood streets, and, more recently, “privatized” indoor commercial streets came into discussion (Moudon, 1987: 30).

‘Advanced in research and practice have contributed useful principles regarding street life and culture that can be generally placed in one of the following three frameworks: Pedestrian Streets, Livable Streets, Private Indoor Streets. “Pedestrianization” is the strongest and most influential of the street redesign movements that have changed the public environment of many cities (Moudon, 1987: 24-25). “Livable Streets” movement recognizes the importance of the street environment for the social life of cities. It emphasizes opportunities for greater safety, security, and social contact, particularly on residential streets, where traffic and street quality directly affect residents’ satisfaction’ (Moudon, 1987: 26).

All these approaches are basically determine that changing the physical form and putting some rules through the use of the physical space, will handle with the controversy over the streets about character of physical space (Jacobs, 1995: 12).

The change in the physical environment which could be on the sidewalks, street furniture, of paving, of trees and greenery, can affect the overall structure of the physical space, and this change positively or negatively affects the users in this environment (Jacobs, 1995: 57). Street has a role on

accessibility, bringing people together, livability, safety, comfort, participation and responsibility. These roles determine the possibility to affirm with any degree of certainty how or to what extent the physical environment affect the way people behave (Jacobs, 1995: 82). As a result to avoid introducing unintended views into an urban-scape, development proposals must be evaluated at the street level or from the pedestrian view.

Changing form of the streets and boulevards due to the technological advances and changing modes of transportation affect the meaning of streets in the context of city life and its use by pedestrians (Jacobs, A., 1987). The main affect of these changes is the usage of the streets and boulevards. Previously, people like the opportunity to spend their day times on some certain city streets. However, the transformations which could have huge effects on people's lives, force people to leave these streets. The most obvious reason of this escape is the mass traffic flows. One of the most important results of this disengagement is its effect on the psychological levels of the users of that spatial environment. In other words, the meaning of that environment changes in the minds of people. Users may have a positive impression about this specific environment but after its transformation they may be affected negatively. In this respect, people leave this street and move off the activities, uses and accordingly the experiences. When the experiences and the activity levels decrease, these cause people's judging and imposing meanings to that particular environment transform automatically. To this end, the activity, experience and use are strongly related with the meaning. Above all, the transformation on the physical environment, not only change the use of the pedestrians within this spatial environment, but also change the meaning, sense of belonging, identity, community understanding and collective memory of that environment.

CHAPTER 3

THE CASE: THE ATATÜRK BOULEVARD

This thesis is the story of the transformation of collective memory of Ankara citizens who are the users of Atatürk Boulevard. The reason why Atatürk Boulevard is chosen as the case study area is because of its importance as a spine both as a physical space and a social space for the whole city. This research question arise because of the ambiguity between the concepts that the boulevard as the place of social communication and boulevard as a space which has witnessed various physical transformations. Here, in this part, I will explain the importance of the boulevard from its historical development and its place in the urban space system.

3.1. The Historical Development

Atatürk Boulevard is the most important spine of Ankara from the beginning of the Republican Era. It witnessed a historical period and also it was the place of a new era as a physical environment. In this respect, the need for determining the historical development gains importance. As a result, I will determine the historical development in this part both as a physical environment and as an urban-social environment and I will express the meaning of Boulevard as a physical and social place for the whole city which is the capital of a country. Mentioning about the historical development is

necessary because we have to know the history clearly to understand the past and the collective memory of a period. In this sense, I will explain the historical development to clarify the change in accordance with the physical transformations and the transformations in memory. Here, I will indicate the development of Boulevard from its first construction and determine briefly the effects of the planning phases on the physical environment of the Boulevard and how they affected the Boulevard. Thus, I will prepare a basis for the later discussions and clarify the physical transformations which had an important impact on the transformations of the memories of Ankara citizens.

Ankara, with its physical and social structure, is the ‘piece de resistance’ of the revolution of Republic. It is a declaration for the whole world with its assertion and ideal of administrative and representative center of Republic. In the range of Ankara’s transformation from a small Anatolian town through a modern capital with its all points became a leader and an example. This transformation can be seen clearly from the memories of people who experience the city as citizens or as tourists. In the following two examples will show us this positive transformation obviously.

In his memories as a citizen, Vehbi Koç defines Ankara of 1920s with these words: *“Ankara was a poor moorland town with its diseases, drought, no greenery, scant water. There was no electricity, the lightening could be provided by candles and gaslight chandeliers. Heating could be provided by gas heaters, brasiers or tandoories. People around a tandoori shared their blanket to get warm. Instead of continuous water in the houses, people got used to carry water from the fountains of their districts. There was no bath systems of today and people went to Hammams for bathing and the laundry could be made in the watercourses near the living places. The streets in the city were covered by cobblestones and the roads out of the city were all earth roads. Oxcart, spring-opposed bellow, tatar cars and ‘landons’ were*

the only transportation vehicles and there was no public transportation services.” (Kültür Bakanlığı, 1992)

However, this small Anatolian town’s traditional landscape changed completely in the mid-1930s. In one of the articles of B. Henri Liebrecht who was a Belgium journalist in *Le Soir*, narrates his views for Ankara of 1937 with these words:

“A few minutes ago, we were in the middle of a desert but after coming out of the Station House (Gar), we found ourselves in a modern, vibrant city with wide asphalted boulevards... After the American experience of Washington, this is the second city; I have ever seen which was constructed in the program of a plan over the untouched soils” (Ulus Newspaper, 1937).

Within seventeen years Angora as a small town transformed to a modern capital of a new country and a new ideology: Ankara. The story of this developed city began 85 years ago and the construction of all the urban spaces aimed to reflect the disengagement from the past, and witnessed the day to be transferred to the future. In the moorland of Ankara, a new lifestyle, a new form of community and future were designed. However, it is important to know why this small town was chosen as the new capital. Briefly, there were three important reasons. Firstly, it was the place of a system called ‘Ahilik’. That means Ankara was the town of production and professions of art and craft (Dinçer, 2006). Secondly, people of this town had high levels of cultural and intellectual knowledge. Thirdly, people of Ankara were ready for the change and they were also ready to be the pioneers of this change (Dinçer, 2006). In such a time, Ankara became the center of the National Struggle and the capital of the Turkish Republic.

After Ankara became the capital of the newly founded Republic of Turkey, it faced with various developments. These developments were full of efforts to create a physical environment for the revolutionized political and social transformations. The aims of these changes were: to become modernized and to provide the character of a modern society to the citizens of the young republic. The living environments which were congenial to this change were designed according to develop the idea of development within the physical and social life of the citizens. These comprehensive changes become prominent within the development line of Ankara. This physical environment may be an expectation from the urban environment. In this respect, Atatürk Boulevard may be the answer to the expectations for the need of new urban environments, specially, with its character as the axis of a new center. In this sense, boulevard was the physical space of this new life and community. It was the trace of the journey from the past to the future. It was a kind of linkage which carries the citizens of Ankara through their new lifestyles. Within this context, boulevard was the place of the past, now and future.

The development of Ankara as the capital city would be the success of the new system of government. For this reason, a huge construction period began. With the words of Yakup Kadri: "...city is developing in a dizzying speed; apartments, houses, public buildings are constructed one after the other within short times on the fields from Taşhan to Samanpazarı, from Samanpazarı to Cebeci, from Cebeci to Yenişehir, from Yenişehir to Kavaklıdere."

In 1924, "Ankara Şehremaneti" (first model of municipality) was established and the municipality model for İstanbul was adapted to Ankara. Its first study was drying the marshlands. After, factories of construction materials were established. The huge change in Ankara began after the authorization for expropriation was given to Şehremaneti. A huge expropriation period started to provide land to Yenişehir. Ulus started to lose its center role after the expropriation of 400 hectare area between Ulus and Çankaya in 1925. This

expropriation was the determinant of both the development direction of the city and the boulevard which will link the old-new city. Thereby, in 1925, the direction of the Boulevard which extended from Ulus to Kızılay was drawn and the construction of the first garden houses began. In 1928, although the efforts for afforestation started, with its rare settlement, boulevard was like a band which lies in the emptiness (Tekeli, 1982) (Baydar, 1992: 45-52). This “band” later became the most important axis of the city as the line of urban transportation and the place of “promenade”.



Figure 3: Lörcher Plan

Source: Ali Cengizkan. (2004). Ankara'nın İlk Planı 1924-25 Lörcher Planı, Ankara: Arkadaş Yayıncılık Ltd.

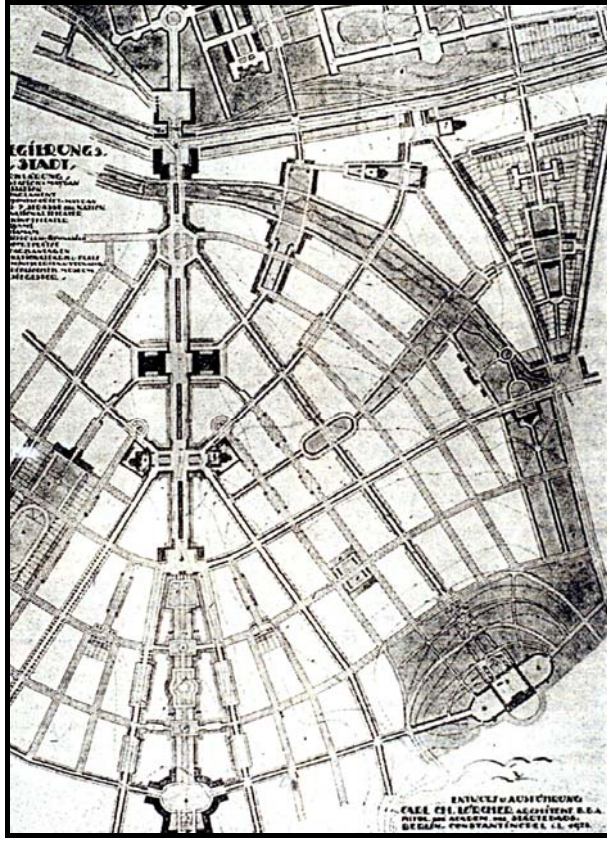


Figure 4: Lörcher Plan, Yenişehir

Source: Ali Cengizkan. (2004). Ankara'nın İlk Planı 1924-25 Lörcher Planı, Ankara: Arkadaş Yayıncılık Ltd.

Before the first legal plan of Ankara, Lörcher Plan had an important functional role in the determination of the physical structure of the city (Figure 3 and 4), especially in the formation of the New City (Yenişehir). Along with its effects on water, sewer system, lightning, this plan had a function on designing the streets, squares and axis like Hürriyet – Kızılay Square, Sıhhiye Square, Zafer, Millet, Ulus, Lozan, Tandoğan Squares (Cengizkan, 2002). After this planning effort, a planning contest was appealed and the plan of German urbanist Hermann Jansen won the contest in 1927. This plan had a structural role on the determination of urban pattern of Ankara. Jansen Plan terminated the period of haphazard reconstruction experiences. It would help to provide a style concurrence in the architectural structure and constrain the dispersed settlement.

Atatürk Boulevard was the most powerful linkage between the old and the new city. In Jansen Plan, it was one of the most important transportation axes. It was located North-South direction between Ulus and Çankaya. The new city extended by hanging on the edge of the Atatürk Boulevard. The development of the Boulevard was not only a physical development for the city but also a social development. In its historical development boulevard was the physiological reference for the new city development.

The boulevard empowered a square-system which added new values both physically and socially. In this sense, Sıhhiye Square, Zafer Square and Hürriyet Square (Kızılay Square) were the arenas of ideological representatives and the places of meaning which announce the power of the Republic. There is a strong meaning on the naming and location of these systems along the Atatürk Boulevard. Moreover, Boulevard, on its own is the symbolic road which carries the city through Çankaya where Atatürk had lived.

Falih Rıfkı Atay represents Atatürk Boulevard in Jansen Plan in his book 'Çankaya' with these words: 'City will develop by predicating on Atatürk Boulevard. The traffic on this boulevard never stops. There will be no intersections or no street that vertically cut this axis. It will be continuous like a railway. Drivers who want to turn will enter to the right traffic lane, slow down their speed and complete their turn. There will be no re-entry from the streets where drivers leave boulevard. Thus, there will be no traffic congestion or confusion seen in many European countries.' (Atay, 154)

One of the most important assessment failures of Jansen Plan (Figure 3) was its projection on population for the following 50 years time. According to this projection, there was no new center proposal. Without a new center proposal apart from Ulus and the conservation of the small town commercial activities became an important problem (Tankut, 1993). Additionally, the plan

demonstrates Yenışehir as a residential district and proposes a district center for the area. In accordance with the plan decisions for Yenışehir had a deterministic role on the difficulties seen on the following years.

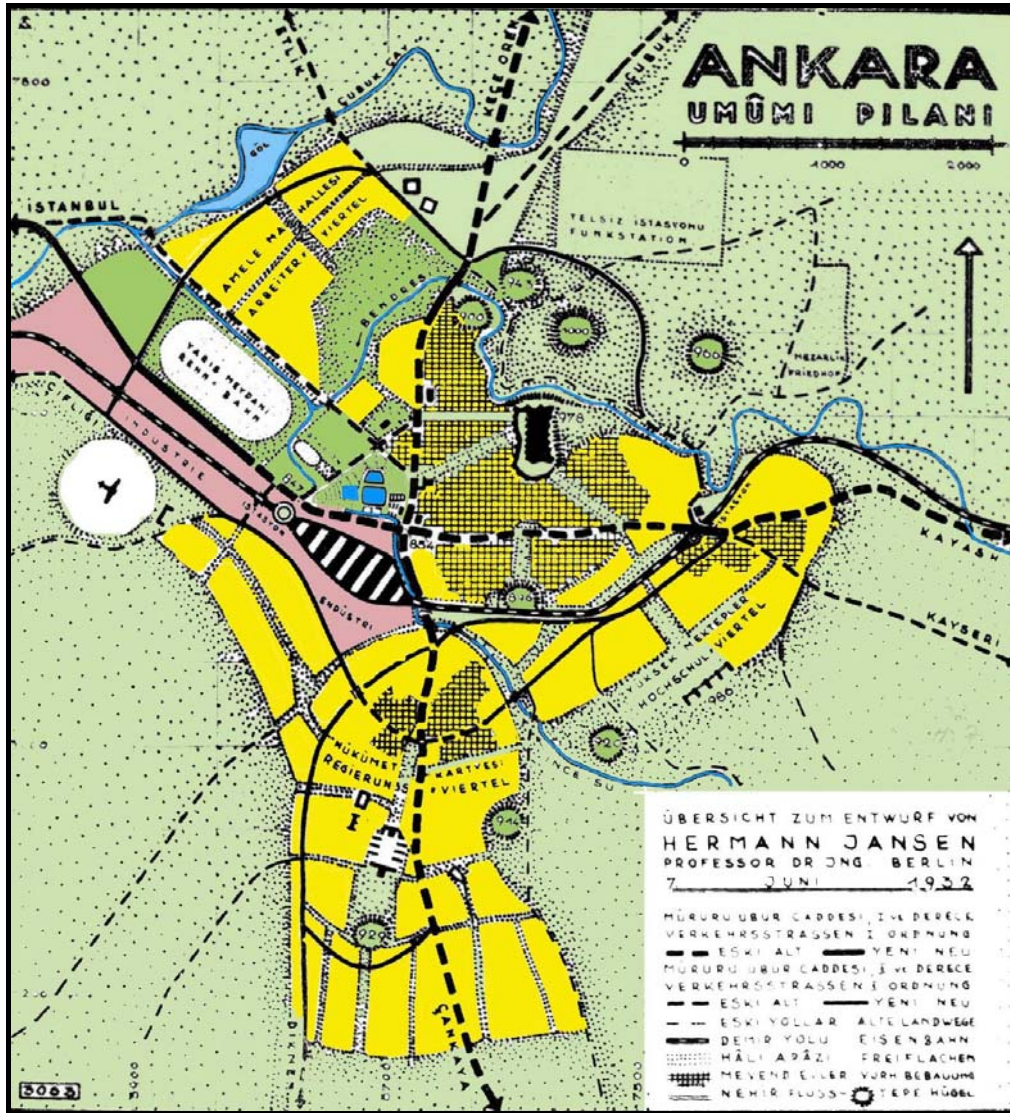


Figure 5: Jansen Plan
Source: From the archive of Baykan Günay

Although Jansen Plan did not foresee Kızılay as the new center of the city, developments which especially were seen after 1940s, started to change the appearance of Yenışehir. With the development of the Bakanlıklar Area and the residential concentration around this area had an impact on the necessity

for a sub-center of new services aimed at middle and upper level population group. This process resulted Boulevard and its surrounding to become the place of some new services which were unavailable in Ulus. Concomitantly, this process brought a new specialization and a division of labor directed to high-level citizen groups by accruing new business services like the uses of patisserie-cinema (Bilsel, 1997).

Furthermore, Ankara has influenced by migration which had an accelerated increase after mid-1940s. Ankara had always been a charming center in the middle of Anatolia. However, after the foundation as the center of Republic the interest for the city increased and it became the most preferable city at the beginning of the Republican Era. The increase in population caused physical and economic problems. These problems had an impact on the transformation of the economic and socio-cultural structure. Accordingly, these transformations changed the central structure of the city. Immigrants built their living places as squatter settlements and these brought new forms of socio-economic transformations like informal relations, ‘dolmuş’, etc. and all these transformations started to be felt at the boulevard both physically and socially.

The projection range for 1978 by Jansen Plan had been reached in the middle of 1950s. Thus, urban mechanisms changed rapidly. As a result, the need for a new plan came into discussion. Accordingly, the intimation of Nihat Yücel – Raşit Uybadin (Figure 6 and 7) was accepted in 1957 in a contest. This plan proposed 750.000 populations for the year 2000 and it focused on current and dynamic circumstances of its period. Unfortunately, the plan reached its projection before 1965 and began to lose its validity.

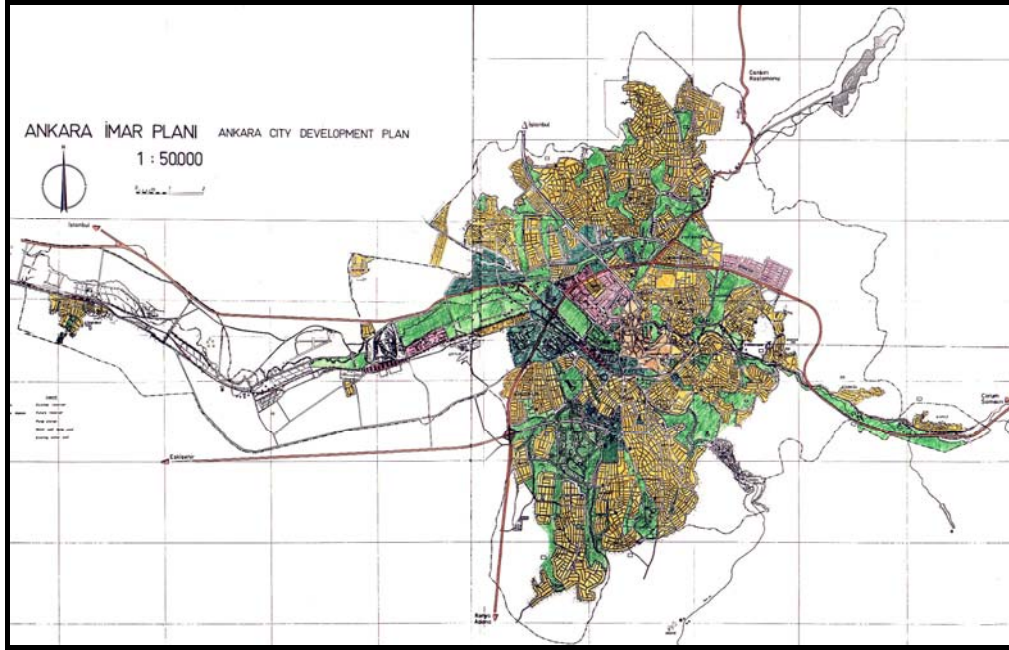


Figure 6: Uybadin-Yücel Plan
Source: From the archive of Baykan Günay

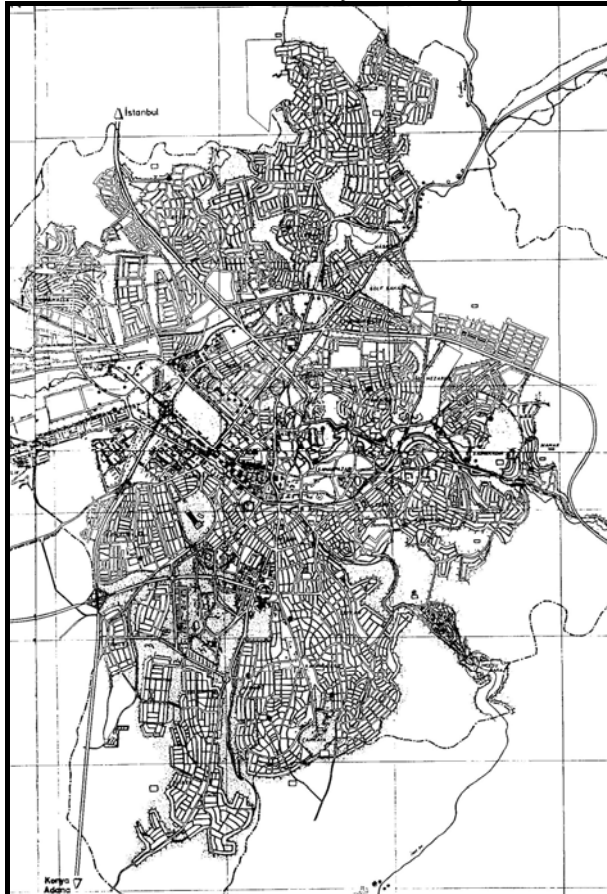


Figure 7: Uybadin-Yücel Plan, Center
Source: From the archive of Baykan Günay

One of the basic problems of the plan which mentioned in almost all reviews is that it could not perceive Kızılay and the development of the center. This is also the reason of most of the problems of today. Kızılay, particularly in 1950s functioned as sub-center and undertook the role of 'Central Business District'. However, Uybadin-Yücel Plan could not dissolve Kızılay as center and accordingly, it could not offer solutions for integrity of functional vehicle-pedestrian relations which were not complex and unsolvable yet at that time. The plan confronted more difficulties in implementation with the acceptance of Law of Property Ownership in 1965. With this law, the process of preparation of a plan which functioned as implementation reconstruction plan, started and the results of these studies occurred in 1968 as Region Property Order Plan prepared as maps which determined the number of storey. These maps had an effect on physical environment not only on Boulevard but also at the entire Yenışehir Region. These physical transformations were the most extended and damaging structural changes that had seen from the beginning of the Republican Era. In accordance with these maps, the two sides of the Boulevard were 'Elevated Region'. On the old parcels of residential uses, the maps authorized 7-8 storey adjacent buildings which used the entire parcel areas. These new structural order was constructed with no consideration of urban infrastructure. These transformations rendered the problems of Boulevard and Kızılay Region as indecipherable challenges carried till today (Bilsel, 1997).

1950s and 60s were the years that migration continue uninterruptedly in Ankara. Like in all other big cities, the plans and studies remained deficit and the urban planners could not control the physical-social developments. As a result, the problems such as transportation and infrastructure increased in the urbanization process of Ankara. In this period, the bureaus which produced solutions for these urbanization problems, established all around Turkey. In this sense, Ankara Metropolitan Master Plan Office (AMANP) founded in

1969. This office adopted the comprehensive planning approaches and the urbanists based their studies on ‘research – analysis – planning’ phases (Günay, 2005). The bureau prepared a ‘Master Plan’ (Figure 8) which aimed to handle the problems of rapid urbanism in Ankara for a 20 years perspective. The proposals of this Master Plan accomplished step by step. The development of the city comprehensively canalized such as West Corridor – Sincan, Elvankent, Batıkent, Eryaman, OSB, Eskişehir Road. Within this context, the plan offered new settlement and working areas by the effect of ‘Urban Ecology’ concept derived by Chicago School in 1920s (Günay, 2005). The urbanists in Master Plan Office decided to decentralize the uses which concentrated and wedged at Ulus and Yenışehir. By the practice of zoning, Master Plan Office defined the urban functions as residential, business, recreation, transportation and reinforced the comprehensive planning approach (Günay,2005).

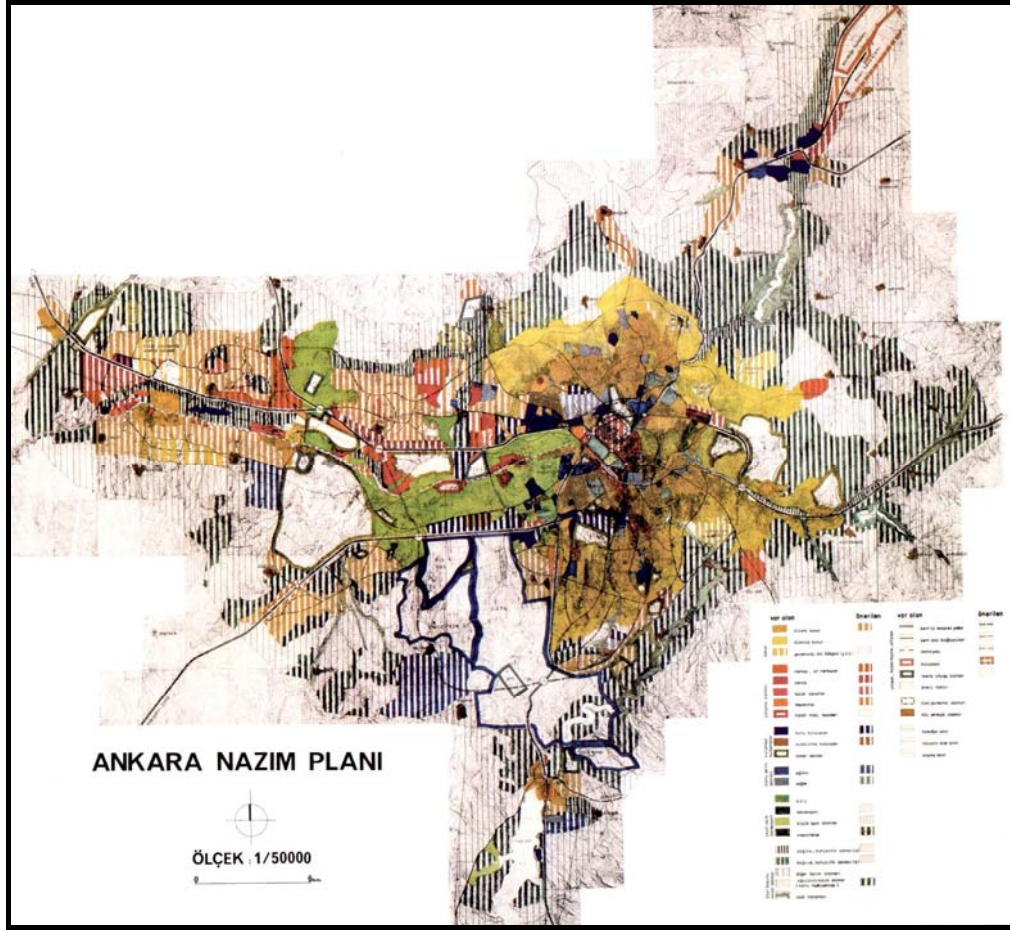


Figure 8: 1990 Ankara Master Plan
Source: From the archive of Baykan Günay

Within this Master Plan context, the Boulevard and Kızılay Region could find the opportunity to respire with various implementations. For instance, the determination of Ulus as historical center and its preservation, earmarked bus road, the determination of Kızılay as the pedestrian priority region, the projects that were important for pedestrian and urban transportation were for the first time planned from a scientific perspective. However, within all these implementations, Boulevard automatically became the vehicular transportation axis between Ulus and Çankaya. Merely, it still permitted pedestrians to promenade and socialize till the years mid-1990s.

The efforts with ‘Transportation Master Plan’ in 1994 aimed to develop strategies for public transportation and pedestrian prior approaches. The basic objective of the plan was separating the vehicles from pedestrians and providing the pedestrians security of life, the places with no environmental pollution and noise and the places which support the social relations. Additionally, the development of the transportation infrastructure, human scale designs and aesthetic values were the other main strategies of the plan. Unfortunately, all the planning and traffic surveys made to develop the pedestrian and vehicular traffic could not be achieved because of the public authorities’ different concerns.

In all this historical perspective, Boulevard faced with various physical transformations and the construction periods ruptured people from their environments which they embraced as their own places and as a result Boulevard made lose its social character with the increasing traffic mass and inferences of different political authorities. Today the future of the boulevard is an incognita while it was the symbol of the future when it was first constructed.

3.2. The Boulevard as Part of The Urban Space System

Here, I will express the today condition of the Boulevard as part of the urban space system of Ankara. The aim is to define the role of today and determine the change lived from the beginning of its construction. There is an observable difference between 1940s and 2000s. Thus, I believe that discussing the transformation of the memory can only be possible by understanding the change completely.

Although Boulevard lived various changes from the beginning of its first construction, the last 15 years have had a different character. In the last 15-20 years time, the city decentralized and thus, middle and upper-middle class population decentralized at the same time. In this sense, Boulevard has

changed in terms of its socio-cultural variables, perceived character, socio-spatial structure and meaning for the community. In its historical process, Boulevard was the place of the middle-upper level population groups and developed through their residential areas in city's south direction. However, the intensive constraint of this development and spread caused new pursuits of development. The decentralization of the middle-upper level groups caused disorientation of the city and the boulevard left alone with its problems (Gökçe, 2003).

Correspondingly, in the urban system of Ankara, changes and their results can be summarized as following:

- Ankara has lost its functions which related to its capital city character such as being the center of finance, administrative functions and the center of production. These functions do not completely disappear but they stayed within the limits of public institutions.
- Atatürk Boulevard and its depths has not been the place of the urban production and communication any longer. It has lost its strategically important position in terms of socio-spatial, socio-economic character. It has not been the place where different groups come together, interact and communicate and the differences relatively disappear. To this end, it is not a social center where socio-cultural and communal features can be emphasized.
- Boulevard lost its character of being the representation space and its hosting of symbolic values of the nation state. It transformed to a transition zone in terms of spatial character and quality of functions.
- From a macro perspective, Ankara becomes a city which decentralized excessively and in turn, it becomes a city addicted to the vehicles. New center developments become absent in the urban sprawl of the city. Thus, related to the loss of the center force people

to use the shopping malls where they mostly locate around the new settlements. In this sense, the middle-upper level citizen groups stayed completely out of the center and the Boulevard.

- Today, Boulevard and its depths houses public institutions, private teaching institutions, cafes-patisseries, and chamber of professions, non-governmental organizations and some production services. However, the variety of uses may seem convincing, they can not provide citizens to socialize or perceive this urban environment as a meaningful place.
- Public authorities' urban management approaches bases on urban rent-seeking. In this sense, the city dispersed in an uncontrolled rapidity. Thus, Ankara becomes the city of vehicles and today vehicles have the priority on the boulevard. To this end, the boulevard is losing being the space of social interactions and services. Additionally, it appears as crummy and wreckage place in terms of its spatial features, functional features and quality of uses and users.

CHAPTER 4

THE RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Research methodology indicates the dynamics that this research based on. Here, I will express how I did my research and how I related my theoretical researches within the real-life context of my case study.

The research question of this thesis is: **how the collective memory about the Atatürk Boulevard has changed since the 1960s in the citizens' minds.** This question contains three main sub-questions which aim to determine the socio-spatial meaning of the Atatürk Boulevard, the changing environmental experiences of people, and the socio-spatial reasons behind the changes in the collective memory of the Atatürk Boulevard.

Within this context, I have analyzed collective memory for three different time sequences. These time sequences are before 1970s, between 1970 and 1995 and after 1995. I have divided the periods regarding the spatial transformations, political and social changes and the ideological differences. The spatial environment of the Boulevard transformed within these different time sequences and this caused the need for investigating how these changes affected the users' experiences and perceptions to obtain the transformation of collective memory.

Within the methodological context, this thesis emphasizes the role of collective memory studies in revealing the changing socio-spatial processes. It evaluates the Atatürk Boulevard as a social urban place for the community, also draws the changes in the collective memory and the street experience. This thesis is a rewriting of the collective memories by comparing different time sequences to observe the changes on the boulevard as an urban physical space and the impacts of these changes on the collective memory.

My aim in this study is analyzing the transformation of collective memory in terms of users' needs (sense of place, sense of belonging), human experience (perception – cognition, emotional and behavioral responses) and communication (social and communal communication). The collective memory of space contains the inferences from dynamic processes of human and social production of social space, collective consciousness, social will, and critical interpretation. It is a shared socio-spatial history of a specific group of people who coincidentally have constructed collective environmental experiences. These shared activities, events make people create a sense of common background. To understand today, people need to identify the past. Within this range, I have interviewed with the users of the boulevard who experienced this new lifestyles and community. I tried to identify the transformation of the Boulevard as an urban space by investigating its changing features. In this sense, I interrogated the collective memory to find out these transformations by searching the changing uses, experiences, activities, practices, perceptions, cognitions and the meanings.

My study is a hermeneutical study that based on open-ended questions in in-depth interviews. The basic aim of the questions is obtaining the living processes or the living dynamics which give meaning to a space. I believe that this may be possible by making people narrate their memories and remembrances about the Boulevard.

I have made in-dept-interviews with twenty-five inhabitants of Atatürk Boulevard. This research group consists of fourteen people who are over sixty years old, four people who are over fifty years old and five people who are between twenty-five and forty years old and two children who are fifteen and thirteen respectively. These different age groups may help to define different time sequences. The comparison between different time sequences demonstrates the transformations of the collective memory of these inhabitants. In the tables on appendix part of the thesis the numbers from 1 to 25 represent the respondents in the research group. The numbers between 1 and 14 are the people who are over 60 years old; the numbers from 15 to 18 are the people who are between 50 and 60 years old. The numbers between 19 and 23 are the people who are between 25 and 40 and lastly, 24 and 25 are the children who are 15 and 13 respectively.

The open-ended questions consist of four main questions and their sub-questions. The questions that I have prepared to unearth the dynamic processes mentioned above are as follows:

- Question 1. Which places were important for your life on the Boulevard? (Park, Restaurant, Cinema, etc.)
 - What makes these places important?
 - What are the physical (spatial) factors that make these places important or special?
 - Are there any political, social, economic or perceptual reasons that belong to you?(**Focal Points and Environmental Impacts**)
 - What was the reason behind why were you using this place or for which of your needs did you use it? (**Needs and Activity**)
 - What kind of emotions did this place remind you? Why? (**Emotional Responses**)

- Question 2. What was the meaning of boulevard for you in general? (**Meaning**)

- Question 3. When we think of the communal relations of the period, was there an impact of the boulevard over the development of these relations? Why and How? (**Collective Development**)
 - In this sense, do you think that boulevard was the place of communication of the community? Why?

- Question 4. What kind of effects did boulevard have on your personal development? (**Personal development**)
 - Did you feel that you are belong to this place (Boulevard)?

I have supported these questions with maps by asking people to display where the places they have mentioned. By superposing these maps, I obtain where the uses gather and how they transform or disappear. The maps that I have prepared for three different periods indicate how the experiences activities and perceptions transform. Additionally, I have evaluated the data for three different time sequences which are 1) the period before the 1970s, 2) the period between 1970 and 1995 and 3) the period after 1995. For each time sequences the data gathered from the respondents evaluated for three different parts of Atatürk Boulevard which are: 1) Ulus Sıhhiye (from Ulus Square to Sıhhiye Square), 2) Sıhhiye – Kızılay (from Sıhhiye Square to Kızılay Square) and 3) Kızılay – Tunalı Hilmi (from Kızılay Square to Kuğulu Park). The comparisons and the evaluations for three different parts of Boulevard for three different time sequences will indicate the transformation of uses,

experiences and meanings on the Boulevard and this represents the transformation of collective memory.

CHAPTER 5

RESEARCH FINDINGS

This part presents the research findings. I will draw the collective memory of the Atatürk Boulevard in terms of the important places and the meaning from the eyes of inhabitants, its influence on community interaction, the socialization of people, and personal development. I will present the findings on these issues for three periods: 1) “before the 1970s”; 2) “between 1970 and 1995”; 3) “after 1995”. Based on such a historical data, I will present how the collective memory of the Ankara inhabitants has transformed through years.

5.1. ‘Atatürk Boulevard’ As The Mirror Of Different Collective Memories Changing Through Years

The importance of the Boulevard does not exist from its peerless beauty or it is worth-seeing. But this boulevard was the most meaningful place of a period of a country’s capital city before 1970s. It was a symbol of a country’s history. It is the most prestigious place of the Turkish Republic’s modern capital which was shaped by as a composition of Republican ideology and public ideals. Boulevard is the attester of the historical development of the Republican Era. Ankara’s transformation and alteration in its urbanization process can be observed from the Boulevard. The meaning levels that congregate one over the other have shaped this boulevard as a physical and

social space. The story of the Atatürk Boulevard is the story of the changing city, the changing use and experience of the citizens and the institutions that create it. In this sense, under this part, I will present the transformation of collective memory by evaluating the boulevard according to its important places, its meaning, its importance on communal relations and communication and its importance of personal development.

5.1.1. Important Places

In this part I will present the important places across three periods and the insight on what makes these places important. This will show the transformation of the boulevard in terms of perceived and experienced significance of space.

Research shows that the concentration of important places change from social urban places to the places which interrupted people negatively. Furthermore, the physical, political, social, economic and psychological aspects and how they were used make these places more important through years. Additionally, I have researched the users' needs and activities over these important places by investigating how people mention their memories and how they mentioned about the uses of these places.

I have divided the Boulevard according to the important places and the frequency of uses for three different time sequences. Thus, the following schema shows the division of the Boulevard according to the research of important places between 1) Ulus Square, 2) Sıhhiye Square, 3) Kızılay Square and 4) Kuğulu Park.

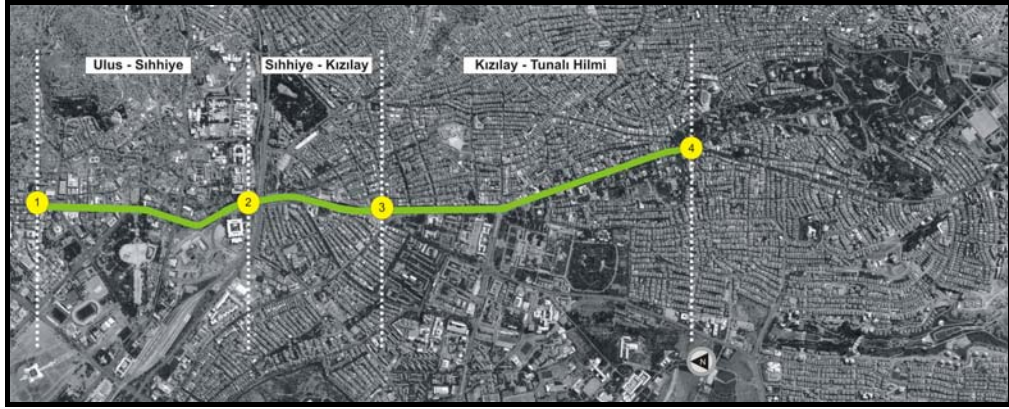


Figure 9: Division of Atatürk Boulevard according to important places
Source: Personal rendering

Following three schemas indicate the spatial transformation of important places that the research group mentioned. According to these schemas, before the 1970s, the important places mainly cultural activities, public institutions, food & beverage places, night entertainment places and hotels, green areas and meeting places concentrated on the Ulus – Sıhhiye and Sıhhiye – Kızılay part of the Boulevard. However, after 1970s the important places moved to Sıhhiye – Kızılay part of the Boulevard but within this period between 1970 and 1995 the important places such as public institutions, other needs (households, fruit-vegetable shopping, photo shops, pharmacy, butchers and delicatessen) started to extend through Kızılay – Tunalı Hilmi part of the Boulevard. After 1995, the important places such as cultural activities, food & beverage places, bookstores, entertainment places and hotels, private training schools mostly concentrated on the Kızılay – Tunalı Hilmi part of Atatürk Boulevard.

However, the Boulevard has lost its pedestrian aspects. The green lines on the schemas indicate the pedestrian movements on the Boulevard. Accordingly, it is obvious that the pedestrian movement on the Boulevard has been desisted through the depths of the Boulevard which is mainly because of the transformation of the spatial environment. After I have described briefly the transformation of important places here, I will continue my research with the detail information of the important places and the reasons of their importance

by comparing the three parts of the Boulevard for three time sequences. Thus, I will use the citations from the memories of the respondents to exemplify the subject.

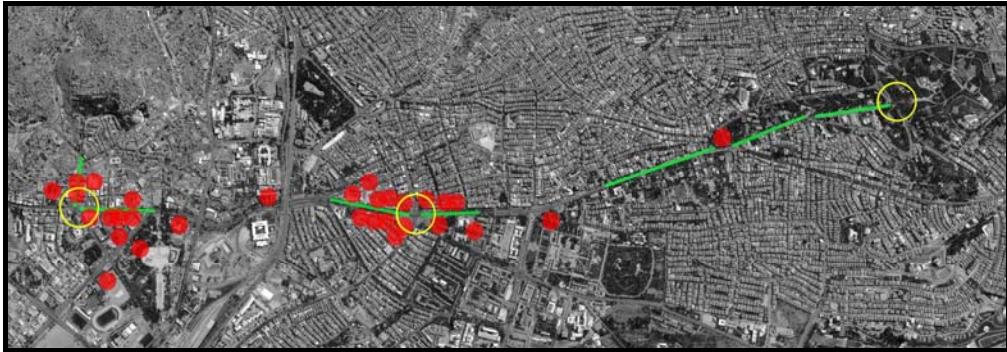


Figure 10: Pointed schema of important places before 1970s
Source: Personal rendering

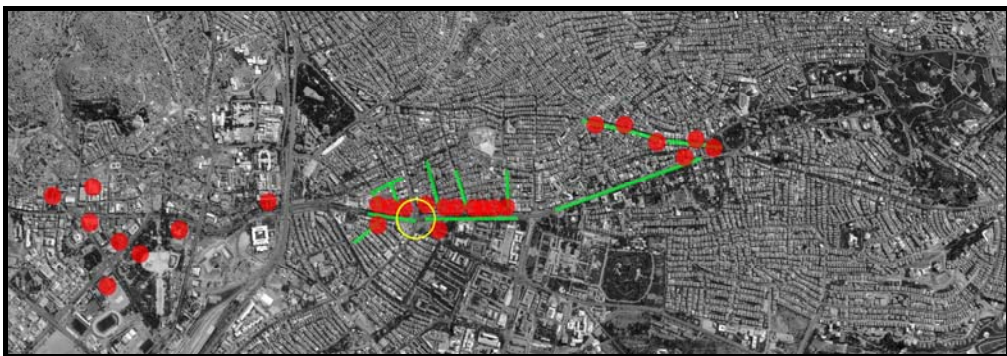


Figure 11: Pointed schema of important places between 1970 and 1995
Source: Personal rendering



Figure 12: Pointed schema of important places after 1995
Source: Personal rendering

The period before the 1970s

Table 1. Frequency of mention and the percentages for important places on and around Atatürk Boulevard before the 1970s

Important places grouped according to the intended use	Ulus-Sıhhiye (frequency of mention and its percentage %)	Sıhhiye – Kızılay (frequency of mention and its percentage %)	Kızılay – Tunalı Hilmi (frequency of mention and its percentage %)
Cultural activities	42 (16 %)	50 (15 %)	0 (0 %)
Food & Beverage	15 (6 %)	53 (15 %)	3 (4 %)
Night Entertainment + Hotels	17 (7 %)	36 (10 %)	16 (20 %)
Shopping Places	38 (15 %)	35 (11 %)	0 (0 %)
Green Areas	21 (8 %)	30 (9 %)	15 (19 %)
Public Institutions	43 (17 %)	24 (7 %)	15 (19 %)
Squares + Physical Elements	27 (11 %)	38 (11 %)	5 (6 %)
Pedestrian Areas + Meeting Places	9 (4 %)	23 (7 %)	13 (16 %)
Bookstores + Music Houses	4 (2 %)	20 (6 %)	2 (2 %)
Other Needs	40 (16 %)	26 (8 %)	6 (7 %)
Schools	7 (3 %)	9 (8 %)	6 (7 %)
Private Training Schools	0 (0 %)	0 (0 %)	0 (0 %)

Source: Personal Research

The above table is a reproduction of Table 5, 6 and 7 in the appendix part. The tables indicate the important places which respondents emphasized during the interviews and how many time they mentioned about these places. The above numerical variables express the frequency of mention and their percentages for the respondents.

The following comparisons will emphasize how these three different parts of Atatürk Boulevard functioned in the memories of Ankara citizens. Here, I will explain the importance of these places and the reason why they are important before 1970s.

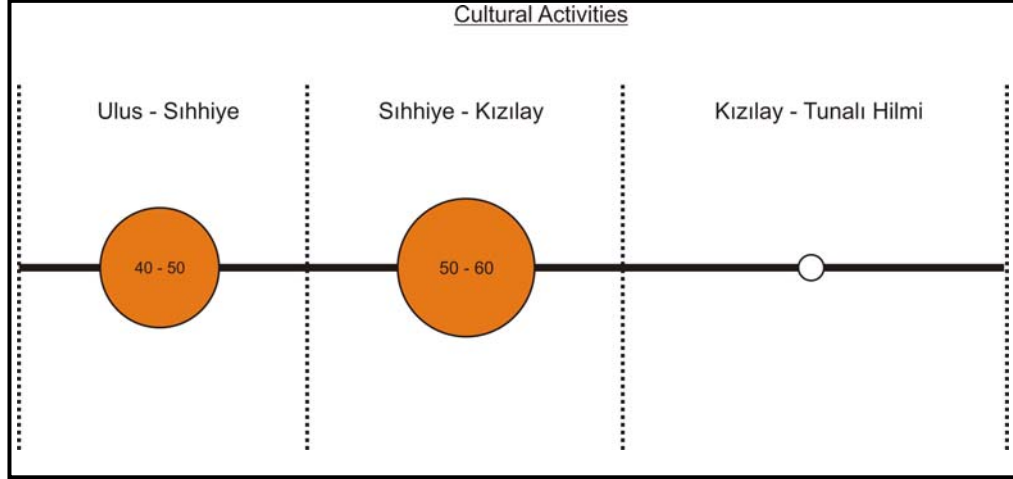


Figure 13: Cultural Activity Places and their intensities according to frequency of mention for three different part of the Boulevard before the 1970s
Source: Personal rendering

From the memories of the respondents, the importance of the Ulus – Sıhhiye part continues till 1960s in terms of cultural activities. The mostly mentioned cinemas such as Sus, Sümer, Yıldız and Park were located there. Until the 1960s, Ulus had functioned as the center of cultural activities. While after 1960 to 1970, it still functioned as the center of cultural activities but with a difference because there were different alternatives at the Boulevard.



Picture 1. Opera Building and the people on the Boulevard
Source: www.wow.turkey.com

Additionally, theatres like Büyük Tiyatro (Opera House) and Küçük Tiyatro, exhibition halls like today's concert house of Symphony Orchestra for Republican President or in its previous name the Opera House as Exhibition House concentrated between Ulus and Sıhhiye mostly. Going to theatre was an important activity of those days. 11 of 14 respondents who are over 60 years emphasized the importance of the theatres. One respondent also indicates the importance of this activity like this: *'Going to theatre was like a family ritual. I am the responsible of buying tickets in the family and my grandmother who was very devout also watched the performance of Carmen. This was interesting because theatres like all other cultural activities were open to everyone.'* Moreover, although the important theatres seemed to locate between Ulus and Sıhhiye, there were two other important theatres between Sıhhiye and Kızılay. These were Ankara Art Theatre (AST) and Yeni Sahne. Although they were not located on the Boulevard, they were easily accessible. They also were the important attraction places for the cultural life of the Boulevard.



Picture 2. Küçük Theatre
Source: Archive of Korhan Yılmaz

After the 1960s, the cinemas started to concentrate between Sıhhiye and Kızılay. Ulus Cinema, Ankara Cinema and Büyük Cinema appeared as the most important cultural places. All these three cinemas were important because they showed films from different languages with subtitles and Büyük Cinema housed the most important concert activities of that period. Especially in Ankara Cinema there were western films which were really classics of their time. One of the respondents indicates: *'The foreign films which Mastroianni and Sophia Looren's; Sunflower, Carrol Baker's; The Miracle, Paul Scofield's; The man for all seasons.'* Besides, one other respondent indicates: *'... these films were with subtitles in those cinemas which was a good indicator how the intellectual knowledge developed at those days. It was important because there was an aim behind this, the Republican life wanted people who were able to read and write, had a vision of world and as a capital, we had to be a model for the rest of the country.'* Additionally, *'there were no big lounges for the concerts in Ankara at those days. As a result, Johnny Holiday, Sylvie Vartan, Enrico Macias performed their concerts at Büyük Cinema. Moreover, Turkish singers like Erol Büyükburç, Alpay performed there. Unfortunately, instead of this magnificent cinema with its*

lodges, balcony and wood armchairs, today there is a huge mall and a passage.'



Picture 3. Büyük Cinema
Source: <http://arkiv.arkitera.com>



Picture 4. Büyük Cinema on Atatürk Boulevard around 1955
Source: VEKAM archive

Furthermore, cinemas were not only the places where people went individually but went as a group or collectively. For instance, one respondent

expressed this as follows: ‘...going to a cinema was an important activity, it was like a ritual. I and my friends watched the same films several times. Generally, we went cinema as a group because it was not an activity that people did individually as it is today. The cinema was equal to sharing and it just gained meaning this way.’ In accordance with these words, cultural activities were mentioned most frequently as the main type of socialization before the 1970s and the Boulevard as the house of these activities functioned as the place of cultural socialization.

Furthermore, the Boulevard between Sıhhiye and Kızılay housed the other kinds of cultural activities. One of the most prominently mentioned was the Art-lovers Club (Sanat Severler Kulübü) near Piknik through Sakarya. The following statements exemplify the significance of cultural activities: ‘*This was a warm art environment where the exhibitions of paintings, sculptures organized but the thing that I like most was the art conversations which performed frequently*’ and ‘*I like spending my time at Art-Lovers Club, and the most important memory of my life was the day that I got my books signed to Atilla İlhan. These books are still in my library and whenever I open them, I remember that day automatically.*’

The findings show that before the 1970s, the south part of the Boulevard was not used for cultural activities. It was rather occupied for housing development. In sum, before the 1970s, the Boulevard functioned as the place of cultural activities from Ulus to Kızılay. The functional division between these two different places was that Ulus-Sıhhiye part was the place of theatres, operas and exhibition houses while the Sıhhiye-Kızılay part was the place of cinemas, concerts and art galleries.

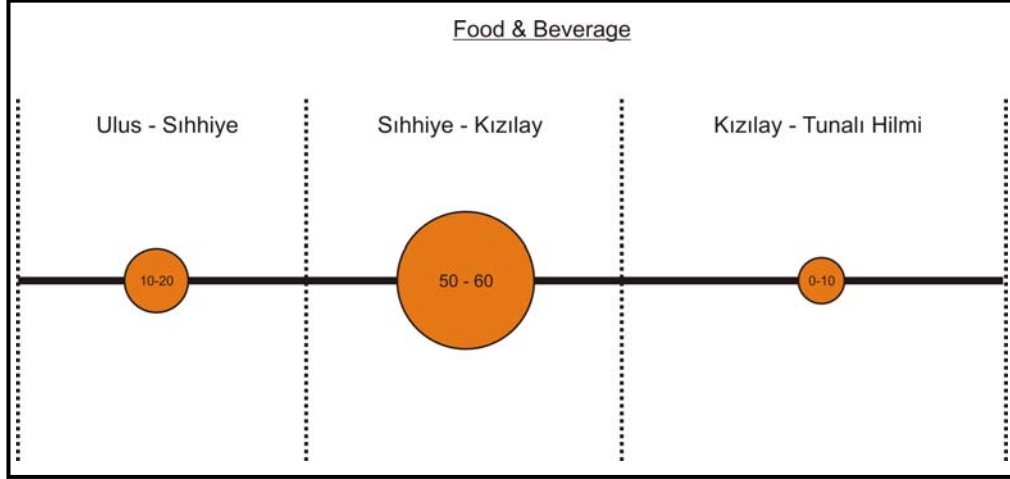


Figure 14: Food and Beverage. Eating Places and their intensities according to frequency of mention for three different part of the Boulevard before 1970s
Source: Personal rendering

Before 1970s eating activity was mostly remembered between Sıhhiye and Kızılay region. The places like Özen, Piknik, Cevat Cafeteria, Set Restaurant, Meram, Pekpak, Goralı, Tuna, Angora appear as the most important places of the respondents' memories. One respondent who lives in İstanbul today indicated: *'Whenever I went to a patisserie, I remember Özen. It welcomed you with a cinnamon and vanilla smell. It was popular with its pyramid cake. It was really delicious and I have never eaten such a delicious pyramid cake in any place of Turkey. I also remember that on summer days, we sat at the tables on the outside at the Boulevard. I liked watching people and the trees at the median. What I like drinking most was the lemonade in Özen, because of the hot summer weather of Ankara.'*



Picture 5. Piknik and the daily life on Boulevard
Source: <http://www.ergir.com>



Picture 6,7,8,9. Piknik. Source: <http://www.ergir.com>

Furthermore, people from different ages met at these places and the life emerged in and around them. So they were the places of socialization. Food and beverage places were important for the Boulevard because they served to the official class who left their business for lunch break. These places were not the places for only eating, they were important because they were the places of communication. One of the respondents emphasized this with these words: *‘...they were the places where you could eat good food or bought for the house for your guests. But above this, they were the places where you could listen what other people were talking, because here was the capital city and as a citizen of this city you had to have a consciousness about the agenda of the country. As a result, these places were the places of discussions for the country while they were the places of talks about the happiness of life.’*

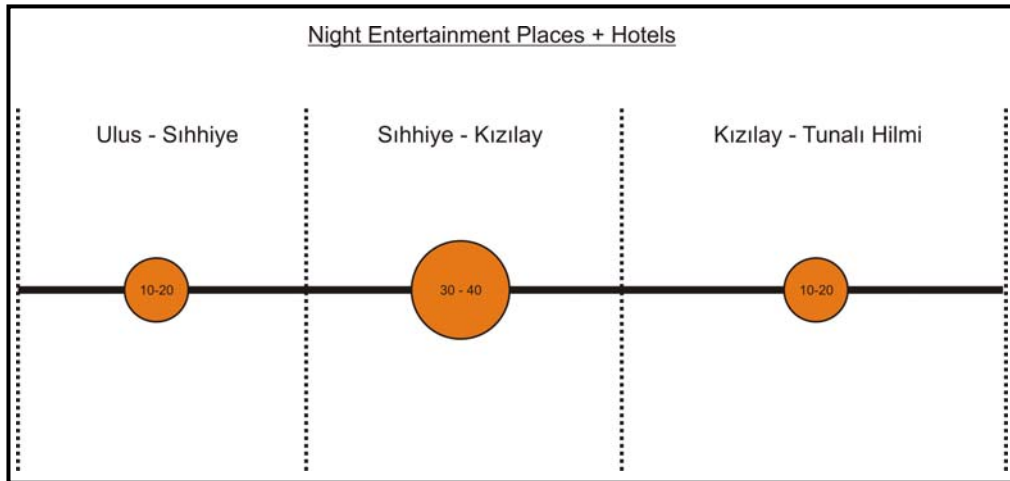


Figure 15: Night Entertainment Places and Hotels and their intensities according to frequency of mention for three different part of the Boulevard before the 1970s
Source: Personal rendering

There were three most important places which the respondents emphasized were Karpiç, Üç Nar Lokantası and Yıldız Lokantası between Ulus and Sıhhiye for the night entertainment activity. The most important of these three at this period was Karpiç because it was a place which was created by State support. Atatürk pioneered the idea of this place and he found a man in İstanbul who was a Russian waiter and took him to Ankara to establish a

sample night entertainment place for the image of new cosmopolite life. Karpiç was the place of high society, so anybody could not go there. One of the respondents indicated this with the words *'Elite people could go there. It was the place where you had to be careful on how you behaved.'* Additionally, one other respondent remembered this place as following: *'Karpiç was at the place of today's Yüziüncü Yıl Shopping Mall. There were two separated place inside it, one closed place for winter and a garden for summer periods. There were tall, old trees at the garden part and there was a table between these trees. This was a special table because it was Atatürk's table where he always sat with his friends or guests. After his death, they conserved the table for the remembrance of him. No one could sit there as a respect till the Americans came. The Americans occupied the table without knowing its importance and no one could explain them its importance so as a way they had to remove the table.'*

Additionally, Üç Nar Lokantası and Yıldız Lokantası were two other important places. The importance of Üç Nar Lokantası came from its concept. According to the memories of the respondents *'People could leave there a memory. This could be a material or a note on its walls. For instance, I wrote a piece from one of the masterpiece of Shakespeare. However, what I like most there is the ballerina shoes hanging from the ceiling. These shoes were also left there as a remembrance.'*

Between Sıhhiye and Kızılay, Piknik, Süreyya, Fıçı, Tavukçu, the lounge of Grand Ankara Hotel, and the lounge at the roof of Balin Hotel appear as the most important entertainment places. Piknik behaved both as a food and beverage place and an entertainment place with its alcohol service at the same time. It was the most popular place of the Boulevard before 1970s. One of the respondents narrated the memories about Piknik as follows: *'... it was the place where you had to experience, this was like a need. Whenever I did not go there after work, I felt like I missed everything which was important for the*

city life of Ankara. I liked being there with people whom I knew or didn't know but this place had a lot of meaning for my life. For instance, I have met lots of people with whom I still see each other. This was the place where people eat, chat, drink AOC Beer or Tekel Vodka and entertained this way. It was open till 11 p.m. and we were there till that time.' This place was a unique example of its time. Almost every respondent mentioned at least one time about this place. They have mentioned about their experience on eating for example its delicious sandwiches, potato chips, toasted sausages, etc., its positive effect on their social life and its effect on the quality of Boulevard's other places both as a physical place and a good service environment.

Additionally, Süreyya appears as one of the most important places where people absolutely visited every weekend or once in two weeks time. This was a night entertainment place which was classified as night club. People went there for both have a dinner, listen to music, dance and drink some alcohol. One of the respondents explained why he liked this place with these words: *'... it was a comfortable place where you could dance and entertained freely but this freedom was like a learning ceremony. You could look around and how people behaved each other and how they entertained. One other reason why I liked this place was because of its owner Mr. Süreyya. He always behaved us as his friends and I remember once it was too crowded that we thought we could not entertain there that night, Mr. Süreyya brought a new table and placed it near the dance-floor. This was his refinement that we were young people and maybe we would drink only one or two glasses something but he did not separate us from his other customers who were important people of that period like chairmen of public institutions, important political characters, etc.'*

Moreover, one respondent conveyed one of his New Year memories: *'I have never forgotten our new year ceremony in 1967 with my friends. I was a high school boy. We were in the garden of Kızılay Building. There was snow till*

our knees. We lighted a fire and eating our meatball breads and chatting and entertaining. But the most important of that night was the music of Yaşar Güvenir Orchestra which performed at the roof of Balin Hotel (which was one of the most important hotels of that period). It was an unforgettable memory for me.'

Between Kızılay and Tunalı Hilmi, Grand Ankara Hotel appears as one of the important places of entertainment. *'There was a lounge at the top of Ankara Hotel where people met and entertained by dancing or listening to music at nights. There was an orchestra playing and singing and we cheek-to-cheek danced in this lounge. It was not important that you had lots of money because everyone from different economic groups could come and entertain together.'*

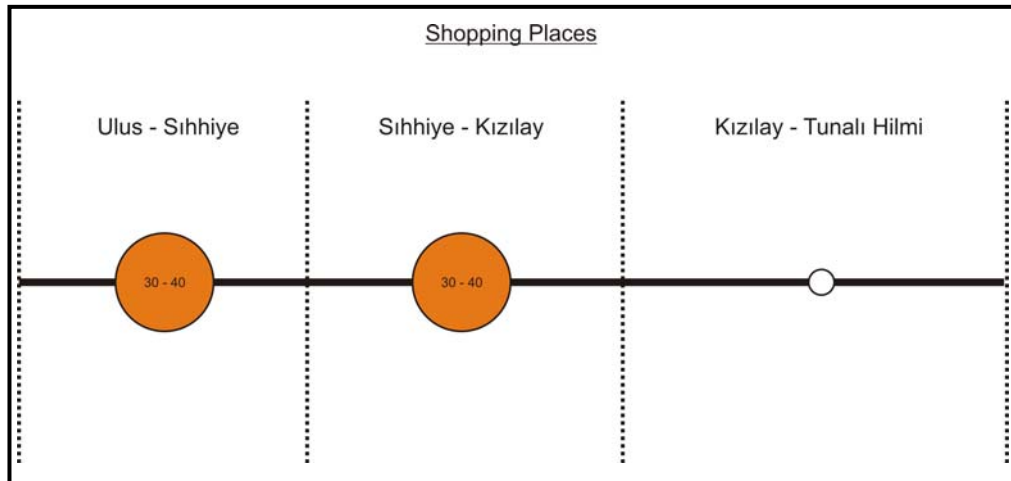


Figure 16: Shopping Places and their intensities according to frequency of mention for three different part of the Boulevard before the 1970s
Source: Personal rendering

Shopping activity under this title is framed with ready-wear, drapery and dressmakers. Before 1970s, especially till 1960s, this activity continued in and around Ulus. As a result, the respondents mentioned about the places like Sümerbank, Bekir Kundura, and the shops at Anafartalar Street. However, these places moved to Boulevard between the years 1960 and 1970. Later, the intensity of the shopping places increased between Sıhhiye and Kızılay. The

important shops such as; ABC Confection, Kocabeyođlu Pasage, İzmir Street, Zafer Mall, Tuna Confection and Derya Confection. The shopping places mostly concentrated between Sıhhiye and Kızılay at the end of 1970s but this intensity caused the need for new places through Tunalı Hilmi.

One respondent in my research group has been and is still a draper on the Kızılay Tunalı Hilmi part of the Boulevard. He was first established his business on 1967. He was two block near the old Vakko Building and he narrated his first arrival with these words: *'my first shop was at Anafartalar Street but after mid 1960s, the quality of the customers, shops and service started to transform, and my regular customers started to complain about this situation. As a result, this forced me to move through Boulevard because here was the most prestigious place of the fashion and clothing. People liked observing each other and appreciated from a dress on someone whom she/he saw a few days ago or that day. When I first come here, my other shop owner friends warned me not to find a place at the upper side of the Boulevard but I insisted that here would be popular in a few years time and I didn't wait too long. After a year people started to move through this part of the Boulevard.'*

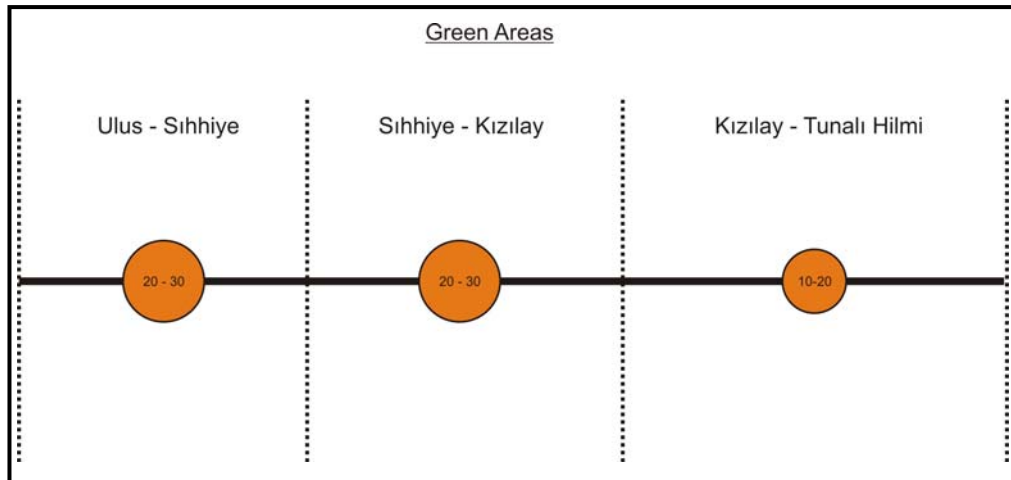


Figure 17: Green Areas and their intensities according to frequency of mention for three different part of the Boulevard before the 1970s
Source: Personal rendering

Gençlik Park was the most important place between Ulus and Sıhhiye before 1970s. It was the place of recreation for the whole city from different economic levels and classes. It was like a meeting place for the whole citizens. People visited this park with their family on spring and summer days. One respondent narrated the importance of this place by these words: *‘It was a big green area where we could go on foot. There was no need for any transportation vehicle. This big green area was a place of comfort, fun, and rest. When I was a child I remembered that we went there earlier to occupy the best place near the water. Our parents came later with foods which they prepared at home. We bought tea, coffee or fizzy lemonades and enjoyed our foods there at the fresh air, inside the greenery by watching the water and people walking around or sailing. We liked spending time there by eating, being in the open air and by doing activities like sailing on the water, etc.’*



Picture 10. Gençlik Park
Source: www.wow.turkey.com



Picture 11. Gençlik Park
Source: Archive of Yavuz Erel



Picture 12. Gençlik Park and sailing activity
Source: www.wow.turkey.com

One other respondent remembered that he was swimming in the water when he was a child. Sailing and playing at its 'Fun Fair' area were the two other

activities of this park. Another aspect of this park was that it housed the engagement or marriage ceremonies at its marriage lounge and the memories were full of happy moments which were important for many people.



Picture 13. Garden of Kızılay Building and Güven Park

Source: www.wow.turkey.com

Furthermore, there were two important parks between Sıhhiye and Kızılay which were Güven Park and the garden of Kızılay Building. These parks were in good quality in their physical features, designs and recreational characters. From the memories of the interview group these two green areas were two important recreation areas for the daily life of the people who used Atatürk Boulevard. They acted as the place of a noon break or a rest after the school, work or shopping. One respondent indicated this with these words: *‘It was like a heaven in the middle of the city. I remember it as a picture. There was a small kiosk on this garden and we could buy Kızılay mineral water which had a somewhat acrid taste. It was a special place where we could breathe in a restful environment in the middle of the day for our noon break.’*



Picture 14. Garden of Kızılay Building
Source: Ankara Postcards and Photography Documents Archive, Belko, Ankara



Picture 15. Garden of Kızılay Building
Source: Ankara Postcards and Photography Documents Archive, Belko, Ankara



Picture 16. Garden of Kızılay Building
Source: Ankara Postcards and Photography Documents Archive, Belko, Ankara



Picture 17. Güven Park
Source: Archive of Baykan Günay

Additionally, again Güven Park was a similar green area. Differently, it had a children's playground where the families took their children in the afternoons. This was the most important character of this park that 12 of 18 respondents

emphasized. From the memories of one respondent: *‘I remember that park from my primary school years. My parents took me there on the afternoons of summer days and I enjoyed my time there. It was like a safe and comfortable place in our district or our summer house. My father and mother sat on its tea garden where they could talk with other families and rested. It was like an adventure place in the middle of the city. Now when I think about those moments, I feel I was lucky having time in this meaningful park.’* Beyond being a green area, Güven Park was an important place where it witnessed important events of the history of Ankara. For instance, it was the place where the crowds gathered for watching the important events like the visits of USA President Eisenhower and King Rıza Pehlevi and Queen Süreyya. One respondent noted: *‘I was in the middle of the crowd when King Rıza Pehlevi and Queen Süreyya were passing with their cabriolet and saluting the crowd.’*

Likewise, the greenery of the Boulevard was perfectly designed before the 1970s. Boulevard had a broad median and two wide sidewalks which were covered by greenery. The median was covered by locust trees and it had a positive impact on users’ quality of the experiences. As one respondent determined that: *‘I remember the Boulevard like a picture; how the trees in front of the buildings bloomed, how they went yellow, how they covered with snows and became green again. It seemed as if Atatürk Boulevard introduced us the nature.’*



Picture 18. Atatürk Boulevard as a green area with its median and sidewalks
Source: Ankara Postcards and Photography Documents Archive, Belko, Ankara

Additionally, Boulevard extended along to Çankaya with the greenery of Embassies and Ministries which were not public green areas but virtual elements of the Boulevard. The most important green area between Kızılay and Tunalı Hilmi was Kuğulu Park. However, it was the garden of Embassy of Poland till 1963, it transformed to a public park later that date. Kuğulu Park was much like a district park before 1970s.

To sum up, green areas were located in continuity on Atatürk Boulevard before the 1970s. These green areas started with Gençlik Park and ended with Kuğulu Park. In its overall structure, the Boulevard in the memories of Ankara citizens appeared as a green spine along through Çankaya before the 1970s.

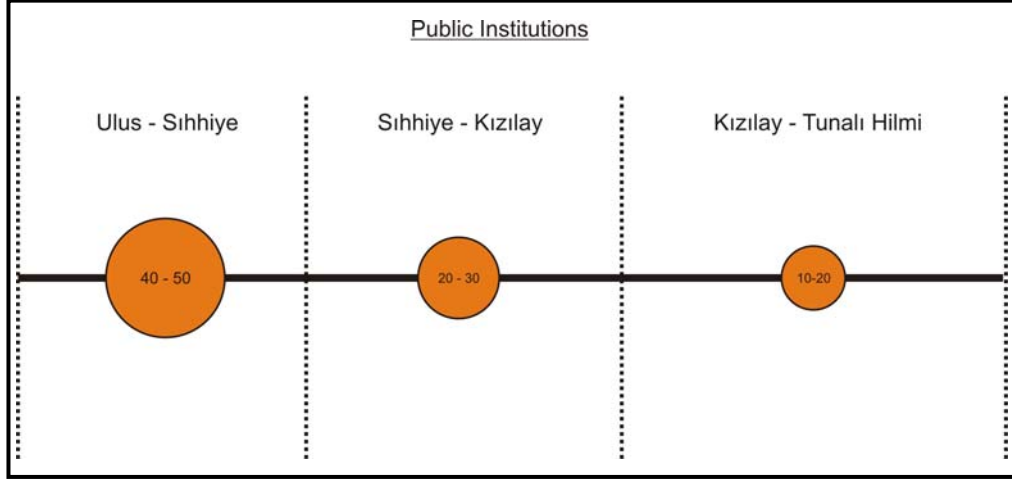


Figure 18: Public Institutions and their intensities according to frequency of mention for three different part of the Boulevard before the 1970s

Source: Personal rendering

Public institutions were located between Ulus and Sıhhiye region of the Boulevard before 1970s. People went there for Banks, for public offices and public affairs. Two respondents emphasized: ‘...*I remember that I went to Central Bank to exchange. It was the only place that you could exchange your money.*’ Alternatively, after 1960s new public institutions started to gain importance between Sıhhiye and Kızılay region such as İş Bank and Yapı Kredi on the Boulevard.



Picture 19. Banks Street on Atatürk Boulevard
Source: Ankara Postcards and Photography Documents Archive, Belko, Ankara

One respondent express: '*İş Bank was an important place for me because it was the place where my money box opened and after that my parents bought me whatever I wanted within the limits of this mone.y*' Besides, Kızılay Tunalı Hilmi region was important because of the reason that it hosted Ministries and Embassies.



Picture 20. Public Institutions between Ulus and Sıhhiye on Atatürk Boulevard
 Source: Ankara Postcards and Photography Documents Archive, Belko, Ankara

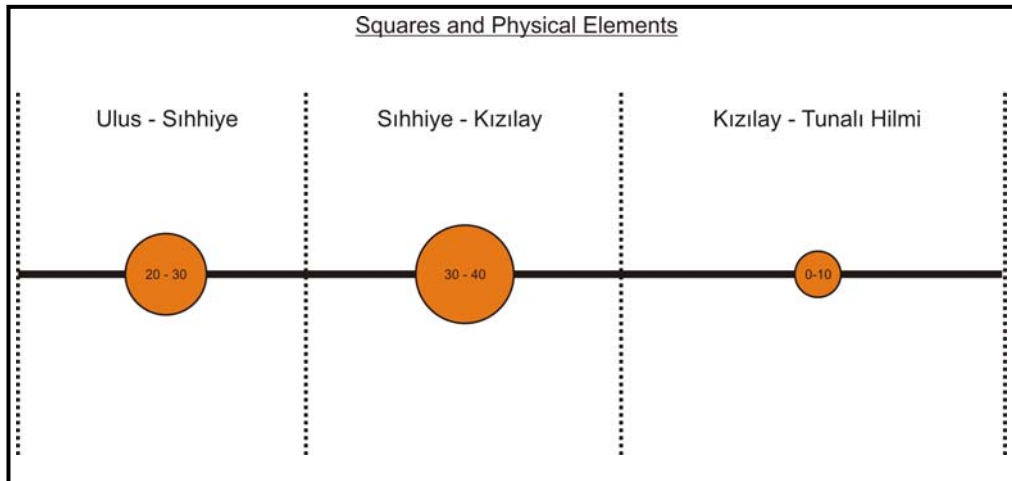


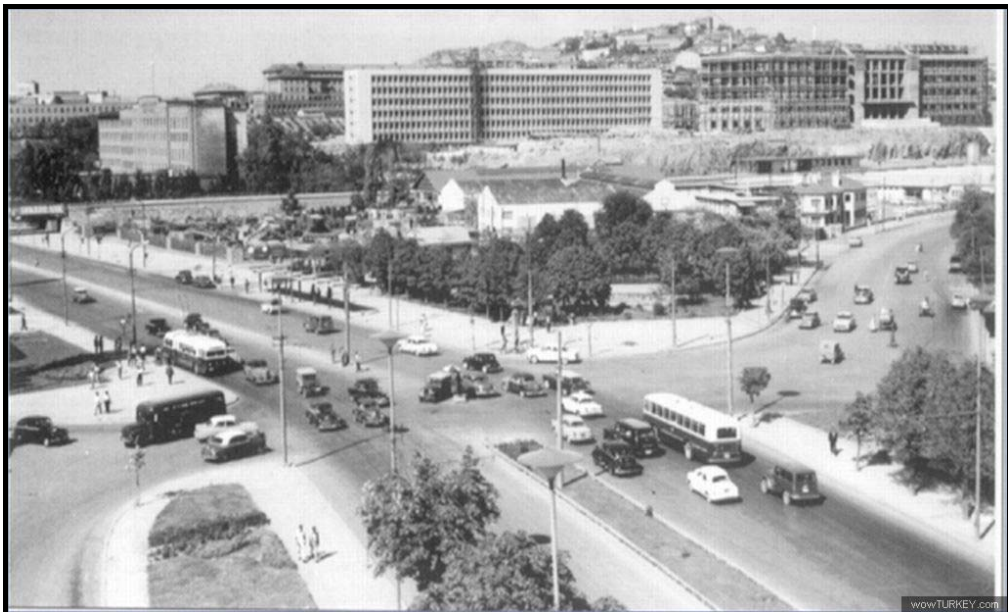
Figure 19: Squares and Physical Elements and their intensities according to frequency of mention for three different part of the Boulevard before the 1970s
 Source: Personal rendering

The research group indicates Ulus Square and its Sculpture occurs as the main important features of the spatial environment between Ulus and Sıhhiye before 1970s. Additionally, buildings of Opera House, Küçük Theatre, Radio House, Philology and History, Geography University were emphasized by the research group. One respondent indicates that *‘when I was a little girl*

whenever I saw the Sculpture at Ulus Square, I felt like I am too small. In my memory, it was a huge structure.' The importance of this category does not exist from its functional role but from its effect on the image of the city.



Picture 21. Ulus Square and Atatürk Sculpture before the 1970s
Source: Ankara Postcards and Photography Documents Archive, Belko, Ankara



Picture 22. Sıhhiye Square before the 1970s
Source: www.wow.turkey.com

Additionally, Zafer Square, Zafer Sculpture, Kızılay Building and Skyscraper were the prominent squares and physical elements between Sıhhiye and Kızılay. Although Zafer Square did not function as a square, it was a meaningful place where people gathered and performed ceremonial celebrations. On the other hand, Kızılay Building had a visual importance with its garden. The respondents mentioned about the Building not because of its architectural quality but because it was a symbolic building which gave its name to the whole area: Kızılay.



Picture 23 - 24. Zafer Square and Zafer Sculpture before the 1970s
Source: Ankara Postcards and Photography Documents Archive, Belko, Ankara)



Picture 25. Zafer Square and Zafer Sculpture before the 1970s
Source: Archive of Baykan Günay)



Picture 26. Kızılay Square before the 1950s
Source: Ankara Postcards and Photography Documents Archive, Belko, Ankara



Picture 27 - 28. Kızılay Square mid 1950s
Sources: www.wow.turkey.com and archive of Baykan Günay respectively



Picture 29 - 30. Kızılay Square around 1960s
Source: www.wow.turkey.com and archive of Baykan Günay respectively



Picture 31. Traffic police in the middle of Kızılay Square mid 1950s
Source: Archive of Yavuz Erel)



Picture 32 - 33. Kızılay Building
Source: Ankara Postcards and Photography Documents Archive, Belko, Ankara

Furthermore, there were various thoughts about the Skyscraper. Some liked it as a new image, some thought it was an ugly building which caused the entire Boulevard to be elevated, and some did not certain about whether they liked or not. However, the importance of it came from these various thoughts. All the respondents mentioned about the Skyscraper somehow. It is obvious that it was a different example of its period and people experienced it outside or inside with different perceptions.



Picture 34. Construction of Skyscraper at the end of the 1950s
Source: Archive of Baykan Günay

Furthermore, the most important place of Kızılay Tunalı Hilmi region was the ‘Halkevi’ in the garden of Parliament Building. This was an old two-floor house which functioned as the society house. People met there and performed different activities from reading book to discussing the society problems or preparing theatre activities to educating people who did not know write or read. It was a meaningful place because it was a society house in the garden of the nation parliament. 11 of 18 respondents mentioned about the importance of this house and one of them indicates: *‘It seems like it was symbolizing the parliament was a real place where we could reach and share our thoughts, agreements or disagreements. The parliament was a tangible place with this society house. It was not important that the people who were using this place could go or not but it was like an assurance.’*

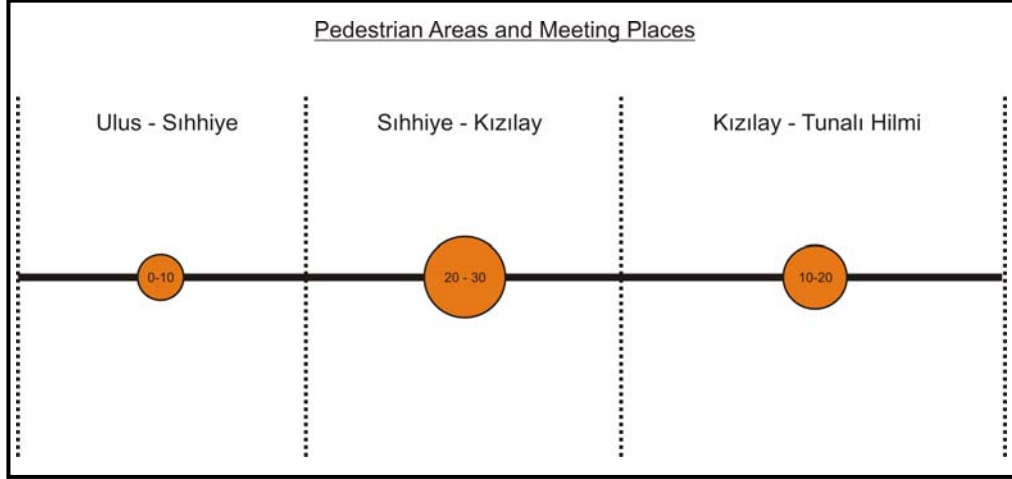


Figure 20: Pedestrian Areas and Meeting Places and their intensities according to frequency of mention for three different part of the Boulevard before the 1970s
Source: Personal rendering

People who went to Opera House, Küçük Theatre or Gençlik Park sometimes walked back to their houses by following the trace of the Boulevard. However, they mentioned that *'this part was not a pleasing environment for walking. It was because of the Official Buildings which follow one another and this part was a bit gloomy. Nevertheless, we could walk without interrupting by any vehicle or we were never afraid of crashing by a vehicle.'*



Picture 35. Pedestrians on the Boulevard around the 1940s
Source: Archive of Baykan Günay



Picture 36. Pedestrians on the Boulevard around the 1960s
Source: Archive of Baykan Günay



Picture 37 - 38. Pedestrians on the Boulevard around the around 1950s
Source: Archive of Baykan Günay



Picture 39. Pedestrians on the Boulevard around the end of 1960s
Source: Archive of Baykan Günay)

According to the memories of the research group, the Boulevard on its own appeared as the pedestrian place. The wide sidewalks of the Boulevard were the pedestrian environments where people could walk and even run if it was necessary. *‘Boulevard was the place of promenading. People liked being there because of its pedestrian friendly character. It was the place of afternoon walks.’* In the perceptions of the users of the Boulevard, it was like a pedestrian area because of the lack of vehicles before 1970s. On the other hand, there was İzmir Street which was the pedestrian area in this region but it

was not more important than the Boulevard itself. Additionally, the most important meeting place on the Boulevard was the Post Office in its Zafer Square's place. 5 of 18 respondents mentioned about this meeting point while the other did not mention about their meeting points.

On the other hand, Kızılay and Tunalı Hilmi part of the Boulevard was like a pedestrian path. People who lived around Kavaklıdere and Çankaya walk on the sidewalks of Boulevard in this region or the children who went to schools like Mimar Kemal Secondary School or Sıhhiye High School followed this pedestrian path through Çankaya for their homes. This root was at the same time a weekend walking activity place which people performed for some movement or sport.

In sum, Atatürk Boulevard was like a pedestrian area with its sidewalks all along it. People did not need to escape to safer pedestrian areas because it had a safe, comfortable pedestrian friendly environment that people like walking from one side through the other.

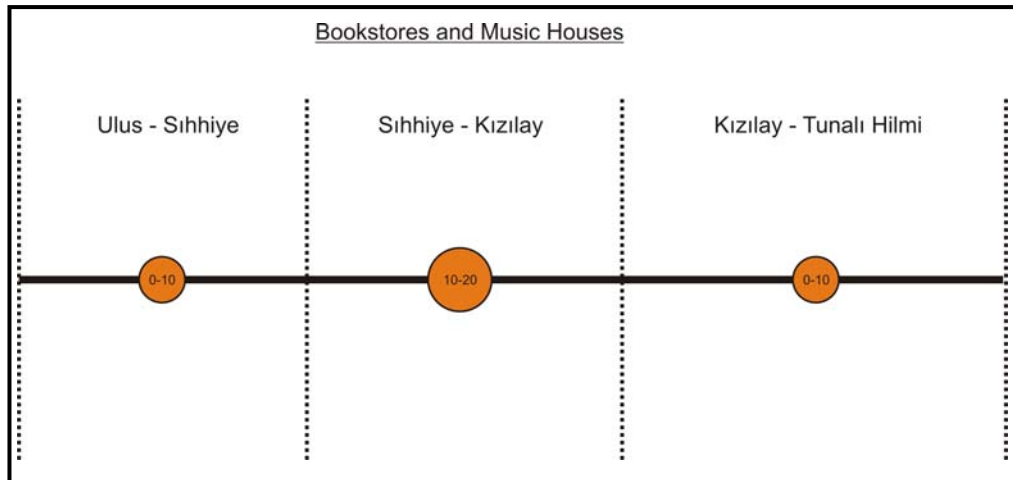


Figure 21: Bookstores and Music Houses and their intensities according to frequency of mention for three different part of the Boulevard before 1970s
Source: Personal rendering

Bookstores and music houses were two other important places for the life of the people in Ankara because the intellectual level of the city was very high. It was also important to monitor the literature and having an idea about the music especially for young people. In this sense, the books from world literature were translated and sold in the old building of ministry of national education in Ulus. This was an important place where people went and bought books which were translated from different languages. One respondent expressed: *'it was like diving to an adventure. I went there and bought books which were really cheap for instance you could buy one or two books instead of a public transportation ticket. This was a good indicator that the state wanted people who were able to read and had an intellectual knowledge about the world and life.'*

Moreover, Tarhan Kitabevi, Bilgi Kitabevi, Akba Kitabevi, Tansel Plak were the important places between Sıhhiye and Kızılay. Memories of the research group indicated that *'Tarhan Kitabevi was the only place where you could find books in different languages such as English, French, Italian or German.'* In addition, Bilgi Kitabevi was the place where young people spent lots of their times and got lost with the books and records. *'It was like being in a surreal world. I had learned many things there. It was somehow like a school for me. I could receive information about different writers, singers or bands.'*

In sum, the Boulevard was the place of bookstores, music houses, publishing houses. This was an important character of the Boulevard as a pragmatic space where different information could gather and interact before 1970s.

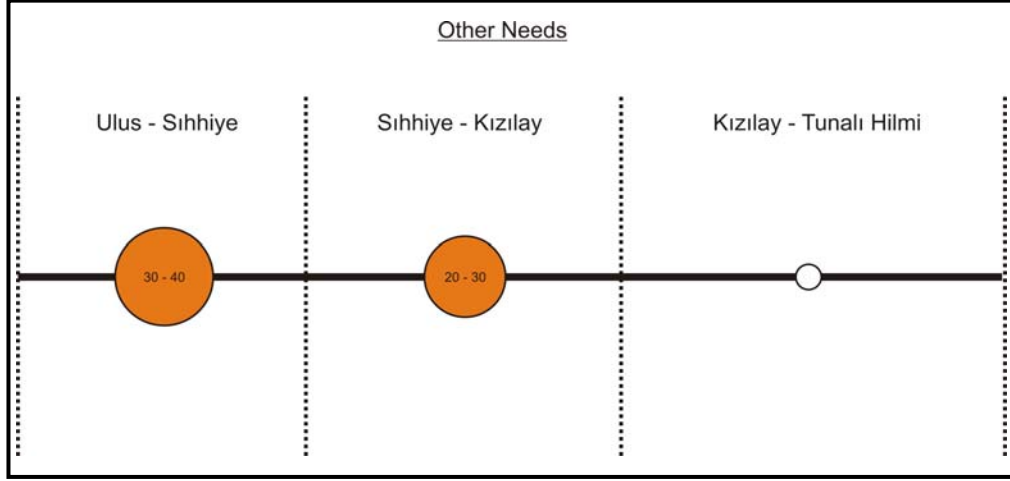


Figure 22: Other Needs and their intensities according to frequency of mention for three different part of the Boulevard before the 1970s
Source: Personal rendering

Other needs include the households, repair materials, fruit-vegetable shopping, ironmongery, sportive activities, photo shops, pharmacy, fish shops and delicatessen. The research group did not express certain places and names for these needs but they expressed that they needed to go Ulus-Sıhhiye region for the satisfaction of these needs. For instance, 15 of 18 people emphasized the ‘Hal’ as a marketplace where they needed to go for shopping. Additionally, 16 of 18 respondents indicated Ulus as the only place to find repair materials and households before 1970s. Moreover, Ulus Sıhhiye region was the place for sportive activities like football and swimming.

Sıhhiye Kızılay region emerged with important shops like Foto Güzel, Trakya Delicatessen, and Büyük Eczane as the places of other needs. One respondent indicated: *‘I was a doctor and I worked hard. So, whenever I had guests for dinner after work, I couldn’t find a lot time to cook and I went to Trakya Delicatessen. I bought cooked chicken and pulled apart into small pieces and served it.’* Besides, one other respondent expressed: *‘There was a Foto Güzel on the Boulevard. It was the place where my babyhood and childhood photos posed. These are all in my memory.’*

According to the memories of the research group, the intensity of other needs concentrated on Ulus Sıhhiye and Sıhhiye Kızılay regions before 1970s. In other words, the region from Ulus to Kızılay was the place of market activities such as households, repair materials, fruit-vegetable shopping, ironmongery, sportive activities, photo shops, pharmacy, fish shops, butcher and delicatessen.

The period between 1970 and 1995

Table 2. Frequency of mention and the percentages for important places on and around Atatürk Boulevard between 1970 and 1995

Important places grouped according to the intended use	Ulus-Sıhhiye (frequency of mention and its percentage %)	Sıhhiye – Kızılay (frequency of mention and its percentage %)	Kızılay – Tunah Hilmi (frequency of mention and its percentage %)
Cultural activities	29 (33 %)	15 (6 %)	26 (11 %)
Food & Beverage	7 (8 %)	32 (12 %)	41 (18 %)
Night Entertainment + Hotels	0 (0 %)	16 (6 %)	17 (7 %)
Shopping Places	11 (13 %)	34 (12 %)	40 (17 %)
Green Areas	7 (8 %)	21 (8 %)	40 (17 %)
Public Institutions	12 (14 %)	31 (11 %)	9 (4 %)
Squares + Physical Elements	9 (10 %)	42 (15 %)	4 (2 %)
Pedestrian Areas + Meeting Places	0 (0 %)	18 (7 %)	13 (6 %)
Bookstores + Music Houses	0 (0 %)	23 (8 %)	0 (0 %)
Other Needs	12 (14 %)	36 (13 %)	37 (16 %)
Schools	1 (1 %)	0 (0 %)	3 (1 %)
Private Training Schools	0 (0 %)	7 (3 %)	0 (0 %)

Source: Personal Research

The above table is a reproduction of Table 8, 9 and 10 in the appendix part. The tables indicate the important places which respondents emphasized during the interview in detail. The above numerical variables express the frequency of mention and their percentages for the respondents.

The following comparisons will exemplify how these three different parts of Atatürk Boulevard functioned in the memories of Ankara citizens. Here, I will explain the importance of these places and the reason why they are important between years 1970 and 1995.

These years were the most important years of the Boulevard because after 1970 the years of destruction for the Boulevard have started. As a result of the huge interferences and the political struggles, the important places transformed and people's use of the Boulevard completely changed. Here, I will explain how the important places for the users transformed in detail. This period was the

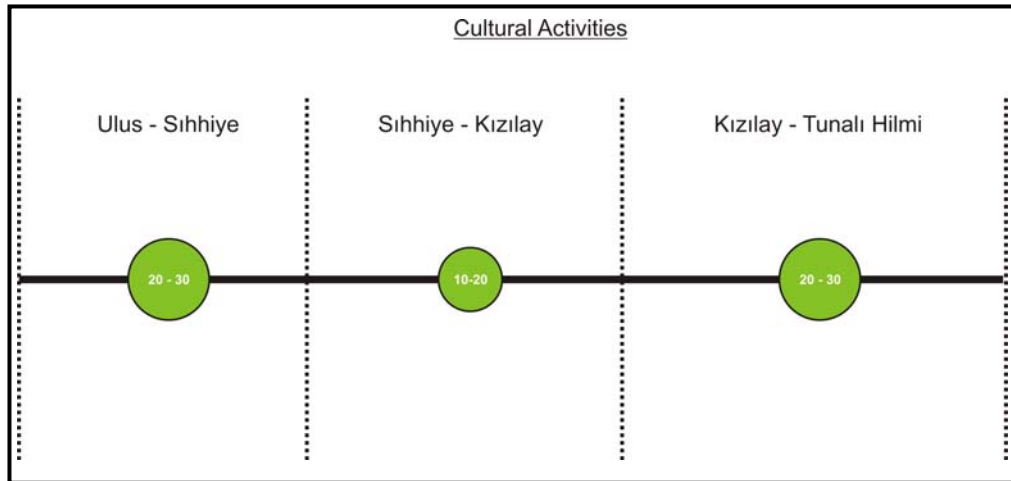


Figure 23: Cultural Activity Places and their intensities according to frequency of mention for three different part of the Boulevard between 1970 and 1995
Source: Personal rendering

Spatial environment has started to change after 1970 with the beginning of the reconstruction period of the Boulevard. This was the one reason which caused

the disappearance of cultural activities one by one. For instance, Ulus Cinema, Büyük Cinema, Ankara Cinema completely disappeared from the memories.

One other reason was the political period after 1975. In this period, people frightened to be outside, especially in the crowded places because they lived in fear of their lives. This broke people off the Boulevard. One respondent explained this in such: *'Life changed and we preferred being at home instead of being outside. Mainly, the periods of marital rule affected these preferences because we had no choices. We had to be at homes.'* One other indicates: *'I remember that I was afraid of being outside. I always charged my son who was at high school at that period, stand apart from crowded places and I waited jittery till he came back.'* A shop owner on the Boulevard narrated that: *'I couldn't stay open after it gets dark. So I closed the shop and went home. It was a really dark period which finished the life on the Boulevard. After that period, Boulevard would never be the same place again where you can see happy people with their families who are promenading around.'* One other respondent added: *'This political period was an important factor on the transformation of the Boulevard. This period affected all the points of view, behaviors and emotions for the Boulevard. Importantly, it changed the night and daytime perception of the people, especially the young people of that period. It cluttered up the space.'*

After the political period forgotten through the mid 1980s, the cultural activities again became important for the life of Ankara citizens. The respondents mentioned about Opera and Küçük Theatre between Ulus and Sıhhiye mostly. On the other hand, they mentioned about Akün Cinema, Batı Cinema and Kavaklıdere as the important places of cultural activities between Kızılay and Tunalı Hilmi.

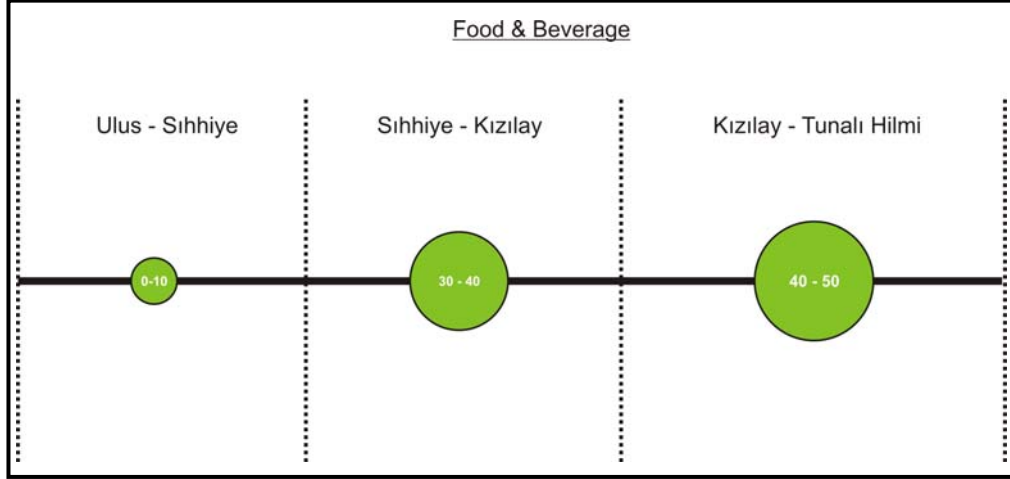


Figure 24: Food and Beverage. Eating Places and their intensities according to frequency of mention for three different part of the Boulevard between 1970 and 1995
Source: Personal rendering

The existence of Özen, Piknik, Cevat Cafeteria, Set Restaurant, Meram, Pekpak, Goralı, Tuna continued until the late 1970s between Sıhhiye and Kızılay. For instance, Piknik continued to be a popular food and beverage place until the mid 1980s. Sergen Patisserie was popular with its ‘ponçık’ (a kind of a pastry), cakes and ice-creams. However, the end of 1960s and at the beginning of 1970s, the popular food and beverage places appear mostly between Kızılay and Tunalı Hilmi on the Boulevard. The small cafes and patisseries which were called as Boulevard Cafes in general lined across Güven Park through Kuğulu Park. Milka and Angora was the two important places of these food and beverage places between Kızılay and Tunalı Hilmi. The respondents mentioned about these food and beverage places as nice places of 1970s. Milka was the most popular of these places. One respondent explained: *‘It was a really great pleasure to sit on the afternoons in Milka. We met there with friends and drink a cup of tea or coffee by watching the people walking around. I remember Zeki Müren who came certainly to Milka when he was in Ankara. He made jokes to the people sitting on the tables. He was carrying a pocket radio and listened his own advertisement hours.’*



Figure 25: Night Entertainment Places and Hotels and their intensities according to frequency of mention for three different part of the Boulevard between 1970 and 1995
Source: Personal rendering

With the changing character of Ulus because of the increase in the population density caused a decrease in the importance of Ulus and Sıhhiye part of the Boulevard. Karpiç, Üç Nar, Yıldız, Kürdün Meyhanesi disappeared one after the other. The change in the user group, the entertainment places which none of the respondents mentioned about transformed to the places of unskilled workers.

At the beginning of 1970s the night entertainment places and hotels continued as they were before 1970s. After the reconstruction period started, the places like Süreyya, Balin Hotel, Bulvar Palace disappeared one by one. However, Sakarya with Tavukçu, new beer parks continued as the place of night entertainment but it was not similar in quality. After the mid 1980s, these places started to change in character. One respondent determined this in words: *‘When Sakarya was turned to a place of beer parks, it became an unsecure place. Although it looks nice from the outside that drinking on the desks in the middle of the streets, it wasn’t in reality because people who became over-drunk there started to teased around. There was no control. It became a dangerous place for women not only for women but for everyone.’* One other respondent expresses this situation as follows: *‘I believe that the beginning of Sakarya transforming to a dirty, unsecure, poor quality place*

was after mid 1980s with these beer parks. The people forgot how to drink in control and how they had to behave in the community. There were rules and conventions of drinking and entertaining before 1980s but later people forgot all these and the meaning of entertainment changed.'

On the other hand, Ankara Hotel continued its existence till 1990s but its entertainment character got lost through these years. It became the place of marriages and engagements. For instance, 6 of 25 respondents have mentioned they got married or engaged at Ankara Hotel between 1970 and 1995. Additionally, Boulevard Palace was the place of afternoon teas, school dances, meetings of associations until its demolishment in 1987.

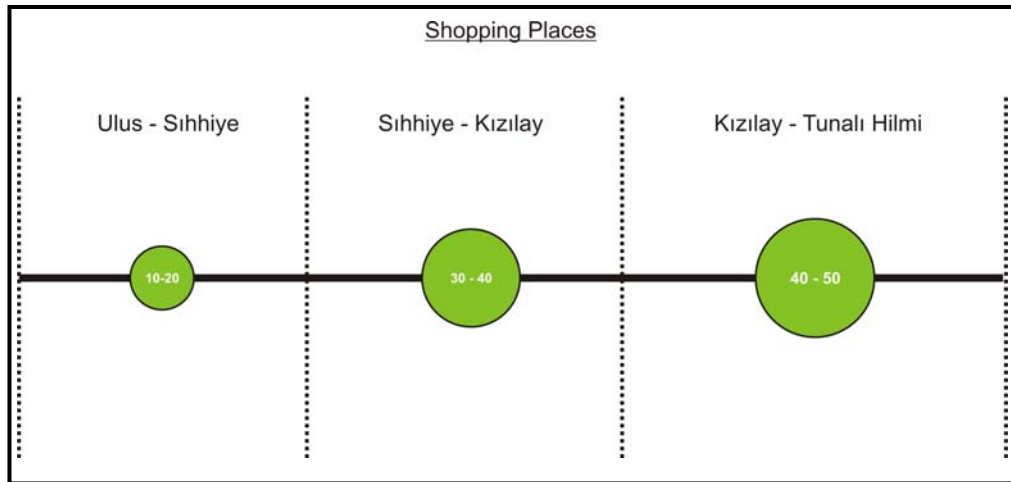


Figure 26: Shopping Places and their intensities according to frequency of mention for three different part of the Boulevard between 1970 and 1995
Source: Personal rendering

The intensity of the shopping places continued between Sıhhiye and Kızılay after 1970s. However, the changes started to be observed with the reconstruction of the physical environment and with the effect of the political period. The reconstruction of the buildings one after the other increased the prices of the shops on the Boulevard as result shops like Şık Düğme, left their place which were on the Boulevard to the parallel streets. The important shopping places between Sıhhiye and Kızılay between 1970 and 1995 were

Kocabeyođlu Pasage, Soysal Pasage, İzmir Street, Zafer arşıısı, Mine, Tuna Confection Derya Confection.

The shopping places mostly concentrated between Sıhhiye and Kızılay at the end of 1970s but this intensity caused the need for new places through Tunalı Hilmi. According to the memories of the research group, shopping activity after 1970s moved through Kızılay Tunalı Hilmi part of the Boulevard. New shopping places were constructed between Kızılay and Tunalı Hilmi such as Gama shopping mall, Vakko, Karaca, KİP, jewellery bazaar within those years.

One respondent indicates: *‘The shops on the Boulevard started to be smaller. Some shops moved to the parallel streets. The passages became old-fashioned and crummy while they had sold luxury things like jewelry and ready-wear of fashion. But later especially after 1990s, they became the places in between passage and wholesale peddler.’* Additionally, there was a new trend of shopping experience in the shopping malls. One respondent mentioned about this as follows: *‘All the places that we know, recognize and use have evanesced one after the other on the Boulevard by the effect of the new places like shopping malls. These places put the shops on the Boulevard to secondary position because these places presented the newest things, product range and surplus.’*

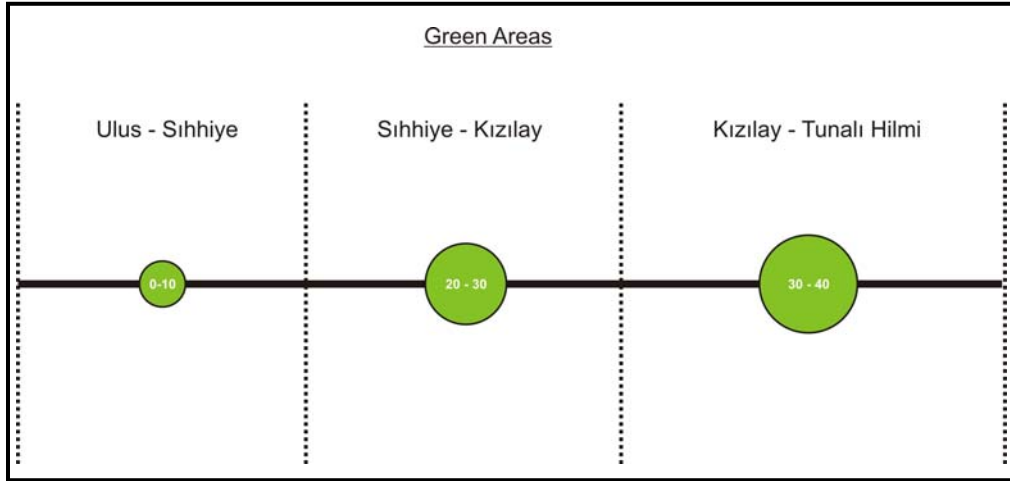


Figure 27: Green Areas and their intensities according to frequency of mention for three different part of the Boulevard between 1970 and 1995
Source: Personal rendering

After mid 1980s, Gençlik Park disappeared from the memories of the research group. The young respondents remembered that park as the place that they visited at most ten times in their lives. The reason of that can be seen from the memories of an respondent: *‘Gençlik Park was not the place of our childhood after 1980s but it was still at the center and we sometimes took children there to played them on the fun fair. But once, there was a woman screaming and looking for her child. She was like mad. Police investigated child all around but they couldn’t find. Later, I read at the newspaper that the child had been kidnapped. And that was the last time that we were there.’*

The transformations on Atatürk Boulevard after 1970s caused the lost its green aspect till 1995. The inferences on the physical environment mainly destroyed the green areas on the Boulevard. At the beginning of 1970s, the garden of Kızılay Building completely lost its spatial features as a park. It transformed to a small garden of the Kızılay institution to widening Atatürk Boulevard and Gazi Mustafa Kemal Boulevard on both sides. Although the kiosk was still there, it was not the place where people like sitting and recreating because there was only a small circular flower bed and small grass areas on the remaining parts of the pedestrian paths. At the Ziya Gökalp side of this grass area, there was a bust which represented the people who provide

such an institution for the country. The garden completely destroyed in 1979 with the building to construct a new building. Additionally, when the Boulevard was extended, the old, big trees on the median and sidewalks were cut off. According to one respondent: *'...when the trees were cut off, we became upset. Every transformation took something from our place.'*

Güven Park, on the other hand, became the place of 'dolmuş' station as a functional dissolve for the public transportation. Additionally, according to the memories of one respondent who worked at the municipality as a lawyer between 1980 and 1988, narrated that: *'The municipality prepared a project for the place of Güven Park. The project proposed to destroy the park completely and constructed a multi-storey car park instead of it.'* He added: *'I am afraid of facing with the demolishment of Güven Park completely someday to initialize this project because it is still on the records of the municipality.'*

Between 1970s and 1995, the green areas and recreation places on the Boulevard moved to the Kızılay – Tunalı Hilmi side of the Boulevard. Kuğulu Park and Seymenler Park became important because they were the only places where people could recreate comfortably. However, Seymenler always a bit far from the life of the Boulevard and served to a limited group of people. For instance, only 7 of 25 respondents mentioned about this park within those years.

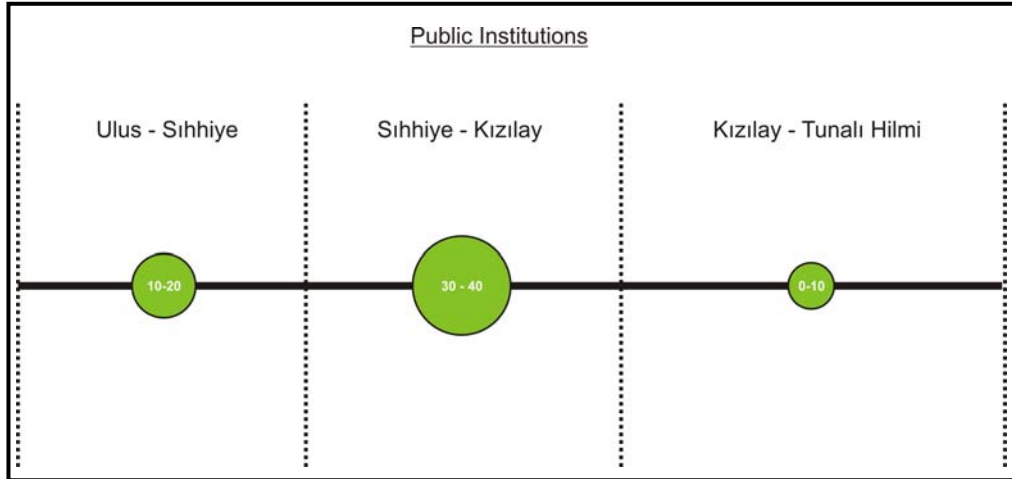


Figure 28: Public Institutions and their intensities according to frequency of mention for three different part of the Boulevard between 1970 and 1995
Source: Personal rendering

The importance of the public institutions moved to Sıhhiye and Kızılay part between years 1970 and 1995. The most important transformation between those years significantly observed from the ‘Bakanlıklar Way’. 10 of 25 respondents mentioned about this pedestrian environment. Although it had functioned as a pedestrian path for the citizens, after mid 1970s, it transformed to a security place where you checked on the entrance and exit. Additionally, it was the place of different exhibitions like ‘Food Exhibition’ or ‘Military Plane Exhibition’, between those years it had transformed to a gated place where people were kept out off it.

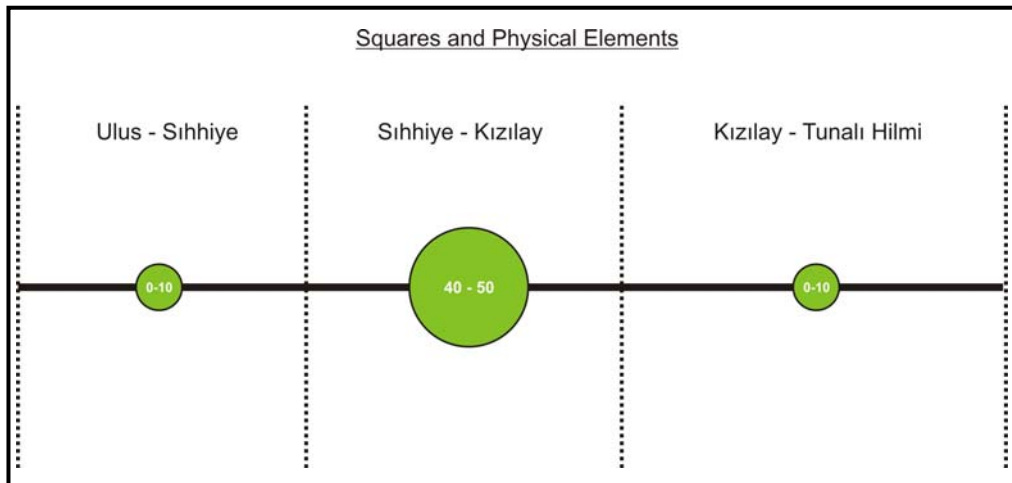


Figure 29: Squares and Physical Elements and their intensities according to frequency of mention for three different part of the Boulevard between 1970 and 1995
Source: Personal rendering

Between 1970s and 1995, the Boulevard became the display arena of political ideals. Every changing political ideology performed to show its power by means of spatial environment of the Boulevard. One respondent indicated that: *‘One political power tried to decorate the lightening materials with artificial flowers on the Boulevard. It was apparently very arabesque and I have never seen such an ugly implementation.’* Additionally, one other respondent expressed: *‘After 1970s every municipality changed something from the Boulevard. Sidewalks transformed and transformed one after the other every selection time. The physical environment completely changed on the Boulevard. While it had been a human scale environment, it turned to a place of chaos and dirty place with its elevated buildings in terms of physical quality.’* The experience in the physical environment and the perception of the space changed the sense of place of the users. Furthermore, 11 of 25 respondents pointed out the tube-passes.



Picture 40. Kızılay Square and the Kızılay Building with its narrowed garden in the mid 1970s
Source: www.wow.turkey.com

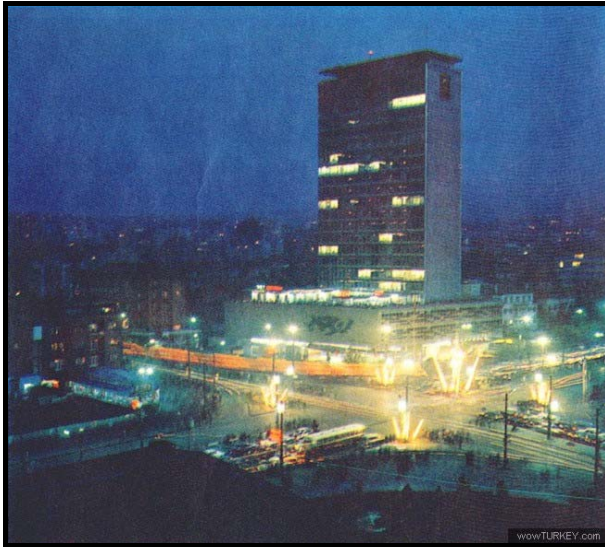


Picture 41. Zafer Square and Zafer Sculpture at the end of 1970s
Source: Archive of Baykan Günay

One of the respondents identified: *‘The interaction between the two sides of the Boulevard separated after the inferences on the Boulevard. The median and the sidewalks narrowed down for transportation and the traffic became the subject matter, especially after 1990s. The tube-passes symbolized the separation of the Boulevard into two different pieces. They were constructed and always neglected.’*



Picture 42. Boulevard with its elevated buildings and narrowed median and the Skyscraper between 1970 and 1995
Source: Archive of Baykan Günay



Picture 43. Kızılay Square and the Skyscraper in the mid 1980s
Source: www.wow.turkey.com

Moreover, Sıhhiye and Kızılay squares became the places of political struggles where the crowds gathered and demonstrated after 1975-1978.

Accordingly, the most important place in the memories of research group appeared in the part between Sıhhiye and Kızılay.

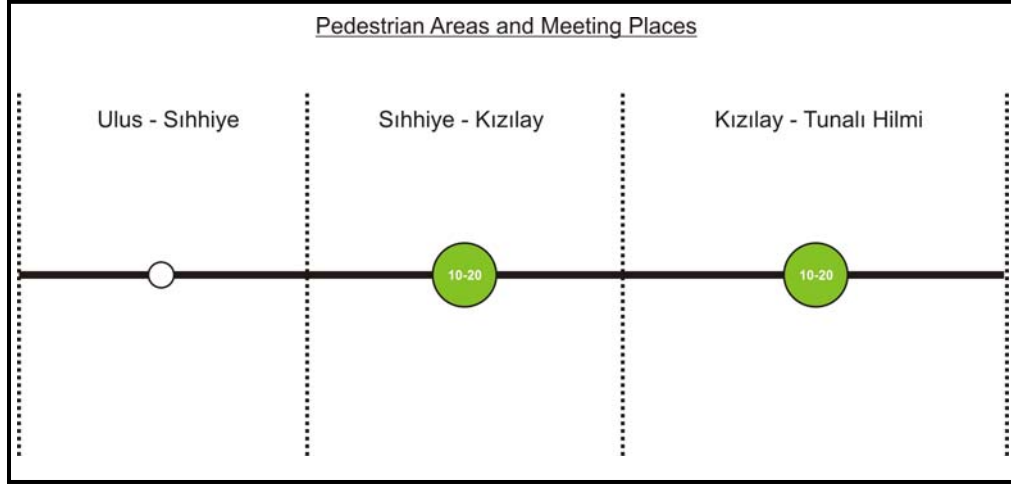


Figure 30: Pedestrian Areas and Meeting Places and their intensities according to frequency of mention for three different part of the Boulevard between 1970 and 1995
Source: Personal rendering

The Boulevard has lost its pedestrian friendly feature after 1970s. Increase in the population turned Boulevard into a crowded place and the inferences on the physical environment like narrowing the median and sidewalks on both sides and cutting the old and tall trees, affected the perception of the users about the Boulevard as a pedestrian environment. 1970 was a milestone for the change of the Boulevard in its human aspects. The only reason of this character change was not the inferences on the spatial environment, the political period broke apart the people from the Boulevard. Between 1970 and 1995, the pedestrian places like Sakarya, İzmir Street gained importance in terms of pedestrian activities. However, the inferences never stopped on these pedestrian areas. One respondent indicates: *'these were the places of pedestrians but there were always new constructions there. New projects were made one after the other every changing political power.'* According to the changes on the Boulevard, the meeting places changed, and some disappeared. For instance, Yenişehir Post Office moved under the Skyscraper and it became

the new meeting point. The shops like Karamürsel, Vakko established and they became new meeting points.

On the other hand, after mid 1980s, the importance of Yüksel, Karanfil, Konur and Selanik increased as pedestrian environments. With an increase in the population of the city, the Boulevard became the place of bus stations and lost its pedestrian aspect. People need new places for being free in their movement and these pedestrian areas became important between Kızılay and Tunalı Hilmi.

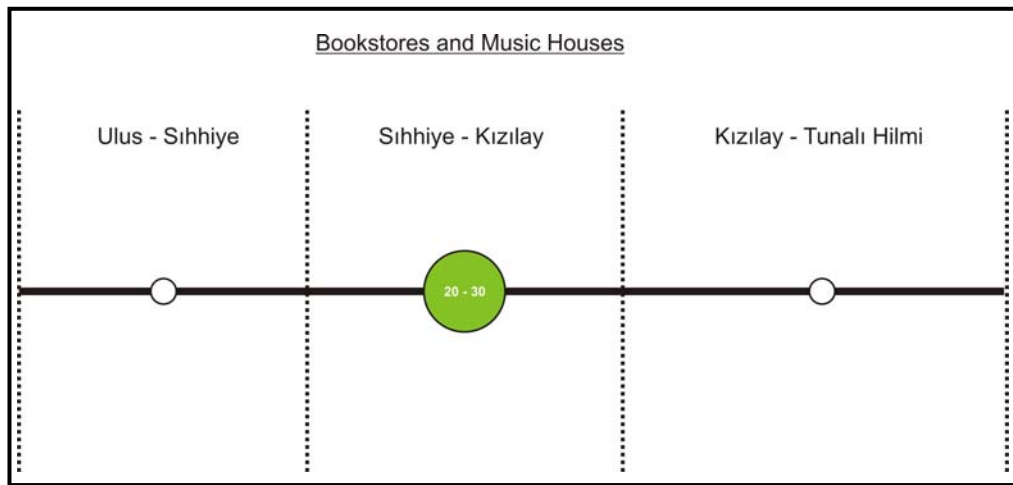


Figure 31: Bookstores and Music Houses and their intensities according to frequency of mention for three different part of the Boulevard between 1970 and 1995

Source: Personal rendering

Bookstores and music houses are the important places between 1970s and 1995. Although the physical change and the political period of mid 1970s affected these bookstores and some completely disappeared like Akba Kitabevi and Tansel Plak while some had to change their places and moved to the parallel streets like Bilgi Kitabevi, and Tarhan Kitabevi. On the other hand, Boulevard was the place of publishing sector. One of the respondents determined this: *'When I was first published my poet book in 1988, I was always on the Boulevard for the publishing works. It has such an important meaning for me.'*

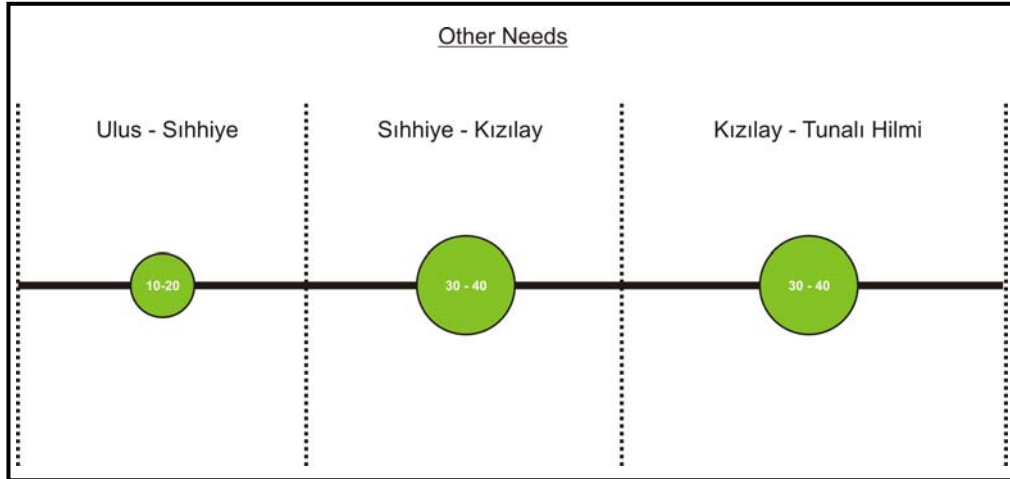


Figure 32: Other Needs and their intensities according to frequency of mention for three different part of the Boulevard between 1970 and 1995
Source: Personal rendering

Other needs include the households, repair materials, fruit-vegetable shopping, ironmongery, sportive activities, photo shops, pharmacy, fish shops and delicatessen. After 1970s the places like Trakya Delicatessen, İstanbul Butcher, Besi Çiftliği, fish shops in Sakarya and Büyük Eczane were still the important places of life for households. One respondent expressed: *‘Besi Çiftliği was the only place where I could find the most delicious kinds of cheese and adjacent to it, there was İstanbul Butcher where the freshest meat could be found. Sakarya was like a market place for me. I could find whatever I need for house till the end of 1980s. But after that time I have moved to Batıkent and the culture of supermarket began in my life and the meanings of these places disappear one by one.’*

On the other hand, new places for the needs like households began to extend through the other places of the Boulevard and city. People who lived in Çankaya, started to find new shops for these needs and they left these places one by one. Accordingly, these places started to lose their importance by the decentralization of the city.

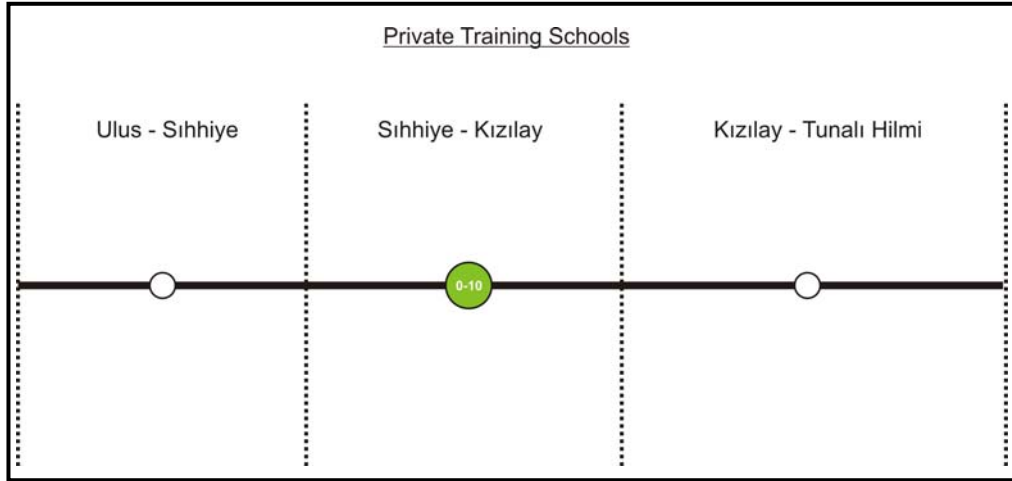


Figure 33: Private Training Schools and their intensities according to frequency of mention for three different part of the Boulevard between 1970 and 1995
Source: Personal rendering

Private training schools appear as a new educational sector after mid 1980s and extended in an acceleration speed. Boulevard as the place of the schools became the places of private education schools. These schools affected the character of the Boulevard and the center. They defined new uses like billard saloons and game and video arcades. These private education schools concentrated between Sıhhiye and Kızılay.

The period after 1995

Table 3. Frequency of mention and the percentages for important places on and around Atatürk Boulevard after 1995

Important places grouped according to the intended use	Ulus-Sıhhiye (frequency of mention and its percentage %)	Sıhhiye – Kızılay (frequency of mention and its percentage %)	Kızılay – Tunah Hilmi (frequency of mention and its percentage %)
Cultural activities	31 (63 %)	6 (6 %)	34 (18 %)
Food & Beverage	0 (0 %)	11 (11 %)	31 (16 %)
Night Entertainment + Hotels	4 (7 %)	6 (6 %)	20 (10 %)
Shopping Places	2 (4 %)	9 (9 %)	30 (16 %)
Green Areas	0 (0 %)	0 (0 %)	24 (13 %)
Public Institutions	0 (0 %)	10 (10 %)	5 (3 %)
Squares + Physical Elements	0 (0 %)	20 (20 %)	30 (16 %)
Pedestrian Areas + Meeting Places	0 (0 %)	6 (6 %)	7 (4 %)
Bookstores + Music Houses	0 (0 %)	13 (13 %)	5 (3 %)
Other Needs	12 (24 %)	7 (7 %)	3 (2 %)
Schools	0 (0 %)	2 (2 %)	0 (0 %)
Private Training Schools	0 (0 %)	11 (11 %)	2 (1 %)

Source: Personal research

The above table is a reproduction of Table 11, 12 and 13 in the appendix part. The tables indicate the important places which respondents emphasized during the interview. The above numerical variables express the frequency of mention and their percentages for the respondents.

The following comparisons will exemplify how these three different parts of Atatürk Boulevard functioned in the memories of Ankara citizens. Here, I will

explain the importance of these places and the reason why they are important after 1995.

After 1995 especially after the 2000s, the Boulevard has become a completely different place as the place of street experience. The technological transformations, the decentralization of the city center and the increase in the population affected the transformation of the Boulevard. Although the Boulevard is still the place of many activities, it has lost its social space identity because previously it was the place of the whole city, today it has become the place of a specific group like Ulus. The uses and the activities have transformed negatively. While Boulevard got used to be the place of social life today it has transformed to a link where the mass traffic flow. The change in the physical environment has affected the Boulevard mostly in the transformation through this way. The important places on and around Boulevard concentrate mostly on the Kızılay – Tunalı Hilmi part of the Boulevard but this concentration has not been seen on the physical space of the Boulevard but its depths. Ankara citizens in the research group complained about the transformation of social and communal character of the Boulevard after 1995. They believe that the acceleration of the transformation of physical environment would help it.

I will narrate with the following comparisons how these three different parts of Atatürk Boulevard functioned in the memories of Ankara citizens after 1995. Here, I will explain the importance of these places and the reason why they are important in detail.

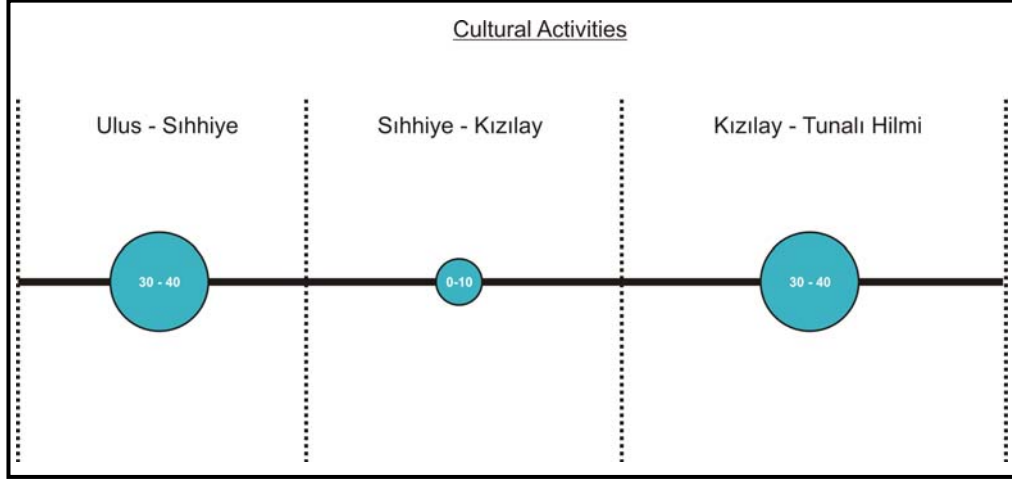


Figure 34: Cultural Activity Places and their intensities according to frequency of mention for three different part of the Boulevard after 1995
Source: Personal rendering

After 1995, Atatürk Boulevard has continued being the place of cultural activities in the part between Ulus and Sıhhiye. The reason of this occurred from the continuity in the existence of the Opera Building, Küçük Theatre and Oda Theatre. People from different residential places still prefer watching performances in these places. They are still important because of housing the most important cultural activities in Ankara.



Picture 44. Opera Building in 2008
Source: Personal archive



Picture 45. Küçük Theatre in 2008
Source: Personal archive

On the other hand, Boulevard had lost its cultural character between Sıhhiye and Kızılay after 1995. The most important place in this part as a cultural place is AST (Ankara Art Theatre). However, today, there is no cinema or art gallery on the Boulevard in this part. There are different youth and non-professional associations in the depths of Boulevard such as at the Ankara Amateur Theatre Club in Yüksel Street but these uses have limited members and they do not serve to a big community. In other words, there are still some efforts in the depths of Boulevard but these are not collectively based but individually based activities.

Additionally, the trace of the cinemas and theatres moved through Tunalı Hilmi before 1990s. To this end, Akün, Şinasi, Batı, Kavaklıdere Cinema were the cultural places which maintained their existence till 2000s. However, Akün was used to be a cinema, today it has transformed to a theatre. Şinasi has a different meaning because it houses the private guest theatres especially from İstanbul so it continues its importance. Unfortunately, Kavaklıdere Cinema has been closed in 2006 and this is a good indicator that the cultural places are disappearing one by one from their central places and moved through the shopping malls. Moreover, this region is also important for the interest group of Embassies. People who work voluntarily in different associations have an interaction with those places in terms of cultural activities such as exhibitions, conversations, conferences, film festivals, etc.



Picture 46. Akün Theatre in 2008
Source: Personal archive

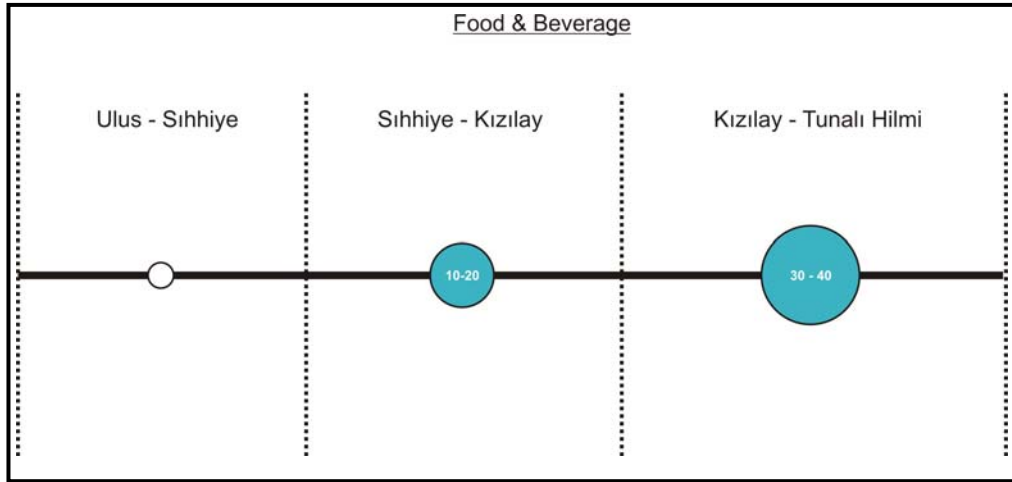


Figure 35: Food and Beverage. Eating Places and their intensities according to frequency of mention for three different part of the Boulevard after 1995
Source: Personal rendering

According to my research group, Ulus completely disappeared from the minds after 1995 in terms of food and beverage. None of the respondents mentioned about the important places where they like visiting for eating activity in Ulus.

Additionally, people whom I have interviewed mentioned about the places such as Karacaoğlu, Net Piknik, some fast food restaurants in Sakarya and İzmir Street. However, these places were much the places where they went to eat something at the break of their Private Training Schools.

Additionally, Leman Café, Aylak Madam, Sakal, Ezgi which are in the depths of Boulevard between Kızılay and Meşrutiyet Street but only one respondent mentioned about a place which is on the Boulevard. *‘This place is Starbucks which is a new place and it is not a special place for this Boulevard. But I think it is the only place where you can sit out on the Boulevard. It does not have a big open place but I like drinking one coffee and reading my newspaper, book or magazine on the afternoon hours where Boulevard relatively calm.’* She added: *‘Unfortunately, whenever I sat there, I wish Boulevard was a more human scale environment without noise, pollution and chaos.’*

Today, Tunalı Hilmi is the place where the food and beverage places concentrates in the minds of the interview group. People mentioned about Flamingo, Akman and Milka which are still on the Boulevard are the important food and beverage places in this part. Additionally, respondents mentioned about new places such as McDonalds, Burger King, Café de Café, Tapas, Random, Nada for the good quality food and drink which are not on the Boulevard but in the depths of this part especially on Tunalı Hilmi.

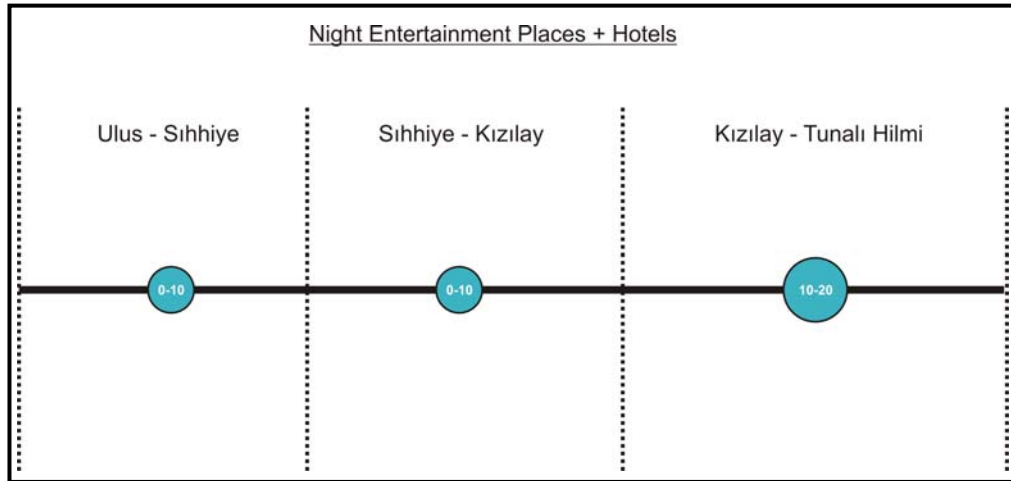


Figure 36: Night Entertainment Places and Hotels and their intensities according to frequency of mention for three different part of the Boulevard after 1995
Source: Personal rendering

Respondents who are over 50 years old had no mention about the night entertainment places after 1995. The young respondents mentioned about two ‘Fasıl’ places in Ulus which are Zenger Paşa Konağı and Hancı. Additionally, Sakarya Street has served as the place of night entertainment places till 2000s. They mentioned about places like Tavukçu, Gölge Bar, Limon Bar, Rembetiko Bar but one of them added: *‘These places are not like they are before 1995. There is an important security problem around Sakarya today, so I don’t prefer to entertain there as I was at the university. The user group has changed at this region. I don’t know how I can express this but the places between Sıhhiye and Kızılay somehow become the places of people who are from periphery.’* (He used the word ‘Taşralaşmak’).

Additionally, Tunalı Hilmi became the place of night entertainment in an accelerated increase after 1990s. According to my young research group, there were places like Graffiti, Pavement which do not still in function. Two of the respondents indicated: *‘These were the most popular places of Ankara night entertainment after 1990. They had different concepts and different designs. We like having the opportunity of listening good music, dancing and enjoying time with the friends.’* Today, Hilton Dance Lounge took place of Ankara Hotel where young people dance and entertain and there are important

entertainment places like Manhattan, New Castle, Hayyami, Impulse where young respondents mentioned on Tunalı and its upper side through Çankaya.

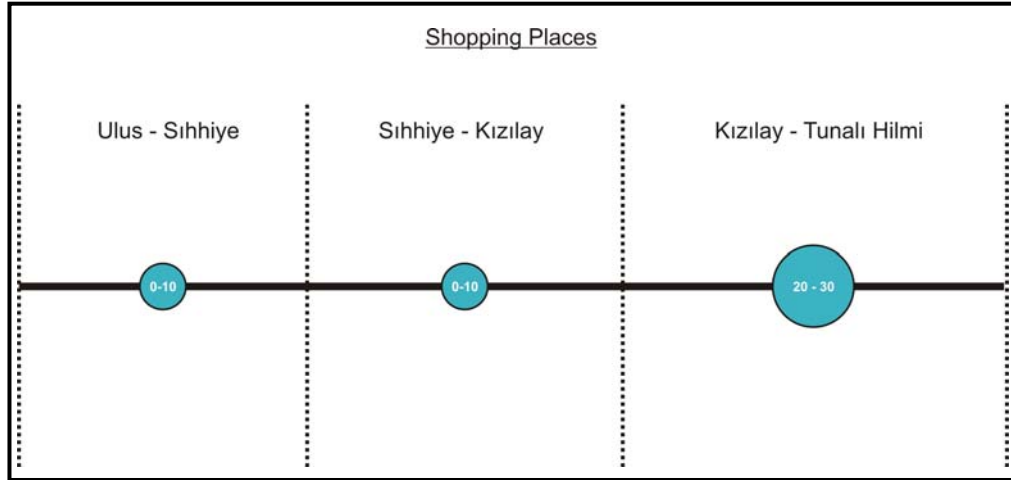


Figure 37: Shopping Places and their intensities according to frequency of mention for three different part of the Boulevard after 1995
Source: Personal rendering

Vakko, Zara, Karaca, YKM became the important shopping places after 1995. The passaged and the shops between Sıhhiye and Kızılay lost their importance as the places of good quality of the shopping activity. One respondent who is a shop owner on the Boulevard indicated: *‘Vakko was the most important shop on this Boulevard. Good quality customers visited Boulevard because of Vakko after 1990s. The loss of it caused a great damage on the economic aspect of the Boulevard. After that time, the profile of the customer changed and today, I think Boulevard served to one type of customer.’*

Three of five young respondents mentioned about the Vakko’s Christmas decoration. For instance, one of them said: *‘What I missed mostly about the Boulevard was Vakko because it decorated its showcase on Christmas times. I believe it provided a promenade there, many people whom I know mentioned about this after it moved to Armada.’*

One of the respondents indicated that: ‘Today, Boulevard is not a shopping place anymore. I don’t like doing shopping there because there is not a comfortable environment for shopping. Besides, the shops are like I don’t think that there is much difference between the shops on the Boulevard with the shops on Keçiören or Ulus. There is no quality. The shops are trying to sell their products in front of the shops like street vendors. Although I don’t like shopping malls, I have to go those places to find what I needed.’

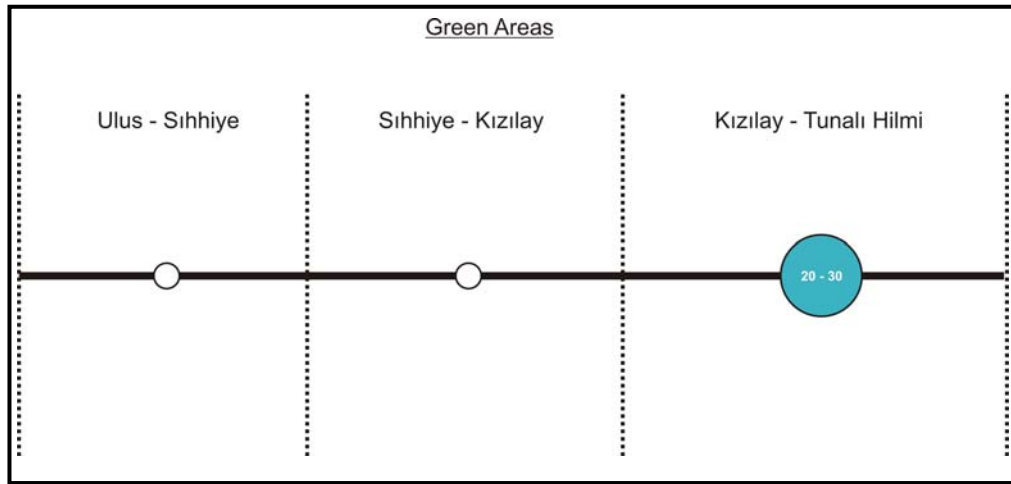


Figure 38: Green Areas and their intensities according to frequency of mention for three different part of the Boulevard after 1995
Source: Personal rendering

After the transformations on Atatürk Boulevard after 1970s, it has lost its green aspect till 1995. There is no memory about the green areas in the minds of research group between Ulus – Sıhhiye and Sıhhiye Kızılay region. However, respondents mentioned about Kuğulu Park which function as a green area but people who are older 50 years old do not visit and spend their time there as they were previously did. The memories about Kuğulu Park concentrated on how it turned from demollishment. One of the respondents who is 65 indicates: ‘Today Kuğulu Park is not a green area any more. It becomes a symbolic place where our memories took shelter in. It is like a last castle of our past. Although it is not the same park as it was before, it is still a place where people can visit, rest and breathe. But it is too crowded. People are like sardines especially at the weekends so it is not my place any more.’



Picture 47. Kuğulu Park in 2008
Source: Personal archive

Furthermore, according to the memories of the young respondents, Kuğulu Park and Parliament Park were the two important places especially for the ones who went to a school around this region. One respondent who is 26 indicates: *‘We sometimes went to Kuğulu Park and sometimes to Parliament Park, they were like our high school campuses. When we skipped school, we spent all our day there. What I liked most is watching the roller-skaters and skate-boarders at the Parliament Park. Other activities that we performed were chatting, listening music from our walkmans, reading books by laying on the grasses, watching the other people, especially the couples. Besides, sometimes we drank beers which we bought from a grocer around there. I didn’t remember any time that I got bored or annoyed. I missed those days because these two parks were like my windows through a happy world, and if I say they had a great effect on me about becoming the person as I am, I don’t think that I overstate.’*

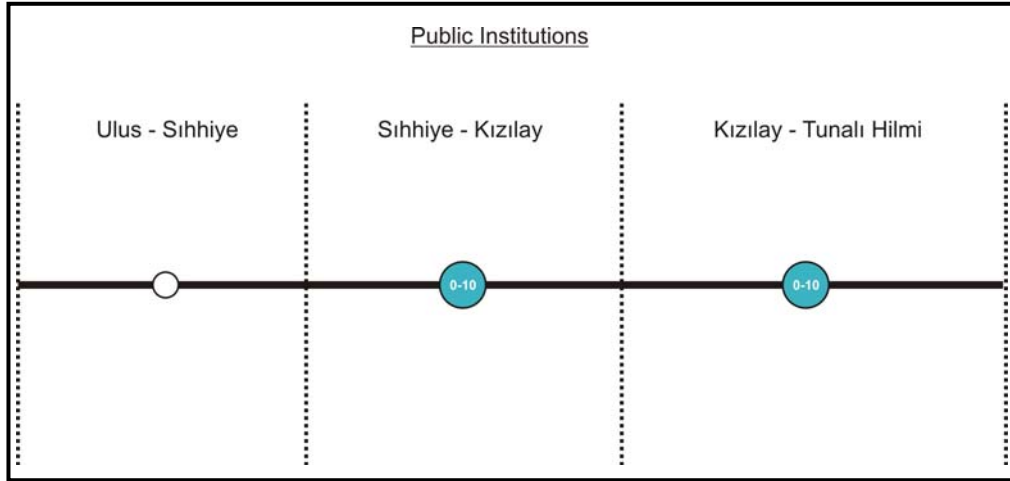


Figure 39: Public Institutions and their intensities according to frequency of mention for three different part of the Boulevard after 1995
Source: Personal rendering

The importance of the public institutions disappeared after 1995. People in the research group did not indicate the public institutions as vital organizations in their life after 1995. The reason is that they have alternatives in different places. For instance, today banks are everywhere and people do not need a specific bank for their necessity. Accordingly, the meaning of the institutions has disappeared. The most important public institution between Sıhhiye and Kızılay is SSK Building which includes the Population Registry Administration because 6 of 10 respondents emphasized this public institution. Others are Courthouse and Ministry of Health but the latter is not important because of its functional property but its physical structure.

Embassies are the important public institutions because they are the places for the visa procedures. Three of five young respondents expressed them as important public institutions.

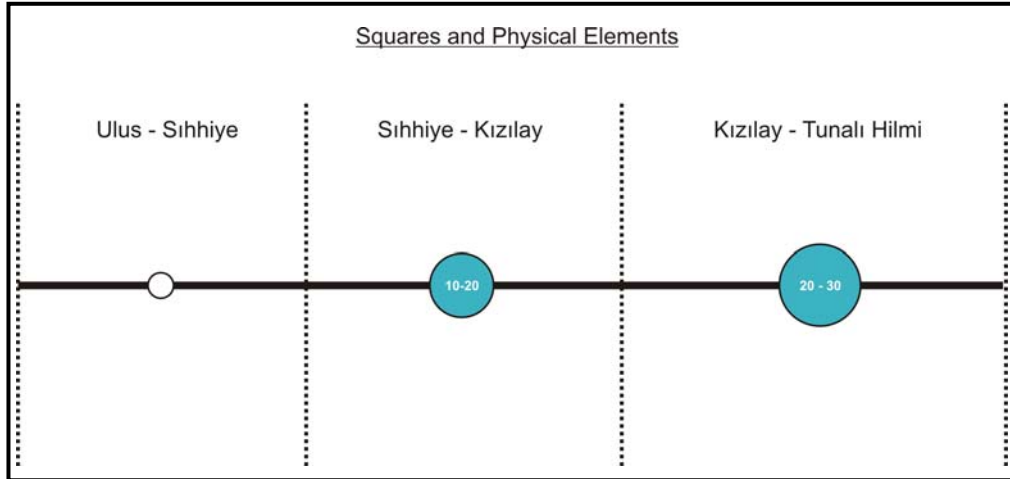


Figure 40: Squares and Physical Elements and their intensities according to frequency of mention for three different part of the Boulevard after 1995
Source: Personal rendering

After 1995, Zafer Square and Ulus Square lost their importance in the memories of the research group. However, physical elements such as new Kızılay Building took its place as a disturbing physical structure. 16 of 25 respondents mentioned about the building as a meaningless structure. One respondent indicated: *‘I saw this freak building every day from my shops window. I hate it. I remember the days of the old building and its beautiful garden. In my opinion, this has brought a gloomy atmosphere to all Kızılay not only the Boulevard.’* Additionally, 6 of 25 respondents mentioned about the Sıhhiye U-turn intersection. One respondent who was a student at Philology and History, Geography University at the time it was constructed, expressed his experience like this: *‘We like walking through Kızılay from the Boulevard after school, it was always a bit hard to walk but not as dangerous as it was after the U-turn was constructed. The overpasses took the place of level crossings and this made us to walk through Mithatpaşa instead of Atatürk Boulevard.’*



Picture 48. Kızılay Square in 2008
Source: Personal archive



Picture 49. Zafer Sculpture without a square in 2008
Source: Archive of Baykan Günay



Picture 50. Sıhhiye Square and the Sıhhiye U-Turn in 2005
Source: The page of Yapı Proje Merkezi <http://www.ypm.com.tr>



Picture 51. Kızılay Square in 2008
Source: www.wow.turkey.com



Picture 52. Sıhhiye Kızılay part of the Boulevard in 2008
(Source: Personal archive of the writer)

Additionally, 22 of 25 respondents depicted how they annoyed from the underpasses between Kızılay and Tunalı Hilmi. Akay Underpass and Kuğulu Underpass are the mostly mentioned physical transformations which place in the memories of research group. One respondent who has a shop on the Boulevard indicates: *‘I live in Çankaya and sometimes I like coming work on foot. Unfortunately, nowadays, it is almost impossible walking from Kuğulu Park till here. There is no sidewalk there. I can only remember the days that I could walk and try to console myself.’*

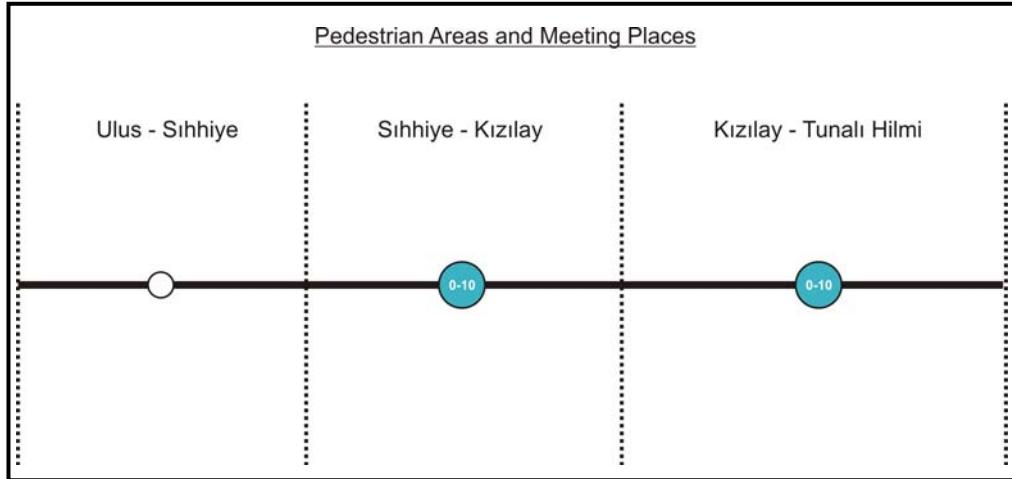
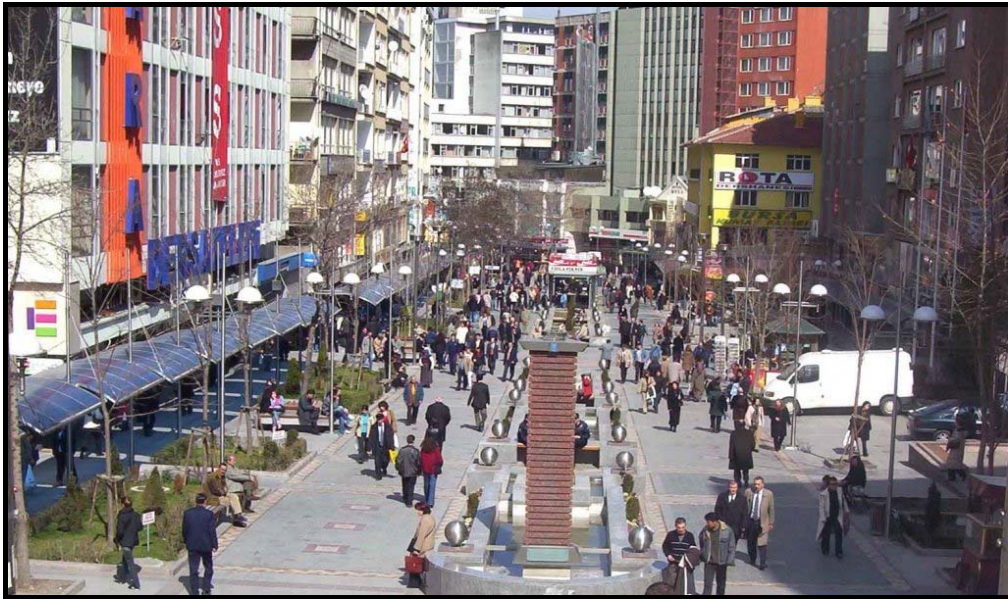


Figure 41: Pedestrian Areas and Meeting Places and their intensities according to frequency of mention for three different part of the Boulevard after 1995
Source: Personal rendering

None of the respondents of research group indicated their walking experiences between Ulus and Sıhhiye after 1995. Additionally, the pedestrian areas such as Sakarya and İzmir Street between Sıhhiye and Kızılay became unsecure pedestrian places where people do not want to spend time.



Picture 53. İzmir Street between Sıhhiye and Kızılay part of the Boulevard after 1995
Source: Personal archive

However, the pedestrian activity between Kızılay and Tunalı Hilmi draw off the Boulevard to Yüksel, Karanfil, and Konur Streets.



Picture 54. Yüksel Street in 2005
Source: Personal archive

According to the memories of the research group, these streets were the places of their pedestrian movement. 4 of 5 young respondents has mentioned about these places and they are the activity places where they meet, walk, spend time by looking around, small shopping activities such as buying ornament, poster, second-hand books, stationary materials, etc. or just sit outside and have fun by watching people, observing the surrounding or chatting. However, these places have lost their character in the memories of the research group because these streets started to have a security problem after 2000s. One of the respondents indicated: *‘I dare say it was 2001 that I saw a man tried to rob the purse of the woman who was walking in front of me. I was really afraid too much. After that time, these places did not mean much to me. I don’t like being there, today I still use these places but not because I like but because I have to.’*

Gima, Dost, YKM, Vakko are the main meeting places on and around Boulevard. However, the memories have transformed ‘Meet me at the Skyscraper’ to ‘Meet me in front of Gima’. This is an indicator for how users’ perceptions transformed because from 1970s to today. This building was virtually different from the rest of the other building stock before 1970s. However, after the increase in the number of the floors, perception of the users completely changed. Skyscraper has transformed from being a landmark through a building which is in normal standards. YKM is another important meeting place till 2000s because of its central place. However, after 2000s its popularity as a meeting place started to disappear. Young respondent who is 28 years old determined this in these words: *‘Güven Park became a non-secure place. I don’t like being around there so we quit YKM as a meeting place, today we meet in front of Dost Kitabevi or at the subway exit in Karanfil. But I dare say about last two years time, I don’t meet in any place outside, I prefer sitting somewhere and wait there because it is more comfortable.’*

Additionally, Vakko sustained its popularity as a meeting place till its closing date. Today, people still meet in front of Dost Kitabevi. However, one of the respondents indicates: *‘I don’t like waiting people outside of Dost because it is too crowded so I generally wait them in it, and spending that waiting time by looking at the books inside.’* One other narrates: *‘Dost is a meaningful place for me. It is the place where I meet with my friends for years and this place became a ritual between me and one of my high school friends. She lives in İstanbul now but whenever she came here, we still meet in front of Dost and walk through Tunalı Hilmi there.’*

Olgunlar Street between Kızılay and Tunalı Hilmi part of the Boulevard emphasized as an important pedestrian place of the Boulevard because it houses the book exchange activity and users can find the cheap second hand books there. One respondent narrated that: *‘Olgunlar was an important place*

at the period of school years because I could find cheap books there and I also could sell my previous year books. Additionally, it was a good place to exchange information about the literature, for example people who were working there advised good authors and books. I can say Olgunlar taught me much.'



Picture 55 - 56. Olgunlar Street between Kızılay and Tunalı Hilmi part of the Boulevard in 2008 Source: www.wow.turkey.com and personal archive respectively

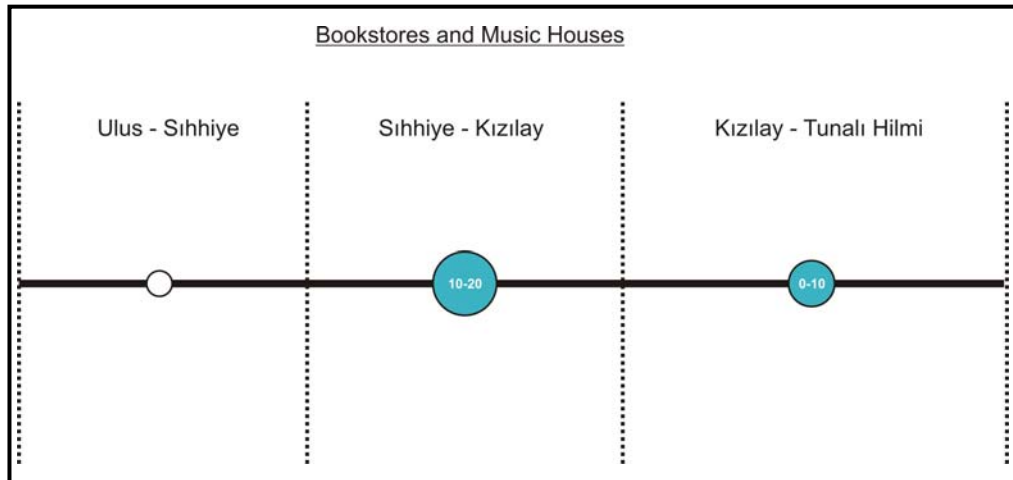


Figure 42: Bookstores and Music Houses and their intensities according to frequency of mention for three different part of the Boulevard after 1995
Source: Personal rendering

Bookstores and music houses are the important places after 1995 but they are not on the Boulevard. They are on the pedestrian regions such as Dost in Karanfil Streets, İmge and Bilim Kültür in Konur Street, Tarhan in Sakarya

are the mostly mentioned bookstores. Additionally, music houses concentrated on Hatay Street through Selanik Street. However, after 2000s, people prefer the big book and music stores like D&R in the shopping malls and at the Kuğulu Park beginning of the Tunalı Hilmi. Additionally, today the Boulevard and its depths still function as the place of publishing sector. This is one other reason for the users who need them. From this point Boulevard is still an important place for those activities.

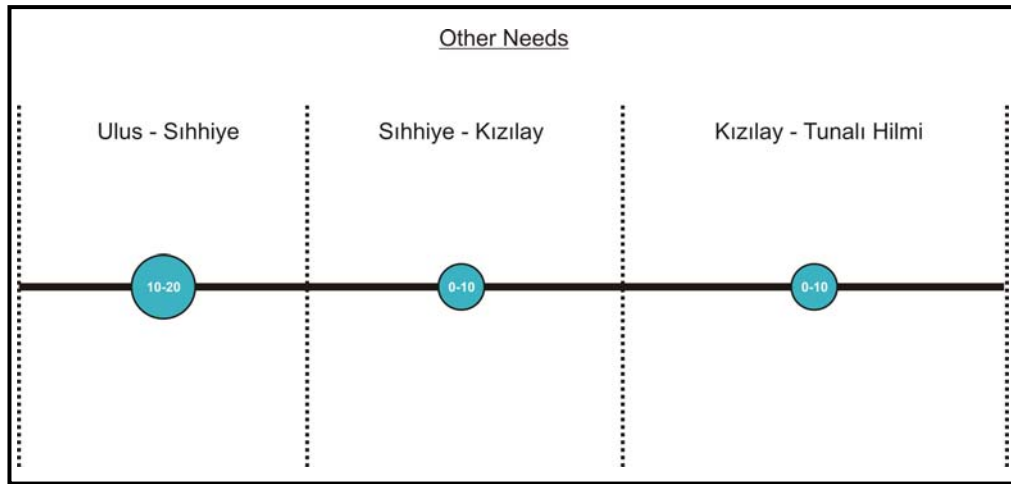


Figure 43: Other Needs and their intensities according to frequency of mention for three different part of the Boulevard after 1995
Source: Personal rendering

Other needs changed its character after 1995. Ulus Sıhhiye Region transformed from being the place of necessary equipments for house or repair to the place of touristic needs. People in the research group mentioned that they like visiting Kale and its surrounding such as Çıkırıkçılar Yokuşu, Samanpazarı and Etnoğrafya Museum. One of the respondents narrated this with these words: *‘Although there is not a perfect tourism atmosphere there, I like visiting once in a three or four month because it is the only place that we can go for a touristic activity in Ankara.’* Moreover, Ulus Sıhhiye region is still the place for sportive activities like football, basketball, volleyball and swimming.

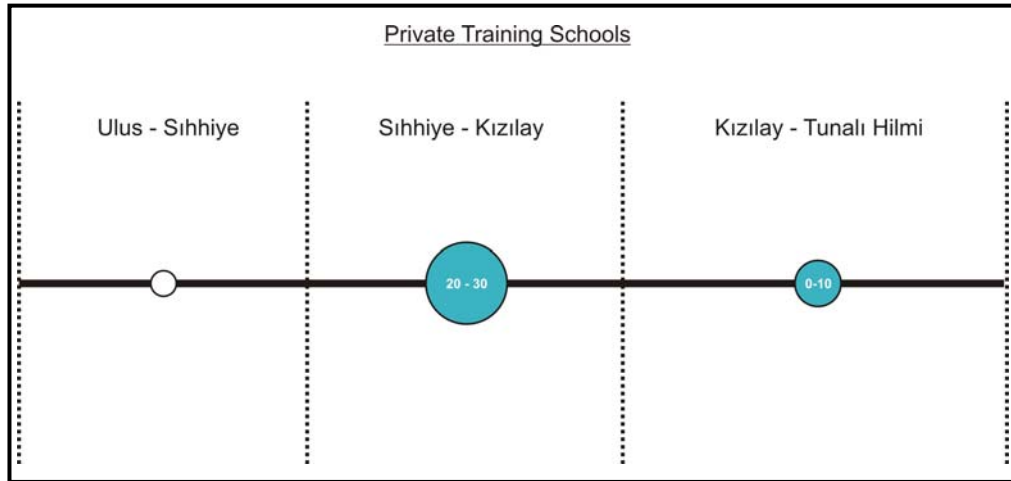


Figure 44: Private Training Schools and their intensities according to frequency of mention for three different part of the Boulevard after 1995
Source: Personal rendering

After 1990s, there is an increase in the private training sector and these schools locate all around Kızılay and Sıhhiye. Today when you walk on the Boulevard, there are a great number of private training schools without them Atatürk Boulevard seem an empty space. These schools had an effect on different sectors such as stationary, internet cafes, and billiard saloons. These uses concentrate mostly between Sıhhiye and Kızılay.

5.1.2. Meaning of Boulevard

Here, I will extract the meanings of Boulevard the meanings that I have figured out from the interviews. As I have mentioned previously, the memories develop over different meaning levels that are created by users who use a specific environment. This particular environment gain or lose its importance according to what they mean for its users. The transformation of the meaning is the main indicator of the transformation of collective memory because the meaning determine how people react to this specific common environment at the same time.

The content analysis revealed seven groups of meaning groups. These include ‘the place of the Republican Ideology’, ‘the social place inhabiting the

Republican lifestyle’, ‘center of the city’, ‘place for cultural activities’, ‘the place that has no meaning for “people”’, ‘political arena’ and ‘the transition zone’.

The place of the Republican Ideology includes issues such as new physical environment with its uses and physical pattern such as ministries, embassies, banks, public institutions. These forms of uses reflect the new administrative understanding of the Republic and place of republican festivals.

The social place inhabiting the Republican Lifestyle includes new forms of communal interactions, new forms of communication, new forms of socialization (new social habits, like cultural activities, and entertainment), new forms of clothing and its importance, and new forms of ideas and thoughts and the freedom of discussing them.

Center of the city includes the place where all the uses, needs and activities concentrated such as ‘entertainment, food & beverage (eating), shopping, public affairs, recreation’.

Place for cultural activities includes cinemas, theatres, exhibition areas and concert halls.

The place that has no meaning for “People” includes ‘there is no use that charm the user’s attention’, ‘there is no place where the user can meet with his/her friends’, ‘it is not the place where the user can satisfy his/her needs’ and ‘there is no place that the user like and want to spend his/her time’.

Political arena includes the inferences made by political powers to show their existence, the events seen in 1960 (555K), the political period between 1975 and 1980 and the place of the political meetings.

The transition zone includes main transportation axis for vehicles, the place of main stations where user can transfer to a different line, the place where people do not stop and spend time for pleasure but the place where they perform what they have to do.

Table 4. Frequency of Mention and their percentages table of ‘Meaning for Atatürk Boulevard’ for three different time sequences

Periods	The Place of Republican Ideology	The Social Place inhabiting the Republican Lifestyle	Center of the City	Place for Cultural Activities	Political Arena	The Place that has no Meaning for “People”	The Transition Zone
Before 1970s	36(16%)	40 (17%)	58 (25%)	61(26%)	8 (3 %)	0 (0%)	0 (0 %)
Between 1970 and 1995	3 (2%)	5 (3%)	84 (44%)	59 (31%)	36 (19%)	1 (1%)	4 (2 %)
After 1995	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	14 (12%)	28 (23%)	13 (11%)	34 (28%)	31 (26%)

Source: Personal research

Table 4 is a reproduction of the tables 14, 15 and 16 in the appendix part. These tables present the frequency of mentions for each of the respondents in detail. Additionally, here, I will compare the information in table 4 in a graphical representation to identify the transformation on the meaning level of Boulevard. In this sense, the following graphs indicate the changing of meaning levels on Atatürk Boulevard through years. These graphs are the comparison of the frequency of mentions for three different time sequences which are before 1970s, between 1970 and 1995, and after 1995.

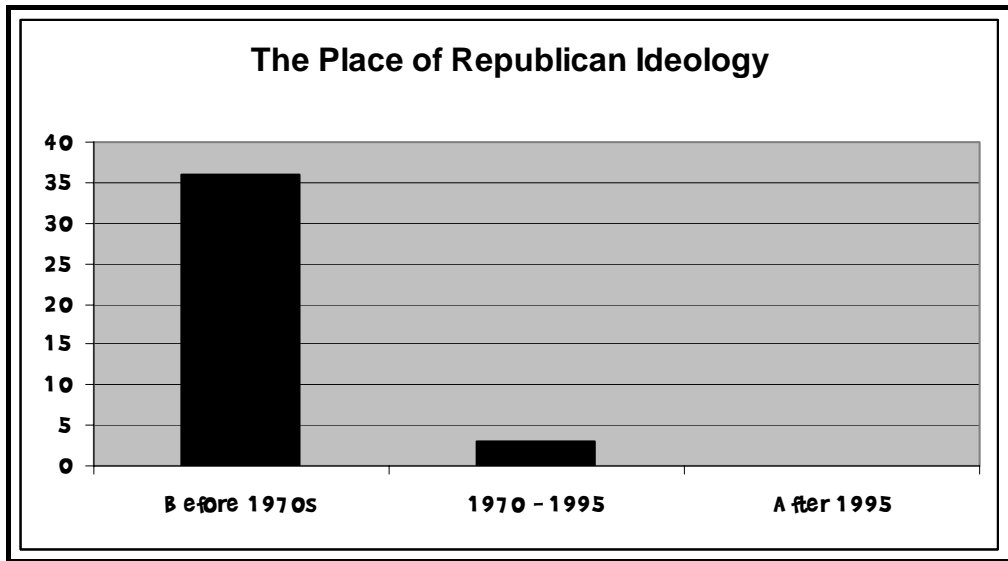


Figure 45: The Frequency of Mention Graph for the meaning of ‘The Place of Republican Ideology’
 Source: Personal research

Figure 45, derived from Table 4, indicates the transformation of the Boulevard in its meaning for ‘The Place of the Republican Ideology’. The Boulevard has lost its meaning as the place of Republican ideology after 1970s. According to the memories of people this is mostly because of the change in the physical environment. All the inferences made by municipalities deleted the images of the Republic. These transformations of the physical environment automatically cause a transformation in the perceptual levels of the users. Additionally, these transformations alienated people to their environments. In other words, the changes originated by inferences on the physical environment made it impossible to carry this meaning level till today. To this end, the Boulevard has no meaning of being the place of Republican idea today.

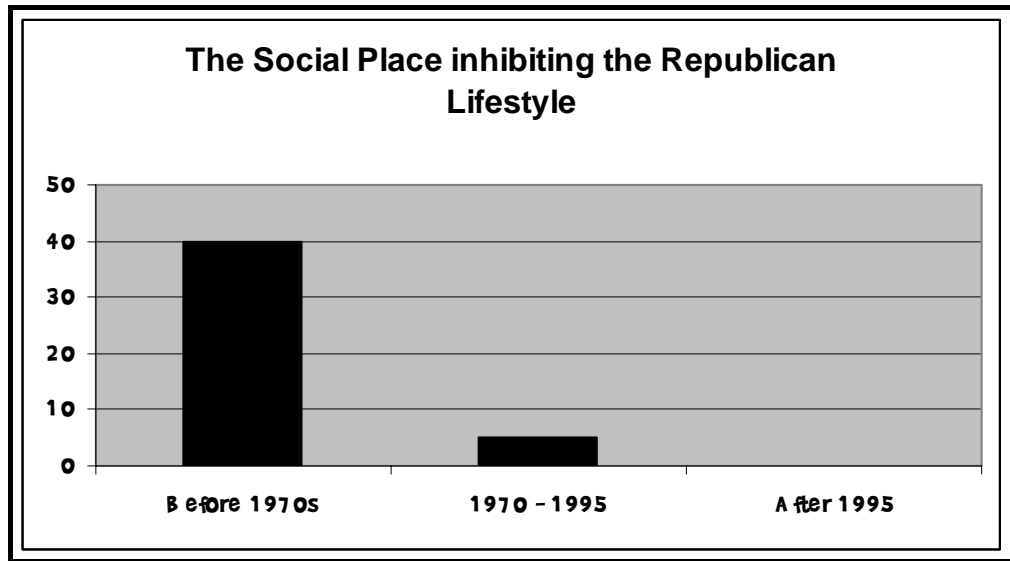


Figure 46: The Frequency of Mention Graph for the meaning of ‘The Social Place inhibiting the Republican Lifestyle’
Source: Personal research

Figure 46, derived from Table 4, indicates the transformation of the Boulevard in its meaning for ‘The Social Place inhabiting the Republican Lifestyle’. Before 1970s the boulevard has a functional role on structuring the people’s behaviors in the community. People observed, learned and practiced the communal rules, the good manners of being a member of an archetypal community for the whole country. One of the respondents indicates this with these words: “... when you go to a place, you are looking at the behaviors of people, how they stand up, sit down. How do they have a word with other people. What they talk about and how? This is important because you are at the capital city. The people were talking about the events of the country.” Additionally, another respondent expresses this in these words: ‘... it was important how you behave and what you wear when you are going to Boulevard. It was not any kind of place, exact opposite it was a private place and being stylish was important. We always learn from the Boulevard to behave with the community as part of a Republic. That’s why people like being there.’ Moreover, this indicates the social dialogs and interactions that of the Republican lifestyle and Boulevard were perceived as the place of these interactions and integration.

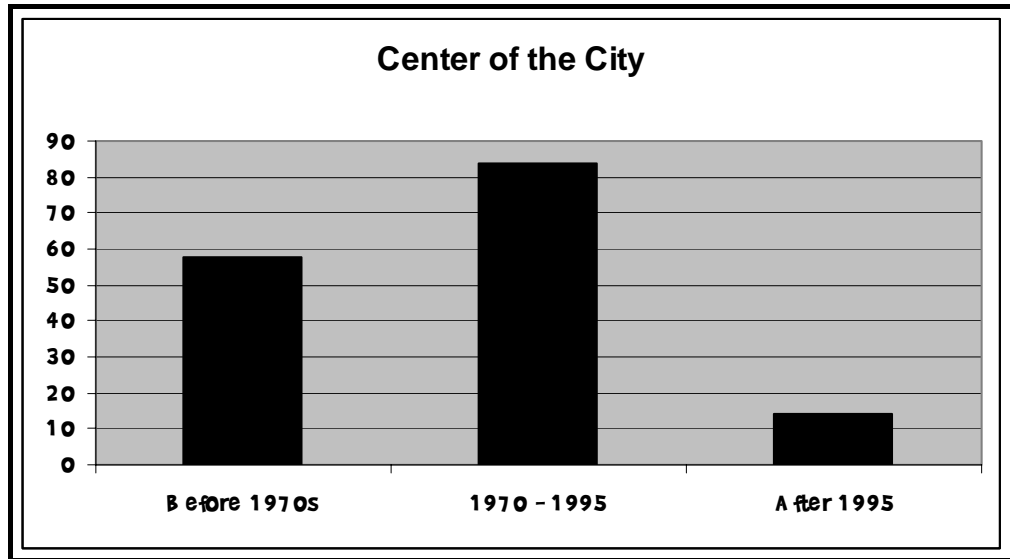


Figure 47: The Frequency of Mention Graph for the meaning of ‘Center of City’
Source: Personal research

Figure 47, derived from Table 4, indicates the transformation of the Boulevard in its meaning for ‘Center of the City’. The character of the Boulevard as the city center had two different transformations with in these three different periods. According to the frequency of mentions of the respondents, before 1970s the center character of Ulus had still a weight on the preferences of people. At this period, Ulus and Kızılay shared the central functions. For instance, people emphasized mostly, the importance of Ulus for public affairs such as going to a bank or for the households, ironmongery, machine tools for repair, etc., while they emphasized the importance of Kızılay for ready wear, or dressmakers, and entertainment on and around Boulevard. These functional divisions had an effect on the perception of the city as a two-centered city. However, after 1970s, these functions of the Boulevard disappear one by one and the Boulevard’s center meaning increased. On the contrary, after 1995 the perception of the Boulevard and Kızılay as the city center started to disappear. This is because of the accelerated importance of the Tunalı Hilmi and Gazi Osman Paşa, and the need for a new physical environment which Kızılay lost its center meaning because of the increasing population pressure.

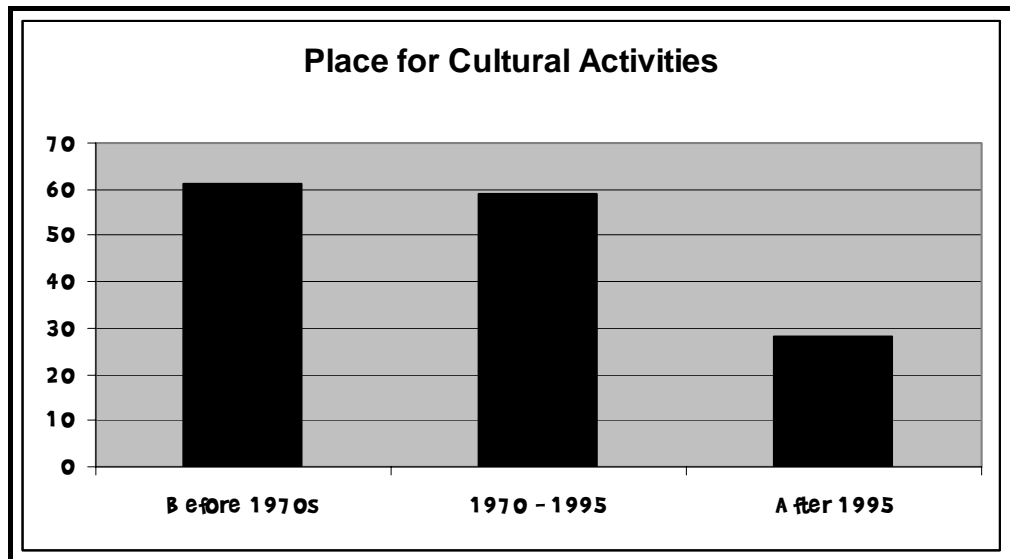


Figure 48: The Frequency of Mention Graph for the meaning of 'Place for Cultural Activities'
Source: Personal research

Figure 48, derived from Table 4, indicates the transformation of the Boulevard in its meaning for 'Place for Cultural Activities'. Boulevard is the place of cultural activities such as cinemas, theatres, exhibitions areas, concert halls, bookstores. After 1970s the Boulevard did not lose this functional meaning and after 1995s, it is still the most obvious indicator that people perceive the Boulevard with its cultural character. However, there is a decrease on this meaning visually after 1995. But this decrease is because of the spread of the cinemas, not because of the theatres. The respondents mentioned about the theatres that they still prefer going are on the Boulevard.

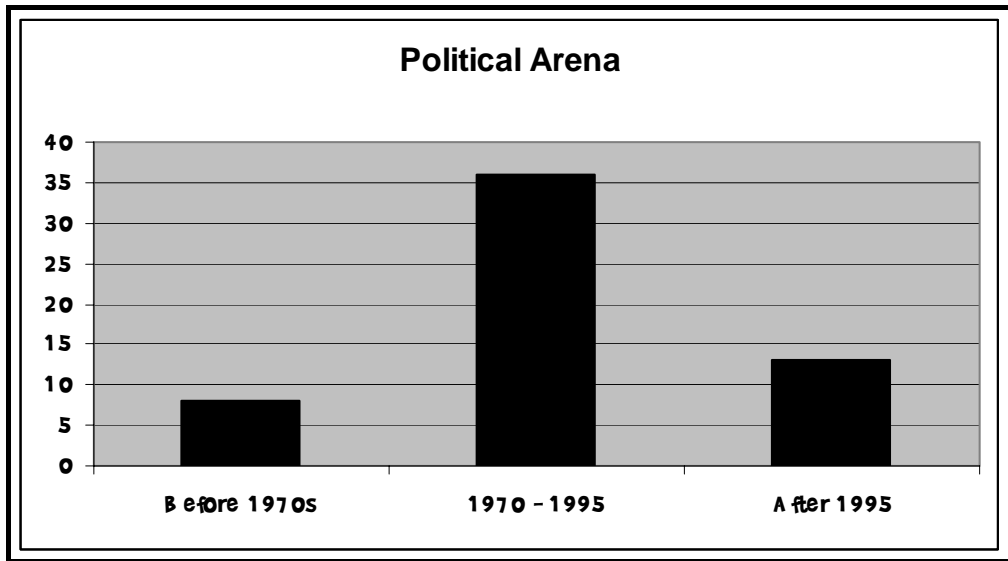


Figure 49: The Frequency of Mention Graph for the meaning of ‘Political Arena’
Source: Personal research

Figure 49, derived from Table 4, indicates the transformation of the Boulevard in its meaning for ‘Political Arena’. Before 1970s, the respondents only remember the event 555K as a political struggle. It was a military action against political power on May 27ⁿ, 1960. This was the first political struggle that the Boulevard has faced with. But this event placed in the memories of the users. However, the respondents defined the period of political events between 1975 and 1980, as the ‘Dark Period’ of the Boulevard. This was a breaking point for the meaning of the Boulevard because this period affected the configuration of uses and experiences and it had an impact on the perception of the Boulevard. On the contrary, the Boulevard gained a new level of meaning after this period. It was the place of political struggles. Today, it still has a meaning of being the place of political meetings.

Additionally, Boulevard witnessed many inferences on its physical structure by municipal powers after 1970s. All the municipal governments interfered to the physical structure of the Boulevard to represent their power and how they served for their community to make it a better place. However, these

inferences were full of wrong efforts and could not go beyond destroying the meaningful urban environments.

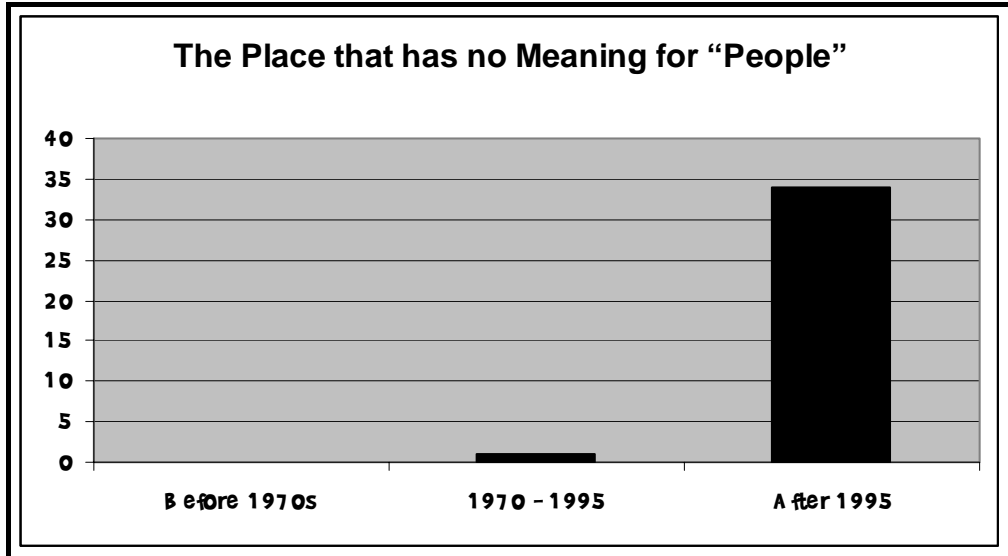


Figure 50: The Frequency of Mention Graph for the meaning of ‘The Place that has no meaning for “People”’
Source: Personal research

Figure 50, derived from Table 4, indicates the transformation of the Boulevard in its meaning for ‘The Place that has no meaning for “People”’. According to the interviews, this meaning level started to be observed at the second half of 1980s but accelerated after 2000s. The quality of the uses decrease and today there is limited uses that charm the users’ attention. One of the respondents who is at the age group between 25 and 40, indicated this change by the words ‘... I can find nothing that caught my attention. When I want to meet with one of my friends, I prefer Tunali Hilmi or a shopping mall because we can not find any place to sit and talk comfortably.’ Additionally, people could not satisfy their necessities like shopping for ready made, households, repairs materials, etc. Moreover, they do not like being at the Boulevard and spend their times there and one of the respondents described this as follows: ‘...I can not walk on the Boulevard. It is too crowded. People are always in a hurry and I do not like spending my time there. Whenever I had something to do, I

am doing it quickly and running away from there.’ This quotation clarifies the reason why Boulevard has no meaning today. If a place has a meaning for a person, first requirement for this begins with the use of this place. Unfortunately, today, people do not use the Boulevard and so it does not mean much for them.

Furthermore, one of the respondents who is 13 years old, could not recognize the Boulevard and asked: *‘I have no idea about where it is’*. This is a different indicator that how the meaning transformed through years. While the people over 50 years old can mention every detail of the Boulevard, today a child who is at the age of secondary school can not recognize the Boulevard. This is a thought-provoking detail for the future of the Boulevard.

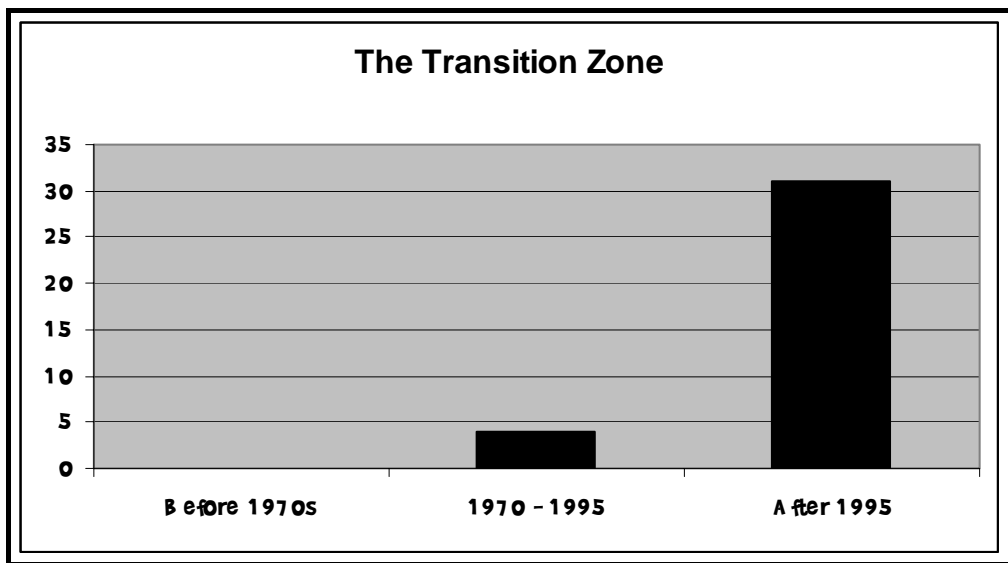


Figure 51: The Frequency of Mention Graph for the meaning of ‘The Transition Zone’
Source: Personal research

Figure 51, derived from Table 4, indicates the transformation of the Boulevard in its meaning for ‘The Transition Zone’. With the effect of the sprawl of the city, the need for the vehicles increase and the automobiles became important for Ankara. After the increase in the automobile dependency, the Atatürk Boulevard started to behave as a transportation linkage through Çankaya

because it was the only spine that has no alternatives. So it became a main transportation axis for vehicles. Additionally, it is the place of main stations where users can transfer to a different line. After 2000s, this transformation accelerated and all the physical place of the Boulevard turned to a road where bus stops located along it.

To this end, the noise, chaos, environmental pollution and decrease in the physical quality started to increase. As a consequence, it has transformed to a place where people do not stop and spend time for pleasure but the place where they perform what they have to do.

To conclude, according to my research, the meaning of Atatürk Boulevard has transformed from being the place of Republican ideology and lifestyle through a transition zone which had no meaning for “people”. Additionally, the research indicates the Boulevard is losing its character of being the center of the city. Its new functional role for the rest of the city is being the transition of zone where people pass by and transfer to a different district line without thinking what it is and where they are.

5.1.3. Individual, Community and their interaction on Atatürk Boulevard

Here, I will express firstly the impact of the Boulevard on the personal development of the individual, secondly, I will narrate the effect of the Boulevard on the community creation and thirdly, how these two concepts interact on the Boulevard and what consequences did they prepare.

Before 1970s, in the memories of Ankara citizens who experience Boulevard in their childhoods and teen-ages, Atatürk Boulevard meant more than it means now for a child or young. In the lifetime of the people who are older than 50, Atatürk Boulevard meant the urban place of their daily lives. Respondents have mentioned about their daily visits with their parents when

they were children. Later, on their teen-ages, they have mentioned about their own experiences on the Boulevard. Within this range, Atatürk Boulevard was the place where they met with life, different people, and different places. All the important places for their lives gathered on the Boulevard.

For three respondents of the research group, Boulevard was the place where they used as a residential place. For these people, Boulevard and its depths was the place where they discovered the details of life as a child. For instance, according to these people, Boulevard was the place of play, investigate, learn, discover, think, perceive, experience, and remember.

Additionally, for the people who were living on squatter areas around Kale (Castle), Atatürk Boulevard had a different effect on their personal development because it was the place where they met and learned the city culture, and city life. One respondent indicates this in his memories in such: *'We lived in Kayabaşı when I was a child. I went to Atatürk High School for my secondary school and high school education. It was different from my primary school which was Ulus Primary School. The difference was because of the environment it was located. School was very close to Atatürk Boulevard and we were always on the Boulevard after school. Yenişehir was the district of city culture with its new buildings which reflected the understanding of Republic. In this sense, the bureaucrats and high-ranking officials lived there, so people who were educated and had a worldly-wise, were all living at this part of the city. As a result, owing to Atatürk High School, I was in such an environment which influenced me in a positive sense. I could learn that culture and life. These had great effects for my life. However, this was not special for me. This was common for all the people who lived around Kale, for instance many of my friends from that time, have become important people in Turkey in terms of politics, science, academy, etc. But I am sure the life on the Boulevard had an undeniable influence for me and for these people on becoming the people who we are.'*

The research group emphasized Atatürk Boulevard as the place of information for development. They mentioned that they saw, learned, thought and adopted the things that they perceived. For example, one respondent narrated: *‘Boulevard gave you information ceaselessly. These information were on bookshops, art galleries, social clubs like art clubs, cinemas, exhibitions and it was not hard to be informed about these activities and places because when you were on the Boulevard you elicited about them automatically. Boulevard was the place that you fed by the social and cultural activities which had great effects on personal development of the individual. Moreover, these had popularity between people and every people kept pace with these activities. As a result, information on the Boulevard made the community to be informed and developed.’* Besides, one other respondent expressed: *‘I could get the information about the things and the events easily, so I don’t need to search or pursue them. For instance, when you were waiting a bus, you could see a new plaque on Tansel Plak. What I mean is that Boulevard informed and taught you the things by means of its showcases. Additionally, the structural environment taught me the history especially because I had this consciousness. The buildings, physical elements always caught my attention and many people like me.’*

Atatürk Boulevard was the place of the very firsts. The things that people came across for the first time were always on the Boulevard because it was the locus of daily life. For instance, people in the research group defined the Boulevard as the place that they met with the city not only in terms of city life but also in terms of city as a physical space for the first time. This was especially because of the walking experiences of the users. One respondent defined this in such: *‘You didn’t need to get on a vehicle if you wanted so you could have the chance to perceive everything on slow motions by walking. Accordingly, when you saw something interesting like a building or a physical element which interested you or made a sensation, then you stopped and started to investigate. These things were generally on the Boulevard because*

everything was there. However, I believe that walking was a great parameter about the Boulevard because I remember that everything was on my eye-level, the buildings, shops and the places where I met with my friends, etc. so I could perceive the details and recorded them. This provided me the creation of contact with the physical space of the city and my perceptions about city.'

Boulevard provided the interaction between the individual and the community. In other words, it was the place of individual as well as the place of community. One respondent clarified this in such: *'When I was a child, Boulevard was the place where I experienced on the hands of my parents. They took me to the Güven Park for play or I remember our walking on the Boulevard from one side to the other and came back. Later, when I grow up and started to experience life on my own, the Boulevard became the place where I learned about intellectual information, political ideas and thoughts, opportunity place to meet with other people, promenading. In this sense, I learned how to discuss about the ideas, how to talk with the people, how to behave, what people were talking about and how they express themselves within the society.'* At that point, personal development and the community began to intersect and the Boulevard became the interaction place of individual and community. In this sense, Atatürk Boulevard was the social place of community. People came across or came together within the space of this boulevard. This intersection caused an interchange between the users. This interchange or exchange of information could be both individual and collective level. The individual level of exchange provided a personal development while the collective level of exchange supported the community creation. Atatürk Boulevard was the spine of creation of Republican community. People who learned this new life, ideas and thoughts, tried to interact within the space of this meaningful spine. Accordingly, the creation of a sample Republican community for the whole country could be represented. Concordantly, people and physical space interacted with each other in a pragmatic environment. For instance, the below examples of İhâp Hulusi

reflected this pragmatic environment and the consciousness level of the urban life that Republican ideology desiderated to enable.



Picture 57. Saygısızlıkla Savaş Derneği designed by İhap Hulusi
Source: <http://www.ihaphulusi.gen.tr>

The aim was informing the whole community and made them become aware of about how to behave within the community and the city. In this sense, Boulevard was the visual place of a sample citizen and a sample community. It was the place where these communal rules practiced, obeyed and interacted before 1970s.

According to the memories, Atatürk Boulevard was a consolidative feature for the community. All the respondents who are older 60 years old mentioned

about the Republican festivals and their importance for the community. It was the most important activity of the people because these festivals recalled the feelings that people were the citizens of this community. It was a remembrance and reconstruction of the community. One respondent emphasized this in such: *'I remember from my childhood that we participated in 'torchlight procession' on national days like October 29ⁿ, April 23ⁿ, May 19ⁿ. All citizens liked attending to this activity and felt honor, pleasure, excitement and entertainment. They had a special meaning for the citizens to become reunion for the Republic. All the family members and neighbors attended. It was the feeling of togetherness which I want to feel again these days.'* Additionally, one other respondent expressed: *'In the school years, the national festivals were very important for all of us. There were trumpet race between Ankara College and Atatürk High School. The aim was reaching the highest voice and people liked watching this race. I also remember the tanks when I was a boy and I got on one of them.'*



Picture 58. Fener Alayı (torchlight procession) on Atatürk Boulevard
Source: Archive of Reşat Önat



Picture 59. Fener Alayı (torchlight procession) on Atatürk Boulevard
Source: Archive of Reşat Önat



Picture 60. Fener Alayı (torchlight procession) on Atatürk Boulevard
Source: Archive of Reşat Önat

There were no divisions on the Boulevard on the social classes or statues of the people. People could find the opportunity of being with others from different economic levels or different social backgrounds, to observe them, interact with them or meet them. This is an indicator that Boulevard was the place of socialization, communication and community interaction. According to the research group who are older than 50 years old, Atatürk Boulevard was a place where rich or poor, well-educated or not, student or politician, man or woman experienced. In spite of the segregation on the uses, all of them could find an integration part on this Boulevard. For instance, according to one respondent a rich man could go to a dentist on the Boulevard but the other who had less money could also go to a dentist one near the other or one parallel back street of it but they were all there. The people had a part on and around it and this could provide the opportunity of intersection of different lives and enriched both society and the individual together. The consequence of this intersection was the sharing not only the Boulevard as a space but the community life developed on it.

The respondents from the research group indicated different memories about the prominent people of their times such as politicians, musicians and artists. For instance, one narrated that: ‘You could see Celal Bayar promenading on the Boulevard with her wife.’ One other respondent indicated that: *‘You could see prominent people of that time. For example, you could wait together on the same bus stop with Nihat Erim who had been a president and you could find the opportunity to observe him, how he behaved or the things like that or you could see him walking up through Çankaya. Or Kazım Gülek who was the general secretary of Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi, saluted people and asked them how they were. I remember him as a person who was always smiling. Today, it is impossible to see the politicians. Even, if they are on the way, the traffic is stopped. But those people were also politicians, and in fact, it is obvious that they had good manners of being a citizen and person. Additionally, I remember that I walked almost arm in arm with İsmet Paşa from Kızılay to*

Yenişehir Post Office on Zafer Square. This was İsmet Paşa, who was the second most important person of Republican Era. But the social statues were not important. He walked down from his home (Çankaya) to a bank to change money and he turned back. You could see him. He was like a normal citizen. This is really important. The politicians, the leaders of main opposition parties or artists were on the same street with you. They were not unapproachable people. The people who you chanced on the Boulevard like authors, poets, artists had an impact upon you. Moreover, one day when I was coming back from İstanbul, I stopped for a break and I came across with Salah Birsnel. I hadn't become acquainted with him but we saw each other on the Boulevard. It was interesting because he said "Hi!" in a friendly manner like we know each other very well. This was a really nice memory.'

Furthermore, the individual and community interaction on the Boulevard created the sense of belonging, for example one respondent expressed it like this: *'Once Süreyya was too crowded and we thought we could not entertain there that night but Mr. Süreyya brought a new table and placed it near the dance-floor. This was his refinement that we were young people and maybe we would drink only one or two glasses something but he did not separate us from his other customers who were important people of that period like chairmen of public institutions, important political characters, etc. This was really important for the feeling of belonging because in such a behavior we felt like we were the members of this community. We were not different. It was not important who you were or what your social statue was.'*

Additionally, one respondent narrated that: *'I had two really important memories about the Boulevard. First one affected my life completely that it was the place where I met with my wife. I went to Boulevard for promenading almost every day. Three or four times, I saw a girl who was shining like a star on the Boulevard. I was really curious about her, and I wanted to meet her but I couldn't know how. By chance, one day I saw her with one of my friends*

from high school sitting in Özen and we met. Then, we got married for almost 55 years now.’ Besides, the same respondent expressed: ‘The Boulevard was our social life and we were always there. I went there so often that I came with same people on the same hours on the same places. After a while we became familiar with these people and we almost greet each other. Maybe we did not say ‘hi!’ but our eyes said it. I remember one of these people. I couldn’t see him for a while and I started to be curious about him. I started to ask my friends about him and by coincidence one of them knew him and he said he had died. I was really so upset like I got lost a person whom I recognized very well.’

Unfortunately, the character of the Boulevard on individual development and community building started to transform after mid 1970s. This was mainly because of the political period of the Turkish history. People became anxious about being in the crowded places and they started to step aside from the streets. From the place of social life of Ankara, Boulevard transformed to the place of political struggle. Additionally, the transformation on spatial environment hindered the development of people as individual and community because people could not find the opportunity of transfer their knowledge about the Boulevard, social life, the meanings and the importance of community building to the next generations. Thus, the Boulevard transformed to a any place. Unfortunately, today, the Boulevard is a place where people want to manage what they have to do and leave the place because they think that this space has no charming attributes and it is not a socialization place. At such a point, it is hard to mention about a community development because everything on the Boulevard is on the individual level but this level can not feed the individual as good as it could previously.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION

Here, I will discuss the transformation of collective memory on Atatürk Boulevard by means of theoretical review and research outcomes, in other words, how these outcomes interpret in terms of theory. Thus, I will conclude this thesis by expressing its effects on the practical and methodological research and as a conclusion I will present the future study that thesis may proceed by adding a new argument to the literature.

“Cities comprise several layers of man-made physical elements. City has been shaped by various landscapes which have been constructed one over the other. In other words, these rewritings take its form from the different structural forms of landscapes within time. What has happened and what has been lived in its history are important because city is the place where the common memory, political identity and powerful symbolic meanings occur. At the same time, city includes the bunch of material sources which cover the opportunities and struggles for the environments that are constructed for the creative social changes. It is a ‘tabula rasa’ for the transformations” (Harvey, 1996). It is a reality that every civilization, culture and community mark important signs to the places where they own. The nature and character of this sign appear with the people’s style of experiencing the world (Crowe, 1994). In the history of Ankara, especially in the first years of Republic, its appearance shaped by the Republican ideology. Atatürk Boulevard was

constructed as the most important axis of Ankara with this identity and image. In this sense, Atatürk Boulevard reflects the ideals and national ideology of Turkish Republic. It was a window which opened through the world with its monuments, buildings, public places and social life when it was first constructed. It was the physical place of the Republican Philosophy. For instance, people who were experiencing the change of the Republic all around the country felt the changes but people in Ankara differently could both feel the transformation and its effects but saw its structural features all around them at the same time, especially in Ulus and on Atatürk Boulevard with Yenışehir. The ministries, embassies, Radio House, Opera Building (old exhibition hall), Küçük Theatre, old Central Bank Building, İş Bank, Ziraat Bank Buildings, Museum of Ethnography, Philology, and History, Geography University, etc. were the structural representations of new life and new history.

Before 1970s, Ankara and Atatürk Boulevard was the symbolic place of this social life. Although Atatürk Boulevard was a designed structure of an ideological power of a state, it transformed into a promenade that people like spending their times by sharing, observing, using, and experiencing. It was the place of civic values and the space of the community. It was the place of recreation as well as the place of public realm. In other words, it was the place for the life of community. The features of the spatial environment of Atatürk Boulevard were the composition of communal, political, technological and artistic strength of the citizens.

However, with the changing social and spatial structure of the city over time, the identity of the Boulevard also changed. In the following years, with the change of the citizens' style of experiencing the boulevard, cause the transformation of social practices and the meaning of this place. Over the passing time, the urban relations that boulevard interacted also transformed near the changing meaning of the Boulevard as a place. For this reason, we

can read the social and spatial signs of the urban environment and we can determine the transformations within the social and spatial structure.

Additionally, we can also explore the powers and ideological relationships which were written on the urban environment. In this respect, Boulevard acts as a stage where we can watch the changing image and social structure. Before 1970s, Atatürk Boulevard was the symbol of new capital's modernity and new urban pattern. Later, physical space and its symbolic meaning were different in terms of quality of spatial environment, the opportunities that it served, the socialization that it provided, the meanings and information that people could gather from the space, the perceptions and cognitions on the Boulevard, the uses and the experiences. Although, the character and the physical environment of Boulevard have completely changed and its future is a mystery, it is occupied by mass traffic, it is still the popular place of the meetings of public relations but these public relations are different from the previous ones. Today, it is not the place of a whole community, or it is not the place of promenade where people like spending their times and look for the opportunity to meet with others accidentally. Thus, it is not the place of socialization. It has transformed into a transition zone where people can transfer themselves for different districts' lines or where they want to manage what they have to perform. There is an escape from the Boulevard. People complain about the crowded, non-security, pollution, mass traffic and lack of social and cultural attributes of the Boulevard. Thus, it is not the place of social life.

Atatürk Boulevard has lost its collective aspects which provided the relationship between its physical environment and its citizens. The dialog between the history of the Boulevard and its users has been disappeared within the physical transformation of the urban space. People lost their reference places and their signs which they derived within their lifetimes on these places. The relation between people and the physical space of the Boulevard

have been cut. In this sense, people have lost the places where they knew and recognized. This is the indicator why the memories were different in these three time sequences. The loss of the physical determinants of the urban life has affected the perception, cognition, imagination, argument, and reasoning of the users of Boulevard. All these concepts occur by the needs of sense of place and sense of belonging of the users for the specific urban space where they created by meaning levels of their lives. Accordingly, people need the places that they have got used to perform their activities, to be constant places where they look, observe, touch, and know (Şenyapılı, 1997). However, when the signs that people used to know suddenly disappear, the users lost their sense of place and sense of belonging. Accordingly, their perceptions and meanings have transformed. Within this context, the memories can not be continual and can not be collective which transferred to the new generations.

Today, Boulevard houses a totally different physical environment and totally different life. In the transformation process of the Boulevard from different meaning levels, it becomes the place of the new images and new urban culture. Unfortunately, these changes could not be the positive transformations which help the collective memories can be relayed by following the one another. People could not narrate the important places for their lives, the meanings of these places to the further generations because there are two different lives which are completely different in terms of social, physiological, and psychological terms. Thus, two different generations may hardly mention about the Boulevard because it is not the same place that they try to agree on. Within this context, it is hard to determine a collective memory in continuity. The Boulevard housed different memories but unfortunately the memories after 1990s completely separated from each other. The memories after that time are all in individual levels.

The Atatürk Boulevard transformed with the rapid change of the time and use. Today, Boulevard with its new form and structure give the feeling of fear to

its users. It is not a safe place for them. Users prefer to move quickly and draw away as soon as possible. This creates the loss of the idea of the Boulevard as a place because users do not like spending time on it. Obviously, the satisfaction that the boulevard gives to their users is decreasing and this obstructs the new memories to be derived in terms of new meaning levels. Additionally, people can not experience the whole boulevard by walking without the interruptions. It is only possible by means of vehicles to observe the whole boulevard, but today it is interrupted by underpasses and this changes the perceptions and experiencing gestures of the users completely. Today, it is still the center of most of the uses where we can find together but Boulevard can not house the experiences where people can interact, socialize, observe, learn and think both with the interaction between the people and the people with their physical environment.

It is almost impossible to communicate, develop sense of place, sense of belonging on the Boulevard. People force to complete what they have to do on the boulevard and escape somewhere else. However, Ankara today makes people to close themselves to their houses, because of providing lack of activities. Socialization spaces have moved to closed-places like shopping malls. The interaction on the street is at the minimum level and people always in a hurry when they are on the street. The preferences for choosing a cinema, café or restaurant moved to the closed places again like malls. Today, Boulevard is the place where people enter and exit, without spending any time for promenading, or walking and observing. The social dynamics on the Boulevard are under limit. Today, Atatürk Boulevard is not the place where people can feel they are the citizens and sharing a common history by sharing the same meaningful place. Boulevard has lost its meaning, today it is only a physical axis where it carry the transportation systems rather than being a public place where the collective memory derived by means of similar uses and experiences with a common background.

Urban places are created, planned, designed and constructed by people. Nonetheless, social relations and the perceptions of people are affected by the places in the cities and they gain meanings. Social relations, perceptions and emotional responses can not be designed or planned. They may be predicted but could not be totally certain in the plans. City and human are the key actors of a multidimensional relationship. They are the reasons of the existence of one another. They interact within the physical environment of the city and they define the life of the city over these dynamic (living) processes. Obviously, meanings can not be created by the urban planners or designers, meanings can only occur by social dynamics and changed by urban transformations. In this sense, memories can develop over uses and experiences of the people who are in the same urban space and they transform by means of social dynamics and physical environments.

In conclusion, as Rudofsky emphasized today's cities grow with no concern for the future and with no thought of the community. The understanding of the local governments on the production of space completely exclude the human aspect. In this sense, the findings of the case study showed that today the point that we have arrived practically identifies with the loss of the meaning of the Boulevard. This loss of meaning presents that the Boulevard precludes the spatial relationships such as individual and collective development of the citizens. If we accept the human as a spatial creature, then this loss of spatial meaning and function of the Boulevard, emphasizes the loss of the most important aspect of life.

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APPENDIX A

FREQUENCY OF MENTION TABLES FOR IMPORTANT PLACES AND MEANING

‘Before the 1970s’

Table 5. Important places on and around Atatürk Boulevard between Ulus and Sıhhiye before 1970s

Ulus – Sıhhiye	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	Ttl
Cultural Activity Places (Theatres, Cinemas, Exhibitions)	3	2	6	2	5	2	4	2	-	3	2	1	3	3	2	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	42
Food & Beverage	1	-	2	-	3	-	2	2	-	-	-	1	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	15
Night Entertainment Places + Hotels	1	-	3	1	3	1	-	-	-	1	1	2	3	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	17
Shopping Places	6	2	3	4	1	1	3	4	-	3	-	2	2	2	-	-	2	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	38
Green Areas	1	1	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	-	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	21
Public Institutions	2	2	3	2	4	2	4	4	-	3	2	4	4	3	2	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	43
Squares + Physical Elements	1	2	3	-	5	-	2	4	-	3	-	-	1	1	2	-	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	27
Pedestrians Areas + Meeting Places	1	-	1	-	2	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	9
Book & Music Houses	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
Other Needs	3	2	2	3	2	2	4	2	-	4	2	3	2	3	3	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	40
Schools	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	1	-	1	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7
Private Training Schools	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Source: Personal research

Table 6. Important places on Atatürk Boulevard between Sıhhiye and Kızılay before 1970s

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	Ttl
Sıhhiye - Kızılay	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	Ttl
Cultural Activity Places (Theatres, Cinemas, Exhibitions)	4	3	3	3	3	2	3	1	1	4	4	3	3	2	4	4	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	50
Food & Beverage	9	5	4	2	3	3	4	2	1	3	4	2	-	2	3	2	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	53
Night Entertainment Places + Hotels	5	2	3	3	2	1	1	2	2	3	3	3	2	1	1	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	36
Shopping Places	3	4	3	1	-	2	3	2	2	3	3	2	2	1	2	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	35
Green Areas	2	2	2	2	-	2	-	2	-	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	30
Public Institutions	2	2	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	24
Squares + Physical Elements	2	2	3	2	2	2	-	3	2	2	3	2	1	1	6	1	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	38
Pedestrians Areas + Meeting Places	1	1	2	2	2	2	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	23
Book & Music Houses	1	2	2	-	2	-	1	-	-	2	2	1	1	-	2	2	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	20
Other Needs	5	3	3	2	-	2	2	1	1	3	-	-	1	-	2	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	26
Schools	2	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	1	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	9
Private Training Schools	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Source: Personal research

Table 7. Important places on Atatürk Boulevard between Kızılay and Tunalı Hilmi before 1970s

Kızılay – Tunalı Hilmi	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	Ttd
Cultural Activity Places (Theatres, Cinemas, Exhibitions)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Food & Beverage	-	1	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
Night Entertainment Places + Hotels	1	1	1	-	2	2	2	-	1	-	2	-	-	1	1	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	16
Shopping Places	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Green Areas	1	2	1	1	1	1	2	-	1	-	1	1	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	15
Public Institutions	2	2	1	2	2	1	-	-	1	1	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	15
Squares + Physical Elements	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
Pedestrians Areas + Meeting Places	3	2	1	-	2	1	-	-	-	1	2	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13
Book & Music Houses	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Other Needs	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6
Schools	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6
Private Training Schools	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Source: Personal research

‘Between 1970 and 1995’

Table 8. Important places on and around Atatürk Boulevard between Ulus and Sıhhiye between 1970 1995

Ulus - Sıhhiye	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	Ttl
Cultural Activity Places (Theatres, Cinemas, Exhibitions)	1	1	1	1	-	1	-	-	1	2	2	1	2	1	2	2	1	1	2	1	1	1	2	-	-	29
Food & Beverage	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	2	1	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7
Night Entertainment Places + Hotels	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Shopping Places	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	2	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	1	-	-	11
Green Areas	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	2	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	7
Public Institutions	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	1	3	-	1	1	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	12
Squares + Physical Elements	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	2	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	9
Pedestrians Areas + Meeting Places	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Book & Music Houses	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Other Needs	3	1	1	1	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	12
Schools	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1
Private Training Schools	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0

Source: Personal research

Table 9. Important places on and around Atatürk Boulevard between Sıhhiye and Kızılay between 1970 1995

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	Ttl
Sıhhiye - Kızılay	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	Ttl
Cultural Activity Places (Theatres, Cinemas, Exhibitions)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	2	-	1	1	1	1	-	1	1	2	1	-	2	1	-	-	15
Food & Beverage	2	-	1	1	1	2	1	1	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	3	1	2	2	-	-	32
Night Entertainment Places + Hotels	2	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	2	1	1	1	2	-	1	2	2	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	16
Shopping Places	1	2	1	1	1	2	4	1	4	-	1	2	2	2	-	1	3	3	-	2	-	-	1	-	-	34
Green Areas	1	1	-	1	-	-	1	1	2	2	1	1	-	-	-	-	2	2	1	2	1	1	1	-	-	21
Public Institutions	2	2	1	1	1	-	1	1	1	2	1	1	2	2	2	1	2	1	1	2	1	1	2	-	-	31
Squares + Physical Elements	2	2	4	2	-	-	2	2	-	3	2	3	3	4	1	2	3	1	2	-	1	2	1	-	-	42
Pedestrians Areas + Meeting Places	1	1	2	-	-	-	2	-	1	1	-	1	1	1	-	1	1	1	1	-	-	1	1	-	-	18
Book & Music Houses	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	2	-	-	-	2	3	2	-	3	2	1	3	1	2	-	-	23
Other Needs	2	1	1	1	-	1	3	1	3	1	1	2	1	1	2	1	3	3	2	2	1	1	1	-	-	36
Schools	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Private Training Schools	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	1	1	-	-	-	7

Source: Personal research

Table 10. Important places on and around Atatürk Boulevard between Kızılay and Tunah Hilmi between 1970 1995

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	Ttl
Kızılay – Tunah Hilmi																										
Cultural Activity Places (Theatres, Cinemas, Exhibitions)	-	2	3	-	-	2	1	-	2	1	2	1	1	2	1	2	-	1	1	1	2	1	1	-	-	26
Food & Beverage	2	3	1	-	-	1	2	2	3	1	3	2	1	1	1	3	3	2	2	3	3	2	-	-	-	41
Night Entertainment Places + Hotels	-	1	2	-	-	1	1	-	1	1	1	-	1	1	1	1	1	1	-	-	-	2	-	1	-	17
Shopping Places	-	3	1	1	2	3	3	2	4	2	2	-	1	2	-	3	2	2	1	2	2	1	1	-	-	40
Green Areas	-	2	1	1	-	1	3	2	2	1	2	1	1	2	1	2	2	2	3	3	2	2	2	-	-	40
Public Institutions	-	1	-	1	-	-	1	-	1	1	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	9
Squares + Physical Elements	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
Pedestrians Areas + Meeting Places	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	2	2	3	1	2	2	-	-	13
Book & Music Houses	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Other Needs	1	2	1	2	-	1	2	2	3	3	1	1	2	2	1	2	3	1	2	1	1	1	1	2	-	37
Schools	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	1	1	-	-	-	3
Private Training Schools	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0

Source: Personal research

‘After 1995’

Table 11. Important places on and around Atatürk Boulevard between Ulus and Sıhhiye after 1995

Ulus - Sıhhiye	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	Ttl
Cultural Activity Places (Theatres, Cinemas, Exhibitions)	-	1	2	1	2	1	1	-	2	2	1	-	1	2	1	1	-	2	3	2	1	2	2	1	-	31
Food & Beverage	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Night Entertainment Places + Hotels	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	-	-	1	-	-	4
Shopping Places	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	2
Green Areas	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Public Institutions	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Squares + Physical Elements	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Pedestrians Areas + Meeting Places	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Book & Music Houses	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Other Needs	1	1	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	1	1	1	-	12
Schools	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Private Training Schools	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0

Source: Personal research

Table 12. Important places on and around Atatürk Boulevard between Sıhhiye and Kızılay after 1995

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	Tot
Sıhhiye - Kızılay																										
Cultural Activity Places (Theatres, Cinemas, Exhibitions)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	1	-	-	6
Food & Beverage	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2	3	1	1	-	-	11
Night Entertainment Places + Hotels	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	2	1	1	-	-	6
Shopping Places	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	1	1	1	2	-	-	9
Green Areas	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Public Institutions	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	1	1	1	2	1	1	-	-	10
Squares + Physical Elements	-	1	1	1	-	-	1	2	-	2	1	1	1	2	1	-	-	-	1	-	2	1	1	1	1	20
Pedestrians Areas + Meeting Places	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	2	-	2	-	-	6
Book & Music Houses	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	2	2	-	-	1	2	1	2	2	1	-	-	13
Other Needs	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	2	1	2	-	-	7
Schools	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	2
Private Training Schools	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	2	2	1	1	-	11

Source: Personal research

Table 13. Important places on and around Atatürk Boulevard between Kızılay and Tunalı Hilmi after 1995

Kızılay – Tunalı Hilmi	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	Td	
Cultural Activity Places (Theatres, Cinemas, Exhibitions)	-	2	1	-	1	2	1	1	3	2	1	-	-	2	3	-	1	1	2	3	2	3	2	1	1	-	34
Food & Beverage	-	1	-	1	-	-	2	1	2	1	-	-	-	-	1	1	2	1	4	3	2	4	3	2	2	-	31
Night Entertainment Places + Hotels	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	1	5	4	4	-	-	20	
Shopping Places	-	1	-	-	-	1	1	-	3	-	-	-	1	-	-	2	2	-	3	4	3	4	5	-	-	30	
Green Areas	-	1	1	1	-	1	1	1	1	1	-	1	1	1	1	-	1	1	2	2	1	2	2	1	1	-	24
Public Institutions	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
Squares + Physical Elements	-	1	1	-	1	1	1	2	1	2	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	2	2	1	2	2	2	1	1	-	30
Pedestrians Areas + Meeting Places	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	1	1	2	-	-	7	
Book & Music Houses	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	1	1	1	1	-	5
Other Needs	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	1	-	-	3	
Schools	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	
Private Training Schools	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	1	-	-	2	

Source: Personal research

Table 14. Frequency of Mention Table of Meaning for Atatürk Boulevard before the 1970s

Bfr 1970s	The Place of Republican Ideology	The Social Place inhabiting the Republican Lifestyle	Center of the City	Place for Cultural Activities	Political Arena	The Place that has no Meaning for "People"	The Transition Zone
1	1	3	4	4	-	-	-
2	3	3	4	5	2	-	-
3	5	4	3	5	-	-	-
4	1	2	3	1	-	-	-
5	5	4	4	2	-	-	-
6	2	2	3	4	-	-	-
7	-	-	3	4	-	-	-
8	2	3	3	1	-	-	-
9	-	-	2	3	-	-	-
10	6	5	4	4	2	-	-
11	2	3	3	6	-	-	-
12	1	3	4	3	1	-	-
13	1	1	4	4	1	-	-
14	2	3	3	3	1	-	-
15	4	3	3	5	-	-	-
16	-	-	4	3	-	-	-
17	-	-	2	3	-	-	-
18	1	1	2	1	1	-	-
19	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
20	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
21	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
22	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
23	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
24	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
25	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	36	40	58	61	8	-	-

Source: Personal research

Table 14 indicates the frequency of mentions that people emphasize when they are responding the open-ended research questions by narrating their memories about the Boulevard before 1970s.

Table 15. Frequency of Mention Table of Meaning for Atatürk Boulevard between 1970 and 1995

Btwn 1970 – 1995	The Place of Republican Ideology	The Social Place inhabiting the Republican Lifestyle	Center of the City	Place for Cultural Activities	Political Arena	The Place that has no Meaning for “People”	The Transition Zone
1	-	-	3	2	2	-	1
2	-	-	4	2	1	-	-
3	1	1	2	1	-	-	-
4	-	-	3	3	3	-	-
5	-	2	4	2	-	-	-
6	-	-	3	3	1	-	-
7	-	-	4	1	2	-	-
8	-	-	4	3	3	-	-
9	1	-	3	2	1	-	-
10	-	-	3	3	3	-	-
11	-	-	5	2	-	-	-
12	1	2	4	2	4	-	-
13	-	-	4	2	-	-	-
14	-	-	3	3	3	-	-
15	-	-	4	3	1	-	-
16	-	-	6	2	-	-	-
17	-	-	3	3	2	-	-
18	-	-	5	3	6	-	-
19	-	-	3	4	1	-	-
20	-	-	4	3	-	-	-
21	-	-	3	3	-	-	1
22	-	-	5	2	2	-	-
23	-	-	2	2	1	1	2
24	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
25	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	3	5	84	59	36	1	4

Source: Personal research

Table 15 indicates the frequency of mentions that people emphasize when they are responding the open-ended research questions by narrating their memories

about the Boulevard between 1970 and 1995.

Table 16. Frequency of Mention Table of Meaning for Atatürk Boulevard after 1995

Afr 1995	The Place of Republican Ideology	The Social Place inhabiting the Republican Lifestyle	Center of the City	Place for Cultural Activities	Political Arena	The Place that has no Meaning for “People”	The Transition Zone
1	-	-	-	1	-	2	2
2	-	-	2	2	1	-	1
3	-	-	1	2	-	2	3
4	-	-	-	-	-	3	2
5	-	-	2	1	-	2	1
6	-	-	1	1	-	1	3
7	-	-	2	1	-	-	2
8	-	-	1	-	1	1	-
9	-	-	-	1	-	2	1
10	-	-	1	2	3	-	-
11	-	-	-	-	-	3	2
12	-	-	-	1	-	2	2
13	-	-	1	1	2	-	1
14	-	-	-	-	-	3	1
15	-	-	1	-	-	1	2
16	-	-	1	2	-	-	-
17	-	-	-	-	-	2	2
18	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
19	-	-	1	3	2	1	-
20	-	-	1	2	-	-	1
21	-	-	1	2	1	1	-
22	-	-	1	2	2	1	1
23	-	-	2	3	1	3	2
24	-	-	-	1	-	1	1
25	-	-	-	-	-	2	-
Total	-	-	14	28	13	34	31

Source: Personal research

Table 16 indicates the frequency of mentions that people emphasize when they are responding the open-ended research questions by narrating their memories about the Boulevard after 1995.