

AN ANALYSIS OF STREET AS A SHOPPING PRECINCT:
TUNALI HİLMİ STREET VS SHOPPING CENTERS

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TUNALI HİLMİ STREET VS SHOPPING CENTERS**

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ABSTRACT

AN ANALYSIS OF STREET AS A SHOPPING PRECINCT: TUNALI HİLMİ STREET VS SHOPPING CENTERS

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Streets, the usual public spaces of cities, lose their popularities and users every passing day. The reason of this decline is the erroneous transport policies implemented in cities that increase the entrance of automobile into city centers and facilitate faster movement of automobiles at the expense of pedestrians. While pedestrians are marginalized in city centers, automobiles become the primary users of streets. The traffic, noise and air pollution that automobiles cause contribute to the decline of town centers and shopping streets lose their function as meeting places and public spaces. In addition, automobile oriented policies create car-dependent urban forms and cause sprawl towards the peripheries. Because of the newly developing dwelling areas on the peripheries and the increasingly inaccessible city centers, number of out-of-town shopping centers increase day by day to meet the daily needs. While shopping centers develop, there is now a new tendency to design them with streets, squares and bazaars, with a view to resemble and simulate street life in these shopping centers. This situation shows us that, users, who are the reason of existence of social spaces, actually need the atmosphere of streets.

In this study, while analyzing all these trends and factors, Tunalı Hilmi Street, which is a once pedestrian-friendly street in Ankara, will be analyzed. The study has two

main research tasks. First, it analyses Tunalı Hilmi Street's potentials as a public space and street, through the development of a framework that incorporates the essential urban design theorems with a special focus on street design. Secondly, it carries out a questionnaire on shopping center users in Ankara, in order to assess their choices, preferences, and perceptions regarding shopping centers and Tunalı Hilmi Street. Based on the findings of these two analyses, this thesis aims to propose planning and design strategies to improve Tunalı Hilmi Street as a public space and to attract more users to it.

Keywords: Street, transport policies, automobile ownership/addiction, pedestrian, shopping center, Tunalı Hilmi Street.

ÖZ

BİR ALIŞVERİŞ BÖLGESİ OLARAK SOKAK ANALİZİ: TUNALI HİLMİ CADDESİ ALIŞVERİŞ MERKEZLERİNE KARŞI

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Şehirlerin olađan kamusal mekanları olan sokaklar her geçen gün cazibesini ve dolayısıyla kullanıcılarını kaybetmektedir. Bu çöküşe, kent merkezine otomobil girişini arttıran ve motorlu taşıt akımının hızını arttırmayı ana hedef olarak benimseyen hatalı ulaşım politikaları neden olmaktadır. Bu politikalar doğrultusunda oluşturulan planlarla sokaklardaki yaya kullanımını yerini otomobile bırakmaktadır. Otomobillerin yarattığı trafik, gürültü ve hava kirliliđi kent merkezlerinin çökmesine ve sokakların buluşma mekanı ve kamusal mekan olma özelliklerini kaybetmesine sebep olmaktadır. Diğer yandan, otomobil odaklı politikalar otomobile bađımlı kent formları yaratmakta ve kentlerin çepere doğru yayılmasına neden olmaktadır. Çeperlerde yeni gelişen konut alanları ve gittikçe ulaşılabilir olmayan kent merkezleri nedeniyle günlük ihtiyaçların karşılanmasına yönelik olarak şehir dışı alışveriş merkezlerinin sayısı da günden güne artmaktadır. Alışveriş merkezleri gelişirken bir yandan da tasarımlarında sokakları, meydanları ve pazarları canlandırmak, onlara benzemeye çalışmak ve onları taklit etmek yönünde yeni bir alışveriş merkezi tasarımı eğilim ortaya çıkmaktadır. Bu durum bize sosyal alanların varolma sebebi olan kullanıcılarının aslında sokak ortamına ihtiyaç duyduđunu göstermektedir.

Bu alıřmada tm bu eęilimler ve etkenler incelenirken, Ankara iin nemli bir gemiři olan, bir zamanların yaya dostu caddesi Tunalı Hilmi Caddesi'ne ynelik bir arařtırma yrtlmektedir. alıřmanın iki ana arařtırma konusu vardır. İlk konu, Tunalı Hilmi Caddesi'nin kamusal mekan ve sokak olarak potansiyellerini, temel kentsel tasarım kuramları ile birlikte ele alan bir ereve geliřtirerek analiz etmektir. İkinci konu ise Ankara'da alıřveriř merkezi kullanıcılarının tercihlerini, alıřveriř merkezleri ve Tunalı Hilmi Caddesi hakkındaki algılarını anketler ile belirlemektir. Bu alıřma iki analizin bulgularına dayanarak Tunalı Hilmi Caddesi'ni kamusal mekan olarak geliřtirmek ve daha ok kullanıcı ekmesini saęlamak iin planlama ve tasarım stratejileri nermeyi amalamaktadır.

Anahtar kelimeler: Sokak, ulařım politikaları, otomobil sahiplilięi/baęımlılıęı, yaya, alıřveriř merkezi, Tunalı Hilmi Caddesi.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The main focus of this thesis is to put forward the decreasing emphasis on the use of streets as shopping precincts, due to changes in urban transport trends and accessibility, which in turn changes the routines of people about shopping/entertainment and so on. Streets, as public spaces, as social arenas and as shopping precincts, are in a period of decline, particularly in Turkey. Automobile oriented transport policies are the reasons of this decline. Automobile dependency, creating congested and inaccessible city centers and triggering decentralized cities with decentralized shopping centers, has seized the pedestrians and also marginalized them from the city centers. If there is no pedestrian it is impossible to talk about social / face to face interaction on the public spaces. Within this frame, the street and its utilization is discussed initially in this study. Then comes the discussion of the automobile era and its invading the city centers that is followed by the rise of out of town shopping centers. Both discussions are presented in the second chapter. In the third chapter, the changing form of public spaces will be handled, including evolution of public spaces, transport policies, shopping centers and the shopping centers' tendency of imitating and simulating the streets.

Streets are areas of social activity that contain both daily needs/routines of a person and the special moments/times of life. They are common public spaces of our lives, the major communication channels of the city, in addition to being a physical element in the city they are also social facts. Streets have to fulfill a complex variety of functions in order to meet people's needs as places for living, working and moving around. They are the major communication channels; as casual interaction, conversation and recreation sites; as settings in which a specified set of activities

occur, in terms of their social meaning for being public spaces. With the emergence of automobile, streets started to be in a period of transformation from being public spaces to "roads" for automobiles.

Emergence of the automobile era and invasion of cities with automobiles made people dependent on automobile. Automobile oriented transport policies increase automobile ownership and usage. Automobile became an inherent part of people's vital activities. Automobile dependency is becoming a major problem day to day in every course of life. Automobile usage triggers the automobile oriented investments such as out of town shopping centers and suburban settlements. Automobile ownership leads to decentralization of cities. Furthermore, the forms of cities change from compact to leap frog. Owning automobiles gives people the chance of living in the suburbs or remote out of town places. Decentralized residential areas need closer service areas for shopping, leisure activities and social interaction. This also gives rise to the out of town shopping centers.

While shopping centers may be seen as a necessary reply to the needs of decentralized residential areas, the same trend of automobile oriented lifestyles result in streets in city centers to become merely "roads" for automobiles, hence draining central town centers of all their functions as social spaces and "places" with local and urban identities. Streets as roads are left for automobiles both moving and parked. Traffic congestion keeps pedestrians away from the streets that are noisy, crowded and polluted. Traffic density in city centers not only causes traffic congestion, but also results in climate change with occurring air pollution. It is becoming almost impossible to bike in the city centers, as much as it is impossible to walk. It is even becoming hard to ride on public transport to reach the city center since there is traffic jam on every route in every hour of the day, resulting in extremely low levels of service on bus-based public transport systems.

The once lively streets in town centers are becoming inaccessible places for both pedestrian and car users. On the other hand, out of town shopping centers are drawing the attention since they have car parks free of charge and it is clean and safe inside to walk as a pedestrian. Shopping centers include almost all the

activities/facilities that a street includes. It is a closed area protected from wind, snow, rain, sunshine, dust. There is no traffic so that pedestrians can wander in a safe environment. They are cool in summer and hot in winter. People can do shopping from the different brands of shops; eat something in the food courts that serve different alternatives in a close distance that gives the chance of election; go to cinema that has adequate number of theaters displaying different films. They can park their cars easily; can take their children to the playgrounds inside the building; can use the restrooms.

It is clear that this protected nature as well as the diversity of activities offered in shopping centers draw the attention of people. Certainly these shopping centers emerged as a requirement and they may be satisfying several needs. On the other hand, in many countries in the world, particularly in Europe, there is growing concern that the rise of shopping centers should not be at the expense of streets in traditional town centers. Particularly in England, recent legislations emphasize this issue stating that traditional town centers and high-streets should be strengthened because they are more accessible places for all income-groups, age-groups, and those without automobiles. In addition, local town centers and high-streets are important for minimizing the need of people to travel with cars, and for them to meet their needs in their own neighbourhoods. Hence streets are not only traditional, public and social spaces of city life, but they are also easily accessible, inclusive amenity areas for the daily needs of people.

From this point of view, this study focuses on Tunalı Hilmi Street in Ankara with a view to show, and increase, the potentials of the street as a public space, social arena, and a local amenity centre. Tunalı Hilmi Street, which is one of the most well known streets of Ankara, remains to be one of the only inner city areas that may have the potential of surviving as a "high-street" as well as a well functioning public space.

As described in the method of analysis in the fourth chapter, this study has two major objectives:

1. To demonstrate the potentials of Tunalı Hilmi Street in Ankara as a living public space.
2. To find out what planning and design interventions are needed in order to increase the attraction and competitiveness of Tunalı Hilmi Street in the face of increasing growth of shopping centre developments.

For the first objective, the study develops a framework, based on the works of leading urban design theorists as well as good-practice street design manuals, in order to assess Tunalı Hilmi Street's potentials as a public space and street. For the second objective, the analysis focuses on comparative advantages of shopping centers and high-streets. Because there was a previous recent study with a questionnaire on the users of Tunalı Hilmi Street, this study carried out a questionnaire on shopping centers' users, approaching the issue in hand from these users' perspective.

In the fifth chapter of this study, the potentials of Tunalı Hilmi Street are assessed and explained in depth. The analysis reveals the strengths and weaknesses of Tunalı Hilmi Street as a living public space and street.

The sixth chapter presents the results of the questionnaire carried out on shopping centre users. Their choices, preferences, and on evaluations regarding shopping centers and Tunalı Hilmi Street are analyzed. Car users and those who travel without cars are investigated separately.

Finally in the Conclusion Chapter, with reference to contextual and spatial analysis made, the final and overall assessment of literature and collected data are carried out to make a contribution to decision-making processes in terms of decline of streets. This study makes an emphasis on decline of streets in terms of their usage as public spaces due to the automobile oriented transport policies that also trigger the emergence of out of town shopping centers. Focusing on Tunalı Hilmi Street as the case study, the research carried out in the thesis helps to propose planning and design strategies to improve Tunalı Hilmi Street and attract more users to it.

CHAPTER 2

EVOLUTION OF THE STREET: ITS USAGE AND IMPORTANCE IN URBAN LIFE

2.1. Introduction

The street itself has been the great world theater. (Rudofsky, 1964: 121)

"Street", which Rudofsky named as the "theater", is the most usual "space" in our lives that we perform on everyday with players, namely "public". It is a place to share moments with the people you love, as well as a place to stand alone when necessary. It is an area of social activity that contains both the daily needs/routines of a person and the special moments/times of life. We walk/ride/drive on the street to reach somewhere, to sport, for shopping, for meeting friends, to take a walk, to breathe fresh air and so on to continue our lives. This common public space in our lives carries a lot of meanings for our lives.

Public spaces play a wide range of roles, which can be classified as physical, ecological, psychological, social, political, economic, symbolic and aesthetic roles. Another role of public space is to differentiate open spaces with a range of uses from public to private (Ercan, 2007: 115). Public spaces also provide the places for a "variety" and "diversity" of activities. Being places of various economic, social and political activities, public spaces hold different activities together (Czarnowski, 1982; Moughtin, 1999). They perform as the places of relaxation, which provide people with relief from the stress of daily life (Carr et al., 1992). It is mentioned by Ercan that another psychological role of public space is to provide arenas for 'social interaction', places for active and social engagement with others (Carr et al., 1992; Lynch, 1992). Goffman (1963) maintains that face-to-face interactions, including social occasions such as social gatherings, became meaningful in public spaces,

because in such spaces people can better sense the conditions of *copresence* (Barlas, 2006: 78).

Streets, boulevards and avenues are the major communication channels of the city (Carr et al., 1992; Gehl, 1996). They are the means of movements between objects, people and information from one sector to another, as they contain facilities to ease intercommunication such as street and traffic signs, parking areas (Ercan, 2007: 117). The public nature of the street is the major factor in engendering the variety and dynamism of social encounters found in streets (Barlas, 2006: 78). By welcoming everyone, they bring together different groups of people regardless of their class, ethnic origin, gender and age, making it possible for them to intermingle (Madanipour, 1995, cited in Ercan, 2007: 117). Streets, particularly the high streets in a town, enable us to have a diversity of activities together in close vicinity. Being the major communication channels of the city, as Ercan states, streets are what we have to take into consideration as the main public space of our lives, that we can attain as we step out of our homes.

2.2. Street: It's meaning

Think of a city and what comes to mind? It is streets. If a city's streets look interesting, the city looks interesting; if they look dull, the city looks dull (Jacobs, 1961: 29).

Streets, as Jane Jacobs reminds us, have always held a particular fascination for those interested in the city. Streets are the terrain of social encounters and political protests, sites of domination and resistance, places of pleasure and anxiety. Located at the intersection of several academic disciplines, the street is also the focus of many theoretical debates about the city concerning modern and, more recently, postmodern urbanism. For modernists, the street is a space "from which to get from A to B, rather than a place to live in", displacing the street "from lifeworld to system", (Lash and Friedman, 1922, cited in Fyfe 1998: 1); for postmodernists, the street is a place designed to foster and complement new urban lifestyles, reclaiming the street from system to lifeworld. (Fyfe, N. R., 1998:1) The word street is

commonly defined as a paved and delimited surface outlined by buildings flanking it on either side (Barlas, 2006: 69).

Great differences exist between adults and children in their perception and use of the outdoor environment. One of the greatest relates to residential street. To adults, streets are functional resources: the quickest way from A to B or a good place to park the car. Sometimes, if lined with trees, they are valued as an aesthetic enhancement. Children see streets differently, as play opportunities discovered in lampposts, curbstones, gutters, inspection chamber covers, overhead wires, parked cars, trees, piles of leaves, flights of steps, gates, bollards, hedges, retaining walls, drive ways, building entrances, bus stops, mailboxes, street signs and benches. Children measure the environmental quality of streets by the presence or absence of these mundane objects, not by the ease of traffic flow and parking. Nonetheless, traffic has a critical effect on street playability. (Moore cited in Moudon, 1987: 45)

Barlas argues that, the street, as such, is the most important element of the urban fabric. This is so, because each of its physical/spatial elements function to contribute to the satisfaction of one or more of our needs, and it does that in a unique way. There is a hierarchical organization of its components in accordance with unifying conceptual/notional attributes. For Barlas, most important of these attributes are related to the publicness, beginning and end, linearity, and passage like form of the street. (Barlas, 2006: 95)

The definition of a street is far from self-evident. For some purposes it can be defined morphologically; from another perspective, it may more usefully be designated as a setting for a particular set of activities. This would then determine whether the common notion of street is an adequate descriptive category or whether it should be defined in terms of a public-private continuum or in terms of activities and uses. Rapoport discusses its definition in two ways: A morphological definition in terms of "a linear space between buildings", or a definition in terms of "that setting in which a specified set of activities occurs". (Rapoport Cited in Moudon, 1987: 80)

The street in addition to being a physical element in the city is also a social fact. It can be analyzed in terms of who owns, uses and controls it; the purposes for which it was built and its changing social and economic function. It also has a three dimensional physical form which, while may not determine social structures, does inhibit certain activities and make others possible. The street provides a link between buildings, both within the street, and in the city at large. As a link it facilitates the movement of people as pedestrians or within vehicles and also the movement of goods to sustain the wider market and some particular uses within the street. It has the less tangible function in facilitating communication and interaction between people and groups – ‘thus serving to bind together the social order of the *polis*, or what in current parlance would be called the local urban community. Its expressive function also includes its use as a site for casual interaction, including recreation, conversation and entertainment, as well as its use as a site for ritual observances. (Moughtin, 2003: 131)

Streets have to fulfill a complex variety of functions in order to meet people’s needs as places for living, working and moving around in. This requires a careful and multi-disciplinary approach that balances potential conflicts between different objectives. Streets that are good quality places achieve a number of positive outcomes, creating a virtuous circle:

- attractive and well-connected permeable street networks encourage more people to walk and cycle to local destinations, improving their health while reducing motor traffic, energy use and pollution;
- more people on the streets leads to improved personal security and road safety – research shows that the presence of pedestrians on streets causes drivers to travel more slowly;
- people meeting one another on a casual basis strengthens communities and encourages a sense of pride in local environments; and
- people who live in good-quality environments are more likely to have a sense of ownership and a stake in maintaining the quality of their local streets and public spaces.(Manual for Streets:16)

As it is mentioned above, the 'street' is a social place concerning both adult and child activities and a cityscape. It is defined as the major communication channel; as casual interaction, recreation, conversation and recreation site; as a setting in which a specified set of activities occur, in terms of its social meaning for being a public space. The street is also the means of movement to get from A to B, being the means of movement, having diversity of activities on it. It is a delimited surface that is outlined by buildings as well as being an element of urban fabric with its features like having a beginning and end, linearity and passage like form. It has been in the centre of interest for ages, having a *fluctuation* in terms of its utilization. This fluctuation, ongoing for ages, since the ancient times, still exists today.

2.2.1. The Meaning of Street from Ancient Times to Today

It is stated by Rykwert that, the very early appearance of the concept of street has focused on the ceremonial activities which make the street significant in metaphoric and cognitive context (Cited in Anderson, 1986). Accordingly, street indicates its entity as a social space in this period. In the long run, new meanings are started to be ascribed to the street. The meaning changed in the Roman period and the emphasis on defensive issues gained importance. "By the peak of the Roman Empire in 300 A.D. military roads had been built connecting Rome with the frontiers." (Southworth, 1997: 11) Namely, street started to gain urban importance next to its social importance.

The first breaking point of the importance of the street referred to the collapse of the Roman Empire in 476 A.D. After this era, a declining period started for cities and consequently streets. The simple geometry of the straight street appealed to renaissance architects for its pure form, as well as its potential for opening up dramatic perspectives to civic or religious landmarks. Military strategists also argued that the straight street would facilitate control in times of civil unrest or invasion. Thus, straight streets were inserted into the medieval urban maze. (Southworth, 1997: 16)

In the 9th and 10th centuries, new problems for cities emerged. "Overcrowding and congestion became serious problems; individuals encroached on the street space." (Southworth, 1997: 14)

The means of street differentiate with some technological developments, however, as Rykwert emphasized the street is the essential component of urban pattern: "Denotes a delimited surface – part of an urban texture, characterizes by an extended area lined with buildings on either side" (Cited in Anderson, 1986: 16).

In the 18th century, Industrial Revolution & French Revolution forced new forms of life and understanding on the inhabitants of the rapidly expanding cities (Vidler cited in Anderson, 1986: 29).

During the 19th century the demand for better living conditions (light, air, cleanliness and relief from street congestion) prompted intervention by public act. In England, the Public Health Act of 1875 established the bye-law street ordinance. The vision of wide, straight, paved streets entranced the authorities who saw it as the best solution for the ills of their cities. Although the English by-law street design did not answer residential social needs, its basic principles stressing the importance of light, air and access. (Southworth, 1997: 37)

Starting from the ancient times, the meaning of street has changed back and forth. Indicating its entity as a "social space", street was the place of **communication**, face to face interaction at first. Gaining the importance of defense, it changed as a means of **protection**. Then, with the variety of activities, overcrowding and **congestion** emerged. This fluctuation continued through ages back and forth.

Today, the meaning and functions of street still fluctuate. Especially being a social space in today's world, the street becomes popular with the variety of activities taking place on it, however, it also loses its popularity and attraction with the modern world's new pursuits, such as more motorized mobility, higher speeds, more private transport, etc. These new pursuits' have a strong impact on the way we utilize our streets.

2.2.2. The Usage of Street as "Public Space" and "Community Center"

The word "street" has a root of Latin which has a meaning of "a surface distinguished from its surrounding in some physical or at least notional way" (Rykwert cited in Anderson, 1986: 15). The concept of street and its evolution has been a theme of curiosity for many years. Sometimes physical attributes had been highlighted, sometimes social attributes. The social character of the street has tried to be called back. Rykwert sees the street as a deliberate creation which enhances communication. (Cited in Barlas, 2006: 70)

Social sciences and physical transformations of the world have constituted diverse breakpoints about the understanding of the street. Barlas states that "Streets are artifacts of communication in various aspects. They are spaces for face-to-face interaction. The most important function of the street is communication. It arises from the need to communicate. We should see the street as the very component of the urban fabric where socialization starts." (Barlas, 2006: 72) Streets are a fundamental feature of cities. They represent sites of sociability and face-to-face interaction, and at the same time their quality is commonly perceived to be a measure of the quality of urban life. To ensure public places meet the diverse needs of all users (Dines et al., 2006: 1).

For over 10.000 years, streets in cities belonged to the people for social interaction, recreation and to provide access to people, goods and places (Engwicht, 1993: 94). Streets are a part of the landscape of everyday life. People rely on them for such daily activities as travel, shopping, interaction with friends and relatives. Much social life and learning occurs along streets. (Francis cited in Moudon, 1987: 23)

"More than a channel of movement, the street has been a space for human activity, buying and selling, socializing, providing visual orientation and symbolizing community character" (Torlak, 1983: 69). Since streets are not simply corridors for traffic, "we must look at them as complex community settings that serve a variety of functions and also environments used for walking, bicycling, and jogging, for socializing, and for children's play" (Southworth, Ben-Joseph, 1996: 132). As Engwicht sets out, "for over 10000 years, streets in cities belonged to the people for

social interaction, recreation and to provide access to people, goods and places” (Engwicht, 1993: 94). Ironically, as Duany (quoted in Southworth, Ben-Joseph, 1996: 131) emphasizes “the street, which is the public realm of America, is now a barrier to community life”.

Several ways of conceptualizing its meaning in the urban pattern have been proposed not only to figure out its physical importance but also its sociological and psychological effects on human society. This part of the dissertation focuses on the evaluation of the concept and meaning of street through ages. It is intended to reveal the using and meaning of the street and the breaking point that change the meaning of the streets. In the rest of the chapter, the process of **transformation** of the “**perception of street**” will be handled with its breakpoints.

Transformation of the perception or use of streets parallels the transformation of public activities into private, which significantly reduced street use:

- Shopping
- Entertainment
- Incidental conversation
- Trips to school
- Traditional promenade
- And even the pedestrian promenade has been replaced by the automobile promenade. (Schumacher cited in Anderson, 1986: 133)

It appears that this social character of the street is a main concern for many authors who study streets. It is a central concern for this thesis study too. On the one hand, the role of streets in urban social life has been decreasing due to increasing car traffic on streets as well as high numbers of shopping centers competing with high streets. On the other hand, many researchers, planners and politicians seem to be aware of the importance of streets in urban life and there are movements, such as new urbanism, home zones, reclaiming the streets aiming at reviving streets. The following sections first look into the threats to the liveliness of streets, including traffic and shopping centers; and secondly provide an overview of international planning movements that intend to enhance the streets in urban life.

In terms of the physical character of the street, leading urban design theorists Lynch, Cullen, Jacobs, Gehl and good-practice street design manuals examine the streets in different categories such as a strong sense of identity, sense of place, local distinctiveness, being a district and a path, having a node or a landmark, having edges, sense of closure, continuity, diversity of uses, being safe for pedestrians and cyclists, being well connected, having balance between “place” and “movement”, having a user hierarchy with pedestrians at top, inclusive design that takes into consideration the needs and requirements of elderly and disabled, having public pockets, street furniture, street lighting, having a good level of maintenance and cleanliness, landscape design, good quality of public realm, having specific layout issues in terms of typical width of a high street, sidewalk width for pedestrians and surface level crossings for pedestrians.

2.3. The Automobile Era and the Decline of Streets

Beginning before the Second World War, but accelerating particularly after it, the automobile, supplemented by the bus, progressively became the transportation technology that shaped the city, especially in North America and Australia. It became possible to develop in any direction, first filling in between train lines and then going out as far as fifty kilometers for the average half-hour journey. The Auto City was born. Low-density housing became more feasible, and as a reaction to the industrial city, town planners began separating residential and business centers by zoning. This also resulted in increased journey distances. The city began to decentralize and disperse. Overall density of the Auto City decreased to between ten and twenty people per hectare. (Newman, P. and Kenworthy, J., 1999: 31)

In the beginning of the 20th century, new automobile designs were developed which popularized car usage. Moreover, the development of good roads and safety devices, that reduce the hazards of driving, supported car usage. Most of the laws, ordinances and regulations enacted in the early years of the 20th century were devised to limit the development of the automobile. Despite early resistance, by the 1930s, the motor vehicle was in full control of the transportation scene. It immensely impacted the social, economic and political structure of modern city. The car brought adventure for the average family, allowing new recreation and travelling

opportunities (Southworth, 1997, p.57). It allowed the development of new suburban communities away from the city centre and the railroad stations.

The automobile appeared to offer freedom in space and time – to live anywhere in a city and get quickly to all urban destinations regardless of location. The transportation engineering and planning models in the Auto City of this era simply had to predict the necessary infrastructure to provide for this new kind of freedom. No land use planning was needed; housing and business could be placed virtually anywhere with individuals having freedom to make the linkages themselves – as long as they had a car. (Newman, P. and Kenworthy, J., 1999: 59)

The general norm of twentieth century planning has been the separation of vehicular and pedestrian traffic. Separation is necessary for pedestrian safety but total separation is harmful to street activity (Schumacher cited in Anderson, 1986: 134). Consequently, many central business districts and newer shopping centers adopted the pedestrian mall. Yet the success of a purely pedestrian domain of public open space is dependent both upon getting the pedestrians there and establishing the conditions that will keep them there. (Schumacher cited in Anderson, 1986: 137)

Radburn's design was a reaction against city traffic and the impact of cars on residential living and as such it had to "accept the role of a suburb" rather than that of a garden city (Southworth, 1997: 63).

The employment of multiple routes and intersections will provide more connections and avoid loading traffic on one street in particular. Although such a street system has a potential for easing congestion on main streets, it will also add through traffic on residential streets. The increase of automobile accessibility on minor residential streets raises issues of cut-through traffic and excessive speed through residential areas and might prove to be an obstacle to increasing pedestrianization and social interaction in neighborhoods. (Southworth, 1997: 106-107)

The increase in the volume in city traffic affects the use of the street more than anything. True, the high speed of the automobile and potential hazards it carries for the pedestrian makes it imperative for the planner to provide artifacts of safety. The street, except for the sidewalk, is left to the automobile. This certainly affects some functions of the street including socialization. The study of Appleyard (1981) shows that "the heavier the volume of traffic in a street the less attractive the street life becomes" (Quoted in Barlas, 2006: 116). This inevitably impedes face-to-face interactions and thus socialization, because constant flow of traffic destroys an essential attribute of the street, namely its nodality. Not only that but it also isolates the building blocks that face each other on the same street segment destroying the street's place qualities. (Barlas, 2006: 116)

In some parts of the world the street no longer seems to be a viable social and cultural space. On one hand, there has been a disengagement from the city because it is a place of uncontrollable diversity, where skid rows such as the street as the Tenderloin in San Francisco threaten middle class norms. On the other hand, the street has been treated as a nostalgic artifact, to be restored to an ideal state or simulated according to an imaginary historic model. With both the abandonment of the public realm and the reaction of a pseudopublic realm, civic values, such as the street a space for community, have disappeared. The chief actor in encouraging the demise of the street has been the automobile, which has overemphasized the function of the street for the circulation and storage of vehicles, to the detriment of the social uses of its space. (Çelik et al., 1994: 6)

2.3.1. Expansion of City with Automobile: Urban Sprawl

Suburban life revolves around the car. It is essential for virtually every activity including work, shopping, school and entertainment. As a result, the suburban street has grown to serve one user, the automobile. Most suburban streets have wide, smooth surfaces; soft, gentle curves; and generous turning radii-all geared to move large volumes of traffic at relatively high speeds. To be a pedestrian, a bicyclist, or a vendor on one of these streets is to be a fish out of water. (Untermann, cited in Moudon, 1987: 123)

The automobile has become a powerful deterrent to socially responsive streets. Cars isolate people. They detach users from their environment and often inspire heedless behavior of the part of drivers. Suburban roads have become two-dimensional channels with no other purpose than to move as many vehicles as quickly as possible. Little concern is left over for the way the road looks, feels or fits into a community, and little attention is focused on providing safe, efficient access for those without a car. Given the lack of spaces where people can congregate and interact, public streets can be places for socializing if a "walking speed" environment is returned to the streets. However it is accomplished, people ought to spend less time in cars and more time in face-to-face situations where they can be part of a community. (Untermann cited in Moudon, 1987: 123)

The history of cities extends back some 7.000 to 10.000 years. For all but the last fifty years, land use and transportation have been closely connected; first in the dense, mixed use Walking City, whose limited transportation options and travel speeds ensured that urban land use remained closely integrated, and later in the Transit City, with its fixed train and tram systems, which also ensured that development was closely tied to quite narrow transportation corridors. The advent of the automobile, however, and to a lesser extent the diesel bus, meant that for the first time in history, houses and business could be located almost everywhere, because personalized transportation could be used to join them together. Thus, the transportation-land use connection was broken, and automobile dependence became established. But, as cities were to discover, this came at a great cost and is now seen as a fundamental cause of unsustainability in cities. (Newman, P. and Kenworthy, J., 1999: 64)

2.3.2. Invasion of City Center and Streets by Cars

The street and the activities in and along it promoted its role as a social condenser and as a locus of common interest. Similarly, the best known streets and the city centre came to symbolize the collective interests and values of surrounding community. Today these public spaces have often been reduced to automobile rights-of-ways. Satisfaction of the demands of private transportation and management of traffic have usurped the principal role of the urban street – that of

promoting an open setting for communications and exchange – and transferred this function to building interiors. (Caliandro cited in Anderson, 1986: 151)

Le Corbusier and modernists conceived cities on a new scale. Streets were no longer settings for social activities. "The street is a traffic machine; it is in reality a sort of factory for producing speed traffic. The modern city is a new 'organ.' We must create a type of street which shall be as well as equipped in its way as a factory." (Le Corbusier, 1929, 131 cited in Southworth, 1997: 72)

Modernists ignored the fact that the streets are places for community interaction, shopping and cultural activity, and that cars are a part of daily urban life and thus should be integrated into the street design. Further, the Modernists ignored streets as the fundamental spatial structure for the built form of the city defined by the relationships between street widths and building height, between openness and enclosure, and sequence and separation. (Southworth, 1997: 72)

In the twentieth century, however, modern planners downplayed the qualitative aspect of street design to concentrate on efficient traffic movement. In the 1950's and 1960's, during the "golden age" of the automobile, most streets were transformed into channels for vehicular traffic, with increased amounts of street space and public resources set aside for cars. (Cappe cited in Moudon, 1987: 290)

2.4. Loss of Street Life and the Rise of Out of Town Shopping Centers

Parallel to increased motorization, marginalization of pedestrians, and transformation of streets into mere traffic channels, shopping activities started to move away from congested, inaccessible, noisy, polluted town centers and streets to new out-of-town shopping centers. Shopping centers of today are great threats for the traditional town centers. With the evolution of shopping centers, all kinds of activities taking place in the traditional town centers and on the high streets, where social interaction takes place, are shifting to those closed buildings. Streets are trying to arise again, being in a competition with the new emerging shopping centers while shopping centers are imitating the streets during their evolution. These two areas, nourishing from each other are both affecting each other,

however, the streets are affecting the shopping centers positively; the shopping centers are affecting the streets negatively.

City streets are the host for community, and community is central to the maintenance of a civilized society, which depends on a certain level of shared experiences and expectations. It is in the street that the chance encounters essential to the sustenance of community occur. One indicator of the importance of this function is the degree to which its disappearance is now recognized and lamented. Crawford (2002) argues that as classic "Main Street" towns have disappeared, the social space they once provided has been replaced mainly by shopping malls, a tepid substitute. Not all social encounters on the street of a well-functioning city are pleasant, but the friction that sometimes arises does serve an important function: it helps people to learn how to tolerate and get along with one another. (Crawford, 2002: 23)

The new landscape of the post-industrial city has emerged with new types of public spaces, one of which is 'decentralized, self-referential and inward-oriented retail units'. Suburban shopping malls are such developments, which first appeared in the 1950's with the move of retail functions outside the central city. (Carr et al., Oc and Tiesdell, cited in Ercan, 2007: 122) These entities, which were isolated from the rest of the city, were primarily accessible by car. The early examples of suburban shopping malls contained supermarkets, department stores and chain stores which were connected to each other via streets and plazas. Some of them combined retail with leisure activities. (Punter, cited in Ercan, 2007: 122) By fulfilling both shopping and leisure needs and being open late on weekdays and on Sunday, they became very popular among suburbanites (Punter, Carr et al., Oc and Tiesdell, cited in Ercan, 2007: 122). Later on, suburban shopping malls became bigger in size and specialized according to customer types. Regional shopping malls may contain at least two department stores and serve customers from as far as twenty miles away. Another type of shopping mall is super-regional malls, which include at least five department stores and up to 300 shops, and serve an area of a hundred-mile radius. They may also include multi-uses such as office buildings, high-rise apartments and hotels and corporate headquarters. At the top of all these malls,

there are megamalls, which are international shopping attractions. There are also various types of malls, from the luxury malls which offer expensive specialty goods in sumptuous settings, to outlet malls which sell slightly-damaged or out-of-date goods at discount prices. Some strip malls focus on specific products or services – furniture, automotive supplies, printing and graphic design or even contemporary art. (Crawford, cited in Ercan, 2007: 122)

Suburban shopping malls advocated the development of quasi-public spaces, since they were privately owned built, managed and controlled public spaces (Çelik et al, cited in Ercan, 2007: 122). These public spaces provided high-quality, comfortable and safe environments which were protected from outside conditions (Carr et al., Reeve, Oc and Tiesdell, cited in Ercan, 2007: 122). For this reason, early suburban shopping malls became the new foci of social interaction and community life (Punter, Crawford, cited in Ercan, 2007: 122). Later on, they started to serve a bigger variety of groups. In particular the regional, super regional and mega shopping malls, which are characterized by their attractive and good design, are in the service of a great number of people coming from miles away, as well as tourists. (Ercan, 2007: 123)

The popularity of suburban shopping malls encouraged the decentralization of their retail functions. In Europe like in Britain, food retailing such as supermarket chains was decentralized during the 1970's; this was followed by the movement of bulky goods such as DIY, electrical goods, carpets and furniture from town centers to retail warehouse parks in the 1980's; and so retail parks were developed in the mid-1980's. The public spaces in these self-referential and inward oriented retail units were not able to become social gathering places, since there were limited public spaces which were only designed to help shopping activities and the attempts to introduce leisure and recreation functions have failed (Punter, cited in Ercan, 2007: 123).

The post-industrial city is characterized by the new developments in the central city. These developments were particularly built in order to attract retailers back to city centers and thus to revitalize the declining city centers. Four new types of quasi-

public spaces were emerged as a result: city center shopping malls, corporate plazas, atria and off-the ground networks City center shopping malls appeared in the late 1960s and were constructed throughout the 1970s and 1980s. Various types of city center shopping malls were developed, such as indoor and outdoor, open and closed ones. Some outdoor shopping malls were developed by eliminating or restricting traffic on main streets and pedestrianizing the main shopping centers. Some others were built close to public transport such as busses and light rail lines. (Punter, Carr et al., Boddy, Oc and Tiesdell, Rubenstein, Francis, cited in Ercan, 2007: 123)

2.5. Conclusion

The 'street' is a social place concerning both adult and child activities and a cityscape. Streets are the areas of social activity, places where people have face to face interaction, spaces where diversity of activities are configured. It is defined as the major communication channel; as casual interaction, conversation and recreation site; as a setting in which a specified set of activities occur, in terms of its social meaning for being a public space. The street is also the means of movement, having diversity of activities on it. It is a delimited surface, an element of urban fabric with its features like having a beginning and end, linearity and passage like form. It has been in the center of interest for ages, experiencing a fluctuation in terms of its utilization.

The role of streets in urban social life has been decreasing due to increasing car traffic on streets as well as high numbers of shopping centers competing with high streets. On the other hand, many researchers, planners and politicians seem to be aware of the importance of streets in urban life and there are movements, such as new urbanism, home zones, reclaiming the streets that aim at reviving streets.

Shopping centers are great threats for the traditional town centers. With the evolution of shopping centers, all kinds of activities taking place in the traditional town centers and on the shopping streets, where social interaction takes place, are shifting to those closed buildings. Traditional public spaces are losing their attraction due to motorized vehicles, speed, exhaust, noise, etc., and out of town shopping

centers are taking the place of traditional public spaces. In Ankara too, this can be seen in shopping streets such as Tunalı Hilmi Street, which loses its popularity day by day. People tend to go to shopping centers for leisure activities and for shopping. Due to the transport policies in Ankara, automobile use is increasing, central parts of the city are becoming congested, polluted, inaccessible places, and the city is expanding to the outskirts. The shopping centers are also locating on these outskirts since they need large areas. Most people prefer to visit these out of town shopping centers with different reasons.

The pedestrian zones of Ankara are not being improved, rehabilitated, or even maintained since they are marginalized in transport policy and not seen as a priority issue. Streets in the city center have almost become highways for the automobiles to move faster and without any interruptions. Public spaces are being killed due to the transportation policies of today. Pedestrians are marginalized both in policymaking and consequently in space.

In the following chapter, the analysis of evolution of public spaces of Ankara with respect to pedestrian zones and the decline of city centers with the rise of automobile oriented transportation policies will be presented.

CHAPTER 3

THE CHANGING FORM OF PUBLIC SPACES IN ANKARA: STREETS VS. SHOPPING CENTERS

3.1. Introduction

Ankara city center has an evolution of public spaces on a corridor of north-south axis, starting from the traditional CBD, Ulus on the north, reaching to Çankaya on the south. This evolution includes both the evolution of CBD and the evolution of socio cultural areas.

Starting with "Atakule", the tower and the shopping center, in 1989, the form and usage of public spaces started to change. Karum Shopping and Business Center followed Atakule. People started to like these complexes including different activities and utilities all together. Shopping centers started to be the center of attraction. They started to be developed in order to meet the needs of everybody in everyday life. They needed to be enlarged in terms of area so that the city centers were not efficient for them anymore.

Transport policies that are shaped giving priority to the automobiles triggered both the automobile ownership and the decentralization of cities in terms of residential and public areas. Having the ability to reach the outskirts easily, new suburbs started to emerge. The people living within these suburbs started to form new minor centers on these locations.

The most important thing for the shopping centers was the width of the area of the construction. This could be obtained easily out of town centers. Together with residential decentralization and the need for public spaces, shopping centers started to emerge near the suburban areas.

These new centers of the cities, which are located away from the city center and difficult to reach by pedestrians and captive public transport riders, started to take the place of traditional city centers, especially the high streets used for shopping and leisure. With the increase in tendency of people's using the shopping centers, they started to redesign themselves in order to resemble the streets, which are the actual public spaces of cities.

3.2. Evolution of Public Spaces in Ankara with Respect to Transport Policies and Pedestrian Zones

3.2.1. Evolution of Public Spaces in Ankara

Before being the capital city of Turkey, there was a "linear" center development between Ankara Castle and Ulus. There were traditional production and trade centers around the Castle as Bedesten, roads encircling closed inns, Atpazarı, Koyunpazarı, Samanpazarı. On the contrary, there was a newly developing trade center in Karaoğlan Bazaar and Taşhan, in the place of today's Ulus. After the year 1923, after being the capital city of Turkey, in the period of Jansen Plan, in 1932, Ulus was named as the central business district (CBD) of Ankara; Kızılay was named as the district center. Reaching 1950's, Ulus was still the CBD of Ankara, however, new production and trade centers, growing as subcenters, were like extensions of Ulus. This changed the "linear center" model to the "radiant center" model. During this period, Kızılay, with the impact of Bakanlıklar Housing Estate, started to develop as another important subcenter, attracting high income groups with new trade and service functions. (Bademli, 1985: 154) (See Figure 1, Map 1)

Is is stated in the book of "Ankara from 1985 till 2015" that, before the 1960's, Ulus had shopping areas five times more than Kızılay. However, with the immigrants coming from the rural areas and settling around Ulus, Ulus and surrounding subcenters started to lose their attraction in terms of being "prestigious". The importance of Kızılay started to increase due to the presidency, ministries, universities, embassies locating around. In the year of 1960, relocating of the Parliament (TBMM) in Kızılay induced the tendency of location of new trade and

service functions in and around Kızılay. Ankara started to grow towards Çankaya with both high income groups and public investments heading towards Yenışehir. Kızılay became the CBD of Ankara, while Ulus was losing the characteristic of being the CBD. (See Figure 1, Map 2)

In the 1970's, Ankara had completed the transformation of city center. Kızılay was the new CBD of Ankara. Coming to 1985's, tendencies in 1970's became evident; Kızılay had outpaced Ulus as a CBD. It can be seen that the prestigious trade and eminent services were densely concentrated in and around Kızılay. Ulus central area was developing towards the direction of northwest, while Kızılay central area was developing towards the direction of south. Both Ulus and Kızılay were still the "cores" of "radiant center" models, but, in different ways and concepts. (Bademli, 1985: 156) (See Figure 1, Map 3)

The developments in and around Kızılay started to be limited due to the topography around, the high prices of land and rent. Meanwhile, the structure reserve had reached saturation in Kızılay and the prestigious services like art galleries, governing bodies of international companies, hotels like Hilton and Sheraton started to search for a place out of Kızılay. Functions of CBD had started to locate out of Kızılay and that resulted in the developments on the axis of Gaziosmanpaşa-Çankaya. (Bademli, 1985: 158) (See Figure 1, Map 4)

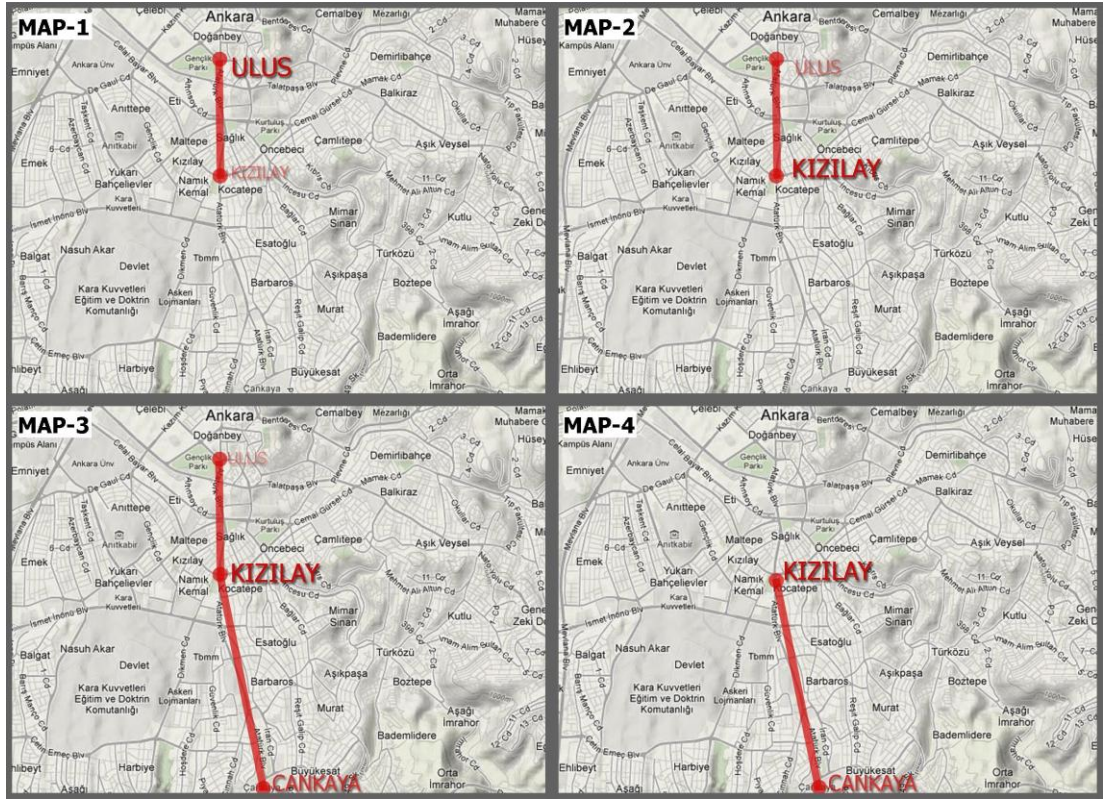


Figure 1: Evolution of "center" in Ankara from Ulus to Çankaya
(Source: Google Earth 2010 and Personal rendering)

Today, we can see that the axis of Gaziosmanpaşa-Kızılay had followed Kızılay in terms of being a center of culture and arts, next to being a CBD. Parallel to Gaziosmanpaşa axis, Tunalı Hilmi Street had also become a central/public street that involved public activities especially in terms of cultural and administrative norms. It included the Kuğulu Park, a landmark of not only the street, but also the region, and even the city of Ankara. It included embassies on and around it. It also included a cinema, theatres, restaurants and shops for leisure activities. It was not only the extension of CBD, but also the public center of Ankara containing different kinds of cultural and leisure activities. It was more "public" having more "space" on and around, when compared to Kızılay.

3.2.2. Evolution of Transport Policies in Ankara

Ankara has a public transport evolution beginning with railways and getaway van busses in the 1930's, giving way to public transport busses, taxi-dolmuş, and trolleybuses in the 1950's. Due to the inadequacy of EGO busses in meeting the

transport demand, the minibus started to take its place in public transport. The road between Kızılay-Ulus, which was two lanes, was widened to four lanes, by narrowing sidewalks and median-strips, and also cutting down the trees on them. After the 1970's, modernization of busses and studies to build a metro system appeared on the city's agenda. In order to decrease private car use, it was recommended to make the busses free of charge, but this could not be realized. Pedestrianization of Sakarya Precinct and other streets around it took place in this period.



Figure 2: Appearances from Sakarya Precinct
(Source: Personal archive)

In the 1980's private public busses were introduced. Studies for a metro system accelerated and a metro network was planned with its initial line along the western development axis towards Batıkent.

The early 1990s also saw further studies for urban rail transport and construction started for the mentions first line of the metro and an inner-city light rail line, Ankaray.



Figure 3: Appearance of an Ankaray Station
(Source: Personal archive)

In the mid 1990s, however, the city administration changed and the city witnessed a stark change of transport policies away from pro-transit policies to automobile-oriented short-term solutions. From 1994 until today, putting the pedestrian to the second place, local authorities transformed the “streets” to “roads for motor vehicles”. At the risk of hardening the pedestrian movement, they gave priority to motor vehicles; they made overpasses and grade-separated junctions, and eliminated a large number of pedestrian crossings at grade in order to allow motorized vehicles to move continuously and faster. For 15 years, no new pedestrian zone was created in the city center although there were plans to increase such areas, proposed in the Transportation Master Plan of 1992.

Today, in cities all around the world, the city centers, qualified as the “heart of the city”, are purified from the motor vehicle traffic and left to the pedestrians and bicycles. Entrance to the city centers is subject to payment for deterring the automobiles to enter the city center. (Öncü, M. A., 2009: 12) On the contrary, in Ankara, entrance of the automobiles to the city center is encouraged with pedestrian overpasses and automobile underpasses.

In today’s Ankara, movement of pedestrians is not seen as part of the transportation system. On the other hand, private automobiles are taking the place of public transportation, due to the deterioration of public transportation.

This is in contrast to the rest of world. For example, it is stated in European Urban Charter that:

1. It is essential that the volume of travel, particularly by private car, be reduced
2. Mobility must be organized in a way which is conducive to maintaining a livable town and permitting co-existence of different forms of travel
3. The street must be recovered as a social arena
4. A sustained educational and training effort is required

(Sustainable Cities and Towns Campaign, http://sustainable-cities.eu/upload/pdf_files/URBAN_CHARTER_EN.pdf, last visited on January 2010)

Public transportation modes in Ankara are not systematized that, day by day, time of travel increases, individuals are increasingly encouraged to use private cars and public spaces disappear. Out of town shopping centers, meanwhile, are also increasing in the city, neglecting pedestrian access, even public transport access in many cases, targeting only those with private cars.

In the last 30 years, a great change has been experienced in the world in urban transportation approaches. In the 1950's and 1960's, the problem was the increasing private car ownership and congestion on urban road networks that have not been developed yet. The solution of this problem was formed as widening the road network and increasing their capacity to correspond to the rising demands of travel with automobile. This approach can still be meaningful and valid for transportation networks that are newly developing. In already developed and built-up urban areas, however, it is not possible to meet the rising demand of automobile use, because road capacity increase in built-up areas would almost always result in pedestrian sidewalks being narrowed or destroyed; tunnels, grade-separated junctions being built, transforming the city center roads to highways and allowing further and continuous traffic flow into the city centers. (Babalik Sutcliffe, E., 2009: 37) On the contrary the demand for automobile usage in city centers and the demand for roads should be decreased and be made compatible with city center characteristics, such as being slow, pedestrian-friendly, and pro-transit.

It is mentioned in the Manual for Streets (p: 45) that: "Streets are the focus of movement in a neighbourhood. Pedestrians and cyclists should generally share streets with motor vehicles. There will be situations where it is appropriate to include routes for pedestrians and cyclists segregated from motor traffic, but they

should be short, well overlooked and relatively wide to avoid any sense of confinement. It is difficult to design an underpass or alleyway which satisfies the requirement that pedestrians or cyclists will feel safe using them at all times.”

While the current transport policies in Ankara are making it difficult for pedestrians to move around the city centre and for public spaces to survive, shopping center developments are not helping the process either. New “shopping centers” are waiting for their customers out of the town center, including almost any kind of activity, any kind of need in a protected environment. There is no traffic inside, no rain, no snow, no sunshine, no dust, not hot in summer, not cold in winter and so on. They are particularly convenient for car owners with huge car parks around them. They are simulating the “street” of once upon a time. Running away from the city centers due to the vehicle traffic inside, people need to find places to substitute the “streets” and the “shopping centers” are waiting to fill in this role.

3.2.3. Evolution of Pedestrian Zones in Ankara

Streets are the scenes where the lifestyles are displayed. (İsmail Hakkı Acar)

“How healthy is it to talk about a city’s future that no children can walk or play?”
(Kevser Üstündağ)

Cities are known for their squares and pedestrian ways, spaces which are designed for “human”; they are not known for their grade-separated junctions and tunnels.
(Erhan Öncü)

Before the declaration of Turkish Republic, at the beginning of the 20th century, the population of Ankara changed from 28.000 to 32.000. At this time, “the majority of trips were made on foot, and the modest demand for vehicular trip was met by horse carts and later by a limited number of cars and small buses operated by private owners” (Parsons Brinckerhoff International, 1997). After being the capital city of Turkey, Ankara started to grow rapidly. The new city formed not as a continuation of old city, but as a completely different new city “Yenişehir” according to a plan realized by Prof. Herman Jansen in 1928 as a result of an international competition (Altındağ Belediyesi, 1987, 9). Although Jansen anticipated the

population of the city would reach to 300.000 people in 1978, the city reached to this number in the early 1950's. (Kızılay Kent Merkezi Çalışma Grubu, 2004: 10, 11,). Targets exceeded with rapid urbanization. "Illegal housing developments began to spring up outside the boundaries of the plan, usually with insufficient road infrastructure" (Parsons Brinckerhoff International, 1997).

In 1957, the winners of a planning competition, Nihat Yucel and Raşit Uybadin made a new plan for Ankara. The population of Ankara in that plan, for the year 2000 was exceeded before 1965, as in the Jansen plan. In 1950's and 1960's, results of uncontrolled migration were seen. Insufficient infrastructure and transport problems increased with urbanization period. In 1960's, traffic congestion was started to be a problem of cities. "Solutions to the emerging congestion problem were usually sought through physical measures such as enlarging roads, redesigning intersections and building new roads" (Parsons Brinckerhoff International, 1997).

In the Ankara Transportation Plan, that is started to be prepared in the middle of the 1980's, "the priority for the pedestrian" was emphasized, but it was neglected during the implementation period. Further pedestrianization or pedestrian priority town centers were not realized. On the contrary, it is seen that the town centers are planned with priority for cars and roads capacities are increased for the vehicle traffic at the expense of pedestrian movement. (Türkiye Bilimler Akademisi Raporları, p: 82)

In Ankara, pedestrianization of some streets was experienced first in the 1980's. At the end of the 1970's, the municipality adopted a new policy emphasizing public transport and pedestrian schemes. In 1978, Sakarya Precinct and its surrounding were pedestrianized according to a project of Ankara Municipality. Shop owners in this location complained about this pedestrianization application saying that it would affect their sales. As a result, the street and surrounding became open to traffic again. It did not take too long time for them to realize that pedestrianization could bring them many different opportunities in terms of their economic turnover that; they demanded the street and the surrounding to be pedestrianized again. In this

period, EGO fleet was improved; an exclusive busway serving the east-west corridor through the CBD was implemented and a network of pedestrian streets was established in the city centre.



Figure 4: Appearances from Sakarya Precinct
(Source: Personal archive)

In 1982 analysis of pedestrian zones was made for Sakarya Precinct, İzmir Streets, Fevzi Çakmak Streets, Sümer Streets, Menekşe Streets, Ş. Adem Yavuz Streets, Yüksel Street, Konur-1 Street and Karanfil-1 Street. However, only some of them were pedestrianized. In addition to Sakarya Precinct and its surroundings; İzmir Street and its surroundings (Fevzi Çakmak I and II, Sumer I and II, Menekşe I and II, and Şehit Adem Yavuz Streets) with Yüksel Street and its surroundings (Konur I and Karanfil I Streets) were proposed to be pedestrianized. (Figure 9) Although proposals of Fevzi Çakmak I, Sümer I, Menekşe I, Karanfil I, Konur I were approved, they could not be implemented. (Okullu 2007: 67)

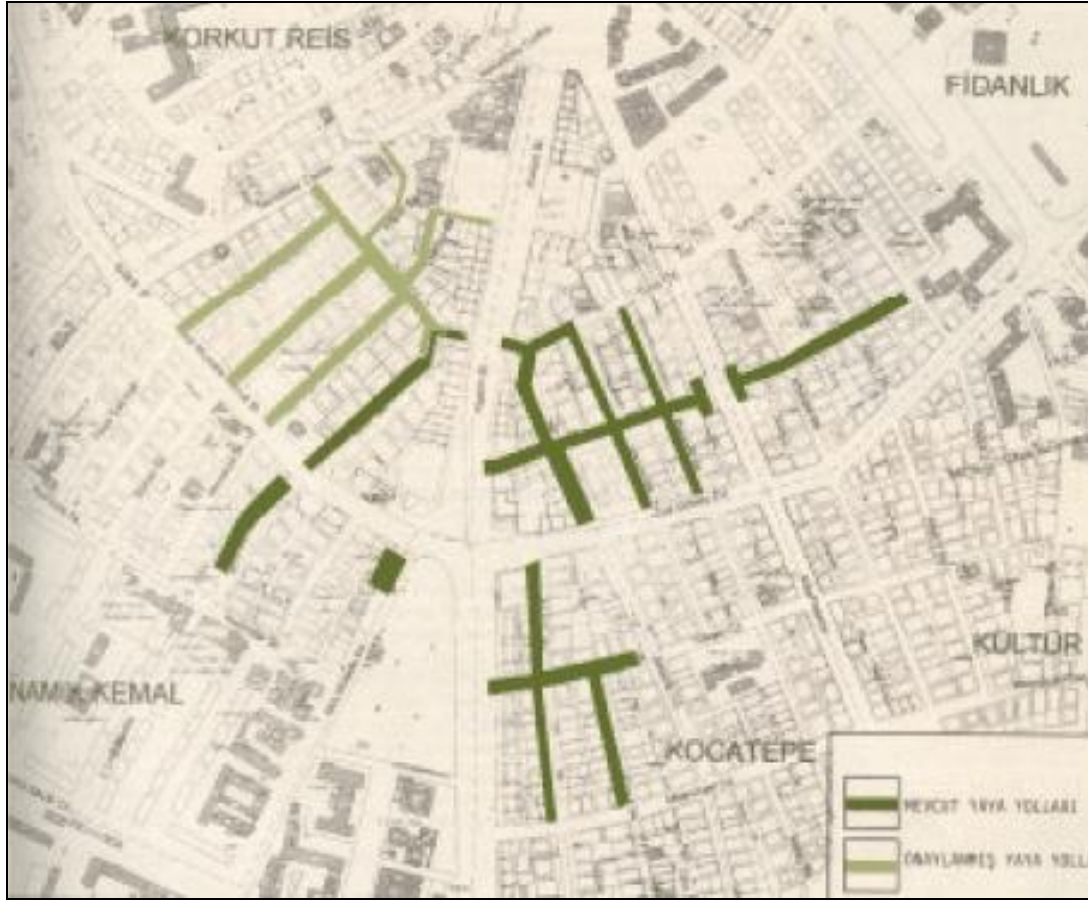


Figure 5: Existing and approved pedestrianized areas in Kızılay
(Source: Kızılay Kent Merkezi Çalışma Grubu, 2004)

Note: Dark green areas indicate existing pedestrian areas; while light green donates areas approved for pedestrianization that still remain as traffic roads

İzmir and Yuksel Streets were pedestrianized in that period. These two regions are still considered as an important part in the urban transport and pedestrian system of the city (Kızılay Kent Merkezi Çalışma Grubu, 2004: 12-14). These pedestrianized streets are heavily used by pedestrians today. However, they have certain problems in terms of image, cleanliness, spatial quality, etc. Some of these areas are seen in the figures below:



Figure 6: Appearances from İzmir Street
 (Source: Personal archive)



Figure 7: Appearances from Yüksel Street
 (Source: Personal archive)



Figure 8: Appearance from Olgunlar Street
(Source: Personal archive)



Figure 9: Appearance from Karanfil Street
(Source: Personal archive)

In 1982, the construction of overpasses for pedestrians started. The first four of them were Atatürk Boulevard, Ziya Gökalp Street, Gazi Mustafa Kemal Street and Meşrutiyet Street. In 1989 Olgunlar, Konur, Karanfil and Yüksel Streets were pedestrianized. Tunalı Hilmi Street was also pedestrianized for a limited time of the week. At weekends, in daytime the street was closed to the traffic. There were exhibition and fair areas for people on the street that was freed from vehicle traffic. In this period, pedestrianization of Bahçeliler 7th Street was also planned, but it could not be applied. From the 1990's till 2008 no other street or zone was pedestrianized.



Figure 10: Pedestrian overpasses at Kızılay Zone.
 (Source: Babalık-Sutcliffe, 2005: 296)

Ankara Transportation and Coordination Centre (UKOME) prepared and approved a Transport Master Plan in 1994. Standardization of roads, improvement of urban infrastructure, preventing pavements from car invasion, pedestrianization schemes well-integrated with public transport were the main objectives of this plan. This plan provided the basis of Ankara's current urban rail systems. It proposed to increase pedestrian areas in the city centre. Full pedestrianization of the city centre was not possible, but, the plan proposed a pedestrian priority corridor from Kavalidere to Dışkapı. A pedestrian friendly approach could be adapted in traffic planning in this route.

In the late 1990s, in order to solve increasing traffic problems in the center of Ankara, another transport study was carried out. In 1998, with the name of "Ankara Transportation and Traffic Improvement Study (ATTIS)", funded through World Bank was established and developed proposals for urban transportation. In this

study, under the name of "Pedestrian Transportation Improvement Program", the following proposals were made (cited in Okullu, 2007: 70):

- _ Improvement for implementation of existing legal structures regarding pedestrian areas and transportation
- _ Improvement and application of pedestrian security campaigns
- _ Improvement of design standards for pedestrian areas
- _ Improvement of disabled pedestrian facilities
- _ Improvement for pedestrian network in CBD (Central Business District)
- _ Preparing pedestrian plans for pedestrian areas out of CBD
- _ Encouraging non motorized modes such as cycling
- _ Integration of pedestrian areas with public transport
- _ Integration of pedestrianization plans with planning processes of land use

These proposals show that the study places emphasis on pedestrian movement; however, they could not come into being. In Ankara, transport policies are still anti-pedestrian. The roads in city center are being transformed into the major traffic arteries. Flow of traffic is more important than the pedestrian movement that, roads are improved for the non-stop flow of vehicles. Pedestrians are directed to the overpasses or underpasses.



Figure 11: Appearances of pedestrian overpasses in Sakarya Precinct and Ziya Gökalp Boulevard
(Source: Personal archive)

In the year 2003, there was an implementation in Kızılay Atatürk Boulevard annihilating pedestrian crossings. Barriers were installed to the roadside of Atatürk

Boulevard, in order to obstruct the pedestrians cross the street. Pedestrians were directed to use the pedestrian overpasses or the underground metro passages.



Figure 12: Barriers to pedestrians in Kızılay city centre
(Source: Erhan Oncu Personal Archive, 2003)

Ankara Metropolitan Municipality still implements automobile oriented transport policies in the planning projects. New roads and grade separated junctions are being constructed; existing roads are being rendered as one way roads in order to facilitate the flow of traffic; sidewalks are being narrowed in order to enlarge the roads; pedestrian crossings are being removed from the roads in order to accelerate the traffic; pedestrians are being directed to the overpasses and underpasses.

In the year 2007, two grade separated junctions, namely “Kuğulu Underpasses” were opened for the automobiles’ use. They were thought to be the solution for the heavy traffic flow on that route. On the contrary, they attracted more traffic, and ended up equally congested in peak hours. For the construction of these underpasses, sidewalks were narrowed on that route and pedestrian crossings were removed. The district they are constructed is a traditional city center for Ankara. Kuğulu Park is also the focal point of that district. Tunalı Hilmi Street represents various characteristics of a city centre, begins with Kuğulu Park. Building a grade-separated junction at this central location clearly contradicts with contemporary transport policy, which emphasizes the need to discourage and reduce car traffic in city centers. (Okullu, 2007: 74)



Figure 13: Appearance from Kuğulu Underpasses
(Source: Personal archive)

Encouraging, enabling and accelerating the flow of traffic in city centers create so many problems together with so much traffic. Tunalı Hilmi Street is a victim of the flow of traffic. The street is vibrant in terms of shopping and entertainment places. There is always an intensity of pedestrian traffic in day and night times. Besides, there is always a great flow of traffic since the street is rendered as one way road carrying a great capacity of cars moving towards the city center. There is a conflict between the pedestrians and the vehicles all day long. It is almost impossible to cross over the street; there is always air and noise pollution because of the vehicles; sidewalks are turned out to be car parks that pedestrians can not walk easily. These results of the traffic implementations on and around Tunalı Hilmi Street cause the decline of a traditional center of Ankara.

While traditional city centers are declining especially because of transport policies, the out of town shopping center investments also trigger the decline as mentioned earlier. They are accessible with especially private automobiles and also motorized

vehicles that they promote more vehicle usage. The traffic planning approaches result in the increase in flow speed of traffic especially in the city centers and this leads to the marginalization of pedestrians from the city centers. Streets with high traffic speeds can make pedestrians feel unsafe. Designers should seek to control vehicle speeds in town centers as well as residential areas so that pedestrians' activity is not displaced.

Liveability in cities can be reclaimed only if there is a high level of accessibility by all users, and especially the pedestrians. Remembering that walking is the most desired form of transport to attain environment, community and health related objectives, it is clear that pedestrian mobility should be improved and encouraged in cities. Pedestrianization and other possible pro-pedestrian policies are not only a vital part of any transport planning approach, but they are also the healthiest, most efficient and also aesthetic way of revival of declining city centers. (Okullu, 2007: 76)

Under the European Urban Charter, Transportation and Circulation Principles comprise a principle that "The street must be recovered as a social arena", meaning that, loss of the street as a social, living space contributes to the decline of a town and an increase in insecurity. Improved safety, security and social harmony therefore means the physical recovery of the street, through broader pavements; pedestrian precincts; control of traffic flows through appropriate street planning and layout; the careful use of one-way streets. It means the protection and upgrading of open space through high quality and durable redevelopment; good quality street furniture, public signposts and commercial signs; facade regulation; provision of vegetation, greenery, water, fountains, statues and sculpture. It means the development of attractive, high quality private, commercial or public activities on pavements, terraces and cafe frontages. It means the elimination as far as possible of extraneous noise. (p: 15)

3.2.4. Marginalization of Pedestrians

Automobile oriented transportation also affects the environment. New roads, storeyed crossroads, tunnels are being constructed; rural areas surrounding cities are becoming full of concrete buildings. Supporting automobile oriented transportation policies is decreasing the rate of public transportation and pedestrian access in urban transportation. In city centers and districts, priority is given to automobile implementations, in spite of pedestrians. These implementations affect physical, social and cultural environment. Owing to the trust in automobile, cities are growing independent from a boundary; distances are increasing and pedestrian access is becoming impossible. Accessibility conditions for the people who do not own private automobiles are getting worse.

In various parts of cities, especially in the perimeters, great mass housing projects are being carried out. These settlements are creating automobile dependent urban forms too. In addition, out of town shopping centers make it impossible to form transportation systems that are based on public transportation. In development of both houses and shopping centers, business centers, entertainment centers; studies oriented to transportation and traffic are not considerable. These kinds of developments cause, both the inadequacy of traffic system, traffic congestion; and the choice of automobile as the transportation type. By this way, both the efficiency of public transportation systems decrease and the pedestrian travels are excluded. Towns are for people. Main goal in city life is to ensure the freedom of mobility for the people in order to reach the urban activities. Transportation solutions in towns should base on the mobility of people, not vehicles.

Pedestrian access is taken as the main transportation mode all over the world, in terms of sustainable transportation goal. In Turkey however, it is not taken into consideration sufficiently. In most of the counties in the world, areas designated to pedestrians are being increased. Pedestrian spaces, squares and streets are tried to be created for people. Comprehensive pedestrian plans are being made and applied. There is nothing done for pedestrianization in both residential areas and commercial or working areas in Ankara however. Sidewalks and pedestrian ways are not constructed convenient to the standards, they are full of interferences, they are not

maintained and they are annihilated in some spaces in order to build vehicle roads that, pedestrian access, what is still a transportation mode in big cities is losing its desirability.

Pedestrian security is another problem in big cities. While vehicle transportation is being supported, pedestrian security precautions are neglected. This leads to injuries or deaths, as a result of pedestrian accidents. Pedestrian crosswalks are not enough. Traffic calming in streets should be carried out in the pedestrian regions. However, in our countries, traffic planning is done in order to accelerate the vehicle traffic.

All the applications explained above expel the pedestrians out of city centers. The city centers are for vehicles more than pedestrians. There is no security in terms of traffic. Streets are not planned according to the pedestrian use. This leads to the marginalization of pedestrians from the city centers and their streets. There are those shopping centers embracing them with pedestrian circulation. They feel comfortable in shopping centers that there is no danger of traffic, their wandering around the shops will not be hindered, they will not be breathless due to the smoke of exhaust, there will not be traffic noise around and so on.

3.3. Shopping Centers are Taking the Place of Streets: Shopping Centers vs. Streets

3.3.1. Evolution of Shopping Centers

Beginning with the automobile ownership after the domestic production of automobiles in Turkey in 1970's, especially the metropolitan cities in Turkey experienced decentralization. In the duration of automobile dependent site selection / with the dependency of automobile, residential areas of high income groups started to be formed out of town center as leap frog settlements which are low density areas. Shopping centers started to locate out of towns, close to these new residential areas and to the locations which are accessible by roads. This tendency of decentralized residential areas and shopping centers started to empty the city

centers. Some of the business premises also go out of town centers within decentralization.

In Turkey, the relationship of house and office is still over town centers and this increases the traffic problems in and out of town centers. In order to solve these problems, road construction and increasing the capacity of roads are the methods implemented in Turkey. It is planned to have high capacity flow of traffic over town centers. Both these new roads and decentralization of shopping centers result in the collapse of town centers. On the other hand, as a result of the increase in car ownership, number of public transport vehicles decreased.

The act of "shopping" that is as old as history of humanity, has turned out to be the chain of activities, together with shopping, connected in specially designed places. These new places support activities other than the act of shopping. In most of the countries, traditional centers lose their specialties while shopping centers spread over the city.

In 1947, Urban Land Institute (ULI) made a study on defining what a shopping center is. It was defined as "trade areas that are planned, developed and operated in one hand, having their own car parks". This definition was changed later as "trade units that are formed with integrated architectural approach and theme, entirely operated and directed buildings, and other spaces". (Öncü, 2009: 47)

Depending on this definition, Kapalı Çarşı in İstanbul that was constructed in 1455, is also a shopping center with its over 3000 stores on an area of 40.000 m². It is developed in city center and still carries out its functions.



Figure 14: Appearance from Kapalı Çarşı in İstanbul
(Source: İstanbul Resimleri, <http://istanbulresimleri.net/kart.foto709.htm>, last visited on February 2010)

In the 1920's, usage of automobile for transportation has changed the form of both cities and shopping centers. In the planning and design period of out of town shopping centers, automobile has started to be the initial fact. (Öncü, 2009: 48)

Today's shopping centers, competing with markets in city centers, had actually emerged as a result of the suburbanization in USA cities. The tendency of suburbanization in American cities, with regard to automobile, has made it difficult to reach the activities of shopping, culture and entertainment in town centers, so that the investors took the shopping centers to suburbs. Today's shopping centers had pervaded out of towns, as large-scale retail trade centers in order to solve the problem of transportation and access. The aim of meeting all needs under one roof and reducing motor vehicle traffic, has reached a functional level in itself. (Öncü, 2009: 48)

The roots of shopping centers depend on the 1920's. They were developed for meeting the needs of American society, with car parks around, as introverted closed boxes. Their numbers had increased continuously. Reaching the 1950's, comprehensive studies were made on planning and design of shopping centers, in order to facilitate the access of customers, those with automobiles. In the 1960's, places having social activities that focused on diverse needs of people were tried to be created. (Öncü, 2009: 48)

In the 1980's, the market in U.S.A. had reached the point of saturation and the result was bankruptcy and fold up. The policy of ascribing a theme for each shopping center emerged. Their functions were enriched. Especially in European Countries, together with revitalization of the city centers, people returned to the centers. As well as returning to the centers, the shopping centers started to change their forms by building the shops that were outward looking, the spaces of living as they are seen on streets, the outdoor spaces and they were built with a view to be reached by pedestrians or with public transportation. (Öncü, 2009: 48)

For the interaction of shopping centers with cities, transportation was the basic relation mode. Both the access of automobiles of the customers' and vehicles carrying loads was the privilege in site selection. The target group was not "the customers"; it was "the customers with automobiles". Because of this target, public transportation and pedestrian access were not taken into consideration. This strategic preference emerge as a result of three basic features: the customers owning cars have high power of buying, there is a need to carry shopping bags/loads while leaving the mall, the zone of incidence expands with automobiles. The mall and its car park needs to be built on a wide land, wide lands are cheaper on the peripheries of the cities, transportation network has higher capacity on the outskirts than it has in the city centers. These make the city centers unavailable for the malls.

Site selection depending on these priorities ignores the access of pedestrian, bicycle and public transportation to the mall. This way of site selection encourages the use

of automobile that results in the increase of transportation with vehicles that are in longer distances.

Beginning with Atakule in 1989 and following with Karum in 1991, Galleria in 1995, Ankuva in 1997 and Bilkent in 1998, Ankara reached the number of five shopping malls in ten years of time. In the following ten years, it reached to the number of 21. (Öncü, 2009: 49)



Figure 15: Atakule and Karum

(Source: University of Minnesota, <http://www.math.umn.edu/~alayont/turkiye/icanadolu/atakule.jpg>, last visited on February 2010; Koray Şirketler Topluluğu, <http://www.koray.com.tr/images/photos/karum1.jpg>, last visited on February 2010)

There is a systematic development in the distribution of shopping malls in the city. Shopping complexes are conglomerated on the roads having high capacities. Shopping centers are located especially around the Eskişehir Road, İstanbul Road or Konya Road. While small ones are locating near city centers, big ones are locating on the arterial roads.

According to the International Council of Shopping Centers (ICSC), Ankara has three "immense", three "big", three "medium" shopping centers, the others are among the category of "small" and "outlet". Most of the shopping centers' being in the category of "small" in Ankara lessens the traffic problems. (Öncü, 2009: 50)

Shopping centers not only change the traditional shopping routines, but also impair the traditional bazaars and central business districts. Besides, they affect the central transportation structure in the cities, parallel to their magnitudes.

There is a reduction in the travel to city centers, depending on the out of town shopping centers. This can be considered as a positive effect in terms of the decreasing constraints of transportation in city centers. On the other hand, private automobile travels to the out of town shopping centers increased while public transport and pedestrian access decreased. Besides, quantity of travels with motor vehicles in cities increase and this leads to a transport system that consumes more fuel products and pollutes environment.

With the change in marketing habits, Ulus, Kızılay and Kavaklıdere started to lose their character of being urban centers. Functions of being urban centers, as retail trade, entertainment, food and beverage, started to be weakened and moved to the malls around the city. This aim provoked the automobile usage in a city that's public transportation is inadequate. On the roads reaching the malls, there is extra traffic jam that also aggravates the transport conditions of the citizens that do not use shopping centers.

The increase in car ownership level also triggered the decentralization in cities. The urban form started to have the form of leapfrog, with the suburbs far away to the city center. These suburbs started to have their own sub centers. These sub centers were not enough to hold together any kind of activity, such as shopping, entertainment, business and so on. This encouraged the idea of shopping centers, constructed on huge land, having a large closed area containing almost all kinds of activities. These shopping centers were being built far away from the city center, because of the need for land of construction. The city, which was poor in public transport services could not enable everybody reach these shopping centers, except the ones owning cars. Although everybody could not reach the shopping centers, the streets began losing their specialties due to the shopping centers. They could not fight back to take the attraction of people again. The shopping centers were big enough to include car parks, supermarkets, restaurants, cafes, stores, bookstores, cinemas, pharmacies, butchers, greengrocers, shoe repairers, car washers, dry cleaners in addition to being warm in winter and cool in summer, protecting from the rain, snow, direct sunlight or exhaust inside. Including all these facilities, they became the center of attraction for people in daily life.

3.3.2. Shopping Centers Simulating the Streets

Transport policies implemented in Ankara causes the decline of streets, namely the high streets /shopping streets like Tunalı Hilmi Street. Both the density of traffic, and the lacking public transport modes for reaching the street keep people away from Tunalı Hilmi Street and other shopping streets. People are attracted to shopping centers that are safe, clean, warm in winter, cool in summer, having car parks and elevators, having different kinds of activities together.

Examining the shopping centers, their spatial quality/characteristic, their way of design, orientation, units they include, events they organize for attracting the people, facilities they offer and so on; we can realize that they are trying to simulate the "street" more and more. All over Turkey, we can realize the shopping centers' attitude of resembling the streets. Almost all of them have common traits inside such as shops, cinemas, food courts, play areas for children, car parks, supermarkets, tailors, shoe repairers, flower stores and restrooms. However, especially the new built ones are trying to have different layouts that make the interior area look like an outdoor space: a street, bazaar, courtyard, square, etc.. The food courts started to be designed like a street; they include courtyards that can provide open areas to breathe fresh air; they try to create the ambiance of traditional bazaars or greengrocers in Turkey; they want to have sightseeing areas; they want to have monumental structures inside such as arcades or bridges and so on. Here are some examples of the implementations that simulate, in the shopping centers, the streets of everyday life:

Cepa in Ankara: It is located on the Ankara-Eskişehir Main Road. Like every shopping center, it has a food court on the top floor. In addition, there is a "Cafes Street" at the same floor having a signboard on a street lamp as "*Kafeler Sokağı*". It is like a passage with book stores, cafes and restaurants on both sides. These places are two storeyed, looking as if they are located under the apartments on a street. There are also street lamps on both sides of the street like passage and the floor of restaurants are differently paved from the pedestrian walking area.



Figure 16: Cema Shopping Center Kafeler Sokađı
(Source: Personal archive)

A-City Outlet in Ankara: It is located on the Ankara-İstanbul Main Road. There is a "**Mısır Çarşısı**" inside the shopping center. It resembles the original Mısır Çarşısı on Eminönü Square in İstanbul, which is the traditional shopping area built in the 1660's.



Figure 17: A-City Outlet Shopping Center Mısır Çarşısı
 (Source: Personal archive)

Gordion in Ankara: It is located on the Ankara-Eskişehir Main Road. It is a complex of both shopping center and residential units around. Not only it serves as a shopping area, but also it has the residential utilities together, as it is in the city centers. Another street passes through the shopping center. There are pedestrian bridges inside the shopping center.



Figure 18: Gordion Shopping Center

(Source: Gezi-yorum, <http://www.gezi-yorum.net/ankara-gordion-alisveris-merkezi/>, last visited on February 2010)

Kentpark in Ankara: It is located on the Ankara-Eskişehir Main Road. The construction of the shopping center has not been finished yet. It has the word “park” in its name. At the backside of the area there is a little lake that is 900 m² and an ice skating ring that is 530 m². Hence it incorporates a significant open space and square to the shopping centre. There are also residential units in the project area.

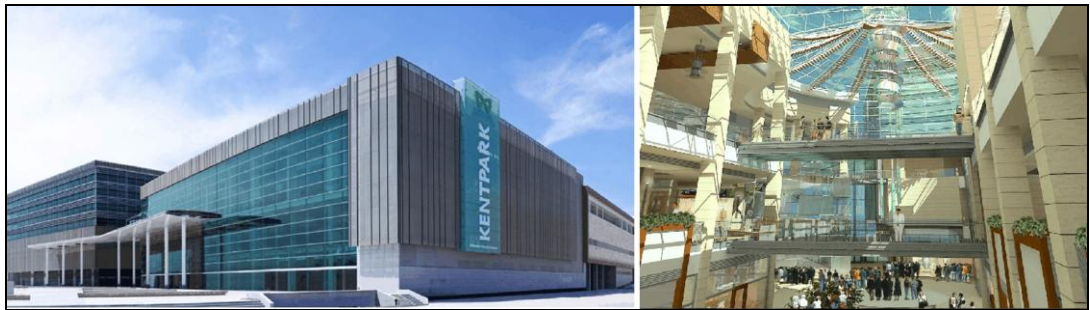


Figure 19: Kentpark Shopping Center

(Source: Kentpark AVM, <http://www.kentpark.com.tr/kentpark.html>, last visited on February 2010)

Kanyon in İstanbul: It was built as a shopping center where the shops are located in the middle of the building and the wandering area is on the periphery. The wandering areas are open as balconies of a building. You can see the buildings around in that location. There are also residential units in the shopping center complex.



Figure 20: Kanyon Shopping Center
(Source: Şişli Çevre Platformu, http://www.sislicevreplatformu.com/scp/uploadedimages/normal_istanbul-kanyon.jpg, last visited on February 2010)

İstinye Park in İstanbul: Each of the building sided to this area are built in different styles having their own balconies or roofs. Besides, one side of the building is directly accessible from the street with cars. There are special shops located on that side and can be accessed from outside the building, as they are located on the street. Inside of the building there are arcades, ornamental pools, flower benches and trees. There is an open space area including greengrocer, butcher, herbalist and fishmonger; and there is also a big courtyard with a pool, used by people as a meeting place, as if a central square in a city.



Figure 21: İstinye Park Shopping Center
(Source: İstinye Park AVM, <http://www.istinyepark.com/main.html>, last visited on January 2010)

Forum İzmir and Forum Mersin: These two shopping centers are the best examples for the shopping centers' simulation of streets. The shopping centers named as 'forum', meaning the bazaar or square in the ancient Rome, are really the streets. They are built on both sides of the streets including more than one street inside. They are open space shopping centers. The streets are closed to the vehicle traffic. While wandering around the shops, you are like wandering on a street. The buildings of the shopping centers are not formed as one unique body. They are located on both sides of the street as regular buildings of a street. They have arcades and there are bridges between the upper floors. The floors are paved as streets with cobblestones. There are flowerbeds, ornamental pools, benches, street lamps, etc. all over the area. The streets are meeting on a square.



Figure 22: Forum İzmir Shopping Center
 (Source: Forum Bornova AVM, <http://www.forumbornova.com/#/about/gallery/>, last visited on January 2010)



Figure 23: Forum Mersin Shopping Center
 (Source: Forum Mersin AVM, <http://www.forummersin.com/#/gallery/>, last visited on January 2010)

These examples simulating the streets prove that the real centers of the cities are traditional, street/square based centers. Shopping centers of today are the outcomes of the automobile dependent lifestyles. Transport policies that marginalize the pedestrians in the town centers and let the vehicles flow faster support the growth of out of town shopping centers. However, the out of town shopping centers simulate the streets in any case. This shows that people need to see their streets that reach to their homes.

3.4. Conclusion

Ankara has lost its traditional city centers, due to the transport policies triggering automobile dependency and the growth of shopping centers. Marginalization of pedestrians, heavy flow of traffic in the city centers and the emergence of out of town shopping centers are the reasons of the decline of cities central locations.

There are a lot of shopping centers in Ankara today. Most of them are located out of the city center, some of them are still near the city center and some of them have not been completed yet. Whether they are far away to the city center or not, people

prefer going to shopping centers since they are more comfortable than the streets in terms of their physical atmosphere: they are clean, free of traffic exhaust and noise, safe, etc.

Transport policies of today lead the people use their private cars in everyday life. Public transport is not improved enough in Ankara. The roads are being widened to move the automobiles faster, even in the city center. People with private cars neither prefer using the insufficient public transport system, nor prefer being on foot in the city centers that are crowded with speedy cars. Both users of the streets, car-owners and pedestrians seem to prefer not to use the streets for shopping.

Shopping centers intervene herein. In this case, the mission of the shopping centers is to meet the daily needs of every people in one complex. They designate the daily needs by simulating the streets. The streets, being in every people's life that are starting one step away from their homes and reaching the high streets carrying every necessity around, are the vital public spaces of life. This is why shopping centers resemble the streets day by day.

In spite of this trend, this thesis aims to show that Tunalı Hilmi Street in Ankara has a great potential for becoming a leading public space and high-street in Ankara, and a good competitor of shopping centers. The study, as described in the next chapter of Methodology, intends to **first** show this potential of Tunalı Hilmi Street, and **secondly** to question, from the perspective of shopping centre users, whether it is possible to attract shoppers back to streets and away from shopping centers, as well as what actions would be needed to do this.

CHAPTER 4

SPACE ANALYSIS OF TUNALI HİLMİ STREET

4.1. A Brief History of Tunalı Hilmi Street

4.1.1. Tunalı Hilmi Bey

Mr. Tunalı Hilmi was a Turkish policy maker, statesman. He has lived between 1871 and 1928. He was a member of TBMM (Turkish Great National Assembly). He was one of the leading members of Young Turks and Turkism activities.

He was born in Eskicuma in 1871 and migrated to İstanbul with his family because of Ottoman-Russian War in 1877. He was a medical student but left the school on the last year and went to Europe in 1895. He became a student of law in Geneva and he wrote articles for the periodicals of Young Turks. He worked as a writer and policy maker in different establishments of editorial offices or press of a newspaper, journals, associations and divisions. He worked as an inspector, chief secretary, district governor and member of parliament. He announced his support for female suffrage in the year 1923, receiving the reaction of other members. He attracted the attention to Turkish language several times in TBMM. He has many writings. (O kimdir, <http://www.okimdir.com/tunali-hilmi-bey-biyografi.html>, last visited on February 2010)

At the beginning of the 20th century, during the proclamation of the Turkish Republic, it is said that Ankara had been a prairie that looked like a village. There had been a creek flowing from the hills and reaching to the sides of Çankaya. The poplar trees had been covering that creek and had given the name of the district "Kavaklıdere". Hilmi Bey, whose family had been migrated from the Danube River ("Tuna in Turkish) to Kavaklıdere, had been living in that location. He was a member of both TBMM and Ottoman Empire Assembly, and always an advocate of

peasants, laborers, as well as of better education and human rights. He had been a respectable personality for the Turkish political history and had donated all his belongings and terrain to the state. His name was given to the main street in Kavaklıdere Region. (Milliyet Blog, <http://blog.milliyet.com.tr/Blog.aspx?BlogNo=198881>, last visited on February 2010)

4.1.2. History of Kavaklıdere Region and Tunalı Hilmi Street

In the 1930s, there were 8 or 10 houses including vineyards along the creek, Kavaklıdere. Those vineyards were irrigated with the water of Kavaklıdere. Lower boundary of the presidential palace was the spring of Kavaklıdere. Around İran Street (the name of which was Özdemir Street till the intersection with Bülten Street, in the 1940s) there were vineyards and wineries. Kavaklıdere Wine Factory was located on the place of today's Sheraton Hotel.

Embassies were located along the river, with their front facades directed to Atatürk Boulevard and gardens directed to the creek. Kavaklıdere Tennis Club was located there with its 3 or 4 courts. There was a bridge in today's Kuğulu Park area. The house of Sevda and Cenap And, the owners of Kavaklıdere Wines, was located on the other side of this bridge. Beyond, there was the two storeyed house of president Celal Bayar.

In the place of today's Çağdaş Sanatlar Merkezi, there had been a water reservoir. Tunus Street of today is almost located on where the creek flowed through. Kennedy Street had been lying in front of the water reservoir and ending at the intersection with Atatürk Boulevard. Reaching to Akay Street, Kavaklıdere creek disappeared into the underground drainage.

On Tunalı Hilmi Street, starting from Kuğulu Park and reaching to Akay Street, there had been a few houses, orchards, a large vineyard and empty terrains. The creek was clean enough to drink.

(Kavaklıderem Derneği, <http://www.kavakliderem.org.tr/icerik.php?icerik=9&no=158>, last visited on February 2010, from the conversation notes with İlhami Atayolu)

Tunalı Hilmi Street had not been as popular as it is now back in the 1970s. Its popularity started in the 1980s. There was a gas station in the place of Kuğulu Arcade and there was the Ses Cinema in the place of today's Tapas Restaurant, Batı Cinema in the place of today's Tunalı Arcade. After Kavaklıdere Wine Factory closed, the factory had served as a vinegar factory for a few years. There had been a room of Atatürk in the wine factory where he used to drink his wine and take a rest. In 1985, there was a wood yard in the place of today's Kuğulu Park. The park had been named as Kavaklıdere Park at first, and then its name had changed. (Kavaklıdere Derneği , <http://www.kavakliderem.org.tr/icerik.php?icerik=9&no=14>, last visited on February 2010, from the conversation notes with Füsün ve Ali Eker)

4.2. Tunalı Hilmi Street and Its Surroundings

Tunalı Hilmi Street is located in the southern area of Kızılay and functions as a city centers, an extension of Kızılay. It is a central area near Kızılay and it started to developed as a center particularly after the opening of Atakule Shopping Center in Çankaya, the first shopping center of Ankara. It is on the route reaching to Atakule Shopping Center from the center, Kızılay.

On the south end, there is the connection of Arjantin Street with Tunalı Hilmi Street and there is Karum Shopping Center, which was the second shopping center to open in Ankara. Both Arjantin Street and Karum have been the meeting places and recreation areas of relatively higher income groups. Shopping activities started to extend from Tunalı Hilmi Street towards Arjantin Street. Brand mark shops and cafes started to locate on Arjantin Street, beginning from Tunalı Hilmi Street intersection and reaching to Filistin Street. Arjantin Street today serves as a street that ground floors are used by restaurants/cafes; upper floors are used by aesthetic/beauty parlors and fashion houses.

The existence of shops and cafes started to lose popularity due to the transport policies implemented on Arjantin Street. The street turned out to be a one way road for connecting Filistin Street and İran Street. Developments started to appear on Filistin Street more than Arjantin Street, afterwards. Today, Filistin Street is becoming more popular with brand mark cafes located on it. Arjantin Street still has

a potential of drawing the attraction of high income groups to its cafes and shops, however, it is less popular than it was before.

On the middle of Tunalı Hilmi Street, there is the intersection of Kennedy Street with Tunalı Hilmi Street. Kennedy Street accommodates houses and some office areas, as well as two petrol stations. There is Çağdaş Sanatlar (Modern Art) Center and next to it, Chamber of Industry Building on the connection of Kennedy Street with Atatürk Boulevard. On the east, parallel to Tunalı Hilmi Street there is Güniz Sokak and on the west parallel to Tunalı Hilmi Street there is Tunus Street. There is Bestekar Street between Tunus Street and Tunalı Hilmi Street. Güniz Street is mostly used as a residential street. There are some cafes/restaurants on the street on ground floors and few offices on upper floors. On Tunus Street, there are cafes/restaurants/bars on the ground floors; there is the factory outlet of Kavaklıdere Wines, Şinasi Theater, Tubitak, offices and office buildings, a hospital and a hotel. Bestekar Street, which is located between Tunus Street and Tunalı Hilmi Street, is popular with cafes/restaurants/bars on it and also there is a minibar, the space created in the leisure practice of a group of young people (Altay, 2004: 3). There are also hotel buildings on Bestekar Street. Bestekar Street is always crowded with young people.

Tunalı Hilmi Street not only serves as a shopping street, it also serves as a recreation area with Kuğulu Park located at the beginning of the street. Kuğulu Park is a part of green belt of Ankara. It is followed by Seğmenler Park and Botanic Park on the south and Meclis Park on the north. Among the others, Kuğulu Park has a potential in terms of its being in a central location that is easily accessible. It serves as a recreational area both for the residents of the region and for the visitors.

4.3. Land-use Analysis in Tunalı Hilmi Street

Tunalı Hilmi Street is examined in terms of the diversity of uses on it, starting from Kuğulu Park and ending on the intersection of Esat Street. First of all, the ground floor uses are analyzed and then the upper floors. The ground floors are being used for any kind of shopping activities. There are also cafes/restaurants for the people to take a rest and chat with each other. The ground floors on Tunalı Hilmi Street are

also known with the arcades expanding along the street. Upper floors are being used as offices and workshops. The users of these offices and workshops change throughout the street.

We can divide the street into three parts in terms of the differentiation of uses (see figure 24). Part 1 is the southern part between Arjantin Street intersection and Kuğulu Park intersection. Part 2 is the middle part between Kuğulu Park intersection and Kennedy Street intersection that is the longest part. Part 3 is the northern part between Kennedy Street intersection and Esat Street intersection. If we analyze the uses along the street, considering the floors they serve, we can see that diversity of activities is located on the middle part, part 2. Part 2 contains almost all the uses part 1 and part 3 has.



Figure 24: Tunali Hilmi Street divided into three parts
 (Source: Google Earth 2010 and Personal rendering)

The ground floors are being used as shoe-shops, bookstores, jewelry stores, perfumeries, confections, glasswares, stationeries, markets, home appliance shops, pharmacies, banks, cafes, restaurants, pastry shops, souvenir shops, buffets, a toy seller, a photographer, a dry cleaner, a tobacco shop, a herbalist and petrol stations on Kennedy Street, which is the boundary of part 2 and part 3. Some of the ground floor uses are concentrated on specific parts. For instance, we can see high concentration of banks on part 3 between Kennedy Street and Esat Street and on

part 2, near the south end. All the arcades are located on part 2, except Beyoğlu Arcade and Necatibey Arcade, which are located on part 3 and that are not as favorite as the others. There is one supermarket on part 2 and one on part 3. Restaurants and cafes are concentrated on part 2 and also on Arjantin Street, on the south eastern area of part 1. There is a car service and a shopping center, Karum on part 1. The green area, Kuşulu Park, is located between part 1 and part 2 as a boundary. There are embassies, especially located on part 1 and on Atatürk Boulevard, parallel to part 2 of the street. There are hospitals on the streets around Tunalı Hilmi Street. The other ground floor activities are scattered all along the street, on each part.

There are twelve arcades along the street, starting from Kuşulu Park intersection and reaching to Esat Street intersection. Ten of them are located on part 2. Analyzing the street from south to north, the arcades can be listed as Kuşulu Arcade on the right side of the street, Demirdöven Arcade and Seğmen Arcade on the left side, Kavaklıdere Arcade and Yetkin Arcade on the right side of the street, Ertuğ Arcade on the left side, Tunalı Arcade, Çelikler Arcade, Aynalı Arcade and Gümüşsoy Arcade on the right side of the street respectively and Beyoğlu Arcade on the left side, near Esat Street intersection, Necatibey Arcade on the Esat Street intersection point (see figure 25).

There are also hotels on Tunalı Hilmi Street and on the streets around it. Tunalı Hotel that is located near Kuşulu Park and Ramada Hotel that is located on the intersection of Büklüm Street are the main ones on Tunalı Hilmi Street, on part 2. There are also Sheraton and Hilton Hotels on İran and Tahran Streets respectively, which are among the important hotels of Kavaklıdere district. The other hotels around Tunalı Hilmi Street can be listed as Divan Hotel on Buğday Street, Houston Hotel on Güniz Street, Gordion Hotel on Büklüm Street, Aldino Hotel on Bülten Street, Ankara Royal Hotel on Büklüm Street, Hotel 2000 and Class Hotel on Bestekar Street (see figure 25).

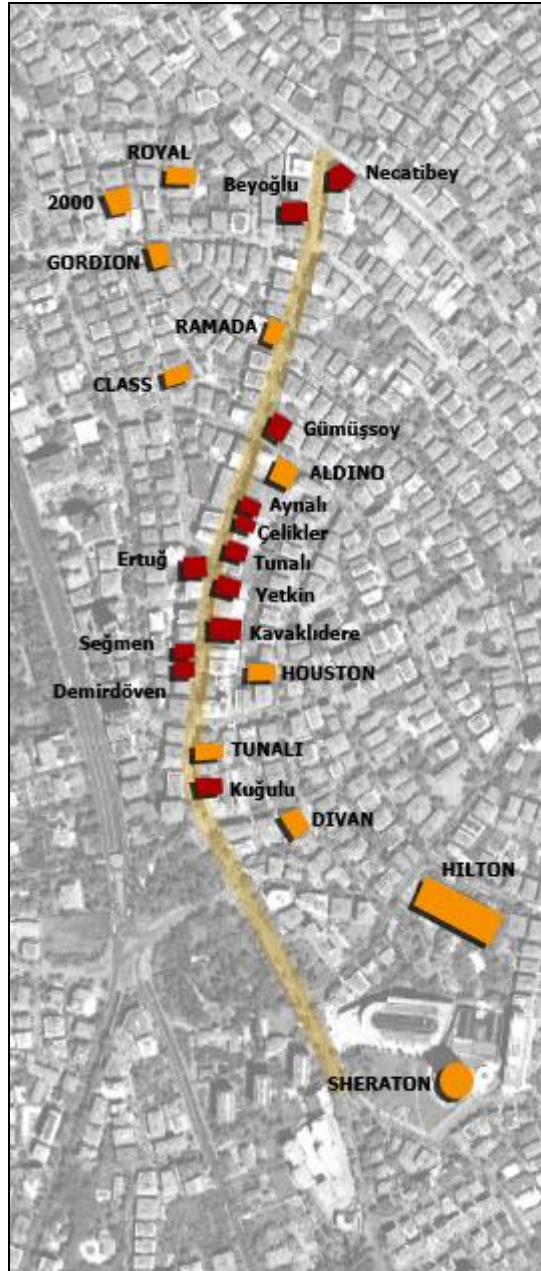


Figure 25: Arcades on Tunalı Hilmi Street - Hotels on and around Tunalı Hilmi Street
 (Source: Google Earth 2010 and Personal rendering)
 Note: Red notations indicate arcades, orange notations indicate hotels.

The upper floors on Tunalı Hilmi Street are preferred for different uses than the ground floor uses. On part 1, between Arjantin Street intersection and Kuğulu Park, upper floors are being used as aesthetic/beauty parlors, fashion houses, hairdressers, doctor's or lawyer's offices. Between Kuğulu Park and Kennedy Street, on part 2, upper floors are being used as educational institutions (language schools, driving courses), travel agencies, real estate agents, insurance offices, financial

consultant offices beside the uses on part 1. On part 2, there are also centers of some NGOs; there are some art centers, a few restaurants or pubs on upper floors. Part 3 is lacking aesthetic/beauty parlors, fashion houses, hairdressers, educational institutions and travel agencies, but used as doctor's or lawyer's offices and financial consultant offices.

4.4. Accessibility Analysis in Tunalı Hilmi Street

Tunalı Hilmi Street and its surrounding streets are being used as both commercial and residential areas. Especially on the streets around Tunalı Hilmi Street, even if the ground floors of the buildings are being used as commercial units, upper floors are still used as residential units. Therefore, Tunalı Hilmi street is easily accessible for pedestrians living in the surrounding residential areas. Tunalı Hilmi Street is nested with houses around and it is well connected to a large residential area.

In terms of public transport servicing Tunalı Hilmi Street, there are several bus lines along Atatürk Boulevard and few bus lines passing right through Tunalı Hilmi Street. However, due to traffic congestion problems, service levels on these buses are extremely low. Journeys are long, services are unreliable, while vehicles are not very comfortable.

The residents and the users of Kavaklıdere district are between middle to high income groups. Car ownership in the area is already high and it is growing, so there is increasing demand for road space for private cars to drive or park in and around Tunalı Hilmi Street. This creates significant congestion on the street, making it hard to move on the streets because of the traffic jam in almost every hour of the day. Parking problem is also growing in the area: many users park their cars along Tunalı Hilmi Street illegally, obstructing traffic. Parking on pedestrian walkways is another problem particularly on side streets and it deteriorates the quality and safety of pedestrian access. There are no regulations to enable parking for residents while charging it for visitors. Parking areas for residents are not adequate; in peak times parking for visitors also becomes inadequate. Most parking places are now operated by private companies; hence there are also parking charges.

In terms of the road networks around, Tunali Hilmi Street is a well connected and easily accessible street. There are boulevards and streets around that nourish Tunali Hilmi Street. It is easy to access Tunali Hilmi Street; however, it is not easy to enter the street due to traffic congestion, especially on the peak hours.

CHAPTER 5

METHODOLOGY

5.1. Introduction

The scope of this thesis is the problem of decline of streets with respect to the rise of shopping centers. One of the reasons why shopping centers arose while streets are declining is the transport policies. These policies are giving priority to the automobiles that increase the automobile dependency and car-oriented urban development; cause cities to decentralize, marginalize pedestrians in the cities and city centers; decrease the economic vitality of city centers and traditional town centers, and give rise to the out of town shopping centers. Pedestrians' use of public spaces is being ignored and automobiles' use of spaces is supported. Automobiles are becoming the inherent part of people's lives. Automobile oriented investments trigger the process of decentralization. Increased distances affect the quality of public spaces in city centers, decrease the quantity and quality of pedestrian areas and push out people to the shopping centers.

This trend is particularly strong in Ankara where city centers are losing their vitality, walking in general and along high-streets in particular is becoming an unpleasant experience due to car traffic, exhaust, noise and parked cars on side-walks. In spite of this trend, this thesis tries to show that there are functional living public spaces and high-streets in Ankara, one of which is Tunalı Hilmi Street, and that through better planning, design and transport interventions these areas can compete with shopping centers and become public spaces and shopping areas that invite all users, regardless of the transport mode they use.

5.2. Goals and Objectives

The objectives of this study can be categorized as:

1. Demonstrating the potentials of Tunalı Hilmi Street in Ankara as a living public space.
2. Testing whether shopping centers' users can be attracted to Tunalı Hilmi Street.

The objective of this study is putting forward the planning strategies that are needed to attract the people to Tunalı Hilmi Street.

The underlying hypothesis is that it is the automobile usage and the current transport policies and facilities that make shopping centers increasingly preferred; and streets like Tunalı Hilmi abandoned. So firstly, the study shows the potentials that Tunalı Hilmi Street has as a shopping street and a vibrant public space; and secondly it carries out a questionnaire on shopping center users to examine their preferences and the reasons underlying their choices.

In the questionnaire, shopping center users were asked whether they preferred shopping centers for leisure and shopping. Mentioning that there are shopping streets in Ankara like Tunalı Hilmi Street, whether they were going to Tunalı Hilmi Street for leisure and shopping purposes was also asked together with the question asking the reasons to the ones who do not prefer going to Tunalı Hilmi Street. The reasons why they prefer shopping centers was also questioned. The last question was about possible interventions and improvement in Tunalı Hilmi Street that would change their choices and make them visit this street more often.

5.3. Case Study Selection Criterion

Ankara has an evolution of public spaces beginning from Ulus-Kızılay axis and reaching to Gaziosmanpaşa-Çankaya, as it is explained in the third chapter. The prestigious services started to search for a place out of Kızılay, the CBD of Ankara, during the 1980's. Developments on the axis of Gaziosmanpaşa-Çankaya started to emerge. Kavaklıdere and its popular street Tunalı Hilmi started to gain central

functions in terms of prestigious activities, other than resembling a CBD. It was a passage like street with an identified beginning, with boundaries including nodes and landmarks. It was a pedestrian place other than being a "road" for automobile transportation. This character of the street was supported with a partial pedestrianization implementation in the year 1990 by closing the street to the vehicle traffic on Sunday afternoons. Fair areas were constituted during the pedestrianized hours. There was a cinema on the street. There was Kuğulu Park at the beginning of the street, attracting people from different ages. Pedestrianization implementation did not last too long and the fairs disappeared; cinema was closed in the year 2007; the most disconcerting was the attempt of destroying Kuğulu Park in order to widen the roads around for constructing underpasses for automobiles. Pedestrianization is obstructed especially with the transport policies implemented to the street; cinema building is still empty; although it has not been destroyed for widening the roads, Kuğulu Park is not well-kept enough. However, Tunalı Hilmi Street still has the potential of being the center of cultural and prestigious activities both for the residents close to the street and for the residents of the distant vicinities. These potentials of Tunalı Hilmi Street are taken into consideration while selecting it as the case study area.

- A.** Kızılay or Ulus as being the traditional centers of the Ankara are also the nodes of the city's transportation network. They are on the route of major transport network carrying a great load in terms of public transport. On the other hand, Tunalı Hilmi Street, has a character of being a city centre and carries high levels of traffic, but, does not carry a public transport load as much as Ulus and Kızılay. It carries a significant volume of pedestrians because of its location and the diversity of land-use components it involves.

- B.** Tunalı Hilmi Street seems to have the ability to attract people and bring people from different ages and genders together. Various uses, such as shops, cafes, restaurants, beauty parlors, sport centers and leisure trip opportunities are essential for visitors of the street. It provides opportunities to match the demand for social interaction.

5.4. Method of Analysis

The method of data collection is the field work in this study. Furthermore, books, journals, thesis, e-thesis, web sites are also the sources used. Questionnaire to the shopping centers' users was another method of data collection. Their behavior of visiting shopping centers or Tunalı Hilmi Street; their reasons for visiting shopping centers or Tunalı Hilmi Street; their reasons for not visiting Tunalı Hilmi Street or shopping centers; their demands for visiting Tunalı Hilmi Street is questioned. While analyzing the results, their private automobile usage is also taken into consideration.

The questionnaire in this study did not focus on Tunalı Hilmi Street users, but instead, it included shopping center users. The reason for this is that a master thesis was carried out by Senem Gökçe Okullu in the year 2007 at METU, assessing the potentials, possibilities and opportunities for creating a pedestrian environment in Ankara, Tunalı Hilmi Street, highlighting the increasing emphasis on non-motorized transport modes in urban transport planning around the world. It was prepared to assess potentials and possibilities for creating a pedestrian environment in Tunalı Hilmi Street, particularly from the point of users and shop owners. The two methods of that study was first pedestrian surveys including pedestrian counts, follows and static analysis; second questionnaires with users, retail/shop-owners and taxi drivers of taxi ranks along the street. The study had found that from both users' perspective and shop owners' point of view, pedestrianization of Tunalı Hilmi Street would receive support and that such an idea had a high level of acceptability. This study, to a certain extend, builds on the findings of that thesis. Within this study a questionnaire on Tunalı Hilmi Street users is not carried out since this has already been done in Okullu's thesis. So instead, in this thesis, the attention is on the shopping center users, with a view to find out whether Tunalı Hilmi Street would be more attractive to them if pedestrianization and other transport regulations were made in that area. Their preferences in terms of social/retail activities are questioned according to their choice of place for these activities. The reasons for their preferring shopping centers instead of street shopping are questioned. Besides, their views on improving street shopping conditions are analyzed based on

the Tunalı Hilmi Street, in order to put forward planning strategies that are needed to attract people to Tunalı Hilmi Street in particular, and high-streets in general.

The questionnaire was carried out on the second half of September, 2009. Six great shopping centers of Ankara were chose from different locations of Ankara. They were Panora Shopping Center located in the district of Oran, Antares Shopping Center located in the district of Etlik, Ankamall Shopping Center located in Akköprü, Armada Shopping Center located in Söğütözü, Cema Shopping Center located a few kilometers away from Armada, on Ankara-Eskişehir Road and Gordion Shopping Centers located further outside, in Ümitköy area, on the west corridor of Ankara. In all the six shopping centers that the questionnaires were carried out fifteen people were subjected to the questionnaire. Totally 90 people were questioned in order to investigate their preferences, needs, wishes, likes or dislikes.

CHAPTER 6

A PRELIMINARY ANALYSIS OF TUNALI HİLMİ STREET

6.1. Introduction

Being one of the most well known streets of Ankara, Tunalı Hilmi Street attracts users of different ages and genders everyday. Visitors of the street are the users of the shops, restaurants/cafes, clubs and so on. There are also houses and offices on the street, the users of which are the residents of the street next to being visitors. The street is both a social area for retail activities and a business area for the offices. Different from Kızılay, which is the CBD of Ankara; Tunalı Hilmi Street has the potential of being a high qualified street with the brand mark cafes, restaurants, shops and etc. on it.

6.2. Potentials of Tunalı Hilmi Street

In order to analyze the potentials of Tunalı Hilmi Street as a public space, a social place and an “inclusive” shopping street, a **framework** is required including certain criteria to be assessed. In this chapter, an attempt is made to develop such a framework, based on the works of leading urban design theorists Lynch, Cullen, Jacobs, Gehl, as well as good-practice street design manuals, such as UK’s Department for Transport, and Communities and Local Government’s **Manual for Streets**, and Department for Transport’s “**Better Streets, Better Places**” document, Office of the Deputy Prime Minister’s **Places, Streets and Movement**. According to these sources, a **list of criteria** can be proposed to assess the potentials of a street:

1. A strong sense of identity, "sense of place"; "local distinctiveness":
2. Being a district and a path
3. Having a node or a landmark at both ends of the street
4. Edges
5. Sense of closure
6. Continuity
7. Diversity of uses
8. Safe for pedestrians and cyclists
9. Well connected
10. Balance between "place" and "movement"
11. A user hierarchy with pedestrians at top
12. Inclusive design that takes into consideration the needs and requirements of elderly and disabled
13. Public pockets
14. Street furniture
15. Street lighting
16. A good level of maintenance and cleanliness
17. Landscape
18. Quality of public realm
19. Specific layout issues
 - A. Typical width of a High Street
 - B. Sidewalk width for pedestrians
 - C. Surface level crossings for pedestrians

➤ **A strong sense of identity, "sense of place"; "local distinctiveness":**

We can suggest that Tunalı Hilmi Street has local distinctiveness to a certain extent. It is a well known location and shopping/leisure destination in Ankara. Kuğulu Park is also a well-known park associated with Tunalı Hilmi Street. Moreover, the local body called Kavaklıderem, which is founded by local business owners in the area and in Tunalı Hilmi Street in particular, contributes to its local distinctiveness and sense of identity.



Figure 26: Kuğulu Park
(Source: Personal archive)

As stated in Manual for Streets "involvement of the community" in the future of a location is important in local identity. On the other hand, there are no design approaches, special materials, patterns, buildings, etc. that are protected or used in retaining the local character of the area.

➤ **Being a district and a path:** Kavaklıdere is a district, both giving its name to the surrounding and having a historical background. Tunalı Hilmi Street is the main route in this district carrying the facilities of being a place other than being just a route. Tunalı Hilmi Street is a path having a beginning and end. On this path, people can both reach from somewhere to another and have social activities.

➤ **Having a node or a landmark at both ends of the street:** Kuğulu Park can be considered as a node for Tunalı Hilmi Street. It is on the location where the street starts. Memorable Kavaklıdere Cinema could be considered as a landmark if it was still active, but it has been closed in the year 2007. Furthermore, thinking that

the landmark of a surrounding is a structure that is different from the usual structures around, the newly built Ramada Hotel can be taken as a landmark having a different facade. Still, there is not an exact landmark on Tunalı Hilmi Street.



Figure 27: Kuğulu Park
(Source: Personal archive)

➤ **Edges:** There are lots of shop windows and shopping arcades on the edges of Tunalı Hilmi Street, which are the attraction points for the visitors of the street. These are permeable that there is another world inside, including shopping and users of the street can penetrate to visit. Getting out of these shops or arcades, people find themselves on the street again, which serves as a place not only for shopping but also for walking, chatting, sitting and so on. This is what makes a street different from shopping centers.



Figure 28: Shop windows on Tunalı Hilmi Street
(Source: Personal archive)

- **Sense of closure:** In Ankara, there is not a real “square” for the gathering of people, having a defined space with its edges or monumental landmarks. There is Tunalı Hilmi Street and Kuğulu Park for people’s meeting and gathering. Tunalı Hilmi Street, different from any square, has its edges, has a passage like form, is defined with its beginning and end, is a route connecting places, that gives the people sense of closure while walking.
- **Continuity:** Street, having a beginning and an end, is a whole with its surface, buildings and other components. The structure of Tunalı Hilmi Street, having a defined beginning and end, having its edges, taking the people from a destination to another indicates the continuity of the street.

➤ **Diversity of uses:** On Tunalı Hilmi Street there is diversity of uses in terms of brand shops, restaurants, cafes, banks, kiosks, bookstores, stationeries, beauty parlors, perfumeries, supermarkets, greengrocers, butchers, health and education units, workplaces etc. However, recently the street witnessed the closure of certain shops and a cinema. In addition, within all its uses, social activities are lacking. Social and cultural activity centre, such as cinemas, theatres, concert and exhibition halls, etc. would contribute to the diversity of the street.

Another issue regarding diversity is the existence of activities and uses that can make the street function in day and night. Although there are cafes and some bars, with most uses being shops and stores, the street loses its liveliness after closing hours in the evening. The closure of the cinema did not help this situation either.

Various land uses are located on Tunalı Hilmi Street in different nodes with different concentrations. Based on a study by Okullu (2007) the characteristics and distribution of the land uses on Tunalı Hilmi Street can be stated as follows:

Location and type of land uses influence how and when walking trips are generated. The provision of walking facilities therefore needs to be considered in conjunction with the location of different land uses. There are two basic subsections on Tunalı Hilmi Street; from Bulten Sokak to Kuğulu Park (first section) and from Bulten Sokak to Esat Caddesi (second section) (Okullu, 2007: 93)



Figure 29: Land use on Tunalı Hilmi Street
(Source: Okullu 2007: 95)

➤ **Safe for pedestrians and cyclists:** Tunalı Hilmi Street has a city center character and distinct land use patterns. Diversity of these land uses and the location of street result in a significant volume of pedestrians' movement. Since a heavy flow of motorized traffic passes through the street all day long, the street is not safe for pedestrians or cyclists. The street is full of automobiles and the sidewalks are full of parked cars. It is hard to move on the street for cyclists and on the sidewalks by pedestrians. It is also hard to cross across the street. There is only one designated level crossing.



Figure 30: Pedestrians between cars trying to cross the street on Tunalı Hilmi Street
(Source: Personal archive)

➤ **Well connected:** With road network, with public transport and with pedestrian paths, Tunalı Hilmi Street is well connected to surrounding in terms of the network. However, because of the transport policies, both Tunalı Hilmi and surrounding roads are always suffering from density of traffic. As a result, public transport becomes slow and unreliable, and pedestrian transport becomes unsafe, inconvenient, and exposed to exhaust and traffic noise. All these deteriorate the quality of the connections.

The one and only pedestrianization period of Tunalı Hilmi Street in 1990 ended and motorized period followed it. From 1990's till today, the street and entourage turned into a highway, by being a one way road reaching to Kızılay, the CBD of Ankara, with transit underpass roads around. The following plans were all traffic oriented that increased the volume of traffic in this route, especially on Tunalı Hilmi Street.

➤ **Balance between "place" and "movement":** In order to provide this, calmed traffic or reduced motorized traffic should be ensured in a place used by automobiles with pedestrians. To name a street as a "place", there should be other characteristics other than being a route used by automobiles like a passage. On Tunalı Hilmi Street, there is not a balance between "place" and "movement". Movement dominates all other functions. Due to the transport policies in Ankara, the street turned out to be a transit road in the region as a part of the transport network.

The street in addition to being a physical element in the city is also a social fact. For the notion of "street as a place" Tunalı Hilmi Street has a great potential. Socialization begins with the people's face to face interaction in a space. The "space" is an attractive place to draw the attention of visitors. It depends on the quality of space, including design, order, cleanliness, diversity, serenity and access.

➤ **A user hierarchy with pedestrians at top:** There should be a user hierarchy on a street located in the city center that is used as a space and having a high concentration of pedestrian movement on it. In the world examples, it is seen that the most usual approach is to make the city center pedestrianized, or at least give the priority to the pedestrians. On the contrary, for the case of Tunalı Hilmi Street, it is obvious that there is a user hierarchy with vehicles at top.



Figure 31: Density of vehicles on Tunalı Hilmi Street
(Source: Personal archive)

Tunalı Hilmi Street always has a high concentration of pedestrian traffic, since it is located in central vicinity that can be reached on foot. However, because of its being a transit road, there is always a conflict between the pedestrians and vehicles. There are also cars that are parked by the roadside, next to the sidewalks. This

hinders the flow of traffic. Both the flow of traffic and the parked cars hinder the cross over of pedestrians. This makes it hard to walk around the street.



Figure 32: Conflict of pedestrians and cars on Tunalı Hilmi Street
(Source: Personal archive)

Tunalı Hilmi Street, which carries a great number of pedestrian everyday, had been pedestrianized in 1990's. It was closed to the vehicle traffic on Sunday afternoons. The pedestrianized zone was beginning from Kuğulu Park, in the south of the street and ending with Bülten Street's intersection with Tunalı Hilmi Street on the north. There were local activities organized on the street during these pedestrianized hours. This partial pedestrianization experience did not last for long times.

➤ **Inclusive design that takes into consideration the needs and requirements of elderly and disabled:** While designing a street or a place for the use of pedestrians, disabled and elderly people's use of the place should also be considered. On Tunalı Hilmi Street, there is not enough ramps for people using wheelchair, the level crossings are not enough for elderly people, the traffic signs

are not enough and technological advances are not put in place for blind people, traffic is not controlled on every junction to cross the street.

➤ **Public pockets:** The 'street' is a social place concerning both adult and child activities and a cityscape. It is defined as the major communication channel; as casual interaction, conversation and recreation site; as a setting in which a specified set of activities occur, in terms of its social meaning for being a public space.

Public pockets are for passers-by to stop and chat. On Tunalı Hilmi Street, people stop for chatting in front of the old Diapason Bookstore, which serves on the upper floors of the same building now, next to Mado Patisserie, that are near Kuğulu Park and beginning of the street (see Okullu's thesis study: Okullu, 2007). Another public pocket is in front of Kuğulu Shopping Arcade that is across the Mado Patisserie. These two public pockets also include benches to take a seat.



Figure 33: Public Pockets on Tunalı Hilmi Street
(Source: Personal archive)

➤ **Street furniture:** Some street furniture can be taken as the benches for resting or monumental structures for watching or facades for experiencing the street. Benches can be seen on the public pockets of Tunalı Hilmi Street and in Kuğulu Park, around the trees, but, the same is not valid for the facades or monumental structures. Street lighting elements, waste baskets, cobblestones for pavement and trees are also furniture of the streets. In Tunalı Hilmi Street, we can not see a design approach for these elements.



Figure 34: Benches in Kuğulu Park on Tunalı Hilmi Street
(Source: Personal archive)

➤ **Street lighting:** Other than the usual lighting elements placed by the municipality, there is no other attempt for lighting the street. The lighting elements are not taken as a part of design process. They are not consciously placed. The shops and most of the other facilities are closed early at nights and therefore lighting of the street is not taken as an important need.



Figure 35: Lighting element on Tunalı Hilmi Street
(Source: Personal archive)

- **A good level of maintenance and cleanliness:** The sidewalks on Tunalı Hilmi Street are not well kept enough for the visitors to wander around in a comfortable way. The street, surrounding streets and sidewalks do not have well-maintained and barrier-free surfaces and pavements. Neither are they clean enough. The other factor that pollutes the street is the air and sound pollution arising from the heavy flow of motorized traffic passing through.
- **Landscape:** At the beginning of the street, especially in Kuğulu Park, there is the possibility of viewing the nature, trees and swans. There are also trees all the way long, also serving as natural shelters. There is a children’s playground in Kuğulu Park area. People visit there, take a seat on the benches, let their children play in the playground, at the same time they can chat with other people/friend around, they can read their newspapers/books, they can breathe fresh air between the trees that cover the park.



Figure 36: Trees and children’s playground in Kuğulu Park on Tunalı Hilmi Street
(Source: Personal archive)

- **Quality of public realm:** As an area of public activity and interest, Tunalı Hilmi Street does not serve us high quality open spaces or squares. There is only Kuğulu Park located at the beginning of the street as an open space but not as a square. The street lacks a square formed area.
- **Specific layout issues:**
 - A.** Typical width of a High Street is 18-30 m. In Tunalı Hilmi Street, we can measure this distance all along the street about 18 m. It is not wide enough

to give the sense of relaxation while it is wide enough to give the sense of closure.

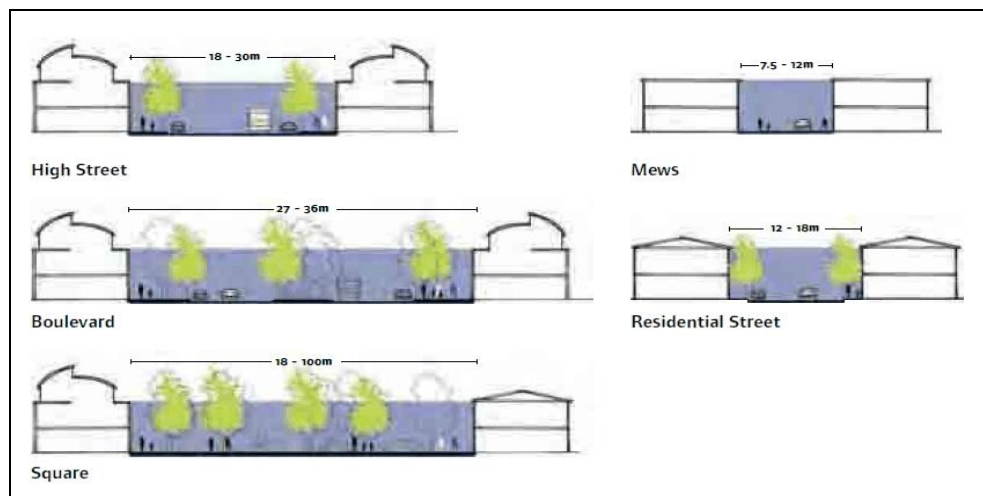


Figure 37: Typical widths for different types of streets
(Source: Manual For Streets, p: 53)

B. Sidewalk width for pedestrians: “The minimum unobstructed width for pedestrians should generally be 2m. Additional width should be considered between the footway and a heavily used carriageway, or adjacent to gathering places, such as schools and **shops.**” Tunalı Hilmi Street has sidewalks that are at some sections wider than 2 m, but at some sections narrower than this. Furthermore, it is questionable whether this width is sufficient for areas in front of shops, as mentioned above. Moreover, there are not enough staying/chatting spaces by the sidewalks.

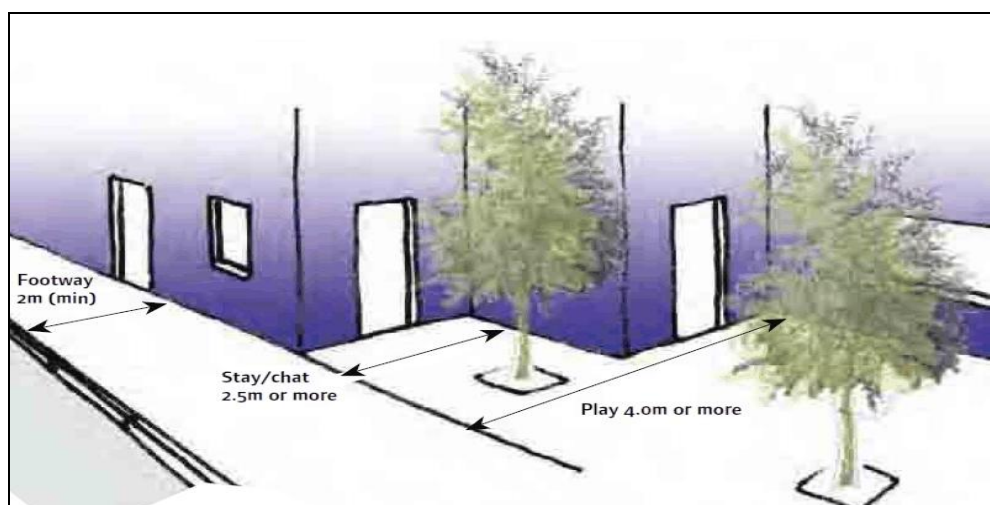


Figure 38: Typical widths for different types of footways and pedestrian areas
(Source: Manual For Streets, p: 68)

C. Surface level crossings for pedestrians: A crossing with a minimum frequency of 100m should be applied on a street that is densely used by pedestrians. On Tunalı Hilmi Street, this condition is not satisfied; there is only one pedestrian crossing throughout the street, with a second one only at the end of the street (at Dörtyol junction). This is a result of the car traffic-dominated nature of the street.

	STRONGLY EXISTING	SOMEWHAT EXISTING	NOT EXISTING
SENSE OF IDENTITY		+	
SENSE OF PLACE		+	
LOCAL DISTINCTIVENESS	+		
DISTRICT	+		
PATH	+		
NODE	+		
LANDMARK		+	-
EDGE	+		
SENSE OF CLOSURE	+		
CONTINUITY	+		
DIVERSITY OF USES		+	
SAFE FOR PEDESTRIANS			-
SAFE FOR CYCLISTS			-
WELL CONNECTED		+	-
PLACE & MOVEMENT BALANCE			-
USER HIERARCHY (PEDESTRIAN AT TOP)			-
INCLUSIVE DESIGN FOR ELDERLY/DISABLED			-
PUBLIC POCKET		+	
STREET FURNITURE		+	
STREET LIGHTING			-
GOOD MAINTENANCE			-
CLEANLINESS			-
LANDSCAPE	+		
QUALITY OF PUBLIC REALM		+	
WIDTH OF STREET (18m-30m)		+	
WIDTH OF SIDEWALKS (generally 2m)		+	-
DISTANCE OF LEVEL CROSSINGS (min 100m)			-

Figure 39: Table of criteria showing the potentials of Tunalı Hilmi Street
(Source: Personal study)
Note: Please see the text for explanations under each criterion.

Observing the table to see the overall view we can realize that in terms of the design theorists' criterion, being a district, path, having edges, a node, somewhat a landmark, Tunalı Hilmi Street has potentials. However, in terms of being safe for pedestrians and cyclists, balance between place and movement, priority of pedestrians in user hierarchy, inclusive design for elderly/disabled, frequency of level crossings for pedestrians and in terms of cleanliness, maintenance and lighting, it have severe shortcomings. Furthermore, in terms of diversity of uses it has, being well connected meaning accessible, not having enough public pockets for pedestrians including enough street furniture on them, in terms of the width of street and sidewalks and quality of public realm, Tunalı Hilmi Street is still lacking some points. This table, which is the summary of the framework above, shows us the quality of space Tunalı Hilmi Street possesses. Besides, it shows us the weaknesses of the street, which are mostly related with transport issues and in particular the quality of accessibility for pedestrians.

6.3. Decline of Tunalı Hilmi Street

In spite of the potentials of Tunalı Hilmi Street as a public space, a shopping street and a social place, the street has been experiencing a certain level of decline. These are briefly described below.

6.3.1. Decline due to Automobile Invasion

The role of streets in urban social life has been decreasing due to increasing car traffic on streets as well as high numbers of shopping centers competing with high streets. The increase in the volume in city traffic affects the use of the street more than anything. True, the high speed of the automobile and potential hazards it carries for the pedestrian makes it imperative for the planner to provide artifacts of safety. The street, except for the sidewalk, is left to the automobile. This certainly affects some functions of the street including socialization.

Tunalı Hilmi Street has high concentration of traffic; however, it does not carry the load of public transportation systems as Kızılay and Ulus. There is always a flow of pedestrian on the street, due to the location and diversity of land uses.

In the thesis study of Okullu, the pedestrians were asked what they thought the primary issues and problems were in Tunalı Hilmi Street. The answers are shown with a table presented below (Okullu, 2007: 123).

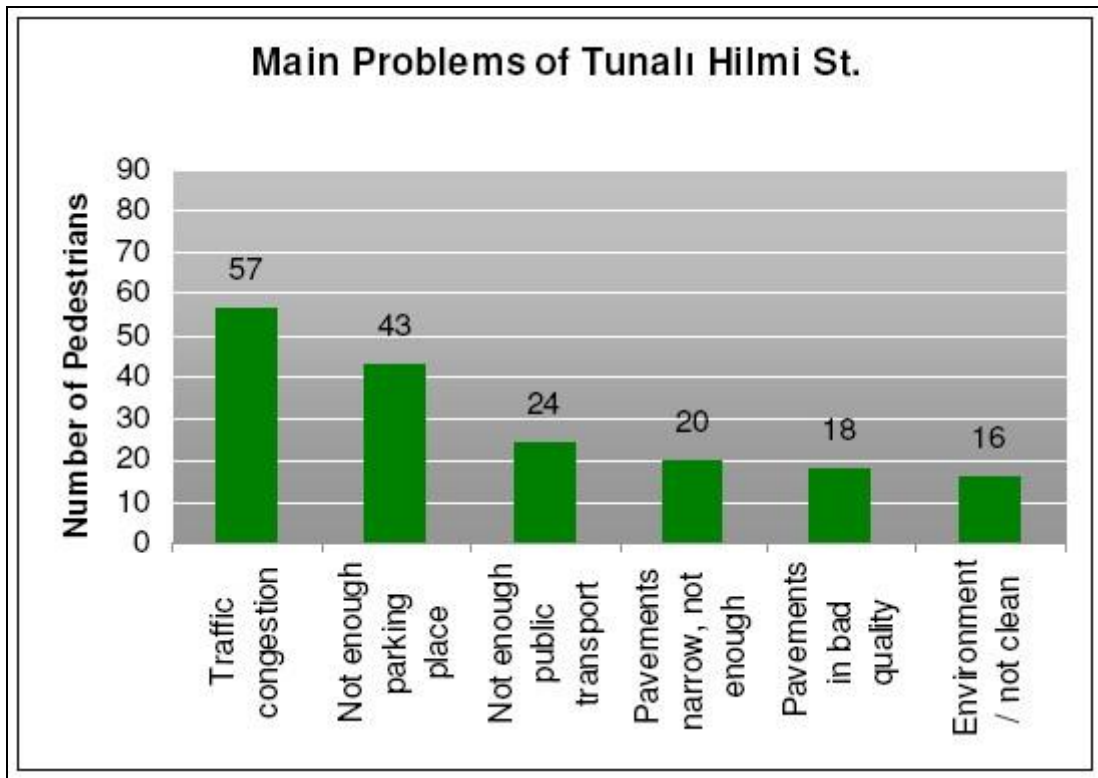


Figure 40: Main problems of Tunalı Hilmi Street (pedestrian view)

(Source: Okullu, 2007: 123)

Numbers existing on the top of the columns on the tables give the number of applicant, percentages are given in the text below

According to the questionnaires of Okullu (p:123), it is seen that, for pedestrians main problems of the Tunalı Hilmi Street are mostly “traffic congestion” (63%) and lack of enough parking place (48%). Pedestrians were also asked to tell their thoughts about the effective solutions of the problems of Tunalı Hilmi Street. Their answers were as follows: (Okullu, 2007: 123)

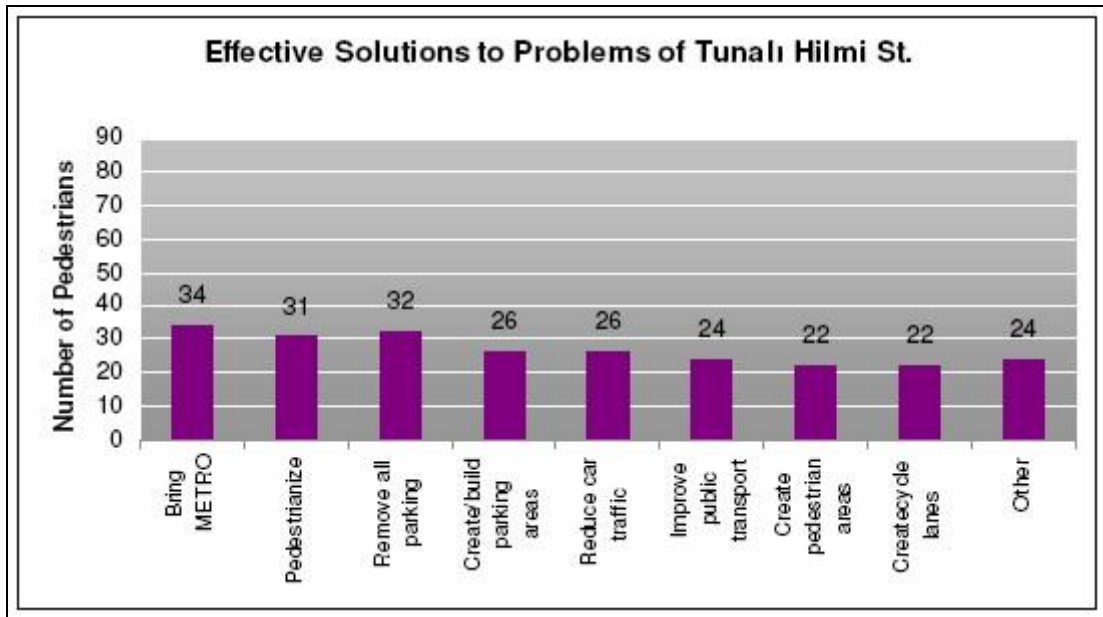


Figure 41: Effective solutions to problems of Tunalı Hilmi Street (pedestrian view)

(Source: Okullu, 2007: 124)

Numbers existing on the top of the columns on the tables give the number of applicant, percentages are given in the text below

According to pedestrians, effective solutions to the problems of the street are mostly “bringing metro” (38%), “removing all parking along the street” (36%) and “pedestrianization” (34%). (Okullu, 2007: 124)

As a result of the questionnaires of Okullu, it is clear that the car traffic is seen as the most initial problem on Tunalı Hilmi Street. It is also another result of the questionnaires that the majority of users of Tunalı Hilmi Street did not own a car, however, whether they owned a car or not, great percent of the users of the street (72%) were willing the street to be pedestrianized. In addition, 42% of shop owners in Tunalı Hilmi, were supporting the pedestrianization of the street. This is not the majority but still quite a high percentage. (Okullu, 2007: 135-137)

6.3.2. Decline of Social Usages

Tunalı Hilmi Street used to carry a high capacity of social interaction facilities. These facilities started to lose their popularities due to the automobile invasion of the street followed by the policies applied to the street. Rising of out of town shopping centers also prevented the socialization of the street.

Beginning with the automobile era, conversion of the "street" to the "road" for automobiles to move faster, making the street a "one way road", Tunalı Hilmi Street started to lose its character of being a social area. Transport policies applied to the street affected both the flow of traffic and the wandering of pedestrians. Pedestrians can not wander along the street in a comfortable way due to the heavy flow of traffic that causes air pollution and noise. Because of the inadequate car parking areas, a lot of cars are being parked by the roadside, sometimes on the sidewalks that also hinders the movement of pedestrians.

Namely the landmark of the street, Kavaklıdere Cinema, which was presenting movies with high cultural and artistic contents as well as hosting film festivals, was closed in the year 2007. This is also the fact of the street's losing its social character.

6.3.3. Decline due to the Rise of Out of Town Shopping Centers

Shopping centers include almost all the activities/facilities that a street includes. It is a closed area that there is protected from wind, snow, rain, sunshine, dust inside. There is also no traffic so that pedestrians can wander in a safe environment. They are cool in summer and hot in winter. People can do shopping from the different brands of shops; eat something in the food courts that serve different alternatives in a close distance that gives the chance of election; go to cinema that has adequate number of saloons displaying different films. They can park their cars easily; can take their children to the playgrounds inside the building; can use the restrooms.

It is clear that this protected nature as well as the diversity of activities offered in shopping centers draw the attention of people. Certainly these shopping centers emerged as a requirement and they may be satisfying several needs. On the other hand, in many countries in the world, particularly in Europe, there is growing concern that the rise of shopping centers should not be at the expense of streets, which are traditional town centers. Particularly in England, recent legislations emphasize this issue stating that traditional town centers and high-streets should be strengthened because they are more accessible places for all income-groups, age-

groups, and those without automobiles. In addition, local town centers and high-streets are important for minimizing the need of people to travel with cars, and for them to meet their needs in their own neighbourhoods. Hence streets are not only traditional public and social spaces of city life, but they are also easily accessible, inclusive amenity areas for the daily needs of people.

This is why, for Tunalı Hilmi Street too, the potentials of the street as a public space, social arena, and a local amenity center should be supported, while its attraction and competitiveness for local users increased.

6.4. Conclusion

In this chapter, a preliminary analysis of Tunalı Hilmi Street is carried out, in terms of design guidelines of urban design theorists and good-practice of street design manuals. These entire criteria are also analyzed with a table to see the rating of them. The results indicated that Tunalı Hilmi Street is strong in terms of design guidelines followed by its social characteristics. However, it is weak in terms of pedestrian oriented policies, including cyclists, elderly and disabled. It is also weak in being clean and well kept.

Though social activities lose their popularities due to the automobile invasion, still there are events on Tunalı Hilmi Street and on the streets around. Social activities are not totally disappearing, but they are changing their forms. The street still attracts the users very much; however, diversity and quality of activities and events can be enhanced.

The analyses at the beginning of the chapter are followed by the observations on the decline of Tunalı Hilmi Street due to automobile invasion, followed by the decline of social usages. Depending on the first two reasons, the factor in the decline of Tunalı Hilmi Street is declared as the rise of out of town shopping centers all around Ankara. In order to analyze this decline, the fugitive users of Tunalı Hilmi Street, who are the new users of shopping centers are questioned. The results of the questionnaires are declared in the following chapter.

CHAPTER 7

USER ANALYSIS IN SHOPPING CENTERS

7.1. Introduction

In order to investigate the preferences and needs/wishes of shopping center users, a questionnaire was carried out in six shopping centers in Ankara. The shopping centers in which the questionnaires were carried out were chosen from different location of Ankara as much as possible. One of them was Panora Shopping Center located in the district of Oran, where the residents are mostly from the upper income groups. Another was Antares Shopping Center located in the district of Etlik, accommodating both middle-income residents and some luxurious residential units. Etlik is a region of Keçiören Township, mostly preferred by relatively high income groups. Another was Ankamall Shopping Center, one of the largest shopping centers in Ankara. It is located in Akköprü, near a major junction of main routes that connect the townships Çankaya, Yenimahalle, Keçiören and Altındağ, which are the largest townships of Ankara. Among the six shopping centers that the questionnaires were carried out, Ankamall is the only one that can be accessed by metro; it is very close to the station. It is also on the junction of public transport routes. The other three shopping centers are all located on the same route, on Ankara-Eskişehir Road. There are also other shopping center investments still being carried on the same route that indicates the development axis of Ankara. Three of them are Armada, Cepa and Gordion Shopping Centers. Armada is in Söğütözü, which is near the intersection of two main roads that are Konya Road and Eskişehir Road. It is also near the intercity bus terminal of Ankara, AŞTİ and it is near the Ankaray Light Rail Transit route, though it does not have direct or convenient pedestrian access from the station. Cepa is located a few kilometers away from Armada and Gordion is located further outside, in Ümitköy area, on the west corridor of Ankara. There is an investment for a new Metro line on this direction;

however, the construction has not been finished for years. Cepa will be across one of the stations of Metro and Gordion will be quite close to another station when the construction is finished. Gordion Shopping center also has its luxurious residential units around.

In all the six shopping centers that the questionnaires were carried out fifteen people were subjected to the questionnaire. Totally 90 people were questioned in order to investigate their preferences, needs, wishes, likes or dislikes. 46 of them had come to visit shopping centers with their private cars, while 44 of them had come with public transportation. The ratio is almost equal, showing us that the preference of shopping centers in Ankara is not only related to increasing car usage and car-dependency as previously expected. Even those who travel with public transport modes visit shopping centers. The ratio of the visitors of shopping centers with public transport modes are higher for Anka-Mall Shopping Center and Armada Shopping center, that are more accessible with different public transport modes such as; metro, bus and minibus for Anka-Mall and Ankaray, bus and minibus for Armada. 51% of the interviewees were between the age 20 and 30, 30% of them were between 30 and 40, 13% of them were between 40 and 50, and 6% of them were between 50 and 60.

7.2. Analysis of Questionnaire Results

In the questionnaire, shopping center users were asked to state their preferences in shopping destinations. They were asked whether they preferred shopping centers for lesiure and shopping purposes. The answers are shown in Figure 42.

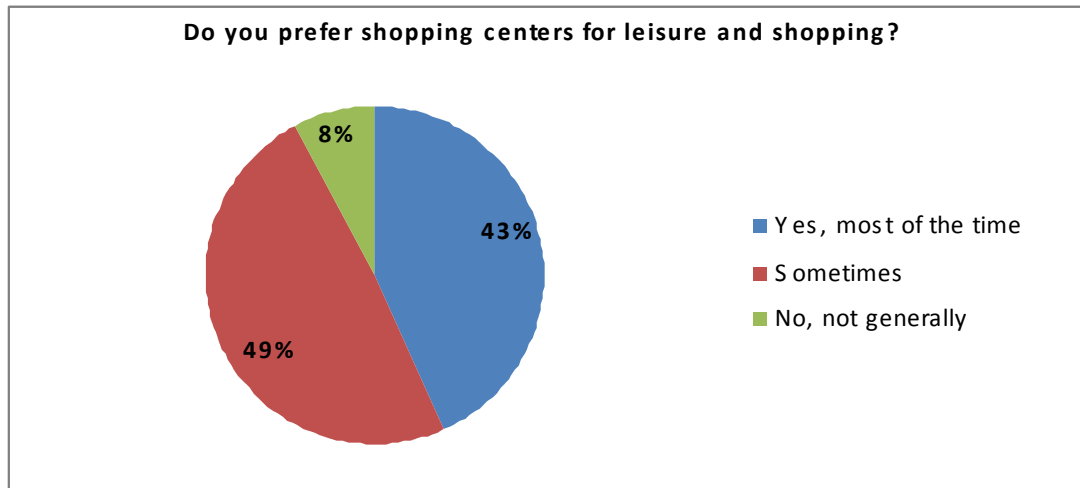


Figure 42: Shopping center users' preferences in shopping and leisure activities
(Source: Personal study)

It is seen in the figure that half of the participants stated they prefer shopping centers sometimes or from time to time, while 43% prefer shopping centers most of the time. Only 8% of the participants stated that they generally do not visit shopping centers. The 92% is composed of the visitors both travelling with cars and not travelling with cars. When we analyse those with cars and those without, this does not make a significant difference in the respondents' answers. Still, it should be noted that 43% of those with a car prefer shopping centers most of the time while this rate is %39 for those without a car. Similarly, of the car users only 4% stated that they do not generally prefer shopping centers, while this rate was higher, 11% for those without a car (Figure 43).

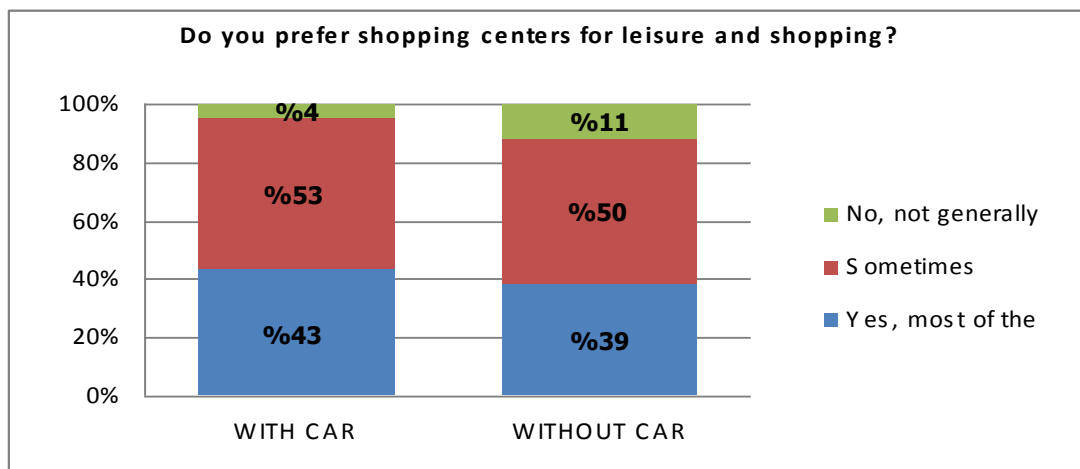


Figure 43: Shopping center users' preferences in shopping and leisure activities according to their usage of private cars
(Source: Personal study)

Ratio of visitors of shopping centers with private cars are only slightly more than the ratio of visitors without private cars. However, the figure shows that whether they are using their private cars or not, about 43% of the participants prefer visiting shopping centers most of the time for leisure and shopping .

Shopping center users were also asked about shopping streets in Ankara, and about Tunalı Hilmi Street in particular. They were asked whether they visited Tunalı Hilmi Street at all for their shopping and leisure trips. The ratios are shown in Figure 44.

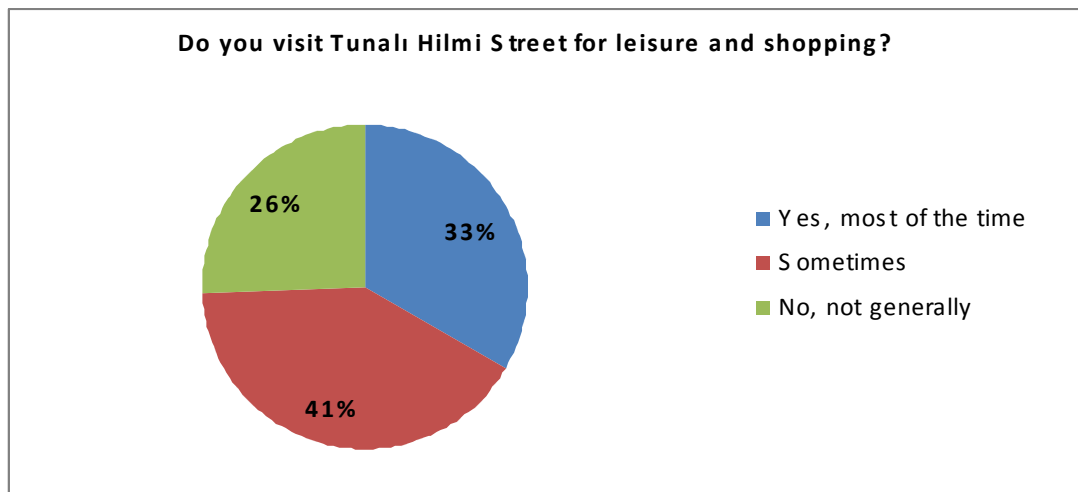


Figure 44: Shopping center users' visiting Tunalı Hilmi Street for shopping and leisure activities (Source: Personal study)

It is seen in the figure that 41% of the participants stated they visit Tunalı Hilmi Street sometimes or from time to time, while 33% visit Tunalı Hilmi Street most of the time. 26% of the participants stated that they generally do not visit Tunalı Hilmi Street. The 74% is composed of the visitors both travelling with cars and those without cars. It is seen that one fourth of them are not visiting the street. This can have different reasons and these reasons will be handled in the following graphs.

The analysis was carried out by looking separately at car users and those without cars (Figure 45). The comparison does not reveal a significant difference between car users and non-users.

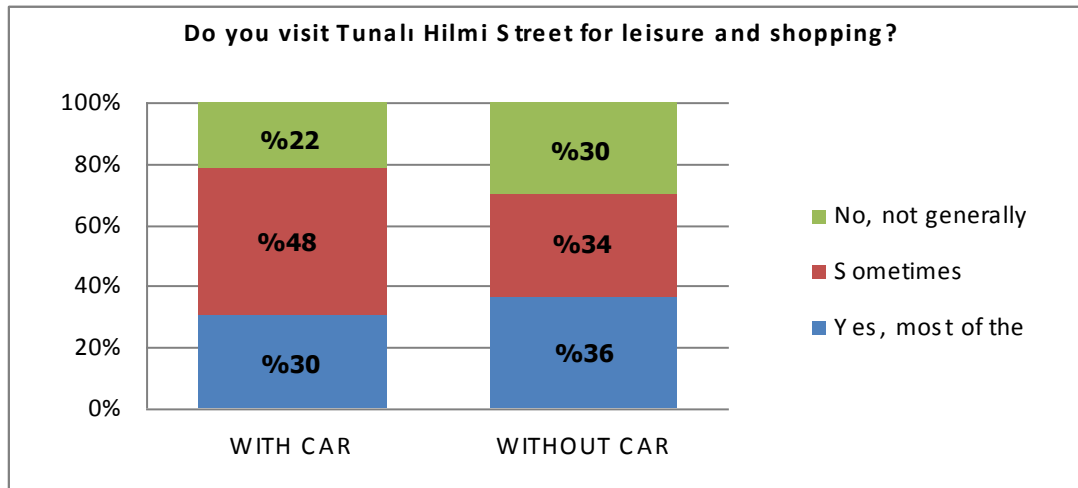


Figure 45: Shopping center users' visiting Tunalı Hilmi Street: car users and those without cars (Source: Personal study)

Ratio of those who frequently visit Tunalı Hilmi Street is only slightly less for private car users when compared with those without private cars. The ratio is 30% for those with cars and 36% for those without cars. On the other hand almost half of those with cars said that they sometimes visit Tunalı Hilmi Street for leisure and shopping; and this is much higher than the corresponding rate in those without cars. People travelling with private cars prefer visiting Tunalı Hilmi Street sometimes, not most of the time. Besides, 34% of the participants without cars visit Tunalı Hilmi Street for leisure and shopping sometimes, while this ratio is 36% for the participants that visit most of the time. When we compare the visitors with and without cars, percentage of participants who do not visit Tunalı Hilmi Street without cars is almost 1,5 times of the visitors with cars. At a first glance, this is contradictory to general expectations. People who travel with cars would be expected to prefer shopping centers, but in this case it is seen that 30% of them visit Tunalı Hilmi Street most of the time; 48% visit sometimes, and only 22% state they never visit. This probably is related to the fact that Tunalı Hilmi Street does not have very good public transport connections; in other words it is not as accessible as it should be to those without cars. As a result, car users visit Tunalı Hilmi Street more often than those who travel without cars.

To those who said that they seldom go to Tunalı Hilmi Street, reasons were asked (Figure 46)

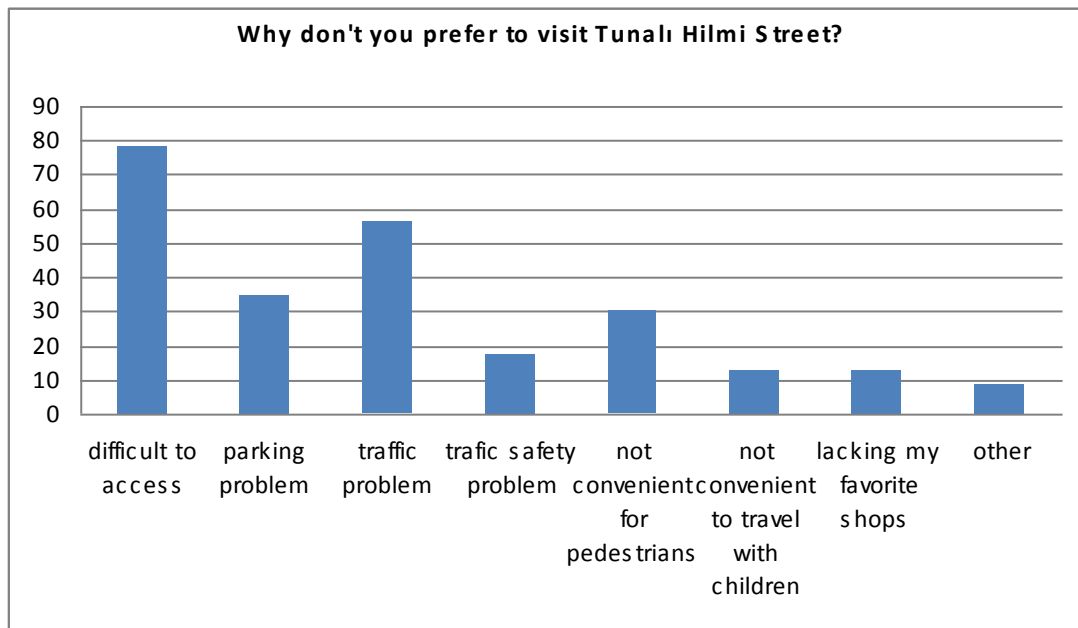


Figure 46: The reasons of the participants not to visit Tunalı Hilmi Street

(Source: Personal study)

Note: Participants are asked to name as many problems as it applies. Therefore the totals are not supposed to give 100%. Each bar shows what percent of the participants see the issue in question as a problem.

The most leading reason for the participants not to visit Tunalı Hilmi Street is the difficulty of access (78%). This is in line with the explanation above and also in line with the analysis made in the previous chapter, which assessed Tunalı Hilmi Street against a set of criteria of planning and design. Second reason for their not visiting Tunalı Hilmi Street is the traffic problem (57%) and that is followed by the problem of parking (35%) and the inconvenience for pedestrians (30%).

Those who were interviewed were shopping center users as mentioned before and the questionnaire was carried out in the shopping centers. The respondents were asked why they preferred shopping centers as opposed to streets like Tunalı Hilmi Street, for leisure and shopping purposes. The answers, separately analysed for car users and non-users, are given in Figures 47 and 48.

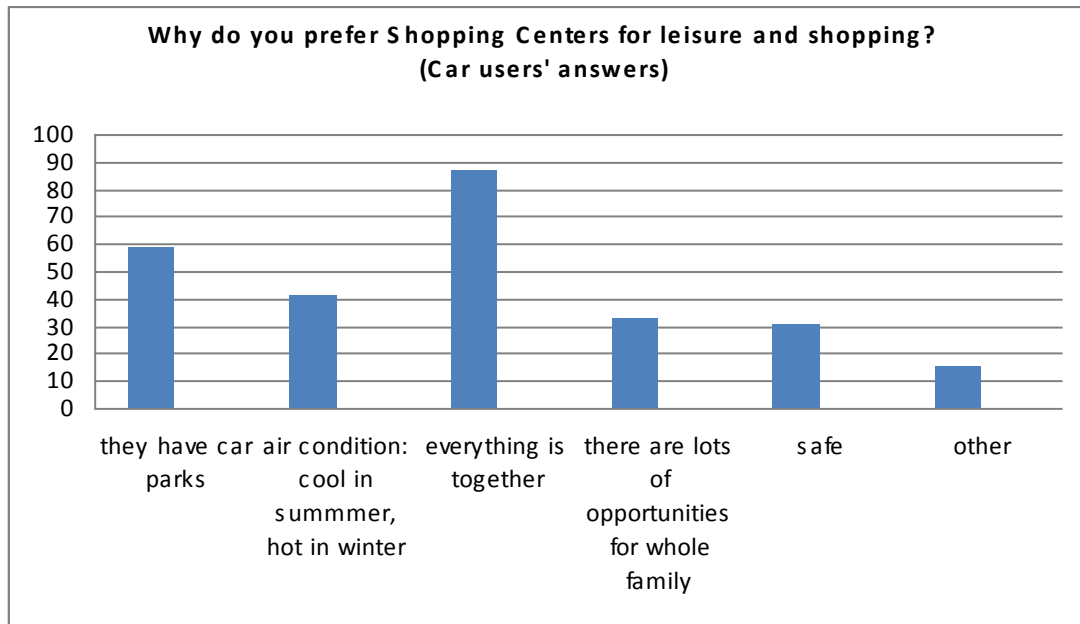


Figure 47: The reasons of the participants for preferring shopping centers (car users)
 (Source: Personal study)

Note: Participants are asked to name as many reasons as it applies. Therefore the totals are not supposed to give 100%. Each bar shows what percent of the participants see that factor as relevant in their choosing shopping centers

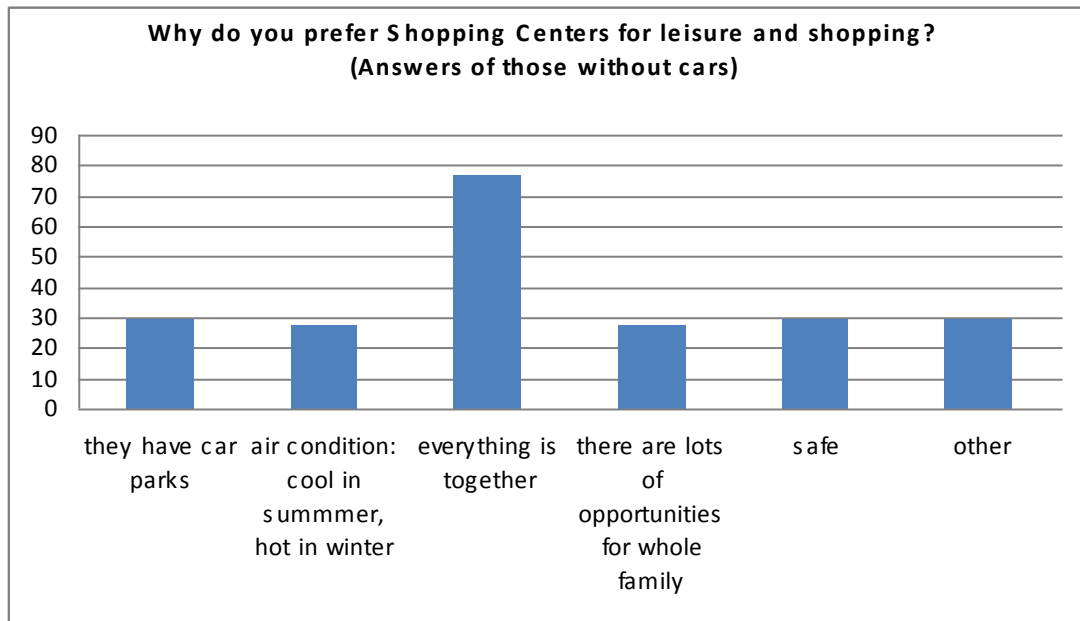


Figure 48: The reasons of the participants for preferring shopping centers (those without cars)
 (Source: Personal study)

Note: Participants are asked to name as many reasons as it applies. Therefore the totals are not supposed to give 100%. Each bar shows what percent of the participants see that factor as relevant in their choosing shopping centers

Whether they are traveling with private cars or not, the reason for visitors to prefer shopping centers is because everything is provided together there. Hence **diversity** of shops and availability of other amenities, such as cafes, markets, banks, etc. are important. They can reach most of their needs in shopping centers. Participants with cars also prefer shopping centers because of the car parks. We should also note that, one of the major advantages of shopping centers, i.e. being warm in winter and cool in summer months, is not valued as high as would be expected in the Ankara case; nevertheless car users find this issue important since more 40% stated that this was a factor.

As a final question, interviewees were asked about possible improvements and interventions in Tunalı Hilmi Street that they felt necessary in order for them to visit this street more frequently. Answers are given in Figures 49 and 50.

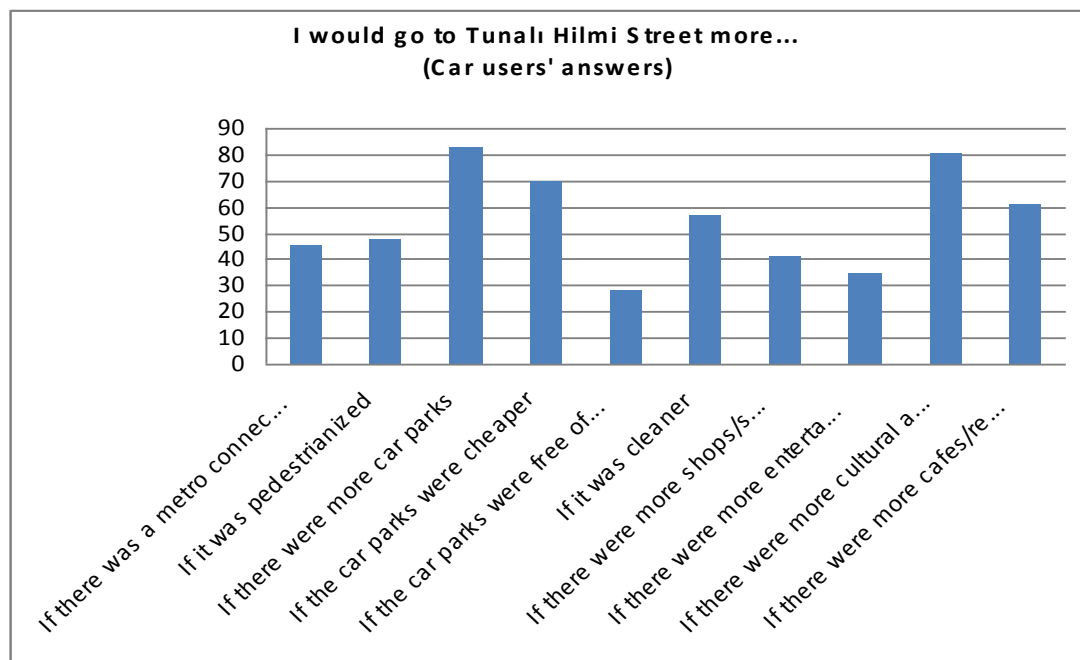


Figure 49: Possible improvements that would make car users visit Tunalı Hilmi Street more often (Source: Personal study)

Note: Participants are asked to name as many items as it applies. Therefore the totals are not supposed to give 100%. Each bar shows what percent of the participants see that factor as relevant in making Tunalı Hilmi Street more attractive to them

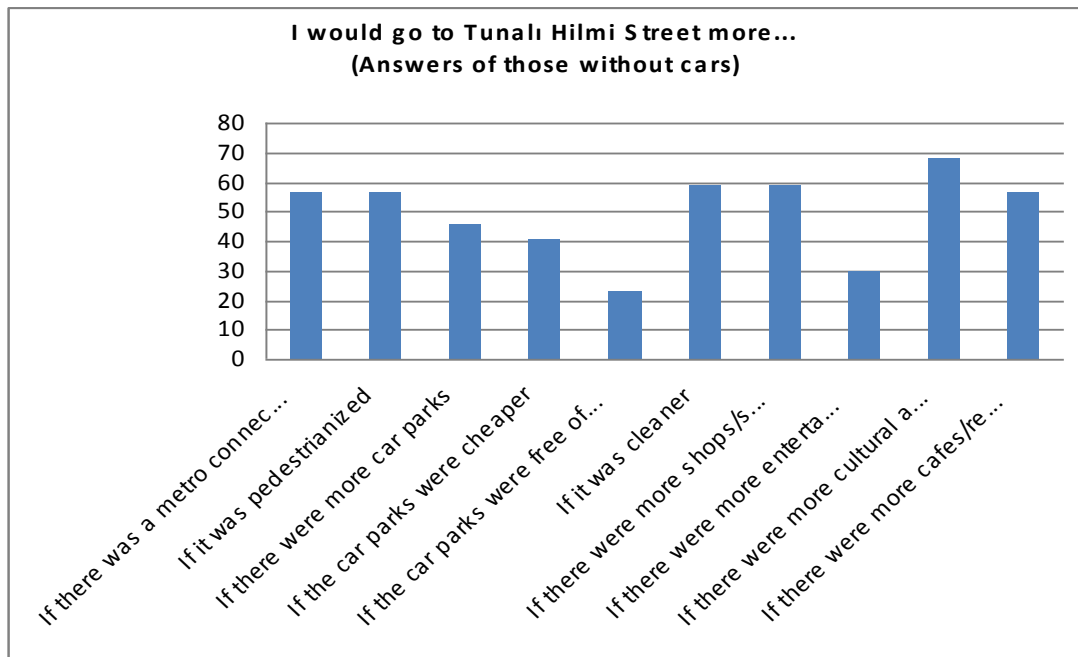


Figure 50: Possible improvements that would make those without cars visit Tunalı Hilmi Street more often (Source: Personal study)

Note: Participants are asked to name as many items as it applies. Therefore the totals are not supposed to give 100%. Each bar shows what percent of the participants see that factor as relevant in making Tunalı Hilmi Street more attractive to them.

Car user's answers, represented in Figure 49 show us that, car parking conditions come into prominence for them. It is followed by their demand on the increase of cultural activities and cafes/restaurants on Tunalı Hilmi Street. They also emphasize the problem of cleanliness. Connection of metro with Tunalı Hilmi Street and pedestrianization of the street were not supported much by the car users.

Answers to those without cars, represented in Figure 50 shows us that, primary demand of them is the increase of cultural activities, followed by the increase in number of shops, cafes/restaurants. Connection of metro with Tunalı Hilmi Street and pedestrianization of the street are almost necessary as the primary ones.

7.3. Findings

The recent trend of "shopping centers" are attracting people in different ages and genders. It can be declared that there is nobody who does not visit the shopping centers. Of course, they are the means of modernization in terms of shopping and retail activities of the new century. However, with the rise of this trend, the traditional public spaces, especially the high streets of cities started to decline.

It is generally accepted that people without car prefer going to shopping centers less because of the site selection of shopping centers that they are always located far away from the city centers and it is not possible to reach without car or public transportation. For the case of Ankara, this was not the case: of the 90 random people interviewed in shopping centers, the ratio of car users and those without cars were half and half. This indicates that shopping centers' attraction is not only related to increasing car ownership, car usage and parking problems in city centers. Even those who travel without cars enjoy visiting shopping centers. The analysis showed that the main reason for this was *diversity* of shops and activities in shopping centers. Hence, when improving high streets and public spaces, diversity should be seen as a design strategy to increase the attraction and competitiveness of such places.

Nevertheless, accessibility issues are not unimportant either: Though Tunalı Hilmi Street is in central Ankara, which can be reached with public transportation or on foot from the center, the "quality" of this access is important. As mentioned in the previous chapter, there is no metro to this site and public transport buses are not the most comfortable, fast, reliable modes in Ankara. The street suffers from heavy traffic congestion making public transport slow and uncomfortable. In addition, although Tunalı Hilmi Street is in walking distance to the city centre, walking conditions and sidewalks on the main boulevard or other alternative roads (such as Tunus Street) have deteriorated or narrowed or occupied with parked cars. Pedestrian conditions on the street also deteriorate due to traffic flow, noise, exhaust, etc. As a result, not surprisingly, majority of those who do not visit Tunalı Hilmi Street stated that the reason for this was the limited accessibility of the street. People who use private cars are the active visitors of Tunalı Hilmi Street. This is mostly because while public transport and pedestrian accessibility in the area is deteriorating, automobile access is trying to be improved and encouraged with the automobile oriented transport policies in Ankara. A smaller percentage of those without cars stated that they visit Tunalı Hilmi Street. Hence, once again, it is obvious that the essential problem is the problem of accessing to Tunalı Hilmi Street.

The result of all these analyses indicate that, the reason why people do not visit or do not prefer to visit Tunalı Hilmi Street is essentially the lacking cultural activities and events on the street. Even, for any place of face to face interaction, diversity of cultural activities is the leading fact. For the case of Tunalı Hilmi Street, there was Kavaklıdere Cinema once upon a time on the street but it is not there anymore. As well as, diversity of shops, cafes, restaurants, cleanliness of the street are also what visitors want to see. These are also the facts of socialization for people. The density of traffic is a problem for both car users and for those without cars. Car users mind about the car parks while those without cars mind about the noise and air pollution caused by cars and mind about crossing over the street during their wandering around the street. Reaching the street that is pedestrianized with the connection of metro is also important for the people who do not use cars for visiting Tunalı Hilmi Street. As it is applied in most of the European countries, Tunalı Hilmi Street and most of the central streets of the cities should be pedestrianized, at least some hours of the day. On the contrary, Tunalı Hilmi Street is being used as a highway all day long.

Taking into consideration the demands of the people, who are volunteer to visit the street if their demands are ensured, Tunalı Hilmi Street, having a traditional history, having a space quality in terms of its design and location should be saved and renewed. This renewal should be in terms of both enhancing the cultural activities on the street and strengthening the space quality with design considerations. While applying these renewal facts, pedestrian use of the street should be considered as the primary fact, including access of the street.

CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSION

This thesis intended to highlight the decreasing emphasis on the use of streets as a problem that needs to be considered in the planning and design of the built environment. The study assessed threats that weaken the streets and result in their decline. For this purpose, the potentials of a street, its meaning in a person's life, its being a common public space, its being a place of communication/social interaction were reviewed next to its being a route for going from one destination to another, its being a road for automobiles. For the case of Ankara, Tunalı Hilmi Street, the potentials of the street in terms of its spatial quality and social mobility were put forward. The leading threat that leads to decline of Tunalı Hilmi Street is found out to be the use of street as a road for high concentration of automobiles all day long. Hence the balance between "place" and "movement" has been compromised. It is realized that automobile oriented transport policies both affect the use of streets negatively and make people extremely dependent on automobile. Automobile users can reach to any destination of the cities, wherever they want. This invasion of cities, streets and lives by automobiles also triggers the decentralization of cities to the outskirts, in terms of both residential areas and shopping/entertainment areas. Especially the shopping centers that need wide areas to be established choose to be out of town. These new public spaces of cities are only accessible with private automobiles or public transportation. However, in many cities, and in the case of Ankara, the public transport systems that reach the out of town shopping centers are not adequate so generally people with automobiles can use these centers. It is discussed in recent legislations on shopping centers in Europe that this leads to the exclusion of people who do not own private cars. In contrast, it is easy to reach a street in the city center or suburban amenity centers with public transportation or

by walking from homes. However, streets, the most usual public spaces of our lives are in a period of decline due to the invasion of automobiles that deteriorate conditions for pedestrians as well as trigger the sprawl of cities and the rise of out of town shopping centers. This is the reason why this study has been done.

8.1. Summary of Research

Well-planned streets and spaces are fundamental to good settlements. This means that streets should be designed to provide the forum for social interaction as well as to facilitate movement. They should have the types of spaces which can accommodate all sorts of activities, formal or informal, planned or spontaneous (Places, Streets and Movement, p:39).

Tunalı Hilmi Street attracts users of different ages and genders everyday. Kızılay is the CBD of Ankara, however, Tunalı Hilmi Street has the potential of being a high qualified street with the brand mark cafes, restaurants, shops and etc. on it. The street is both a social area for retail activities and a business area for the residents of the offices and houses.

Beginning with a node named Kuğulu Park; Tunalı Hilmi Street is a path in Kavaklıdere district. Next to being a shopping street, there are shopping arcades on the street, there are benches on the sidewalks to rest and there are varieties of leisure activities. There is a children's playground in the Kuğulu Park area. Tunalı Hilmi Street has a great potential of being a "street as a place". Having the potential of being a social area, Tunalı Hilmi Street has an environment where socialization begins with the people's face to face interaction. It is an attractive place to draw in the attention of visitors depending on the quality of space, including design, order, cleanliness, diversity, serenity and access.

Being located in central vicinity that can be reached on foot, there is always high concentration of pedestrian traffic in Tunalı Hilmi Street. The street had been pedestrianized in 1990's on Sunday afternoons, beginning from Kuğulu Park and ending with Bülten Street's intersection with Tunalı Hilmi Street. This partial pedestrianization experience did not last too long and motorized period followed it.

Instead of being a pedestrian area for socialization, the street and entourage turned out to be a highway, flowing as a one way road and reaching to Kızılay, the CBD of Ankara, with transit underpass roads around.

Tunalı Hilmi Street, still being a social area, lost its popularity as a result of the automobile invasion, triggering the rise of out of town shopping centers. Pedestrians visiting the street are marginalized also, due to the transport policies that let the automobiles capture the street. As a result of these, Tunalı Hilmi Street started to lose its public frame. Number of people who prefer to visit the street for face to face interaction or social activities started to decrease. Nevertheless, this decrease is not extremely bad that the street still has a great number of visitors in every hour of a day. The fact is that the street should be taken in hand in order to annihilate the reasons affecting the use of the street and its competitiveness with the emerging shopping centers.

Shopping centers of today are great threats for the traditional town centers. With the evolution of shopping centers, all kinds of activities taking place on streets started to shift to shopping centers. Streets are in a competition with the new emerging shopping centers while shopping centers are imitating the streets during their evolution. Shopping centers include more than all the activities/facilities that a street includes.

The objectives of this study were demonstrating the potentials of Tunalı Hilmi Street in Ankara as a living public space and testing whether shopping centers' users can be attracted to Tunalı Hilmi Street. The goal of this study was putting forward the planning strategies that are needed to attract the people to Tunalı Hilmi Street. The automobile usage, the current transport policies and facilities that make shopping centers increasingly preferred and streets like Tunalı Hilmi abandoned is the main concern of this study.

8.2. Research Findings

8.2.1. Strengths and Weaknesses of Tunalı Hilmi Street as a Public Space and Street

One of the objectives of the study was to illustrate that Tunalı Hilmi Street has the potential of being a public space. The potentials that Tunalı Hilmi Street has can be listed beginning with the location of the street. It is within the region of Kavaklıdere, which is the location that the central development of Ankara beginning from Ulus has reached to an end. The region is also important in terms of its being near the diplomatic environment of Ankara. Most of the embassies are located around the street. Furthermore, it is on the way reaching the presidential palace of Turkey. All these utilization located around the street create an eminent atmosphere. This leads to the street's being a qualified path in Ankara. It has brand mark shops, restaurants, cafes etc. on and around. The beautiful Kuğulu Park that is the only place to breathe within the polluted air of the city center is located at the beginning of Tunalı Hilmi Street as a node. It has a different social atmosphere in terms of being in a special location and including special facilities.

An analysis was carried out to assess whether Tunalı Hilmi is a living public space and street. Various criteria were used, based on the works of leading urban design theorists and street design manuals. Tunalı Hilmi street has positive aspects in terms of the design and space quality, whereas, it has negative aspects in terms of its utilization by predominantly motorized transport, deteriorating accessibility conditions for all users including pedestrians.

8.2.2. Shopping Center Users' Perspective: Questionnaire Results

Tunalı Hilmi Street is being used less and less as a shopping and leisure street, resulting in many shops and recently a cinema being closed in this street. In order to find out why users prefer shopping centers and not Tunalı Hilmi Street, a research was carried out; a questionnaire was applied for the shopping center users.

The shopping center users were asked their preference and reasons of visiting shopping centers for leisure and shopping. Besides, their visiting Tunalı Hilmi Street for leisure and shopping was also asked. The ones who do not usually visit Tunalı Hilmi Street mostly complained about the difficulty of access that was because it was not easy to enter the street either with private car or with public transportation. This problem leads to the second reason for their not visiting the street since they were complaining about the traffic problem. The visitors who prefer arriving the street with their private cars complained about the problem of inadequate parking areas. The ones who prefer to walk find the street inconvenient for pedestrians, since the flow of traffic is so fast and continuous that they can not cross over the street easily. In addition to this, the crowded traffic also results in air and sound pollution on the street that disturb the pedestrians.

Those who stated that they also visit Tunalı Hilmi Street think that the street is in a period of decline, due to the invasion of automobiles. By the way, shopping centers, the emerging public spaces of modern-day, are drawing the attraction of people, since there is no traffic inside and they can find diversity of activities and needs inside. The emergence of these shopping centers is also affecting the decline of streets.

People who prefer visiting shopping centers for leisure and shopping mostly prefer those places since everything is together inside. For the car users, their having a car park is a selective criterion, followed by their climatic conditions that balance the outside weather.

In the questionnaire applied to the shopping center users, the last question was about the reasons that would ensure their going to Tunalı Hilmi Street. The most usual answer was thought to be the topic "I would go to Tunalı Hilmi Street more if it was pedestrianized", however, it was not. For the people who visit the street without private car, this wish was in the second tier. The most usual answer was "I would go to Tunalı Hilmi Street more if there were more cultural activities". It can be seen that, there should be cinemas, theatres, art galleries, dance halls, concert halls and so on for socializing with cultural activities as well as events for drawing

the attraction of people. It was followed by the answer “if there were more car parks” for the visitors having cars. Automobile usage has become the universal matter that all the people care about the traffic jam or parking problem. People are accustomed to use a private car, other than using a public transport mode. This is why the people care about car parks a lot. This was followed by the wish of car parks’ becoming cheaper. It is obvious that two of the first three wishes of people are about automobiles. Afterwards, people wanted the street to be pedestrianized, wanted metro to be extended to the street, wanted the street to be cleaner and wanted more shops/stores to locate on the street. These results show us, as planners, that, in addition to improving accessibility conditions and pedestrian uses, in terms of events and activities, a higher degree of diversity should be ensured.

8.3. Implications for Planning

The questionnaires put forward that accessibility, diversity of land-uses and maintenance are the essential issues for Tunalı Hilmi Street. In order to address these:

- Public transport connections should be improved, especially the connection of metro should be provided. Public transport vehicles should be high qualified.
- Though its pedestrianization is not as strongly supported as it was expected; it is obvious that traffic calming should be conducted and motorized traffic should be reduced. This is a complaint of people about Tunalı Hilmi Street in the questionnaires. Furthermore, looking at the subjects listed in the sixth chapter of this study, this is the most lacking subject that should be applied in terms of street design for Tunalı Hilmi Street.
- The most attractive feature for the shopping centers is diversity of uses/activities. Public space analyses in the sixth chapter also highlighted the subject of diversity. Streets already have diversity of uses/activities in terms of users, however, closure of shops and cinema on Tunalı Hilmi Street reduced this. Not only there should be diversity of shops, but also there should be more cultural activities as theatres, concerts and so on, as it is mentioned in the questionnaire results. In addition, diversity of activities

and events should ensure all-day usage of the streets, including night-time activities.

- Results of the questionnaires also included the wish for the increase of parking areas and their being cheaper. However, this is an unacceptable strategy in contemporary transport policy. So, with awareness raising campaigns, it should be explained that motorized traffic and car parking should be reduced, mentioning that the users of the streets are not the vehicles, but the people.
- The street should be well-maintained. The term "maintenance" here should be taken as the continuous harmony of facades of the buildings and shop windows. Sidewalks should be paved caring about ensuring the pedestrians' walking comfortably. The street should better lighted for night-time uses.

Rising shopping centers of today need to convince us that they are worth visiting. In order to ensure this, they serve different uses, most of which are the uses of streets, such as greengrocer, butcher, herbalist, fishmonger, ice skating ring, funfair and so on. They want to be promenade areas like streets. The promenade areas of once upon a time used to include cinemas also. This is why cinemas are leaving the streets and moving into shopping centers.

For the case of Tunalı Hilmi Street, Kavaklıdere Cinema has been closed. Akün Cinema that was near Tunalı Hilmi Street has been closed also, but the gratifying fact is the transformation of Akün Cinema to Akün Theatre. There should be more theatre halls and cinemas on and around Tunalı Hilmi Street. Other than shops, cultural activity places should be enhanced in order to attract upper cultural classes. The purpose should not only be attracting a lot of users, but also be attracting qualified users.

In order to control the rise of out of town shopping centers, legal arrangements should be introduced in Turkey. Such legislations should include matters, such as "city center development strategies", "great stores", "pedestrianization", "security problems". Streets should be on the transportation corridor, should be powerful in terms of accessibility, and should be connected with metro and bus. It is

accessibility that endears a space. The problem of accessibility should be solved. Matter of pedestrianization should be handled as a matter of creating places for socialization. Pedestrians should come together on streets, other than just passing by. Public squares should be constituted connecting pedestrianized social streets. Investments should be done for enhancing the streets' space quality to draw the attraction of people. Looking at İstiklal Street today, which is in İstanbul's Taksim Square, the street is living due to the investments. There should be local initiatives for streets, such as Kavaklıderem Association in Tunalı Hilmi Street, which is a non-governmental organization (NGO) in the Kavaklıdere district.

8.4. Future Research

Tunalı Hilmi Street is not the one and only street in Ankara having a public space potential, it is only the case study area of this thesis since it carries great potentials of being a public space having spatial quality. For both Tunalı Hilmi Street and others, planning policies should be improved that mind the street initially.

The most important thing is hindering the invasion of city centers and streets, meaning the public areas of cities, with automobiles. In most of the European countries, city centers are either closed to vehicle traffic or the entrance of the automobile is controlled. On the contrary, in Turkey, in Ankara especially, entrance of the automobiles to the city centers is encouraged. Underpasses or overpasses for automobiles are being constructed to let the automobile move faster, even in the city center. Level crossings for pedestrians are replaced with pedestrian overpasses, to keep the pedestrian away from the streets in order to let the automobiles move faster. Automobiles not only invade the streets, but also invade the sidewalks as parking areas. This invasion marginalizes the pedestrians in the city centers. In Turkey, we should also control the entrance of the automobiles to the city centers. Car parking areas near the centers should be arranged to leave the automobiles, public transportation should be improved and stimulated, bicycle roads should be developed, city centers and its streets should be arranged as squares. Automobiles should be marginalized from the city centers, instead of stimulating.

The other important thing that destroys the city centers/shopping precincts is the quality of space that is not considered important enough. Most of the streets are not designed consciously. On the other hand, they are not clean enough that most of the visitors of them complain about this.

Ankara does not have a square. There are only street formed public spaces/shopping precincts for interaction. One of them is Tunalı Hilmi Street, also having a history. This study underscored Tunalı Hilmi Street as the case study area. There should be other studies for other streets in Ankara or in Turkey. The streets/city centers should be handled in terms of their having public space characters. Their decline should be obstructed. There should be other studies concerning other aspects of street life in order to exalt it.

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APPENDIX

QUESTIONNAIRE APPLIED TO SHOPPING CENTER USERS

Ankara’da mı yaşıyorsunuz? Evet / Hayır (Evet ise anket uygulanmalı)

Buraya özel arabanızla mı geldiniz? Evet / hayır

Kaç yaşındasınız?

Çocuğunuz var mı? Var / Yok

1) Alışveriş yapmak için ve gezmek için AVM’leri mi tercih ediyorsunuz?

a) evet genellikle

b) bazen

c) hayır

2) Ankara’da sokakta alışveriş yapılacak yerler azaldı ama bir örnek olarak Tunalı Hilmi Caddesi var. Tunalı Hilmi’ye alışveriş veya gezmek için gidiyor musunuz?

a) evet sık sık (4.soruya geç)

b) evet bazen (4.soruya geç)

c) hayır (3. soruya geç)

3) (BU SORU 2. SORUYA “HAYIR” DİYENLER İÇİNDİR)Tunalı Hilmi veya bunun gibi sokak mekânlarına gitmeyi tercih etmeme nedeniniz nedir?

a) oraya ulaşmak/erişmek zor

b) otopark olanakları sınırlı

c) trafik sorunu var

d) trafik güvenliği sorunu var

e) yaya olarak rahat edemiyorum

f) ailece/çocuklu gittiğimde rahat edemiyorum

g) sevdiğim mağazalar/dükkanlar orada yok

h) diğer.....

4) Alışveriş veya gezmek için AVM'yi tercih etmenizin nedeni nedir? (AVM'nin ne gibi avantajları var?)

- a) otopark var
- b) klima: yazın serin, kışın sıcak
- c) herşey birarada
- d) ailece geliyoruz çok olanak var
- e) güvenli
- f) diğer.....

5) Aşağıdakilerin hangisi yapılırsa Tunalı Hilmi Caddesi'ne daha sık giderdiniz?

	Evet yapılmalı	Hayır, gerekli değil	Fikrim yok
Tunalı Hilmi'ye kadar metro olsa			
Tunalı Hilmi yayalaştırılsa			
Tunalı Hilmi çevresinde daha fazla otopark olsa			
Tunalı Hilmi çevresindeki otoparklar daha ucuz olsa			
Tunalı Hilmi çevresindeki otoparklar ücretsiz olsa			
Tunalı Hilmi daha temiz olsa			
Tunalı Hilmi'de daha çeşitli dükkânlar/mağazalar olsa			
Tunalı Hilmi'de çocukla gidilecek daha fazla eğlence mekânı olsa			
Tunalı Hilmi'de kültürel etkinlikler daha fazla olsa			
Tunalı Hilmi'de restaurant ve kafeler daha fazla olsa			

Diğer.....

ANKET HANGİ AVM'DE YAPILDI: