

CHANGING SENSE OF PLACE IN HISTORIC CITY CENTERS:
THE CASE OF ANTALYA KALEİÇİ

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THE CASE OF ANTALYA KALEİÇİ**

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ABSTRACT

CHANGING SENSE OF PLACE IN HISTORIC CITY CENTERS: THE CASE OF ANTALYA KALEİÇİ

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Nowadays, many cities try to turn their historic city centers into centers of attraction both for inhabitants and visitors by reorganizing and revitalizing them. These reorganization and revitalization processes change the users of the place as well as its physical structure. Thus, this change also creates deep impacts on human-place relationship. Traces of these impacts can be observed via ‘sense of place’ and ‘place image’ concepts. Studying these concepts is difficult due to their subjectivity; however, it is necessary to understand the change of place in all dimensions.

It is possible to observe a similar process in Kaleiçi, the historic city center of Antalya. This research examines the process of change in Kaleiçi over the last five decades regarding the impacts on the ‘sense of place’ and ‘place image’. It identifies ‘physical setting’, ‘activity’ and ‘meaning’ as observable components of these concepts; and it examines the change in these components through the in-depth interviews with three different user groups (i.e., users before 1980, those after 1980 and present users) and cognitive maps. The research considers that the first conservation practices in Kaleiçi started in 1980s, thus, it examines the change in ‘sense of place’ under the headings of *before 1980*, *after 1980* and *present time*.

This research shows that the ‘sense of place’ and ‘place image’ between these user groups vary significantly. It indicates that the sense of place of the first user group is generated mostly regarding ‘meaning’ component shaped by experiences; whereas the sense of place of the second and third category users mostly relates with physical

environment and historical identity of the place. Besides, this research comes to a conclusion that there is a direct link between the change in sense of place and the efforts of turning the area into a center of attraction for tourism.

Key words: Sense of place, place image, historic city center, Antalya Kaleiçi

ÖZ

TARİHİ KENT MERKEZLERİNDE DEĞİŞEN YER DUYGUSU: ANTALYA KALEİÇİ ÖRNEĞİ

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Günümüzde birçok kent kendi tarihi kent merkezini yeniden düzenleyip canlandırarak hem kentin sakinleri hem de ziyaretçileri için bir cazibe merkezi haline getirmeye çalışmaktadır. Bu yeniden düzenleme ve canlandırma süreçleri, şüphesiz mekânın fiziksel yapısını olduğu kadar, o mekânın kullanıcılarını da değiştirir. Dolayısıyla, bu değişim, insan-mekân ilişkisi üzerinde de derin etkiler yaratır. Bu etkilerin izleri ‘yer duygusu’ ve ‘yer imajı’ kavramları aracılığıyla gözlemlenebilir. Bu kavramların araştırılması içerdikleri öznellik boyutu nedeniyle güçtür; ancak mekândaki değişimi bütün boyutlarıyla anlamak için de bir o kadar önemlidir.

Benzer bir süreci, Antalya’nın tarihi kent merkezi olan Kaleiçi’nde de gözlemlemek mümkündür. Bu çalışmada, Antalya Kaleiçi’nin son elli yılda geçirdiği bu değişim süreci ‘yer duygusu’ ve ‘yer imajı’ üzerindeki etkileri çerçevesinde ele alınmaktadır. Bu kavramların gözlemlenebilir bileşenleri ‘fiziksel çevre’, ‘aktivite’ ve ‘anlam’ olarak belirlenmiştir. Üç temel kullanıcı grubu (1980 öncesi, 1980 sonrası ve günümüz kullanıcıları) ile yapılan derinlemesine görüşmeler, bu kullanıcılara çizdirilen bilişsel haritalar aracılığıyla bu bileşenlerdeki değişim araştırılmıştır. Araştırmada, Kaleiçi’nde korumaya yönelik ilk düzenlemelerin 1980’lerde başladığı göz önüne alınarak; yer duygusundaki değişim, *1980 öncesi*, *1980 sonrası* ve *günümüz* başlıkları altında incelenmiştir.

Araştırmanın sonucunda, bu farklı kullanıcı gruplarının yer duygusu ve yer imajında önemli farklılaşmalar olduğu saptanmıştır. En önemli farklılaşma noktasının, 1980

öncesi kullanıcılarda yer duygusunun daha çok deneyimlerle ilişkili anlam bileşeni çerçevesinde şekillendiği; buna karşılık, ikinci ve üçüncü kategorideki kullanıcılarda yer duygusunun daha çok fiziksel çevreyle ve yerin tarihi kimliğiyle ilgili olduğu saptanmıştır. Ayrıca, bu araştırma kullanıcıların yer duygusundaki bu değişimin, alanın turizm için bir cazibe merkezi haline getirilme çabalarıyla da doğrudan ilişkili olduğunu ortaya koymuştur.

Anahtar kelimeler: Yer duygusu, yer imajı, tarihi kent merkezi, Antalya Kaleiçi

To my family,

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Context and definition of the research problem

Cities are not just places we live in, they are also living things. Like people, they have a life too. Therefore, it will be suitable to start with summarizing the opinions of Chicago Urban Sociology School, which has been developing “urban ecology” theory where they consider the city an ‘organism’ and focuses on re-composing processes since the 1920s. According to this theory, cities first go through the phase of centralization where the city concentrate in the center, and constitute its constructed area. Then, they experience a decentralization process where urban development spreads from the center to the periphery. When cities reach a threshold of expanding, the demand switches back to concentrating in the center. In the period when cities develop towards the periphery, the old city centers become idle or abandoned. A new process, named ‘succession and invasion’, starts. During this process, some social groups and usages leave the area to lower level usages and groups. Especially in this period of spreading towards the peripheries, the old prestige areas, including historical structures, decline. In the following periods when the invasion by higher income groups back to the city centers occurs, the rent of some restored historic places increases, while some historic structures are demolished to be replaced by the new ones (Günay, 2006).

According to this, Antalya has gone under a similar process like other cities. Here we need to emphasize that, even though Antalya has experienced the first phase of this process almost exactly like other cities, we cannot say the same for the second phase, for the reasons stated below. It is clear that Antalya’s historical city center -Kaleiçi-

has gone under some change socially since the 1960s. People, who lived there until then, started to move out of Kaleiçi to live in the new prestigious places located on the outer side of the city, leaving their places to the people with lower socio-economic status. Therefore the area had lost prestigious and wore out in time. But the process of Kaleiçi regaining prestigious, meaning the second phase of urban development mentioned above, seems to take a rather different course than the theory. The main difference here is that the interventions of the central and local administration, especially the redefinition of protection plans helped the area regain its prestige, rather than the return of the people with higher socio-economic statuses. In other words, Kaleiçi did not experience the process in question because of its own dynamics, but because of the external dynamics, in a sense, especially with the effects of governmental decisions imposed from above.

Like many other developing Turkish cities, Antalya, too, experienced the conservation-led regeneration process of its historic city center in the late-1970s. The area was declared as a ‘conservation area’ in the early-1970s, but ironically this decision quickened the “succession” that started in the 1970s. The decision in question left Kaleiçi untouchable and therefore left it to its own destiny. The decision froze the area in that day’s conditions, but because of bureaucratic obstacles and financial difficulties it created, it did not stop the process of collapsing. Therefore, in the period after that, the projects were started to be planned and applied for not only protecting the area but also stimulate it. A conservation project for the historic city center, named “Kaleiçi Conservation and Redevelopment Project”, was prepared in 1979. In the following years, through the state intervention, Kaleiçi was revitalized through the redevelopment of marina, infrastructure and accommodation facilities (Günay, 2006).

Addition to this, as Herzog (2006, p. 175) also drew attention to, “[i]n the realm of formal city planning, there appears to be a serious gap between the making of plans and what actually happens on the ground”. It will not be wrong to say that, gap that can occur between planning and application put aside, there was another greater gap between the area of the planning and its period of time. The plans that were

constructed in the late-1970s and the early-1980s were applied after a short while, during the period that a great paradigm shift in urban planning took place in the 1990s. Herzog (2006) points out three aspects of this paradigm shift; globalization, privatization, and simulation. He described this paradigm shift as follows:

The increasing globalization of urban development decisions raises concerns about the loss of local control over urban design. The continuing shift towards the privatization of urban space suggests that the already diminished importance of “public interest” in city planning may be further weakened. Meanwhile, the digital revolution has had a huge impact on the daily life of urban citizens, implying even greater distancing from the physical space of the city, from its design, and from previous historic eras that emphasized the creation of livable space for pedestrians. Postindustrial age has brought a new practice to the making of urban landscapes: the creation of artificial or simulated spaces -shopping malls, festival pavilions, video arcades- as the primary places where urban dwellers meet. (Herzog, 2006, p.1)

Here, especially the last two aspects seem to be important, where the first one, *privatization*, activated a process that reduces and even more, disables the “public interest” in terms of general and also city planning. On the other hand, the second aspect, *simulation*, puts the existing physical “public spaces” into a deep crisis, and threatens those with so-called “public areas” that it builds.

Undoubtedly, this paradigm shift is a part of a more comprehensive socio-economic change; commonly referred to as the neoliberal restructuring process that was effective on a global scale. It is possible to summarize the reflection of this radical transformation to urban planning as the transition from the modernist urban planning that focus on the future to postmodernist urban planning which focus on the present day. This approach is interested in marketing the current state of cities, rather than imagining the future of cities. In other words, city is not a place that needs a protective plan anymore, but is a place that needs plans for marketing it. As one former city planner stated about Barcelona’s redevelopment strategy, “[E]veryone recognized that design sells.” (cited in Herzog, 2006, p.99)

Starting from the 1980s, accompanied by the globalization process and neoliberal policies, many cities -like many other things- have begun to be governed just like private companies. Allen, Massey and Pryke (2005, p.296) define this period by stating that "...cities must be managed and not, as in previous eras, planned". Using the word 'managed', what is clearly suggested is that cities should be managed like a business.

Over the last three decades, many cities have been marketing themselves to become a 'world city' in competitive global markets and ultimately to attract more investments and outsiders (Allen, Massey and Pryke, 2005). Many cities with different size, location and local features have pursued various marketing policies, one of which has been to promote their cultural values and historic heritage. The rehabilitation, conservation and regeneration schemes of the historic and cultural core and quarters have become the primary projects of the local authorities to achieve this objective.

Allen, Massey and Pryke (2005) quote Kanter's (1995) as follows:

... the most successful cities are places where 'people learn better and develop faster than they otherwise would' by being good at one of the 'three Cs': concepts (new ideas and technologies), competence (high quality products) or connections (international trade). Cities, then, can become either good thinkers, good makers or good traders. (Kanter, 1995; cited in Allen, Massey and Pryke, 1995, p.295)

Looking back to the case of Antalya, it is possible to state that from these three Cs (concept, competence and connection), Antalya chose the third, i.e. trade. In fact, it is not right to use the word "choose" here. Because, like many other cities, Antalya was forced to choose one from three options that is: Selling itself! It is referred to as "tourism" in today's world. Cities can market their nature or their history, both of which Antalya is quite rich. Definitely, history was the focus of the arrangements in Kaleiçi.

Ataöv and Osmay (2007) divide transformation intervention mode in places that have historical value into three phases: 1) urban renewal, 2) rehabilitation, 3) conservation

and gentrification. The third phase consists of ‘conservation and gentrification’ and it can be done in two different ways. One of them is giving new functions to the historical place, and the other one is changing the social stratum of it. According to Ataöv and Osmay (2007), Antalya Kaleiçi is the example of the first one, which can be called as commercialization, since the luxury restaurants and traditional selling units were placed back in the historic city center. Although Ataöv and Osmay see transformation process of such historic sites in two different ways, Antalya has experienced both processes together. In other words, Antalya Kaleiçi has been experiencing since the 1980s can be interpreted as both commercialization and gentrification. However the first one stands out more than the second and since the commercialization means giving new functions to the historical buildings, as in many other examples, the major concern of the conservation-led regeneration practices of Antalya Kaleiçi is economic rather than social. If we put it into other words: if not in the planning, in the application phase, economical interests came before social interests, because of socio-economic reasons. Therefore, the projects, which were implemented, resulted in the removal of the inhabitants from the center and historic city centers; and Antalya Kaleiçi became only dedicated to tourism and commercial retail functions. As Uyar (2007) notes, in the early stages of this conservation project, tourism was used as a tool for the revitalization of the area; yet, because of the marketing process, historic city center became solely a place for tourism in which local people were more and more displaced as time passed. In this context, tourism has become a purpose where it was considered as a tool and therefore Kaleiçi transformed into a ‘*tabula rasa*’¹ for tourism and the area has become economically and socially dependent on tourism.

Jakle (1987, cited in Jive’n, Larkham, 2003, p.70) defines tourism as “involving deliberately searching out of place experience”. For this experience, tourists want to taste the essence of the city; and as a result, the old city center becomes the first attraction they visit. Urry (1995) says that tourists are “gaze collectors” in a similar

¹ Tabula rasa (Latin: scraped tablet or clean slate) refers to the epistemological thesis that individual human beings are born with no innate or built-in mental content, in a word, "blank", and that their entire resource of knowledge is built up gradually from their experiences and sensory perceptions of the outside world.

way and draws attention to the ways and processes of construction of what he calls “tourist gaze”:

Moreover, the gaze is constructed through signs and tourism involves the collection of such signs. When for example tourists see two people kissing in Paris what they are gazing upon is ‘timeless, romantic Paris’; when a small village in England is seen, tourists think they are gazing upon the ‘real (merrie) England’. As Culler argues: ‘the tourist is interested in everything as a sign of itself.... All over the world the unsung armies of semioticians, the tourists, are fanning out in search of the signs of Frenchness, typical Italian behavior, exemplary Oriental scenes, typical American thruways, traditional English pubs’. (Urry, 1995, p.133)

Lots of cities pull themselves up and do regulations in order to attract this “tourist gaze”. Therefore, as Herzog (2006, p.165) underlines, the production of “other-directed landscapes”, meaning places designed for tourists, not locals, increases. Undoubtedly, the important point here is authenticity. As MacCannell (1976, 1989, cited in Urry, 1995, p.140) argues, “what tourists seek is the ‘authentic’, but that this is necessarily unsuccessful since those being gazed upon come to construct artificial sites which keep the inquisitive tourist away. Tourist spaces are thus organized around what he calls ‘staged authenticity’.”

Urry (1995, p.150), in the same study, claims that, in modern societies, because of the centrality of tourist activities, the contemporary subject inevitably engages in what we might call tourist practices much of the time. Moreover, he (1995, p.150) adds that, even in postmodernity, since many spheres of social and cultural life are differentiated, now tourism is nowhere and yet everywhere. According to him (1995, p.139), the way in which tourism has been historically separated from other activities, such as shopping, sport, culture, architecture and so on, is dissolving and “the result of such a process is a universalizing of the tourist gaze”. Therefore, it can be said that “staged authenticity” of a city face with not only the visitors, guests of the city, but also inhabitants of the city in the present time.

Therefore, we can say that urban planners need to consider the fact that searching for authenticity in the tourist’s gaze, ironically provoke “staged authenticity”. Efforts for

protecting and stimulating an area can clearly turn into metastasis of the simulation of the place, if not careful. In this kind of situation, inevitably, the place goes into an identity crisis; image and sense of place are eroded in objective and/or subjective level.

We mentioned that regulations for Antalya Kaleiçi, on a large scale, lack social concerns or push them into second place because of socio-economic reasons. Therefore, we can state that this study's focus, the concept of sense of place, is critically crucial, since every rehabilitation and regeneration intervention that was implemented and every function that was introduced into Kaleiçi changed the users of the place. As a result, all these interventions affected the 'place' itself and even in some parts the place was reproduced. Thus, it is possible to argue that these tourism-based rehabilitation, regeneration and redevelopment projects change, even eroded the 'meaning' of the place and they create a new 'sense of place' and 'place image' for people.

1.2. Aims and objectives of the research and the research question

This study aims to investigate the changes in people's perception on Antalya Kaleiçi which was resulted from the conservation-led regeneration and redevelopment processes. The changes in the people's perception are discussed within this study through the concepts of 'sense of place' and 'place image'. This research investigates the changing sense of place and image of place by revealing these concepts in the mind of the permanent users and the old inhabitants of the Kaleiçi.

In this context, the main research question is defined as how the 'sense of place' and 'place image' have changed over the last five decades through the conservation-led regeneration schemes in Antalya Kaleiçi. In Antalya, because of the above-mentioned reasons, these conservation-led regeneration processes were mainly commercial and tourism oriented. Therefore, the aim of this study is also to examine the change in 'sense of place' and 'place image' through the tourism-oriented conservation-led regeneration processes. For this purpose, this study examines

Kaleiçi in three periods which determined according to these mentioned processes. The first period is chosen as before-1980 when tourism had been not introduced to Kaleiçi; the second one is the subsequent after-1980 period in which these conservation-led regeneration projects were implemented and the tourism entered the area. And the last period is determined as present time in which tourism is settled and become dominated. Accordingly, the groups of in-depth interviews are classified as representatives of these periods.

In this research, in addition to these in-depth interviews; by the help of archival documents, visual analysis and direct observation, the answers of the following questions will be sought:

- how far the old sense of place and place image have been carried out today;
- how far the new ones have been added; and
- how far the old ones have disappeared.

1.3. Structure of the thesis

The thesis is composed of six chapters. In the first chapter, the context of the study is defined to inform the readers about the processes and stages that bring up the research problem of the thesis. In latter part the aims and the objectives of the study are given with main sub questions and at the end, the structure of the thesis is defined to give an introductory outlook about the course of thesis.

The second chapter of the thesis examines the major concepts which are mentioned in the research question; ‘sense of place’ as well as the notions that are closely related to this concept. In the beginning the ‘place’ is defined through the relationship between ‘space’ and ‘place’ and in the further parts, the attributes that differentiate places between themselves are defined. This brings us to the third part, in which the place-related concepts are examined. In this context, firstly the concepts of ‘identity of place’ and ‘image of place’ are investigated together and in the following part the major concept ‘sense of place’ is discussed and in the elements of sense of place are defined according to different approaches in the literature. In this

part also the measurement of sense of place is discussed through the sub concepts. At the end of this part, firstly the relationship between ‘sense of place’ and time is discussed and finally with the general evaluation of the concept of ‘sense of place’, the relation between ‘identity of place’, ‘image of place’, and ‘spirit of place’ is defined.

The third chapter explains the research methodology. This part first explains the reasons to carry out the case study on Antalya Kaleiçi. It is followed by the research method. To find out the change in the sense of place and place image; the data to be collected and the sources of evidence which are used for the research are defined under the major components of the ‘sense of place’ and ‘place image’ which are ‘physical setting’, ‘activity’ and ‘meaning’. Finally the rationale behind the questions of the prepared are explained briefly.

The fourth chapter provides to the reader a brief introduction to Antalya Kaleiçi and in this purpose in the first part the multi-layer identity of Kaleiçi is defined to describe the historical layers which are the major element of its identity. In this part, the Hellenistic, Roman, Byzantine, Seljuk and Ottoman periods are discussed briefly and the existing urban structure and elements are related with these periods. In the following part Kaleiçi after the Republic is examined briefly and the planning process of Antalya Kaleiçi is defined. In this context, the Conservation Projects which have an important role on the change in Kaleiçi are discussed deeply and the other projects until the present time are examined to draw a general picture of Antalya and make a better understanding of the periods which forms the interview groups.

In the fifth chapter, which is the main part of the study, the change in the ‘sense of place’ and ‘place image’ is examined. For this purpose, primarily the change in the physical environment; in parallel the change in the activity and usage forms; and finally the differentiation in the meaning that attributed by different users to the place are designated for before-1980 period, after-1980 period and present time. With this aim, to understand the change in physical environment solid void analysis, permeability and connectivity maps, etc. are prepared. The change in the activity part

is mainly discussed on the land-uses which belong to three periods. And the last part in which the change in the meaning of place is aimed to determined, the perceived functions and attractions and the senses on Kaleiçi are defined with respect to the interviews. In this part also the images of different users of different periods are determined through the legibility concept.

The conclusion chapter firstly summarizes and interprets the main changes in each component of 'sense of place' and 'place image'. Then the changes in 'sense of place' and 'place image' in Antalya Kaleiçi case are discussed through the context of the thesis which is stated at the beginning part.

CHAPTER 2

SENSE OF PLACE

This chapter aims to understand the concept of ‘sense of place’ and the attributes that create and maintain it. It investigates different approaches and definitions to the concept of the ‘sense of place’, as well as the notions that are closely related to this concept. In the first part of this chapter, the term ‘place’ -as the origin of ‘sense of place’- is examined by focusing on the relationship between ‘space’ and ‘place’. Then, the concept of place and different types of place which change depending on geographic and psychological dimensions of place are examined. Finally, the attributes that differentiate places between themselves are defined. In the second part of this chapter, place-related concepts are examined. First, this part investigates the concepts of ‘identity of place’ and ‘image of place’. Second, it examines the notion of ‘sense of place’ in depth in relation with the elements that create the sense of place. Third, it studies the methods of measuring sense of place in the literature. Finally, it discusses the relationship between sense of place-time and sense of place-conservation. In the final section, the relation between the place-related concepts, namely “identity of place”, ”image of place”, and “spirit of place”, are inspected in more detail as a mean of supporting the concept of “sense of place”.

2.1 What is a ‘space’? What is a ‘place’?

Place is a consequence of man-environment relationship. It is the main component of this correlation that generates the origin of the sense of place. The concept of ‘place’ which has been a prominent topic among geographers since the 1970s, provides a useful theoretical framework to understand human-place interactions (Easthope, 2004). ‘Place’ is basically defined as “a particular portion of space, whether of

definite or indefinite extent” (Collins English Dictionary, 2009). As in the case of this definition, many important place theorists debate about the concepts of ‘place’ and ‘space’ together and designate different definitions and meanings to place according to the relationship between space and place. Since the subjects under discussion are ‘place’ and ‘space’, “...there exists a far-reaching uncertainty of interpretation” (Einstein, foreword to Jammer, 1954). Thus, multiple definitions have been made for both ‘place’ and ‘space’.

To have a better understanding of ‘place’, it is important to understand the relationship that covers similarities and differences between space and place. Many place theorists, such as Tuan (1977), Relph (1976) and Sack (1997), try to explain the concept of ‘place’ by the help of the ‘space’ concept. These theorists accept the basic definition of place as “a particular portion of space”. Yet, they develop this definition by claiming that a space becomes a place when it is covered with meanings and values by its users (Najafi and Shariff, 2011). For example, according to Relph (1976), rather than being property of human, **places are property of human intentions and experiences**. In his article titled *On the identity of places*, Relph (1976, cited in Carmona and Tiesdell, 2007) states that **the experiences of people, as individuals or as groups, give the space its meaning so that it becomes a place**. Tuan explains the concept of place by emphasizing the differences between space and place. He (1977, p.6) defines ‘space’ as more abstract than ‘place’ and associates place with human, claiming that “[w]hat begins as undifferentiated **space becomes place as we get to know it better and endow it with value**”. By scrutinizing the relation between space and place, Tuan (1977) draws some analogies and makes some comparisons. For instance, he (1977, p. 6) defines the space as the one that allows movement, and the place as pause, and he adds that “...each pause in movement makes it possible for location to be transformed into place”. Respectively, Tuan (1977, p.3) claims that “Place is security, space is freedom: we are attached to the one and long for the other.”

Sack (2001, p.232, cited in Easthope, 2004, p.129) in a manner of evoking Tuan, defines ‘place’ as “**the countless areas of space that we have bounded or**

controlled". Sack (2001) accepts 'space' as only a physical property and 'place' as both physical and cultural property. Its cultural qualities draw on its physical properties, and its power or effect derives from its influences (Sack, 1997).

Other 'place' theorists criticize Tuan, Relph and Sack for debating the concepts of 'space' and 'place' together. For instance, Casey (2001) accepts that, since place and space are two different entities, they cannot be compared with each other. Easthope (2004, p.129) supports Casey's attitude towards place by claiming that: "Place and space are not interchangeable, they are understood here to be different orders of being". Easthope (2004) points out two different definitions of Sack on place. The first one, as mentioned above, is "the countless areas of space that we have bounded or controlled" and the second one is "places are the primary means by which we are able to use space and turn it into a humanized landscape" (Sack, 2001, p.233). Easthope (2004) defines these two definitions as a dilemma. Here, the major question behind this dilemma that theorists do not agree is: "Is place a piece of space that we should delimit or is it a tool for turning a space into a humanized landscape?" In other words: "Is place a transformed piece of space or a tool which can be used for transforming a space?" Easthope (2004) explains the concepts of space and place by referring to Casey's opinions as follows:

Casey provides an alternative to this dilemma, suggesting that 'space and place are two different orders of reality between which no simple or direct comparisons are possible' ... He says that space 'is the name for that most encompassing reality that allows for things to be located within it; and it serves in this locational capacity whether it is conceived as absolute or relative in its own nature' ... While place is situated in physical space, it has no privileged relationship to space because everything, including events and physical things are situated in space. (Casey, 2001, p.404,405, cited in Easthope, 2004, p.129)

To conclude, there are many definitions for 'place' and 'space' in the literature of urban design. Some theorists have built their definitions on space and place by conceiving them together. Different opinions, however, have been developed in literature to answer the questions of 'what the kind of' or 'is there any' relationship between these two concepts. Despite this debate on space and place, it is still

possible to note that "...generally the term '**place**', as opposed to '**space**', expresses a strong affective bond between a person and a particular setting" (Najafi, Shariff, 2011, p.187). In other words, different from space which essentially carries physical qualities, **place fundamentally has a cultural nature**. Therefore, in the latter part of this chapter, the focus will be narrowed from space to place in order to define the notion of 'sense of place'. Naturally, such a change in focus will require an admission of more phenomenological point of view.

2.2 Place and types of place

From a more phenomenological perspective, distinctive characteristics of place show itself in the relationship between people who take part in it, instead of the relationship between space that place appear in. As Dowler (2009) claims, "the connection one has to place is experienced **through meaning, thought provocation and the use of the senses**".

The relationship between human and place is mutual. Place can be seen as a piece of space which is localized by a partially humanization, as explained below:

(Human) ...is connected to place and is shaped by it. The person gives the place its meaning, but in return receives the place's meaning. The place's character is defined according to the human beings, who impose their views, attitudes, beliefs, symbols, and myths on the places. (Shamai, 1991, p.355, italics added)

In this part, it will be appropriate to refer to Lukermann's concept of 'place' (1964) and Relph's analysis of this concept which leads to six major components of place:

- (1) **The idea of location**, especially location as it is related to other things and places, is absolutely fundamental. Location can be described in terms of internal characteristics (site) and external connectivity to other locations (situation); thus **places have spatial extension and an inside and outside**.
- (2) Place involves an **integration of elements of nature and culture**; "each place has its own order, its special ensemble, which distinguishes it from the next place" (p.170). This clearly implies that **every place is a unique entity**.

(3) Although every place is unique, they are interconnected by a **system of spatial interactions and transfers**; they are **part of a framework of circulation**.

(4) Places are **localized** – they are parts of larger areas and are focused in a system of localization.

(5) Places are **emerging or becoming**; with historical and cultural change new elements are added and old elements disappear. Thus **places have a distinct historical component**.

(6) Places have **meaning**: they are characterized by the beliefs of man. (Relph, 1976, p.3)

The anthropomorphism in the analysis of Relph is quite remarkable. Forasmuch, the six major components which are aligned here can also be valid for a human being. Having a separate and unique entity (1 and 2), but at the same time, existing as a part of a whole and having interaction with other parts of the whole (3 and 4), passing through a continuous process of change and have a specific meaning in this process (5 and 6), indicates that place has an “identity” just as human beings.

Sack (1997) also refers to this “identity” and he defines two types of place: ‘**primary place**’ and ‘**secondary place**’. Primary places are those that have Relph’s six mentioned place components which can be also called as identity. Secondary places, on the other hand, are places which have no connection with the whole that are included.

Primary places involve human actions and intentions and have the capacity to change things. Unlike a secondary place, which can be re-placed without remainder by substituting the objects and interactions in its area, a primary place cannot be re-placed. Primary places are delimited, they possess rules about the things to be included and excluded, and they have meaning... Primary places are virtually ubiquitous in human experience. They undergird our reality. (Sack, 1997,)

The concept of primary place which has meaning and undergird our reality is also coherent with Norberg-Schulz’s (1979) definition of place. According to Norberg-Schulz’s (1979), there is no happening without reference to a locality. Place is evidently an integral part of existence. Norberg-Schulz also refers to the identity when discussing the concept of ‘place’, To him (1979, p.10), with the help of local

circumstances, a “place” has an identity, and “[t]his ‘identity’ or ‘spirit’, may be described by means of the kind of concrete, ‘qualitative terms’...”.

2.3 Place-related concepts

Tuan (1977) brings up the questions of “What is a place? What gives a place its identity, its aura?” and gives the following anecdote to answer them:

These questions occurred to the physicists Niels Bohr and Werner Heisenberg when they visited Kronberg Castle in Denmark. Bohr said to Heisenberg: Isn't it strange how this castle changes as soon as one imagines that Hamlet lived here? As scientists we believe that a castle consists only of stones, and admire the way the architect put them together. The stones, the green roof with its patina, the wood carvings in the church, constitute the whole castle. None of this should be changed by the fact that Hamlet lived here, and yet it is changed completely. Suddenly the walls and the ramparts speak a quite different language. The courtyard becomes an entire world, a dark corner reminds us of the darkness in the human soul, we hear Hamlet's "To be or not to be." Yet all we really know about Hamlet is that his name appears in a thirteenth-century chronicle. No one can prove that he really lived, let alone that he lived here. But everyone knows the questions Shakespeare had him ask, the human depth he was made to reveal, and so he, too, had to be found a place on earth, here in Kronberg. And once we know that, Kronberg becomes quite a different castle for us. (Tuan, 1977, p.4)

This anecdote shows that “identity of place” becomes visible only as a part of subjective experiences. However, as also shown in the anecdote above, this “identity” has an objective dimension, too. In other words, “identity of place” becomes visible through subjective experiences, but this does not mean that this identity is completely a product of subjective creation. Therefore, when we mention to identity of a place; it is required to make a distinction between its entity which refers to ‘present’ and its appearance which refers to ‘represent’. Thus, it can be seen that ‘represent’ is a product of subjective experience, on the contrary, ‘present’ is a product of objective processes.

This analytical distinction makes sense especially to distinguish the concept of ‘sense of place’ from other related concepts. Forasmuch, the meanings and definitions of

the terms of ‘identity of place’, ‘spirit of place’, ‘image of place’ and ‘sense of place’ and the ways these terms are used in the literature of urban design are often intersected with each other and even in many cases, they are intertwined. To make a clear definition of ‘sense of place’, it will be appropriate to define what these concepts mean for this research. Thus, the next section defines the concepts of ‘identity of place’ and ‘image of place’. When discussing ‘identity of place’, I will mention ‘spirit of place’ because these two concepts are widely used together in the literature of urban design. Also, compared to the ‘image of place’ and ‘sense of place’, meanings of ‘identity of place’ and ‘spirit of place’ are much closer to each other. However, I will try to find a more comprehensive definition of ‘spirit of place’ in the section of ‘sense of place’. Because this concept has an important role in the development of the concepts of ‘sense of place’, and these two concepts are quite intertwined within each other.

2.4 Identity of place and image of place

Meanings that differentiate place from space and transform it into a humanized landscape go one step further and create ‘identity’ and ‘image’ which differentiate places within them and make them unique entities. Because of these meanings, human-place relationship has an important role in the literature of ‘identity of place’ and ‘image of place’.

In the literature on ‘identity of place’, most theorists associate identity with the human experiences in places. For instance, Relph (1976) understands places as phenomena of experience, associates identity with experiences. To define identity of a place, he (1976) coins the term of “the experience of places”:

It is clear that rather than being a simple address in a gazetteer or a point on a map, identity is a basic feature of our experience of places which both influences and is influenced by those experiences. (Relph, 1976, p.45)

“Identity of place” is as much a function of intersubjective intentions and experiences as of the appearances of buildings and scenery” (Relph, 1976, p. 44).

The main feature of “identity”, which creates experiences and at the same time exists from experiences, is to make a place unique and different from other places. Likewise, identity is related to both the distinctiveness and sameness of a place, as explained below:

(Identity) refers not only to the distinctiveness of individual places but also to the sameness between different places... The identity of something refers to a persistent sameness and unity which allows that thing to be differentiated from others.” (Relph, 1976, p. 44,45; italics added)

As it can be seen, Relph (1976) refers to the objective dimension of ‘identity of place’ by taking “a persistent sameness and unity” as a constitutive element. Also, although “identity of place” can only be seen through subjective experiences, it has an objective entity form. For this reason, Relph (1976) not only opposes to Lynch’s downgraded definition for “identity of place” as “something that provides its individuality or distinction from other places and serves as the basis for its recognition as a separable entity”, but also objects to Nairn’s (1965, p.78) much more plural definition as “there are as many identities of place as there are people”.

Forasmuch, the first definition tries to convince that “each place has a unique address that is identifiable”. The second definition, on the other hand, tries to confine “identity” to experience, eye, mind, and intention of the beholder. In brief, the first one leaves the subjective and the second leaves the objective dimension of identity at outside. In response, Relph makes a much more dialectic definition for “identity”:

...while every individual may assign self consciously or unselfconsciously an identity to particular places, these identities are nevertheless combined intersubjectively to form a common identity. Perhaps this occurs because we experience more or less the same objects and activities and because we have been taught look for certain qualities of place emphasized by our cultural groups. (Relph, 1976, p.45)

As it can be seen, Relph claims that the objective dimension of ‘identity of place’ can be observed both in individual and cultural level that mean over individuals. Thus, he

relates the objective dimension of 'identity of place' not only with physical characteristics of place, but also with its manner of perception.

The subjective and objective dimensions of the concept of "identity of place" is also related with this question: Do insiders or outsiders better perceive identity of place?

The answer of Relph to this question is as follows:

[n]or can it be argued that there is a real true identity of a place that relates to existential insideness. Indeed an outsider can in some senses see more of a place than an insider. (Relph, 1976, p.62)

Jakle (1987, cited in Jive'n, Larkham, 2003) takes a one step forward and claims that the best person to experience and express the 'identity of the place' or 'spirit of place' is not the resident but the tourist. He defines tourism as 'involving deliberately searching out of place experience'. On the other hand, some theorists, such as Hayden (1995) and Lowenthal (1979), emphasize on the more importance of collective than individual. Lowenthal suggests that the past is both individual and collective and its collectiveness is related with shared values and experiences of cultural groups so group identity is linked with the form and history of place, creating a 'sense of place' or 'genius loci'. As the opposite of Jakle, they think that the experience and perception of identity of place or genius loci means familiarity with the place.

To sum up, the identity depends on the **physical appearance of the place, observable activities, and meanings held by people** (Figure 2.1). Thus, it is possible to claim that **identity depends on place's own physical, man-made properties and perception of people on that place** which can be listed as meanings.

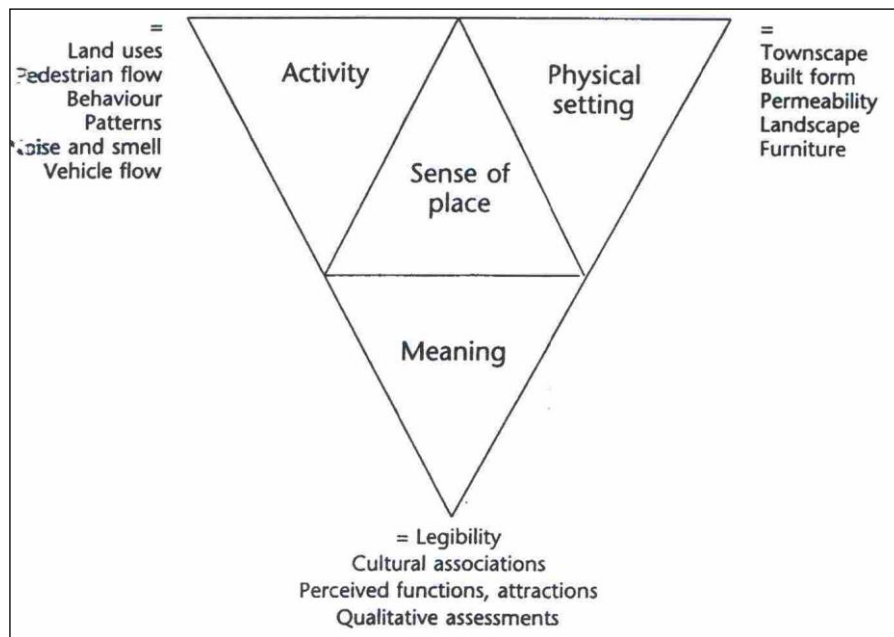


Figure 2.1 Diagram showing identity of place (Punter, 1971; cited in Carmona et. al., 2003)

As for the term ‘image’, Lynch (1960) uses it to understand the people’s perception on places especially based on physical appearance. He (1960) defines image simply as “a mental picture”. This picture can be different from people to people according to their personal experiences. But, it is the fact that there will be also common images among the similar group of people. In his study, Lynch does not deal with the differences between the personality and personal experiences of people, as he thinks that this issue is the concern of a research of different disciplines.

Image is another concept which emerges from human–place relationship. Lynch (1960) defines it as a two-way process - between the observer and his environment. “The environment suggests distinctions and relations, and the observer – with great adaptability and in the light of his own purposes- selects, organizes, and endows with meaning what he sees.” (Lynch, 1960, p.6)

According to Relph (1976), there are three different ‘images of place’: “*individual image of place*”, “*group or community image of place*” and “*public and mass*

image of place”. The first one is about the differentiation of images for each individual for the same place. According to Relph (1976, p. 56,57), “this is not only because each individual experiences a place from his own unique set of moments of space-time, but more especially because everyone has his own mix of personality, memories, emotions, and intentions which colours his image of that place and gives it a distinctive identity for him”. Although it is undoubtedly interesting and important as mentioned by Lynch, this is a topic of psychology discipline.

Despite the presence of individual image of place, it is misleading to assume that these individual images are independent from each other. Referring to Berger and Luckmann’s (1967) study, Relph (1976, p. 57) states that “individual images have been and are being constantly socialized through the use of common language, symbols and experiences”. In this manner, these individual images turn into a “group or community image”. Therefore, as in the case that image of a place differentiates between different individuals; it can also differentiate between different groups and communities. Groups and communities make their members and images resemble, but that makes them differentiated from other groups.

As for the third image type, although particular places can have different images for different groups and even for different individuals, some common ground of agreement can be found for these places. Relph (1976) calls this as the ‘*consensus identity of place*’. By using Mill’s terms, he (1976) defines two forms of consensus identity of place: ‘*public image*’ and ‘*mass image*’. The ‘*public identity*’ is a thing that different groups and communities in a particular society are common and shows coherence on physical features and other verifiable components of place more or less. It is a consensus, since it is developed out of the free opinion and experience of relevant individuals and groups (Relph, 1976). On the other hand, ‘*mass identities of place*’ does not rely on such a consensus, as explained below:

Rather than developing out of group and individual experiences, mass identities are assigned by ‘opinion-makers’ provided ready-made for the people... They are the most superficial identities of place, offering no scope for empathetic insideness and eroding existential insideness by destroying the

bases for identity with places. This is so because mass identities are based not on symbols and significances, and agreed on values, but on glib and contrived stereotypes created arbitrarily and even synthetically. (Relph, 1976, p.58)

Relph's distinction which is basically on the framework of 'identity of place' concept seems to be applied to the concept of the 'image of place', too. Forasmuch, besides a particular public image of place which emerges at the end of an intersubjectively experienced consensus process between individuals and groups or communities, we can also notice manufactured and manipulated place images in cities all around the world.

When it comes to the planning discipline and especially to the field of urban design, planners should prefer public image of place rather than mass image of place. Since when public image addresses to existing identity and shows a respectful planning approach to this identity, whereas mass image of place takes place as a '*tabula rasa*'. Lynch (1960) defines imageable environments that means legible and visible places and gives five physical elements of image (paths, edges, districts, nodes, and landmarks) in human mind. He defines these elements as follows:

(1) Paths are the channels which the observer customarily, occasionally or potentially moves...(2) Edges are the boundaries between two phases, linear breaks in continuity...(3) Districts are sections of the city which have common, identifying character...(4) Nodes are strategic spots in a city which are junction points and moments of shift from one structure to another...(5) Landmarks are another type of point-references which are simply defined physical objects. (Lynch, 1960, p. 47, 48)

These elements provide us with a very practical empirical research tool that can be used to create and also to read mentioned public image of a city (Figure 2.2).

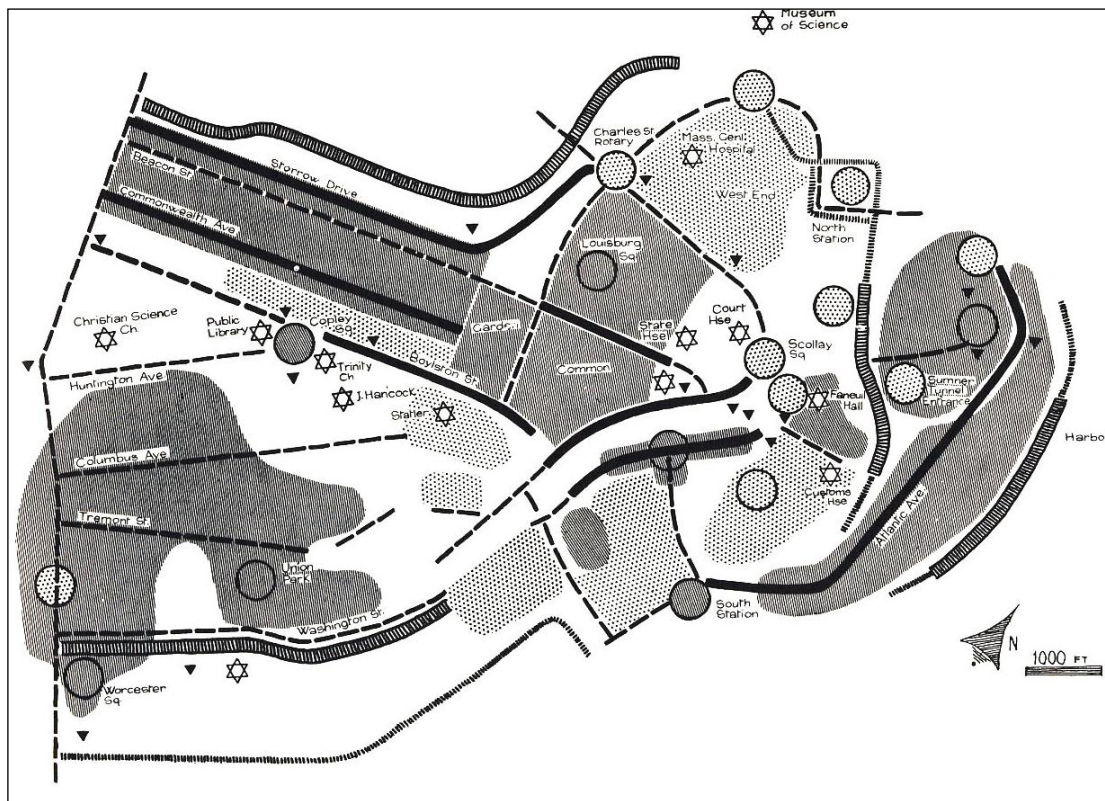


Figure 2.2 Basic public image of the Boston derived from the studies in the field by Lynch (Lynch, 1960, p.145)

This section seeks to examine the concepts of ‘identity of place’ and ‘image of place’ together. The next section will study these concepts in relation to the concepts of ‘spirit of place’ or ‘genius of place’ and ‘sense of place’. Here, the main purpose is to clarify the notion of ‘sense of place’ which is the major focus of this thesis. For this reason, Relph’s quote at the below is worth to be taken into consideration in terms of using these concepts together. Relph claims here that ‘identity of place’ concept has three main elements:

Physical appearance, activities, and meanings are the raw materials of the identity of places, and the dialectical links between them are the elementary structural relations of that identity. This analysis of the components of identity of place is not, however, complete. There is another important aspect or dimension of identity that is less tangible than these components and dialectics, yet serves to link and embrace them. This is the attribute of identity that has been variously termed ‘spirit of place’, ‘sense of place’ or ‘genius of place’ (genius loci), all terms which refer to character or personality. (Relph, 1976, p.48)

As far as can be seen, in addition to three core components that constitutes the identity of a place, Relph defines another ‘aspects’ or ‘dimensions’ of this identity and calls them with the names of three interchangeable concepts, all of that refer to character or personality which indicates identity. These concepts are ‘spirit of place’, ‘sense of place’ and ‘genius of place’. This determination seems to pull us to where we started. In order to escape from this cycle, in the next part, it will be tried to clarify the ‘sense of place’ concept especially by associating the concept with ‘spirit of place’ or ‘genius of place’. And at the end of this chapter, a brief evaluation on interrelations of meaning areas of ‘identity’, ‘image’, ‘spirit’ and ‘sense’ of place will be made to make the concept of ‘sense of place’ much more clear and usable at the case study of the thesis.

2.5 Sense of Place

‘Sense of place’ has been a topic of academic interest among several disciplines and it has been used with numerous meanings in literature over the last four decades. After changing areas of use in different meanings, it has become a buzzword among the numerous disciplines including geography, historic preservation, the social sciences, and the allied art and design professions (Beidler, 2007, p.9).

Although there are many studies and researches on ‘sense of place’, there is no common definition for this concept due to the differences in philosophical orientation of studies and the multi-dimensional and multi-disciplinary nature of the concept (Najafi & Shariff, 2011). Especially the multi-dimensional and multi-disciplinary nature of this concept reveals multi-philosophical perspective for it. A quick glance to the literature on the concept of sense of place reveals that, different theorists examines this concept from different philosophical perspectives and hereat, they provide a variety of definitions for this notion. An overview on this notion shows that some theorists look from a much more phenomenological perspective, while others look from more positivistic point of view.

Some scholars, like Tuan and Relph, argue that 'sense of place' cannot be studied from a positivistic perspective, and they claim that it should be investigated "by examining the links between place and the phenomenological foundations of geography" (Relph,1976, p.4). Theorists, who prefer phenomenological perspective on the concept of 'sense of place', mention the indefinite and abstract structure of this concept and they assert that it is impossible to give a unique and certain meaning to it. Likewise, Relph (1977) claims that sense of place is not a clear concept. Even if we can explain our personal opinions about this concept, it is impossible to make a unique definition for it (Relph, 1977, cited in Najafi and Shariff, 2011). In parallel to Relph, Barker (1979, p. 164, cited in Shamaï and Ilatov, 2005) also defines 'sense of place' as one of the most abstract and illusive concepts and argues that what creates a factual sense of place is a hard study.

The question of "what creates a real sense of place?" which is brought to the agenda by Barker, generates the major topic of debate in the literature on 'sense of place'. The concept was shaped by the answers of different theorists and as a result, different 'sense of place' definitions were developed up till now. With respect to this, it will be appropriate to examine the development process of sense of place concept according to groups of answers of important theorists to the mentioned question.

Before moving to these groups of answers, it must be addressed that although, elements that create a sense of place and definitions which developed for the concept differ in the hand of different theorists; starting point of the concept is again the place theory. Therefore, here, it would be appropriate to define the concept of 'place' one more time.

The idea of place defined by Amsden, Stedman and Kruger (2011) as "...ultimately constructed around what a particular place means and how people evaluate it based on those meanings. It is a complex recipe that includes settings, behaviors (including interactions with others and with the local landscape), and evaluations of interwoven personal and social contexts." (Amsden, Stedman, Kruger, 2011, p.33) The three ingredients which mentioned here can be named as physical setting, the human

behaviours and activities within the setting and human social and/or psychological processes (Stedman, 2003).

This humanistic side of 'place' concept also constitutes the main ground of 'sense of place'. Forasmuch, with respect to these three ingredients, Sancar (1994, cited in Beidler 2007) categorizes 'place' as the centre for human activities and examines 'place' in three epistemological understandings which are 'place interpretation', 'social construction of place' and 'place perception'. Beidler (2007) points out the similarities between theoretical framework of 'place' and 'sense of place' concepts. Therefore, to answer the question of "what creates a sense of place in particular places?", he suggests to use Sancar's three theoretical models of place and explains them as follows:

Emphasizing interpretive knowledge, the first of these three categories stresses on the **situated-nature of place experiences**. The second orientation focuses on revealing the **ongoing social processes and structure of a given locale**. The place perception category is more typical of positivistic studies aimed at **identifying attributes and affective responses**. (Beidler, 2007, p.9)

Beidler (2007) also uses these three categories to examine the concept of 'sense of place', and renames the models as place interpretation model, the existential model and the meaning-mediated model respectively. The next part studies the elements of sense of place to answer the question of "what creates a sense of place?" and the model of Beidler which is a guide in this process.

2.6 Elements of Sense of Place

The debate on the concept of 'sense of place' basically started with the place theory. Most important statement for place theory is that space turns into a place with meanings (Tuan, 1977). This statement underlines the importance of meanings which are attributed by human, and a place occurs through a human-place relationship. Thus, the sense of place is a product of this relationship. In the literature on the 'sense of place', theorists interpret the balance between human and place differently.

As a result, the definition of this concept changes according to the interpretation of this relation.

After examining the theoretical approaches to the notion of ‘sense of place’, Beidler (2007, p.10) categorizes them under three models. The **first approach** emphasizes on the **environmental attributes and meanings** and ignores social interactions and activities (Beidler, 2007, p.10). The **second approach** deals with the **social construction of place**. The concept of ‘meaning’ comes into prominence in this approach and is enriched with human relationships, emotions, thoughts and finally with human experiences (Stedman, Beckley, Wallack, Amberd, 2004). In this approach, environmental attributes are still accepted as important components, but human experiences are placed in the center of the concept (Beidler, 2007, p.11). The **third approach** defines the components of ‘sense of place’, but it does not make a choice between the environmental attributes and social interactions. The theorists of this approach argue that neither of these components are enough to define ‘sense of place’. Accordingly, they claim that ‘sense of place’ is a multi-dimensional attitude towards a spatial setting (Jorgensen and Stedman, 2001). The quantitative researches that depend on positivistic approach are developed in this third model.

With respect to the mentioned human-place relationship, the **first approach** studies the sense of place more from the **place perspective**, while the **second approach** examines it mostly from a **human point of view**. And the **third approach** accepts the importance of **both perspectives**, but defines the sense of place as a concept with its **multi-dimensional nature**. As one can note, the first and the second approaches refer to **phenomenological approach**, whereas the last one uses **positivistic approach**. As can be understood from the following parts, the first approach is much closer to the third approach since it is more ontological structure, when the second one has an epistemological structure.

2.6.1 The first approach: Environmental meanings and attributes

This first group of theorists on the 'sense of place' ignores the importance of social interactions and activities in places, and bring debate on the importance of physical environment. This approach starts with a phenomenological perspective, but by giving attention to the environmental meanings and attributes, it became more ontological. This group of theorists uses the concepts of 'sense of place' and 'spirit of place' or 'genius loci' together and interchangeably. Because they mainly refer to the physical environment when they discuss the concept 'spirit of place'. In other words, this theoretical group conceives the physical meanings of place as the primary factor that creates a sense of place; and they use the concept of "spirit of place" or "genius loci" to define 'sense of place'. And, even sometimes these two concepts are used in the same meaning.

Here, it is important to examine the concepts of 'genius loci' and 'sense of place' together. The concept of 'genius loci' or 'spirit of place' is conventionally used since the classical times, but its meaning changed until today and formed into its modern use. 'Genius loci' which was initially used to mean "guardian spirit of place", lost its poetic meaning in time and has become a more concrete concept. In the 18th century, this Latin phrase was usually translated as the 'genius of place', meaning its influence (Jackson, 1994; cited in Jive'n and Larkham, 2003). It is currently used to mean "the distinctive atmosphere of place" or "the quality of its environment" (Jackson, 1994, p.157, 158; cited in Jive'n and Larkham, 2003, p.68). While the expression of "quality of environment" in this statement sets up a relationship between the concept of "genius" and physical environment, the term "atmosphere of place" refers to the abstract nature of this concept. Thus, this term comprises both physical and abstract elements.

Similarly, Norberg-Schulz (1979) describes 'genius loci' as the sum of all physical and symbolic values in nature and the human environment. He (1979) lists four elements which are necessary for a place to have a genius loci: i) topography of earth's surface, ii) cosmological light conditions, iii) buildings, and iv)

symbolic/existential meanings in the cultural landscape. Only the last one of these four elements puts more abstract meaning into the notion of 'place'. Because of this reason, the concept of 'spirit of place' stays much closer to the concept of 'identity of place'.

Here, it should be noted that, even though 'spirit of place' and 'identity of place' occur from the human-place relationship, in practice they do not bond a one-to-one relationship with human. Thus, the main distinction between the concepts of 'sense of place' and 'spirit of place' occurs at this point. 'Sense of place' directly needs human and human experiences for its existence. By drawing attention to this feature, Steele (1981, cited in Cross, 2001, p.1) makes the distinction between these two concepts. He (1981) defines '**spirit of place**' as "the combination of characteristics that gives some locations a special 'feel' or personality", and describes '**sense of place**' as "the particular experience of a person in particular setting". As one can notice from these definitions, Steele distinguishes the 'sense of place' from 'spirit of place', by describing 'spirit of place' as a concept which is much more related to physical environment. However, when defining the 'sense of place', the concept of "experience" comes into the discussion. Thus, it is important to note that 'spirit of place' is generated by the major characteristics of the place, whereas 'sense of place' appears through the experiences in that place.

Steele (1981) also explains 'sense of place' as "an experience created by the setting combined with what a person brings to it". On the other hand, "there are certain settings that have such a strong 'spirit of place' that they will tend to have a similar impact on many different people" (Najafi, Shariff, 2011, p.189). Steele (1981) takes attention to more common structure of 'spirit of place' as opposed to 'sense of place'.

Ouf (2001) suggest another differentiation between these two concepts by defining these two concepts with respect to the idea of "experiencing places". 'Sense of place' can be seen as a way of "place making", on the other hand, 'spirit of place'/'genius loci' arises most particularly from the experiences of using places rather than

deliberate “place making” (Jive’n and Larkham, 2003, p. 67). In other words, usage area of ‘genius loci’ is much more designing places which inspires from the existing and distinctive/special atmosphere of place rather than a place-making. Therefore, it can be said that when ‘genius loci’ can be a guide for place-making, ‘sense of place’ can be used as a tool for it.

To sum up, the word ‘spirit’ in the concept of “spirit of place/genius loci” refers to the direct relationship between the concept and the place, and subordinates the human factor in the human-place relation. The main reason for this is the fact that ‘spirit of place’ concept feeds not from the human experiences in the place but from the special characteristic features of that place. These features are the characteristics of the place which form the physical appearance of that place and do not change overtime. As for ‘sense of place’, it is about the person’s perception on that place. In this sense, ‘social meanings’ come into the discussion. Thus, the need to examine the concept of ‘sense of place’ from a sociological perspective appears. This brings us to the second model of ‘sense of place’ in the literature.

2.6.2 The second approach: Social meanings and experiences

In this part of literature, there emerged a strong turn towards a humanistic paradigm and it directly affects the elements which create a ‘sense of place’. Advocators of this approach argue that physical environment cannot be the only attribute which develop a ‘sense of place’; in fact, sense of place is more related with the ‘social meanings’ and ‘lived experiences’ in a place. Najafi and Shariff (2011) mention Rapoport’s explanation about ‘sense of place’ with respect to this argument:

Rapoport argued that places in addition to physical features include messages and meanings that people perceive and decode based on their roles, experiences, expectation and motivations. Therefore, sense of place is referred to the particular experience of person in a particular setting. (Najafi, Shariff, 2011)

Theorists of this approach add “experience” to the ‘sense of place’ development dynamics and define ‘sense of place’ as product of the relationship between human and place. Najafi and Shariff (2011) describe ‘sense of place’ as “...both interpretive and emotional aspects of environmental experience. It means the concept of ‘sense of place’ is psychological or interactional and physical. The combination of physical and social attributes creates an environment; in this regard, the relationship between people and environment is transactional: people take something (positive or negative) from a place and give or do things to the environment” (Najafi, Shariff, 2011, p.189).

In this approach, almost all of the theorists agree on the idea that ‘sense of place’ generates from the social meanings attributed to the place and experiences that exist in that place. However, there is a dissidence on a question: “Are these experiences personal or common?” This debate comes with another question which is “Does ‘sense of place’ consist of subjective or shared experiences?”

By stating “particular experience of person”, Rapaport claims that ‘sense of place’ can be generated from personal experiences. Another theorist, Rose also defines ‘sense of place’ based on individual experiences. Puren, Drewes, and Roos (2007) summarize this thought of Rose with these sentences:

Rose for example refers to sense of place as, although something very personal, a process of receiving, reconstructing and communicating in a narrative way the individual and unique identity of space which in this case becomes place. (Puren, Drewes and Roos, 2007, p.218)

Najafi and Shariff (2011) also claim that “...sense of place is people’s subjective perception of their environments and their more or less conscious feelings about those places” (Najafi and Shariff, 2011, p.189). On the other hand, some theorists believe that sense of place consist from both personal, but especially shared experiences. According to Galliano and Loeffler (1999), ‘sense of place’ “focuses on the subjective and often shared experience or attachment to the landscape emotionally or symbolically”. To some theorists, ‘sense of place’ can be generated

from both personal and shared experiences, and this forms two different types of 'sense of place': *individual* and *collective* sense of place. "The meanings and experiences of those who live in, visit, or imagine place foster an *individual* or *collective* sense of place." (Kneafsey, 2000, Rose, 1995; cited in Carter, Dyer and Sharma, 2007, p.755)

Likewise, Datel and Dingemans (1984, p. 135, cited in Shamai, Ilatov, 2005) argue that 'sense of place' can be created as personal and groups; and they define 'sense of place' as "the complex bundle of meaning, symbols, and qualities that a person or group consciously and unconsciously associates with a particular locality or region". By referring to Pred's opinions, Shamai claims that 'sense of place' is much more than own personal experience of a human:

Sense of place can be much more than one own personal experience, it "is likely to have developed, and common structure of feeling is likely to have emerged or been reshaped among different generational groups. (Pred, 1986, p. 151; cited in Shamai, 1991, p. 348)

Shamai, who is one of the important supporters of positivistic approach in the literature on 'sense of place', takes us to the third approach which explains the components that create 'sense of place' as multi-dimensional elements.

2.6.3 The third approach: Multi-dimensional elements

The third group of theorists emphasizes on the multi-dimensional aspect of 'sense of place' by claiming that neither physical nor social attributes are enough to explain 'sense of place', and there are lots of other components. This group of theorists have positivistic point of view, rather than phenomenological perspective. Thus, they underline the importance of objective reality. Shamai and many other advocates of this approach define 'sense of place' as a measurable concept by using quantitative research methods; and they define the concept of 'sense of place' once again accordingly.

Shamai (1991, cited in Shamai and Ilatov, 2005) starts by posing the following question: "...what creates the 'sense of place', the perception of physical environment or the perception of the personal and social contact and interaction in the place?" and he answers the question as follows:

...a sense of place is: feelings, attitudes, and behaviour towards a place which varies from person to person, and from one scale to another... The essence of sense of place lies in the beholder's senses and mind. It depends on many variables which are often difficult or even impossible to explain and to research. (Shamai, 1991, p.354)

According to this approach, it is impossible to know the exact variables that creates or develops the 'sense of place'. Different from the first approach, the advocates of the multi-dimensional approach accept that physical properties are not enough to develop a sense of place, because location itself is not a sufficient condition to create a sense of place (Shamai and Ilatov, 2005). In order to create it, there is a need for long and deep experience of a place, and preferably involvement in the place (Shamai and Ilatov, 2005).

According to this approach, physical properties of the landscape should be considered without privileging its social dimensions to develop the 'sense of place'. The concept of 'experience' is still important in this method, but theorists take into account the "multi-dimensional nature of the subjective experience of places" (Jorgensen and Stedman, 2006).

The researches on 'sense of place' encompass many definitions describing the man-environment interactions (Jorgensen, 2006) and they mainly emphasize the strength of this human-place relationship (Proshansky et al, 1983; cited in Jorgensen and Stedman, 2011) Hummon (1992) defines this relationship as follows:

Sense of place is inevitably dual in nature, involving both an interpretive perspective on the environment and an emotional reaction to the environment... Sense of place involves a personal orientation toward place, in which ones' understanding of place and one's feelings about place become fused in the context of environmental meaning. (Hummon, 1992, p.262, cited in Cross, 2001, p.2)

Thus, apart from the characteristics of physical settings of places, individual and shared experiences, symbolic meanings of places are also important in terms of the generation of 'sense of place'. Stedman (2003, 2006) claims that "symbolic meanings about a place can be translated into cognitions: descriptive statements of what this place mean to me rather than how much it means". While the characteristics of the physical environment are exerted direct effects on sense of place, symbolic meanings have indirect effects on this concept (Jorgensen and Stedman, 2006, p.318).

To sum up, the advocaters of the third approach accept that there are multiple elements to understand 'sense of place'. Stedman (2003) defines four elements - setting, interactions/behaviours, meanings and evaluations- which generate 'sense of place'. *Setting* means the physical characteristics of the location; *interactions/behaviours* means patterns of action, *meanings* refer to non-evaluative description of place and finally, *evaluation* means attachment, dependence and identity (Stedman, Amsden and Kruger, 2006). The first three elements (setting, interactions/behaviours and meanings) can be seen as the sum up of the first two approaches. Only the multi-dimensional approach uses all these elements. For this reason, theorists of the first two approaches describe 'sense of place' as an immeasurable concept, whereas this model shows the concept as measurable. Theorists of this model argue that sense of place can be measured by the help of positivistic approach and quantitative research methods. This way of thinking has brought about new concepts, such as place attachment, place dependence and place identity. The following part seeks to find answers the question of how to measure sense of place.

2.7 Measurement of 'sense of place'

The literature on the 'sense of place' does not provide us with clear explanation on the relationship between 'sense of place' and the concepts of 'place attachment', 'place dependence' and 'place identity'. In fact, the scholars examining these concepts from different theoretical perspectives do not agree on which component is

the major topic and which are the subtopics. For example, Shamai (1991) accepts the concepts of 'place attachment', 'place dependence' and 'place identity' as the components of the umbrella term 'sense of place' (Jorgensen and Stedman, 2006). While Hay (1998) and Balinger and Manning (1997) define 'sense of place' as a broader concept than the notion of 'place attachment', Bricker and Kerstetter (2000) consider 'sense of place', 'place dependence' and 'place identity' as the forms of 'place attachment' (Inglis, Deery, Whitelaw, 2008). On the other hand, some theorists, such as Williams, Patterson, Roggenbuck and Watson (1992), consider that 'place attachment' has similar meanings with 'sense of place'; and they claim that 'place dependence' and 'place identity' should be considered under the concept of 'place attachment', instead of the concept of 'sense of place' (Bow, Buys, 2003, p. 4, cited in Inglis, Deery, Whitelaw, 2008, pp. 3, 7). Thus, these studies exhibit conflicts and contradictions between the concepts of 'sense of place', 'place attachment', 'place dependence' and 'place identity'.

2.7.1 Place Attachment

Theorists that accept 'sense of place' as a vague concept and hard to define, used the concept of place attachment as a way for measuring 'sense of place'. Stedman (2003, cited in Najafi and Shariff, 2011) -one of these theorists- argues that place attachment can be used as an objective dimension for measuring the 'sense of place'.

It is possible to find many definitions of place attachment in the vast body of literature. Some theorists define 'place attachment' as a similar concept to 'sense of place', while others define 'place attachment' as a part of 'sense of place'. Nanzer (2004, p. 364) defines it as "the bond that develops between an individual or group and a particular spatial setting such as a neighborhood or a geographic region", while Pruneau et. al. (1999, p. 27, cited in Inglis, Deery, Whitelaw, 2008, p. 5) define it as "the conscious relationship that people have with their community, their culture or a natural or man-made environment"

Similar to sense of place, the starting point to understand the concept of 'place attachment' is the relationship between human, place and time. Tuan, for instance, defines 'place attachment' as a function of this relationship:

...time as motion or flow and place as a pause in the temporal current; attachment to place as a function of time, captured in the phrase, "it takes time to know a place"; and place as time made visible, or place as memorial to times past. (Tuan, 1977, p.179)

Thus, it takes time to develop a place attachment with a place. This statement moves us to the similar questions that we posed regarding the concept of 'sense of place': "What is the source of 'place attachment'?" and "Is 'place attachment' directly related to the time or not?" Riley (1992, p. 20, cited in Nanzer, 2004, p. 364) suggests that "attachment to place arises from what was experienced there". It is possible to understand 'place attachment' to answer the further questions such as: "What draws individuals to a place?", "How users and visitors may react to place?" and "What about place matters to people?". According to Stedman (2003, cited in Najafi and Shariff, 2011), 'place attachment' is an evaluative dimension of place, and it also describes how much place means to us. These meanings that link people to the specific places creates a specific bond between people and place. This bond which can be called as 'place attachment', is described basically as an emotional connection between people and their surroundings; and it comprises of interactions between affect and emotions, knowledge and beliefs, behaviors and actions regarding a place (Low and Altman, 1992, cited in Najafi, Shariff, 2011). In other words, this emotional connection does not only generate from the feelings that people develops for a place, but also from the beliefs and memories that people have about a place. According to Tuan (1977, Najafi and Shariff, 2011, p.190), place attachment is "the accumulation of memories and experience in place". For Low (1992, cited in Cross 2001, p.1), "...place attachment is more than an emotional and cognitive experience, and includes cultural beliefs and practices that link people to place."

It will be useful to refer to Najafi and Shariff (2011) to summarize all above definitions of place attachment:

Study on place attachment integrates the physical, perceptual, psychological and the socio-cultural dimension of place. Therefore place attachment may be affected by several factors related to experience and place. Environmental experience includes people's type of involvement and degree of familiarity with a place, and also their expertise or knowledge about place could influence attachment. The people's preferences for environmental attributes, activities and the physical attributes and characteristics of a place may also affect attachment. (Najafi and Shariff, 2011, p.192)

The variables which affect the generation of place attachment have also engaged many researchers. Jorgensen and Stedman (2006) identify some of these variables as *age, length of residence, perceptions of a place, symbolic meanings and environmental attitudes*. The length of residence is an important variable of place attachment. Many theorists define that the length of residence or frequencies of visits are important in order to develop a place attachment, since the length of the residence affects the level of experience. In this manner, it can be said that, long and deep experience of and involvement to a place is needed to create a place attachment (Shamai and Ilatov, 2004, p. 468). The *level of experience* is also another important variable of place attachment. By referring to Hay (1998), McAndrew (1998), Moore and Graefe (1994), Nanzer (2004, p. 364) claims that "places to which individuals become most attached are those with which they have the highest levels of experience, often resulting from long-time habitation in a particular locality".

2.7.2 Place dependence

According to Williams et. al. (1992), place attachment should be considered as the synonym of 'sense of place', and 'place dependence' and 'place identity' are the sub-topics of the concept of 'place attachment'. The first theorists who coined the term 'place dependence' under the concept of 'sense of place' are Stokols and Shumaker (1981 cited in Inglis, Deery, Whitelaw, 2008). They define 'place dependence' as "a particular place or region's potential for satisfying an individual's goals or needs when compared with some other potential area" (Nanzer, 2004, p. 365). According to Inglis, Deery and Whitelaw (2008, pp. 3, 7), '**place dependence**' is the first component of 'place attachment', and it is a **goal directed or functional**

attachment; while ‘**place identity**’ is the second component of ‘place attachment’ and it is an **emotional/symbolic attachment to a place**.

Place dependence refers to a dependence on a place for a specific activity, such as work, accommodation or recreation (Inglis, Deery, Whitelaw, 2008, p. 8). It "refers to the degree to which occupants perceive themselves to be strongly associated with and dependent on a particular place" (Moore , Graefe, 1994, p. 19). The suitability for satisfying these needs develops a level of dependence on the area or setting and occurs "when the occupants of a setting perceive that it supports their behavioral goals better than a known alternative" (Nanzer, 2004, p. 365).

2.7.3 Place identity

Before defining place identity, one should note the difference between the concepts of ‘identity of place’ and ‘place identity’. When defining the ‘identity of place’, Relph (1976) emphasizes on the difference between ‘identity of’ and ‘identity with’. The former part of this chapter explains ‘identity of place’; and this part examines ‘place identity’ which refers to “identity with a place”. In other words, ‘**identity of place**’ refers to the **humanized and characterized features of place**, while ‘**identity with a place**’ refers to the **emotional and symbolic attachment of human to a place**.

Similar to ‘place dependence’, ‘place identity’ is also defined as a part of the concept of place attachment (Williams et. al., 1992; Inglis, Deery and Whitelaw, 2008, pp. 3, 7). As stated above, place identity refers to **the emotional/symbolic attachment** (Inglis, Deery, Whitelaw, 2008). This emotional and symbolic attachment can be generated from the activities which come from *place dependence* as working or recreational activities, but also *repeating visits* to the place play an important role in place identity (Altman, Low 1992; Belk 1992; cited in Inglis, Deery, Whitelaw, 2008, p.13). Another important factor that creates place identity is *memory*; which can be considered as both childhood and adult memory. Many studies show that especially childhood memories have powerful effects on ‘place identity’ as in the

sense of place. Williams (1995, cited in Inglis, Deery, Whitelaw, 2008) explains that besides childhood and adult memory, 'symbol of heritage' also plays an important role for people's' identification with a place. "*Experience*" is another important factor for place identity. Both "lived experience" and "past experiences" are important on the development of place identity (Zajonc, 2001; Backlund & Williams 2003; Inglis, Deery, Whitelaw, 2008). Finally, the last important factor of place identity is the length of association with the place. According to Nanzer (2004, p. 367), "while it is possible to become attached to a place and subsequently incorporate it into our "self" after a single experience, place identity is more likely to occur after repeated visits or after long-term habitation within an environment",

2.8 Sense of Place and Time

"Does sense of place have direct bonds with time?" or "Does time spent in place have direct effects on sense of place?". First, these questions are mainly asked by the researches which focus on the debate of 'insider' *versus* 'outsider'. Some theorists claim that time spent in a particular place correlate with 'sense of place'. So, in many cases, compared to an outsider, an insider has much stronger 'sense of place'. On the other hand, some theorists disagree with this argument, and define that an outsider can also develop a strong 'sense of place'. In this part of the thesis, different thoughts of theorists on this debate will be examined and afterward it will used to shape the methodology of the thesis.

Jackson (1996) explains the importance of time on sense of place by defining sense of place as something that we ourselves create in the course of time. According to him, sense of place is the result of our habits and customs. Thus, "a sense of place is reinforced by what might be called a sense of recurring events" (Jackson, 1996) The term of "recurring events" takes a step forward mentioned concept of "experiences" and poses a new discussion which also deals with the 'time' factor. Here, Jackson's term 'recurring experiences' refers to not only 'experience', but also 'time spent in a place'. In other words, time spent in a particular place is important in terms of

creating 'sense of place'. Here, the crucial question is: "Which group can have stronger sense of place? Outsiders or insiders?"

Studies on the 'sense of place' generally take insiders as the object of the concept. However, there are also theorists who take outsiders into account. For instance, Relph (1976) argues that "...places can also be experienced in a direct and very personal way by outsiders...". Likewise, Jakle (1987, cited in Jive'n, Larkham, 2003) claims that an outsider -as a tourist- can express the 'sense of place' from outside more than a resident of a particular place. In contrast, Hayden (1995, cited in Jive'n, Larkham, 2003) and Lowenthal (1979) claim that the experience and perception of 'sense of place' and 'genius loci' means familiarity with the place. Ryden (1993), in a supportive manner to Hayden (1995) and Lowenthal (1979), recognizes the necessity of inhabiting place. According to him (1993), "a sense of place results gradually and unconsciously from inhabiting a landscape over time, becoming familiar with its physical properties, accruing history within its confines".

Relph (1976) also defines 'sense of place' as the ability to recognize places and their identities. Recognizing can be possible only with long-time connections between human and places. Theorists, such as Tuan (1977) and Relph (1976), advocate the importance of the length of time on the development of sense of place. Yet, especially researchers who make empirical analyses found no direct effect of length of residence on the generation of stronger sense of place (Jorgensen, Stedman, 2006). For instance, when describing 'sense of place' as the perception which people have for a physical area with which they interact, Galliano and Loeffler (1999) add that this perception can be developed within a few minutes or a lifetime. Contrarily, Hay argues that being insider and local ancestry develops a more "rooted sense of place", as explained below:

He (Hay) suggested that insider status and local ancestry were important in the development of a more "rooted sense of place." In this context, Hay used rooted sense of place to refer to individuals who were long-term residents of a community that included both settlers and indigenous peoples. (Kyle, Chick, 2007, p.211)

To conclude, there is no evidence to prove the direct relation between the duration of time in place and 'sense of place'. However, the studies about 'sense of place' show that childhood memory has an important role in the development of 'sense of place'. This also shows the importance of quality of time spent in the place rather than the length of the time. From this point of view, it can be derived that sense of place can change from outsider to outsider with respect to their observation and perception capacity, as also claimed below:

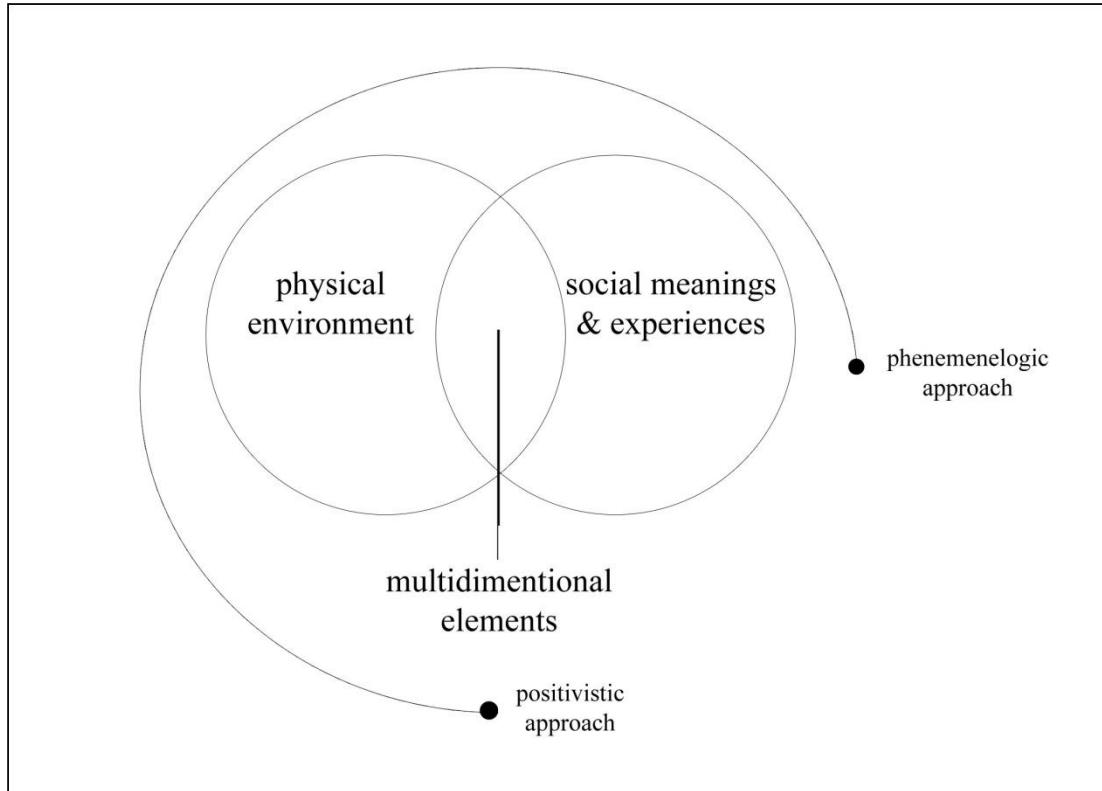
People's past experiences, backgrounds, memories, personality, knowledge, culture, attitude, motivations, beliefs, age and gender influence the perceived sense of place. Therefore, sense of place is a result of the interaction of human and his living space. Although long-term familiarity with place could influence the sense of place, physical attributes that encourage suitable activities and create identity can fortify the concept. (Najafi and Shariff, 2011, p.192)

2.9 Concluding remarks

The literature on 'sense of place' are generally examined under two factors: *cognitive/perceptual factors* and *physical characteristics of a physical setting*. The cognitive factors refer to the meanings and concepts that are understood by people in a place and "[p]hysical elements could refer to the attributes and characteristics of a setting; these features not only define the kind of a place but also could contribute to creation of meanings" (Najafi, Shariff, 2011, p.189).

These two factors are developed as an answer to the question of "what create a sense of place?" The literature review on this concept reveals that theorists do not agree on which attributes are more important than others. These attributes can be classified as *physical characteristics*, *meanings/experiences* and *multidimensional elements*. These three groups also show their differences regarding their different perspectives to the concepts of 'sense of place'. Table 2.1 shows the mentioned conceptual framework of the concept of 'sense of place'.

Table 2.1 Propounded attributes that create sense of place (prepared by the author)



This study accepts ‘sense of place’ as an umbrella concept and it examines the terms ‘place attachment’, ‘place dependence’ and ‘place identity’ separately as the sub-topics of ‘sense of place’. ‘Place attachment’ refers to place-specific emotions; i.e. positive feelings that a person holds for a specific place. ‘Place identity’ means place specific-beliefs that a person is defined in relation to a place. And lastly, ‘place dependence’ refers to behavioral commitments; i.e., behavioral advantages of a specific place relative to other places (Jorgensen and Stedman, 2006, p. 917).

To conclude, this chapter has discussed the concepts of ‘place’, ‘identity of place’, ‘image of a place’, and ‘sense of place’. It has particularly sought to develop a theoretical framework to define ‘sense of place’. As mentioned above, place can be seen as an outcome of a process in which a particular space becomes a place through the attributed meanings and lived experiences of people. In this process, four

concepts *-identity, image, spirit of place and sense of place-* come forward in the human-place relationship. These concepts can be established on a scala which stretches from an objective to a subjective values. When the concepts of ‘identity of place’ and ‘image of place’ are examined together, the more objective stance of identity compared to image can be seen clearly. When the same examination is made for the concepts of “spirit of place” and “sense of place”, similarly it seems that the former one has a more objective structure compared to the second one. With respect to all of these definitions and examinations for these four concepts, following inferences can be made.

‘Spirit of place’ and ‘identity of place’ can be seen mostly as “present” related concepts which are placed in the ontological plane. On the other hand image of place and sense of place are “represent” related concepts which can be placed essentially to epistemological plane. Therefore, the first two concepts refer to the objective dimension of place when the last two refer mostly to the subjective dimension of place. The following table (2.2) shows relationship between these four concepts.

Table 2.2 Relation between identity, image, spirit and sense of place (prepared by author)

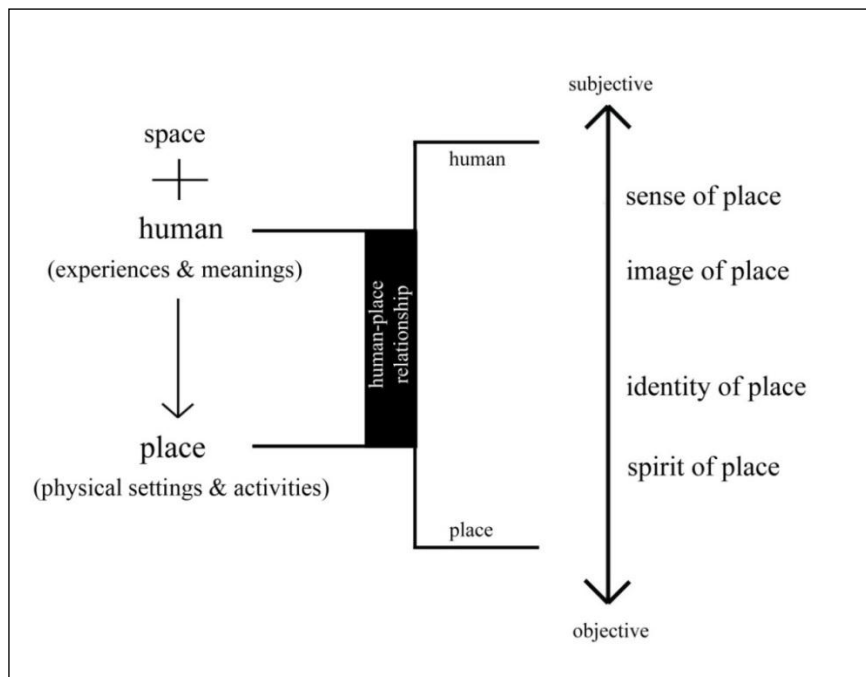
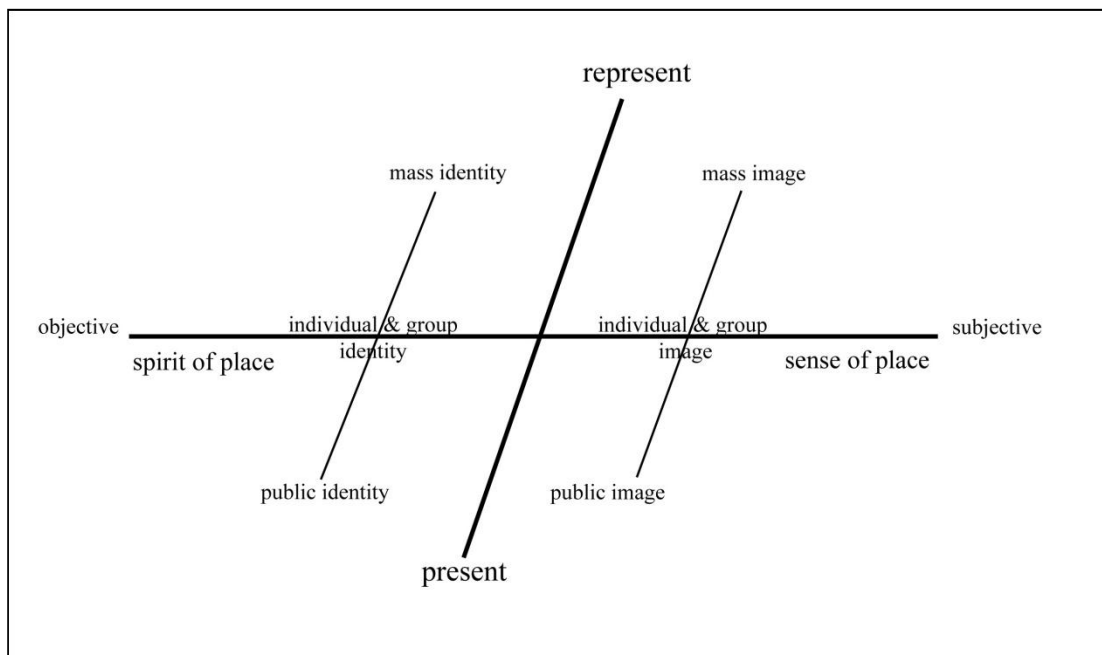


Table 2.3 comprises more detailed presentation of these four concepts. These four concepts are again located on the objective-subjective axis. However, the concepts ‘identity of place’ and ‘image of place’ are also differentiated on the present – represent axis. Accordingly, it can be said that there are three different forms of both identity of place and image of place such as; (1) individual and group or community forms, (2) public forms and (3) mass forms. The mass forms belong to high representation and high subjective levels in both identity of place and image of place; in the contrary, public forms locate in the high present and high objective levels. It can be claimed that public forms are much more related to the spirit and identity of place as being more “objective”. On the other hand, mass forms have much higher subjectivity level. Moreover, in the maximum level of mass forms, places split from the present identity and spirit of place and become biased “to fabricate a pseudo-world of pseudo-place” (Relph, 1976) Therefore, it can be said that public forms produce -with referring to Relph- “authentic and genuine” sense of place, on the contrary, mass forms cause to “inauthentic and contrived or artificial” sense of place.

Table 2.3: Places of identity, image, spirit and sense of place on the present-represent, objective-subjective axis (prepared by author)



Another issue encountered to the debate here is differentiating the concepts of “image of place” and “sense of place” which are located close to each other in Table 2.3. Especially at present-day conditions in which past and history - in general term- and historical urban fabrics -in more private term- become marketable commodity; it can be said that “image of place” expresses the form of presenting the city; “sense of place” on the other hand expresses the users perception style of “image of place” , “identity of place” or “spirit of place”.

Briefly, it should not be forgotten that even though this study is emphasizing “the sense of place” concept; “image of place”, “identity of place” and “spirit of place” concepts will also be used constantly. These concepts which locate in the different areas of same axis and from time to time enter to their meaning/usage areas, have an important role to examine sense of place; since these four concepts are distinct, but not separable.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This research employs a case study method as the research strategy. It examines Antalya Kaleiçi as the unit of analysis. It aims to examine how the sense of place and place image in Antalya Kaleiçi has changed in time. In other words, it seeks to reveal:

- how far the old sense of place and place image have been carried out today;
- how far the new ones have been added; and
- how far the old ones have disappeared.

The main research question is how the sense of place and place image have changed over the last five decades through the conservation-led regeneration schemes. This research seeks to answer this question by using quantitative and qualitative research tools. The major sources of evidence are archival documents, visual analysis, in-depth interviews and direct observation. This chapter briefly explains the reasons to carry out the case study on Antalya Kaleiçi; second, the research method followed by this study, as well as data to be collected and the sources of evidence which are used by the research and finally the rationale behind the questions prepared for interviews which are conducted by this research.

3.1. The reasons to carry out this research on Antalya Kaleiçi

As mentioned in the introduction part, in the urbanization process, cities has witnessed experienced too many changes, and naturally old city centers took their shares from these changings. In the process of change, these old city centers which were the starting point of the cities became deserted with the dereliction of place by

users for the new urban areas and/or have continued their existence with the participation of new socio-economic groups. As a matter of course, changing users precipitated to the redefinition of the functions in the area, changing functions and content influenced the physical setting. This situation, especially with the rapid rural to urban migration process which experienced after 1950's became the destiny of almost all of the cities in Turkey. Rising population, respectively expanding city and developing new urban areas has become a serious challenger for old city centers. Especially in this period, structures of old city centers were abandoned or switched owners due to squalidity. In an environment which Turkey has no comprehension of conservation, old city centers mostly turned into collapsing areas. In this regard, Kaleiçi is an important example of the process mentioned above. Forasmuch, Kaleiçi which firstly lost its attraction in the face of new urban settlements, became a preferred place by different socioeconomic groups especially in the 1970's when rural-urban migration ceiled in Antalya.

In 1970's, Turkey has met with conservation and implemented the first conservation plans. Kaleiçi, historic city center, which was the first settled area of Antalya experienced all the process mentioned above and important steps of Turkish planning and conservation history subsequently. Forasmuch, there is a parallelism between legal regulations of conservation legislations and planning-implementation processes of Kaleiçi. Immediately after the law 1710 which is the first conservation law of Republic that legislated in 1973, the yacht harbor and the examples of civil architecture in Kaleiçi has been registered, after the law's definition for registered area Kaleiçi has been declared as "conservation area" and 1979 Kaleiçi Conservation Development Plan was prepared as one of the first conservation plan of Turkey (Uyar, 2007; Kent Şurası, 2009). In 1992 after the 2863 Cultural and Natural Heritage Protection Law which legislated in 1983, the revision of the conservation plan was prepared. After the "Culture and Tourism Development Area" concept in 5226 law, Kaleiçi-with the city center-has been declared as "Cultural and Tourism Conservation Development Area" (Uyar, 2007).

Another important factor which plays role in the change of Kaleiçi is tourism. In 1970's when the concept of tourism began to settle in Turkey, Antalya was one of the cities which received its share from the "South Antalya Environment Plan". As a result, in the conservation plans which prepared for the Kaleiçi, tourism was encouraged for the salvation of the area.

It can be said that the processes that Kaleiçi passes through and all of these decisions and practices which led to changes in both the physical and social structure of Kaleiçi constitutes as an example for the whole Turkey. If it is considered that these changes in the social and physical structure of the area change the place, the usage, the users and the relationship between the user and the place, then the effect of these changes on the "sense of place" and "image" will be indispensable. When all of these are taken into account, it makes sense to determine the differentiation in or protection of the sense of place and the image, to choose Antalya Kaleiçi which is a great example for all of these mentioned processes, as a case in this study. In this context, the reasons to carry out this research in Antalya kaleiçi can be listed as follows:

- While Antalya had been experiencing the urbanization process and the results of it, Kaleiçi also lived the destiny of the historic city centers in this process. The change which comprised as a result of this can be inferred in Kaleiçi.
- Antalya Kaleiçi is an example for the applications brought by the concept of conservation in Turkey. In this context, the changes in the physical and social environment depending on the applications in the area can be seen.
- When the tourism identity attributed to Antalya especially after 1980 and the conservation plans come together, it can be seen that the functions in the area have been changed in this framework and it lead to changes in the sense of place and in the image.
- In the case of Kaleiçi, examining the changes in the area under periods and finding users who belong to these periods seem to be possible. Thus, it's also seems possible to comprehend the change in sense of place due time with the

help of the field research, the observations in the field and the in-depth interviews with the users.

Below, the methods used and the data utilized in order to examine the Antalya Kaleici case, which is selected by taking into consideration all the points stated above, will be discussed.

3.2. Method of analysis and data to be collected

This research seeks to find out the change in the sense of place and place image by using the concepts of ‘activity’, ‘physical setting’ and ‘meaning’ (Figure 2.1). It first examines the major components of ‘**physical setting**’ of Antalya Kaleiçi which are ***built form, permeability, landscape and street furniture*** by using **maps, photos** (photos from personal archive taken in August and September 2012) **and visual analysis on the maps** (Table 3.1). Besides the **aerial plans** of the site, **a street network plan, solid-void analysis, the map showing the permeability of street networks, the photos of the major public spaces (streets, meeting places), landmarks (buildings, monuments), soft and hard landscape elements and street furnitures** are used to indicate the physical characteristics of Antalya Kaleiçi. By using these analyses, it first tries to find out how the physical setting of Antalya Kaleiçi (i.e., buildings, street network, landscape and street furniture) has changed in time.

Second, it focuses on the activities which used to take place in the past and today. This group of data is collected through **direct observation, archival documents, and in-depth interviews** (Table 3.1). By using the **land-use maps of the past and the present time**, it seeks to show how far Kaleiçi has changed from a dominantly residential district to a tourism and commerce-based district. Besides, based on the direct observation of the researcher, it seeks to show **which streets and open spaces are used mostly by the pedestrians and vehicles**. Likewise, based on the in-depth interviews with the past users of Antalya Kaleiçi, it seeks to find out **which streets and open spaces used to be used by pedestrians or vehicles. This data is used to find out how the way of using streets and some specific open spaces (such as a**

square, a coffee house) has changed in time. In many historic environments, some very lively spaces which used to be used for gathering, interacting, and mingling, may change in time and starts to be used only for different purposes, such as car-parking sites. This change in the way of using open public spaces inevitably changes the place image, sense of place and meanings of the places.

Also, this research seeks to find out **the major/specific places** (such as meeting places, some streets or squares) **and the activities which used to take place in these environments.** It seeks to reveal some specific places in the mind of past users and the activities associated with them, such as a street which used to be a market place, a square which used to be a place for celebration, holidays, festivals, a coffee house which used to be a major meeting place for the men of the district, a bakery which all the dwellers used to buy their bread, or a fountain which used to be a place for many women and children to queue and gather their water for domestic use. This data is gathered by in-depth interviews. Also, by interviewing the current users of Antalya Kaleiçi, the research also seeks to reveal **the current major/specific places and the activities which take place today.** By comparing the past and current major/specific places and the activities which were and are associated with these places, it seeks to show:

- how far these places and activities have been carried out today,
- how far these places and activities are forgotten, and
- how far the new places and activities have been added.

Finally, the research seeks to find out the relationship between the place and meaning which is examined under four variables:

- *Perceived functions, attractions*
- *Legibility (nodes, landmarks, paths, edges and districts)*
- *Noise and smell*
- *Place dependence and sense of belonging*

The **legibility of the site** is examined through the **cognitive maps** and **in-depth interviews.** Here, it might be important to remember these concepts. Hospers' descriptions, comments and examples are very instructive and valuable in this sense:

Paths: the streets, rail tracks, trails and other channels along which people move. Often, paths work like basic structures along which other elements in the built environment are arranged. Examples are Berlin's Kurfürstendamm, the Ramblas in Barcelona and the tram track in Bordeaux.

Edges: clear transition zones and linear boundaries between two areas, e.g. between water, walls and nature and the city. Water is an important edge for those cities that are located on coasts or rivers. Just think of Hamburg's Hafencity, the boulevard in Nice and Newcastle's Quayside.

Districts: quarters, neighbourhoods and other sections of the city with a distinctive character, such as London's Soho, Temple Bar in Dublin and Quartier Latin in Paris. Not all districts are such "full thematic units"; some will be only recognized by people who know the city well.

Nodes: strategic meeting points in a city, e.g. squares, junctions or stations. Examples of such "thematic concentrations" are the Dam in Amsterdam, Rome's Stazione Termini and the Plaza Mayor in Madrid. Obviously, the more distinctive a node, the more memorable it will be.

Landmarks: singular objects that serve as general public reference points. Some of these are distant (e.g. towers and spires), while others are local, such as sculptures and signs. Copenhagen's Øresund Bridge, Zeche Zollverein in Essen and the Akropolis in Athens are telling examples. (Hospers, 2010, p.2075)

The interviewees (old inhabitants and the current users) are asked the important nodes, landmarks, paths, edges and districts in their mind in Antalya Kaleiçi. In doing so, the research seeks to find out the **past and current nodes, landmarks, paths, edges and districts of the site**. After the questions, the respondents are asked to draw a cognitive map of the site. Based on the responses of both interview questions and cognitive maps, the research compares the five elements of Lynch, and it seeks **to reveal the current and past images in the mind of the users**. Based on the answers of the old and current users of the site, there might be **new ones nodes, landmarks, paths, edges and/or districts which have been added**, or **some might be lost**, or **some might be still alive in the users mind**. This will show **how far the legibility of Antalya Kaleiçi has been protected or changed; and how far the place image has protected or changed**.

Besides, this research seeks to reveal **cultural associations; i.e. the places which are associated with some traditions, rituals, cultural, social and religious events**. Festival or holiday squares (bayramların kutlandığı alanlar), trees for wishes (dilek ağaçları), a mosque or its square for holiday prays, funerals, or celebrations, and a

monument of a national or local hero are the examples for such places. By asking both the old dwellers and the new users of the site, this research seeks to reveal:

- whether such places are still used for the same purposes, or
- whether they have been associated with new activities, or
- whether they have disappeared (hence, the meaning of the place and its image disappeared as well).

Finally, this research seeks to reveal **perceived functions or attractions** of Antalya Kaleiçi. Through the interviews, it tries to discover the old and new attractive places in Kaleiçi. In other words, the old inhabitants are to be asked which places were the most beautiful or attractive places for them in Antalya Kaleiçi. Then, the same question is to be asked to the new users of the site. By comparing the responses, this study will find out:

- whether the attractive and beautiful places for the old dwellers are still surviving, or they have disappeared; and
- whether new attractive and beautiful places have been added to Antalya Kaleiçi.

Table 3.1 The major components and variables to be examined by the research and research tools

COMPONENTS OF 'SENSE OF PLACE' & 'PLACE IMAGE'	VARIABLES TO BE EXAMINED	RESEARCH TOOLS
PHYSICAL SETTING	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Built form</i> • <i>Permeability</i> • <i>Landscape</i> • <i>Furniture</i> 	Visual analysis showing the past and today: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Aerial plans or blue prints (hâlihazır haritalar) • Street network plan • Solid-void analysis • Map of permeability of street network • Photos of important public spaces, landmarks, soft and landscape elements and street furniture

Table 3.1 (cont.) The major components and variables to be examined by the research and research tools

<p>ACTIVITY</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Land-uses</i> • <i>Pedestrian flows</i> • <i>Vehicle flow</i> 	<p>Visual analysis showing the past and today:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Land-use maps • Maps showing the streets/open public spaces based on pedestrian flows (direct observation and in-depth interviews) • Photos showing the streets/open public spaces based on pedestrian flows • Maps showing the streets/open public spaces based on vehicle flows • Photos showing the streets/open public spaces based on vehicle flows <p>In-depth interviews:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In-depth interviews to learn about the current and past behavior patterns in the specific sites (meeting places, streets, squares) • In-depth interviews to learn about the current and past noise and smell
<p>MEANING</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Perceived functions, attractions</i> • <i>Legibility (nodes, landmarks, paths, edges and districts)</i> • <i>Noise and smell</i> • <i>Place dependence and sense of belonging</i> 	<p>Cognitive maps by:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Before-1980 users • After-1980 users • Current users <p>In-depth interviews:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Before-1980 users • After-1980 users • Current users

3.3. Sources of evidences

This research uses **quantitative and qualitative data** which are based on the four major sources of evidence. The first source of evidence includes **written documents** which constitute archival documents of Antalya Metropolitan Municipality, written reports, books, articles, researches, formal studies or evaluations of the same site under study, articles appearing in the media and websites related to Antalya Kaleiçi. Particularly this source of evidence is used to examine and explain the historical development of Antalya Kaleiçi, the development and conservation plans which were implemented for this site, and their spatial, social and economic impacts on the case

study area. This part of the research (Chapter 4) draws a contextual setting for the rest of the study.

The second source of evidence is **direct observation**. The case study area was visited several times to identify the land-use pattern in the first and second floors of the buildings. Also, photos were taken to identify the issues which are investigated in relation to the changes in the sense of place and place image. Additionally, the site is analyzed through the urban design analysis tools which are explained in detail in the previous section. These tools include several maps which are presented in Tables 3.1. Likewise, the direct observation was carried out to find out the mostly used streets, avenues or open public spaces in Antalya Kaleiçi. As explained above, during the week and weekend days, several times the site was visited to find out these popular sites for users and visitors.

The third source of evidence is the **in-depth interviews** held with the current and past users of Antalya Kaleiçi. 15 interviews were conducted with the user groups of the site. 1 interviews were conducted with people between 18-25; 12 interviews were conducted with people between 26-64; 2 interviews were conducted with people older than 64 (Table 3.2). The interviews with the current users of the site were carried out with the current living and working population. 2 respondents of the interviews are the current inhabitants of Antalya Kaleiçi; 6 respondents of the interviews are both the current inhabitants and business owner in the site; and 4 respondents are business owner in the site (Table 3.3). 2 interviews were conducted with the old users of Antalya Kaleiçi. These people are currently living out of Antalya Kaleiçi.

This research has carried out 15 in-depth interviews. 5 interviews were conducted with the old inhabitants of Antalya Kaleiçi; 6 interviews were carried out with the users who came to the site after 1980; and 4 interviews were conducted with the current users of the site who came after 2000 (Table 3.4). The interview questions were prepared for these three groups of respondents. But these questions are more or less the same to gather comparable data. Interviews were prepared semi-structured.

There are pre-prepared questions related to the components which are to be examined in relation to the sense of place and place image. With the interviews, it is aimed to gather mostly qualitative data.

Table 3.2 Interviewee groups of the research

Interviewee groups	Number of interview
• <i>Current users between 18-25 years-old</i>	1
• <i>Current users between 26-64</i>	11
• <i>Current users older than 65</i>	1
• <i>Past users / dwellers</i>	2
TOTAL	15

Table 3.3 Interviewee groups for the current users of Antalya Kaleiçi

Current interviewee groups	Number of interview
• <i>Current inhabitants</i>	2
• <i>Current working population</i>	5
• <i>Current inhabiting and working population</i>	6
TOTAL	13

Table 3.4 Interviewee groups according to time periods

Interviewee groups	Number of interview
• <i>Users before 1980</i>	5
• <i>Users after 1980</i>	6
• <i>Current users</i>	4
TOTAL	15

The in-dept interviews, conducted by the author, lasted between 1 and 3 hours. Open-ended questions were asked and each interviewee was asked to draw a simple map of the area. During the discussion, the participants were free to tell stories, provide additional materials or draw more than one cognitive map. Some of the interviewees

brought in other people to the interview such as brothers/sisters, friends and etc. In total, the data set from the 15 interviewees are 20 pages of cognitive maps and 108 pages of transcribed interview text.

The interview questions also focus on spatial cognition, which means “the thinking processes that help us “wayfind” (i.e., successfully navigate through an environment), estimate distances, recognize route cues, able to make and read maps, and generally understand the relative location in space of different places” (Gifford, 1987, p.32). Spatial cognition can be examined through **cognitive maps** which refer to how places are arranged in people’s mind. Legibility that means “the ease with which a setting may be recognized and organized by people” is also a key concept in terms of cognition (Gifford, 1987, p.33). This method can also be categorized as a qualitative method. This is the fourth source of evidence used by this research.

3.4. Interview questions

Interview questions related to **places with specific activities and activity/behavior patterns on certain places** for both before-1980 users, after-1980 users and present time users:

- Which streets or avenues of Antalya Kaleiçi are/were used to use more frequently?
- Which open spaces (squares, parks, or other) of Antalya Kaleiçi are/were used to use more frequently?
- Where are the places (other than home) people mostly spend /used to spend their time? For example:
 - For shopping
 - For wandering around
 - For meeting friends and acquaintances
 - For celebrations, holidays.....
 - For funerals
 - For other activities

Interview questions related to the **places associated with smell and noise** are:

- Is there any place in Antalya Kaleiçi where you can associate with certain type of smell (such as flower, coffee, tea, or any bad smell)?
- Is there any place in Antalya Kaleiçi where you can associate with some noises? (such as traffic noise, children voices, musics)

Interview questions related to the **legibility** of Antalya Kaleiçi are:

- What is/are (was/were) the first place(s) or landmarks (buildings, monuments, statue) which come to your mind when you think of Antalya Kaleiçi?
- What is/are (was/were) the most important street(s)/avenue(s)/path(s) in Antalya Kaleiçi?
- What is/are (was/were) the most important districts (neighbourhoods or commercial districts, etc) of Antalya Kaleiçi?
- What is/are (was/were) the most nodes (junctions, meeting places, squares or plazas) of Antalya Kaleiçi?
- What is/are (was/were) the most edges of Antalya Kaleiçi? (such as seaside, the coastal street/avenue, etc)

Following these questions, the researcher also asked the interviewees to draw a cognitive map.

Finally, to reveal **perceived functions or attractions** of Antalya Kaleiçi, following questions were asked:

- What is/are (was/were) the place(s) which is/are (was/were) known as the most beautiful/attractive for everybody?
- Why do people like (used to like) this/these place(s)?
- What do people do (used to do) in this/these place(s)?
- What is /are (was/were) the place(s) where people go (used to go) very often?
- Why people go (used to go) to this / these place(s)? What do (used to do) they do there?

By comparing the answers of the *before 1980*, *after 1980* and *current users* of Antalya Kaleiçi, the research will try to reveal the changes in the sense of place and place image. The questions of the interviews and the cognitive maps drawn by the current and past users of the case study site are in Appendices A and B.

CHAPTER 4

MULTI-LAYERNESS AND PLANNING HISTORY OF ANTALYA KALEİÇİ

The case study area, Kaleiçi, is located in the center of Antalya which is a city of Mediterranean Region in Turkey (Figure 4.1). The borders of the area are Atatürk Street in the east, Cumhuriyet Street and Tophane Park in the north, Karaalioğlu Park in the south and the sea in the west (Figure 4.2). This old town of the city , which was also called as Attelia, had hosted many different cultures in the history, this is why in ancient times, as Bosh (1957) claims, the region of Attalia was known as Pamphylia, which means “the land where all tribes live” (Bosh 1957, cited in Süer, 2006, p.11).



Figure 4.1 Location of the Antalya in Turkey and the location of case study area Kaleiçi in Antalya (prepared by the author)



Figure 4.2 Boundaries of the case study area, Kaleiçi (prepared by the author)

Until the twentieth century, Kaleiçi district comprised the larger portion of Antalya. Since the whole area was surrounded by city walls until the 1930s, the boundaries of Kaleiçi could have been preserved without any significant change. After the demolition of the city walls in the 1930s to a large extent, the Atatürk Street that was constructed in the 1940s along the periphery of the city walls, appeared as the new protective component of this district. Therefore, the main structure of Kaleiçi could have been maintained especially till the mid-1980s despite the rapid urban growth that² has been experienced in the other parts of Antalya which have been subjected to a dramatic change in the physical structure in a very short time period.

² For seeing the effects of rapid urban growth, look to air photos in Appendix C

The city of Antalya has transformed from a fisherman village into a harbor city and kept the harbor city identity for a long time. In this rapid urbanization process in Antalya, Kaleiçi also has started to change in both social and physical sense; but the main change emerged after the tourism developments in the early-1980s when the concept of tourism was introduced and tried to be disseminated throughout Turkey. Antalya, as a coastal settlement, has been affected from these politics as well. In the following periods, the identity of Antalya had started to change from the harbor city to the city of tourism and Kaleiçi had played an important role in this change.

To define the changing ‘sense of place’ in Kaleiçi, all these processes and changes which form and re-formed Kaleiçi should be elaborated. As Madran (2011, presentation) states for understanding the transformation in the identity of the place, the important historical events, the breaking points depending on important socio-economic changes, the managerial social, political and economic structures should be understood. In this context, the first part of this chapter examines the multi-layered structure of Kaleiçi which is the constituent element of its identity. In other words, firstly, Kaleiçi will be discussed in different historical periods until the Republic to understand the different layers which generate existing Kaleiçi. In the second part, the period between the Republic and the present day of Kaleiçi will be examined based on the external interventions. Within this respect, the second part will focus on the planning processes in Kaleiçi.

4.1 Multi-layer identity of Kaleiçi

As mentioned above, Antalya has hosted many different societies throughout its history. These different societies, with their different cultures, were settled down either in the places constructed by people before them or reorganized their own settlements. This resulted in many layers which belong to different societies and life styles in the same area. Madran (2011, presentation) defines this multi-cultural structure as the multi-cultural/multi-layer identity and gives Kaleiçi as an example of this kind of identity. According to him, this ‘multi’ structure is richness for the identity and also have direct effects on this identity. In the book of *Stadte*

Pamphylens und Pisidiens, Pamphylien, which was written in 1890, the Australian traveller Karl Lanckoronski narrates his Antalya travel and describes this multi-layer structure of Antalya with these words:

...A Greek sarcophagus, deteriorated due to moisture and human hands, is in service as a fountain basin. In the façade of a school building of Turks are Roma columns possibly belonging to a temple or a triumphal arch. On one side is a marble inscription with beautifully carved Arabic letters and on another side is a lion relief reminiscent of Persian and Assyian arts- both telling about the lost beauties of the Seljuk state. Above the same gate is a checkerboard design, which is the coat of arms of a crusader, and above it is another lion depiction. There, a Byzantine church now serving as a mosque has window frames with exclusive workmanship; there, an Arab gate whose decoration can rival with those in Cairo; and over there, a round Roman tower similar to the tomb of Caecillia Metella; and further ahead, slim minarets like those in Konya. Among these, the Roman gate dating to the reign of Hadrian, rediscovered recently, is noteworthy... (Lanckoronski, 1890³)

In the following part, these different layers and structures which are the elements of Kaleiçi's present identity will be examined according to the periods which they belong to. For this purpose, the following headings are designated as; Hellenistic, Roman, Byzantine, Seljuk and Ottoman Period, in the chronological order

4.1.1 Kaleiçi in Hellenistic Period

The city of Antalya is assumed that it used to be a fisherman village named as Korykos before Attalos II, the king of Bergama, settled Attaleia in between B.C. 159-138. The city plan and important nodes of the Hellenistic period cannot be cognized literally, but it is possible to estimate due to the attributes, the qualifications of the topography (Figure 4.3) and the settlement traditions of the Hellenistic period. If we take the time of settlement and the rugged topography into account, it is seen that a grid plan as in the Ion cities could not be possible in Kaleiçi (Sürer, 2006). Only the South part of the area is suitable for this kind of grid plan, so the foundation of the existing grid pattern of this part can be laid in the Hellenistic period.

³ Cited in the website of Suna İnan Kıraç Kaleiçi Museum (www.kaleicimuzesi.com), now on it is referred as No author, 2012



**Figure 4.3 Topography of the case study area, Kaleiçi
(Personal rendering; resource: Süer, 2006)**

The basic urban elements of Hellenistic cities are known as acropolis, agora, and amphitheater (Süer, 2006). In Kaleiçi, the exact places of these elements are not discovered so far, but are estimated. For instance, in Hellenistic cities, the place of protection and defense mechanism was acropolis, so generally the acropolis was located in the most elevated area of the city with high fortification walls. In this context, the acropolis of Antalya should be placed at the northern part of Kaleiçi which is the most elevated location of the area (Süer, 2006; Yağcı, 2009).

The center of the Hellenistic city was agora and with the surrounding public buildings, it was the hearth of social, commercial and political life of the city. According to Çimrin (2002), agora was at the intersection point of Hesapçı and Sakarya Streets⁴. With this respect, the place of the agora was estimated in the open area next to Kesik Minare Mosque. Although it has not substantiated with archeological findings, the criteria of location preferences of agora in Hellenistic

⁴ For seeing names of Kaleiçi streets, look to the Appendix D

cities points out that the possibility of this estimation to be true is quite high (Süer, 2006).

Another assumption is about the location of a possible amphitheater. In fact, there are two main assumptions on this topic. In the first one, it is defended that the amphitheater should be placed in the Mermerli Park (Çimrin, 2007a); and in the second one, it is believed that the findings from late roman-byzantine period which were found in the northern part of the city could be belonged to this amphitheater (Interview with Üreğen, 2012). Yet, there is no definite finding about the location of the amphitheater.

4.1.2 Kaleiçi in Roman Period

Attaleia, the harbor city, passed under the control of Roman empire in B.C. 79. In this period, a high number of migrants were settled in the city as a result of the Roman politics and with this new population, the city sprawled to outside of the existing internal walls. To protect these new settlement areas, the whole city was surrounded by a second fortification wall (Yağcı, 2008). The walls, which gave shape to Kaleiçi and which can also be followed partially in the present time, were built in this period. The main entrance of this external wall was **Hadrianus Gate** (Figure 4.4). This gate was built between 117-138 AD in the honor of Emperor Hadrian, who visited Attalia in this period. The main road, which was also called as ‘*King Road*’, was starting from this gate and ending in the **Hıdırlık Tower** (Figure 4.5) which was built as a mausoleum at this period. The path of this main road can also be observed in Hesapçı Street in the present time. Hesapçı Street was possibly the main road of the Roman period and corresponds to either Decumanus or Cardo axis that structures the Roman cities (Süer, 2006). Due to many column and architectural stone pieces which were found from excavations in the Hesapçı Street and the surrounding area, the existence of a ‘street with columns’ from the Roman times under the Hesapçı Street was determined. In the excavation which was made at the corner of the conjunction of Zeytin Street and Hesapçı Street, travertine stones were found as an evidence of an antique road under the Hesapçı Street and other

findings from the near parcels proved the continuity of this road until the Hıdırlık Tower. The same texture of this antique road also arises in the ground of the church court of Kesik Minare Mosque. It is assumed that there was a basilica in the place of Kesik Minaret during the time of antique Attaleia and near to this basilica there was a forum area which is the equivalent of Hellenistic agora in the Roman period. There could be also other basilicas in different parts of Kaleiçi, but there are no documents or findings supporting this assumption.



Figure 4.4 Hadrianus Gate (a) in 1885, (b) in 1930s, (c) in 2012 (Resource: (a) Kıvrın, Uysal, 1988, p.28; (b) personal archive of Tazecan; (c) personal archive)



Figure 4.5 Hıdırlık Tower in (a) 19th century, (b) after 1930s, (c) 2012 (Resource: (a) personal archive of Dündar; (b) personal archive of Tazecan; (c) personal archive)

Briefly, the hearth of the city was also the forum in this period which was located at the intersection point of the Hesapçı and Sakarya Streets. The forum, the Street with Columns which had the same route with the Hesapçı Street, the Basilica that was built on the location of Kesik Minaret, Hadrian Gate and the Hıdırlık Tower were the main elements of the city structure in Roman Period (Figure 4.6).

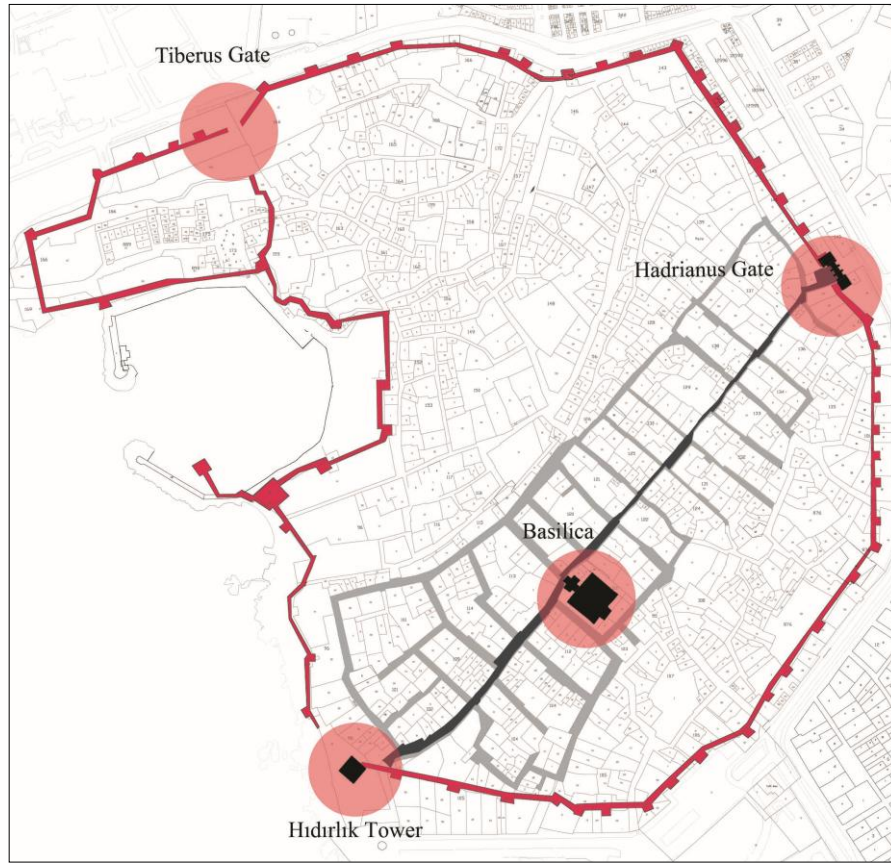


Figure 4.6 Layer of the Roman Period (personal rendering; resource: Süer, 2006; Antalya İl Merkez Kültür Envanteri, 2004)

4.1.3 Kaleiçi in Byzantine Period

After the decay of Roman Empire in A.D. 394, the city of Attaleia and the surroundings remained in the Byzantine Empire and the city was turned into a Christian city (Yağcı, 2008). In the Byzantine period, the most important factor shaping the structure of the city was the religion. The basilica which mentioned at the Roman period was turned into a church and named as **Aya Irini Church** (Figure 4.7, a). This structure also constituted the basis of Kesik Minaret Mosque. Further, another church named **İsodia Tis Panayias Church** (Figure 4.7, b) which is now known as Aleaddin Mosque is also a structure of Byzantine period. Other churches which were built in the same period could not survive till today.

In this period, the increasing welfare level and the rebellion of Arabians had a great impact in the shape of the city. The Roman walls were restored and to increase the protection, new low walls were built near to these old ones. The center of the city moved from the Roman agora to the acropolis of the ancient times (Cezar, 1977, cited in Süer, 2006) which was more sheltered because of its location. As a result, the population density increased in the northern part of the city.

It is known that, in Byzantine cities which were settled top on the Roman cities, the grid plan of Roman time was demolished and new settlement areas were developed with more organic urban form (Tanyeli, 1996, cited in Yağcı, 2008). The same process also can be observed in Kaleiçi District. For instance, the new settlement areas which developed in the northern part of the city started to develop in organic forms. Another reason of this transformation was the topographic features that made difficult to apply grid-iron plan at this part. The grid pattern in the south of Kaleiçi was partially destroyed in this period. According to Tanyeli (1987) the second inner wall which surrounds the harbor was built in this period and the grid area which was also the place of antique settlement turned into a low density suburb in which inhabitants were engaged in agriculture.

Another critical change in the urban elements in this period was the closure of the Roman Gates, such as Hadrian Gate as a result of the same protection decisions. In this period the only gate was '**Kalekapısı**' (Castle Door) which was providing the connection between Antalya and the other cities. '**Saat Kulesi**' (Clock Tower) (Figure 4.7, c) near to this gate was also built at this period.

Antalya was still a harbor city in the Byzantine period, thus the connection between the harbor and the city gate was also very important. '**Kırk Merdivenler**' (Figure 4.7, d) which means 'forty steps' was an important urban element which was built by Venetians (Yağcı, 2008) in Byzantine time to carry their merchandises between the harbor and the city center.

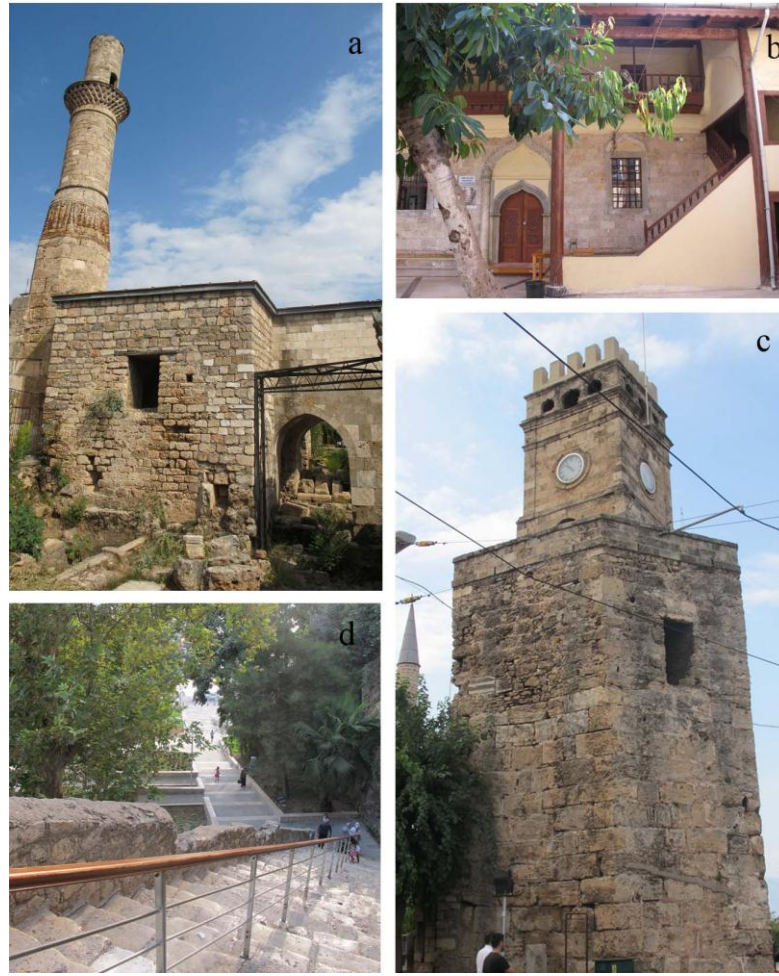


Figure 4.7 Urban elements from Byzantine Period; (a) Kesik Minare, (b) Aleaddin Mosque, (c) Saat Kulesi, (d) Kırk Merdivenler (personal archive)

Compared to the Roman times, the city shrank in the Byzantine time. The center and the density of the city shifted to the old acropol area in the North. Urban gates were revised according to this change and the Hadrianus Gate which was the main entrance in the Roman times was closed with Stones, instead of this ‘Kale Kapısı’ which was near to the new city center became the main entrance of the city.

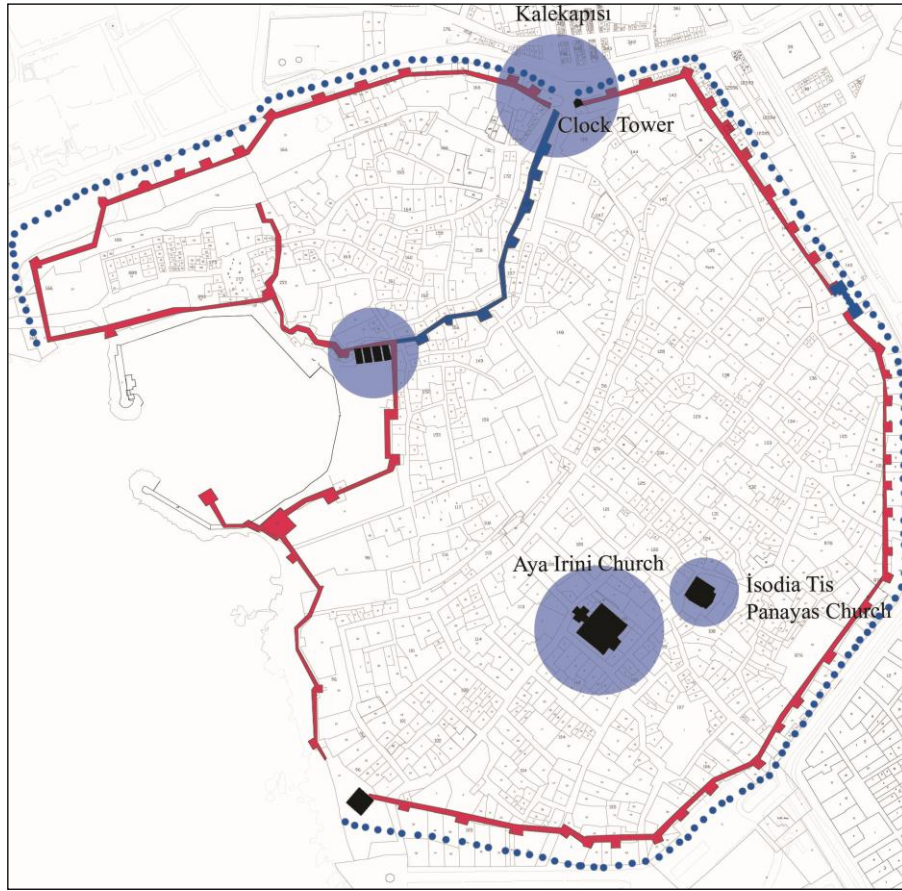


Figure 4.8 Layer of the Byzantine Period (personal rendering; resource: Süer, 2006; Antalya İl Merkez Kültür Envanteri, 2004)

4.1.4 Kaleiçi in Seljuk Period

The most observable transformations in the urban structure of Antalya Kaleiçi is from the Seljuk Period, since many structures from this period have maintained until today. Seljuks made many cultural and religious changes in the urban structure of Kaleiçi by adopting the existing structures of Byzantine period. For instance, Aya İonnis Tu Teoloğu Church was turned into a mosque and the famous minaret which called **Yivli Minare** (Figure 4.9, a) was built near to this church. The main urban structures defining the Seljuk time were; **Mevlevihane** (Figure 4.9, b), Kulliye of Yivli Minare with **Seljuk Madressah** (Figure 4.9, c) and the bath in it, **Ahi Yusuf Turbe and Masjid**, **Atabey Armağan Medresseh**, **Ahi Kızı Masjid** (Figure 4.9, d), **Karatay Madressah**, **Karamolla Masjid** (Figure 4.9, e) **Şeyh Şüca Turbe** and

Zincir Kiran Mehmet Bey Turbe (Figure 4.9, f) and **Imaret Medresseh** (Figure 4.9, g) (Süer, 2006; Antalya İl Merkez Kültür Envanteri, 2004).



Figure 4.9 Some of the urban elements from Seljuk Period; (a)Yivli Minare, (b)Mevlevihane, (c)Seljuk Madressah, (d)Ahi Kızı Masjid, (e)Karamolla Masjid, (f) Zincir Kiran Mehmet Bey Turbe, and (g)Imaret Medresseh (personal archive)

In the time of Seljuk period, the city hosted many different ethnic groups as Muslims, Christians and Jewish. After some incidents, it has been decided to construct inner fortifications to separate these groups from each other and as a result, the city was divided into parts. With this regulation, the northwest part of the city was given to the Turk Muslims, and the southeast part was given to the Christians. Abu Abdullah Ibn Battuta defines this distinction in Kaleiçi in his book *Travels in Asia and Africa* which was written in 1356 with these sentences:

...Antalia, the most beautiful city. It covers an immense area, and though of vast bulk is one of the most attractive towns to be seen anywhere, besides being exceedingly populous and well laid out. Each section of the inhabitants

lives in separate quarter. The Christian merchants live in a quarter of the town known as the Mina (The Port), and are surrounded by a wall, the Gates of which are shut open them from without at night and during the Friday service. The Greeks who were its former inhabitants, live by themselves in another quarter, the Jews in other, and the king and his court and mamluks in another, each of these quarters being walled off likewise. The rest of the Muslims live in the main city. Round the whole town and all the quarters mentioned there is another great wall. (Ibn Battuta, 1356; cited in No author, 2012)

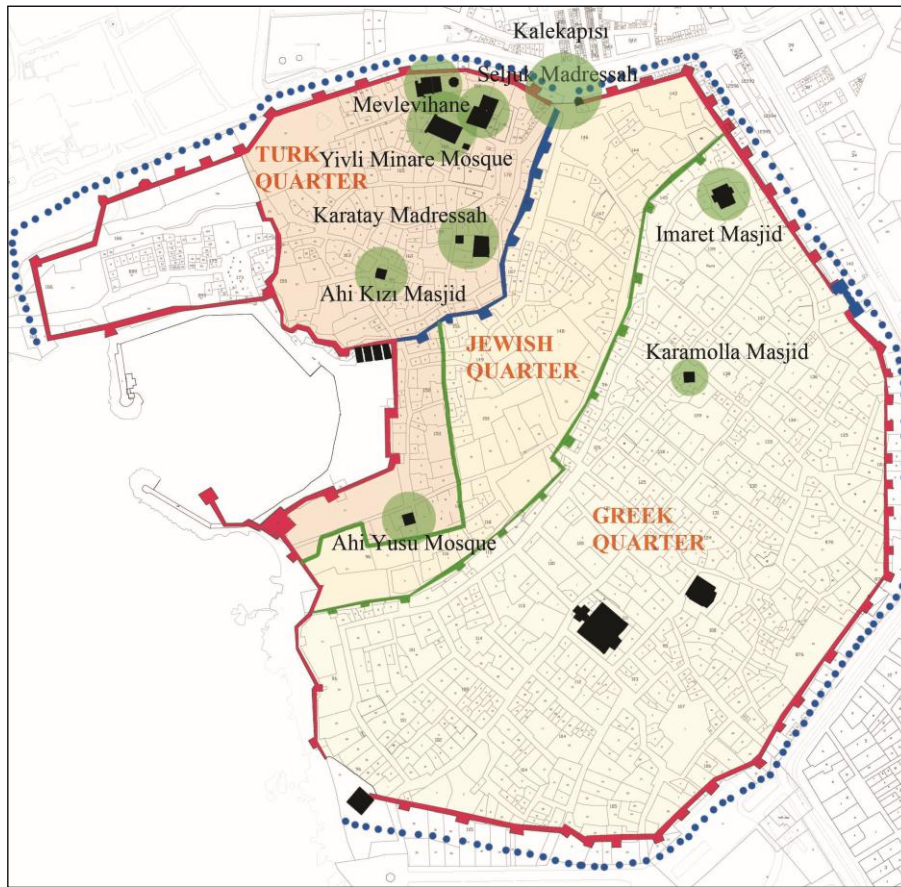


Figure 4.10 Layer of the Seljuk Period (personal rendering; resource: Süer, 2006; Antalya İl Merkez Kültür Envanteri, 2004)

4.1.5 Kaleiçi in Ottoman Period

Antalya was conquered by Ottoman Empire in the 15th century and the harbor city identity had been preserved. In this period, the fortification walls lost their importance as an urban element and the city sprawled outside of these walls through the north of the city. Evliya Çelebi, in his book of *Seyahatname* (1680), indicates that

there was only one gate on the exterior fortification walls, and called it as ‘Varoş Kapısı’ which is now known as Kalekapısı. Except this one, there were three gates in the port area (Figure 4.11), and the main connection between the port and the city was provided from the Great Port Door with forty steps. Çelebi also adds that there were 22 little doors in the quarters. According to *Seyahatname*, there were four quarters and one thousand houses in Kaleiçi, and there were lots of gardens in which the Tekeli Paşa garden was the most famous one (Çelebi, 1680; cited in No author, 2012)



Figure 4.11 One of the gates of the port in 1953 and in 2012 (personal archive of Tazecan; personal archive)

In this period, the population of the Muslims increased in Kaleiçi, and respectively the religious buildings also increased. For instance, Aya Irini Church from the Byzantine period was turned into a mosque which is now known as **Kesik Minare Mosque**. Other religious buildings from this period were **Tekeli Mehmet Paşa Mosque** (Figure 4.12, a) and **İskele Masjid** (Figure 4.13) which were located at the port. However, there were also important churches built in this period, such as **Aya Yorgi ‘Agios Georgios’ Church** (Figure 4.12, b) which is known as Suna İnan Kıraç Kaleiçi Museum in the present time. In Ottoman time, there also has been built some important public baths playing an important role in inhabitant’s daily life, such

as **Sefa Public Bath, Nazir Public Bath, and Gavur Public Bath** (Figure 4.12, c) for non-Muslims.



Figure 4.12 Some of the urban elements from Ottoman Period; (a) Tekeli Mehmet Paşa Mosque, (b) Aya Yorgi 'Agios Georgios' Church, (c) Sefa Public Bath, (d) Nazir Public Bath, and (e) Gavur Public Bath (Resource: (a,e) personal archive; (b) <http://www.alaturka.info/tr/akdeniz-boelgesi/antalya/suna-inan-kirac-muezesi/>; (c,d) <http://members.virtualtourist.com/m/p/m/1d5e74/>)



Figure 4.13 İskele Masjid in past and today (AKESO, 1991; personal archive)

In Ottoman Period, although the religious buildings were distributed to the city equally, trade buildings, like ‘bedesten’, had specific locations in the city (Süer, 2006). These commercial areas were the most important public places and constituted the heart of the city by bringing together different ethnical and social groups of the city (Cerasi, 1999, cited in Yağcı, 2008). There were two commercial centers in Kaleiçi, one of them was located in the area of ‘Kalekapısı’, and the second one was in the West part of the port. ‘Kalekapısı’ which was the hearth of the Seljuk city protected its significance also in this period and prosecuted its commercial center function.

In this period, the city continued to grow in an organic form as in the Seljuk Period, but the grid pattern in the south part was protected highly in contrast to Seljuk Period. In other words, Muslim quarters developed in an organic form when the quarters of Greek people developed with respect to the grid plan. Many houses that had built in this period were close to each other because of the narrow streets, but had large courts as gardens in themselves. Another important urban element was the water cannals which were almost flowing through all the wide streets (Lanckoronski, 1890; cited in No author, 2012) and carrying water to the houses.

A voyager W.H. Barlett Th. Allom, in the book of *Voyage en Syrie et dans L’Asie Mineure* in 1840 describes Antalya. According to him, the population of the city was estimated to be around 8000 with two-thirds Muslims and one-third Greeks. He also defines the general townscape of Antalya with these words:

...Its ancient fortifications visible at first site, big towers, columns, ruins, elegantly styled minarets and citadel Adalia has an imposing look. When one moves further inside the town one will notice that no other oriental town has such a pleasant look. Gardens have a striking elegance and each one is full of lemons and palms diffusing pleasant aromas and vineyards... (Barlett Th. Allom, 1840; cited in No author, 2012)

Fifty years later, another voyager Karl Graf von Lanckoronski visited Antalya and gave some numbers about the population of Kaleiçi in his book *Stadte Pamphylieus*

und Pisidiens, Pamphylien which was published in 1890. According to Lanckoronski, there were approximately 4500 houses in Kaleiçi. The population was about 25000-26000 and was consisted of 7000 Greeks, 50 Armenians, 250 Jews and the rest were Muslims. Most of the Muslims were Turks, while some of them were Arabs and from other communities (Lanckoronski, 1890; cited in No author, 2012).

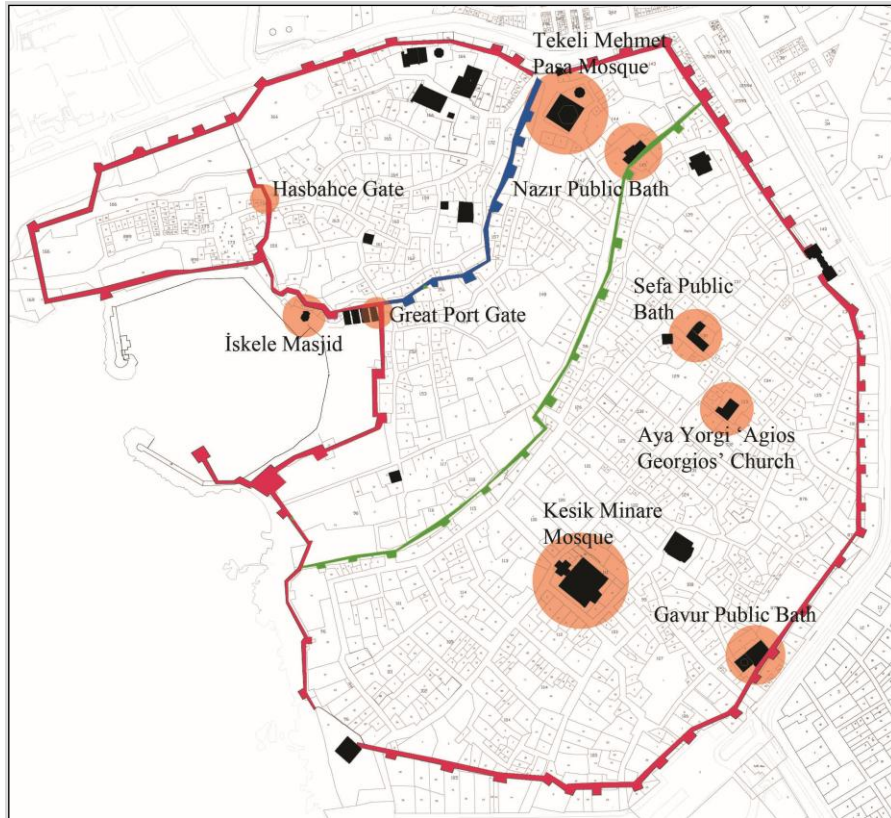


Figure 4.14 Layer of the Ottoman Period (personal rendering; resource: Süer, 2006; Antalya İl Merkez Kültür Envanteri, 2004)

4.2 Kaleiçi after the Republic and planning processes

In the National Struggle years of Turks, Italians occupied Antalya, but at the end, they withdrew from the war and left the city by their own will. In the period between 1919 and 1921, Italians built many important buildings in Antalya, as post office, hospital, etc. In Kaleiçi, the most important building which constructed by Italians was Italian hospital which allocated above the Mermeli Park. This hospital building

burned in 1928 and the area of the building was named as “Yanık Hastane” after this fire.

In 1921, some monuments which were tried to be protected from Italians were collected in a house in Kaleiçi by Süleyman Fikri Erten, and in 1922, these monuments were conveyed to İsoadia Tis Panayas Church which transformed into Alaeddin Mosque in the 1950s. With the headship of Fikri Erten, the first museum of Antalya was established in this empty church. In 1937, this museum moved into Yivli Minare Mosque and until 1972, it was used as a museum (Çimrin, 2007a).

In the Republic period, the most important breaking point which affected the social structure and physical environment was the population exchange that took place between 1922 and 1930. In September of 1922, many Greeks who had been living in Kaleiçi left their homes and departed to Greece from the port (Çimrin, 2007a). Until that time, %73 of workshops were belonging to Greeks and the high percentage of craftsman consisted from the Greek inhabitants of Kaleiçi (Çimrin, 2007a). For these reasons, when the Greek people left the city, Kaleiçi had changed not only in social sense, but also in economic and physical sense. This period was described by an inhabitant of Antalya in 1923 base on the follows:

What caught my attention on the road from the port to home ... is the fact that the whole life finished in the homeland. All trade activities stopped... There is boredom in everywhere. Eventide, we went to the place that over the hospital and walked around a little but there was no joy. Even no joy between friends...(Sorguç, 1995, cited in Çimrin, 2007a, p. 272)

After the Second World War, Antalya was also affected from the economic stress which captured the whole country. However, by the help of ‘Beautification of Antalya Association’ which established by Haşim İşcan, the governor of Antalya between 1940-45, reconstruction movements were accelerated in Antalya (Çimrin, 2007). This association built two big parks, called as Atatürk and Karaalioğlu (İnönü) Parks and, also equipped many roads such as Atatürk Street with sidewalk stone (Vala Nureddin Va-Nu, 1944).

From all these projects, Atatürk Street is very important because with these roads, the boundaries of Kaleiçi was re-established one more time. Forasmuch, the external fortification walls from the Roman Period were destroyed in the 1930s (Figure 4.15). The reason was explained as the complaints of inhabitants claiming that the walls were preventing the wind circulation in the area.

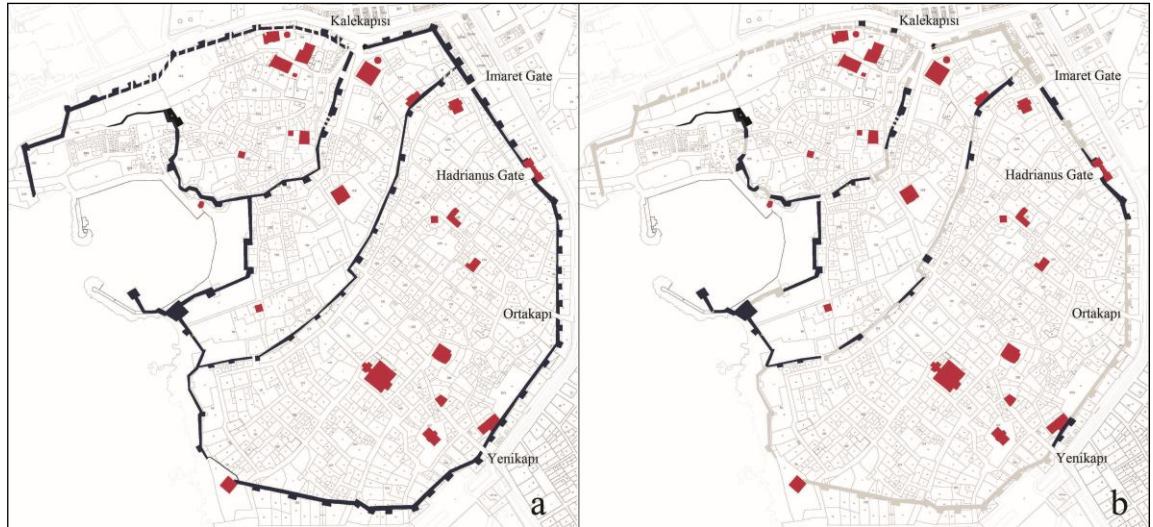


Figure 4.15 (a) City walls before the demolition in 1930s; redraw based on Erten (1911), (b) City walls in 1955, redraw based on Turfan (1955)

In the 1960s, with the new commercial harbor which was constructed to the east part of the city, the port in Kaleiçi lost its significance and the commercial buildings in the port started to be abandoned (Çimrin, 2007b). In 1957, immigration process started with the first public factories that were built in the city. As a result, the population of the city started to increase, and migrants started to live in Kaleiçi as tenants. This was also reflected in the social structure of Kaleiçi.

In 1967, Kaleiçi was declared as a 'protocol area' by *High Council for the Historic Real Estates, Artifacts and Monuments (HCHRAM) (Gayrimenkul Eski Eserler ve Anıtlar Yüksek Kurulu)*. This decision, which tried to freeze or postpone the existing problems in the area instead of protecting the site (Tankut, 1979), prohibited any constructions in the area. However, it could not prevent the construction of new buildings and additions to the historic buildings.

In Turkey, the first legal regulation for the conservation was enacted in 1973 with the *Law of Historic Artifacts No. 1710*. This law introduced important definitions for the conservation field in Turkey. The most important one was the definition of ‘conservation site’ (sit alanı). Also, this law introduced two important decisions. The first one was the provision that says if there is a need, the development plan can be changed. Other important decision of this law was the shift of the conservation approach from single building scale to environmental scale (Uyar, 2007).

In 1973, Antalya Kaleiçi was declared as a ‘conservation site’ and with the Law No. 1710 which brought about the conservation approach in the scale of urban environment, all construction and renovations were prohibited in Kaleiçi and at the port. As a result of these new decisions on the area, a necessity for a new project arose. In this context, the first project was prepared for the port of Kaleiçi in the name of ‘Yacht Harbor Project of 1976’ and second one was prepared for the rest of Kaleiçi District which was called ‘Kaleiçi Conservation Development Plan of 1979’. As can be understood from the project titles, in this period, the port and the other part of Kaleiçi were handled separately.

4.2.1 Antalya Yacht Harbor Project of 1976

The planning process of Antalya Kaleiçi was first started with old port part which lost its importance with the new commercial harbor that constructed at the southern part of Antalya in 1964. In the scope of the Project, the area between the sea and the fortification walls surrounding the port and the structures on this wall were handled. In this way, with a protocol between the Ministry of Culture and Tourism, the Ministry of Public Works and Settlement (Bayındırlık ve İskan Bakanlığı) and the High Council for the Historic Real Estates, Artifacts and Monuments, the port of Kaleiçi was defined as ‘Yacht Harbor Tourism Center’ and within the plan, the Yacht Harbor and the surroundings were decided to restored with public intervention.

In the Project, the old port which was serving mainly as a fisherman port after the new harbor, was designed as a yacht harbor. Near surroundings of this yacht harbor was decided to allocate some functions based on tourism purposes as, commercial, recreation, and service area; the area along the fortification walls was organized with cultural, administrative and accommodation functions. With this aim, the port was re-arranged, single buildings at its surroundings and the administrative buildings over the Mermerli Park were restored (Uyar, 2007).

In the scope of the Project (Figure 4.16), a bank building from Ottoman Period was turned into a hotel. Many commercial buildings and warehouses at the northern part of the port were transformed into cafés, shopping units, restaurants, and bars. The flour factory from the Ottoman Period was demolished and organized as a parking lot. In addition to these, an amphitheater and new buildings compatible to the general characteristic of the area were constructed (Mimarlık, 1984; cited in Süer, 2006). The restoration of the buildings over the fortification wall could be started only in 1985 (Süer, 2006). In 1984, because of its success in the practice, the Project was awarded the Golden Apple Tourism Oscar by FIJET.

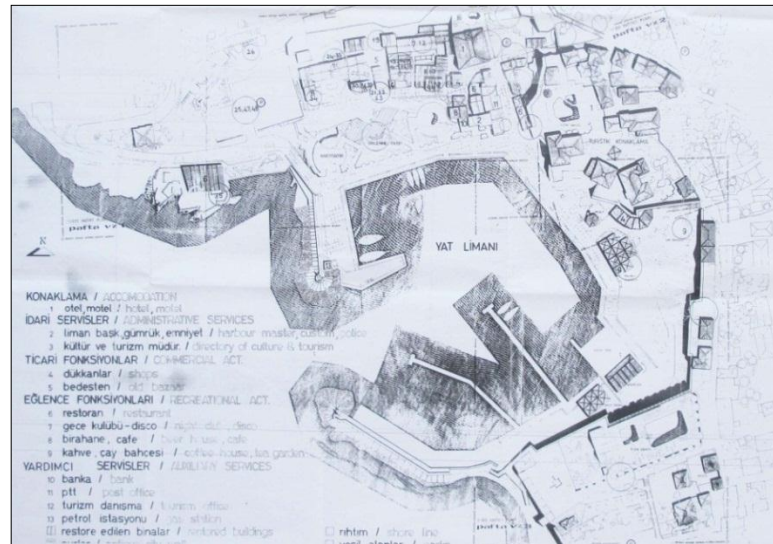


Figure 4.16 Antalya Yacht Harbor Project of 1976 (KUDEB archive)

In this Yacht harbor Project, ‘tourism’ was seen as an instrument to develop and to keep alive the area and accepted as one of the main functions (Uyar, 2007). Yet, the tourism concept that came into agenda recently at that time, played a critical role during the development process of these projects. From the beginning of the 1960s, the inhabitants of Antalya who were generally gain their money from the agricultural activities, started to engage in tourism. In these years, tourist groups which visited Antalya were hosted by the local inhabitants in their homes because of the lack of hotels in the city. But, in that time, there was no tourism concept in the mind of local people, so they were seeing these tourists as guests (Çimrin, 2007b).

Tourism concept was introduced in the economy of Antalya in the 1970s, and then has become one of the major driving forces in the development of the city. In the time of tourism was seized up as “chimneyless industry” and became common, the biggest problem of the Antalya appeared as the inadequacy of bed capacity. 1/25000 **South Antalya Environment Plan** which started in 1974 and approved in 1977, predicted 25000 bed capacity for Antalya (Madran, 2001; Antalya Gazetesi, 1979). Because of the project, a new attitude developed in Antalya. The effects of this attitude can also be observed in the 1979 Kaleiçi Conservation Development Plan.

4.2.2 Kaleiçi Conservation Development Plan of 1979

In 1974, Kaleiçi Conservation Development Plan was assigned to the METU team under the leadership of Gönül Tankut. Kaleiçi Conservation Development Plan was prepared between 1977 -1979 and it was approved in 1979 by The High Council for the Historic Real Estates, Artifacts and Monuments. It was put into action in 1983.

In the plan, the scope was to deal with the Barboros, Kılıçaslan, Selçuk and Tuzcular quarters (Figure 4.17) by excluding the Yacht Harbor area which surrounds the old port that was limited with the Hükümet Street and Atatürk Boulevard (Kaleiçi Conservation Development Plan Report, 1979).



Figure 4.17 Boundaries of the four quarters in Kaleiçi (prepared by the author)

As mentioned above, with the South Antalya Environment Plan, 25.000 bed capacity was coming into the South of the city, so Kaleiçi had to consist of a totality with its location, homogenous structure and the tourism activities which were increasing in the region (Madran, 2001). In this context, tourism was taken into account in the plan, however it was also added that “even though the touristic dimension of the plan was accepted, it was indicated that this dimension is not a primary but a side goal” (Tankut, 1979, p. 47).

According to 1975 State Statistics, the area of Kaleiçi was 33 hectare, and the population was 4300. In the same period, the population of Antalya was 119156. In the analysis part of the plan which was started in 1974, 72% of the whole area was investigated with a survey. According to this study, the number of housing units were 974, and only 34% of these houses were occupied by the owner. This means that the high percentage of inhabitants is comprised of tenants. Increasing number of these tenants, and decreasing duration of tenancy shows the tendency of the site to turn into a transition zone. 48% of the total buildings (574 buildings) have historical

value, while 52% do not. 28% of the non-historical buildings were the newly built ones, which is equivalent to 19% of the total number of buildings (Tankut, 1979).

During this period, the total number of trading units in the area was 181, and two most common trading facilities were groceries and tailors. If we consider the types of the commercial activities in the area, we could see that they were the local ones with traditional background and not tourism-related, such as grocers, repairmen, shoe repairmen etc (Tankut, 1979). Tankut (1979) describes the situation back then as follows:

The historical core is an area of disposition according to its present data. The economic background is weak, and environmental standards are low. The increasing number of renters, and decreasing length of the renting periods show us the core's tendency of transforming into a transition area. Hence the social erosion will identify with abrasion of the physical environment. The structures in Kaleiçi have already reached the limits of neglect, because of the embargo to maintenance and lack of economical possibilities. (Tankut, 1979, p.48)

Kaleiçi's unhealthy physical environment was discussed in one of the issues of Antalya Newspaper, dated 5th of April 1979, in the article titled "Our city's historical district loses its quality" and the situation was described as "...the residents of Kaleiçi, a rare district that attracts domestic and foreign tourists, invite the authority to stop by Kaleiçi and go around houses to see the situation themselves and find a solution". The same article gives the wishes of the inhabitants as "to raise a fund or provide loans for the maintenance and repair of the houses, to take precautions against a possible fire threat, to prevent the rain water going into the houses, closing up the canals that have been open for a year".

In such an unhealthy environment, 1979 Kaleiçi Conservation Development Plan was prepared and the main goals of the project were stated as follows:

- Minimizing the contradictory between presentation of the historical environment and the needs of the daily life
- Repairing the social justice in the district of Kaleiçi
- Overcoming the economic disposition

- Transforming the physical environment into a healthier one
- Preserving the historical, cultural and regional values of the environment
- Making Kaleiçi as a part of Antalya's touristic existence, by equipping it with touristic functions. (Tankut, 1979, p.47)

One of the key points while specifying the goals of the project (Figure 4.18) was to make the environment healthier as well as preserving the existing local population and improving the socio-economic environment conditions. Tankut (1979) emphasizes this approach as follows:

The most sensitive part of historical urban environment conservation is the question of the ability of keeping the local population living in the same area after the conservation. The approach that regards this key aspect and searches for the most valid solution, is the profound social preserving. The word 'profound', here, emphasizes that the multi-dimensional life in the area needs to be conserved. Therefore, an attempt to preserve only the physical environment can be neither a way out from the problem nor a destination purpose. In this kind of sequence of thinking, this thought takes place: Historical structure is only meaningful only when the social structure is preserved naturally... Historical environment preserving, in its nature, is a social preserving and for it to be realized, there is a prerequisite of preserving the physical environment. Let's not forget; some of the things, that keep the social phenomenon, is the spatial relations. (Tankut 1979, p.48)

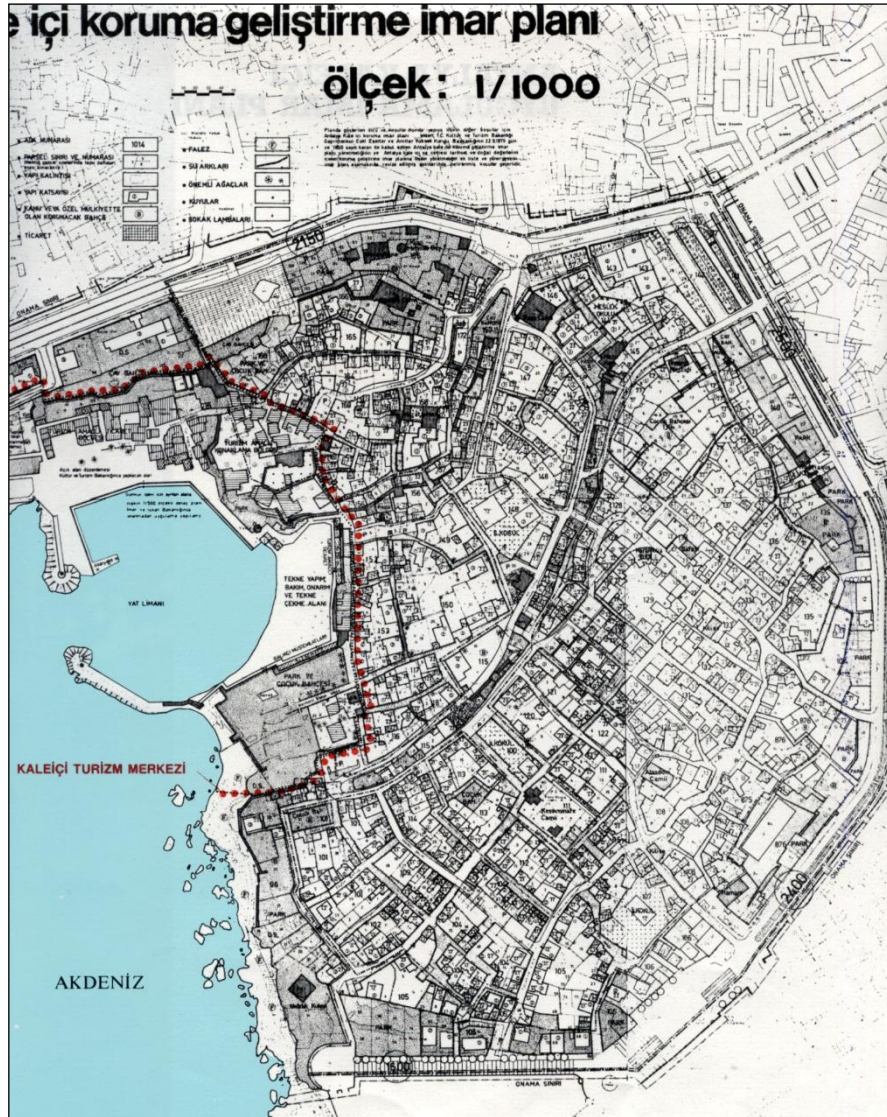


Figure 4.18 Kaleiçi Conservation Development Plan of 1979 (personal archive of Baykan Günay)

In this context, the decisions developed in the project and applications of activities, building sites and transportation issues would be reviewed respectively.

To begin with **activities**, in the plan, there was no district zonings; however, some areas were allocated for specific activities. For instance, the area locating along the road between middle of inner fortification walls was described as commercial zone, while the area between the Hesapçı Street and Kocatepe Street was described as accommodation zone. Only the pensions were allowed for the whole area. In general,

each function could be anywhere in the area as long as the quality of the building was suitable (Madran, 2001).

The **buildings** in the site were divided into two as; ‘historical civil architecture old work’ (*tarihi sivil mimari eski eser*) and ‘new civil architecture old work’ (*yeni sivil mimari eski eser*). In this context, historic buildings were also divided into three groups in itself. The first one was defined as the primary degree of protection need of buildings which’s exterior and interior should be preserved (*içi ve dışı olduğu gibi korunacak birinci derece korunması gereken yapılar*). The second group buildings were the ones in which only the exterior part and the template should be protected (*dış görünüşleri ve gabarileri korunması gerekli binalar*), and the third group was the old works of architectures impossible to protect (*korunması olanaksız eski eserler*). The new buildings, on the other hand, were defined as structures that did not need any conservation decisions (*korunması gerekmeyen yapılar*) (Kaleiçi Conservation Development Plan Report, 1979). Except for these, the sea shores, the gardens and the trees which had to be protected were also demonstrated in the plan.

To encourage the tourism in the area, the three storey buildings were permitted and different activities were allowed in the historical buildings to actualize the conservation (Interview with Madran, 2012). In other words, several bonuses were given to increase the number of enterprises and to materialize the concept of conservation which was just started to discuss in these years.

The **transportation** scheme was planned as pedestrian, vehicle, pedestrian-vehicle and secondary roads. The scheme was generated by one-way entrance and exit roads which linked the area with Antalya and, two-way roads which served to the inner parts, in addition to access roads which provided service to the buildings and met the requirement of stop and park for cars. And finally, pedestrian roads were to link the important landmarks of the area to each other and allow to the presentation of the visual values. The main vehicular road was chosen according to its accessibility and the harmony with the topography, so it was decided that the two roads along the inner fortification wall were the main arters of the area and the other roads would be distributed from these roads (Kaleiçi Conservation Development Plan Report, 1979)

The 1979 Kaleiçi Conservation Development Plan was approved and putted into the practice in 1982. However, the main difficulty emerged due to the conversion of this approved plan to a development plan by the Ministry. This resulted in the changes of some plot decisions which is eventually implemented with those changes (Gül, 2006). Also many expropriations were proposed for the implementation of the plan; however, few of them could be realized.

Although it was defended to integrate Kaleiçi with the near surroundings in the 1/5000 plan, this integration could not be achieved in the plan. The reason behind this failure might be interpreted as the division of the area into two as I. and II. degree archeological, historical and natural sites that caused some difficulties to perceive Kaleiçi as a whole. Also, since the I. degree conservation sites were not allowed to any construction, the development of Kaleiçi was limited.

Although the plan foresaw the development of the house-pensions in Kaleiçi, mostly large-scale pensions and hotels were constructed in the following years (Kaleiçi Conservation Revision Plan, 1992). Especially after 1985, with the pressure of tourism, the tourism-based commercial uses increased in the site, and since there were no limitations in the plan, these commercial uses spread all over Kaleiçi. When many of the restored and new buildings were functioned as accommodation and gastronomic units, the interior part of the buildings was changed according to these uses (Uyar, 2007).

In the 1990s, except for the registered civil architecture examples in the study area, when other 364 buildings were grouped as qualified, unqualified and contradictory to the environment; the percentage of unqualified and contradictory buildings to the whole was %75,3. This shows that after the plan the number of unqualified buildings increased (Kaleiçi Conservation Revision Plan, 1992). When the restoration works on historic buildings were examined, it was observed that the general forms of the buildings did not change and the original forms were protected in the rate of 85%. However, especially the changes in the ground floors and the facades showed that

many buildings were functioned with non-residential uses (Kaleiçi Conservation Revision Plan, 1992).

All these physical changes also reflected in the social pattern of the area. Many traditional house owners could not afford the transformation costs of their houses to a tourism-oriented uses, and they started to sell their houses (Uyar, 2007). As a result of all of these mentioned problems, a necessity arose for re-evaluating the existing plan that ended up with Kaleiçi Conservation Revision Plan.

4.2.3 Kaleiçi Conservation Development Revision Plan of 1992

Kaleiçi Conservation Development Revision Plan was commissioned to METU in 1989 and the plan was approved by Conservation Council in 1992. According to Madran (2008, presentation), basic considerations of the Revision Plan (Figure 4.19) were:

- Tourism has developed sufficiently in Kaleiçi. For this reason, the decisions that encouraged the development of tourism in the first plan should be reduced gradually.
- Activities should be designated separately for every structure by the Conservation Council.
- Necessary precautions should be taken to increase the residential uses in the area. (Madran, 2008)

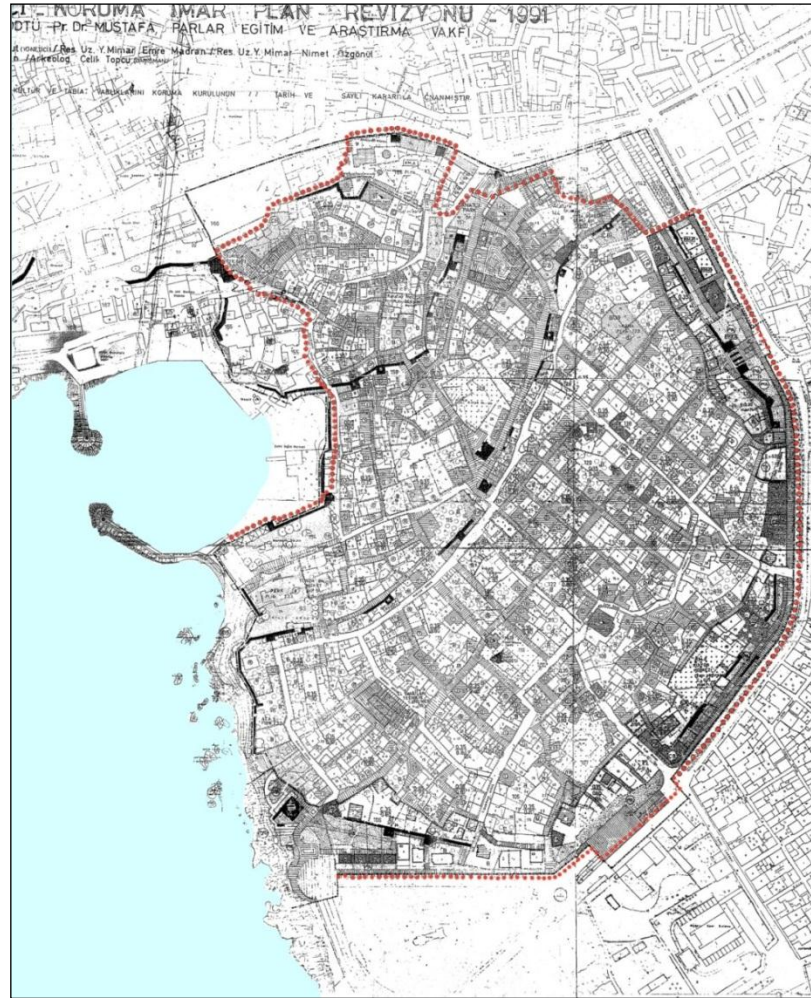


Figure 4.19 Kaleiçi Conservation Development Revision Plan of 1992 (colored by the author, resource: personal archive of Erdal)

In this project firstly, historical, I. and II degree archeological site definitions were removed; instead of these concepts, the whole area was declared as ‘Unified and Improved Conservation Site’ (*Birleştirilmiş ve Geliştirilmiş Sit Alanı*). Natural conservation sites were preserved with some revisions.

In terms of **activities**, instead of the term ‘pension’ which was used in the first plan, the Revision Plan used the term of pension in an elaborated form and defined different types of pensions: house pension, pension and hotel. Because of the first plan decisions, all restored or rebuilt buildings were functioned with touristic activities. As a result, the numbers of inhabitants of Kaleiçi had been declined gradually. To deal with this problem, new regulations limiting the touristic functions

for the new buildings were adopted in the Revision Plan. Although in this Plan, tourism and retail functions were decided to concentrate in some specific areas and it was decided to encourage residential usage in both restored and new buildings; there was no strict zoning decision in this plan too. The main reason behind this was the fact that, in this period, tourism was still a driving force for the conservation of the registered buildings. Thus, in this plan, the registered buildings were also permitted to have a tourism function. However, in the new constructions, no commercial usages were allowed, only specific plots which determined in the plan were allowed for this kind of usage. Except these, as different from the former plan, the term of ‘open commercial area’ (*açık ticari alan*) defined with the inspiration of open market areas; and, some specific areas were envisioned as open air markets in which traditional materials can be sold (Kaleiçi Conservation Revision Plan, 1992).

The **buildings** which were grouped as the ones to be preserved and not to be preserved, were not evaluated according to the same conservation decisions as in the first plan; but, the specific principles of intervention were determined for each urban block. In this context, the TAKs and KAKs were determined for each new building according to its block (Kaleiçi Conservation Revision Plan, 1992). It was also taken into account that the green areas in Kaleiçi were generally formed by gardens and, the gardens were defined as a value which should be protected based on its pattern. In this context, the number of ‘protected garden’ was increased (Kaleiçi Conservation Revision Plan, 1992). The facade elements which had been determined in detail for new constructions in the former plan, were removed from this plan and set free since it was claimed that this kind of rules were limiting the creativity and generated monotype projects (Kaleiçi Conservation Revision Plan, 1992).

In the 1979 Plan, the issue of reconstructing (as same or sometimes differently) some buildings by demolishing the existing came up. This was started to be implemented in many buildings and in time, buildings with no value, and authenticity were started to spread in Kaleiçi. To prevent this situation, the Revision plan was prepared in the manner of repair and adopts the existing. For the new construction, instead of producing monotypes buildings which related to the same construction conditions,

differentiable construction conditions were determined according to different locations and measurements. In this context, different numbers were given for each urban block. Rules for the new construction were not determined strictly as in the first plan, and it was left to the creativity (Kaleiçi Conservation Revision Plan, 1992).

Also the density of the building in the area was decided to be reduced. In this context, the max 80 m² building fundament in the former plan was increased into 100 m² and the three floor permission was reduced to two floors (Kaleiçi Conservation Revision Plan, 1992).

In the topic of **transportation**, as different from the expropriation and expanding road decisions of the first project, in this project, they avoided from this kind of decisions. As a result, a transportation system that protects the existing cadastral boundaries of the plots was designated and the pedestrian flow was regarded. In this context, vehicle flow was limited in specific areas and, the plan has concentrated on the pedestrian flow (Uyar, 2007).

It was also decided to surround the area with a green belt along Atatürk Street and open this area to the public use. In addition, for some significant areas, it was defined as obligatory to subscale urban design projects (Kaleiçi Conservation Revision Plan, 1992). However, in the implementation process, no urban design projects were developed for these specific areas. Until 2003, the only urban design project was ‘**1990 Kalekapısı Urban Design Competition**’ and it was implemented only in the near surrounding of Kaleiçi. However in 2003, Antalya Municipality decided to produce some sub-scale projects for Kaleiçi and focused on urban design projects for the District. Within this aim, the first project was prepared for the city walls and its surroundings, in the name of Front City Wall Urban Design Project.

4.2.4 Front City Wall Urban Design Project of 2003

The main aim of the project was to reveal the city walls by conserving it and reorganizing its environment and creating functions which united with the

environment (Gül, 2006; Süer, 2006). In the scope of the project, the area which starts from the ‘Dönerciler Çarşısı’ to Hıdırlık Tower was handled. The two sides of the walls tried to be revealed by expropriation of some plots and demolition of the buildings near the city walls. Although it was an urban design project, it was prepared to the same 1/1000 base-map of the Revision Plan. In the end, the Front City Wall Urban Design Project could not be implemented fully. Only few buildings were demolished. The high expropriation costs were the main reason behind this phenomenon.

In 2004, the city center of Antalya was defined as ‘**Antalya City Center Culture and Tourism Conservation and Development Area**’ (*Antalya Kent Merkezi Kültür ve Turizm Koruma ve Gelişim Bölgesi*). The scope of this project was to deal with the area as a whole, instead of partial planning practices. In addition to these, the aim was to prepare some conservation plans to protect other parts of the city center. In this context, the boundary of the area was determined as Cumhuriyet Square, Vakıflar İşhanı, Hanlar Region, Sobacılar Arcade, Schools Region. Balbey and Haşim Işcan Quarters were also situated in an important place in this project. In the scope of the projects, all these areas were reorganized and Conservation and Development Plans were prepared for Balbey and Haşimişcan Quarters, in 2003 and 2004, respectively. The closest reorganization was made in 2005 at Cumhuriyet Square and the road between the Square and Atatürk Street. Valilik building was demolished and moved to Gazi Primary School which were locating back of this building. Further, the area of the old building was designed as a square. Kaleiçi was also handled by this kind of subscale projects. The first step for these changes was Hesapçı Street Street Regulation and Renewal Project.

4.2.5. Hesapçı Street Organization and Renewal Project of 2006

The project, including Hesapçı Street and its surroundings which is the area located between Hadrianus Gate and Hıdırlık Tower, was prepared in 2006 and implemented in 2007 (ANMED, 2008). Within the scope of the project, Hesapçı Street was closed to the traffic flow for vehicles and pedestrianized as the main pedestrian road. In this

context, the pavements of Hesapçı Street and the others linking streets were removed and reconstructed.



Figure 4.20 Hesapçı Street pavement design sketch. (Antalya Municipality archive)

According to the findings of excavations, in the area under Hesapçı Street, it has been discovered an ancient road from Roman times, namely King Road. In the light of all of these findings, travertine stone was decided to be used in the main pedestrian parts to give reference to this ancient road. In some locations, some parts of this ancient road were presented to public in an open way.

Moreover, the remains of water channels which used to distribute water along all of the streets of Kaleiçi until the 1980s were re-functioned as a rainwater collector in this project. However, it was decided to close the tops of these canals with stone grills to prevent possible pollution effects and further, it was planned to provide new larger roads that are designed regarding the original structure.⁵

At the same time, with this project, Hadrianus Gate which is located in the entrance of Hesapçı Street was reorganized. The pavement was changed with respect to Hesapçı Street, and a glass bridge was constructed to show the bottom of the gate.

⁵ Derived from the web site of Tabak Insaat which implemented the Kaleiçi Organizing Renewal Traffic Circulation Implementation Project of 2007

The aim was to present the wheel traces on the stones of this ancient road. Nowadays, since the glass lost its transparency, this glass bridge prevents to see the findings at the bottom. On the other hand, another project, Kaleiçi Organizing Renewal Traffic Circulation Implementation Project was held in the District as well.

4.2.6 Kaleiçi Organizing Renewal Traffic Circulation Implementation Project of 2007

Regarding the scope of the project, the whole transportation scheme of Kaleiçi was redesigned. In this context, the main transportation decisions of the 1992 Revision Plan were implemented in the area with some revisions. To reduce vehicle entrances to the area, paid entrance points are established at the entrances of Kaleiçi. With the new ticket system, two and more hours in Kaleiçi was charged by the municipality. Only the inhabitants and workers of the District had some priorities. Some places were arranged for car parking and it was prohibited to park elsewhere.

In this regards, all transport network was reorganized and some streets were closed for vehicle flow. The vehicle flows were designed often as one way direction. Only in some parts, it was designed as two-way. In the pavements, three differentiation was made; pedestrian road pavement, vehicle road pavement, and pedestrian-vehicle forening pavement. In addition to pavements, the street furnitures, lightning units and green areas were also designed in the project.

At the first years of the project, the parking issue was controlled seriously and vehicle density was reduced; however, in recent years, these parking rules are not being implemented efficiently. Furthermore, there are also some problems about the street pavements; especially the stones used in the vehicle roads were criticized by the inhabitants by reason of reflecting the heat⁶.

⁶ Derived from the interviews which held in the case area.

4.2.7 Yacht Harbor Revision Development Plan of 2008

The Yacht Harbor which was opened in 1986, had a great success in its first years. The 1976 Plan described all the activities for the specific places. In these years, all facilities were managed by a single foundation named TURBAN⁷. Thus, the control of the activities was much easier. However, at the end of the 1990s, TURBAN declared that they would no longer afford these activities. As a result, these activities started to be handled by the private sector. Because of these changing processes and the excessive usage in the area, the Yacht Harbor started to become the place of degeneration and lost its attraction starting from the beginning of the 1990s. To resolve these problems, Antalya Municipality decided to prepare a Revision Plan for the Yacht Harbor. In this respect, KUDEB started to do some studies for the project in 2007 and, the plan was approved in 2008. The aim of the plan was to increase its attractiveness of the area by achieving a balance between conservation and utilization (Madran 2008, presentation). The decisions of the plan were listed by Madran as follows:

- The pedestrian and vehicle flow should definitely distinguished.
- The functions should be determined for all buildings beforehand.
- The landscape planning should be reconsidered.
- The cultural activities should be encouraged.
- Main rules should be set and examined for the whole facilities.

As mentioned in the last decision, the activities in the area tried to be organized as in the 1976 Yacht Harbor Project, but the plan could not be succeed in this manner. However, in 2010, the rules were set for the whole Kaleiçi in the name of ‘**Kaleiçi Utilization Instructions**’. These instructions which were published by Development and City Planning Department of Antalya Municipality in 2010 aimed to:

- improve the attributes and values of Kaleiçi regarding the balance between conservation and utilization
- improve the physical and social conditions of the inhabitants

⁷ TURBAN: Tourism Bank

- provide a regulated and secured environment for the local and foreign visitors. (Kaleiçi Kullanım Yönergesi, 2010)

In this respect, many regulations were developed under the subjects of maintenance and repair of the buildings, utilization of the structures and open areas, noise pollution, street elements, advertisement and presentation elements and etc.

4.2.8 Recent projects on Kaleiçi

In 2011, the need of a new **revision plan** for Kaleiçi was admitted and the study was started by KUDEB under the leadership of Emre Madran. The reasons for the revision stated as follows:

- The last plan for Kaleiçi was prepared in 1992, and in these 21 years, Kaleiçi and the conservation concept has transformed in many changes. This brings the need for the revision of the last plan.
- The activities have been changed in this process. While the tourism based commercial activities were increasing day by day, the residential usages were showed a dramatic decrease.

In this context the revision plan basically aimed to:

- integrate the plan with the decisions of 2010 Kaleiçi Utilization Instructions.
- organize different activities in the area by making zoning for accommodation, residential, and commercial usages.
- encourage residential and low scale accommodation units in the area.
- create new open public areas
- increase information, traceability and accessibility to high levels
- highlight the historical identity of the area
- interrelate Kaleiçi with its near surroundings including historical commercial center locating at the north of Cumhuriyet Square, and

- integrate the plan with other plans prepared for the surrounding areas⁸

Another project whose implementation is still continuing is **Kaleiçi Yacht Harbor Urban Design and Implementation Project** (Figure 4.21). The project which is directed by KUDEB and Emre Madran prepared by Can Kubin, and its aims can be listed above⁹ as:

- to increase the attraction and the accessibility of the area
- to differentiate the places of tour boats, fisherman boats, and private yachts
- to design pedestrian roads and view terraces
- to protect the registered structures and buildings in the area
- to re-function the historical ‘Balık Hali’
- to provide orientation with rooting plates
- to provide more pedestrian access to increase pedestrian access with panoramic elevator from the Tophane Park till this part



Figure 4.21 Kaleiçi Yacht Harbor Urban Design and Implementation Project of 2012
(Resource: <http://www.buyuksehirantalya.com/haber-detay.asp?ID=25>)

⁸ These reasons and the aims of the new Revision Plan of Kaleiçi was derived from Kaleiçi Conservation Development Plan Revision Workshop organized in the Antalya Municipality Culture Auditorium in 14.12.2011, and published in the web site of The chamber of Architects of Antalya

⁹ Mainly derived from the web site of Antalya Municipality

4.3 Concluding Remarks

This chapter has examined firstly the multi-layer identity of Kaleiçi regarding its historical background. The traces of its historical background are demonstrated in the Figure 4.22. The major buildings and other urban elements have been dispersed throughout Kaleiçi. Secondly, it has been aimed to list the major actions that have affected social and spatial futures of Kaleiçi. Table 4.1 summarizes these significant actions.

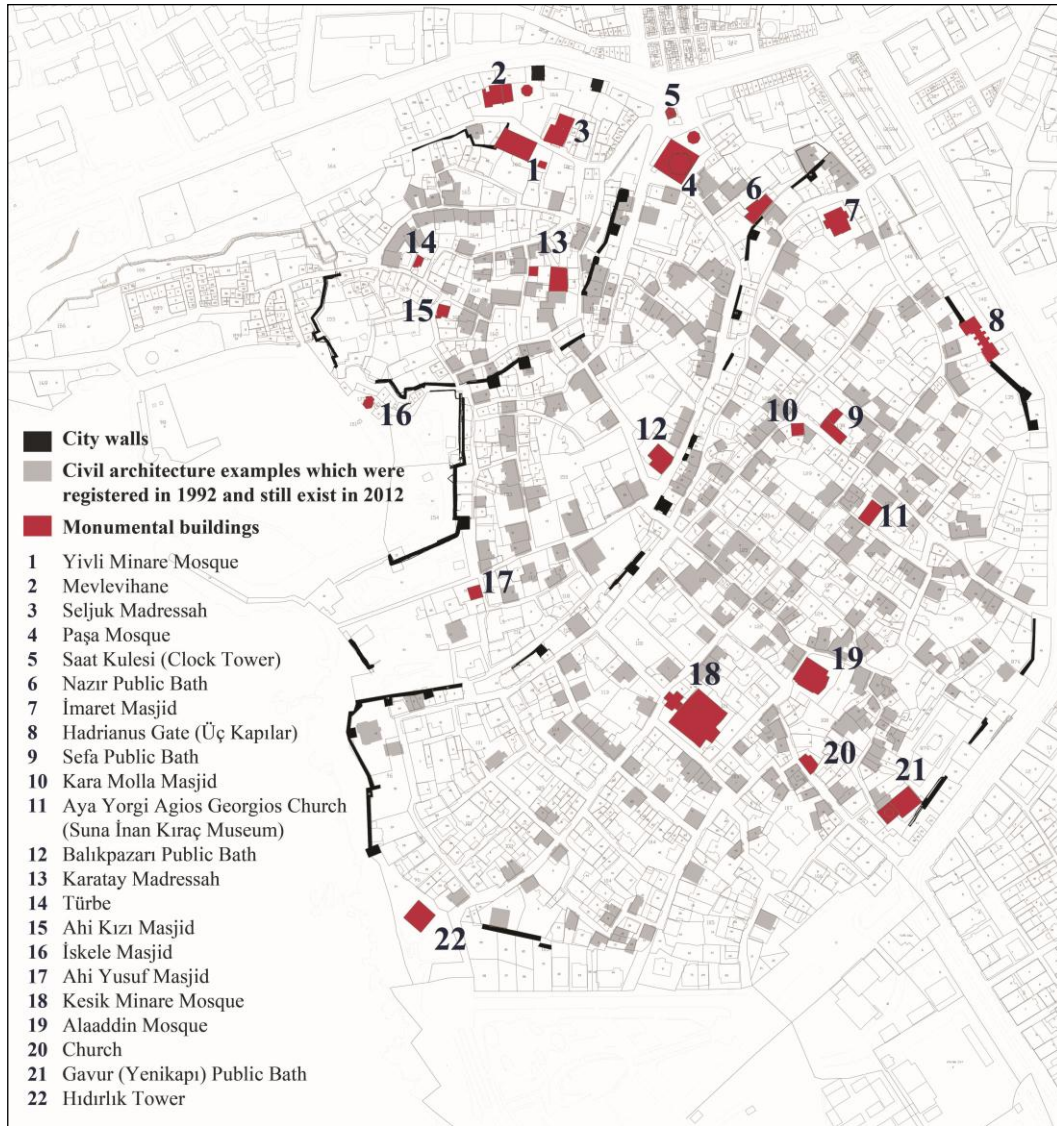
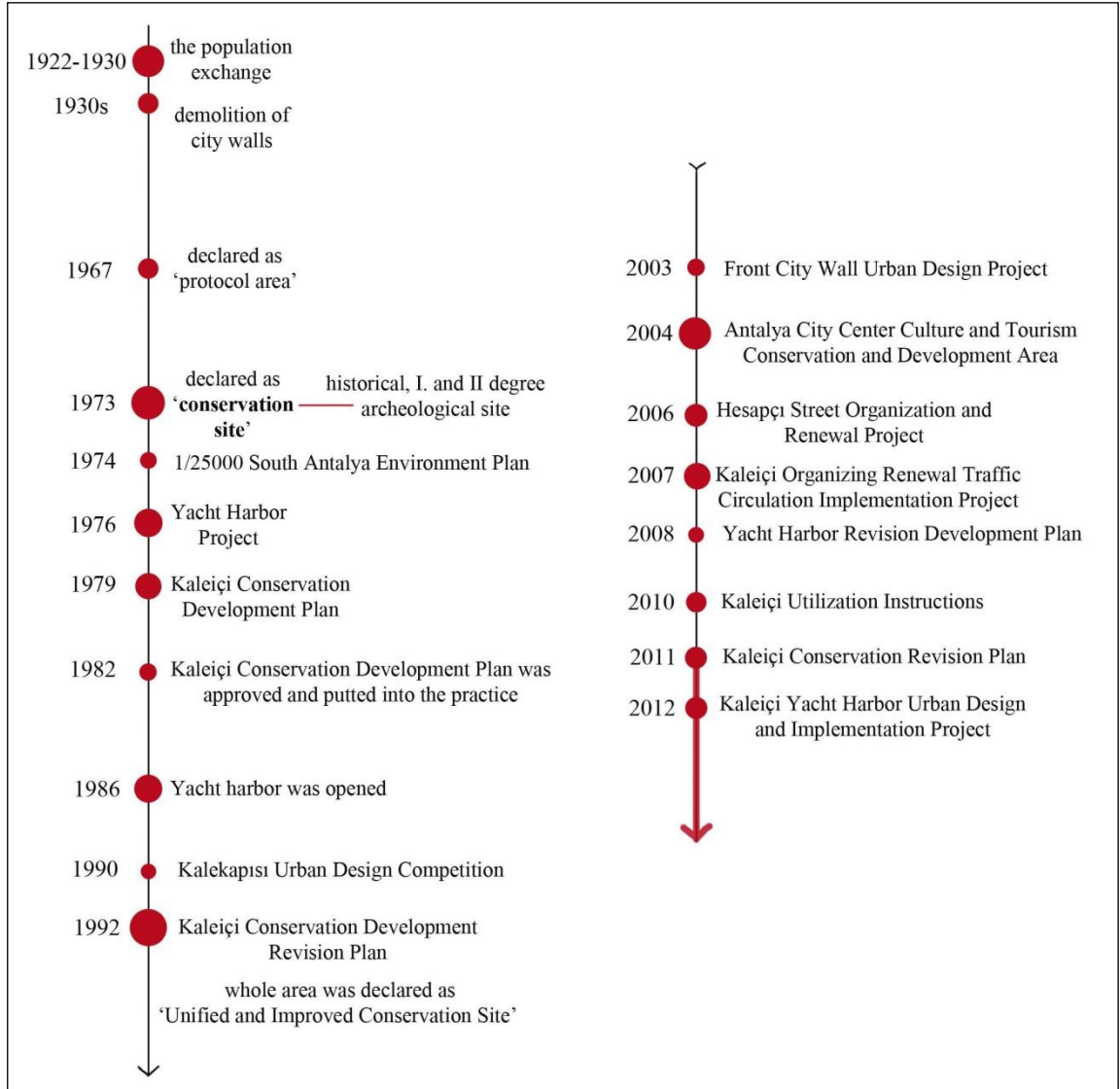


Figure 4.22 Monumental buildings and registered civil architecture examples (prepared by the author)

Table 4.1 Timetable of major actions in Kaleiçi after the announcement of Republic (prepared by the author)



CHAPTER 5

THE CHANGE OF ‘SENSE OF PLACE’ IN KALEİÇİ

This chapter primarily examines: (1) the change in the physical environment (2) the change in the activity and usage forms in such places and (3) differentiation in the meaning that is attributed to the place by different users in order to determine the change in the ‘sense of place’ over time in Kaleiçi. While examining Kaleiçi under these three headings, it will be useful and necessary to find the years that became the turning points for these changes and make comparisons with reference to these time periods in which significant changes were experienced.

This study investigates Kaleiçi under three periods. These were determined as *before-1980*, *after-1980* and *present-time*. However it should instantly be emphasized that, transformation of Kaleiçi can be explained by key periods, rather than the key points in the history. Forasmuch, before-1980 was the period in which Kaleiçi was exposed to emigration and it had collapsed in a socio-physical sense during the period between the mid-1970s and beginning of the 1980s, as a result of being declared a ‘protocol area’ in 1967 and a ‘conservation site’ in 1973 when the declarations forbid any kind of construction in the area. For this reason, first, this chapter examines the period of the 1950s to the mid-1970s, based on the land-use plan of 1979. In this plan, no significant change can be seen regarding the land use yet. The change in Kaleiçi was mainly in social and physical environment, triggered by each other. In the period of after the 1980s when the first conservation plan was prepared and put into effect, the decline in the social and physical environments was partially stopped and the importance of Kaleiçi in the city increased to a certain extent especially by the help of the award-winner Yacht Harbor Project and land expropriations which were held under this conservation plan. However, all these

progresses were followed by the rise in tourism investment and property rents in Kaleiçi. As a result, users of the area started to change, respectively the number of local users started to decrease and Kaleiçi entered the second collapsing period. This time second step was taken to recover Kaleiçi and accordingly in 1992 Kaleiçi Conservation Revision Plan was prepared. In the same period “Urban Design Competition of Kalekapısı (*Castle gate*) and its Surroundings” was organized and the visage of Kaleiçi changed as the outcome of this competition. Regardless of that, social degeneration in Kaleiçi could not have been prevented. Currently, Kaleiçi Organizing Renewal Traffic Circulation Implementation Project, which was prepared in 2007 to organize the physical environment is in effect. And also, there is a new conservation plan being currently prepared by the municipality.

Based on the theoretical framework presented in Chapter 2 and the three time periods explained above, this chapter investigates the change in sense of place in Kaleiçi regarding the changes in physical setting, activities and meanings. In other words, the following parts of this chapter examine these three categories under three periods determined by the socio-physical change in the study area. The interviewees were also classified according to these periods. These periods, being overlapped with the time between the conservation plans, is not coincidental, since Kaleiçi was taken into consideration after each collapsing period by these plans.

5.1 Physical setting

To understand the physical environment of Kaleiçi in the before-1980 period, it is also important to understand the socio-economic pattern of the area. In this context, the first break point in the socio-economic history of Kaleiçi after the Republic is undoubtedly the population exchange which took place between 1922 and 1930. During this period, the Greeks who were the the craft and merchant group in Kaleiçi were forced to leave their houses. As a result, the socio-economic structure of Kaleiçi had undergone a significant change. At the same times, since Greeks formed an important part of the master builders, there was no master to build a house in Kaleiçi until the mid-1930s (Çimrin, 2007a). This situation naturally adversely affected the

maintenance of the houses, this negative impact spread to the physical environment over time.

In the subsequent period, a portion of these houses were settled by Turkish migrants who came from Greece with the same population exchange, and the others were generally owned by high socio-economic class of Antalya. For this reason, in the period up to 1973, the socio-economic status of Kaleiçi literally looks like a mosaic: exchangees, high income class -who did not prefer apartments in new urban areas of the Antalya-, middle- and low-income classes, tenants, and a large group of Romans who were also sent from Greece to Turkey during the same population exchange.

The in-depth interviews with the first group show that the deterioration process in Kaleiçi took place between 1975 and 1980. The primary reason for this deterioration was intense migrations to Antalya in these years. The migrations which started in the 1950s increased until the mid-1970s. No change was allowed on Kaleiçi houses, since the area was declared as a “conservation site” in 1973. Thus, Kaleiçi inhabitants started to abandon this area, and moved to the apartments in the newly-built residential areas. The vacant houses in Kaleiçi however started to be filled by poor tenants and residents who mostly came from the other parts of the country. Shortly, in these years, Kaleiçi could not compete with the new life-style offered by new apartments which emerged as an indicator of ‘social prestige’ at that time (Çimrin, 2007b), and had become a less preferred residential area. Therefore, opposite to new residential areas built in the 1940s such as Bahçelievler, Kaleiçi became a residential area mostly occupied by middle- and low-income classes. Salih Güzel (2012, interview), one of the interviewees from the first group, defines the different perceptions of Kaleiçi and Bahçelievler for the inhabitants of Kaleiçi with these words:

When we were studying at high school in the 1980s, there was a famous soap opera on television called ‘Rich Man, Poor Man’. In this TV series, there were two urban quarters; one of them called Cuba quarter and the other one was Flamingo Road. We were calling Bahçelievler as Flamingo Road at that time since the rich people were living there. In Kaleiçi, there were middle and

low income people because of the old houses, so we were calling here as Cuba District. (Interview with Salih Güzel, 2012)

Another conclusion that can be drawn from the interviews with the first group was: Kaleiçi before the external migration, in other words, when Kaleiçi was a place where the people from Antalya used to live, there was no polarization between the neighborhoods and streets of Kaleiçi, although there used to accommodate different socio-economic groups. In other words, there was a socio-economic differentiation between the inhabitants of the place, definitely; but a decomposition which depends on this differentiation was not observed. Two of four neighborhoods were predominantly residential areas. A well-maintained buildings and neglected buildings could be seen together on the same street. The only distinction which is extracted from the in depth-interviews of the first group is the gypsy neighborhood around Hesapçı Street beginning from Kesik Minare to Hıdırlık Tower. These Roman people who lived there used to generally work as white-washers, cleaners or musicians. Even though this group differed from other Kaleiçi inhabitants regarding their socio-economic class, the interviews clearly show that there was a close relationship between Roman people and the other inhabitants of Kaleiçi.

In 1974 when residential usage was still dominant in the area, 34% of houses were owner-occupied. This means that the majority of the households in Kaleiçi were comprised by tenants. Increasing number of tenants, shortening time of tenantry shows the transformation tendency of Kaleiçi into a transition zone (Tankut, 1979).

Kaleiçi Conservation Plan was completed in 1979 and was approved in 1982. In these years, only 30% of Kaleiçi residents were from the original inhabitants of Antalya, whereas the rest were outsiders; i.e people who mostly came from different cultures and those who were away from the lifestyle which forms these Kaleiçi houses (No author, 1982). The ratio of original Antalya inhabitants decreased from 30% to 2% in the 2000s (Çimrin, 2007b) and according to a survey which was held in 2008 in the area, only the 18% of the inhabitants were actual inhabitants of Kaleiçi (Madran, 2008, presentation). The reasons behind this situation were not only the

declaration of ‘conservation site’ or the immigration, but also the rent pressure which came with the tourism.

Based on these changes in the socio-economic structure of the area, the following part examines the changes in physical setting of Kaleiçi under the headings of ‘built form’, ‘permeability’, ‘landscape’ and ‘street furniture’.

5.1.1 Built Form

One of the most important elements of the built form in Kaleiçi is the fortification walls (city wall) which surround the inner castle area and draw the boundaries of the area. Large part of these walls which were largely protected until the 1930s was demolished by the municipality with the excuse that the city could not get air because of these walls. As a result of this demolition, the walls which were connecting Hadrian Gate and Hıdırlık Tower and the gate between them called Yenikapı (Newgate) were also demolished. This demolishment made a great difference in the townscape of the Kaleiçi.

In Kaleiçi, registered buildings are generally comprised from one or two storey bow-windowed houses which are mainly example of Greek architecture. The first storeys of these houses have a form according to street, while the upper floors are shaped according to internal architecture. Especially converged bow-windows in the narrow streets give a different feeling of closeness (Figure 5.1), and in many cases dwelling places of the houses exceed their cadastral boundaries. The first storey of the houses which has two-floor height are called ‘taşlık’. All of these houses have their own gardens. Therefore, another important element of the built form in the area is garden wall. Streets in Kaleiçi are surrounded by houses and their garden walls. These high garden walls provide the streets with a significant sense of closure. The original street widths have been generally preserved. As there have been no significant changes in street width until now, the physical (spatial) relationship between the street and houses has been protected.



Figure 5.1 Typical Kaleiçi houses and street-house togetherness. (a,b,c) before-1980 (Bektaş, 1980, p.13), (d,e,f) today (personal achieve, 2012)

One of the most important factors that harmed the built form of Kaleiçi is fires which took place in the area many times. Due to its narrow streets and wooden houses, Kaleiçi has witnessed many fires and received many deep wounds from these fires. The most important fire in Kaleiçi occurred in 1895 when the area between Kesik Minare to Hıdırlık Tower burned and more than 500 houses and three churches were destroyed (Yorgo, Çimrin, 2007, p.441), Kesik Minare Mosque became unusable. After this fire and the area was re-built. For instance, Dumlupınar School, which still exists today, is one of the buildings constructed by Greeks after this fire. Another important fire happened in 1973 when Yivli Minare was damaged and an important example of Kaleiçi house called Faraşlar (Figure 5.2) burned. The last big fire in Kaleiçi happened in 2004. The building in front of the Hadrianus Gate was one of the structures which burned in this fire. In many cases these plots of the burned houses stay empty (Figure 5.3) or have been used as parking lots.



Figure 5.2 Famous Faraşlar house (No author, 1954)



Figure 5.3 Past and today of İzmirli Ali Efendi Street, (a) (personal archive of Tazecan); (b) (Personal archive, 2012)

The first step for protecting the physical setting of Kaleiçi was “The Master Plan of Antalya of 1955”, which declared Kaleiçi as “Protocol Area”. Although this decision was duplicated in 1967, it could not stop new constructions in the area and many multi-storey buildings had been constructed until 1972 when Kaleiçi was declared as a ‘conservation site’. With this step, a holistic conservation approach was replaced by a fragmented conservation approach. After Kaleiçi became a conservation site, the repair or the demolition of historical buildings in the area were prohibited. Even though these decisions took the built environment under “protection”, it caused the designation of modern apartments to the old houses in Kaleiçi, and exacerbated the decline of the area.

After the area was declared as a ‘conservation site’ in 1973, it was forbidden to make changes at the registered structures. In this period, some people from middle and high-income classes, who could afford the maintenance of their houses, continued to live in the area, whereas some inhabitants had to leave their houses or preferred to live outside of Kaleiçi because of the high restoration costs and long bureaucratic processes. The place of these inhabitants was filled by the tenants who mainly came from other parts of Turkey. They lived in these houses in poor and difficult conditions. The findings from the interviews show that the main reason behind the squalidness of Kaleiçi was the high costs of restoration and the difficulties put forth by Regional Conservation Council for the restoration and maintenance of these historic houses. However another reason can be derived from the interviews, has also an important place in this thesis, is the lack of ‘sense of belonging’. In other words, the squalidness was not just about the poverty, but also about the comprehension differences of the new inhabitants. Forasmuch, the Romans who had been the part of the lowest socio-economic income class for a long time in the area, were defined with their well-kept and clean houses by every interviewer of the first group. If we will look to the before-1980 period; the registered houses in the area consisted of well-kept/neglected houses and empty ruins. In 1974, the proportion of the new buildings to the whole area was 19% (Tankut, 1979).

In the after-1980 period, many critical changes in the built form can be observed. The implementations after Yacht Harbor and Kaleiçi Conservation Development Plan play the main role in these changes. In the scope of the plans, houses over the fortification wall which surrounds the port were expropriated and restored. In this context, little houses attached to the city wall (Figure 5.4) were discharged by public intervention. The walls were restored and the ‘Türk Evleri’ was built in the place of these houses.

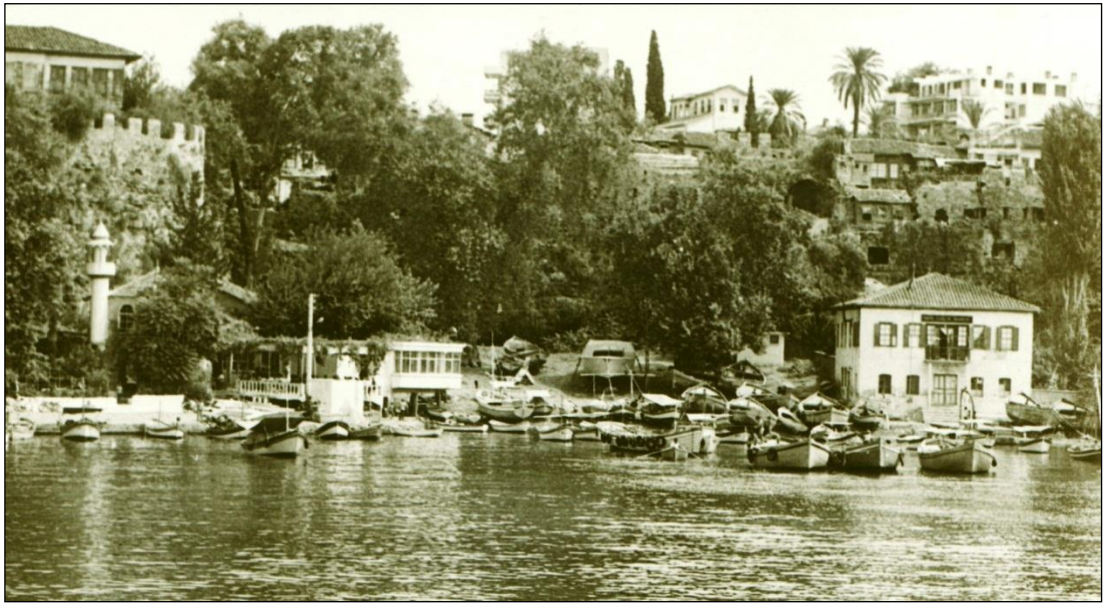


Figure 5.4: The city walls which surrounds İskele in 1960 before restoration, (personal archive of Üstün)

In this period, another important change in the built form of Kaleiçi was the transformation of İskele into a Yacht Harbor. Before the Yacht Harbor was built in 1985, the left part (from the sea) of the İskele was the embarkation place of wares. The area to the right of İskele Masjid and Balıkçı Kahvesi (Fisherman Cafe) to the mole was sandy place and had been used as a shipyard for small boats. With the transformation of the area to a Yacht Harbor, some buildings in İskele were knocked down, while some of them were converted by public intervention to function for tourism activities. The sandy area was concreted and joined to the Yacht Harbor, a slipway was built.

Kaleiçi Conservation Development Plan of 1979 also played an important role on the built form of Kaleiçi. One of the most important decisions which affected the built form was related to the three-storey building permission, which was given to attract people, entrepreneurs and tourists to Kaleiçi, and to encourage tourism development in Kaleiçi. Consequently, some three-storey buildings were constructed in the area. However, this permission was cancelled in the 1992 Revision Plan due to the increasing building density in the area. When Kaleiçi is examined in 1979 regarding number of building storey (Figure 5.5), it can be observed that one- and two-storey buildings were generally dominant in the area. In these years, there were three-storey buildings and a few four-storey and more storey buildings in the area which were constructed before 1972 (when the area was declared as a ‘conservation site’).

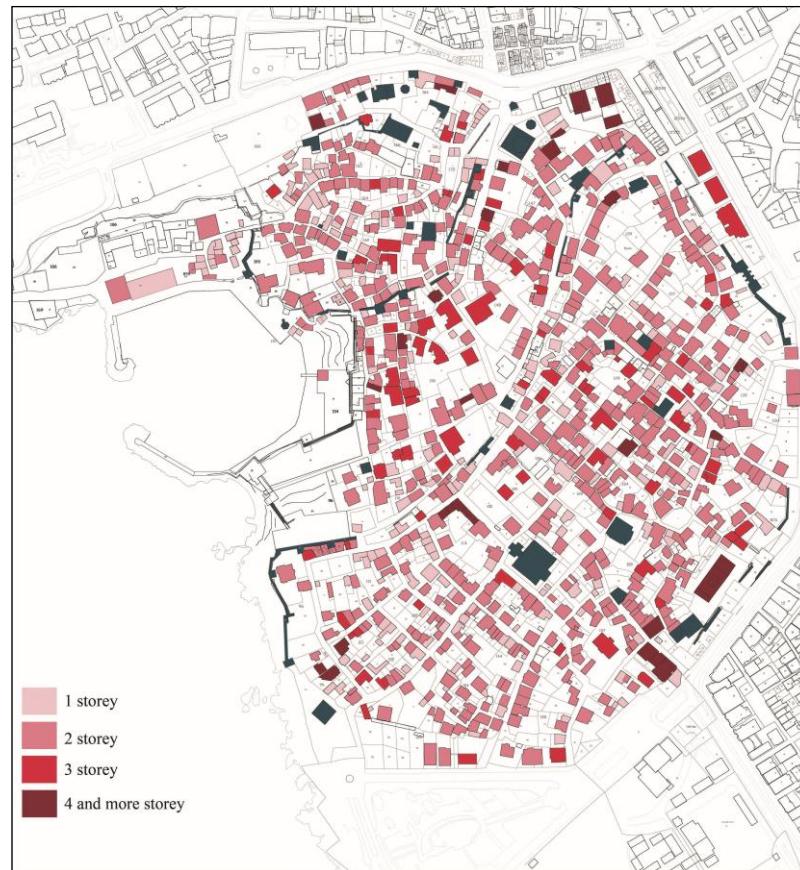


Figure 5.5 Number of storeys in 1979, redraw by the author based on analysis of 1979 Kaleiçi Conservation and Development Plan

When this data is compared to the Kaleiçi map about the number of the building storeys in 2012 (Figure 5.6), it is possible to observe that there are no large gaps between the number of storeys. However, it is notable that mostly two-storey buildings have been newly developed in the south part of Kaleiçi, while mostly new one-storey buildings have been developed in the north part of the area. Especially one-storey buildings in İskele Street, which cover the whole parts of the plots are generally not buildings, but additions.

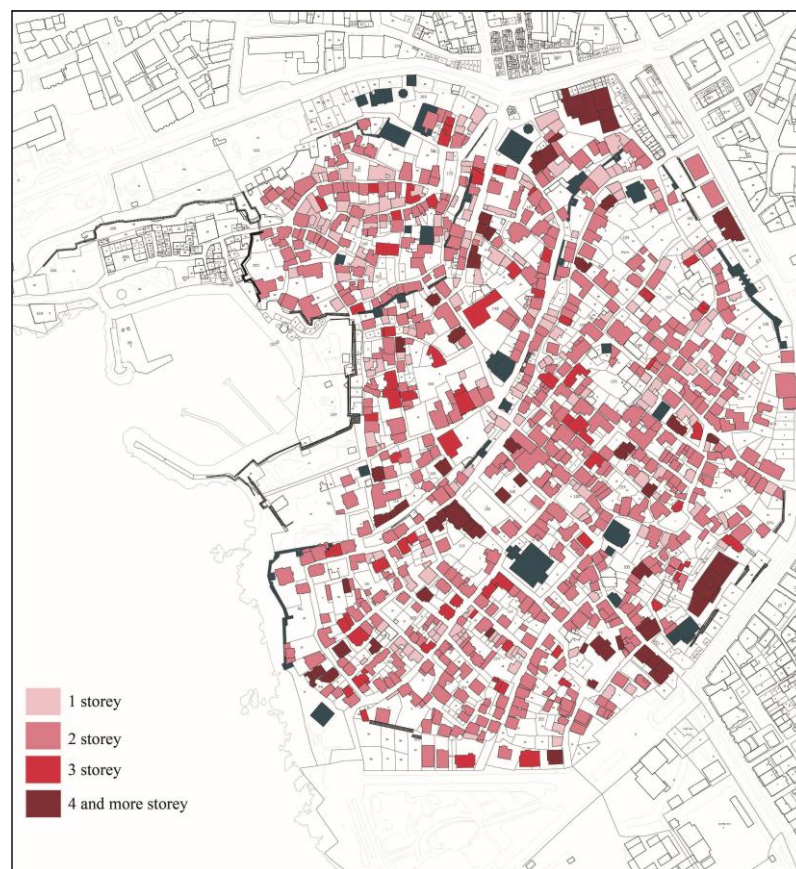


Figure 5.6 Number of storeys in 2012, prepared by the author

Although the number of building storeys did not change so much due time, the building density has significantly increased from 1979 (Figure 5.7, a) to 2012 (Figure 5.7, c). Based on the solid-void analysis of Kaleiçi, it can be derived that the density of the buildings has increased in time especially after 1979 probably with the three-storey decision of Kaleiçi Conservation Development Plan. This increase in the density of the area was also observed in the analysis of 1992 Revision Plan and some

measures were taken to prevent this increase. For example, the concept of ‘garden to be conserved’ was introduced to 1992 Revision Plan. However, despite these precautions, the solid-void analysis of Kaleiçi when it was in 2003 (Figure 5.7, b) shows that the density of the built-up area has continued to increase. When these three maps are compared to each other, it is possible to clearly see that the whole area has become more and more built-up. However, only the area between Dönerciler Çarşısı and Hadrian Gate shows a decrease in the dense of density in the present map. The main reason behind this decrease is the fire in 2004.

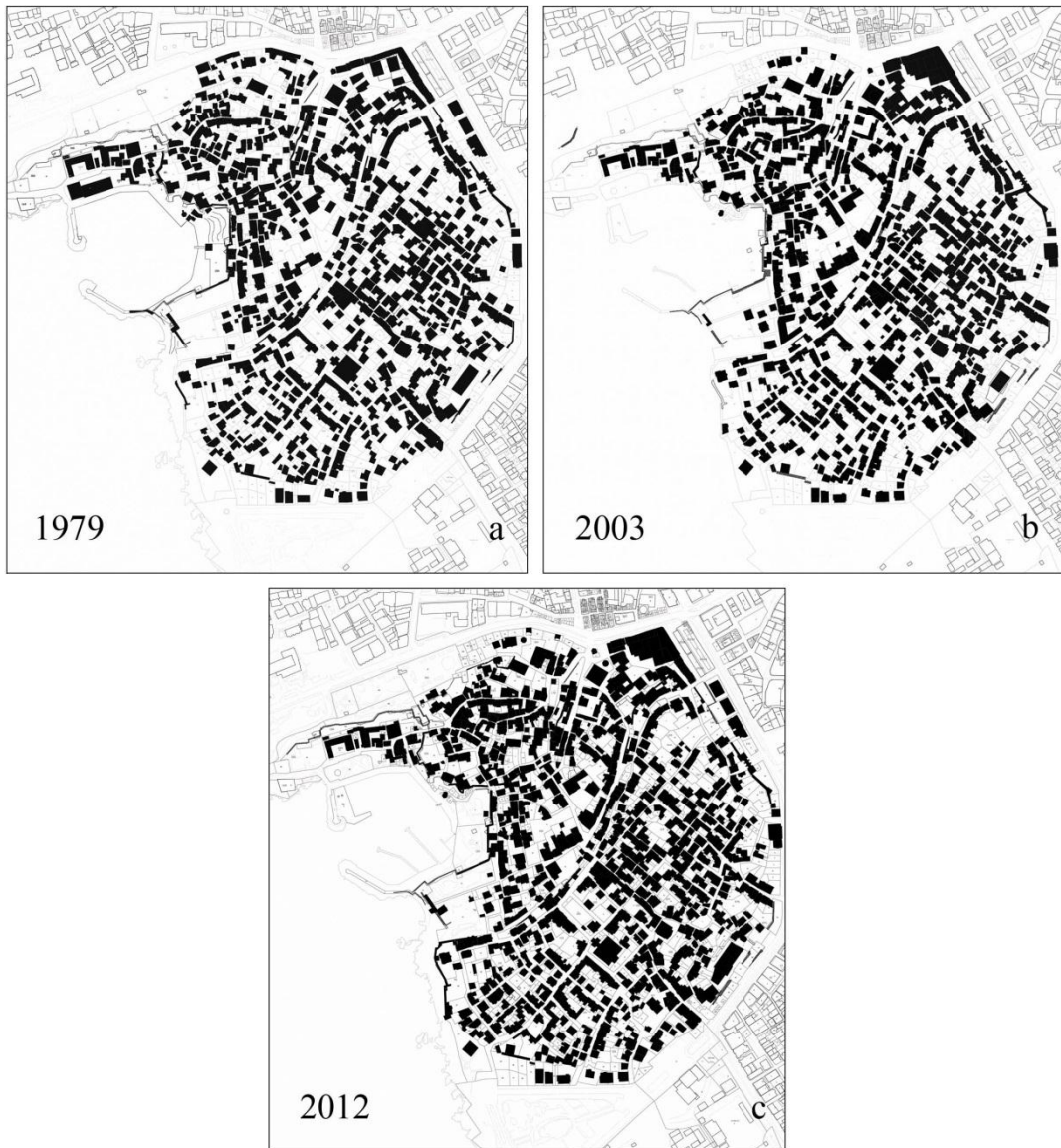


Figure 5.7 Solid-void analyses for (a) 1979, (b) 2003, (c) 2012 (prepared by the author)

As it is shown in the above-mentioned maps, the number of the buildings increased after the 1980s, as a result of the Conservation Plan and the tourism which was introduced to the area. In these years, changes not only showed itself in new constructions but also in old buildings with many restoration projects. In 1994, the buildings which had been restored and the new buildings which had been built since 1979 were generating approximately 15% of the Kaleiçi. The other registered buildings which were not restored until 1994 were comprising; 12% solid, 22% recurring surface repair, 54 % recurring essential repair, and 22% ruined buildings (Sanlı, 1994).

In this period, facades of many buildings which took a tourism function were also changed. It is possible to classify the building structure groups in Kaleiçi by examining the examples of restored and new buildings in the study area starting from the 1990s to today. Historic buildings can be classified under four categories: 1) ruined buildings, 2) derelict or neglected buildings, 3) restored buildings and 4) over-restored buildings. Here, the term ‘over-restored’ building is used to define a building which was restored so much that it has lost its authenticity and credibility and become a ‘representative place’. New buildings can be classified as compatible/incompatible buildings, and old-looking new buildings. The term of ‘old-looking new building’ is not used to define the buildings which were built as a certified copy, but it was used to define the new constructions which were built in the sense of old Kaleiçi houses and mislead the observers.

When Kaleiçi is examined according to the four building types, it is possible to note that the area is divided in two parts from the middle fortification line. Also, it is possible to see that the northern part consists of the buildings which are not legible because of the chaotic commercial usages (Figure 5.8). For these reason, especially the buildings on İskele Street should be defined as structures with ‘lack of relation’. Because of the sheds in front of the buildings, large signboards on the buildings and the canopies on the streets it becomes impossible to identify the historical buildings when walking on the street. However, the other part of the Kaleiçi which can be named as Hesapçı Street (Figure 5.9) and surroundings, is more appropriate to make

an above-mentioned classification of the buildings (Figure 5.10) since comparing to the northern part of the Kaleiçi, in this part, commercial usages are less and dwelling units are more.

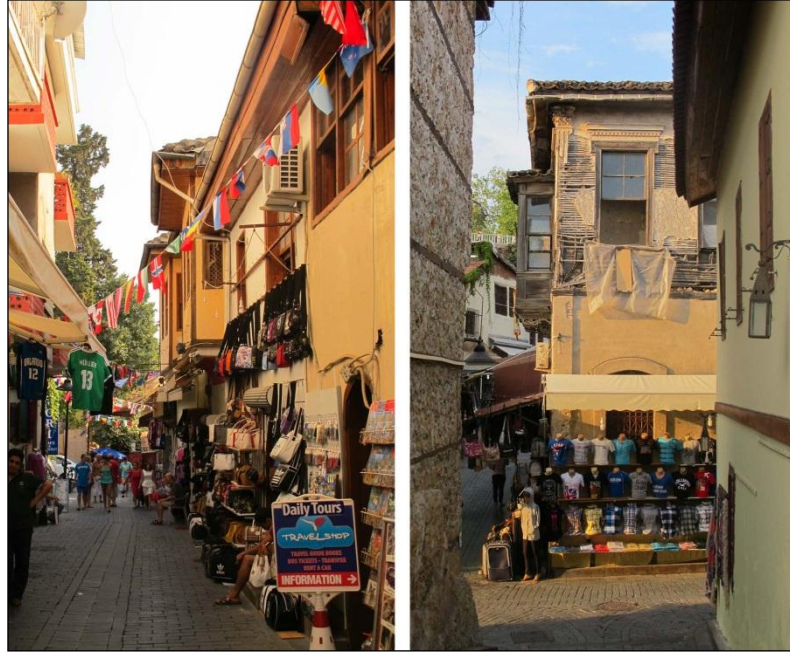


Figure 5.8 Chaotic commercial usages in the northern part (personal archive)



Figure 5.9 A view from Hesapçı Street (personal archive)

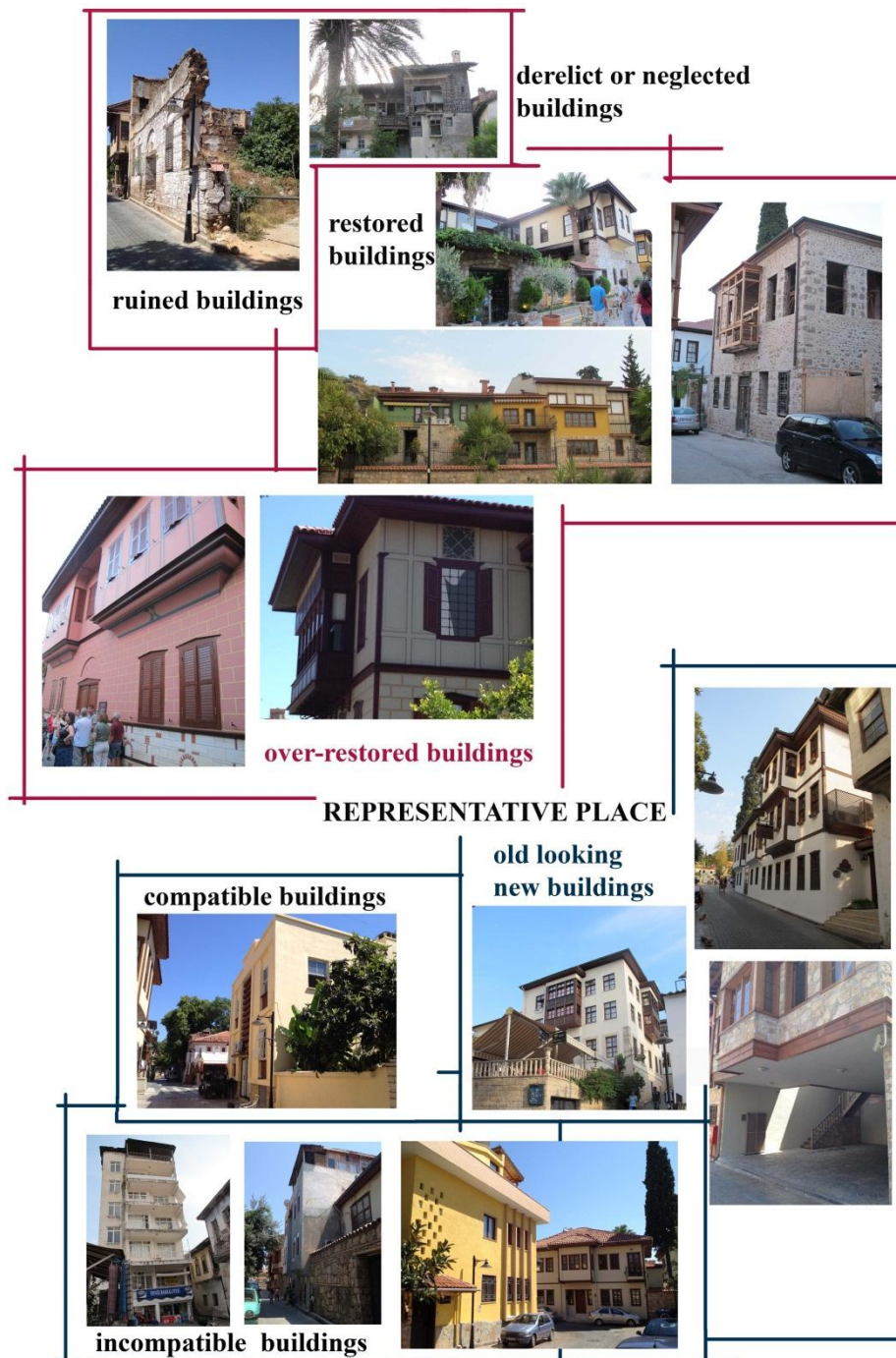


Figure 5.10 Building types in Kaleiçi in the present time (personal archive)

5.1.2 Permeability

Permeability is of great importance for the examination of the physical environment in order to understand the changes in the ‘sense of place’. It is not possible to

compare the permeability of the street network between the historic periods, since there is no much change in the street network of Kaleiçi, except the changes in dead-end streets and routes. Even though there was no change in the main street, only its usage frequencies changed. This change will be analyzed in detail in the section related to activities. This section examines the permeability which also affects every users of three periods regarding the concepts of physical permeability and visual permeability. The first part examines ‘physical permeability’; i.e. the ability to move through Kaleiçi, and the second part examines ‘visual permeability’; i.e., the ability to see the routes through Kaleiçi.

5.1.2.1 Physical permeability

To conserve the historical identity of Kaleiçi, the road network and street widths have been preserved until today. While the northern part of Kaleiçi -i.e., the old Turk Quarter- comprises the narrow and winding paths, the southern part -i.e., the old Greek Quarter- exhibits a grid pattern. Hıdırlık Street which follows the middle city wall that divides the city into two parts, is the largest path of the area and it connects both two sides of Kaleiçi. Uzunçarşı Street and İskele Street are two important thoroughfares of the northern part. The main street of the southern part is Hesapçı Street. While considering the Yacht Harbor -one of the most important attractions of the city-, the entrances of Kaleiçi and important nodes of Kaleiçi, the main connectivity network of the area (Figure 5.11) appears.



Figure 5.11 The main connection schema of Kaleiçi (prepared by the author)

The direct connections between those main roads give us the physical permeability. The main permeability is formed in the direction of entrances to sea. For this reason the main alters which are the most continuous and direct roads are formed in the north-east and south-west direction. The permeability of these roads is maximum, but permeability of the routes that link these roads is not. Especially the routes which link this northern part in itself are so wide that they have very a low permeability. The northern part is much luckier, as it had been developed in grid pattern. Beside these, the permeability from the north part to south part is also very weak, since there

is no direct road which starts from Kalekapısı -the main entrances of north part- and ends in Hadrian Gate or Yenikapı -which are the main entrances of the south part. The linkage roads in north-west to south-east direction are intermittent.

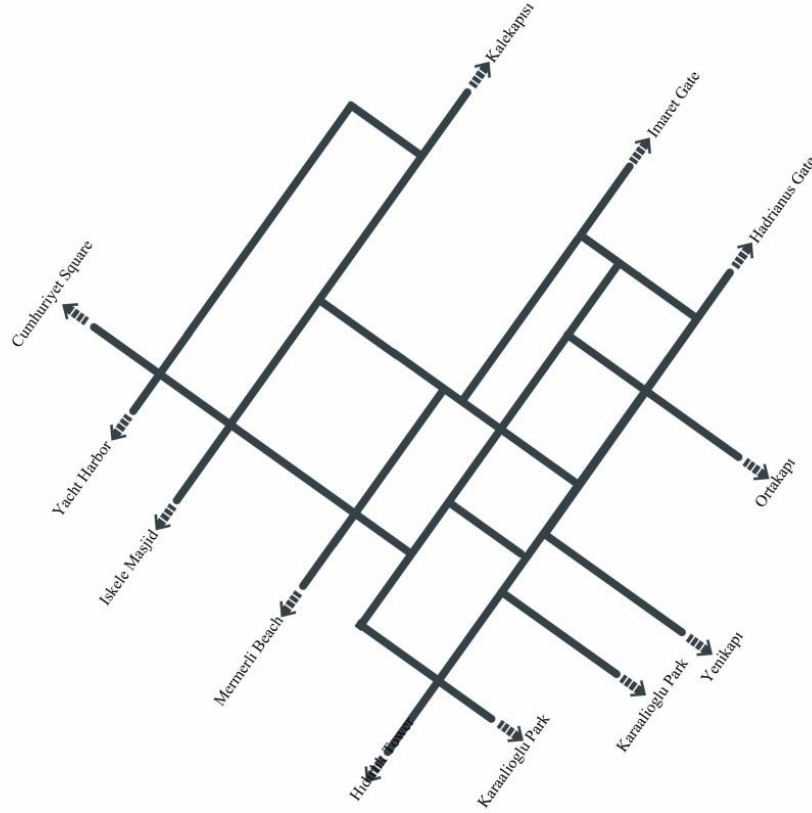


Figure 5.12 Physical permeability of Kaleiçi (prepared by the author)

5.1.2.2 Visual permeability

In Kaleiçi, the most important elements that make difficult to see the routes are winding and narrow streets. In the northern part of the area, the organic street network reaches down to the marina by winding and makes visual permeability harder. On the other hand, the slope (Figure 5.13) in the area gives a better sense of direction than the flat southern part of the Kaleiçi. Uzunçarşı Street demonstrates the destination points most conveniently in the southern part of Kaleiçi. The route of this street can be clearly seen from the ‘Kalekapısı’ entrance. Even though İskele Street does not provide a clear direction because of its winding route, it provides a clear visual permeability starting from ‘Kemerli Kapı’ to Yacht Harbor. Visual

permeability lessens on two other ways which go down to Yacht Harbor through the long stairs. Especially, the trees at the place ‘Kırk Merdivenler’ reduce this permeability much more.



LİMAN - Batı Görünüş
THE PORT - West Elevation

Figure 5.13 The altitude difference between the port and the northern part of Kaleiçi (personal archive of Baykan Günay)

Roads coming from the northern part to the little square where Balıkpazarı Bath is located are generally wide roads. So, the visual permeability is quite good in this node. Hıdırlık Street also has a good visual permeability since it is the widest and the longest route in Kaleiçi. But, its connections to Yacht Harbor, Mermeli Park and Karaalioğlu Park are that much weak. Hesapçı Street is undoubtedly is the route that has the most visual permeability. However, it also lost its visual permeability at some points of the street in which the buildings are getting closer. The main entrance of the southern part of Kaleiçi; Hadrianus Gate (Figure 5.14) also has some limitations in the sense of visual permeability. But, as the interviewee Hüseyin Çimrin (2012) states; “...person willingly or unwillingly enters from ‘Hadrianus Gate’ and he/she walks directly from the Hesapçı Street and reaches to Hıdırlık Tower” (Interview with Hüseyin Çimrin, 2012). There is no significant changes in the visual permeability over time, since the streets and the buildings which defines these streets have been generally protected. However, some significant changes, which came with the commercial users, in the visual permeability shows itself in the area, especially in the northern part (Figure 15).

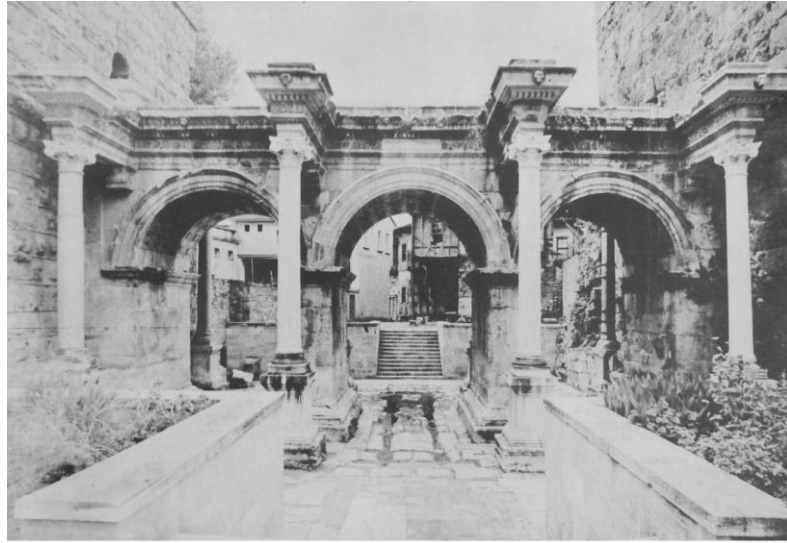


Figure 5.14 Visual permeability of Hadrianus Gate (Antalya İl Yıllığı 1973; No author, 1992; personal archive, 2012)



Figure 5.15 Visual permeability in the Hesapçı Street (southern part of Kaleiçi) and Uzun Çarşı Street (northern part of Kaleiçi) (personal archive, 2012)

5.1.3 Landscape

From past to present, green areas are one of the most differentiating elements of Kaleiçi. One of the most important elements of these green areas are the gardens of the houses which generally consist of orange trees, lemon trees, ‘yasemin’ and ‘akşam sefası’ flowers. Until 1980, the gardens used to occupy the whole area since they were easily and sufficiently watered by water canals in the streets which are called ‘arık’. With the close down of these channels, these gardens which could not be watered anymore started to dry out. From the beginning of the 1980s, the number of the gardens started to decrease as a result of the pressure of increasing urban rent created by tourism in the area. Also, the new users from different cultures and different socio-economic structure had a role in this reduction.

Kaleiçi is limited with two large parks from the north and the south. These are Tophane Park and Karaalioğlu Park respectively. Both parks are located outside of Kaleiçi boundaries. However, almost half of the interviewees consider Karalioğlu Park within Kaleiçi since it has an important place in the life of inhabitants of Kaleiçi.

The analysis on the aerial photos from different time periods shows that the only green area which has not changed in time in Antalya is Kaleiçi. In the middle of concrete structure, Kaleiçi is the only place, which has minimum changes in the terms of green area (Figure 5.16).



Figure 5.16 Air photos of Kaleiçi (a) in 1960s and (b) in 1990s (Personal archive of Dündar; AKESO, 1991)

As one can understand from the photos and maps, only the number of the gardens decreased in due course of time. All park areas still exist in the area, even though they were redesigned in many times. In this context, the most critical change is seen in the area of Mermerli Park (Figure 5.17). Mermerli Park, which is located at the end of Mermerli Banyo Street and on the fortification walls which surrounds Yacht Harbor, was an empty area before the 1960s. In 1963, the area was redesigned as a park. In this period, Mermerli Park, ‘Mermerli Kahve’(Mermerli coffee house), Mermerli Beach that can be reached from the park through the stairs and the area called ‘Yanık Hastane’ which is located at the above of the park were composing the most important recreation area of the Kaleiçi.

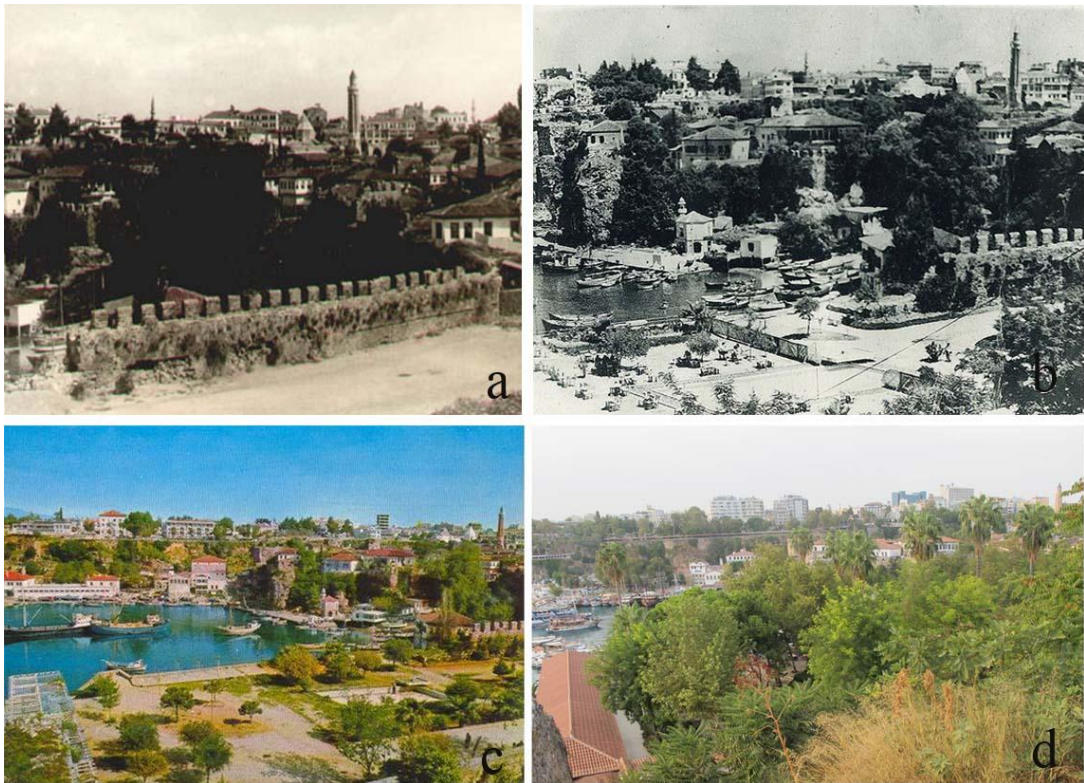


Figure 5.17 The change in Mermerli Park over time (a,b,c) (Personal archive of Tazecan; (d) (Personal archive)

In this period, another important green area of Kaleiçi was in İskele (Figure 5.18). The green area which started from İskele Masjid and continued from the behind of İskele Karantina building composed of two parts. The first part starting from the fortification walls of the port and ending at the left of İskele Karantina Building, also

exist in the present time. The second part of the green area which was the garden of Karantina Building was redesigned and built with Yacht Harbor Project. The building and the walls of garden was demolished and added to the harbor area.



Figure 5.18 İskele and Mermerli Park area before 1980 (prepared by the author)

After the 1980s, as mentioned before, the increasing rent pressure created by tourism in the area caused a reduction in number of gardens in Kaleiçi. Consequently, Kaleiçi Conservation Revision Plan of 1992 added the term of ‘protected gardens’ to protect

these gardens. In this respect, a number of well-qualified gardens were taken under protection by restricting construction in these areas. In this period, İskele was transformed into Yacht Harbor and the green area of İskele was redesigned and constructed through Yacht Harbor Project. The project also foresaw ‘Yanık Hastane’ area as a green area, but it lost its importance in this period and stayed useless for a long time. Another park area which was located across Tekeli Mehmet Paşa Mosque was also redesigned and was allocated to Antalya Artists Association (ANSAN).

As mentioned in the former chapter, in 2003, Front City Wall Urban Design Project became effective. The project has foreseen that buildings which were located near the external fortification wall were pulled down. Within the scope of the project, many building have been designated for expropriation. Yet, the project could not be implemented fully because of high expropriation costs, and only a few buildings were torn down.

5.1.4 Street Furniture

Until 1980, Kaleiçi was in a poor condition in terms of urban furniture. There was a limited street lighting. The only distinguished elements were the water channels which were crossing over from all streets of Kaleiçi. The main channel used to pass through Atatürk Street and a couple of distributary channels used to disperse the water into Kaleiçi. These channels with red goldfishes inside and the greenery along them used to provide both water for use and a good landscape for the inhabitants. In the mid-1970s, the water started to be supplied only evenings in summer times. In the 1980s, the water in the channels was completely stopped. Some channels were closed or narrowed down during the road constructions. And a few channels which survived as the last examples were closed down in 2007 due to the last reorganizing project in Kaleiçi. The rain water carriers in two sides of the streets were designed with reference to these old water channels. These water channels will be explained more deeply in later parts of this chapter.

Until the early-1980s, horse carts were used for transportation in Antalya. Narrow streets in Kaleiçi were more suitable for the use of these carriages. The use of cars in Kaleiçi started very late, so street furniture until the 1980s were also placed in this manner. Some street water pumps (Figure 5.19) in Antalya were great examples of that manner.



Figure 5.19 A water pump in Antalya before 1980, (personal archive of Dündar)

The first street lightening project of Kaleiçi was implemented in 2007. Special street lamps (Figure 5.18, a) were placed on the main streets. Although the main streets are well-lit at night, the lightening of small streets still insufficient. In the same year, municipality also put some flower pots in the streets. However these pots were damaged mostly by cars and small number of them can be seen today. Again in 2007, entrance and exit points of Kaleiçi were redesigned and renewed. Some gins (Figure 5.18, b) were placed in the gates to organize the vehicular traffic movement and road directions. But these gins caused many injuries in Kaleiçi and they were removed by the insist of working people in Kaleiçi. Today it is only available in entrance and exit of Kaleiçi.

According to interviews, today the most important deficiency in Kaleiçi in the terms of street furniture is direction signs. There are only few direction signs which show the entrance and exists of Kaleiçi, so it is very difficult to find their way for the the

people who foreign to Kaleiçi. And there are no specific design codes for hotel signs, as a result, many of them used the walls of historical houses (Figure 5.20, c).



Figure 5.20 Street furniture examples in 2012 (personal archive)

Another problematic street element in the present time is incompatible street furnitures of commercial usages such as non-regulatory signboards, canopies, etc. (Figure 5.21, c, d, e, f) which were observed especially in the north part of Kaleiçi.



Figure 5.21 Street elements in past and today (a) (No author, 1982) (c) (Hakan Tazecan archive) (e) (Antalya İli Turizm Envanteri, 1992) (b, d, f) (personal archive, 2012)

5.2 Activity

In order to understand the change in sense of place in Kaleiçi, the second thing to be taken into account is the activities in the field, and the change of experiences. This part first inspects how the usage of Kaleiçi has changed in time by examining the land-use changes over three periods, and then it tries to picture how the pedestrian and vehicle flow has affected by these different forms of usage.

The changes in the activities are examined through three historic periods: 1) before-1980, 2) after-1980 and 3) present-time. But, as mentioned before, during each time period, Kaleiçi did not stay exactly the same but has undergone a continuous change. To describe the changing land-use pattern and pedestrian/vehicle flow, the land-use plan of 1979 is used for the period before-1980 since there was no major change observed yet. Similarly, the period after 1980 will be based on the land-use plan from 2003 when the usages showed a significant change in terms of touristic activities.

Lastly, present time will be examined on the land-use plan from 2012 which based on the field studies in the area.

5.2.1 Landuse

Before 1980

Considering both the population and the social facility areas, Kaleiçi was a typical housing zone and İskele was the heart (*commercial center*) of Kaleiçi, before the area was designated as a conservation site in 1973. When a new harbor was built in the west of Antalya in 1974, İskele lost its importance as a trading center. Nevertheless, it did not lose its lively atmosphere with the presence of boatman, captains and fishermen. During that time, Kalekapısı became the city's trading center, as Kaleiçi continued to be a housing area. There were a few small commercial businesses (such as grocers and tailors) that led trade activities in the area in the mid-1970s, and there were no commercial ventures operating in the tourism sector. When considering the qualities of the trading units in these years, we see that they consisted of local and traditional line of businesses, such as grocers, repairmen, shoe repairmen and etc (Tankut, 1979).

Even though there were no tourism establishments in the area at that time, the inhabitants became acquainted with the tourism in a simplistic and pragmatic way. The area drew extensive attention of domestic and foreign tourists who came for a day or to stay a couple of days. By the late-1960s, some Kaleiçi inhabitants started to operate house pensions without naming it so, and the very first touristic boat tours started to depart from İskele. An interviewee explains this situation as follows:

(Towards the end of the 1960s)...All the houses in Kaleiçi were pensions. Although they were not called pensions or guest houses, they used to welcome and host tourists. We were high school students, when we established the first tourism association... We set up an information desk at Kalekapısı, and the volunteering high school students, who volunteered for learning a foreign language, who would get tips only if they took the tourists to their houses. So they would earn money during summer. Whoever had a vacant room in their home, would inform the desk. Even the rooms from small houses would be given to a family for, say, ten lira. After all, people would only stay for one or two days, and then they would leave. There were

no hotels at that time in Kaleiçi... At that time, tourists were more modern. We did not know each other's languages but it was not a problem... My family was also guesting tourists in our home. My mother would prepare breakfast and they would come and sit together with us... Some people would rent one of their rooms, some of them would rent two of their rooms. They would always accept families. Young people would stay in the boarding schools, those schools would open during summer..." (Interview with Hüsni Ekizler, 2012; *italics added*)

In the year 1979, 60% of Kaleiçi was housing, 21% was trading, 17% was empty field and 2% was religious facilities, art-production-storage, educational, administrative and social facilities (Öztekin, 2010). Based on the analysis of the land-use plan of 1979, it is possible to note that tourism-oriented business was still very few in the area. During this time, 781 out of 1129 buildings were used as housing, while 272 of them were used for commercial purposes. The buildings in commercial use, which consisted of 116 shops, 147 stores, 5 coffeehouse and 1 pastry shop (Öztekin, 2010), were located mainly at the north of Kaleiçi, Kalekapısı, places which faced Cumhuriyet Street and north of İskele. Most of the workplaces related to marine that were located in İskele were vacant. During this time, in İskele, there existed marine-related workplaces and barber shops other than İskele Masjid, Balıkçı Kahvesi, building of İskele Karantina and Customs building.

Another important point in İskele is the hexagon shaped *İskele Masjid* (a small mosque). It has the fountain form and it has a source of natural spring water below it. For a long time, as well as in the period before 1980, this spring water was carried up to the city, and used as a drinking water. When coming from the sea, the sandy area on the left side of the mosque was where the Customs Building was located. Between the Customs Building and the mosque, there were marine-related shops (Bektas, 1980; No author, 1982). Most of the shops, there, were emptied by the late-1970s. There were barber shops, small restaurants and stores. According to the interviewees, who are the users of before-1980 period, the most notable location in İskele was İskele coffee shop, which is also called '*Balıkçı Kahvesi*' (*fishermen coffee shop*). This coffee shop, which was located on the right side of the mosque, was also at the end point of the 'Kırk Merdivenler' that goes up from the harbor. The coffee shop,

which had an open terrace, was a place where people from the city used to come often. To the right of Balıkçı Kahvesi, which was a sandy area, there were the shops of the ship repairmen. The part where the ships were stored was made of marble. Hüseyin Ekizler (2012), who was also a captain at that time, describes this place and its function as follows:

That place used to be 50 centimeters above the sea level. When the waves came and hit, sea water would come over the dock and clean it and there were holes between four stones on every corner of it. When the sea hit from the down below, the water would come out like the whales and clean this place.” (Interview with Hüsnü Ekizler, 2012)

At the end of the breakwater, to the right of İskele, there was the mole part where people call ‘*menderek*’ and often use for swimming and fishing.

If we examine the north part of Kaleiçi, which is separated by the middle city wall, we see that most important landmarks were *Saat Kulesi*, *Kalekapısı* entrance which is identified by *Paşa Mosque*, and the area where *Yivli Minare and its complex* were located. As oppose to today, the area was densely used as a housing area in these years. Except for a few shopping places, all the buildings were used as houses. However, since Kalekapısı was Antalya’s trading center at that time too, usage for trading purposes in the district called Selçuk Quarter was always more common than it is in south parts of Kaleiçi, such as Barbaros and Kılıçarslan Quarters.

Before 1980 Kalekapısı was important, because it was close to the bus stops in Cumhuriyet Square and it functioned as an important gate to get to the commercial center of Antalya. Paşa Mosque in Kalekapısı was one of the two most important mosques of Kaleiçi. Before the 1980, as a building complex, Yivli Minaret and its additions (*külliyet*) were not used as a mosque. Instead, they used to function as a museum until the new museum building was built in 1972. Hence, some old written sources refer to it as the ‘old museum’.

Another landmark in the area was *The Hadrianus Gate*, which is also known as ‘*Üçkapılar*’ among the local inhabitants. Before this gate was restored between the years of 1958 and 1960 and the original ground material was revealed, vehicles were

allowed to Kaleiçi, since Kaleiçi and Atatürk Street were on the same level. During the 1960s it was transformed into its today's form, in which only the pedestrians were allowed where they used to go up and down through the stairs.

Üçkapılar was one of the most important and widely used entrances of Kaleiçi as in the present time. It was on the way of the bazaar, which was located in front of the today's 2000 Plaza. Also, one of Antalya's popular tailors practiced in the shed, adjacent to the tower on the south of Üçkapılar (Handan Günay, 2012).

One of the landmarks of the south part of the middle city wall was ***Kesik Minare Mosque***, which became unusable after the fire occurred in Kaleiçi in 1895 and stayed unexploited for a long time because of the fire occurred in Kaleiçi in 1895. Kesik Minare started to be restored when Kaleiçi was designated as the conservation site in 1973. Before its restoration, there were no fence around the minaret.v

Another landmark in Kaleiçi is ***Hıdırlık Tower*** at the end of Hesapçı Street. Hıdırlık Tower did not any function as a building. But it gets its importance from being located at the starting point of Karaalioğlu Park, which used to be pretty popular among inhabitants of Antalya and Kaleiçi since the 1940s, when it was built.

Before 1980 period, another important node was ***Yenikapı*** entrance, around which there were the buildings used for purposes other than housing, such as bakery shop, hairdresser, groceries, that were developed again because of the proximity of this area to Atatürk Street. This entrance used to be perceived and associated with Yenikapı police station. Old users used to call this entrance as ***Yenikapı Karakolu*** (meaning, *Yenikapı Police Station*) Entrance.

Kaleiçi's most important node was ***Balıkpazarı*** (*fish market*) area, located in the crossroad of Paşa Cami Street, Hıdırlık, Civelek and Zafer Streets. The most notable place of this crossroad is ***Balıkpazarı Bakery***, which was mentioned by all interviewees of the period before 1980 and one of the limited numbers of baker's in Kaleiçi.

Another descriptive point of this crossroad was *İnci Movie Theatre*, which was the first movie theatre in Kaleiçi and its top floor was an open-air cinema. Local people came to this theatre at least once a week, before the television arrived in 1974.

During this period, there exist three education facilities in the area. These were Atatürk Primary and Secondary School, Atatürk Primary School and Dumlupınar Primary School. Furthermore, Karatay Madrasah started to be used as a public education facility in 1965.

There were also three Turkish baths, only two of which functioned during this period, in different parts of Kaleiçi: Gavur Public Bath, Sefa Public Bath, Nazir Public Bath. Gavur Public Bath was unusable in those years. Two other public baths *Sefa Public Bath* and *Nazır Public Bath* were very important for local inhabitants due to the frequent water cuts of this period.

There exist thirteen religious buildings in 1979 (Öztekin, 2010). As mentioned before, Yivli Minaret remained a museum until the new museum building was built. The gallery in Yivli Minaret was moved to the new museum building in 1973. From this date on, it hosted local and foreign exhibitions, and educational courses have been given (Turizm Envanteri, 1987, 1992). ‘Mevlevihane’ (lodge used by Mevlevi dervishes) inside the külliyyet (the complex of the mosque) served as State Fine Arts Gallery until 1963. Kesik Minare Mosque did not function as a mosque during this period since it became unusable because of the widely destructive fire occurred in Kaleiçi in 1895. The most important two mosques of the area during this period were Paşa Mosque and Aleaddin Mosque. There were also five masjids and two churches.

There were three parks in the area. Tophane Park and Karaalioğlu Park are two parks, which are not located within the Kaleiçi district, but they were frequently used parks of the period. That is why these parks came up very often during the interviews with the old users (interviewees of the before-1980 group) of Kaleiçi. Furthermore there existed two hundred and sixteen empty fields, twenty one of them being gardens and hundred and ninety five of them being land (Öztekin, 2010).

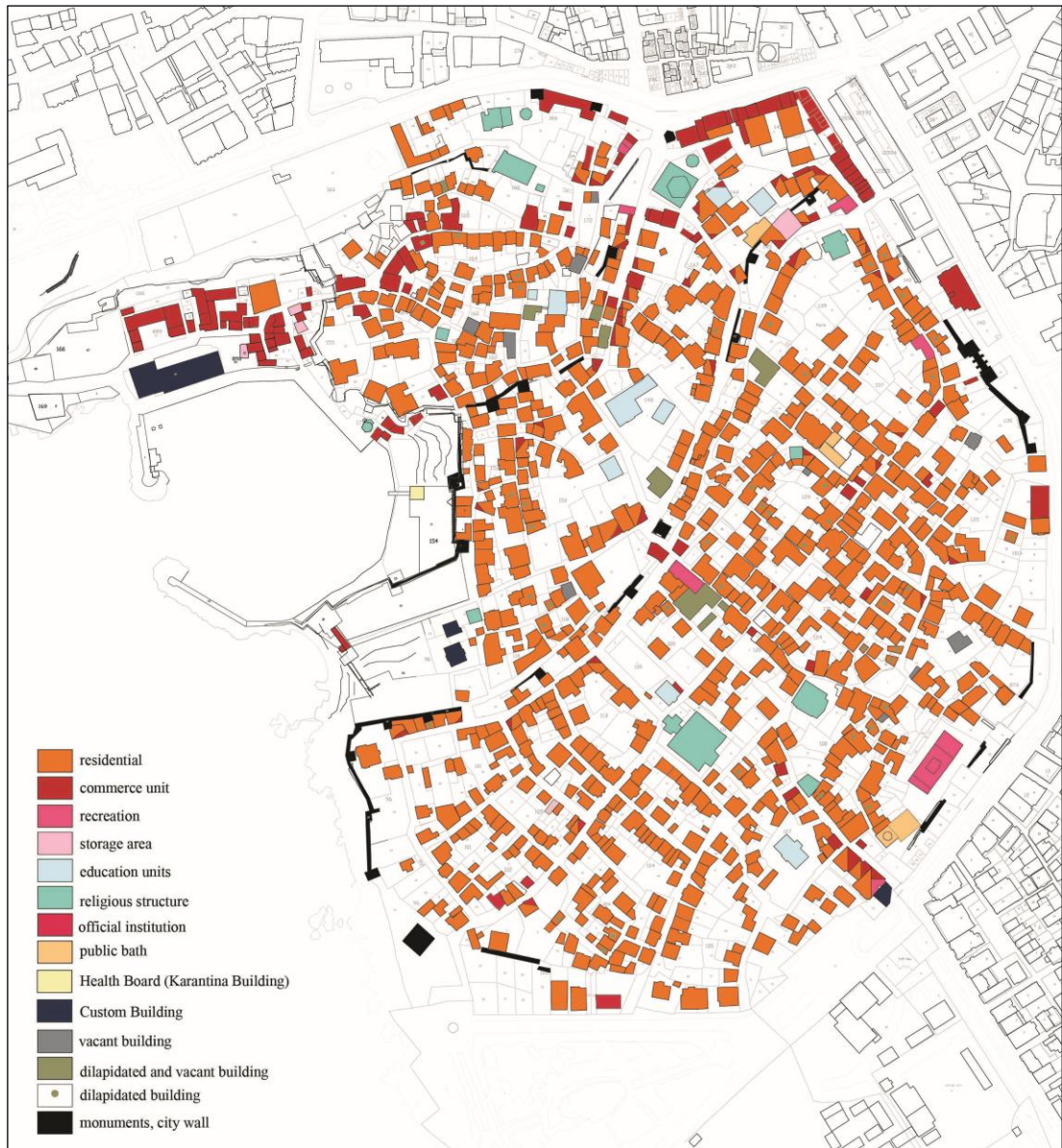


Figure 5.22 The landuse map of Kaleiçi dated 1979, personal rendering (Resource: Analysis of Kaleiçi Conservation Plan, 1979; Öztekin, 2010)

After 1980

After 1980, a new function, i.e. tourism, was introduced into Kaleiçi. Application of Antalya Kaleiçi Conservation and Development Plan (which was prepared in 1979 and approved in 1982) and Yacht Harbor Project were completed in the mid-1980s. Kaleiçi started to be left by its original dwellers. One group of original inhabitants consisted of people who could not afford the restoration and maintenance of their

houses after the declaration of Kaleiçi as a conservation site in 1973. The other group included people who preferred to move to the new housing areas outside Kaleiçi. Both groups left their houses to renters mostly coming out of Antalya. While Kaleiçi became occupied more and more by low-income migrants, tourism started to be seen the only survival option for Kaleiçi. In this context, all kinds of tourism were allowed in the area. One of the interviewees from the first group explains these first years of tourism and the change in Kaleiçi with the tourism as follows:

In 1986, I operated pension here for four years. There was not tourism here in the full sense anyway. There used to be a bus station in the city, and educated tourists with backpacks would come here for cultural touristic tours, who came for exploration. We earned lots of money in these years. But then a hotel trend started in Antalya and tourism here ended. We couldn't compete with these hotels, because they don't let you change anything in the building, OK, don't touch the exterior parts, but rooms without toilet and shower inside should not exist anymore... Tourism got started after 1986- the first pensions started to open in 1986. It started after we returned to a normal life after 1983. Before that, since there were no tourism and bars, cafés, everybody was locals and since the houses were very close together, the family connections were strong. People would get together every night, and neighbor visits were very often. If there was a funeral, whole Kaleiçi would gather in that house, and would not let the host take care of anything.(Interview with Salih Güzel, 2012)

In the 1980s, the population of Kaleiçi started to decrease with respect to these changes. While it was around 5000 in 1977 (Plan report from 1979), the 1985 population census shows that this number dropped to 3905 in the mid-1980s (Urban Planning Competition Information Book, 1990). Therefore, a serious decrease in the number of inhabitants in Kaleiçi occurred after the 1980s with the rising presence of tourism.

Even though the 1979 Plan foresaw the intensification of tourism, housing or commercial uses in Kaleiçi, there was no significant zoning decision. Non-housing usage (i.e., hotels, pensions, tourism-oriented commerce, etc) spread all over Kaleiçi until the early-1990s (after the Kaleiçi Conservation Plan of 1979). The information gathered from 1987 Tourism Inventory is as follows: The project for Yacht Harbor started in 1974 and was completed in 1978. The complex consisting of thirty-three food-drink shops and a harbor with the capacity of 50

yachts, got under the management of Turban Kaleiçi in 1985 in order to directly control the harbor and execute the food-drink shops. In the summer of 1986, Yacht Harbor was put into service. During this period, there were six stores, a jewellery shop and a leather dealer in the yacht harbor, together with a fish restaurant, a pub, two restaurants, a tavern, a bakery, a ‘börekçi’, an ice cream shop, a cafeteria, a sandwich place, a pub and a coffee shop under Turban ownership (Tourism Inventory, 1987). As can be also understood from the different functions of these commercial enterprises and places, the Yacht Harbor Plan determined the places for each kind of usage (Figure 5.23) within the designated site, and no usage was allowed outside the designated area.

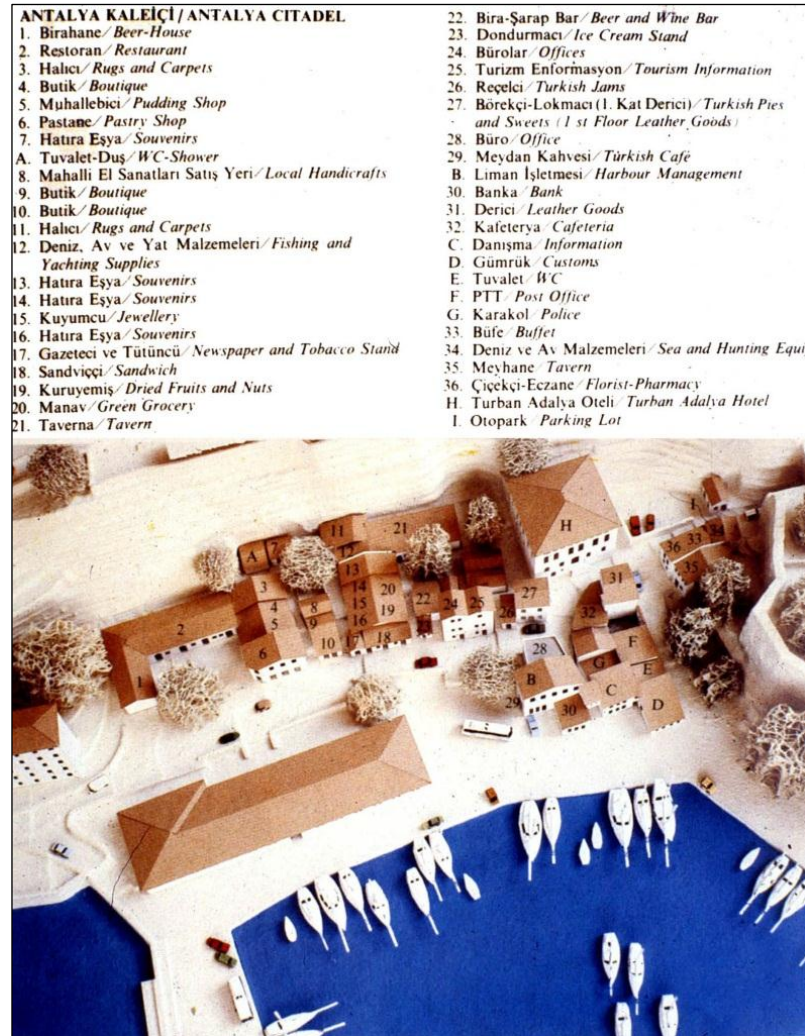


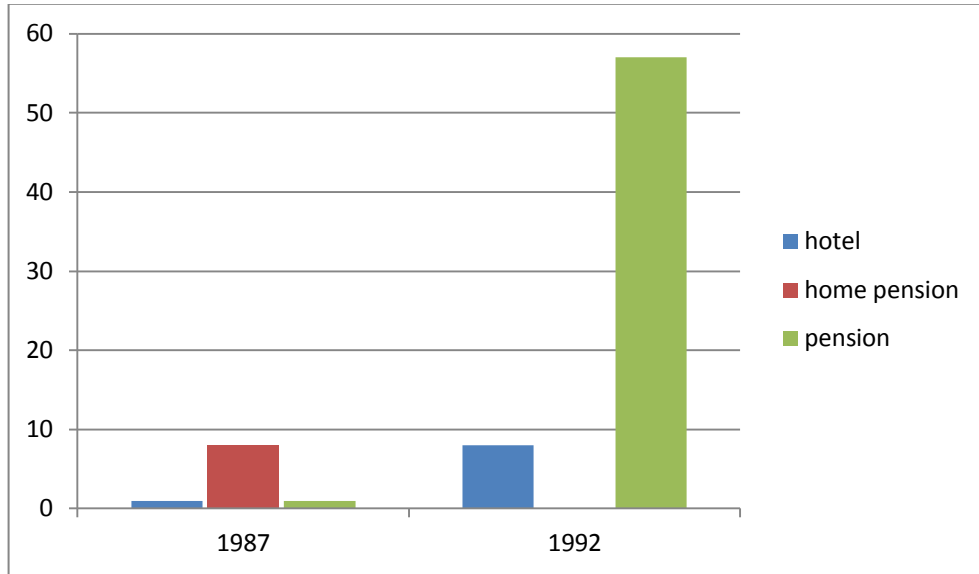
Figure 5.23 Determined usages for each building in the Yacht Harbor Project of 1976 (personal archive of Baykan Günay)

During the same period, there existed a leather dealer, a carpet shop next to Paşa Mosque, a store, a carpet shop and a leather dealer on İskele Street, and a carpet shop each on Paşa Street, on Hıdırlık Street and in Yenikapı. We can conclude from this information that during this period, the touristic trading took place mainly in Uzunçarşı, followed by İskele Street. Unquestionably, the main reason behind this is that those places were on the route from Kalekapısı to Yacht Harbor, which was very popular among the people in Antalya when it was built. With reference to 1987 Tourism Inventory, it can be claimed that there was no touristic commercial areas in the south of Kaleiçi on and around Hesapçı Street. As it can be understood from above, food-drink places were located mainly in the yacht harbor. Additionally, there was a touristic café in Yenikapı, a private touristic restaurant in Tophane Altı, and another restaurant in Karaalioğlu Park.

As for the accommodation places during the years of 1986-87, there were a hotel and a pension of TURBAN, addition to eight house-pensions in Kaleiçi. Three of these house-pensions located in Kılınçarslan district; two of them were in Barbaros district, which were densely populated housing area; other two house-pensions were in Selçuk district and one was in Tuzcular district (Antalya İli Turizm Envanteri, 1987).

As far as 1992 Tourism Inventory is concerned, there is a rapid increase in the number of the touristic facilities. According to the inventory, seven more hotels are opened in Kaleiçi, in addition to one belonging to Turban. One of these hotels was 'Tütav Türküleri' that was built in the place of the buildings that were expropriated in the scope of Yacht Harbor Project. Furthermore, the number of pensions, which was only one in 1986, increased to fifty seven (Antalya İli Turizm Envanteri, 1992). It is very possible that the pension houses were also transformed into pensions during this period (Table 5.1). In addition to these accommodation facilities, Kaleiçi Art House was open on Hamam Street in Kılınçarslan District in 1990 to function as an art-related, educational coffee shop-bar. The Gallery which was mentioned before which locates in the kulliyet of Yivli Minare, transformed into an open-air exhibition area in 1987.

**Table 5.1 Increase in the tourism activities from 1987 to 1992, personal rendering
(Resource: Antalya İli Turizm Envanteri, 1987, 1992)**



The rapid and irregular increase in tourism activities in the area brought about the need for a plan revision in 1992. The new plan tried to restrict tourism-related usage, while encouraging house-pensions. Although the plan limited the new development of commercial uses in the buildings with a maximum size of 100 m², it did not foresee any zoning decision for limiting the place of activities.

When the land-use map of 2003 (Figure 5.24) is examined, it is possible to note the critical increase in the tourism-based activities. The gift shops were mostly located on Uzunçarşı Street where commercial uses started to spread in 1979, and also on İskele Street. The reason is that these streets lead to the Yacht Harbor. In addition to the hotels that populated the area around Yacht Harbor in 1992, there is a serious increase in the number of the hotels in Barbaros District in 2003. Nevertheless, the densest housing areas during this period are Barbaros and Kılıçarslan districts.

In 2003, café-bars and restaurants became concentrated mainly in the north part of the Yacht Harbor, and in the entrances of Kaleiçi, such as İmaret Gate, Yenikapı, Ortakapı and Üçkapılar respectively.

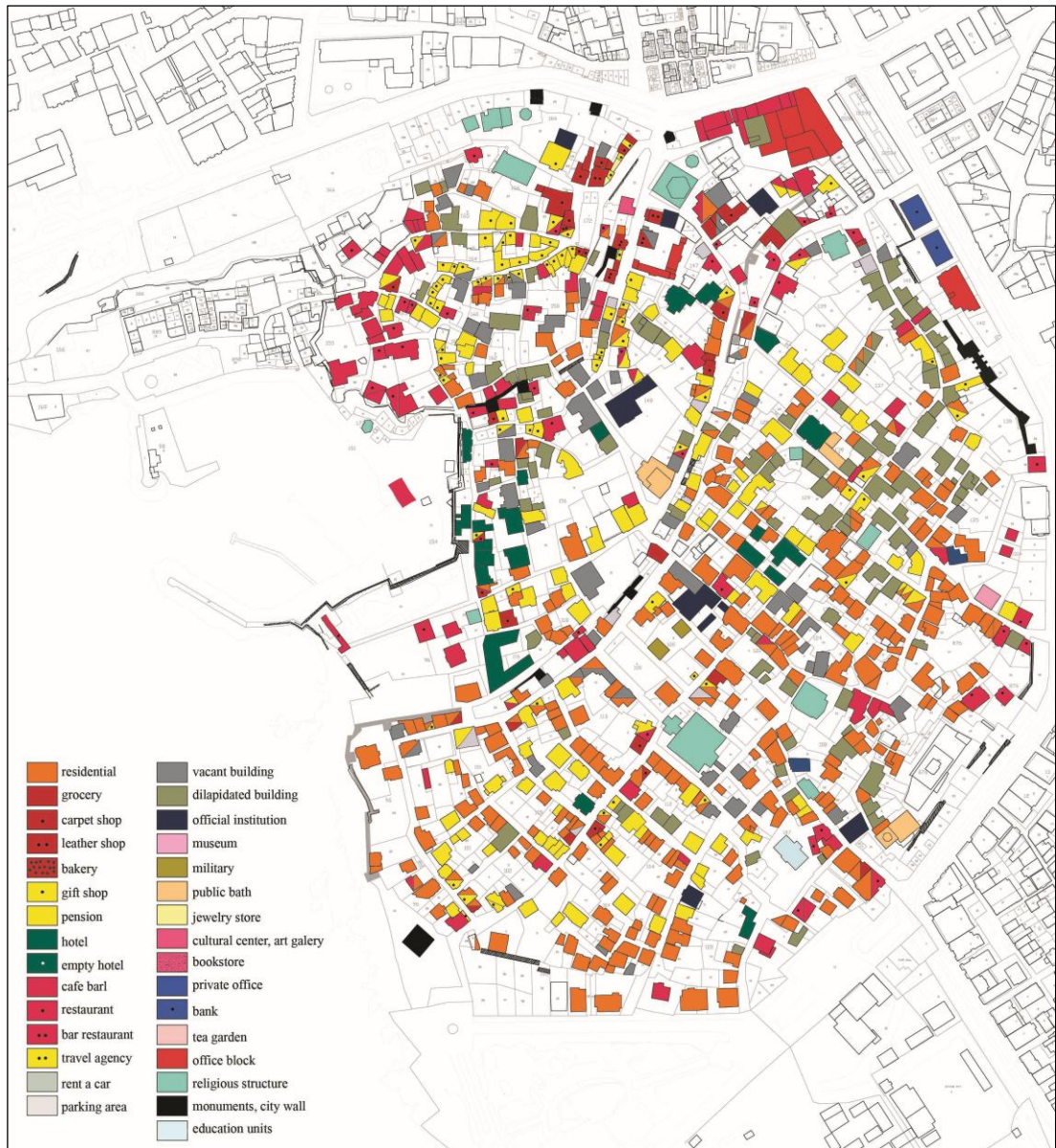


Figure 5.24 The landuse map of Kaleiçi dated 2003, personal rendering (Resource: Landuse study Antalya Municipality, 2003)

Present time

The increase in the commercial activities in Kaleiçi has been continued to increase since 2003. According to a survey in 2008, only the 10% of the buildings were in residential usage in Kaleiçi which means 90% of them were functioned as workplace. Again in 2008; 37% of these workplaces had been used for retail trade, 20% as eating and drinking places, 15% as recreation area and 11% for accommodation

(Madran, 2008, presentation). This increase in the commercial usage is more observable in the present day.

In the present day, Kaleiçi has become a mosaic of activities. The residential areas, which can be observed in the 2003 land-use map, critically decreased and were stuck in specific areas. One of the important current observations about Kaleiçi is the presence of a large number of newly-restored but empty houses. The main reason behind these closed houses can be the foreign ownerships which have been increasing in the area recently. Besides these, many residential buildings give places to tourism-based activities in their first floor. The most observed place in this context is Hesapçı Street. The main reason for this is the reorganizing project which held in 2007. In the scope of this project, vehicles are banned from Hesapçı Street. As a result of the project, Hesapçı Street became the main pedestrian road and in which many commercial and retail usages appeared. Also couple of bars selected place in this main street.

There is also a total increase in the commercial uses, such as cafés, bars, restaurants, gift shops, carpet shops and grocers in the whole area. The most significant increase of gift shops shows itself in İskele Street. It can be claimed that the commercial activities which started on Uzunçarşı Street in 1979, spread to İskele District and became dominant activity in the area in 2012.

When comparing the 2003 and 2012 (Figure 5.25) landuse maps, it is observed that there is a decrease in the number of ruin buildings, since there were many restoration projects implemented between 2003 and 2012; but the number of empty buildings has no significant change. It should be also added that generally all vacant plots which are the remains of burned or demolished houses are used as car-parking lots. In this context, almost all of the plots which were showed as empty in the 2003 land-use map are covered by concrete surface and they are currently operated as car-parking sites.

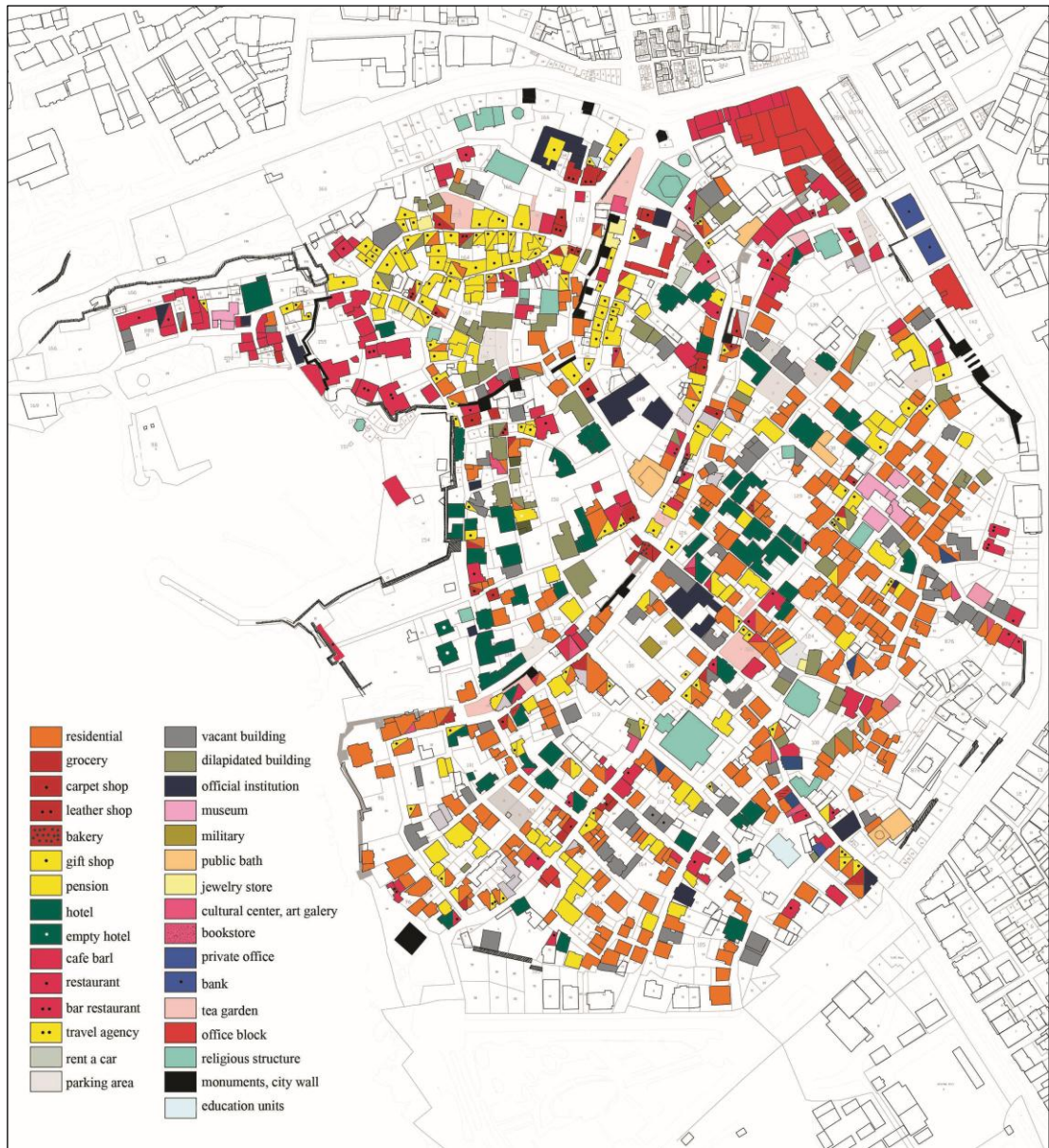


Figure 5.25 The landuse map of Kaleiçi dated 2012, personal rendering based on the field studies in Kaleiçi

2.2 Pedestrian and Vehicle Flows

Before the 1980s, the key points affecting the transportation schema of Kaleiçi are the entrances of the area and İskele. In this context, the “gates” affecting the main roads, from north to south, are Kalekapısı, İmaret Gate, Ortakapı and Yenikapı. Since

Karaaliođlu Park is the most popular park during this period, the entrances that are located around the park are significant in the transportation network too. If we add the areas with non-residential usages and the areas that are mentioned in the interviews to these above-mentioned entrances, the most used roads and routes of this period appears.

Up until the 1970s, the streets of Kaleiçi were covered by a kind of white clay that was called ‘castle soil’ (*kale toprađı*). The vehicles were allowed to drive on them. Interviewees claim that there was a specific detail about this soil. It did not convey the heat, and it was easy to cool it down by watering. Since the cars were few and the main mean of transportation was horse carriage during this time, there was no disturbing traffic in Kaleiçi and it was possible for both pedestrians and vehicles to use the same roads. Because the number of cars increased during the second half of the 1970s, most of the roads were asphalted to ease the movements of vehicles, and the surface of some roads were covered by cobblestone.

The most important street on the north part of Kaleiçi was Uzunçarşı Street, which started from Kalekapısı, passed through Paşa Mosque and ended with ‘Kırk Merdivenler’ (*Forthy Stairs*). Kırk Merdivenler, which were built by Venetians to carry up the goods from the port to Kaleiçi, were the most used route that connects İskele to the Kaleiçi center. Another route for the same destination was İskele Street. After the 1970s, the non-residential usage on Uzunçarşı Street and İskele Street started to increase, therefore they becomes more popular as a route.

Paşa Cami Street, starting next to Paşa Mosque and goes down by middle city wall to center of Balıkpazarı, was one of the most populated routes. Like Mermerli Banyo Street, Paşa Cami Street continues from left of Balıkpazarı Bakery, one of the key places before the 1980s, to Mermerli Park, and gains its significance as it leads to places mentioned quite often in the interviews, such as Mermerli Park, Yanık Hospital and Mermerli Beach. Another important street is the one conjunct with Paşa Cami Street in Balıkpazarı Square, called Hıdırlık Street, which continues from the front of İnci Cinema, passes by middle city wall to Hıdırlık Tower. At this point,

housing areas start to dominate Kaleiçi, therefore it has less dense traffic, compared to Uzunçarşı and İskele Street. On the other hand, one should remember that the inhabitants of Kaleiçi used to sit in front of their houses, and children used to play on the streets, so the streets of residential areas had another type of pedestrian flow in these years.

In the south part of Kaleiçi which developed on a grid street pattern, one of the main streets is Hesapçı Street that starts from Üçkapılar and ends at Hıdırlık tower and it serves the locals and their houses, since there is no non-residential usage on the street during this period. The connection to Hesapçı Street has been provided by Üçkapılar up until 1958-1960, until it was restored so that the original ground material was revealed (İl Yıllığı, 1973). Another connection to Atatürk Street is from İmaret Gate. In addition to these, Kocatepe Street that passes from Ortakapı and connects to Hesapçı Street and the Street that passes by Yenikapı Police Station and reaches to Hesapçı Street were also important ones.

If we take into account tourism-related activities from after -1980, we see that İskele Street and Uzunçarşı Street are two of the most populated ones. Since Hesapçı Street is used mainly by Barbaros and Kılıçarslan Districts that are housing areas, it seems as a secondary road compared to the former ones. During this period, entrance of Dönerciler Market (İmaret Kapısı) and 'Orta Kapı' gained importance, because of the people's interest on Kaleiçi and Yacht Harbor in its first years.

In 1979, Kaleiçi Conservation and Development Plan, transportation schema was reorganized for pedestrians, but no distinction was made as pedestrian and vehicle streets. It was only defined as pedestrian privileged roads. However, the transportation decisions of the plan could not be implemented especially because of the high expropriation costs. In 1992 Revision Plan, the planned pedestrian-vehicle schema was formed again by avoiding road broadening and unnecessary expropriations. In this case, the roads were differentiated as pedestrian and vehicle roads, however this plan could not be taken into practice until 2007.

In 2007, in order to control and prevent the vehicle rush to the area, lack of parking spots and increasing abuse of traffic, “Kaleiçi Organization Renovation Circulation Project” was prepared. In the scope of this project, pedestrian roads, vehicle roads and pedestrian-privileged roads were arranged and separated by layers. Pedestrian flow was decided to be on Hesapçı Street, and the vehicle flow arranged according to the entrances with one way streets. These entrances of Kaleiçi were switched to paid in order to restrict the vehicle traffic in Kaleiçi.

In this context, Kalekapısı and Yenikapı were designated as entrances and İmaret Gate (Dönerciler Market Exit) and Ortakapı as exits. Traps were built on the roads in order to sustain the roads as one-way during the first years of the project, until they were removed because of number of accidents, injuries and complaints from the tradesman. Even though the stones to be installed on the streets would provide entirety and harmony, the wrongful choice of the type of the stones raised problem. The pavements that absorbed the heat, and are not possible to be cooled down, contradicted with the minored inhabitants’ habit of sitting in front of their doors.

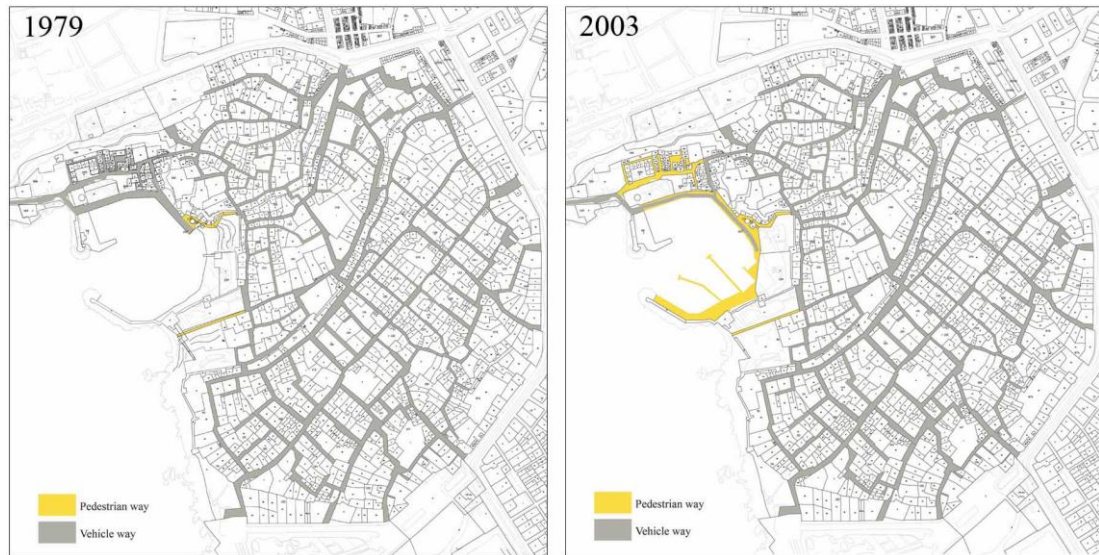


Figure 5.26 Pedestrian and vehicle flow in 1979 and 2003 (prepared by the author)

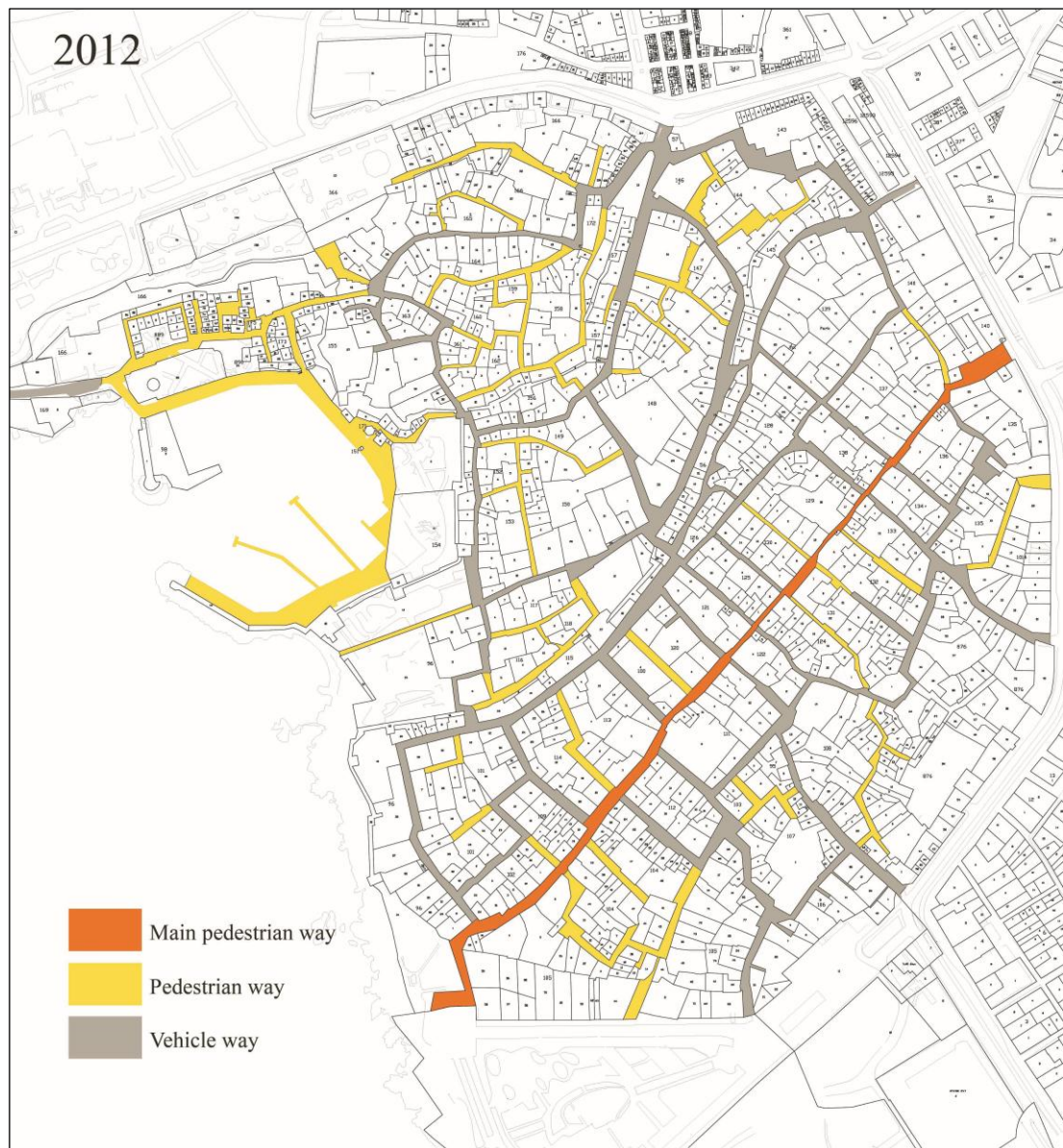


Figure 5.27 Pedestrian and vehicle ways in 2012 (prepared by the author)

5.3 Meanings

‘Meanings’ given by users and shaped by the perception of users should be examined to understand the change of ‘sense of place’ due time. Based on changing physical environment and activities that were defined for three periods, this section examines people’s relationships with the place, meanings attributed to place and definitions made for the place. For this reason, this part of the study has been developed by the

interviews conducted with the old and new users of Kaleiçi. In this context, this section first explains the perceived functions and attractions of Kaleiçi during the different time periods to discover the places that were changed, preserved or emerged in time. The second part of this section evaluates the cognitive maps drawn by the interviewees to understand and discuss the legibility of Kaleiçi and the change in the images of the urban space. Later, noises and smells which are used to define Kaleiçi are evaluated to understand the change in Kaleiçi and lastly, sense of belonging and place dependence of the three groups of interviewees are discussed to understand the change in the meaning.

5.3.1 Perceived functions and attractions

Before the 1980s

The interviews and cognitive maps of the before-1980 group show that the most important place was İskele. The interviewees started to describe this area by mostly referring to *İskele Masjid* and *İskele Balıkçı Kahvesi* (Fisherman Cafe). Thus, both were the most important places of İskele. Balıkçı Kahvesi was the place that was only used by men. However, one of the female interviewee, Handan Günay (2012), also describes the importance of this small mosque and this coffee house in her childhood as follows:

Port had a special meaning to me: At the weekends, my father used to take me and my family to tents (*oba*) in Konyaaltı. From there, we used to take boats to come back to İskele. There was a wonderful coffee house there, when you go down from Kırk Merdivenler, there was a terraced café (*Figure 5.28*) under a big tree. And when going down from the stairs, there was a fountain (*fountain under the İskele Masjid*) on the right hand side. For me, as a child, coming there with boats and drinking water from that fountain had a lot of meaning. (Interview with Handan Günay, 2012, *italics added*)



Figure 5.28 İskele Masjid, İskele Balıkçı Kahvesi and Kırk Merdivenler in past (Antalya İl Yıllığı, 1973) and in today (personal archive, 2012)

In this period, women and children did not use to go down to İskele. As a result, only male interviewees whose adulthood came across to the İskele times, placed İskele and Balıkçı Kahvesi to the centre of their cognitive maps.

In this period, while defining İskele, the existence of fishermen here plays an important role for the meaning of the place. Forasmuch, in this period, there was a fish bazaar and there were famous fish auctions in earlier times of the day. Another element of the movement in İskele was the boathouse (Figure 5.29) which locates in the sandy area starting from right side of Balıkçı Kahvesi and ending in the mole. The interviewees defined this boathouse with the place where boats were constructed and fishermen who used to repair their fishnets and boats here. Hüseyin Çimrin (2012) explains the role of İskele in his life with these words:

I think, I had been climbed down to İskele for thirty-five years on each day. I used to go down once in the morning before going to work, to see the fish auction, to have a tea or breakfast with cheese and 'simit' (*Turkish bagel*)... At that time, I had a chance to have breakfast at home, but I was preferring to have a breakfast at İskele with the shouts of fishermen... We used to spend time there from morning to evening... Specific groups of people were going there and that was not only composed of fishermen, but also directors, painters... There were many visual things: On the one side, some fishermen were spinning their nets, and on the other side, people were constructing their boats. Sometimes a fisherman was asking for help to carry the boat to the sea, and at that time all people in Balıkçı Kahvesi were standing up and helping to carry the boat. At the end, they gave Turkish delight for the help... İskele was so visual and beautiful in those years. (interview with Hüseyin Çimrin, 2012; *italics added*)



Figure 5.29 İskele and the boathouse before-1980 and in today (No author, 1982; personal archive)

In this period, İskele was the most active place in Kaleiçi. Sandy area in İskele was the place for young people and sometimes for children to swim and to fish. There were some tourist-oriented voyage boats, except boats of fishermen.

Other important areas that were specifically marked in the interviews and in the cognitive maps of the first group are *Mermerli Park*, *Mermerli Beach* and *Yanık Hastane area* over the Park. Mermerli Park's importance was not about the park itself, but about being place to go down Mermerli and about the coffee house in it, which called *Mermerli Kahvesi* (coffee house) or Mermerli Gazinosu. This coffee house had a great overview of Mermerli Beach at downstairs. Mermerli Beach was a place that has an important role in the daily life of Kaleiçi inhabitants. For this reason, all of the interviewees of the first group marked the place on the cognitive maps in first positions. In this period, the whole inhabitants of Kaleiçi used to swim there. Nearly everybody defined this place as the place of the whole Kaleiçi -even the whole Antalya- learned how to swim. Salih Güzel (2012) defines those days of Mermerli Beach as follows:

Mermerli Beach was the place that everyone learned how to swim. Until twelve o'clock, it was used by women and children, and afternoon it was opened for men. We used to go there with my mother, as well. Even after six-seven years old, we started to go there alone because the place was really safe. (Interview with Salih Güzel, 2012)

Most of the interviewees identified Kaleiçi with Mermeli area; just like Handan Günay (2012):

Kaleiçi means going to have a swim in Mermerli Beach, and learning to swim for me. My mother used to get me up in the morning to go swimming. We used to have a breakfast in the upstairs (*Mermerli Kahvesi*) before swimming. There was a little rocky area, my mother got me there and taught me how to swim. We were naming these rocks. One of them was Camel Rock and the other was Ax Rock...(Interview with Handan Günay, 2012, *italics added*)

In this sense, Mermerli Beach was the place of 'firsts' in the life of Kaleiçi's inhabitants. Mermerli Beach was also called as 'Banyo' by the old users of Kaleiçi. For these reasons, the street which comes from Balıkpazarı to Mermerli Park is known as Mermerli Banyo Street in the present days.

Mermerli Beach, as mentioned before, used to serve from morning to midday for women and children, from the afternoon it was open to men. During the hours for women and children, a man was sitting in Mermerli Park and keeping guard to prevent male entrances to the area and provide comfortable leisure time for women. In the noon, the same man used to warn women by whistling to leave the area for male users. One of the past interviewees, Oya İbrişin (2012), explains the changing meaning of İskele and Mermerli Beach in her life with these sentences:

I just went down to İskele with my niece at 6 o'clock for fishing in his morning and in there, I remembered my childhood. I learnt how to swim there, when I was three. While going to primary school, we were playing at Mermerli Beach and my mother was sitting upstairs (*Mermerli Kahvesi*) and watching us. Today, when I see Mermerli Beach, it reminds me my childhood, so the new concept of the place hurts me. Because we learnt how to swim there without paying anything. It doesn't hurt me to pay for entrance, but it hurts me that it became a touristic enterprise. Maybe it is what it is ought to be, but the place lost its nostalgia and it makes me sad. (Interview with Oya İbrişin, 2012, *italics added*)

Another important place that can be derived from the interviews with users of before-1980 period is ‘Yanık Hastane’ area which had an important place in the daily life of inhabitants. This land which became empty after the destruction of Italian Hospital by fire is called as Yanık Hastane by the inhabitants of Kaleiçi. In this period, the ‘Yanık Hastane’ area had a great importance in the daily lives of women just as the importance of İskele in the lives of men. The ‘Yanık Hastane’ area, in one sense, was the main meeting place for women. Especially in the hot summer days, women used to come to ‘Yanık Hastane’ area with their handcrafts and foods, and they used to spend most of their time together in this place. Oya İbrişin (2012) explains these days of ‘Yanık hastane’ with those words:

All women of Kaleiçi used to go there after 6:00 pm or 6:30 pm with their mattresses, handcrafts and tea. It was cool over there. Women were chatting while their children were playing. Sometimes, people were bringing also their meals and sitting in the area until twelve in the evening with their families and neighbors. Their children and husbands were swimming while women were eating and chatting with their friends. (Interview with Oya İbrişin, 2012)

Hüseyin Ekizler (2012) who is a captain describes the relationship between Yanık Hastane and İskele in his memory:

Yanık Hastane was a meadow area in these years. In the afternoons, women used to go there and wait for their husbands... When I was leaving İskele with my boat, I was piping from the boat for my wife and, in return, my wife was shaking a red towel from this area... Now it is like a forest, so the marina is invisible from the area of Yanık Hastane (*Figure 5.30*). But, we used to communicate from there. There was no telephone at that time. She knew when I would come back, and when I was getting closer to Kaleiçi from the sea, I could see the red towel in our balcony (*of their house over the Yanık Hastane area*). (Interview with Hüseyin Ekizler, 2012, *italics added*)

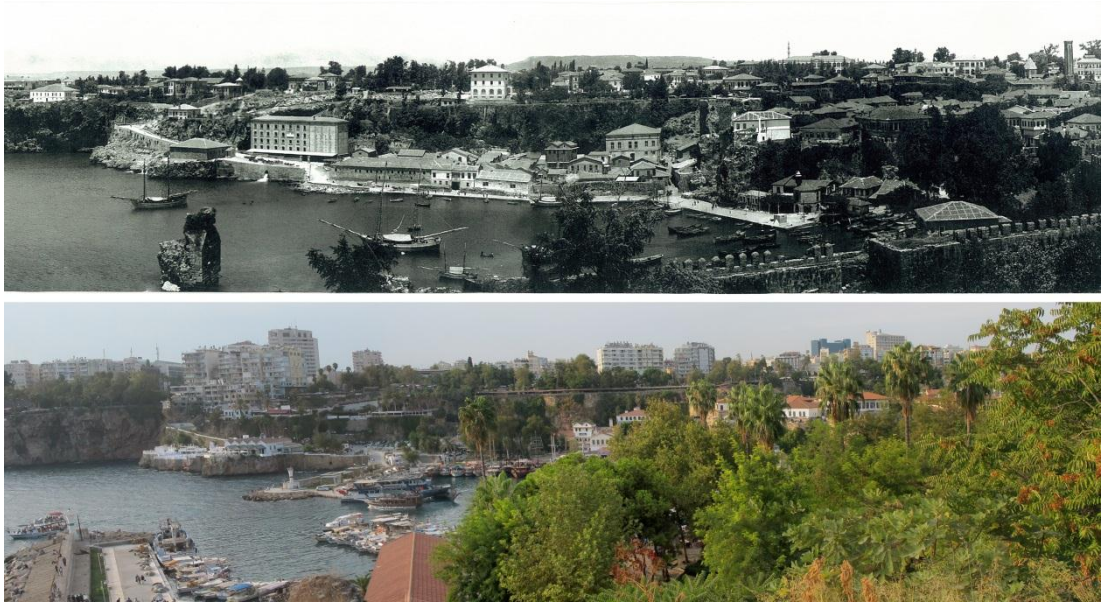


Figure 5.30 View of the port from Yanık Hastane area in past and today (personal archive of Dündar; personal archive, 2012)

There were four other important swimming areas on the way from Mermerli Beach to Karaalioğlu Park. Those were Kipranoz, Yeni Dünya, Deliktaş and Adalar Beaches (Figure 5.31). The inhabitants of Kaleiçi used to prefer the first three beaches, while Adalar Beach which was serving for both women and men, mostly preferred by the tourists.

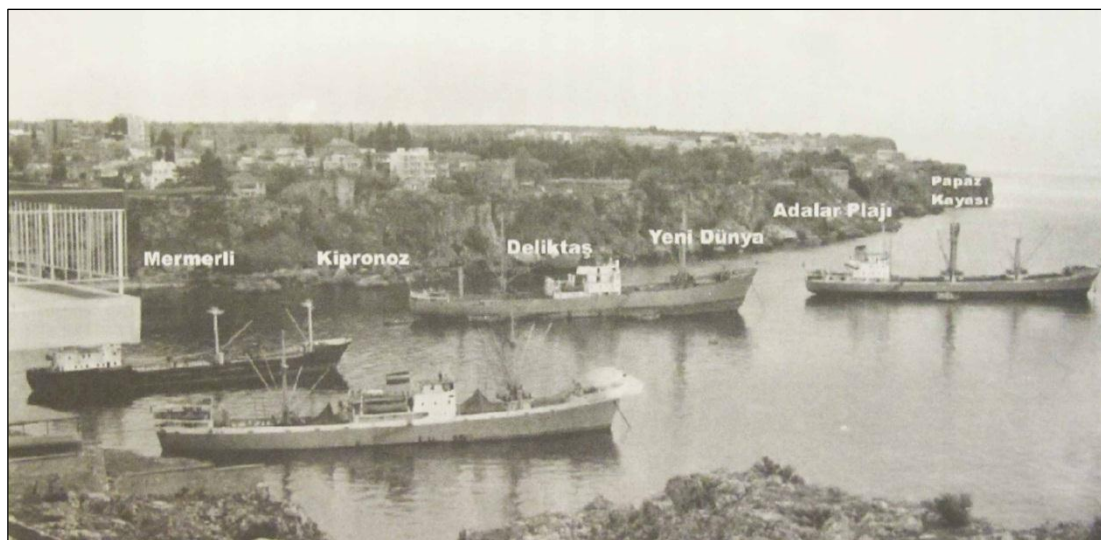


Figure 5.31 Beaches of Kaleiçi in 1962 (Çimrin, 2007b, p.197)

All of the interviewees from the first group defined the center of the residential part of Kaleiçi as Balıkpazarı Square, and almost all of them mentioned **Balıkpazarı Bakery** to define this area. Balıkpazarı Public Bath, which is located in the same site today, was wreckage at that period, so it has no significant importance or meaning for the interviewees from the first group. In all the cognitive maps of the first group, the area of Balıkpazarı Bakery was demonstrated as a node and the bakery building is used as a reference point while explaining Kaleiçi. The main reason behind the importance of Balıkpazarı Bakery is, certainly, its location. The other reason is the importance of the ‘bakery’ in the before-1980 period in the daily life of inhabitants of Kaleiçi. Foreasmuch, in this period there were three bakeries in the area such as; Balıkpazarı Bakery, 18’s Bakery and a bakery in the Yenikapı area, in which only the first two of them still exist in the area today.

Public baths also play an important role in the life of inhabitants in those days. There were only two available public baths at that time in Kaleiçi. These were **Sefa Public Bath** and **Nazır Public Bath**. As above-mentioned, Balıkpazarı Public Bath was not available in those years. The other public bath in the area, Gavur Public Bath, was also close in this period. It was only mentioned by Hüsnü Ekizler (2012) who remembered the opening times of the bath from his childhood. Oya İbrişin whose family is the owner of Nazır Bath, stated that going to the public bath as itself was an important tradition for the women in Kaleiçi.

Another important place in the life of past users was **İnci Movie Theatre** which was across Balıkpazarı Bakery. Especially before the introduction of the television into people’s life in the mid-1970s, watching theatre movies was the most important entertainment activity. Most of the inhabitants were going to this movie theatre two or three times a week. Oya İbrişin (2012) defines İnci Cinema with these sentences:

When I was in secondary school, there were movies at half past two in İnci Cinema. There was a huge saloon inside the building. The upper part was reserved for families whereas the ground floor was reserved for singles. There was also a summer cinema on its terrace, families were watching movies in summer evening at this terrace. (Interview with Oya İbrişin, 2012)

In the cognitive maps of the before-1980 group, the entrances of Kaleiçi and the main historical structures had an important place. All the interviewees of this group mentioned *Saat Kulesi*, *Yivli Minare*, *Üç Kapılar*, *Kesik Minare* and *Hıdırlık Tower* as the landmarks of Kaleiçi. But, it can be derived from the interviews that, the importance of these buildings in the mentioned period was not about the historical meanings of these structures. In the years when the tourism concept was not introduced completely in Turkey and the conservation term was started to be used newly, these structures were not perceived through their historic aspects. However, they were perceived as the landmarks of Kaleiçi. They were giving important clues about the location and were used as reference points for meeting and describing a place in Kaleiçi.

Off these landmarks, Kesik Minare Mosque (Figure 5.32) had an important place in the inhabitants' memory. This landmark which is located in the southern part of Kaleiçi, became unable to use after the big fire in 1895. In 1973, the Kesik Minare area was declared as a conservation site and surrounded by railings. Before that year, this structure was used as a playground for children of Kaleiçi. The wide ground in the area was used to play football and marbles. All the interviewees from the first group whose childhood was spent in Kaleiçi, defined Kesik Minare area as a playground. In these years, the area had no meaning with its historical buildings, but it was a place of a wide field and big stones on which they grew up.

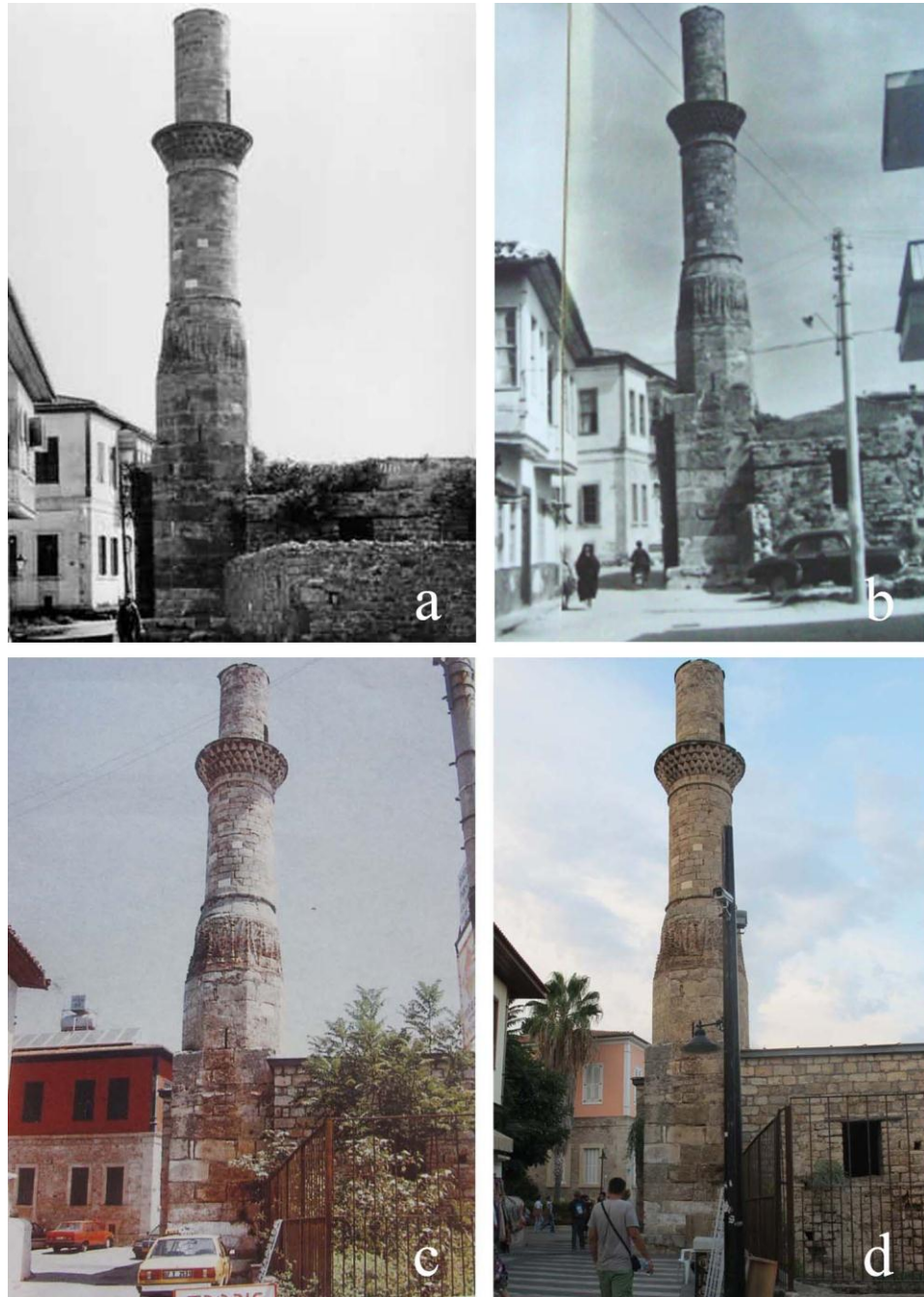


Figure 5.32 Kesik Minaret (a) in 1930s; (b) in 1970s; (c) in 1990s; (d) in 2012 (Resource: (a) Tazecan archive; (b) Antalya Koruma Kurulu archive; (c) Yılmaz, 2002; (d) personal archive, 2012)

Other points that marked and explained in the interviews are the schools in the area. *Atatürk Primary School and Elementary School* and *Dumlupınar Primary School* were one of those which were mostly mentioned in the interviews, since all of the interviewees who grew up in Kaleiçi were studied at one of these two schools. Some

interviewees' former generations were also educated in the same schools as well. These schools also have importance in the memories of inhabitants with the activities that hosted. While Handan Günay (2012) was telling that she studied in Atatürk Primary and Elementary School, added her memory about Dumlupınar School as follows:

Under Dumlupınar Primary School, there was a film club and there was a film screening in the ground. I had a friend, daughter of our neighbor who was going to school there, I used to go there to watch movie unaware of my mother. (Interview with Handan Günay, 2012)

Before 1980, as it has already been explained in the former parts of this chapter, there were a few commercial uses in Kaleiçi. Interviews with the users before-1980 also show that these commercial uses were small enterprises, such as tailors, groceries and bakeries. Interviewees from the first group also frequently mentioned groceries, as well as bakeries. These groceries, such as 'Bakkal Hilmi', 'Bakkal Ramazan', were the places identified with their owners, i.e. Hilmi and Ramazan. So, they were the places which had a certain 'character'.

In the interviews with the before-1980 group, another important element of Kaleiçi which was mentioned by all of the users with a great longing, is water channels (*arıklar*) (Figure 5.33) on the streets. Although Kaleiçi houses were designed with wide inner courtyards and with high walls which turns it back to the street, the street-house-human relationship had great importance in before-1980 period, and these water channels were one of the most important elements of this relationship. In the warm summer days, the fronts of the houses were the most convenient places for sitting and socializing. Dirty streets in front of the houses were irrigated for refreshment with the water from these water channels passing each street of Kaleiçi.

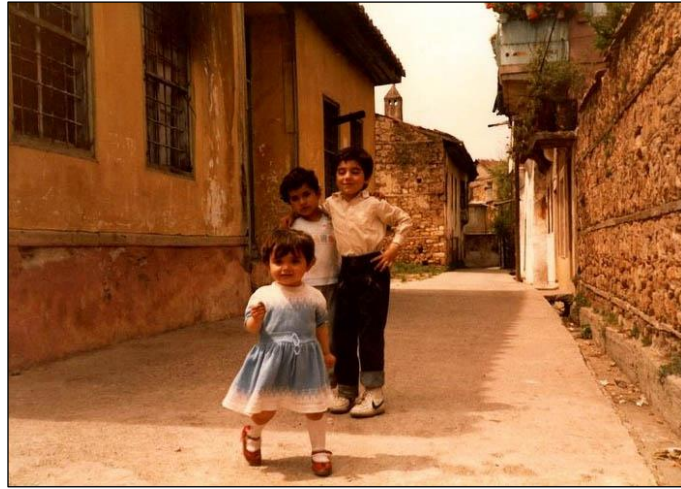


Figure 5.33 Empty water channels in the late 1980s (personal archive of Tazecan)

One distributor of the water starting from Kırkgözler, was coming to Kaleiçi by the main channel (Figure 5.34) in the middle of Atatürk Street. The water was entering from the entrances of Kaleiçi, and was flowing along the main alters of the area such as Hesapçı and Hıdırlık Streets. Two channels passing on either side of these main arters were dispersing the water to all the streets of Kaleiçi through little channels. And, at the end, all water was spilling to the port by passing through the rocks which called ‘zerzemin’.

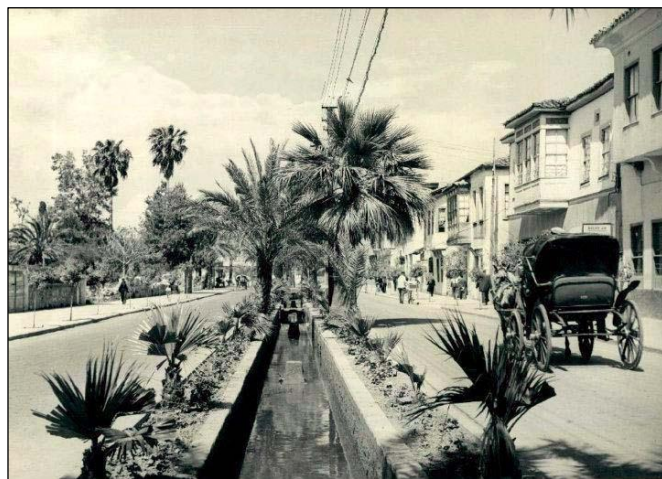


Figure 5.34 Main water channel in the middle of Atatürk Street (personal archive of Tazecan)

In this period, every house had two little pools in their courtyards. The water came from the channels were filling these pools. One of these pools was storing the water for daily use, when the other one used for freshening especially by children. After completing these pools the water was passing through the bottom of the street and starting to fill other house's pools and, in this way, the water was circulating all over Kaleiçi. One of the interviewees, Hüsnu Ekizler (2012), explains the working concept and the function of these water channels as in the follows:

There were two channels in each way of the street. They were arranged in a way that the water was flowing in two different ways, but, at the end, all water was spilling to the sea... These water channels were entering to all streets even to the dead-end roads. The water was coming from the higher level all the time, so sometimes while one part of the street was taking the water from one direction, the other part was taking from the other direction... And there were fishes in the water, red goldfishes. There were two pools in every houses, one of them for utilization water, and the other one for freshen water. In mornings, you would see many red goldfishes in the pool of your house... The reason of the fishes was to prevent the malaria. These fishes were eating the larva in the water, so everybody could drink water from these channels. (Interview with Hüsnu Ekizler, 2012)

From the beginning of the mid-1970s, after Cyprus Assault, poverty had visibly increased and elite traders in the area started to leave Kaleiçi and prefer new districts, such as Konyaaltı and Işıklar. Salih Güzel (2012) explains these transition years in Kaleiçi with these words:

In that period, the streets were dark all the time in Kaleiçi. The municipality was not giving the water to Kaleiçi in daytime in summers. Because the priority was given to the Konyaaltı 'oba's in where rich people were living in summers. In daytime, the municipality was giving the water to them, and in the evenings to Kaleiçi. We were stocking the water into all containers in the house to use it later. We were living in that way for ten years... There was a water channel in the middle of Atatürk Street. Sometimes one of us was going to this channel and making a little barrage on it to transfer the water directly to Kaleiçi. After watering his/her own garden, he/she was removing the barrage in the channel in front of the house to send the water to the other houses and it was continuing in the same way. For instance, after fifteen days, somebody else was responsible for doing the same process. After completing to watering our garden, we were informing each other to send the water... (Interview with Salih Güzel, 2012)

Hüseyin Çimrin (2012) also added that, sometimes, some little fights happened between inhabitants in this watering process.

To sum up the perceived functions and attraction of before 1980 group, places which are specified in the interviews and cognitive maps are demonstrated in the following figure (5.35).

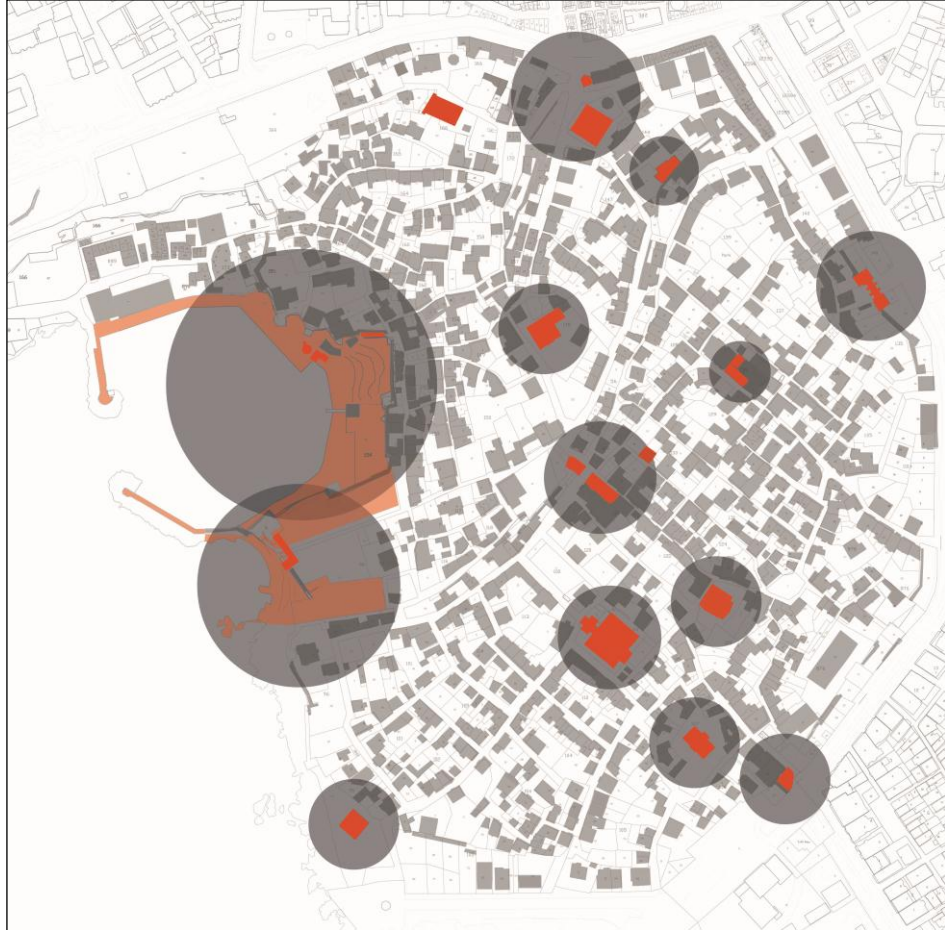


Figure 5.35 Before-1980 period perceived functions and attractions (derived from interviews and cognitive maps)

After the 1980s

To understand the change in the perceived functions and attractions in Kaleiçi, the second period which should be examined is after-1980 period. Data about this period was derived from the second group of interviewees, who consists from the users who came to Kaleiçi after 1980. The conspicuous point that should be stated firstly about this period is that: a similar distinction of Kaleiçi as before-1980, after-1980 which

made by the old inhabitants of Kaleiçi, shows itself as a distinction of Kaleiçi as before-1990 and after-1990 by the second group of interviewees. The main reason behind this is the fact that this group of interviewees were the people who came to Kaleiçi after 1980 and could observe the last remaining of the social life in Kaleiçi which described by the first group. Hakan Tazecan (2012), who came to Kaleiçi firstly in 1984, to work in a study on the area describes the socio-physical environment of Kaleiçi in these years as follows:

When I came here in 1984, Kaleiçi hasn't been restored yet; it was a ruin. Buildings were so cheap, tourism was just starting in the area. There were only a few restored hotels. Some historical monuments were just started to be restored. Tourism Ministry TURBAN had some projects for the area... Except these, it had an appearance of abandoned city. Also there were some natives of Antalya who used to live in Kaleiçi, but, in the urbanization process, somehow, they started to leave Kaleiçi in order to live in modern conditions that they see more comfortable... However, there were people still living in their houses and there were tight neighbor relationships as well. Daily life used to go on. Even fish auctions were still continuing in each morning in the port. (Interview with Hakan Tazecan, 2012)

As mentioned above, the tourism was starting slowly in Kaleiçi at this period. In these years, the main bus station was in Doğu Garajı area which is near to Kaleiçi, so many tourists who came to this bus station at night were trying to find a place to sleep in Kaleiçi which was the closest accommodation area to the bus station. Pensions in that period made a good profit (Salih Güzel, 2012).

Another factor that made Kaleiçi famous for the inhabitants of Antalya and the tourists was the Yacht Harbor Project. With respect to this Project, the former İskele was transformed into a Yacht Harbor which started to serve in 1986. At the same period, Kaleiçi Conservation Development Plan was prepared. In the scope of the Project, tourism was encouraged in the area, and people related to tourism activities started to settle down in Kaleiçi instead of the inhabitants who were leaving the area. Except these, there were also some middle and high-income people who came from other cities to Antalya and preferred to live in Kaleiçi in order to establish a sense of belonging. These people can be seen as the outcome of gentrification in the area.

To make a healthy comparison between the perceived functions and attractions of different interview groups, it will be helpful to explain the most perceived places of this group in a similar way with the former interview group. With this aim, it will be meaningful to start from the Yacht Harbor. In the cognitive maps prepared by the users of after-1980 period, only one interviewee demonstrated *Yacht Harbor* in the center of the sketch. In the other cognitive maps, interviewees did not mention Yacht Harbor a lot, but only talked about the entertainment and gastronomy places in the area. In fact, Yacht Harbor became an attraction point for the natives of Antalya and the inhabitants of Kaleiçi in its first years (Figure 5.36). Forasmuch, these first years were explained with great pleasure by the interviewees. For instance, Oya İbrişin (2012) from the first group stated that after transformation of Yacht Harbor, people started to go down there comfortably. The main reason behind this statement was, certainly, the fact that, in İskele times, women were not able to go there.



Figure 5.36 First years of Yacht Harbor (personal archive of Baykan Günay)

The statement of Nejat Üreğen (2012) who is one of the interviewees of the second group, shows why Yacht Harbor came into mind secondly and proves that his experiences in İskele in high school years also affects his feelings for Yacht Harbor:

Yacht Harbor is in the second plan for me, since I couldn't like it... In 1984, after the restoration, it was good for a while, but then the users changed and they used it badly. It was İskele until 1981. There were boats which were repairing, we used to go to İskele just to watch them. There was a fisherman coffee house in there. When I was studying in secondary school, we were escaping from the school, and going to that cafe. (Interview with Nejat Üreğen, 2012)

While examining other interviewees of the second group, we can observe that, in general, Yacht Harbor has no specific meaning for the users. More precisely, it lost its meaning in the last decades. The most important reason of this loss was the privatization of expropriated places at the end of the 1990s. To clarify the situation, at the beginning of the Yacht Harbor project, many places were expropriated and reorganized for public use. In this context, all uses were ushered and assigned to specific places which were under the control of TURBAN. In the end of the 1990s, TURBAN declared that it could no longer effort these activities and as a result these activities were handled by private sector. Murat Erdoğan (2012) defines Kaleiçi and Yacht Harbor in the early-1990s with these sentences:

When I remember the beginning of the 1990s, the best thing about Kaleiçi was Yacht Harbor. It was so popular at that time. The reason of this popularity was the Yacht Harbor Project which was received many awards from both national and international authorities. It was attraction point especially for tourists and there were really good restaurants in the area. People were visiting there with real pleasure and the locals of Antalya were also coming to the area. We especially loved to sit in the tea garden at the square, which placed near the pool, under the trees. I don't know what happened to there now. (Interview with Murat Erdoğan, 2012)

The reason behind the short-winded achievement of Yacht Harbor was also defined as the new recreational places which opened in the end of the 1990s in Antalya. Nejat Üreğen (2012) defines his preference of other recreation areas to Kaleiçi with these words:

We used to make a reservation to go to a place in Kaleiçi Yacht Harbor, because there was no other option such as Konyaaltı. But now, you can go Konyaaltı and you can eat whatever you want, either an expensive dinner or a cheap one. It's easy to park your car or go swimming. You can go to concerts bring a sandwich or you can just eat sunflower seeds... When there were no other options, there was Kaleiçi, now they were. (Interview with Nejat Üreğen, 2012)

Another detail that is interesting in interviews is the fact that people who saw İskele, could not have a positive sense on Yacht Harbor. And the people who did not see but heard some stories about İskele were also affected from these stories and were wondering about İskele. For instance, according to Hakan Tazecan (2012) not having the fish auctions in harbor today is a great lost. Murat Erdoğan (2012) defines his curiosity about the İskele days of the Harbor with these sentences:

I can say that Yacht Harbor is my favorite place in Kaleiçi. However I also feel upset that I didn't know how it used to be before. I heard that there had been a coffee house near to the fishermen, which was a beautiful structure, but it was demolished. I would like to sit there and smell the air there. (Interview with Murat Erdoğan, 2012)

Mermerli Beach was still an important place in after-1980 period. However, when all interviewees of the first group defined that they used to go to Mermerli, in this group only half of the interviewees defined that they were using Mermerli. The interviewees who were not using the area explains this with the fact that Mermerli Beach is now owned by a private company and serves generally four tourists. It is possible to understand the changing identity of Mermerli Beach with the privatization from the advertisement slogan which used in 1994: "Just as 50 years ago, but with a new approach" (Touristic map of Kaleiçi dated 1994, personal archive of Erdoğan).

While many interviewees of the second group find important this kind of operating of the beach for the security, Mehmet Gözübüyük (2012), who knows the old times of Mermerli Beach from his wife who was born and grew up in Kaleiçi, describes his sadness about the change in Mermerli Beach with these words:

With commercial aspects, Mermerli Beach was started to run by a private company instead of the municipality and to make more profits, they reorganized the place to serve mostly to the tourists (*Figure 5.37*). Now it is serving generally for the foreigners who live in Kaleiçi and the tourists in Kaleiçi, since it is quite expensive for the public. In the 1990s, it was not like that. We were going there to swim with our family from time to time. (Mehmet Gözübüyük, 2012)



Figure 5.37 Mermerli Beach in September 2012 (personal archive)

The users of the after-1980 period also demonstrated the landmarks, such as *Saat Kulesi*, *Yivli Minare*, *Üç Kapılar*, *Kesik Minare*, *Alaaddin Mosque* and *Hıdırlık Tower*. *Tekeli Mehmet Paşa Mosque* was mostly used as a reference point to describe places in cognitive map and visual tours instead of a landmark. Besides these, the area of *Balıkpazarı Bakery* was demonstrated in cognitive maps by interviewees. But, in this period, *Balıkpazarı Public Bath* which was restored in this period, was also used as an element to define the area. The *Suna-İnan Kıraç Kaleiçi Museum* and the Research Institute on Mediterranean Civilizations (AKMED) buildings which were restored between 1993 and 1995 were also mentioned as important landmarks in Kaleiçi.

This group of interviewees mentioned to Kesik Minare Mosque by stating that they were impressed by historical character of it. It can be also observed that the after-1980 users perceive Kaleiçi with the eyes of tourists, as well. Because especially after 1990, tourism and Kaleiçi became an integral whole and. The importance of Kesik Minare was also increased in locational but not functional.

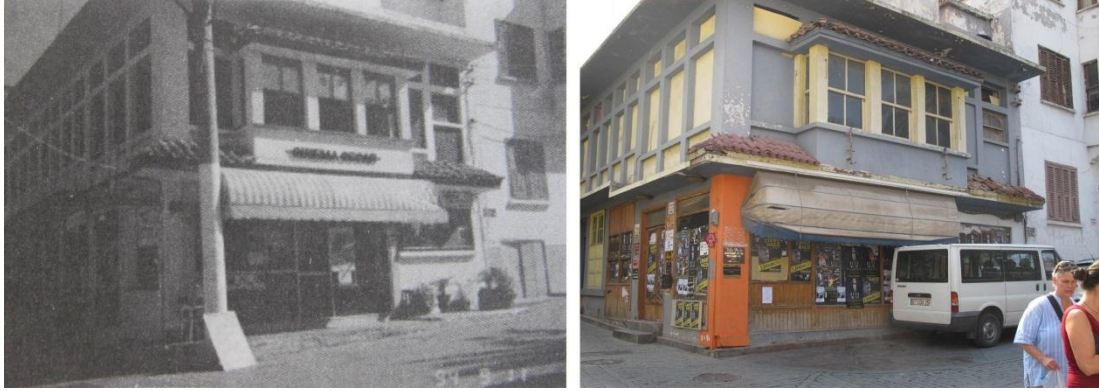
One of the greatest differences between this period and the previous one is the preferred recreation areas. In this context, ‘Yanık Hastane’ area is the place which lost its importance the most. The interviewees of the second group did not mention to this place at all. In afer-1980 period, Mermerli Park area was turned into a real park with the reorganizations. However, ‘Yanık Hastane’area was not a topic of a reorganization project and the area was staid useless for a long time. In recent time, buffets which sell orange juice was started to serve in the area (Figure 5.38). Now, this small buffet is using the most part of the area.



Figure 5.38 Selling unit in Yanık Hastane area today (personal archive)

In this period, İnci Movie Theatre which had an important place in the memories of the old users changed in to the *Oscar Movie Theatre* (Figure 3.39). Although, this movie theater has not the same role in the second group interviewees lives, naturally,

as the role of İnci Movie Theatre in the past users life, it was also stated by all the interviewees of this group. In the interviews, the name of the building was generally used to give reference to the other places because of its location.



**Figure 3.39 Oscar (İnci) Movie Theatre in 1990s and it's empty building in 2012
(Personal archive Çimirin; personal archive)**

The users of this period specifically mentioned the private places such as restaurants, bars and pensions in the cognitive maps. In this period, the groceries did not have the same importance at the first period, but the local open market area which took a place in the parallel road of Hesapçı Street in 1990's, and especially the little square in the node of Zafer and Kandiller street were mentioned by all of the interviewees.

There was a place of open market in this. They closed it with the excuse of it caused pollution. Whereas Kaleiçi is a kind of small city, it should have everything inside. Now the restaurant over there puts its tables to this square. You are changing something, but it is also important that what you are putting instead. (Interview with Nejat Üreğen, 2012)

The entrances of Kaleiçi also play an important role in the cognitive maps of the interviewees. Especially Yenikapı entrance was defined with *Yenikapı Police Office* which was demolished in 1997 as a result of rent fight in the area.

The perceived functions and attraction points which mentioned in the interviews and demonstrated in the cognitive maps by the after-1980 group can sum up as in the following figure (5.40).

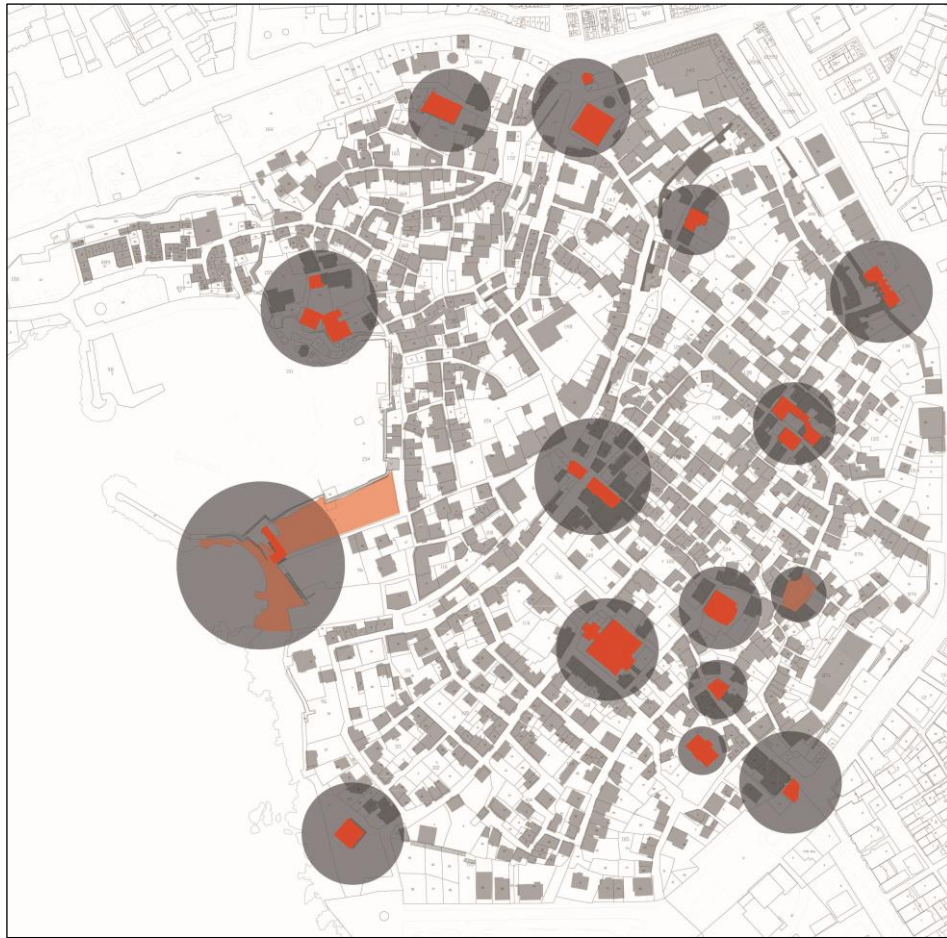


Figure 5.40 After-1980 period perceived functions and attractions map derived from interviews and cognitive maps

Present time

The last group of the interviewees is the present time users. These interviewees who came to Kaleiçi in the last decade were generally the people who experienced the area in late 1990s, and decided to settle in 2000s. At this point, it should be stated that, the distinction of before and after 1980 of the first users, becomes distinction of before and after 1990 in the second group and it turns into before and after 2000 in the last group. To understand the perceived functions and attractions of the present users one of the interviewees' explanations on the consisting perception in time can be illuminative:

For a long time we didn't come to the Kaleiçi because of the safety issues; such as the streets were dark and there were some theft incidents and etc. Afterwards during the transformation years (*mid-2000s*), we started to come to our friends' places... At least you could sit in a beautiful garden, a quiet place. In the garden of the house in which your friend was born and his family still leaves. To see these leaving places make you look from a different point of view to the place...In time we discovered other places such as, restaurants, cafes, then we find a beach and started to think that here we can swim, there we can walk and there we can sit and drink something with a beautiful landscape and so on we started to have some specific places in Kaleiçi and in one day we see this place and decided to buy. (Interview with Eda Kurnaz, 2012, *italics added*)

As can be also understood from the above, 'specific places' which were identified by the users were private places such as restaurants, bars, and cafes also in this group. If we consider that the old users were generally identified public places or neighborhood based places such as İskele, Mermerli Park and Yanık Hastane; the places which were mentioned by the present users can be perceived as an indicator of the commercialization process in Kaleiçi.

In the first two groups, perceived functions and attractions were examined starting with the İskele and Yacht Harbor. Therefore, it would be meaningful to start the examination with Yacht Harbor area also in this group. It can be derived from the interviews and cognitive maps that the Yacht Harbor lost its importance for the present time users. No one of the interviewees were placed the *Yacht Harbor* into their cognitive maps, only one of them was added it at the end of the interview, but do not show a direct link between the harbor and demonstrated part of Kaleiçi.

In this group no one mentioned to the İskele times of the harbor, and generally it is understood that they have no idea about these days. Some of them stated their desire for a well-organized marina without fisherman boats. However on the contrary, one of the interviewee explains the importance of these fishermen. It is important for the study to mention here this interviewee depends this desire on the childhood memories in Yacht Harbor.

When I was a child (*1990s*), the Yacht Harbor had a great importance in my life. It was more natural, there were more fisherman boats, and there was an old man who was calling birds by whistling. There were stories about him that he showed around the Kaleiçi to Atatürk. In those years we were going for a walk with my mom there and it was more pleasant place than today. (Interview with Derin Kaçaroğlu, 2012, *italics added*)

Also another interviewee defined the Yacht Harbor with ‘longing’:

In 1990s Yacht Harbor was so tranquil. It was not that big. The stones were the originals and the natural pattern was intact. There were not so much yachts but many fisherman boats. It was quieter, more natural and more authentic. (Interview with Mehmet Kösedag, 2012)

This statement refers to an ironic situation when the old users who could not satisfied from the Yacht Harbor form of İskele are taken into account. This situation gives a good example of the break in people’s sense of place, when the historical background of some of the places in Kaleiçi could not be carried today. The reasons of why Yacht Harbor cannot be an attraction point for present users (users who came after 2000) can be read as an expression of this kind of break. Forasmuch, when the Yacht Harbor was criticized for not carrying the historical attributes of the İskele by the old users, the present time users as unaware from the old look of the place, naturally, were tend to criticize the present deficiencies of the Yacht Harbor (Figure 5.41). For example, the reason for not using the Yacht Harbor in the present time was given from the whole interviewees as the lack of restaurants or cafes as in the follows:

We cannot use the Yacht Harbor now, and nobody can. I also don’t understand why the tourists should come to the Yacht Harbor, because there is no place to sit or eat something. There are no cafés and the only restaurant was closed recently. (Interview with Ayhan Ünal, 2012)



Figure 5.41 First years of Yacht Harbor (personal archive of Baykan Günay) and Yacht Harbor in 2012 (personal archive)

When we examine the Mermerli area, which had a great importance for the before-1980 group, it can be observed that the place loses its importance for the second and last interview groups. Mermerli Park was not mentioned by any interviewees, which implies that its value and usage is decreased for the present users. However *Mermerli Beach* maintains its importance for the present time users. It can be said that half of the users told that they use Mermerli Beach regularly and defined the place as in the follows:

There is a lovely beach in there. Sometimes we are closing our place and go to swimming, which I consider as a great privilege. Moreover it is a place that is not known so much. There is a tranquil and beautiful beach that only tourists go... It should not only be defined as a beach but also a nice place to rest. (Interview with Eda Kurnaz, 2012)

It should be also added that no one of the interviewees mentioned about the old version of Mermerli Beach, which is a clear indicator that some old meanings of the Kaleiçi were not preserved till now. This can be also understood from the Yanık Hastane example. The Yanık Hastane area, which is mentioned by all of the interviewees of the first group and generally known but not mentioned by the second group, didn't mentioned by the present time interviewees. It is also determined that no one of these interviewees knew the old state of the place. However, one interviewee who did not know Yanık Hastane was demonstrated the same place in his cognitive map as palace that he loves to pass time and defines the area with these sentences:

There is a road when you turn the first right after Bademaltı. There is a place, which looks like a terrace (*Figure 5.42*) above of Mermerli. It was organized recently. It has an incredible view in the evenings. It is a really pleasant place for me nowadays. I'm not going there often but I like it a lot. (Interview with Derin Kaçaroğlu, 2012, *italics added*)



Figure 5.42 Yanık Hastane Area in September, 2012 (personal archive)

The decreasing number of schools and the loss of open market area, which is mentioned by the second group also explained by this group

The first indicator of a living place for me is; can you have dinner, can you buy your bread? These are the signs of life. Do you have any cinema or a concert place, somewhere to socialize? Do you have any tea garden or do you have any play garden? We have nothing but a museum. (Interview with Ayhan Ünal, 2012)

Bakeries were also defined by the interviewees of this group however but the Balıkpazarı Bakery lost its 'historic' identity, no one mentioned from the bakery in this manner. In addition, although the public baths were also mentioned by name, they lost their usability. At the same time, the place which was operated as the İnci Cinema before 1980 and operated as Oscar Cinema in 1990s, was also used as a reference point in the interviews although it is a vacant building in the present day.

Finally, it should be stated that the differentiation between the north and the south of the Kaleiçi was defined more distinctly by this group. In the cognitive maps it is observed that the north part of the Kaleiçi isn't demonstrated a lot compared to the south part of the Kaleiçi. This can be also understood from the density of attraction points in the following figure (5.43)

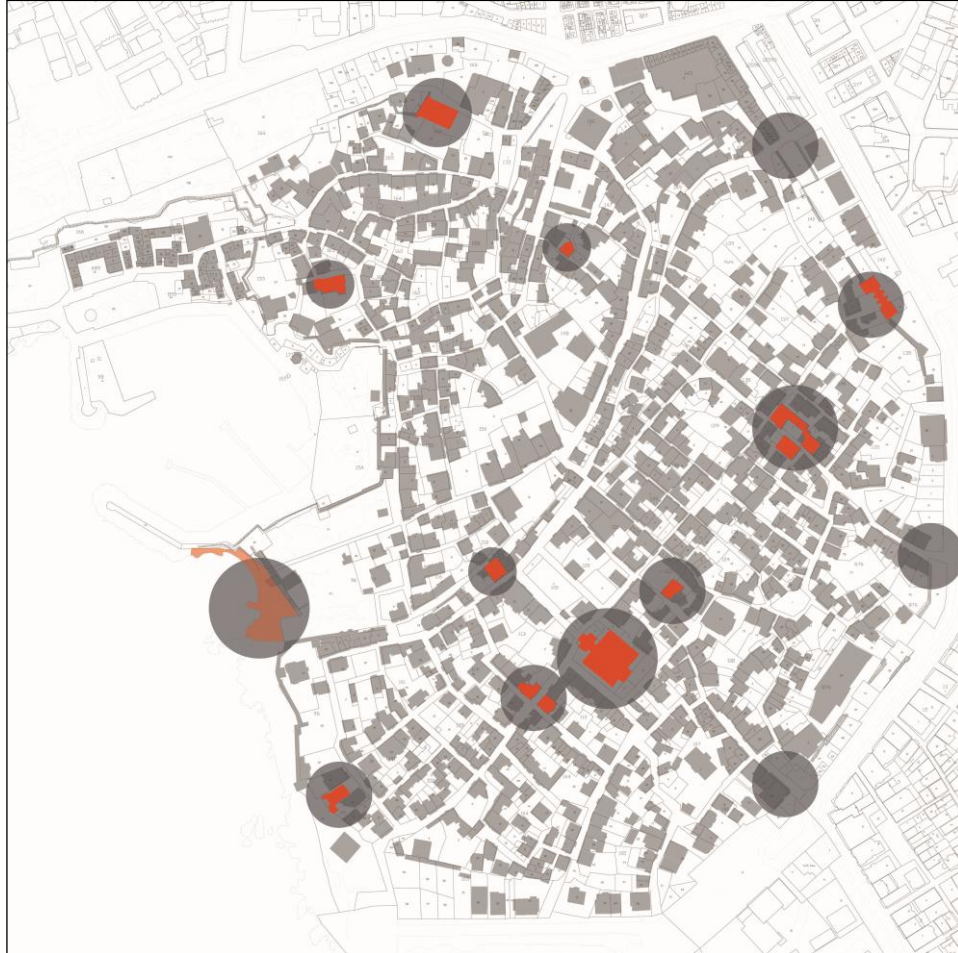


Figure 5.43 present time users perceived functions and attractions map derived from interviews

5.3.2 Legibility

In this part of the study, interviewees were asked to state significant landmarks, nodes, paths, districts, edges in Kaleiçi. According to their answers and the cognitive maps they draw, the following image maps (Figure 5.44) were prepared.

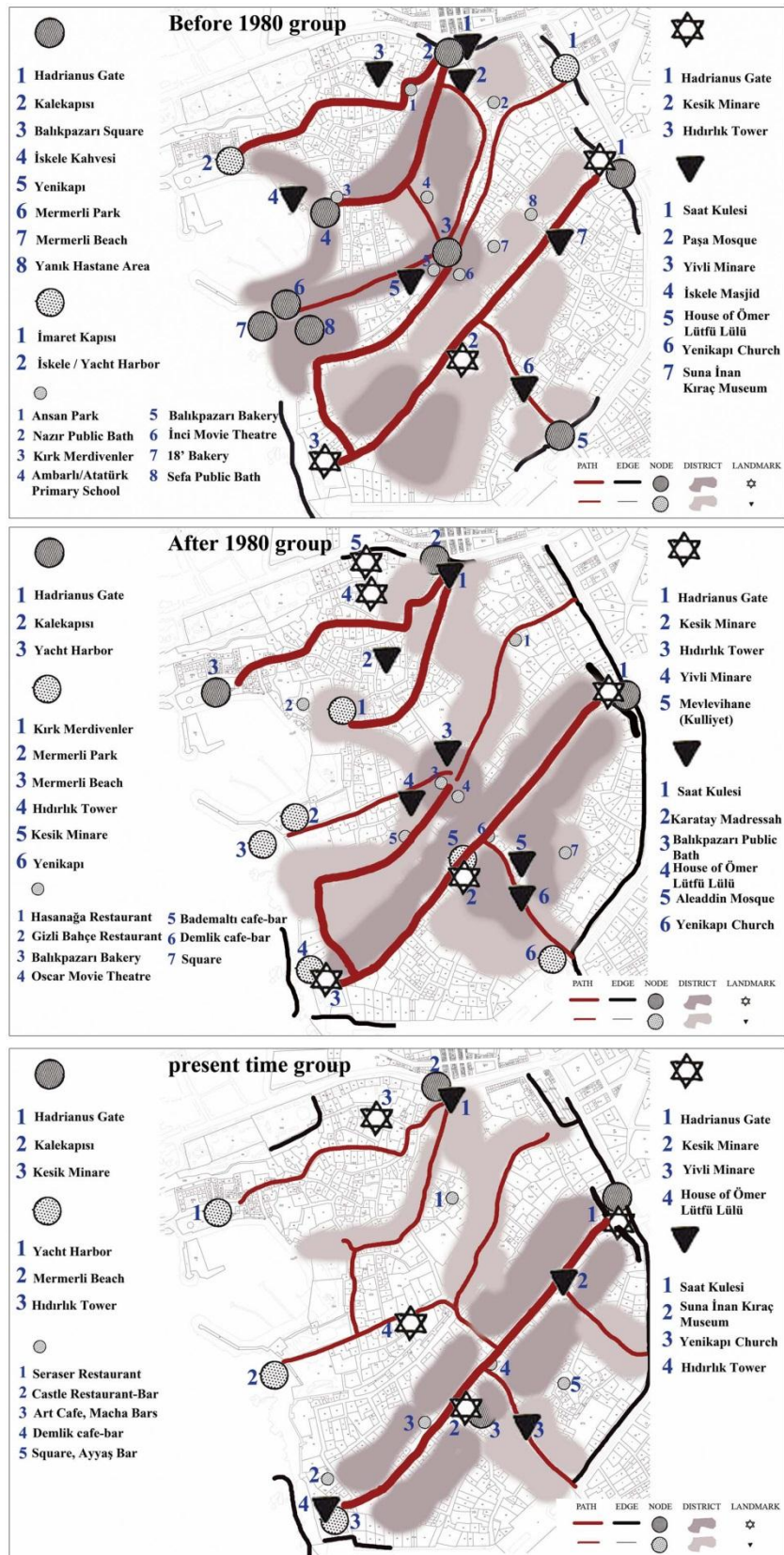


Figure 5.44 Image maps derived from the interviews and cognitive maps of three different groups (prepared by the author)

Regarding the maps produced, it has been revealed that the *landmarks* (in the cognitive maps developed by each three interview groups) are described mainly as Hadrianus Gate, Kesik Minare and Hıdırlık Tower. Hence, Yivli Minare which appears as a peculiar example, started to be perceived as a landmark only by the last two interview groups parallel with the tourism development after 1980's.

Nodes are the key points of social meetings and gatherings. In the cognitive maps, which are developed based on in-depth interviews, the nodal points decreased dramatically after 1980s. This can be interpreted as an outcome of increasing privatization resulting in transformation of nodal points into single buildings rather than open areas.

The major change in the concept of *paths* appears in the last interviewee group. It can be seen that, the northern parts of the area are less defined by the present day interviewee group compared to the southern parts of the area. Considering the changes in the *districts*, it can be concluded that the Yacht harbor lost its significance as a district; however the southern part come into prominence as a district. On the other hand, the *edges* have a persistent character throughout three periods which are described as the fortification wall (especially the fortification walls near to the Hadrianus Gate) and Atatürk Street. It should be stated that some of the elements diverse according to personal perception. For instance, when some of the interviews are describing the sea and Karaalioğlu Park as edges, some of them describe those as part of Kaleiçi.

5.3.3 Noise and smell

When the question of “what are the voices which reminds you the old Kaleiçi” was asked to interviewees, frequently mentioned two were the voices of street sellers and children voices. Under the heading of street sellers; yogurt sellers, mellon collectors, garbage men were some of the most reminded and identified ones in Kaleiçi. Furthermore, Gypsies' music was mentioned by both the first and the second group. No matter if it has reduced or not, users after 1980 had a chance to experience the voices of the social life (people and children voices) in Kaleiçi. This research shows

that there are some similarities in the mean of noises between the before 1980 and after 1980 users. For instance the announcements of the reeve of the Barbaros quarter; when he was selling the breads taken from the bakery in the streets, was mentioned by the users of first and second group. Another common point of the each group is the bird voices in the mornings. However today of Kaleiçi is mostly defined with the sound of car engines and the music coming from night clubs and bars. The most and least defined noises of the three groups are summarized in the following table (5.2)

Table 5.2 Noises defined by the interviewees

before 1980 group		after 1980 group	
past	today	past	today
tallyman	music	tallyman	music
garbage man	car, motorcycle	child	drunk
bird		Roman musics	
child			
present time group			
today			
bird			

The answers to the question about smells reminding the past, all of the interviewees primarily mentioned orange flower and jasmine. They stated that it is still possible to smell it in May and April but since there are not many gardens as it used to be that smell attached to Kaleiçi has decreased in time. Salih Güzel (2012) states that these smells are the only thing that hadn't changed in Kaleiçi, but he also adds that it used to be more definitive and dominant property. Handan Günay (2012) defines those smells as: "Jasmine, rose, orange, hygiene smell, smell of the lime tree, stove pipe's smell, but some sewer smell as well. It (bad smell) was in uncared places."

While interviewees of the second group generally state that they could smell the flower smells in today's Kaleiçi as well, Hakan Tazecan (2012) added wet wood smell after raining that he identified here and he stated that he can still smell those while walking through the desolated buildings.

In general, in the conversations on today’s smells, people state that old flower smells are still available but the smells like car mufflers are more dominant today. However this research reveals that answers on smells are concentrated on the disability to identify a smell with today. The following table (5.3) classifies the major smells defined by the three groups.

Table 5.3 Smells defined by the interviewees

before 1980 group		after 1980 group	
past	today	past	today
jasmin flower	exhaust	orange flower	orange flower
rose	orange flower	jasmin flower	garbage
orange flower		wooden	
		akşam sefası	
present time group			
today			
orange flower	garbage		
akşam sefası	jasmin flower		

5.3.4 Place dependence and sense of belonging

When it was asked to the interviewees that ‘what comes first to your mind according to the present and past of Kaleiçi?’, the most significant difference between the responses of the past users (before 1980 users) and new users (after 1980 and present time users) is the fact that the first group emphasized mainly the experiences, on the contrary; the second group emphasized the places. The old users defined Kaleiçi, naturally with their experiences, and especially with their childhood experiences. For instance, one of the interviewee responded the question of ‘what comes first to your mind regarding Kaleiçi?’ as in the follows:

My childhood and my marbles is coming. Kaleiçi was living your childhood to the top of one’s bent. The one who lives in Konyaaltı lived in a great luxury maybe, but the one who lives in Kaleiçi lived their childhood, grow up in the streets. (Interview with Salih Güzel, 2012)

Kaleiçi is also seen as the place of authentic relationships by these users. In this context, the communal relationships are highlighted. Neighbourhood relations express the strong sense of trust between the people. With the words of one of the interviewees;

The old Kaleiçi was a place that people loved each other, with lots of friendships, intimate, and it was a place where the doors were never closed. There was no burglary. Even, craftsmen did not close their doors while they were going to the mosque, and even the grocers were like that. The friendships were so big that everybody helps each other. Everybody was being aside of each other both in good day and bad day. Kaleiçi was a place where the fellowship was so tight. (Interview with Oya İbrişin, 2012)

When these interviewees were respond the same question by considering the present day, inherently, made an exact opposite definition of old: “plastic” (Handan Günay), “modern den of vice” (Hüsnü Ekizler).

As above-mentioned, for the users of after 1980 and present day, Kaleiçi is not a place of old experiences, it is mainly a collection of historic places. Although many of them are still living there, the first thing which come to their mind about Kaleiçi were mainly the symbolic historic structures. They try to give their attentions to the structures and places which represent the old Kaleiçi among the bad images and structures of the present time. The following statements of one of the interviewees who is still living in the Kaleiçi makes clear this kind of perception:

Actually Kaleiçi is a very unique and liveable place inside the city walls. But now I do not have the same feeling anymore. Now, when I go to the Iskele Street, I see the uncontrolled businesses and bars which made unqualified music, I feel disappointed. The Yacht Harbor still gives me pleasure despite all the negativeness, also the Yivli Minare vicinity and our neighbourhood; Kandiller Çıkmazı Street. It still gives me peace. Because it is really quite in the mornings, but it is a little bit noisy in the evenings. About Kaleiçi, firstly Hadrian Gate and Yivli Minare come to my mind. (Interview with Murat Erdoğan, 2012)

Another important perception difference between the old users and new users appears in the matter of Kaleiçi’s place and importance in Antalya. For the old users Kaleiçi, naturally, is almost the Antalya itself. On the contrary, for the new users Kaleiçi is mostly a place that represents Antalya.

The difference between emphasizing the old experiences and focusing on historic places also shows itself in the responses of the question: ‘What is the importance of Kaleiçi for you?’ For the old users, the importance of Kaleiçi come from its being “center of life” (Oya İbrişin), “the place where Antalya breathes” (Hüseyin Çimrin), and mostly its being “an ancestral place” (Salih Güzel). For the new users, the importance come from its being “the most beautiful place of Antalya” (Eda Kurnaz), even, “the only place to breathe in this frustrating, dejected city”, however its main importance is being “the most beautiful culture centre of the world” (Mehmet Kösedag), and “a cultural heritage” (Murat Erdoğan).

With regard to main topic of this study, the one of most critical questions which is asked to the interviewees is certainly the question of “Do you have any sense of belonging towards the Kaleiçi?”. Although there were some drawbacks, most of the interviews responded this question in a positive manner. However, a closer point of view can also spot some important differences between the old and the new users. The most important difference shows itself in the old users’ passion and even in some situations obstinacy of “keeping the old alive’, and new users’ desire and even in some situations belief of “living with the old”. The following section from the interview with Ömer Güngör reflects a parallel thought to determined phenomenon.

Sometimes I close my eyes and picture the life in old Kaleiçi. A woman calls out to her neighbor from her window and invites her for a tea. Children are playing in the garden, in the courtyard of the house. Time to time I hear these voices. (Interview with Ömer Güngör, 2012)

The following figure (5.45) can be to concretize this mentioned old life in Kaleiçi which Ömer Güngör (2012) imagine.



Figure 5.45 Example of changing physical and social features in Kaleiçi; end of 1980s and 2012 (personal archive of Tazecan; personal archive)

The old users, naturally, present their sense of belongings with strong expressions: “a place that I can never give up as long as I live” (Salih Güzel). Another interviewee defined this feeling in stronger form: “Kaleiçi belongs to me and I also belong to Kaleiçi” (Oya İbrişin) Definitely, all of the old users have serious discontent, even anger for the present Kaleiçi. However, they still do not lose their sense of belongings. In some cases, they prefer to “fight” (Salih Güzel), and in other cases, prefer to “play Pollyanna” (Oya İbrişin) to cope with the present Kaleiçi; however, they do not and cannot consider to leave Kaleiçi. Even they decide to live and state it frankly, the power of their sense of belonging shows itself. These sentences of one of the interviewees can be seen as an obvious indicator of this sense of belonging:

I don't feel belong to Kaleiçi anymore. I will go away from here. In two months I will be free. Of course, I love here, I love its trees but I don't love these (*showing the new pavements of the street*), and I don't want to look these. Everyday, I am washing these stones to cool them, paying 50-60 lira water bill but they don't cool. (Interview with Hüsnü Ekizler, 2012)

In this statement, from the expressions of “I will go away” and “I will be free”; the ‘power’, or more correctly ‘intensity’ of the sense of belonging can be understood. Without any doubt, the style of the sense of belonging is different for the after1980 and present time users. For the most of them, the sense of belonging is not a thing that wanted to get rid of, conversely, it is a thing that wanted to find. It is a feeling more related with ‘desire’ instead of ‘longing’. Since it is a desired feeling, when it strike a snag, easily turns into disappointment. The following statement of one of the interviewee of the after 1980 group also prove this:

I thought that I could find a sense of belonging in Kaleiçi. I laboured; I mean I pondered a lot personally, and I was hopeful. However, I realized that everybody has different worries. I don't have any sense of belonging anymore. For instance, I have been living here with my wife and son for ten years, and now my wife wants to leave here. The reason is clear. It seems quite nice during daytime, but you should see in here the evenings. There is a bar, which occupies the public area, and makes noise every night... And because of this disappointment, I can't complete my belonging, and I decided to leave. I'm going back to İstanbul soon. (Interview with Murat Erdoğan, 2012)

5.4 Concluding Remarks

In this study, as mentioned in the Table 3.1, ‘sense of place’ and ‘place image’ were examined in the frame of three components, which were **physical setting**, **activity** and **meaning**. In this context, when the change in the physical setting was examined under ‘built form’, ‘permeability’, ‘landscape’, and ‘street furniture’; the change in the activity was analyzed by ‘land-uses’, ‘pedestrian and vehicle flows’; and lastly the change in meaning was examined under the ‘perceived functions and attractions’, ‘legibility’, ‘noise and smell’ and ‘place dependence and sense of belonging’. In the

following part, these subheadings will be explicated particularly and the general illation of the study will be defined.

The first assessment for the change in **physical setting** was about the **built form** in which, two main changes were showed themselves as density and diversity. The density of the built environment has been increasing and can be observed clearly in Kaleiçi over time. This can be seen clearly in the solid-void analysis. The second change shows itself in the diversity in built form. Until 1980s the historic buildings could be distinguished easily from the new ones which were compatible or incompatible with the historic pattern, however in the present time there are also misleading old-looking new buildings which try to be “compatible” with the historic pattern. Another point that needs to be emphasized based on the findings of the study is the ‘over-restored’ historical buildings, which were restored in exaggerated manner and transformed the urban pattern in Kaleiçi. When all of these “diversity” elements would be taken into account due to the findings of the study, it can be claimed that, Kaleiçi have transformed from ‘present’ to ‘represent’ place in the course of time.

The second subtopic analyzed in the study was the **permeability** which was examined under two headings as; physical and visual permeability. To examine the physical permeability, the main connectivity scheme was prepared, and it was observed that since the street widths and forms were protected in general, there is no significant change for pedestrians in physical permeability. However, depending on the regulations in 2007, in which vehicle roads were separated from pedestrian roads and reorganized as one-way roads, the physical permeability of the area decreased for the car users. The most significant change in permeability was observed in the visual aspect. Especially İskele Street and its surroundings lost their visual permeability because of the exaggerated commercial uses.

The change in the **landscape**, which was the third subheading, can be described briefly as in follows. In the course of time, Kaleiçi has suffered from dramatic decrease of green areas within itself, especially because of the reduction in the

number of gardens. However, considering the whole city of Antalya, Kaleiçi is still regarded and perceived as one of the greenest area of Antalya.

The forth and the last category of the physical setting was **street furniture**. (In this context, as it has been shown in this study, water channels which were passing through the streets of Kaleiçi, arose as the single, and instinctively, as the significant street furniture of before-1980 period. Nonetheless, these channels disappeared in time since they had lost their functions. On the other hand, except the Yacht Harbor, the most comprehensive regulation in the street furniture was made in 2007. Yet it should be stated that the most important change in the mean of street furniture was seen in the recent years as incompatible street elements such as non-regulatory signboards, canopies which were observed especially in the north part of Kaleiçi.

In the **activity** section, firstly, the **land-uses** of different time periods were compared and in this regard, it is observed that the residential uses have been reduced dramatically, trapped in the south part of the area and the ground floors of the houses are has been used mostly for different activities. Depending on this reduction, the social facilities alike; schools have been decreased in time. Instead of these social facilities, the tourism based usages spread in an irregular manner to the whole area.

When the **pedestrian and vehicle flow**, which was the second category of the activity was examined, it was observed that in before 1980s, the area was dominated, naturally, by pedestrians. With the increase in the car ownership and new activities in the area, the density of vehicles were started to increase. However in the Conservation Plans, which are mentioned in the fourth chapter, it was aimed to separate the pedestrian and vehicle flow. The plan was implemented in 2007 with some revisions. Although the primary concern was to maintain a dominant pedestrian network, it can be observed that the vehicle density increased in the area, in some parts even obstructing the pedestrian flow.

To understand the change in ‘sense of place’ and ‘place image’ lastly the change in **meaning** was examined. With respect to this analysis, firstly the **perceived functions and attractions** were defined. Most outstanding difference between the

in-depth interviews and cognitive maps of before 1980 period and after 1980 period is the change in the place of leisure activities. For instance, while the interviewees of the first group were defining these leisure places as Mermerli Park, Yanık Hastane area and İskele; the other group of interviewees generally mentioned from the private places such as restaurants and bars. Some places such as Mermerli beach, have experienced significant changes in their concept, but did not lose its function. In addition, some places lost their significance in time. For instance, while Yanık Hastane was one of the most critical attraction point in the before-1980 period, it has lost its attraction completely in the after-1980 period and in relation to this phenomenon, none of the interviewees of the second group mentioned of this area. However one of the interviewee of the present time mentioned and demonstrated this place in the cognitive map without knowing its past identity. This can be interpreted as the re-emergence of the place. Except these, the distinction which was made for the north and south part of the area is also outstanding in this part. Forasmuch, the change in the activity and physical environment also affected the perceived places. For instance İskele Street and surrounding which is generally demonstrated in the cognitive maps of first two groups, is not mentioned by the present time users in their cognitive maps.

In the other part images of different users were observed in terms of **legibility** concept. Based on this concept, nodes, landmarks, paths, edges and districts, which were discussed in interviews and are demonstrated in the cognitive maps are evaluated in the study. In this context the nodes and paths were formed in the same way with perceived functions and attractions and show some significant changes over time. Landmarks were the same for all of the users; however, edges show subjective differences. For instance when all of the users of the three periods defined the external city walls and gates as the edge some of the users defined also Karaalioğlu Park and the sea as the edges whereas some of them define this Park and the sea as the parts of Kaleiçi.

In the subject of **noise and smell**, it can be concluded that changes in noises are more obvious than the changes in smells for the identification of Kaleiçi. The sounds of old Kaleiçi has been described as the human voices, children voices and the voices of

street sellers by the interviewees of both before-1980 and after-1980 group; on the contrary, noises of the present time were generally defined as car and bird voices. The change in the noise perception shows the dehumanization and the decrease in the sense of settled life in the area.

Finally the **place dependence and sense of belonging** are defined for different users of different periods. Generally, it is observed during interviews that all of the interviewees have a strong sense of belonging to the area. However, a differentiation was also determined according to nature of these groups. This differentiation can be summarized as in the following: Sense of belonging is essentially a sense which is tried to be conserved for the old users, on the contrary, for the new users; it is mainly a sense which is tried to be constructed. Another significant result is the fact that, the old users senses for longing and fatigue of conservation the sense of belonging; when the other's oscillating between the desire and disappointment of construction of sense of place.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

The ‘sense of place’ concept plays a paramount role in understanding the relationship between physical place and the users of the place. However, this concept has a complicated multi-dimensional structure, which requires multidisciplinary studies. Thus, researchers of different disciplines try to determine the components of ‘sense of place’ to clarify its multi-dimensional structure. Although there is no consensus on ‘what these components are’ or ‘how far it is possible to measure sense of place’ - especially for city planning and urban design fields-, it is a significant concept to understand the relationship between place and human and the change in it.

The discipline of urban planning tries to suggest policies in order to handle physical aspects (place) and social aspects (human) together. Especially in conservation-based planning practices, one of the significant concerns is to protect the users of the place (inhabitants), while protecting the physical environment. In Kaleiçi Conservation and Development Plan of 1979, the starting point was also to conserve both physical and social environment. However, this concern could not be fulfilled properly as in many cases in Turkey. In due course, place and the users have undergone some changes, and all these changes have deeply effected users’ perception of the place. Thus, the concept of ‘sense of place’ provides a comprehensive understanding for this multi-dimensional change in the place.

In this regard, this research aims to discuss this change in ‘sense of place’ in Antalya Kaleiçi over the last five decades. By considering the multi-dimensional structure of ‘sense of place’, it identifies ‘physical setting’, ‘activity’ and ‘meaning’ as the

components of this concept. And, it examines the change in sense of place regarding these three components.

From this perspective, this study attempts to answer the question of how the ‘sense of place’ has changed over the last five decades through the conservation-led regeneration schemes in Antalya Kaleiçi. As noted before, the change in the sense of place is studied under three headings: *physical setting*, *activity* and *meaning*. The study seeks to observe the changes in these attributes in three periods: *before-1980*, *after-1980* and *present time* by the help of quantitative and qualitative research conducted through the archival documents, visual analysis, direct observations, in-depth interviews and cognitive maps. Of these data resources, in-depth interviews were conducted with three user groups: the first group includes the Kaleiçi users who lived, used and experienced the time period before 1980; the second group includes the interviewees who know Kaleiçi between 1980 and today; and the last group includes the present users of Kaleiçi.

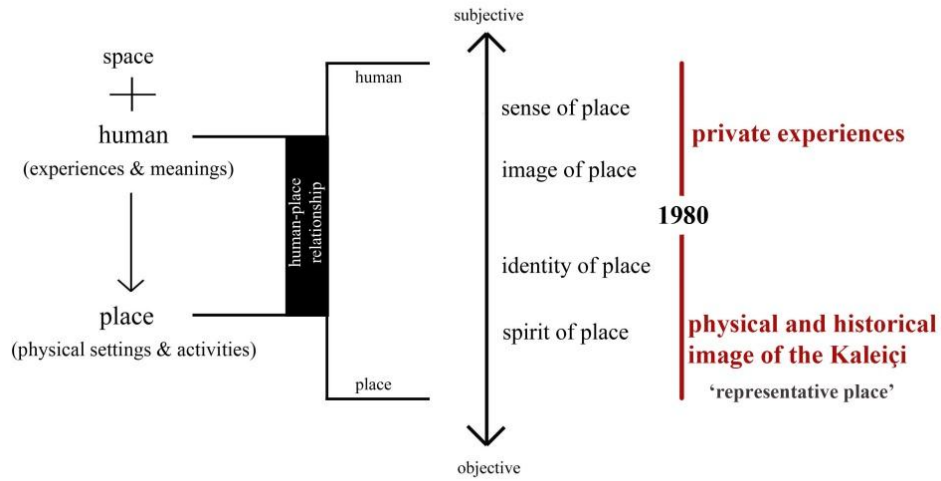
The analysis on the sense of place in Antalya Kaleiçi reveals significant changes between three periods in terms of physical setting, activity and meaning. However, the most distinctive change took place in the period before the 1980s, when compared with the change happened between the 1980s and the 2010s. Thus, the first research finding is that the 1980s -when the Conservation Plans were practiced and tourism was introduced to Kaleiçi- is the most significant breaking point in the ‘sense of place’. Yet, the area had started to change in both physical and social terms with the increasing tourism-based conservation practices and had turned from a residential area into a touristic center of attraction.

All these changes have also caused the changes in sense of place in the course of time. Regarding the definitions of Kaleiçi, there is a paramount difference between the people who were born in Kaleiçi and remember the period before the 1980s, and those who came to and settled down in Kaleiçi after the 1980s and the 2000s. For instance, there is a parallelism between the meanings of Kaleiçi, which were defined by the users of after the 1980s and present time users, and the change in physical

setting and activity. When the first group defines the meaning of Kaleiçi with their past experiences, they do not mention much about the poor physical conditions of that period. The main reason behind this is that, for the past users, Kaleiçi is a place, which is perceived by experiences rather than physical characteristics of the place. On the other hand, the users of after-1980 period met Kaleiçi in an era that tourism had just started, but not become dominant yet. They were generally searching for a 'sense of belonging'. They desire to be the observer and moreover a part of the past life in Kaleiçi; however, the change in the activities in the area complicates satisfaction of this desire, since Kaleiçi is no longer a living area, but a tourism center. The places which used to define Kaleiçi are no longer related to the experiences, but mostly associated with the historical image of the place. The effects of the change in physical environment and the activities on 'sense of place' are much more definite comparing to the effects on the first group. The situation is similar for the users who came to the area after the 2000s (the users who are categorized under the heading of present time users). Different from the previous group, these users' memory about the period before the 1980s is rather weak. As a result, the "pursuit" of after-1980 interviewees is not observed distinctively in this group.

In this regard, it is appropriate to reevaluate (Table 6.1) all of these findings by associating them with the Table 2.2 in Chapter 2. As can be seen in the table, the concept of 'sense of place' occupies a closer position to the subjectivity pole where experiences and meanings are more deterministic. From this point of view, if evaluation for three periods at the below is reconsidered, it is possible to state that Kaleiçi has become a place which defined mostly by its physical and historical image instead of private experiences and –accordingly- the 'sense of place' has been weakened in Kaleiçi in the course of time.

Table 6.1 Reevaluation of the Table 2.2



Another significant result of the analysis is that, despite the above-mentioned differences, the fact that perceptions of different user groups on Kaleiçi, which differentiate over time are accompanied by a similar sense. For instance, during in-depth interviews, almost all the interviewees mentioned about Kaleiçi together with sense of ‘sadness’. Naturally, the definition of Kaleiçi as a “sad place” was expressed generally by the old users. However, the “dereliction state” of Kaleiçi which was seen as the reason of this sadness, was emphasized not only by the old users, but also by other user groups. Sometimes, this “dereliction”, in a real sense, defines decreasing inhabitant population in the area, and points out that the district has been turning from a residential area into a commercial area. And sometimes, metaphorically, it refers to the unprotected state of Kaleiçi or at least to its being inadequately protected.

As mentioned in the fourth chapter in detail, Kaleiçi has become the topic of many conservation studies since 1972, and has been on the scene of many conservation-development projects. Furthermore, central and local governments, in a conscious way, carried out these practices under the supervision of universities. Despite all these, there is a prevalence of the above-mentioned sense in people’s perception and it can be associated with the gap between the plan and practices, which is mentioned in the introduction chapter. In this context, the main problem can be seen as the fact

that these “public interest”-based plans had been implemented in a period in which the “private interest” was released and encouraged particularly. In the case of Antalya, this problem can be stated as follows: when the “public interest” based plans were used the touristic investments as **means** for the preservation and revitalization of the Kaleiçi, in practice with the actively engagement of the “private interest”, tourism became an **end**; and it caused unforeseen and even undesirable transformations in Kaleiçi.

To reveal this problem more clearly, the transformation process of old İskele into the Yacht Harbor should be mentioned as an interesting example. Yet, Yacht Harbor was a product of “public interest” based project; however, in a short time, it was transferred to the “private interest” based commercial enterprises by means of privatization. Therefore, although the activities in the area were organized in a systematic way at the beginning, as a result of the latter privatization projects, it rapidly deteriorated and the attractiveness of the area has been decreased gradually.

The effects of the fact that tourism became an end instead of means in the way of vitalization of Kaleiçi show itself also in the sense of place of the users. The most significant impact of this on the sense of place can be claimed as “universalizing of the tourist gaze” by referring the mentioned statement of Urry (1995) in the introduction chapter. In the theoretical framework of this study, this situation can be described as in follows: The element of meaning, which shapes the private experiences is more decisive in the formation of old users’ sense of place; on the contrary, the present users’ sense of place is observed as more related with the physical and historical image of the Kaleiçi. For after-1980 interviewee group, meaning element which is related with the experiences still has a decisive influence at least in the memories; however, this effect have been attenuated in the present time users. Therefore, after in depth analysis, this study reveals that: Kaleiçi is now an **image storage**, in which the old is being represented substantially, not only for the visitors but also for the users of the area.

In the case of Kaleiçi, “universalizing of the tourist gaze” can also be observed in the in the changing focus of the perception of place. Forasmuch, when Kaleiçi was perceived as Antalya itself in before-1980; in the present time, it is compressed to a **‘representative place’**. Moreover, in this process, Kaleiçi lost its own internal integrity in itself and became a place which withdraws into itself. This situation of withdrawing naturally reflected to the people’s sense of place. For example, Kaleiçi was perceived as a whole by the before-1980 users, since it was not differentiated in the mean of physical setting and activity yet. On the contrary, Kaleiçi is divided as south and north in the sense of place of the present time users. They see the south part of the Kaleiçi as the ‘rescued zone’, and somehow, as a place which have not lost its authenticity yet. However the north part is under the occupation of commercial uses which are incompatible to the identity of the district, so –in the eyes of present day users- the south part becomes the represent of the Kaleiçi.

Last but not least, this study has some limitations and difficulties in terms of making generalizations. One of the most significant difficulties is that ‘sense of place’ and ‘place image’ concepts indicate multi-dimensional ‘facts’ which require multidisciplinary studies. Although this research seeks to examine these concepts in the case of Antalya Kaleiçi in-depth, it is still limited in terms of examining the changes in sense of place and place image in all different dimensions. Another difficulty this research has faced is the subjectivity dimension of the mentioned ‘facts’. For this reason, to come to much robust generalizations, this research needs to conduct more in-depth interviews and examinations. Therefore it can be claimed with one last sentence that, the main motivation behind this thesis which tries to examine a relatively original problem in Turkey, is the desire of enhancing more deep, comprehensive, and competent researches in this area.

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APPENDIX A

QUESTIONS FOR IN-DEPTH INTERVIEWS

A.1 Questions for the before-1980 and after-1980 users

Anketin Yapıldığı Tarih:/...../2012

- Ad, Soyad:
- Yaşınız:
- Hangi yıllarda Kaleiçi'nde bulundunuz? Bulunma sebebiniz neydi?
- Ne zaman Kaleiçi'nden ayrıldınız, neden Kaleiçi'nden ayrıldınız?
- Şu an ne sıklıkla Kaleiçi'ne gidiyorsunuz?

1) Kaleiçi'nde eskiden en çok hangi sokaklar/caddeler kullanılırdı? (Yayaların en çok kullandığı yollar, güzergahlar hangileriydi? Taşıtların yoğun olduğu yollar, güzergahlar hangileriydi?)

2) Kaleiçi'nde eskiden en çok hangi meydanlar ve mekanlar kullanılırdı?

3) Kaleiçi'nde eskiden ev dışında insanlar nerelerde vakit geçirirdi?

- a. Alışveriş/Pazar için(yer ismi)
- b. Dolaşmak için(yer ismi)
- c. Buluşmak için(yer ismi)
- d. Bayramlarda, kutlamalarda, özel günlerde(yer ismi)

e. Cenazelerde(yer ismi)

f. Diğer(yer ismi)

4) Kaleiçi'nde eskiden herkesin sık sık gittiği yerler nerelerdi? Buralarda neler yapılırdı?

5) Kaleiçi'nde eskiden herkesin en çok beğendiği yer / yerler nerelerdi?

- Neden bu yer/yerler beğenilirdi?

6) Kaleiçi'nde eskiden kutlamaların yapıldığı, duaların edildiği, ya da dileklerin dilendiği özel alanlar var mıydı? Bu ve benzeri şeylerin yapıldığı başka yerler var mıydı?

7) Kaleiçi'ni tarif eden bir basit bir kroki çizer misiniz? (Sanki bir yabancıya Kaleiçi'nin önemli yerlerini anlatıyormuş gibi. Krokinin ayrıntılı ya da doğru olmasına gerek yok, sadece basit bir çizim yeterli olacaktır.) (COGNITIVE MAP)

- Çizerken bir yandan da sizin için önemli spesifik noktaları gösterir ve bu yerlerin sizin için önemini anlatır mısınız?
- Anlatırken gözünüzün önünde canlanmayan ya da tam olarak nerede olduğunu hatırlayamadığınız yerler var mı?
- Duygusal bağınızın olduğu yerler var mı?

8) Kaleiçi'nde en önce aklınıza gelen bina/heykel gibi yerler nerelerdir? (LANDMARKS)

9) Kaleiçi'nde sizin için en önemli sokaklar/caddeler/yollar/güzergahlar nerelerdir? (PATHS)

10) Kaleiçi'nde sizin için en önemli mahalleler/bölgeler nerelerdir? (DISTRICTS)

- 11)Kaleiçi'nde sizin için en önemli kavşaklar, buluşma yerleri, meydanlar nerelerdir? (NODES)
- 12)Kaleiçi'nde kenar/sınır hissi veren yerler nerelerdir? Örneğin, deniz kıyısı, surlar, cadde gibi. (EDGES)
- 13)Kaleiçi dendiğinizde aklınıza ilk olarak ne/neler geliyor? (kelime, yer, olay, vb.) Kaleiçi'ni nasıl tanımlarsınız?
- 14)Kaleiçi dediğinizde aklınıza (eskiye ait veya hala bulunan) hangi kokular geliyor? Burada kokusuyla tarihleyebileceğiniz bir yer var mı? (ör: çiçek kokusu, kahve, çay kokusu, kötü koku)
- 15)Kaleiçi dediğinizde aklınıza (eskiye ait veya hala bulunan) hangi sesler geliyor? Burada seslerle tarihleyebileceğiniz bir yer var mı? (ör: trafik gürültüsü, çocuk sesleri, müzik)
- 16)Kaleiçi'nde en çok beğendiğiniz yer / yerler nerelerdi?
- Neden bu yer/yerler beğenirdiniz?
 - Bu yerlerde neler yapardınız?
- 17) Kaleiçi'nde eskiden sık sık gittiğiniz yer / yerler nerelerdi?
- Bu yerlerin sizin için önemi/anlamı nedir?
- 18)Kaleiçi'nin sizin için önemi nedir? Onu diğer yerlerden farklı kılan özellikler nelerdi?
- 19)Sizin için Kaleiçi'ni tanımlayan şeyler/yerler nelerdi? Şimdi tanımlayan şeyler/yerler nelerdir? Size göre zamanla neler değişti?
- 20)Şu an Kaleiçi için hisleriniz nelerdir? Kendinizi Kaleiçi'ne ait/bağlı hissediyor musunuz?
- 21)Kaleiçi'nde yol ve yön bulmak kolay mıdır? Nedenleri? Bunun zamanla değiştiğini düşünüyor musunuz?

A.2 Questions for the present users

Anketin Yapıldığı Tarih:/...../2012

- Ad, Soyad:
- Yaşınız:
- Kaç yılından itibaren Kaleiçi'ndesiniz?
- Hangi sebepten dolayı Kaleiçi'ndesiniz?

1) Kaleiçi'nde hangi sokaklar/caddeler en çok kullanılır?

2) Kaleiçi'nde eskiden hangi meydanlar ve mekanlar en çok kullanılır?

3) Kaleiçi'nde ev dışında insanlar nerelerde vakit geçirir?

Berber bir araya geldiğiniz mekanlar nerelerdir?

Bu mekanların sizin için önemi nedir?

Kafanızda kalan, ilginizi çeken en önemli mekanlar nerelerdir?

- a. Alışveriş/Pazar için(yer ismi)
- b. Dolaşmak için(yer ismi)
- c. Buluşmak için(yer ismi)
- d. Bayramlarda, kutlamalarda, özel günlerde(yer ismi)
- e. Cenazelerde(yer ismi)
- f. Diğer (yer ismi)

4) Kaleiçi'nde herkesin sık sık gittiği yerler nerelerdir? Buralarda neler yapılır?

5) Kaleiçi'nde herkesin en çok ilgisini çeken yer / yerler nerelerdir?

- Neden bu yer/yerler önemlidir?

6) Kaleiçi'nde kutlamaların yapıldığı, duaların edildiği, ya da dileklerin dilendiği özel alanlar var mı?

Özel günleri (bayramlar, doğum günleri, vb.) nerelerde kutlarsınız?

7) Kaleiçi'ni tarif eden bir basit bir kroki çizer misiniz? (Sanki bir yabancıya Kaleiçi nin önemli yerlerini anlatıyormuş gibi. Krokinin ayrıntılı ya da doğru olmasına gerek yok, sadece basit bir çizim yeterli olacaktır.) (COGNITIVE MAP)

- Çizerken bir yandan da sizin için önemli spesifik noktaları gösterir ve bu yerlerin sizin için önemini anlatır mısınız?
- Anlatırken gözünüzün önünde canlanmayan ya da tam olarak nerede olduğunu hatırlayamadığınız yerler var mı?
- Duygusal bağınızın olduğu yerler var mı?

8) Kaleiçi'nde en önce aklınıza gelen bina/heykel gibi yerler nerelerdir? (LANDMARKS)

9) Kaleiçi'nde sizin için en önemli sokaklar/caddeler/yollar/güzergahlar nerelerdir? (PATHS)

10) Kaleiçi'nde sizin için en önemli mahalleler/bölgeler nerelerdir? (DISTRICTS)

11) Kaleiçi'nde sizin için en önemli kavşaklar, buluşma yerleri, meydanlar nerelerdir? (NODES)

12) Kaleiçi'nde kenar/sınır hissi veren yerler nerelerdir? Örneğin, deniz kıyısı, surlar, cadde gibi. (EDGES)

13) Kaleiçi dendiğinizde aklınıza ilk olarak ne/neler geliyor? (kelime, yer, olay, vb.) Kaleiçi'ni nasıl tanımlarsınız?

14) Kaleiçi dediğinizde aklınıza hangi kokular geliyor? Burada kokusuyla tarifleyebileceğiniz bir yer var mı? (ör: çiçek kokusu, kahve, çay kokusu, kötü koku)

15) Kaleiçi dediğinizde aklınıza hangi sesler geliyor? Burada seslerle tarifleyebileceğiniz bir yer var mı? (ör: trafik gürültüsü, çocuk sesleri, müzik)

16) Kaleiçi'nde en çok ilginizi çeken, beğendiğiniz yer / yerler nerelerdi?

- Neden bu yer/yerler sizin için önemli?
- Bu yerlerde neler yapıyorsunuz?

17) Kaleiçi'nde eskiden sık sık gittiğiniz yer / yerler nerelerdi?

- Bu yerlerin sizin için önemi/anlamı nedir?

18) Kaleiçi'nin sizin için önemi nedir? Onu diğer yerlerden farklı kılan özellikler nelerdir?

19) Sizin için Kaleiçi'ni tanımlayan şeyler/yerler nelerdir?

20) Şu an Kaleiçi için hisleriniz nelerdir? Kendinizi Kaleiçi'ne ait/bağlı hissediyor musunuz?

21) Kaleiçi'nde yol ve yön bulmak kolay mıdır? Nedenleri?

APPENDIX B

COGNITIVE MAPS

B.1 Cognitive maps of before-1980 group

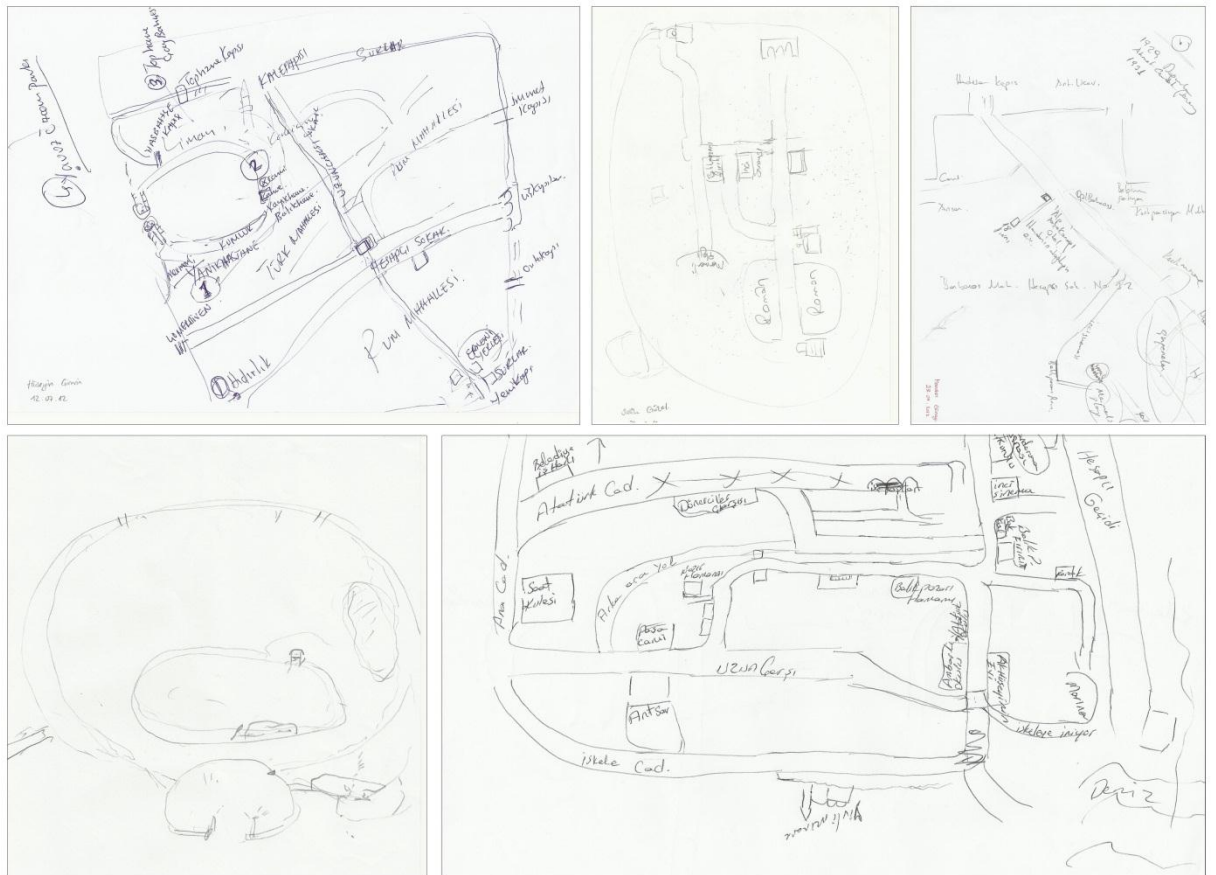


Figure B.1 Cognitive maps of before-1980 users

B.3 Cognitive maps of present-time group

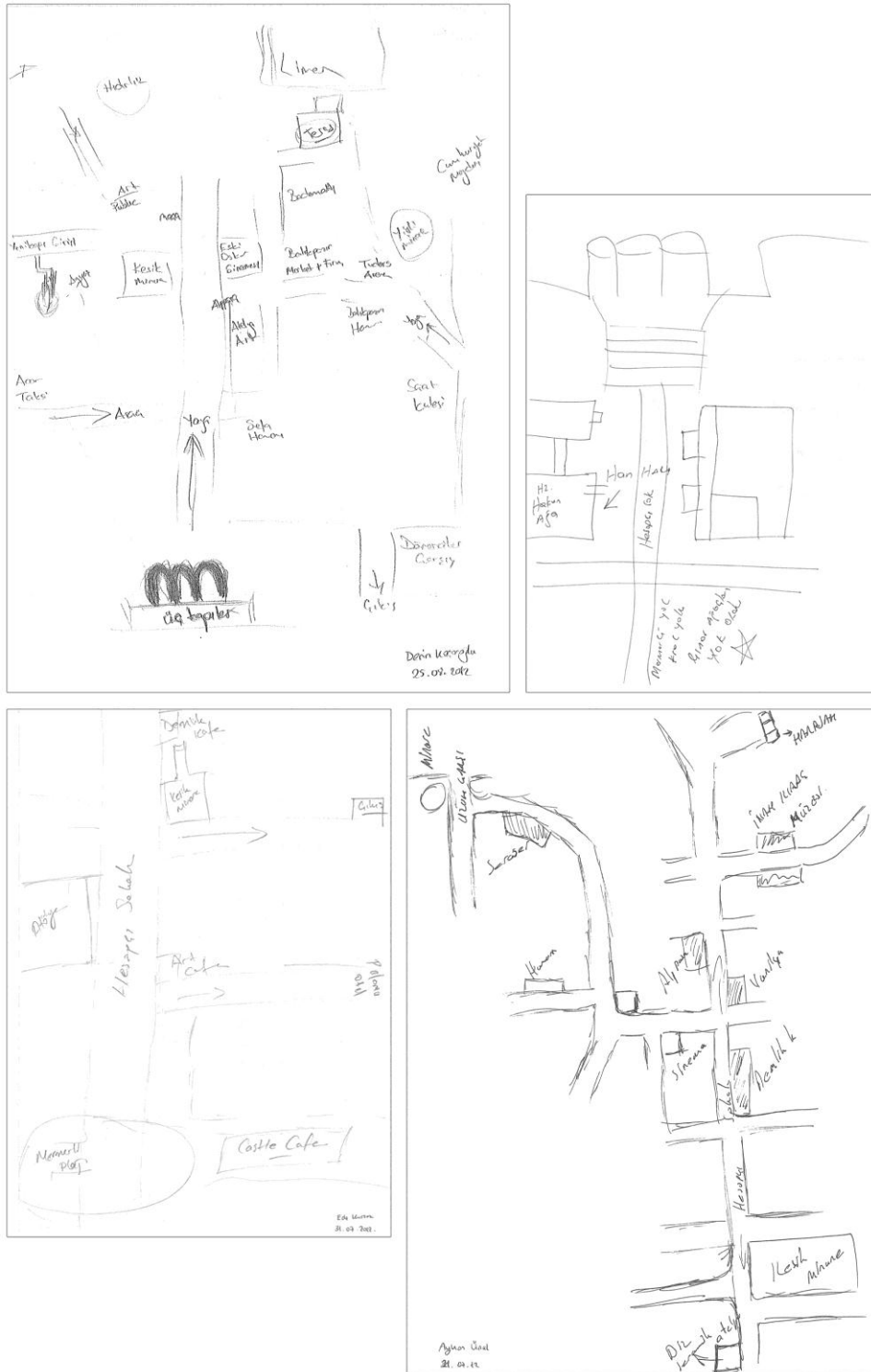


Figure B.3 Cognitive maps of present users

APPENDIX C

AIR PHOTOS OF ANTALYA KALEİÇİ

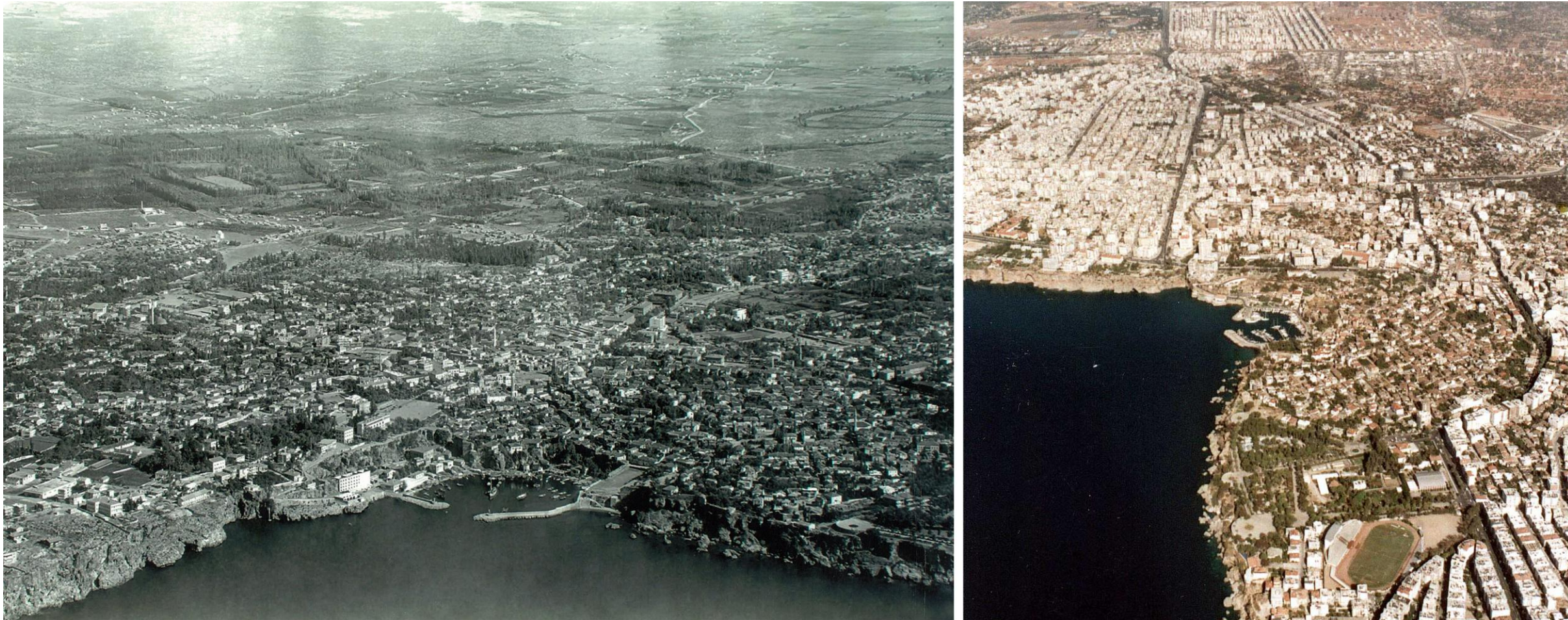


Figure C.1 Air photos of Antalya in 1960s and in 1990s
(Personal archive of Dündar; personal archive of Baykan Günay)



Figure C.2 Air photos of Antalya in 1963, in 2003 and in 2012
(Personal archive of Çimrin; Antalya Municipality Archive; Google Earth)

APPENDIX D

STREET NAMES IN ANTALYA KALEİÇİ

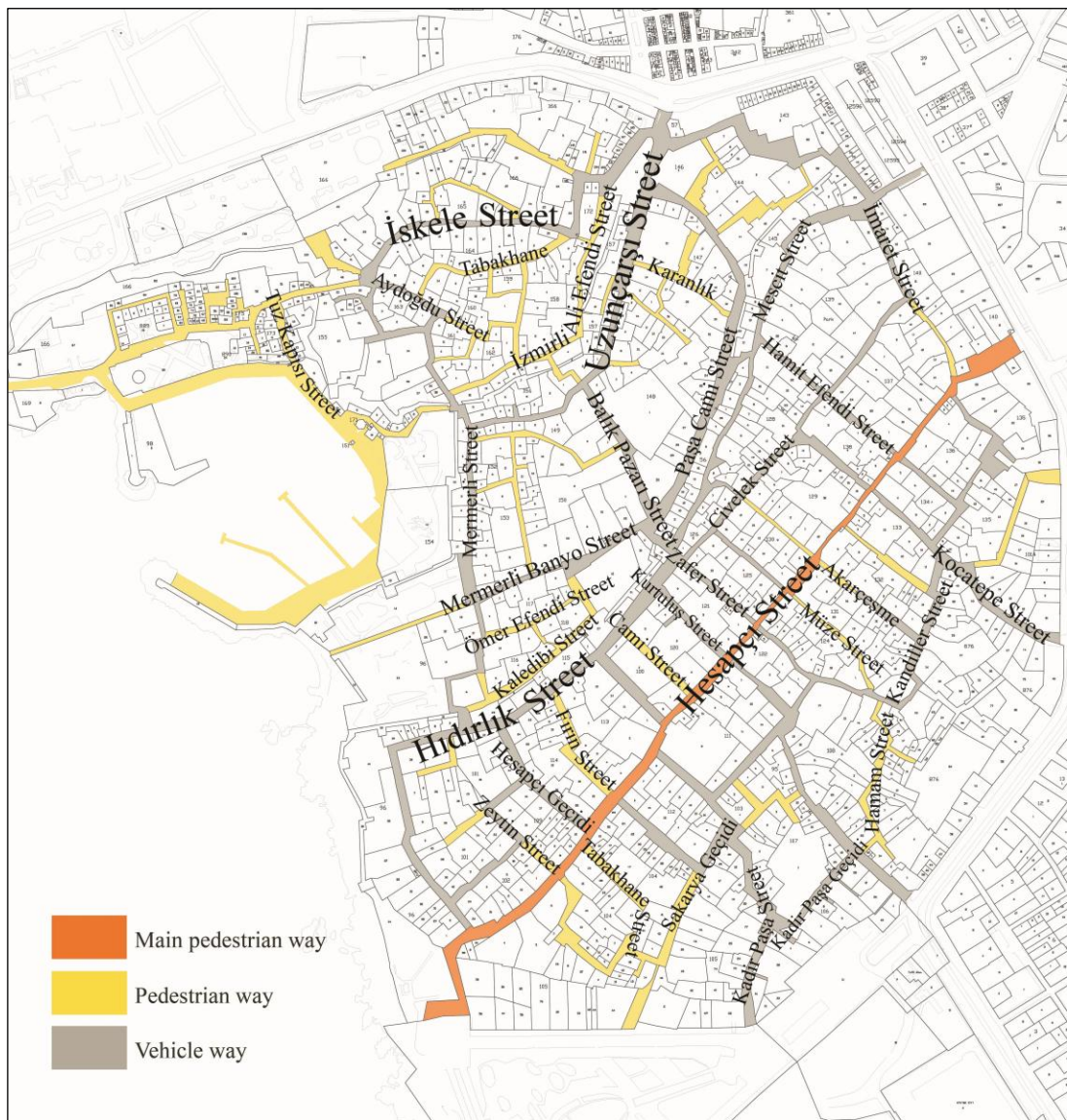


Figure D.1 Street names in Kaleiçi (prepared by the author)