

**FORMATION OF THE CITY IMAGE:
THE ROLE OF THE TRAIN STATION IN THE IMAGE
FORMATION PROCESS OF ANKARA**

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FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF FINE ARTS**

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July, 2008**

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ABSTRACT

FORMATION OF THE CITY IMAGE: THE ROLE OF THE TRAIN STATION IN THE IMAGE FORMATION PROCESS OF ANKARA

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This thesis handles the *city* as a dynamic network of places and people, and investigates the concept of *the image of the city*. Early republican Ankara, the capital of Turkey, was chosen as the case of this investigation for an extensive understanding of the concept. The study is structured according to the components of the image of the city that were proposed by Kevin Lynch. Formations of these three components (identity, structure and meaning) are explained to be overlapping with the three phases (envisioning, planning, experiencing) of the formation of the city. Depending on the assumption that the buildings play the fundamental role in these formations, contribution of the Train Station to the formation of Ankara and its image is examined. The building, one of the most significant artifacts of the early republican Ankara, was studied in means of its contribution to the components of the image. With its spatial entity, the building reflected the modern identity of the city. Orienting the movement and development within its setting, it constituted an indispensable element of the structure of the capital. Furthermore, the station, as a building of prestige, accommodated contemporary practices and provided civilized conditions. The experience of these practices and conditions within the building, which was now an urban public space beyond being only a station, lead to attachment of its people to the station and to the city.

Keywords: City Image, Ankara, Train Station, Urban Meaning, Urban Identity

ÖZET

KENT İMGESİNİN BİÇİMLENMESİ: GAR'IN ANKARA KENT İMGESİNİN BİÇİMLENMESİNDEKİ ROLÜ

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Bu tez, *kenti*, dinamik bir mekânlar ve insanlar örgüsü olarak ele almakta, ve kent imgesi kavramını incelemektedir. Kavramın daha kapsamlı olarak anlaşılması için bu inceleme, erken cumhuriyet Ankara'sı örneği üzerinden yürütülmüştür. Çalışma, kent imgesinin Kevin Lynch tarafından önerilmiş olan üç bileşeni üzerinden kurgulanmıştır. Bu üç bileşenin (kimlik, yapı ve anlam) oluşumunun, Ankara kentinin oluşumunun üç aşaması (hayal etme, planlama, deneyimleme) ile nasıl örtüştüğü açıklanmıştır. Yapıların bu oluşumlar içerisinde en temel rolü oynadıkları kabulüne dayanarak, Tren Garı'nın Ankara kentinin ve imgesinin oluşumuna katkısı sorgulanmıştır. Erken cumhuriyet Ankara'sının en önemli yapılarından biri olan Gar, kent imajı bileşenlerine katkısı bağlamında incelenmiştir. Yapı, mekânsal varlığı ile kentin modern kimliğini yansıtmıştır. Yakın çevresi içerisindeki hareket ve gelişmeyi yönlendirerek, kent yapısının vazgeçilmez bir ögesi olmuştur. Ayrıca, istasyon, başkent için bir itibar yapısı olarak, çağdaş pratikler ve koşullar barındırmıştır. Bu pratikler ve koşulların, sadece bir istasyon yapısı olmanın ötesinde kentsel kamusal bir mekân olan gar içerisinde deneyimlenmesi, insanların istasyona ve kente bağlanmasını sağlamıştır.

Anahtar Sözcükler: Kent İmajı, Ankara, Gar, Kentsel Anlam, Kentsel Kimlik

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1. INTRODUCTION

The city is, by no means, a static entity; it is created and recreated through time by the humankind. As it is experienced, its function, body and essence change with the ever-changing social, cultural, political and economical conditions. Therefore, it is possible to claim that any city is an unfinished, open work of design, and essentially, of daily life, and so are the studies and suggestions about it.

The dynamic nature of the city affects the urban theories and the manner in which those theories are produced; the perception and interpretation of the concept of city differs from one viewpoint to another. Although one reason of those variations is the disparities in the disciplines of the studies, any study on cities requires an interdisciplinary position. That is because, the creator and the audience of the city are human beings; what is the concern of human, is also the concern of the city. In other words, all the dynamics of and within the city are dependent and influential on both the individuals and the groups of people. Thus, the interaction between the city and the people is a complex area of study, which has been the objective of many studies and worries throughout the history of civilization, but which has not been and can never be terminated because of its eternal mutability.

What draws this study to “the image of the city” is the interest in the mentioned interaction within the network of the people and the places. The concept implies people’s mental pictures of the city; that is what they construct in their minds

internalizing their experiences, observations and perceptions of the city. So, rather than an analysis of the physical being of the city, the study concentrates on the interrelations within this being. The interrelatedness of the formation of the city and the formation of its image is so enchanting that it helps us to understand the mentioned system with its extended dynamics.

Based on these conceptions, this study examines the image of the early republican Ankara through the components of the image of the city. Ankara was a small town at the beginning of the 20th century. After its declaration as the capital, the city was designed and constructed to become an ideal capital that would represent, and contribute to the ideologies and the development of the new Republic. The hypothesis is that the formation of this city and formation of its image are coeval; that is what makes Ankara a remarkable case to trace out the mentioned system.

However, the restriction in this study is that the network of the people and the city is perhaps the most complicated one which is almost impossible to analyze in all the details. Then, a focal point is required, and this thesis focuses on the architectural qualities of the city. Yet, the 'people' are a part of the context of this analysis as the determiners and the perceivers of the urban space. So, rather than eliminating any primary component of the city, the focal point of the study was restricted to a particular building, depending on another hypothesis that the buildings have a fundamental role in the formation of the image of the city. The Train Station, one of the most significant artifacts of the early republican Ankara, was studied through the components of the image of the city in means of its contribution to the image of Ankara.

1.1. Aim and Scope of the Study

This study is broadly about “city”, and it is established around related theories, and discussed upon selected historical data. The theories are on city and its image, and the historical data is about a particular city, Ankara. The image of the early republican Ankara was examined through the components of the image of the city. Within this study, the association between formation of the capital and its image was constructed. Considering the powerful role of buildings, especially the stations, in the formation of the contemporary cities and formation of their image, the research is conducted concentrating on the contribution of the Train Station to the image of Ankara in means of identity, structure and meaning. As the inspiration of the study is the coeval formation of the city and its image, the research is limited to the early years of Ankara of the Turkish Republic. The mentioned interval covers the period from the announcement of the city as the capital in 1923, when the construction of the city was started, to 1950, when the dynamics that constituted the city and the Train Station started to alter.

All the information gathered throughout the study is constructed in a rationale, for a deeper understanding of the theories about the image of the city through a special example and for a diverse interpretation of a well-known history, which is of the capital Ankara. Furthermore, the contribution of the Train Station to the image of the city is investigated to emphasize the importance of its existence for the city and its image that was tried to be created in the early years of the Republic.

1.2. Method and Structure of the Thesis

The research that was conducted to investigate the formation of Ankara, formation of its image and the contribution of the Train Station to those formations consists of theoretical and historical data. The data is gathered from the studies from various viewpoints, disciplines and sources. As the origin of the study can be considered as 'the image of the city', the framework of the thesis is constructed depending fundamentally on the theories developed upon this concept.

The first chapter is the introduction. In this chapter, firstly, a brief explanation about the origin of the study is made. Then, the aim and the scope of the study are clarified. Lastly, the structure of the thesis was given and the methods used for every phase of the city are stated.

The second chapter gives the theoretical basis of the study. The theories on the concept of city and the image of the city are discussed to construct the framework of the study. The headings of this chapter, which systematize the study in the following chapters also, are determined according to the theories of Kevin Lynch, who proposed the concept of the image of the city in 1960. The formation of the image of the city is explained depending on the three components that he defined in his studies.

The third chapter starts with a brief history of Ankara concentrating on the beginning of the 20th century. Then, the phases of the formation process of city and the creation of the three components of the image of the city are overlapped. The two overlapping processes are thought to be not linear, but rather, cyclic. It is proposed that envisions about the city aimed at creating an identity. The planning process,

implemented by the urban planners and the architects formed the structure of the city. And, the experiences within the city lead the citizens and the foreigners to attach meanings to the capital.

In the fourth chapter, the contribution of the Train Station to the formation of the image of Ankara and of the city itself is examined. Firstly, the role of the urban artifacts in the formation of the city image is questioned. Then, the spatial entity of the Train Station is investigated depending on the assumption that the building, with its architecture, contributed to the formation of the identity, and with its setting, contributed to the structure of the city. Lastly, the meanings that were attached to the Train Station are explored questioning its symbolic meaning, its publicness and the attachment of the citizens.

For the third and fourth chapters, the historical data were gathered from the academic studies about Ankara and the Train Station that are published in books and journals. They are enriched with the investigation of five selected novels (“Ankara” of Y. K. Karaosmanođlu, “Pertev Bey; Üç Kızı- İki Kızı- Torunları” of M. Ayaşlı, “Ankara’da Bir İngiliz Kadını” of G. Ellison, “Bir Dönem, Bir Çocuk” of A. Öymen and “Ankaralı Dört Hanım” of C. Farrère), and with the exploration of the articles and the news from the archives of the Turkish and foreign press (1935-1940 archives of the Ulus newspaper published in Ankara, Turkey, and the 1920-1950 archives of the Guardian and the Observer newspapers published in Britain). The findings accumulated from the novels and the newspapers are used to support the historical knowledge.

The fifth chapter is the conclusion, in which all the findings are evaluated and the formation processes of Ankara and its image are discussed. The chapter ends with a major evaluation of the thesis, stating the limitations and the restrictions experienced during the study and proposing suggestions for further studies.

2. THE CITY AND ITS IMAGE

The very beginning of conceptualizing the 'city' probably lies in the assessment of it as the largest and the most civilized of the 'man-made places'¹. The city is a collective work of humanity (Rossi, 1992). Right from the earliest times, the man has created places dominating the nature to secure his own existence. The will of the mankind over the nature flourishes commensurate with the level of civilization; that is why we can accept that the city, as Raymond Williams (1973) states, is "a distinctive form of civilization" (p. 1), an achievement of the human society.

2.1. Conceptual Approach to City and City Image

Man-made places, as Norberg-Schulz (1979) states, are not mere practical tools or results of arbitrary happenings, but they have their own structures and they embody meanings. So, we may deduce that the intention behind creation and operation of the city is not basically to survive, but actually to attach meanings to the survival. The life of civilized man contains activities that create those meanings, beyond the struggle for survival, and cities provide for and results of those activities. Within the cities, "we dwell, work, take pleasure; cities are our spatial world", and "by using forms of pleasure like play... we can actively produce our own city experiences" (Borden, 1996, p. x). Carrera (1998) explains that activity "includes all human-related social and economic behavior, as well as mere presence and/or existence of

¹ Norberg-Schulz proposes and explains the notion of "man-made structures" in his book Genius Loci. According to him, man "builds" his world, and man-made structures constitute everything in that world.

human beings within the urban environment” and that those activities are affected by government policies, the economy, social justice and many others. In other words, the creation of mentioned spatial world is also an activity, what Blackmar (1976) defined as ‘productive activity’, including political, social, economical and judicial policy making and the planning and construction of the city. So, the city is the stage of various stories one within the other (Çağlar, Uludağ and Aksu, 2006).

If the world is not static for that all the activities and so the meanings are changing in respect to the changing conditions within it, certainly, the stories of and in the city in question are not invariable. This is basically a result of the irregular and heterogeneous characteristic of the world of human-beings. “The city is not built for one person, but for great numbers of people, of widely varying backgrounds, temperaments, occupations, and class” (Lynch, 1960, p. 10). As Boyer (1994) explains, the demands and pressures of social reality constantly affect the material order of the city. What create those social realities are all the political, economical, cultural, ideological and geographical circumstances. Because, the city is not only “an object which is perceived by millions of people of widely diverse class and character, but it is the product of many builders who are constantly modifying the structure for reasons of their own” (Lynch, 1960, p. 2).

The interaction between the circumstances and the city is not a one way operation. While the city is being shaped by the people and the circumstances, the city creates citizens and circumstances of its own. The city, with its spaces and buildings, affects the formation of its people’s identity (Borden, Kerr, Pivaro and Rendell, 1996). The essence of the city is reflected in the people, and “the expression of culture, society

and the individual in time and space” (Bestelieu and Doevendans 2002, p. 233) is developed in the city.

If the city is built by and for the man, then the main raw material of the city can be considered to be human-beings. What generate the city are the mentioned continuous interactions between the man and the entity of the city. As Lynch (1960) explains, our perception of the city involves almost every sense, and the image of it is the composite of all those senses. Espelt and Benito (2005) define city images as “mental structures” and explain that they are constituted by some kind of knowledge on the elements and body of the city and the impressions and values that are based on a series of perceptions of a more emotional and affective nature. This perception is a result of not always a direct contact with the city, but sometimes a contact with its representations. Either way, we associate a spectacle with some meanings, evaluations and feelings, and whether we personally experience the city or not, we develop an image of that city in our minds.

Hung (2000) believes that there are some messages hidden behind the figures within the city, and the images are created by those relationships. The notion of “messages” may not only imply the didactic impositions as it appears. Rather, it constitutes all the personal or collective meanings in the built environment; that are the reflections of experiences, ideologies, cultural, political and economical structures and the actions depending on them. And because any of these would vary for each individual and city, the images differentiate for every city and for every individual within a particular city. Carrera (1998) associates the variation in the images of the individuals with the exposition of them “to different city experiences at different times and from different spatial viewpoints” (p. 10). Still, it is not totally

impossible to designate common images because there are usually “common denominators in the individual Images” (p. 10) that are “areas of agreement which might be expected to appear in the interaction of a single physical reality, a common culture, and a basic physiological nature” (Lynch, 1960, p. 7).

Homogeneity in the image of a particular city among large numbers and groups of people may presumably be related with the sharpness of the image. By sharp image, we mean the image of “a vivid and integrated physical setting” (Lynch, 1960, p. 4). According to Lynch (1960), sharp images play a social role and help to create collective experiences; and certainly, this explanation is valid for both negative and positive images.

Problems in the legibility and likeability of the city may lead to a negative image. Complexity and orderliness in the structure, lack of identity, the shifts in the environment, even if they are favorable, disturb the individuals and disorganizes their perception, and so, obstruct the legibility of the city (Lynch, 1960). Abrasion, artificiality and unpleasant personal experiences that may be totally independent from any reality of the city influences likeability negatively. Furthermore, situational problems such as decaying in industrial cities, peripheral locations, little contribution to national economy, unemployment, ongoing crime and incidents such as racial and ethnic clashes, terrorist attacks, assaults on tourists, epidemics or fatal diseases, and natural disasters cause formation of a common negative image of a city (Avraham, 2004). A negative image creates “stereotypes associated with the city” (Avraham, 2004, p. 472) and sometimes prejudgment, and affects the decision makers and the visitors. Also, “residents of unfavorably perceived cities often suffer from lack of pride in their city and from a low self-image” (Avraham, 2004, p. 476).

On the other hand, positive images might be considered to be “clear” and “favorable” images. Clear images, which are related to the structural legibility of the city, ease and accelerate the movement and transport of its citizens and visitors (Lynch, 1960). Favorable images, which include also clear images, give people sense of emotional security and enable them to “establish a harmonious relationship between himself and the outside world” (p. 4). They provide the citizens with the sense of belonging and help to attract more visitors to experience the city. Positive images are not only in favor of the individuals, but also in favor of the entity of the city, and even the country, as the city can “compete with other cities and remain in respectable positions in the urban hierarchy” (Avraham, 2004, p. 472). Moreover, the image of a city is so important that even its existence may be dependent on it as the image of a city is more important than its authenticity for the conservationists and the heritage industry (Heynen, 1999).

The dependency of a city on its image for its corporeity is actually a matter of the modern world, which is more dependent on the economy. This is rationally the reason why the recent studies on “city image” are more related to the “place promotion” in the scope of tourism and capital. The basic assumption is that, if a city attracts more visitors or investment, then it will have more economical power that will provide for its survival. Depending on this assumption, creating a positive image in their minds or ensuring that it has the potential for it becomes the only way to attract people to the city. Being valid for almost any case, this assumption and mentality, expectedly instigates criticisms on transformation of the cities into “objects of direct consumption” (Jansson, 2003, p. 463). Then, the citizens insipidly become nothing more than consumers.

However, for the theoretical studies that this thesis is established upon, estranging perspectives are avoided. It is claimed that the existence of the citizens in the city and the existence of the city in the space are likely to depend on more virtuous causes. Moreover, their relationship is considered to be created upon extensive meanings.

2.2. Formation of the “City Image”

The city image, just like the city itself, is a multi-dimensional entity. Lynch (1960) proposes three components of city image; identity, structure and meaning, which together form the image of the city. Although the interpretation of the dimensions and natures of those three components vary, their existence has not been challenged in any other following study.

Lynch, in the “The Image of the City”, concentrated on the physical features of a city that lead to image formation. Thus, the emphasis was on the components “identity” and “structure”; what we see rather than what we feel or interpret. “Meaning” was not underestimated, but was put aside to reach an advanced understanding of “imageability”. Imageability is identified with “legibility”, and “visibility” in a broader sense, and explained as the “quality in a physical object which gives it a high probability of evoking a strong image in any given observer” (Lynch, 1960, p. 9). The qualities in question are shape, color and arrangement; and they address the senses of the people to lead construction of “vividly identified, powerfully structured, highly useful mental images” (p. 9). He adds that “the need to recognize and pattern our surroundings is so crucial, and has such long roots in the past, that this image has wide practical and emotional importance to the individual” (pp. 2-3). Thus, what affects imageability is not only the legibility of the body of the city, but also what it

reflects such as “the social meaning of an area, its function, its history, or even its name” (p. 46).

Working on “meaning” that was almost left out in Lynch’s studies, Nasar (1998) proposed the notion of the “evaluative image of the city”. According to Nasar, people’s appraisals of the environment created the “meaning”, which he referred to as “likeability”. According to him, evaluation of the city determines *likeability* and likeability is affected by the naturalness, upkeep, openness, historical significance and the order of the city.

Essentially, our image of the city is a result of any kind of perception; we can not really claim that neither legibility, nor likeability has a greater role in the image formation. Furthermore, those properties are not totally independent. Boyer (1994) explains the mentioned dependency as that a frozen image is created by the spatial order of the city and this image evokes the memory and amazement of the spectator. “Somehow, we internalize a ‘synthesis’ of this bombardment of sensate inputs and organize our own internal mental Image of a City in the process” (Carrera, 1998, p. 10). This leads us to his understanding of the nature of ‘the Image²’ as complex, multi-sensorial and abstract because it is not simply visual but also metaphysical as it encapsulates all the visual perceptions, knowledge and opinions about the city.

What we should also emphasize is that the complexity of the image also depends on its unsteady nature, because, “this mental Image is constantly revised as new

² Carrera makes a distinction between “the Image”, which is of our subject in this thesis, and “images”, which are optical.

information comes in” (Carrera, 1998, p. 10). Time plays a great role in the formation and experiencing of the city because the city is “time-regulated” (Akkerman, 2000) and “is perceived only in the course of long spans of time” (Lynch, 1960, p. 1). The creation of a city is not a sudden process, and through it, the activities are transformed. Whether they are the decision makers, planners or citizens, the actors in the city and their roles change in time (Çağlar, et al. 2006).

The built environment is transformed by and for the changing actors in respect to the changing activities, and everything that drops behind takes its place in the “collective memory”. Boyer (1994) describes city as the collective expression of architecture, urban form, and history and says that it carries in the weaving and unrevealing of its fabric the memory traces of earlier architectural forms, city plans, and public monuments. Maiques (2003) sees the urban landscape as a product of ever changing- and sometimes disappearing- metaphors and discourses. This viewpoint leads us to the understanding of the mutability of the image, but moreover, it refers the implicit meanings of the environment.

The perception of the changing city is also transformed depending on the changing tastes and demands, so assessment of the city changes. It is not possible to assess the ancient city and the modern city in the same way, because their dynamics are incompatible. For example, Öktem (2005) describes urban space as a central site of antagonisms and negotiations of identities and rights of “ownership”. This hypothesis might be worked upon a city of any time, but the idea behind the power struggle is quite different. In the modern city, everything is more dependent on the economy, and the struggle is to gain an economic power rather than a hierarchical power. In fact, the struggle is always for or against hierarchy, but what determines

that hierarchy is dissimilar for the two eras. As explained by Haussermann (2005, p. 240), Marxists regarded the city “as the place of collective consumption, and the struggle for good infrastructure was seen as part of the class struggle that had its centre in the sphere of production”. This viewpoint might be true for the contemporary cities, whereas its validity is questionable for the ancient cities.

In this thesis, the components are taken as they were proposed by Lynch (1960). Their formation and perception are interpreted as the phases of the image formation process. To have a better understanding of the image of the city, the three components were elaborated in respect to their comprehensive meanings.

2.2.1. Identity

Just like any entity, all the cities have their own distinct characters which create their identities. According to Lynch (1960), for a workable image, the city must be identifiable and distinctive among the others; and its identity is its oneness and individuality. What is implied by identity is more a physical datum, not independent from circumstantial inputs, mainly explicit in the body of the city. Although the physical stimulus is constant for every perceiver, the interpretation of what is seen will differ according to “our own socialization” (Hague, 2005, p. 5). That is because it is accepted to be beyond a physical component; it depends on intentional and action based conformations and it is claimed to be not only subjective, but also relational (Hague, 2005). As Carrera (1998) argues, what produces identity are the combination of concrete objects, dynamic activity and their interrelations. Furthermore, as the subjects of the activities, the people of the city can be accepted as a constituent of the identity.

Because of rapid developments in the transportation and communication, the boundaries are dissolving and the world is being constituted of identical units. Saleh (2001) believes that loss of identity is a result of loss of “culture” in the globalized world. But, this immediate consumption of other cultures is more in a visual context; the essence is usually omitted. Still, the idea behind and the manner of the adaptation in means of formation and activity may help us interpret the identity. So, the assumption of loss of identity in the modern city makes the need for a deeper understanding of the interrelations which reflects the identity crucial.

Being formed and re-formed continuously by and for the activities, “identity is always incomplete, always subsumes a lack, perhaps is more readily understood as a process rather than an outcome” (Keith and Pile, 1993, p. 28). Hence, while identifying the city, why and how the physical being of the city is formed is as significant as the physical qualities. Then, considering the role of intention and action in the formation of an identity helps us go beyond what we see, understand the essence of the perceived object.

2.2.2. Structure

The identity of the city is reflected mainly by its structure, which constitutes the form and the body of the city. Lynch (1960) describes structure as “the spatial or pattern relation of the object to the observer and to other objects” (p. 8). In other words, he takes structure as the organization of the elements of the city. Norberg-Schulz (1979) also refers to the structure of the man-made places as the interrelations within its *presencing*³. Structure implies the body of the city, the “permanent or long-

³ Defined by Rossi (1979) as the “being” which implies the particular relationships to the ground and to the sky.

lasting physical objects, both man-made and natural” (Carrera, p. 5) and their organization.

As Carrera (1998) suggests, the structure implies not only the organization of the physical objects, but also their mere presence which certainly can not be defined without the interrelations. The structure of the city is built by and for the activity and people. Actually, although Lynch (1960) defines the structure as a relation, he also mentions the physical formations to describe the relations. According to him, the city has nodes, paths, districts, edges and landmarks that define its structure. Conroy Dalton and Bafna (2003) describes the nodes, paths and districts as the spatial descriptors of the city and all the relations of them with the observers are topological; they are perceived by a direct exposure. On the other hand, they refer to edges and landmarks as visual descriptors which are not spatial; the observer can not directly experience them as spaces, but rather, those descriptors give a sense of distance and direction to the observer to locate himself or the other spaces within the city.

What is challenging in understanding the structure of a city is that, the descriptions made so far may lead to perception of the structure as a two dimensional datum. However, the structure of the city is a multi-dimensional reality, which can not be assessed depending on actions on a single plane. The perception of the structure includes the perception of vertical planes and the formation and experience of the structure includes vertical actions also, giving the structure a third dimension. Consequently, we may accept the structure as a three-dimensional network, with the vertical and horizontal descriptors, the joints and the spaces defined in relation to them.

In any case, although there is a thought that “in contemporary urban fiction, the city (and the narrative itself) has lost all structural coherence” (Birringer, 1989, p. 122), the essence of the city is always reflected in its body as urban space is determined by symbols and geometry (Saleh, 2001). Even the loss of coherence may give us an idea about the dichotomy of and in the city. Mostly, thinking about city, as Andreoli states (1996, p. 64) “we first think about its look- the look of its buildings, streets and monuments. Or, we might recall the ‘flavour’ of the city”. The look of the city is what we perceive from the body, and the flavour is about the meanings and our memories; together, they constitute our image of the city.

2.2.3. Meaning

Perceiving the entity of the city, every individual and every group of individuals construct an image, combining their knowledge, senses and feelings with the perceived body. Carrera (1998) explains that we attach meanings to the entity of the city when we internalize mainly what we see, but also what we hear, smell, and less likely to happen, taste and touch. Thus, the internal accumulations determine the meaning that we attach to a place.

If meaning attachment is mainly an internal process, then the variation in the meaning of a place is the most various component of the image of a city. As Arnheim (1979) claims for the architectural artifacts, every individual looks at his environment “with his own particular bias” (p. 18), and so, the meaning of the city is less likely to be consistent than are the perceptions of identity and structure (Lynch, 1960). Still, there are common experiences, needs, thoughts and tastes, and more over, there is “collective memory” within groups of people, thus tracing out the

meaning of a place is not impossible. Hence, in this study, collective meaning, rather than individual meanings, is of the subject.

Carrera (1998) mentions three meanings of meaning that are significance, understanding and intention. Meaning as understanding is based on the knowledge about a city; “the more knowledge one has about a city, the more meaningful the city becomes” (p. 9). Meaning as significance is the likeability of the city; it is the kind of meaning that Nasar (1998) proposed to explain the evaluative image of the city. These two kinds of meaning are created by the perceiver as it was explained above.

However, *meaning as intention* is more related to the created or imposed meaning of a place, that is rather a product of the city construction or place promotion process implemented by the decision makers- the state, the municipality, the tourism associations and the planners and architects. This kind of meaning is more explicit in the body of the city than the others, because, it can not be considered as an individual internal process. It aims at creating the previous two meanings, so it creates a form or an image of the form to influence understanding and significance of the city.

Meaning may also be related to city’s functional, spiritual, ethnic, national and historic value (Lynch, 1960; Carr, Francis, Rivlin and Stone, 1992), independent from individual relations to the city. In this case, meanings, and thus the image, are “evoked by the name” (Carr, et al., 1992).

The identity and the structure are immutable for a given city, but the meanings usually vary. The image of a city is formed in some kind of relation with the city; “the

person must have a personal relationship with a place in order to develop connections to it" (Carr, et al., 1992, p. 233). It is not always a direct relation to be built up through experiencing, but may also be an indirect one created through mediation. Carrera (1998) mentions two genres of city image, which are "experiential" and "mediated" images, with respect to the type of the relation between the "imaged" and the "imager". What people experience or what kind of mediation they are exposed to, with their memories and existing knowledge affect the meanings they attach to a place, and thus, form their images of the city.

2.2.3.1. Experience

Experiencing a city is a direct exposure to the entity, and thus the best way to have the true image of that city. With experience, a two-way process is realized between the observer and his environment (Lynch, 1960). The environment provides multiple stimuli to the observer, and they are perceived and interpreted attaching meanings to the environment in the light of the existing knowledge and the memories of the past experiences.

There is certainly a great difference between the images created by habitation and visitation, because, the expectations and needs are usually different for the inhabitants and the visitors. Assessment is a part of the image formation process, and the value of an architectural object, which is in our case, the value of the city, "is determined by the needs of mankind" (Arnheim, 1979, p. 20). The people adapt themselves to their environment, and "the adaptation level helps determine the degree to which a particular quality is experienced" (p. 18). The inhabitants certainly adapt themselves to their environment more than the visitors do, so their experience of the city is more concerned.

Habitation is a prolonged and detailed experience of the city, by which the people actually experience it as a part of their daily life and construct their image of the city that “is soaked in memories and meanings” (Lynch, 1960, p. 1). Vice versa, the daily life and the actions of the inhabitants determine the identity and structure of the city and certainly attach a meaning to the place.

The identities of the citizens are a part of the city’s identity, and in return, their identity is affected by the identity of the city; in other words, there is a mutual relationship between the inhabitants’ and the cities’ identities. And similarly, the structure is shaped in reference to the inhabitants’ actions and their actions are guided by the structure of the city. So, the relations of the inhabitants with the structure and identity of a city are more about the formation of identity and structure, not the perception fundamentally.

What, in principal differentiates the image of the citizens from the other images is the meanings they attach to their city. Their experience is more concerned with the daily problems and delights of the city, so their assessment is more dependent on real-life situations. Furthermore, their image involves sense of belonging, or completely the opposite, sense of alienation. Banerjee and Lynch (1977) argue that adolescents depend on their home and its periphery for psychological stimulation and sustenance, and that is presumably valid for a citizen of any age. Thus sense of home usually has the potential to lead a positive image of the city for the inhabitants. Furthermore, the images of the inhabitants who have been exposed to environmental stimuli for a long time always carry the traces of past collective and

individual experiences. Shared experiences lead to formation of collective memory, and meaning attachment is influenced highly by the collective memory.

By visitation, human-beings are exposed to the real life situation of a place, but for a shorter time and with different expectations and needs. "It differs from habitation in its ephemeral nature and hence produces shallower Images" (Carrera, 1998, p. 19). Witnessing the real-life situation of a place certainly works better than seeing its mediated representations for the image formation process (Avraham, 2004). But still, this relation is more a witness, than an experience.

The visitors usually have some previously mediated images of the place that they are visiting. This image affects their decision-making while they are choosing where to go and their activities within that place. Chen and Tsai (2007) explain that the behaviors of the tourists include "pre-visit's decision-making, onsite experience, experience evaluations and post-visit's behavioral intentions and behaviors" (p. 1115). So, at the time of visitation and after that, the tourist alters his image according to his experiences, and his image becomes "more complete" and likely to "change from a poor image to a rich image" (Avraham, 2004, p. 474).

Thus, the visitors combine their previsions and experiences to construct the image of the city that they have visited. Their previsions are affected by their knowledge about the city's physical appearance and atmosphere, its status or the political power, the characteristics and the size of the population, the socioeconomic structure, the number and character of national institutions located within the city, its location and historical background, its cultural value, the entertainment options available, movies and television series that have been filmed on location in the city

and its media coverage (Avraham, 2004). The more the visitors gathers information about the city, the more sagacious images they will have about the city; Carrera (1998) claims that an ideal visitation will consist of “blending in with the locals and being largely inconspicuous” (p. 20) so that all the meanings of the city will be taken in the most unadulterated form.

2.2.3.2. Mediation

The image formation is a reciprocal process which requires some kind of interaction between the observer and the observed. Mediation is a generative or an influential intervention to this interaction. The mentioned intervention involves the actions to raise consciousness in some way or the representations that raises familiarity with the city. For the cities we experience in some way, mediation strengthens or sometimes alters our perception of the city and the meanings we attach to it (Lynch, 1960; Carrera, 1998). For the cities we have not experienced yet, mediation is a representation of it, to which we are exposed instead of its entity to construct an image in our minds. Either way, our image of a city is affected by those mediations in the absence of or along with direct exposure to the stimulus of the city. As Carrera (1998) claims, even if we are an inhabitant or a visitor of a city, our image is not independent from its mediations in the modern era in which there is an information overload.

Appearance of a city on any kind of media provides the audience with various representations and information about the city that can be considered as raw materials for image formation (Carrera, 1998). The media portrayals, such as the series, advertisements or movies, which introduce the representations of the city to the viewer, are mainly targeted at their plaudit and curiosity. On the other hand, the

documentaries and the news coverage of the city are expected to reflect its real state and to give information about the city in question. Beyond the quality and the effectiveness of the media portrayal, the strength of the image produced is also proportional to its frequency of appearance and the number of people exposed to it. By this way, the representation and the information of the city process into the subconscious, and become common.

However, rather than the subconscious, the conscious is more likely to have the biggest influence on the formation of city image. Because, in the first place, the city is both a source and a product of a consciousness of being in the world (Bestelieu and Doevendans, 2002). Level of consciousness, then, affects the formation and experience of the city. On the one hand, by training the observer, his consciousness can be developed to *look at* and *see* his environment and thus to internalize its manifold meanings (Lynch, 1960). On the other hand, consciousness of the decision makers and the planners, directly affect the form of and the harmony within the city. This kind of education aiming to raise consciousness may also be used to reorient the entity and the image of the city after a disturbing change (Lynch, 1960).

Place promotion also aims at the consciousness of people, but for a particular reason. It is the process of marketing a city; it is “an awareness-raising exercise, and an attempt to change people's attitudes towards a place in order to influence their behavior” (Young and Kaczmarek, 1999, p. 185). According to Avraham (2004), place marketing emerged in the colonial times to encourage people to move to the territories that were recently conquered. In the modern world, in which the cities are more dependent on the economy, place promotion is used to attract more visitors and investments to the city. Place leaders, urban planners and decision-

makers, in the last decades, started to attempt to create positive and attractive images targeting the residents of other cities, investors or the management of companies, industrial factories or plants, entrepreneurs, and the national decision-makers (Avraham, 2004)

The concept of urban consciousness has been taken so much further in the elaborations of the Marxist thought, predicating its existence on the struggle of the modern man in the capital-dependent everyday life. According to Lefebvre (1992), basic needs of daily life, those are actually required just to stay alive, “can become a power, in other words a freedom” (p. 173). The man can “experience, live out and react to the totality of social transformations and structures” only within the urban space that accommodates the “material realities of the daily life” (Harvey, 1985, p. 251). If the man frees himself from the monotonous actions of the everyday life and reacts to those material realities, he can then develop a fundamental consciousness of the meanings of space and time (Harvey, 1985), interrogating his environment.

3. ANKARA AND ITS IMAGE

Ankara experienced a sudden and conscious development in the early years of the Republic. While the city was being formed mainly to ensure a particular socio-cultural formation, an image was also being created for the city. Only by doing so, the intended ideology could be constructed, distributed and represented. Thus, rather than physical arrangements within the city, the identity and the meanings that would be conveyed via spatiality influenced the formation of the city and its image. So, the collective image of Ankara should be investigated upon the examination of the interface between the social and spatial formations, rather than upon an analysis of its physical qualities.

3.1. Ankara at the Beginning of the 20th Century

Ankara, located at the center of Anatolia, has a long history reaching back to the ancient times. Among the civilizations it accommodated, there are the Hittites, the Frigs and the Hellens. After being ruled by the Empire of Rome, Byzantines, Seljuks and Akhis, at the beginning of the 15th Century, it became a part of the Ottoman Empire (Araz, 1994). In the Ottoman Period, it was considered to be the most important city of production, in which the Ankara wool (sof) was manufactured and traded (Erendil and Ulusoy, 2002). Ankara of the Ottoman Empire accommodated the wealthy merchants who can be considered as belonging to the bourgeois class (Ankara, 2003), so, the city had the economical power to be included in the monumental cities of the era. But rather, the city preferred to exist as

a rational, modest city with its elaborate housing and simple public buildings (Ortaylı, 1994; Ankara, 2003), such as the mosques, the bedestens (closed bazaars) and the hostels for itinerant merchants (Erdentuğ and Burçak, 1998). But it can be argued that the primary elements of the morphology of the city were the traditional houses within the citadel (Aktüre, 1994) (see Appendix A, Figure A2).

At the end of the 19th Century, Ankara, as a trade center, started to lose its importance with the flow of the industrial products from the West to the country (Ankara, 2003). Furthermore, it was naturally being affected by the regression of the Empire (Önsoy, 1994) that was losing its power and was being dragged upon a chaos under the influence and pressures of the outer world. Still, when the city became a station of the developing network of railroad in 1892 (Ortaylı, 1994) (see Appendix A, Figure A1), it showed the signs of recovery owing to the dynamism that the railway provided. But its economical activity and power did not have the chance to actually revive (Erendil and Ulusoy, 2002; Ankara, 2003).

At the beginning of the 20th Century, Ankara could only be distinguished from a village by its scale and the leftovers of its citadel (Kılıçbay, 1994). Furthermore, in 1917, the expansive fire instigated the decline of the city (Erendil and Ulusoy, 2002). As Araz (1994) states then, Ankara was tired, abandoned and miserable; it was a small, dark, sleeping town that was forgotten by anyone else but its citizens and was almost erased from the map.

3.2. Announcement of Ankara as the Capital

The circumstances expectedly got harder for the citizens as the city was chosen by Atatürk as the military center of the War of Independence (Yavuz and Özkan, 1984).

On the 23rd of April in 1920, Turkish National Assembly (TBMM) was founded in Ankara, and the city unofficially became the center of the state. This decision firstly depended on its strategic location that was distant enough from the Empire and the foreign forces, and central enough to control the periphery. Secondly, the city was a part of the railway network and it had a telegraph system, which together provided the urgent communication and transportation for the military and civil forces (Bozdoğan, 2001; Tekeli, 1994). Now, the mission of the city was impressively important. However, the city itself, suffering from the exceptional and difficult conditions of the war, did not really have the qualities to reflect such a significance.

When the War of Independence came to a successful end, Ankara, with its citizens and their determination, became a part of the independence story of the Turks. Ankara, on the 13th of October in 1923, just a few weeks before the foundation of the new Republic (Şimşir, 2001) was announced to be the capital as a symbol of returning back to Anatolia and as a challenge to İstanbul (Kılıçbay, 1994). Later, this decision was going to be stated in the 3rd article of the constitutional charter of the Turkish Republic, and the 4th article would indicate its changelessness.

Now, it was time to build the new Republic established on the secular nationalist doctrine that would replace Islam as the cultural foundation and overall ideology of Turkish policy (Özbudun and Kazancıgil, 1981). Constructing a new culture and ideology meant reforming the whole way of living in the city. By doing so, the regime was going to secure its own existence and build a 'modern image' for its reputation and acceptance along the other modern countries. The civilizing ambition of the nationalist elites was tried to be implied primarily in the cities, where the state power could operate and was displayed effectively, rather than the countryside (Akman,

2004). Ankara, as the Capital, became the fundamental stage of the country at which the desired secular ideology and modernity would be actualized and exhibited. Furthermore, it was going to constitute a model for the other Anatolian cities (Yeşilkaya, 2005), with its urban and spatial features as well as with its social and cultural structure (Uludağ, 2005).

We may deduce that, related to the envisions to create the new Republic, the state had two primary objectives in front of it for Ankara. The first one was to build a strong foundation for the intended modern and secular Republic from which the new ideology and the culture could be diffused. The second one was to convince the outer world and the opposites who objected Ankara being the capital. To achieve those two objectives, on the one hand, the capital had to be rebuilt and developed, and a strong image of it had to be formed on the other.

3.3. Formation of the Image of Ankara

What makes the image formation of Ankara significant is, as it was mentioned in the first chapter, that it is coeval with the formation of the city itself. When a new settlement is being built, its image expectedly develops with the appearance of the settlement because “a new object may seem to have strong structure or identity because of striking physical features which suggest or impose their own pattern” (Lynch, 1960, pp. 6 - 7). However, the formation processes either of the city or of its image are not usually intentional as they are for the case of Ankara. Furthermore, although being constructed in the modern world, Ankara, at least in the early years of its existence, proposes another kind of ‘city image’. That is not a product of economical or functional worries, and not formed only depending on everyday

experiences or the city's mediations. Rather, it is a product of an ideology and also of its people as a part of the formation process.

Hence, in this study, it is claimed that the image formation of Ankara can not be abstracted from the formation of the city itself. Built upon this assumption, the three elements of image formation are accepted to be overlapping with the three phases of city formation. To be more specific, identity of the city is considered to be primarily a subject of the envisions of the state. Structure, on the other hand, was a product of the planning process. Lastly, the meaning of the city was mainly created by experiences and the mediations of the city. Only by associating the formation processes of Ankara and its image, we can discuss the coherence within the early republican Ankara to evaluate its image.

3.3.1. Envisioning the City: Identity

Depending on the argument that the identity of the city is a combination of the physical qualities and the activities within the city, the identity of Ankara can be investigated upon the envisions about the activities and the entity of the city. After all, both the activities and the setting in which those activities were going to occur had to fit the ideals of the new government. So, the city as a representation of the new Republic (with its entity and its society as a system), was going to be 'Westernized', 'modern' and 'secular' at the level of 'contemporary civilization'. In general, what was meant by being modern was being national rather than imperial, being secular rather than Islamic, being contemporary rather than traditional and being progressive rather than backward (Akman, 2004). All the activities and the entity of the city were in the service of this envision.

The activities within the city can be discussed as political, economical, cultural and social activities, and services. Moreover, always in relation with the activities, there are people and urban artifacts that constitute the entity of the city. The envisioned city can reveal its identity only if there is a coherence between the dynamics of this system; thus, what we investigate is the interrelations within the system.

The political activities in Ankara primarily depended on its function of being the governmental center. This particular function constitutes a strong stimulus to identify a city; in the simplest sense, it gives the city the speciality of being 'the capital'. Beyond giving to the city a functional characteristic, the political activities in Ankara arranged the dynamics within the society. This arrangement was provided by the revolutions of Atatürk that consisted of political, social, educational, cultural, judicial and economical regulations selectively articulated from the experience of Western European societies (Akman, 2004). In a broader sense, the Republic's reforms targeted a 'modern', 'civilized' culture. Moreover, production of the Turkish History Thesis and the Sun-language Theory under the supervision of Atatürk aimed at relating the origin of the Turkish Nation not to Ottoman Empire but rather to the earlier civilizations (Akman, 2004). Thus, the Islamic past (of the country and the city) was ignored to ensure 'secularity'.

The primary economical activities were mainly created by placing the headquarters of the newly founded banks in Ankara. This action can be explained as an effort to gain 'economical independence' to complete the independence movement (Ergut, 2005). Furthermore, this genre of economic activities, along with the political ones would identify the city as the most 'powerful' city of the country among others. The

political and the economical activities, as is seen, were required for the new state to generate itself and its identity.

Moreover, the citizens had to be provided with cultural and social activities and services to reshape their everyday life, and so to arise a certain kind of culture in the city. That is why there was a high effort to arrange international exhibitions, operas, cinemas, theatres and sports bouts and most importantly, to open up the community centers (halkevleri) to encourage the citizens for those activities and arise their familiarity and consciousness with the intended culture (see Appendix B, Figure B1). In 1939, in the 7th year of their foundation, there were 367 community centers all over the country, that were referred as ‘the source of ideals and knowledge’ (“Halkevlerimiz”, 1939). So, it is possible to claim that they had the biggest influence on the society in creating the consciousness of that particular kind of living that was said to be raising the society to the level of civilization.

The services provided for transportation and communication, facilitated the interaction between the activities and the body of the city. Furthermore, there were services to maintain the upkeep of the city that were enthusiastically appreciated by the citizens of Ankara, which was lacking of any interest before becoming the capital (see Appendix B, Figure B2). The services provided in the new social spaces such as restaurants, cafes and casinos also aimed at keeping the level of civilization.

The new activities within the city modified the profile of the citizens of Ankara. The old citizens were constituted of mostly wealthy but modest tradesmen and craftsmen as the city was the center of production of *sof*. The women could not even be counted among the actors of the city due to the introverted lifestyle of the traditional

Islamic society. After the city was declared to be the capital, the most noticeable members must have been the bureaucrats with their modern wives or daughters.

“Architecture, by its very nature, has always been a powerful symbol as well as an effective instrument of reform and change in the modern world” (Bozdoğan, 2001, p. 10). All the activities and the citizens mentioned in the previous paragraphs, in the first place, required to be accommodated in appropriate places. As Erendil and Ulusoy (2002) state, to establish the nation-state and to create the consciousness of the citizens, the highest importance was given to the urban areas as the ‘seedbeds’ for creating the modern society. And the setting created in Ankara aimed at a high culture based on the modern living standards rather than the traditional living standards (Bayraktar, 2005). On the other hand, the city with its architectural products was a visible symbol of the intended nation and the republic (Bozdoğan, 2001; Ergut, 2005). That is why, the identity proposed for Ankara can be considered as “a ‘concrete’ manifestation of the high modernist vision” (Bozdoğan, 2001, p. 6).

The identity of Ankara in means of built environment was primarily formed by the state buildings, the monuments and the urban spaces that they defined (Akman, 2004; Yeşilkaya, 2005). The focal point of the modernization project of the state was not the residential buildings for that they had a private, non-state character (Akman, 2004). Still, modernization was going to be implied subsequently in the residential buildings as a result of imposition of modernization into the culture of the society. But for the early years of the republic, the intended identity of the city was best revealed in the governmental and administration buildings, such as the ministries, headquarters and banks, and in the public buildings, such as the theatres, schools and hospitals.

In fact, the question of constructing an identity for the built environment of Ankara and of the whole country was not an issue that was agreed upon. There was an effort to reconcile the modern with the national (Bozdoğan, 2001) and how it was going to be succeeded was a matter of conflict. Furthermore, there was a viewpoint that advocated eradication of all the traces from the past, and creating or borrowing something totally new and international. As a result, all the approaches has been seen within the city in consecutive periods. But it should be underlined that whatever the style would be, the motivation underlying the construction of the city was the desire to represent the revolutionary and modernist character of the Republic (Akman, 2004).

The First National Style dominated the architectural production in the period between 1908 and 1930. The artifacts of that period reflected “a nostalgia for Ottoman heritage” (Yavuz and Özkan, 1984) (see Figures 3.1 - 3.4). The mentioned period started with the Turkish nationalism in the constitutional monarchy, continued in the Independence War years and involved the early years of the Republic (Yavuz, 1994). So, at the early years of the Republic, in spite of all the revolutionary formations, the architectural tendencies were towards the preservation of the Ottoman style. Eventually, it could not be expected that the architects such as Arif Hikmet Koyunoğlu, Guilio Mongeri, Vedat Tek and Kemalettin Bey who had been educated with the Ottoman traditions could have a revolutionary tendency all of a sudden (Sözen, 1984). Furthermore, the lack of a revolutionary understanding in the architectural production can be accepted as a consequence of the introversion of the community (Sözen, 1984).



Figure 3.1- Vedat Tek, 1923-1924, 2nd National Assembly
(<http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/tarihce/kb28.htm#ikinci>)



Figure 3.2- Vedat Tek and Kemalettin Bey, 1924-1928, Ankara Palace (Sözen, 1984)



Figure 3.3- Guilio Mongeri, 1926-1929, Ziraat Bank (Sözen, 1984)



Figure 3.4- A. Hikmet Koyunoğlu, 1927-1930, Community Center (Sözen, 1984)

The actual introduction of the modern style to the architectural culture of the country occurred at the beginning of the 1930s (Bozdoğan, 2001). This process coincides with the migration of some foreign architects led by primarily Post, Holzmeister, Taut and Egli to the country. Not only they designed large-scale buildings in Ankara, but also they participated in the architectural education (Sözen, 1984). Yet, there were also Turkish architects, limited in number, who found the chance to contribute to the architectural production. Among them, there were architects such as Seyfi Arıkan, Şevki Balmumcu, Şekip Akalın, Zeki Sayar. With the appearance and the influence of the foreign architects, a universal perspective was developed in the architectural practice. The aim of the implementation of the universal style was to prove that “Turkey was a modern European nation with no resemblance to the exotic and orientalist aesthetic tropes by which the Ottoman Empire had typically been represented in the past” (Bozdoğan, 2001, p. 11). For that, the buildings were cleaned of unnecessary ornaments and formed in respect to function. However, under the influence of the German architects, rather than a universal style, Middle European Modernism dominated architecture of the period (see Figures 3.5 - 3.8).



Figure 3.5- Clemens Holzmeister, 1932-1934, Ministry of Interior (Sözen, 1984)



Figure 3.6- Seyfi Arkan, 1935-1937, Municipalities Bank (Holod and Evin, 1984,p. 90)



Figure 3.7- Şevki Balmumcu, 1933-1934, National Exhibition Hall (Batur, 1994, p. 223)



Figure 3.8- Ernst Egli, 1930, Institute for Girls (Sözen, 1984)

The dominance of the foreign architects over the stage of architecture and the support that they got from the state expectedly drew reactions from the Turkish professionals. The claim was their dominance prevented the development of the national style (Sözen, 1984). Also, they suffered from the limited opportunities they had for performing their practice. Still, it should be accepted that, the appearing of the foreign architects and the professionals had broadened the visions of both the professionals and the society, and it provided the development of the construction techniques.

The disputation among the foreign and Turkish architects resulted in the constitution of the Second National Style with the death of Atatürk and the resurgence of the nationalist thought (Sözen, 1984). Now, the buildings were being designed to reflect the nationalist discourse. The implementation of stonework, the proportions, the detailing of the openings and the design of the eaves in the monumental buildings of the periods reflect a formalist approach to national architecture (Sözen, 1984). Architects led by Paul Bonatz, Sedad Hakkı Eldem and Emin Onat gave the most significant examples of this style between 1940 and 1950 (see Figures 3.9 - 3.10).

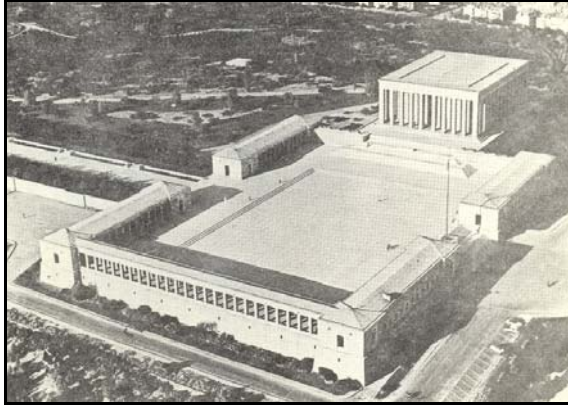


Figure 3.9 - Emin Onat and Orhan Arda, 1944-1953, Atatürk's Mausoleum (Sözen, 1984)



Figure 3.10 - Paul Bonatz, 1946, Opera House converted from Balmumcu's National Exhibiton Hall (Sözen, 1984)

After 1950, not only the nationalist thought lost its significance, but also, the developments in the outer world were started to be pursued. The technologic progress and the independent efforts for alternative architectural productions in the West possessed the stage of architecture in Turkey (Sözen, 1984). Furthermore, the state had lost the interest and hegemony over the architectural production resulting in a liberal-capitalist understanding (Sözen, 1984). The consequence was loss of a collective approach to architecture and of coherence in the city.

Although, in the capital, buildings with different architectural styles were built, it is possible to claim that there was a harmony within the public buildings and public spaces until 1950s. Even the fluctuation of the style of the buildings represents the dichotomies in understanding and exposition of the intended identity. So, nonetheless, an identity for the city was created as a reflection of the identity of the new Republic which was revealed in the body of the city.

3.3.2. Planning the City: Structure

The envisions of the state aimed at the creation of the identity of the city. The structure was not something that they could determine by themselves; rather, the planners and the architects proposed the structure of the city, but still, under the control of the state. In other words, the structure of the city was something that was developed by the planning process.

Beyond being a map only as it was considered to be for a long time, Lörcher Plan was the first plan of Ankara (Cengizkan, 2004) (see Figure 3.11). Lörcher created the plan in two phases: the first phase was the creation of the plan of the Old City (Eski Şehir), and the second phase was the design of the New City (Yeni Şehir), the governmental center, Çankaya (Cengizkan, 2004). The plan constituted a foundation for the development of the infrastructure and for the early settlements that were needed at the time of and after the War of Independence. But its deficiency in satisfying the high expectations and needs for the developing new Capital required a new plan.



Figure 3.11 - Lörcher Plan, 1924-1925 (Cengizkan, 2004, p. 245)

In 1928, Jansen won the International Competition to which he participated with two other planners. The plan (see Figure 3.12) was approved in 1932, and implemented until 1939. In spite of the interventions depending on many speculations and the population's rapid growth, Jansen's plan constituted a base for the general space allocation of the city.



Figure 3.12 - Jansen Plan, 1932 (Holod and Evin, 1984, p. 178)

When Ankara was declared as the capital, it was a small town with the population of 20.000 and was located on the skirts of the citadel. The parliament building was located between the Taşhan (Ulus) Square, the most important meeting point of the new and old citizens of Ankara (Bayraktar, 2005) and the Train Station. After there became a need to accommodate the important visitors, the governors, the bureaucrats and the intellectuals, between 1924-1927 (Yavuz and Özkan, 1984), Ankara Palas was built facing the parliament building and became an indispensable social space (Ergut, 2005).

Actually, at the beginning of the planning process, there had been fevered debates on where the city would be located. But as the most important buildings such as the parliament and the train station were located in the Ulus region, the old city was accepted as the origin of the development of the city. The area between the Train Station and the Ulus Square had already been experiencing a diverse construction when the Jansen Plan was started to be implemented.

The city was developed towards the south of the Old City that was crowned by the Citadel. The axis that connected the Old City and the New City was the Atatürk Boulevard (see Figure 3.13). Along the boulevard, the newly founded banks, the educational institutes and the ministries were built consequently towards the south (see Figure 3.14). The boulevard reached forth the Residence of the President (Cumhurbaşkanlığı Köşkü), Çankaya.

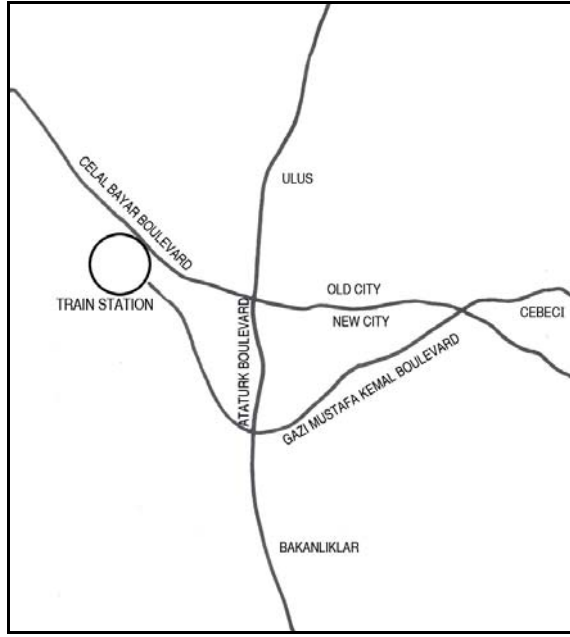


Figure 3.13 - Main axes of the Jansen Plan (adapted from: Holod and Evin, 1984, p. 179)



Figure 3.14 - Atatürk Boulevard ("Büyüyen, Güzelleşen Bayındır Ankara", 1937)

In the Jansen Plan, there were 18 residential areas that were mostly located towards the east and the west and that had their own design of space allocation (Tankut, 1990). Dwellings proposed were at most three storey houses with gardens whether they were adjacent or separated (Tankut, 1990) (see Figure 3.15). The spacious character of the residential areas maintained the openness of the city.



Figure 3.15- Construction site of Garden Houses (Bahçelievler)
(“Ankara 170 Ev Birden Kazanıyor”, 1938)

There had been many alterations during the implementation of the Jansen Plan. For instance, in the preliminary drawings, the area created by Talatpaşa Boulevard, Station Road and Atatürk Boulevard was reserved for commercial areas (Tankut, 1990). However, later on, the Youth Park (Gençlik Parkı) was constructed in the area⁴. This change might be based on the specification of the competition that states the need to keep the visibility of the Citadel by creating green zones. In addition to the urban places, there was a huge effort to green the wide main boulevards of the city. So, the rapid greening of this bare land balanced the intense construction within the city (see Figure 3.16).

⁴ A detailed explanation of the mentioned setting is given in Section 4.1.2.



Figure 3.16 – Greened boulevards (“Yeşil Ankaramız”, 1937)

In spite of the changes made to the plan, the city was constructed aiming at ‘neat’ areas (Erendil and Ulusoy, 2002). The five elements of the structure of the city proposed by Lynch (1960), paths, nodes, districts, edges and landmarks can be read clearly through the plans and the experience of the city. The axis were clearly defined and constructed successfully. At the intersection points of the axis, there were squares such as Ulus Square and Kızılay Square who acted as meeting points for the old and new residents. The city was divided into integrated zones according to their functions (see Figure 3.17). So, it might be claimed that Jansen plan provided ‘legibility’ for Ankara, at least for the early years of the capital.

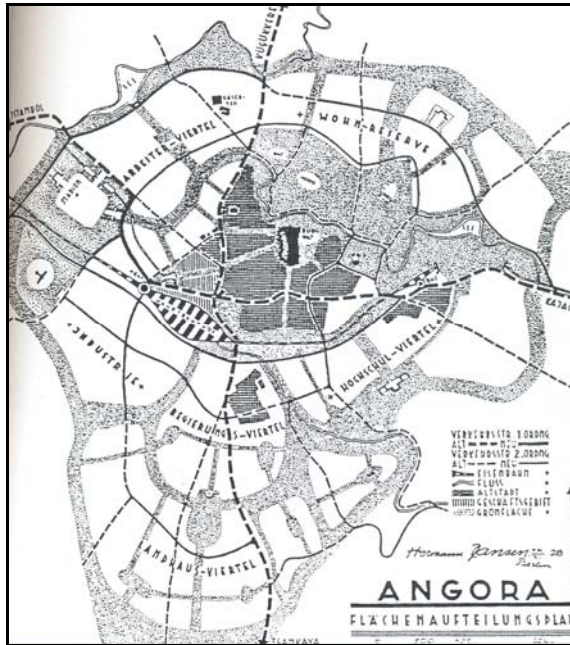


Figure 3.17 - Zoning in the Jansen Plan (Cengizkan, 2004, p. 67)

3.3.3. Experiencing the City: Meaning

The identity and the structure of the city are more about what the city is, on the other hand, meaning is about how and why the city is built in this way. In the image formation process of Ankara, its citizens, the state, the visitors, and the citizens of other cities, more specifically citizens of İstanbul attached meanings to the capital. The three types of meaning that were explained in section 2.2.3. can be defined in respect to the individuals forming the image of the city in their minds.

The meanings of the city formed by the state and the planners is in the category of *meaning as intention*. Those meanings are created not through the experience of the city, but rather by the experiences of the construction of the city. Actually, the identity envisioned by the state and the meaning of Ankara as intention overlaps. For instance, the city was envisioned to be defined as a modern city; modernity was a part of its identity. But why the state wanted particularly a modern city is about its

meaning. Modernity meant civilization and rationality, and Ankara, as it could be sensed through its project of modernity, was aimed to be at the same level with the Western countries in means of civilization and rationality. Furthermore, rationality in the city would reflect enlightenment, the interference with the dogmas and the daily life that was shaped accordingly. Certainly, it should not be forgotten that, in the circumstances occurred after the Independence war, modernity could have been the best possibility to be implemented in the construction of the city. Because, constructing a modern city would be more convenient as it would require less investment in means of capital and harbour.

Construction of the capital away from the remainders of the Ottoman Empire, in a 'deserted' setting is considered to hold a symbolic meaning. Ankara, as the capital of the Republic away from İstanbul, signified a state that had broken ties with the old empire (Bozdoğan, 2001). Against 'the sick man of Europe' as the Ottoman Empire was known in its last years, the new capital symbolized, as Bozdoğan (2001) states, the 'youth', the 'health' and perhaps moreover the 'dynamism' and the 'hopefulness' of the state. Rapidly developing with its dynamism in the mentioned deserted setting, for the state, the capital also meant 'existence' and a succeeded 'struggle' for dominance over the empire and the nature.

The meanings as the intentions of the state were literally expressed in the urban places (Bozdoğan, 2001). The inevitable and encouraged interaction of the citizens and the visitors with the urban artifacts created common experiences of the city. Mediating their perception of the built environment, which expressed the intentions of the state, helped them to attach about the same meanings to the city. For the case of Ankara, the revolutionary social and political transformations and

circumstances, as presumably the most significant arbiters of the life of the citizens, helped conveying collective meanings, thus, created collective images of the city.

In the first place, there was a case of mutual belonging between Ankara and its citizens. They had a sense of ownership of the city in which they live, of the capital that they enthusiastically created. This situation can be observed through the newspaper articles and headlines of the period; most of them referred to the capital as “our Ankara” (Ankaramız) (see Figure 3.16). Besides, their belonging to the Capital can be deciphered through their ‘pride’ of being a part of this heroic city. One of the characters that Karaosmanoğlu (1934) created in his novel ‘Ankara’, narrates the pride and devotion of the citizens on behalf of the author; ‘Did we complain about our deprivations during the national struggle? On the contrary we were pleased to be suffering with everybody else, right?’⁵ (p. 132). Furthermore, the citizens’ sense of belonging to Ankara could be observed by anyone else, that is because, as Kılıçbay (1994) explains, Ankara created its own type of citizens under the conditions offered and the provisions of the Republic; being a citizen of Ankara was a part of their identity. Ayaşlı (2004) refers to this relationship established between Ankara and its citizens by the foreigners.

On the other side of the water there was Anatolia, in Anatolia there was Ankara, the land of the heroes... Ankara, the last standing Turkish castle... Here is these people, coming from that magical, legendary city, from that Turkish castle⁶.

For its citizens, as for the state, Ankara meant “being as civilized as the Westerners”. The citizens of the capital Ankara, were now living in a ‘modern’ setting, provided with ‘Western standards’. They, especially the women were enlightened after

⁵ Milli Mücadele devrindeki mahrumiyetlerimizden bir şikayetimiz olur muydu? Bilakis... herkesle beraber mihnet çekmekten bir zevk bile duyardık değil mi? (p. 133).

⁶ Suyun öbür tarafında Anadolu, Anadolu’da Ankara, kahramanlar diyarı... Ankara son kalan, yıkılmayan Türk kalesi... İşte bu insanlar, o büyüğü, efsane şehirden, o Türk kalesinden geliyorlardı. (p. 104)

a period of an introverted life with the revolutions. Ankara, was the cradle of their 'freedom' and 'enlightenment'. Their consciousness was arose by the services and the facilities offered. The community centers had the biggest influence on their consciousness, with the seminars given by professionals, artists and statesmen, and with the social and cultural activities practiced. The consciousness also would furnish the citizens with the sensibility and the knowledge for evaluating their environment and forming their life. Tarcan (1939) emphasized the importance of cultivating taste for becoming civilized and for having elegant life style as the Westerners had.

Presumably, as Lynch (1960) explained, the immediate and striking formation of the environment, of the urban space, sharpened the perception of the citizens independent from their consciousness and from the physical qualities of the city. The process acted as a mediation; in a way, the city promoted itself reconstructing a revolutionary city. Admiration of the citizens is expressed as the previously mentioned 'pride'. On the other hand, perhaps the most important aim of this enthusiastic construction was ensuring the appreciation of the outer world. The success of the process could easily be observed in the foreign press, the Observer and the Guardian news-papers, that were investigated in this study.

Determination of the capital was an object of curiosity for the West (see Appendix C, Figure C1). They quoted the intentions of the Republican state to move away from the Ottoman center for an actual independence. But it was also mentioned that for the foreign ambassadors and the ministers, migrating to Ankara would mean "a loss of contact with civilization" (Constantinople or Ankara, 1923). After Ankara was decided to be the capital, some interviews were made with the authorities to

understand the motivations behind the determination of the capital (see Appendix C, Figure C2). For instance, in the interview with Ali Fuat Paşa, the vice president of the assembly, the role of Ankara in the War of Independence was emphasized as a reason for the decision (Ankara to Remain New Turk Capital, 1923). However, the West did not seem to be convinced until the Jansen Plan was started to be implemented (see Appendix C, Figure C3). According to the observations made by the correspondents, the city was not developing as it was intended to be (A Deserted Capital, 1928). Starting from 1929, positive changes can clearly be observed in the manner Ankara was mentioned. Lacoste (1929) not only claimed that the new city was built in the American style, but also depicted the newly met modernity with the arrival of foreign movies and the opening of the shops. He also mentioned the “dignified happiness” of the citizens. The design and the implementation of Jansen Plan attracted the interest of the West, and even evoked their admiration. Now, the articles were more concerned about the success of building the new modern capital. The sudden, and probably unexpected development of the city was expressed by the media (see Appendix C, Figures C4 - C6). In brief, the changes in the attitude of the news and articles during the construction process of Ankara designates that the outer world was convinced and even impressed by the young capital.

As is seen, the spatiality that was intended to be created in Ankara carried particular meanings for the state and the people. Those meanings were best revealed in urban public spaces of the city creating collective image of the city. These assumptions lead to the investigation of some certain urban artifacts for a deeper understanding of the interface between the social and spatial formations within the city and its re-formation in the minds of people.

4. CONTRIBUTION OF THE TRAIN STATION TO THE IMAGE OF ANKARA

The Train Station is one of the best examples through which the formation of the spatiality and the social structuring within the city can be traced out. There are many reasons that make this particular building special among the other urban artifacts of Ankara, and they are to be discussed in the following sections. The assumption is that the role of the station in social and spatial formations leads to its contribution to the image of the capital.

4.1. Urban Artifacts in the Formation of the City Image

As claimed by Rossi (1992) and Norberg-Schulz (1980), buildings are beyond being functional creations, they have always been a product of aesthetic intentions and efforts to make the presence meaningful. We may consider all the urban artifacts as representations, products and determiners of *being* of people or any social, political or economical creations within the urban structure. Furthermore, we may regard the urban artifacts as the *being* of the city.

Boyer (1994) defines the city as “the collective expression of architecture” (p. 30). Rossi (1992) explains that “architecture came into being along with the first traces of the city; it is deeply rooted in the formation of civilization and is a permanent, universal, and necessary artifact” (p. 21). As Lynch (1960) states, the man-made characteristics and problems of the city usually override the underlying topography and the

pre-existing natural setting. Thus, the most obvious features of the city become the buildings and structures (Blackmar, 1976). In other words, the city, as a man-made place, reveals its entity with its built structures. Rossi (1992) also adds that “architecture gives concrete form to society and is intimately connected with it” (p. 21). That is why, we can not evaluate any society or city independent from architecture.

The urban artifacts consist of all buildings, monuments, and icons, bridges, urban furniture, temporary structures and urban landscape within the city. We, as spectators, perceive the city by “observing its architecture and constructed spaces” (Boyer, 1994, p. 32) and combine what we see with the individual and collective scenes and the sensual reflections from the past to construct an image of the city. Our perception of the entity of an artifact leads firstly to identification of it. If the artifact has a vital function, or if it constitutes a pattern together with the architectonically similar artifacts, the artifact can be said to be contributing to the identity of the city. Secondly, the relation of an artifact with the others, with the landscape and with the perceivers generate the structure of the city. Also, the meanings that we attach to a city are generated by the experiences of the urban artifacts or the representations of them. At least, what we are directly or indirectly exposed to about the city requires a setting, so, it is accommodated by an urban artifact.

According to Lynch (1960), train stations constitute about the most important nodes in the city, because, “people heighten their attention at such places and perceive nearby elements with more than normal clarity” (pp. 72-73). This was similarly the case for Ankara Train Station in the early years of the Republic, when the railways were the most important transportation for the country. The building was one of the most significant urban artifacts of Ankara in the early Republican period. Its spatial

entity reinforced the identity that was intended to be created. It also constituted a wheel of the structural system of the city. Its significance depends not only on its physical entity, but also on the practices that it produced and the experiences that it accommodated. Moreover, it held symbolic meanings. Based on these assumptions, Ankara Train Station has been selected as the case of this study with the aim of inspecting the role of urban artifacts within the image formation process of a city. Consequently, the contribution of the train station to the image formation of the capital can be investigated through an analysis of the physical and semantic attributes of the building.

4.2. Spatial Entity of the Ankara Train Station

As it was explained in section 3.2, one of the reasons of the selection of Ankara as the rallying point of the Independence War was that it was a node in the railroad network of the time (Bozdoğan, 2001). After its declaration as the capital, there became a flow of visitors and new residents to the city and now, the old train station (see Figure 4.1) was sufficient neither with its physical qualities, nor with its function. Farrère (2003) tells that the old train station was provincial and did not give the feeling of confidence as any European capital would. Then, Atatürk demanded a new station to be designed and built. For that reason, the old station was taken down to be replaced with a new one.



**Figure 4.1 - The facade of the old train station seen from the railway
(T.C.D.D. , 1937/2006, p. 125)**

After it was built, the new station was considered to be successful in means of the spatial and constructional qualities (Yavuz, 2004). A special sensitivity was shown in the station's design and construction period in spite of the severe economical conditions of the war. That is because the travelers from any class, especially the statespersons who have not yet been persuaded about the Ankara being the capital would be welcomed and sent of in the train station. The railways have been the primary transportation until the 1950s, thus, the train station have kept its importance until these years.

4.2.1. Architecture

The station that was chosen to be built was designed by Şekip Akalın in 1934 (Engin, 2004). Şekip Akalın was among the architects who embraced the universal architectural style. Construction of the train station started in 1935 and was completed in 1937 (see Appendix D). It was one of the earliest buildings designed by a Turkish architect literally in a contemporary and universal style (see Figure 4.2). It was cleaned of all the adornments of the Ottoman style and purified in means of form and facade. On the other hand, it has splendid dimensions that were based on its function as the gate of the capital (TMMOB, 2005).



Figure 4.2- The front view of the Train Station
(Ankara Posta Kartları ve Belge Fotoğrafları Arşivi Kataloğu, 1994, p. 20)

The expectations must have been high for that something new was replacing something familiar to the city. Baydar (1937, p. 2) implicitly expressed his curiosity and impatience about the construction of the new train station:

Pen and hammer clatters of the artists that have been chipping the red Ankara stones behind a wooden curtain have been stopped now and the Ankara Train station has been revealed⁷.

This feeling was presumably shared by the other members of the society as we can deduct by looking at the photos showing the official opening ceremony and the crowd watching it (see Figures 4.3 and 4.4). The appearance of the construction and opening ceremony of the station in Ulus newspaper also reflects the excitement of the city about its new gate (see Figures 4.5 and 4.6). The news of the opening ceremony constituted the headline of the newspaper of the following day, and the speech of Prime Minister Celal Bayar was published in the newspaper.



**Figure 4.3 - A view from the opening ceremony
(T.C.D.D. , 1937/2006, p. 27)**

⁷ “Aylardan beri, bir perde arkasında, kırmızı Ankara taşlarını yontan sanatkârların kalem ve çekiç takırdıları artık durmuş ve Ankara garı meydana çıkmıştır” (p. 2).



Figure 4.4 - The public watching the opening ceremony (T.C.D.D. , 1937/2006, p. 35)



Figure 4.5 - Newspaper appearance of the opening of the Train Station (“Büyük Ankara garı dün açıldı”, 1938, p. 1)



Figure 4.6 - Newspaper appearance of the new Train Station (“Ankara’nın Modern Gari”, 1937, p. 1)

The station building rests in northwest and southeast direction with its symmetric horizontal volume that measures 150 meters (TMMOB, 2005; TCDD, 1937/2006). It has a reinforced concrete structural system and the facades are covered with Ankara stone that is made of granulated pink andesite and cement and was used frequently within and around the citadel (Yavuz, 2004). The Station Casino was also built with the same system. These two volumes are connected with three pairs of columns arrayed in a curved line (see Figure 4.7). The clock tower was 32 meters high (see Figure 4.8) and was built with the casino alternative to the similars that were designed with station buildings.



Figure 4.7 - Joint between the station building and the casino building



Figure 4.8 - The casino building and the clock tower

Entrance is provided from the longitudinal facades through the middle axis (Figure 4.9). Entering from the Station Road, there are three steps and the 10 meters long columns before the main hall (see Figure 4.10). The columns and the horizontal strip above are made from local Hereke stone. The hall is 23X33 meters long and 12 meters high, and illuminated from the wide openings on the middle axis and by the artificial lighting on the ceiling (see Figure 4.11). The window and door frames were produced with a careful work out of wood, frosted glass and chrome handles (see Figure 4.12). The signs within the station are also lettered with chrome. There are no columns in the entrance hall; the clearance is provided with 6 steel trusses of 23 meters (TCDD, 1937/2006). The stairs, the floor and the lower parts of the walls in the hall, and the platform have local marble finishings. The significant ticket counters on the both sides of the main hall are also marble (see Figure 4.13). There are the buffets that serve to the hall and the platforms (see Figure 4.9). Yavuz (2004) explains that this hall gives the feeling of a simple but striking large interior space enlightened by the long, wide windows.



Figure 4.9 - Entrance from the platforms
(T.C.D.D. , 1937/2006, p. 53)



**Figure 4.10 - Entrance from the city
(T.C.D.D. , 1937/2006, p. 51)**



Figure 4.11- The main hall



Figure 4.12- A detail from a door



Figure 4.13- The ticket counters

The ancillary volumes on both sides of the entrance hall are respectively consist of three, two and single floors. On the ground floor, there are mainly the public spaces and service areas such as waiting halls, the restaurant with terrace, the security and post offices, the baggage room and the toilets. The phone department, the control room, the heating room, the shelter, the kitchen of the restaurant are also located on the ground floor (Kutay, 1937). On the upper floors, there are flats for the officers. The stairs leading to the residences are located in the circular blocks on both sides of the main hall (see Appendix D for the additional photos of the Train Station).

The successfully allocated spaces and the integrity in the materials used provide continuity both as a visual quality and for the activities provided. The building's successful construction and careful detailing reserve a special place for the station in the architectural history of the early Republican period. With its modernity, glory and elegance, the building reflects the intentions of the state. It certainly was an indispensable component in the setting that gave the city its identity with its physical entity, and the activities and the services of high quality it provided.

4.2.2. Location and Setting

The old train station was located in the southern part of the Ulus region constituted *Old City* (see Figure 4.14). According to Lynch (1960), the image of the different regions of a city are not equal because “there would be dominant figures and more extensive backgrounds, focal points, and connective tissue” (p. 1). Certainly, for Ankara, Ulus region was one of those parts with all the significant buildings and the collective memories within the area. The train station was an indispensable element of the setting as it oriented the fundamental activities within the city center depending on the capital's function. Furthermore, it accommodated various activities

within itself as it was built as a complex with the Station Casino (Gar Gazinosu) and the clock tower (see Figure 4.15). Kutay (1937, p. 7) mentioned the significance of the casino as a social place:

The place that sees Ankara from top to down, from commanding hills with a bird's eye view, is Çankaya. On the other hand, the place that best sees Ankara from down to up is the terrace of the Station Casino. ... A stage completes this wide and elegant hall. Now, station is beyond being a place that is to meet the incoming passengers and to bid farewell to the departing passengers. This nice hall and the stage will make the Ankara Train Station one of the meeting and recreation places of the city⁸.

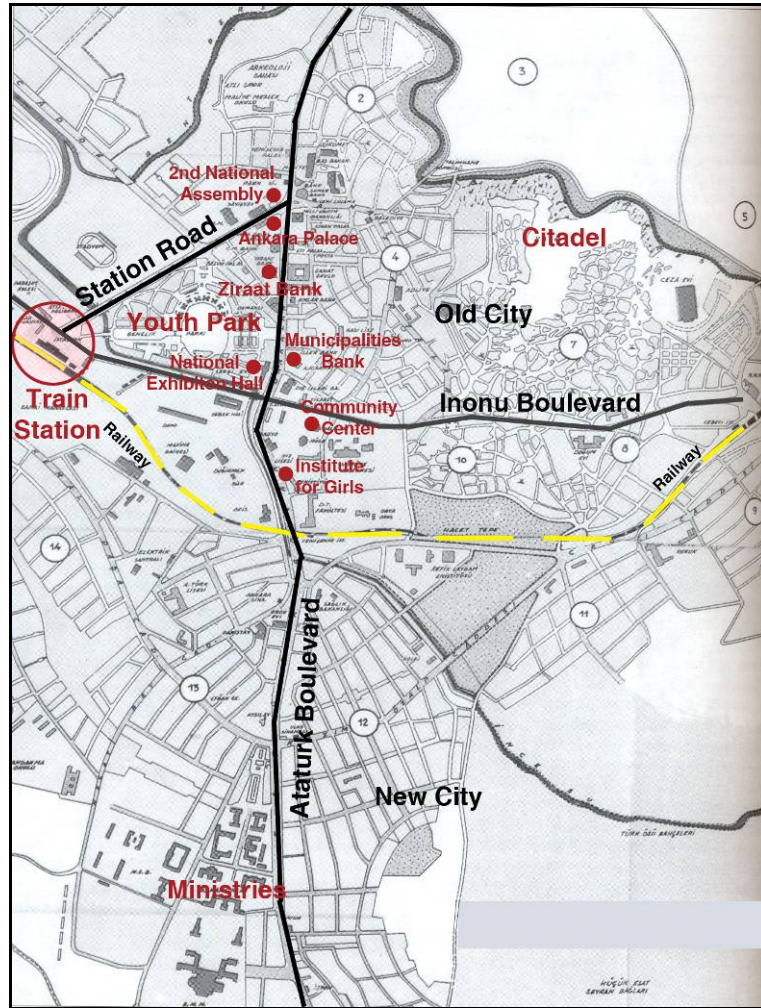


Figure 4.14 – Location of the Train Station in the Urban Macroform

⁸ Ankara'yı yukardan aşağıya doğru, hâkim tepelerden kuşbakışı gören yer Çankaya'dır. Ankara'yı, aşağıdan yukarı doğru da ... en güzel görecek olan yer, gar gazinosunun terasıdır. ... Bu geniş ve zarif salonu, bir sahne tamamlıyor. Artık istasyon yalnız gidenleri uğurlamak ve gelenleri karşılamak yeri olmaktan çıkmaktadır. Bu güzel salon ve ... güzel sahnesi; Ankara garını şehrin toplantı ve zevk yerlerinden birisi yapacak...

(Adapted from: Orak, 1946, as cited in Cengizkan, 2004, p. 114)



Figure 4.15 - The Station Casino (Gar Gazinosu)
(Ankara Posta Kartları ve Belge Fotoğrafları Arşivi Kataloğu, 1994, p. 21)

The Station and the Parliament were connected with the Station Road (İstasyon Caddesi). The road headed to the Ulus Square which was a node on the Atatürk Boulevard connecting the Old City and the New City. The Station Road was the course of an elite visitor entering the city from the train station, accommodating in the Ankara Palace, and sightseeing the citadel. The triangle shaped area determined by the Station Road and the Atatürk Boulevard was adorned with various public buildings (Yavuz, 2005). Facing the parliament building, on the other side of the Station Road, Ankara Palace had been built (see Figure 4.16). Ankara Palace was not only a hotel accommodating the native and foreign bureaucrats, but also a social space accommodating urban practices within its hall. The well-known balls that the elites attended were organized in this first saloon of the city. And the old modest citizens of the city watched the incoming guests of the balls from the Station Road, partly in curiosity and envy, and partly in displeasure (Karaosmanoğlu, 1934). So, the setting not only created the intended identity assembling the urban artifacts and a modern society, but also influenced the dynamics within the society.



Figure 4.16 - Ankara Palace (Bayraktar, 2005)

The mentioned area was proposed to be a trade center in the first design of Jansen. However, whereas the north corner of the area was allocated for buildings, the south of it was turned into a park. Although Jansen had a proposal, the park was designed by the landscape architect and planner Theo Leveau, an employee of the Ministry of Public Works (Bozdoğan, 2001). The constructed Youth Park (see Figure 4.17) was intended to provide the required greenery and water in the arid setting. Built across the train station, it displayed an ideal scene serving the duty of welcoming all the visitors, of reflecting the modern and appealing atmosphere of the city and of being an urban park representing the ideals of the new regime (Uludağ, 2005).



**Figure 4.17 - A view from the Youth Park
(T.C. Başbakanlık Basın-Yayın ve Enformasyon Genel Müdürlüğü, 2000)**

In the early years of the Republic, the parades were made on the Station Road (Ergut, 2005). This was partly due to the functional and symbolic qualities of the road. The intensity of the potential of creating the intended image in the area can also be considered to be a fundamental factor in organizing social meetings such as the parades and celebrations in the area. After all, as Uludağ (2005) explains, in the 1930s, Ankara was mainly constituted of a few public places that acted as social schools in which contemporary Turkish citizens would be socialized and made conscious of their environment. The setting in question had been an intense composition of those public places.

4.3. The Meaning of the Train Station

The station, besides contributing to the identity and to the structure of the city, held meanings for the capital. In fact, rather than the physical entity of the station, the meaning it carried in the social and urban history of the city is what makes it significant among the other buildings of the Early Republican Ankara. Firstly, as a station building, it represents the capital and the state. This representation is not provided only by the entity of the building, but also by the people and the activities that the station accommodated. For the people, its publicness reinforced the production of collective meanings and raised their consciousness of existence in a civilized environment. Furthermore, the experience of the activities and the services provided within the station complex produced a certain kind of attachment to the building. Depending on these determinations, the meaning of the station is investigated in means of its representativeness, publicness and the attachment of people to the station.

4.3.1. Representativeness of the Train Station

The train stations of the industrialized modern world are designed as gates to the cities (Edwards, 1998). The transportation was primarily provided by the railroads, and thus, the main entrance of the cities were the train stations. Although their importance is declining with the development of the highways and the airways, they still constitute important nodes of the cities (Lynch, 1960) as they have shaped their setting in their gleaming times.

Likewise, Ankara Train Station was considered to be ‘the grand gate of Ankara’ (Gencosman, 1938). As Öymen (2002) states it was not possible to go anywhere by something other than train. It was valuable not only for the arriving visitors, but also for the departing passengers, as it provided for them the first and the last impression of the city (Kutay, 1937). In other words, the station was designed as a building of prestige. It can be argued that, creating the first and last impressions in the visitors, thus having an immediate influence on the perception of the city, the station itself acted as a mediator for the formation of the image of the capital. According to Şevket (1939), the train station, meeting the arriving passengers with its stability, beauty and cleanness as a symbol of new Turkey, constituted a scene that rested the eyes of the passengers and prepared their imagination for what they would experience in the city.

Just a few minutes ago we were in the middle of the desert; after we exit from the train station we found ourselves in the movement and liveliness of a big, modern city with its wide asphalt roads in contrast with the narrow, twisted pavements of İstanbul⁹ (Liebrecht, 1937, p. 4).

⁹ Birkaç dakika önce çölün ortasında idik; gardan çıkar çıkmaz kendimizi, İstanbulun dar, eğri büğrü, arnavud kaldırımli sokaklariyle tezat teşkil eden geniş asfalt caddeli, modern ve büyük bir şehrin hareketi ve canlılığı içinde bulduk.

The importance of being a gate for the city can be argued upon the theory of Simmel (1994) on the vitality of doors in separating and uniting places. According to him, two spaces can not be perceived to be separate unless there is a door that connects them. What helps to consider and evaluate a place as a separate entity is its separation from the others. For Ankara, it can be interpreted that, without the existence of the station and the mediation by its entity, the perception and the image of the capital would not be completed. Güvenç (1994) interpreted an article of Samih Saim published in 1933, in *Mimar* (the most popular architectural journal of the period) as that the author considered Haydarpaşa Station (the central station of İstanbul) as the gate to Ankara, thus to the country. Güvenç (1994) believed that this was a sign of the ongoing implicit conflict between the architects of Ankara and İstanbul. That was because, the existence of Ankara was claimed to be essentially depending on İstanbul. This viewpoint did not only belong to the antagonists of the capital; Kılıçbay (1994) also claims that the citizens of İstanbul created Ankara. However, our argument is that, the glorious train station was literally the gate of the capital. It defined the capital as a unique entity among the others, and the capital had the chance to define the people coming from İstanbul as ‘the citizens of Ankara’ (Kılıçbay, 1994). On the other hand, there were the people of İstanbul, who could not be convinced by Ankara, such as Yahya Kemal Beyatlı who stated that the best thing about Ankara was the return from it to İstanbul. For them, the train station was the gate that they could exit from Ankara and enter their beloved İstanbul. It can also be claimed that Ankara’s persistence to exist totally separated and independent from the old capital and to generate its entity on a deserted land was symbolized in the entity of the city (see Figure 4.18). Consequently, the station was a symbol of the existence of the entity of the capital and the new state.



**Figure 4.18 - The station complex built on a deserted land
(Ankara Posta Kartları ve Belge Fotoğrafları Arşivi Kataloğu, 1994, p. 20)**

The buildings have the quality of being a representation of their era. So they help to understand the socio-economical and political developments in the history of a country (Yavuz, 1994). The train station with its particular function and structural qualities, symbolized the developments achieved (Uludağ, 2001). A special emphasize was given to the construction of the railroads in the early years of the republic. This effort was expressed even in the anthem that was written by Çağlar and Çamlıbel in 1933 for the 10th year of the Republic: “We adorned the whole homeland with the railroads”. The railroads meant communication and transportation and they were preconditions of contemporary civilization. According to Uluğ (1938), railroads was the primary instruments of the Republic that he defined as freedom, national unity and integrity, civilization, construction and development. Kutay (1937) believed that the new and magnificent train station was such a certificate of success that perfectness felt so natural in it (Kutay, 1937). Consequently, the building symbolized the power of the state behind the developing railways (Yavuz, 1994). Furthermore, the modern and rational design of the station symbolized the modernity of the city and the state. As Kutay (1937) claimed, the new Ankara Train Station was built as the first and last ring of the chain of the thought that the

Republic had built the one of the most modern cities of the world on this piece of desert. The station had the usual dignity, temperance, distance holding the identity of being the capital (Yiğit, 2003).

4.3.2. Publicness of the Train Station

As it was mentioned before, the capital Ankara was constituted of a few public places in the early years of the republic (Uludağ, 2005). They were actually the instruments of the state to generate the capital as a representation of the Republic. Thus, the public spaces were designed to be the settings and the mediators of the collective contemporary experiences. Sargın (2002) explains that the discourses and the forms of production of urban spaces in the early years of the Republic were extensions of civil publicness, but furthermore, they were coeval representations of the discourses of official publicness. So, it can be claimed that publicness of the urban spaces were in a way restricted by the state. Öymen (2002) mentions how the governor of the capital, Nevzat Tandoğan interfered not only to the people who did not obey the clothing reform, but also to the people dressed unpleasantly. Consequently, the public places of the capital had filtering mechanisms of their own sometimes depending on their function, sometimes depending on the economical, social, cultural or for some reason authoritarian restrictions.

Nevertheless, the train station constitutes an exceptional example of publicness among the other public spaces of the capital. What makes it a genuinely public place is that “people at large need no legitimating purpose to enter and to use” (Graham, 2006, p. 248). This quality may be considered to be depending on the function of the station; it was a place that the people had to go for a daily common purpose regardless of any political standing, economical or social status or cultural

conformation. Just as, Graham (2006) explains that the public buildings serve anyone and everyone, and that they can properly be called public architecture when their very features make this evident. We can actually deduct this publicness of the Ankara Train Station from the observation of Şevket (1939):

As soon as the first whistle was heard, voices have arisen.
People who bid farewell to their third class passengers: May the God give you health and safety (Allah selamet versin)!
To the second class passengers: Good bye (güle güle)!
To the first class passengers: Bon voyage!

The station, thus, accommodated the experiences not of a particular group, but rather of people from different classes. To be more explicit, the city images formed by the modest citizens of the capital who lived, for instance, within the citadel, may not be comprising Ankara Palace that they observed from a distance. But the train station is likely to have influenced their image of Ankara as a stimuli that they were directly exposed to.

Batuman (2005) defines public spaces as the places in which the personal experiences socialized and the daily life and political discourses intersect. He also adds that they determine the scope of the discourse that transforms social images to political meanings. This literally may be linked to the public's consciousness of its environment. As a consequence of the interaction being actualized within the public and the setting, the consciousness arises. Firstly, the consciousness may be discussed as the consciousness of meaning of space and time dependent on power struggle as it was studied by Harvey (1985) and Lefebvre (1992). Within the urban space, the members of the society determine their socio-political standings that canalize their meaning attachment. For instance, for the second and third class passengers, the station presumably meant social existence in the urban space. Moreover, any sympathizer of the revolution and westernization project would

certainly appreciate hierarchical dissolution considering share of a common urban place with the dignitary. On the other hand, for a member of so-called high class, the public station provides the opportunity to witness the real-life circumstances of the city to build an image of it.

The consciousness may also be discussed as awareness of and familiarity with the experiences within the urban space. This kind of consciousness is a result of an interaction that was ensured in the train station. In this case, new social practices and sensibilities were introduced to the public. Kutay (1937) presumably being aware of this potential interaction, expressed his expectation of more civilized behavior in the station and all the other public spaces: 'if we care more about walking on the right, there won't be people who are angry to have crashed with each other even in the busiest times'. Furthermore, the Station Casino accommodated new activities and services. Bayraktar (2005) states that the casino was as good as the similars in Europe with the excellent food and service offered. Also, it introduced an exclusive entertainment culture. Besides, the privilege of those experiences belonged not only to the elites, but also to the ordinary public. Thus, cultivation of them was implemented ensuring the interaction among the members of the public.

In any case, people attach meanings to the station within the context or limits of its publicness. According to Batuman (2005), during the construction of publicness, the places play a role not only as 'environments', but also as 'representative objects'. So, the station was a representation of the capital in which the dynamics of the public could be observed. That is why, the train stations are considered to be the 'microcosms' of cities (Edwards, 1998).

4.3.3. Attachment of the People

Beyond seeing it as a symbol of development, the state's regard for the railroads overlapped with the appreciation of the citizens. As it was stated by Uluğ (1938), especially in a country in which the transportation was mainly provided by the tiresome wagons, the value of the railroads was much more. The Turkish villagers referred to railroads as 'uniter/healer of yearning' [hasret kavuşturan] (Uluğ, 1938); because the railroads had decreased the distances and the hours spent for traveling. So, in the circumstances of the era, providing transportation and communication, the railroads were vital for a civilized country. Şevket (1939) mentions this vitality depicting Ankara as the heart and the railroads as the veins of the country. And according to him, the train station arranged the beating of this heart distributing its blood, namely the trains.

The particular significance of the train station also depended on its nationalist discourse. Because, the train station was about the first urban artifact that was built by the Turkish architect, the Turkish entrepreneur and the Turkish engineer. Although having a universal style, it was eventually a product of the Turkish people. Şevket (1939) expressed his admiration and pride of this situation by describing the train station as a majestic bronze sculpture in the middle of the desert by the Turkish intelligence. The splendid rise of such a stable, beautiful and clean building, as Şevket (1939) characterized it, must have impressed any citizen of the city, and as it was mentioned before, this pride must have influenced not only their image of the city, but also their self-image as a reflection. After all, the train station gave them a confidence against any foreigner that they would meet in the train station. This confidence was not related to only the architectural and symbolic being of the train

station; the contemporary spaces and living that it provided also gave the people 'power to be more courageous and hopeful' (Kutay, 1937).

The station with its setting was promising for the future developments that they would witness in the capital. According to Dıranas (1994), here, you could easily differentiate what was constructed and what was destroyed. Experiencing such a transformation, the citizens would likely to develop an ideal image of the city. Their image might not depend on their valuation of the existing environment yet, because the city was still experiencing a sudden radical transformation. Ankara Train Station was standing as a monument in its calm urban scene waiting for its city to be formed, Atatürk Boulevard, was waiting for its traffic, and the Youth Park, was waiting for its citizens (Uludağ, 2005). But the hope the station and the setting gave them a joy, justly leading the formation of a positive image of the city. Now, the road was full of smiling faces and intentional steps (Dıranas, 1994).

As Kutay (1937) stated, the train station was a brand new thing for the citizens. The public had just been recovering after the hard conditions of the consecutive wars. And the station introduced them with a clean, luxury environment. It was such a salient quality of the station that Baydar (1937) mentioned the particular quality of the new building was its cleanness and largeness. Kutay (1937) wrote that the reader would feel sorry to enter the hall with his/her dirty shoes, and Şevket (1939) told that the clean marble floor gave him a sense of pompous freshness. Moreover, Şevket (1939), was impressed by the clean white suits of the waiters in the casino. Cleanness, is likely to have been associated with the high civilization level by the people who had witnessed the hardest times of the city. Approaching to the station gliding through the luxurious private automobiles and taxis (Şevket, 1939), entering

a hall in which the humidity was in the optimum level (Kutay, 1937), experiencing the exclusive services provided, after a period of struggle, gave the citizens and the visitors a sense of comfort. Even comfortable sitting provided in the waiting halls of the station was considered to be a luxury for the public. And Kutay (1937) stated, whatever provided them with the joy of comfortable sitting and living, it was sacred for them.

The arrival of a train was counted as an important event in Ankara since the early years of the railroads (Ellison, 1999). After its construction, the Ankara Train Station continued to accommodate important events, but now, offering a modern, civilized, comfortable and clean environment. Everything was designed envisioning anything possible (Kutay, 1937), and there stood the proud and joyful citizens and the visitors of the new capital. The novelty of the station kept them from rushing to their homes (Baydar, 1937) and provided them with the activities to keep them inside for a couple of hours to spend joyful times (Kutay, 1937). Then, it became a place used not for only a particular activity, but rather as a urban public space in which the public created its own activities. As it is narrated by the citizens who witnessed the early times of the republic, they went to the train station in their best clothes sometimes just to spend some time there walking along the platforms for hours and waiting for the trains coming from other cities, especially from İstanbul. If it did not ensure the joy of being in the new capital as it did for the sympathizers of Ankara, it must have ensured at least a comfortable and luxury departure as an exiting door for who were longing to leave for their own cities. In any case, the train station that created attachment of the people is a significant setting of the collective memories of the early Republican period.

5. CONCLUSION: EVALUATION AND DISCUSSION

Cities are the largest artifacts created by humans. They are not only the dwellings to ensure survival, but also spaces that ascribe meaning to the survival. They are created by and for the people's activities, which make existence meaningful. They live and are lived. Thus, by nature, they change through time. Besides, the ways they are perceived and assessed differentiate as their entity changes. They develop according to the economical, political, social and cultural circumstances and intentions, and in return, they create their own circumstances in time. They are products of collective activities and are settings of collective experiences and memories. As networks of people and places, they involve almost everything that concerns the human beings. This is why studying the cities is complicated, but on the other hand, stimulating.

The concept of the image of the city handles the city not as it stands in the space, but rather, as a mental re-formation of that entity considering the interrelations within the network mentioned above. So, studying the image of the city requires looking beyond the physical entity; it requires investigating the meanings that are hidden in the network of people and places. Actually, if the intention for building a city is to create meanings, then, a city can never be understood to the full extent unless the meanings are revealed. Furthermore, sometimes, the meanings may be more striking than the physical being. Then, this abstract formation, the image of the city

becomes more significant than the city itself. However, if an evaluation is to be made, the coherence between the being and its abstractions should be traced.

The main concern of this study is to understand the formation of the image of the city on a particular example that reveals its significance with a formation that is based on an ideological discourse. Ankara, which is told to be nothing more than a town at the beginning of the 20th century, became the capital of the Turkish republic in 1923. Selection of Ankara as the center of independence movement in 1919 depended on its location and its communicational and transportational convenience (Bozdoğan, 2001). The decision to declare Ankara was partly related to the functional advantages also, but mainly it was dependent on ideological concerns. The new capital now had to be the center of and a tool for the revolutionary act of the new nation-state. And not only a city, but also an image for the new Republic was going to be created. In these early years of the republic, between 1923 and 1950, the city and its image were formed synchronously. The intention was to build up a modern and westernized capital to shape the social, political, economical and cultural structure at the level of contemporary civilization. The spatial formation of the city was going to support and accommodate such a structure. Furthermore, it was going to form the intended kind of image to convince both the public and the outer world about the determination to leave the Ottoman, Islamic past and to accept the modern, westernized and secular culture.

As the formation of Ankara and its image are coeval and strongly engaged, to have a better understanding of this system, these two processes are overlapped in the study. Lynch (1960) proposed three components of the image of the city: identity, structure and meaning. In the formation process of Ankara, envisions of the state

was fundamentally aimed at creating an identity. To achieve this, the city was planned to provide a structure that will orient the activities within the city. By doing so, not only the identity was going to be established, but also its perception was going to be enabled. The experience of the city formation process and the experiences within what was formed constituted the meanings of the city. The identity and the structure of Ankara were, as they would be for any example, mainly reflected by the urban artifacts and their interrelations. The experiences and meanings are more specific to groups of people, and are not directly formed by the urban artifacts; however, they are accommodated and mediated by the urban artifacts. Urban artifacts consist of the buildings, monuments, icons, bridges, urban furniture, temporary structures and urban landscape in the city. In the formation process of Ankara and its image, the ideological discourse of the state was mainly revealed and imposed in the urban public spaces.

The emphasis on the train station stems from the claim that the building had an important influence on the formation of the city and on its image. With its architecture and with the activities it accommodated, it contributed to the 'modern' and 'westernized' identity of the city. The setting it was located in constituted an indispensable article of the structure of the city orienting the spatial syntax. Furthermore, the construction and experience of the train station and its setting implied some meanings for the new capital and its citizens. Firstly, the station as the gate to the city gave the visitors a clue about what they were likely to experience in the city. The building itself acted as an immediate stimulus for the perception of the city and as mediation for the creation of the image. As a building of prestige, it symbolized the city. Because railroad was a product and an instrument of the modern world, the development of the railroads was considered to be reflecting the

state's course of progressing as a modern, civilized country. This is why, Ankara Train Station, along with many other examples built in the country, was one of the first examples of modern architecture. Besides, this modern building was designed, invested in and constructed by the Turkish people contrary to its contemporaries which were the products of mostly German-speaking architects. So, the Turkish identity was signified in the formation of the building. Yet, it should be mentioned that, in means of form, it could not abstract itself from the German influence; the massive symmetrical building carries the characteristics of German Modernism. Another argument is that, the mentioned identity, structure and meanings of the building and the city would not be conveyed, unless they were perceived and experienced by the people. Thus, it was rational for the state to form and distribute the image and the ideology that it depends on by means of publicness. The publicness of the train station was incontrovertible for the period in question; conveying the symbols and the intentions was another contribution of the train station to the image of the city. In addition, publicness helps people to attach meanings to their environment raising their consciousness to take their position within the society. An individual would stand in this public space either struggling for his/her presence among the 'others', or appropriating him/herself to the society. For these reasons, the publicness might also have enabled the attachment of the public to the train station. The people went to the station not always for the main purpose of it but frequently just to socialize in their best suits. Eventually, the station provided the public with the services and the spaces for comfortable, joyful, and civilized experiences.

It can be said that the success of the state in creating the image of Ankara in the early years of the republic was based on *making something out of nothing*. Besides,

what was being created in such way was not only one thing, but almost everything. First and foremost, Ankara had been the center of a revolutionary movement and the space of the living that was shaped by this movement. Moreover, the creation of this space was also a revolutionary act both conceptually and physically. Ankara, was built to be a contemporary, westernized, modern and secular capital independent from the old, Ottoman, Islamic capital, İstanbul, on a piece of so-called desert that had been forgotten for a long time. The public was just introduced with the yield of this national and urban revolution, and presumably, could only evaluate this formation depending on the experiences and comparison of the past and then. And in fact, they could get the information that they need for this evaluation only within the context of the circumstances and the ideology that determines it. Thinking about the sovereignty and the freedom it provides, for the public that did not have an idea on what modern and western really meant, it would be impossible not to be influenced by the ideology that was edited in the context of those concepts. In other words, the attachment of the public to Ankara was based on the belief for such an ideology rather than the thought that the city was actually modern and westernized. So, the image of the city in the minds of the citizens is likely to be considered more dependent on its meaning rather than its entity. Eventually, the entity of the city was being perceived and evaluated under the influence of the meaning of the capital.

Then, the question that comes to mind is that if the image created for Ankara is an ideological or an urban success. Looking at the foreign press news (see Appendix C), it can be claimed that there was an urban success that was being appreciated by the West. If the source of modernization is the west, then we may accept their evaluations on the modernity of the city as more reliable than the assessments of the Turkish public. However, in the 1940s, the frequency of the headings about

Ankara in the Observer and the Guardian newspapers decreases. This might be indicating that, for the outer world also, the formation process of the capital was more significant than what was formed. Ellison (1999) similarly explained that the story of Ankara stood with its own grace independent from any kind of valuation of the methods, the ideologies or the products of the Turkish people.

As a consequence of being a living and lived entity, the city of Ankara has witnessed many changes through time fundamentally in means of demography, society and spatiality. Now, the capital is not the city that was designed in the early years of the republic. The activities and the spaces within the setting in question displayed a considerable differentiation starting from the 1950s. Now, it is even more complicated to follow up the shifts occurring in the urban space because of the unsystematic development of the city. However, although the physical being of the city lost its coherence, the meanings of the city that were conveyed in the early years of the republic are still preserved. It is because the city and its image were fundamentally dependent on an ideology. So, as long as the ideology exists, the city will maintain its presence, if not as a spatiality that was intended to be created, but then as a mental representation of the early republican Ankara.

This study has concentrated on a particular historical period and on a particular city to elaborate concept of the image of the city. This decision depends on the claim that early republican Ankara, with its image that was formed depending on an ideology, constituted a significant case to study the concept. It is significant because the majority of the recent studies on city image are conducted in the scope of tourism and the extent of the concept is reduced to 'destination image'. However,

the concept can be studied through various periods and various examples of city which have images created with not only economical concerns. As the case of Ankara indicates, the image of a city can be as important as the city itself. Studying on the image of the city weaves human perception and appraisal with the entity of the city for an extended comprehension about the city. Also, the role of buildings in the image of city can be examined through many examples of urban artifacts of various cities. This way, the criteria that the people use to evaluate an urban artifact within the city, and how they associate it with the city can be understood. Consequently, the image of the cities can be studied to examine the coherence within the city (as a network of places and people) and to make suggestions for the future.

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APPENDIX A

ANKARA BEFORE ITS DECLARATION AS THE CAPITAL



Figure A1 - Old Train Station and the citizens
(Batur, 1994, p. 113)



Figure A2 - Ankara Citadel
(Batur, 1994, p. 69)

APPENDIX B

ACTIVITIES AND SERVICES



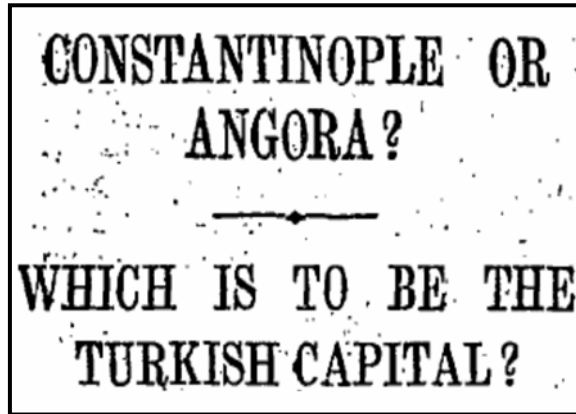
Figure B1 - A media portrayal of the community centers
("Halkevlerimiz", 1939, p. 6)



Figure B2 - A media portrayal of the services provided for Ankara citizens
("Ankara Manzaraları", 1937, p. 3)

APPENDIX C

HEADINGS FROM THE ARCHIVES OF THE GUARDIAN AND THE OBSERVER



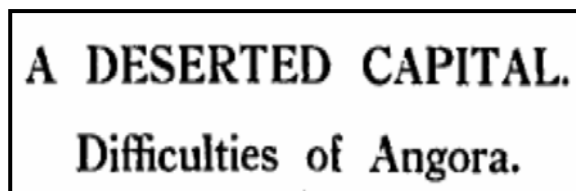
CONSTANTINOPLE OR
ANGORA?
—◆—
WHICH IS TO BE THE
TURKISH CAPITAL?

Figure C1 - "Constantinople or Angora?", Guardian, 1923, Jul 24, p.4



ANGORA TO REMAIN NEW
TURK CAPITAL.
—◆—
VALUE PROVED IN WAR.

Figure C2 - "Angora to Remain New Turk Capital", Guardian, 1923, Aug 17, p.7



A DESERTED CAPITAL.
Difficulties of Angora.

Figure C3 - "A Deserted Capital", Guardian, 1928, Jul 27, p.9

ANGORA TO-DAY.
—
**TURKEY'S NEW
CAPITAL.**
—
**"PROGRESS" AND THE
BIG STICK.**
—
**SIX YEARS OF THE
GHAZI.**
—
**THE PROBLEM OF
SUCCESSION.**

Figure C4 - "Angora To-day", Observer, 1929, Mar 31, p.7

**TURKEY AND TOWN
PLANNING.**
**Angora to Teach the
World.**

Figure C5 - "Turkey and Town Planning", Guardian, 1929, Aug 27, p.8

**THE BIRTH OF A
CAPITAL.**
—
**ANGORA, CITY OF
CHANGE.**
—
**TWELVE YEARS OF
BUILDING.**
—
**DEAREST TOWN IN THE
WORLD.**

Figure C6 - "The Birth of a Capital", Observer, 1935, Mar 3, p.14

APPENDIX D

ADDITIONAL PHOTOS OF THE TRAIN STATION

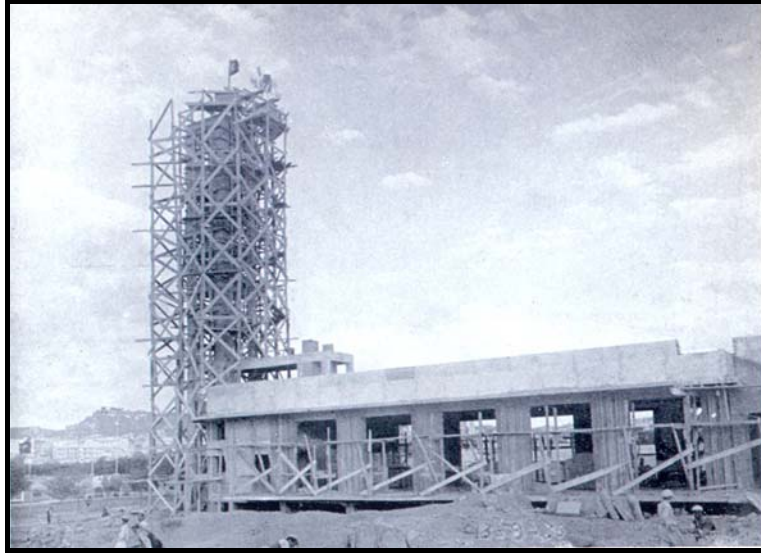


Figure D1- A view from the construction process of the station
(T.C.D.D. , 1937/2006)

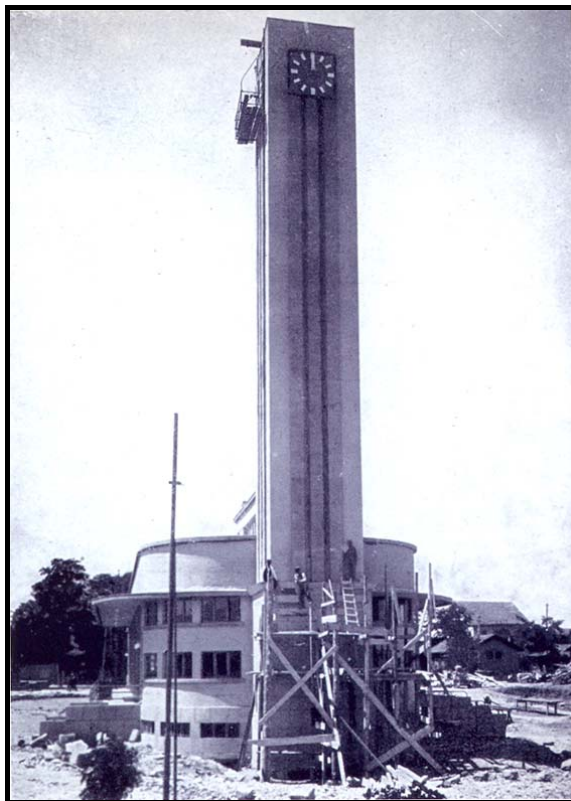


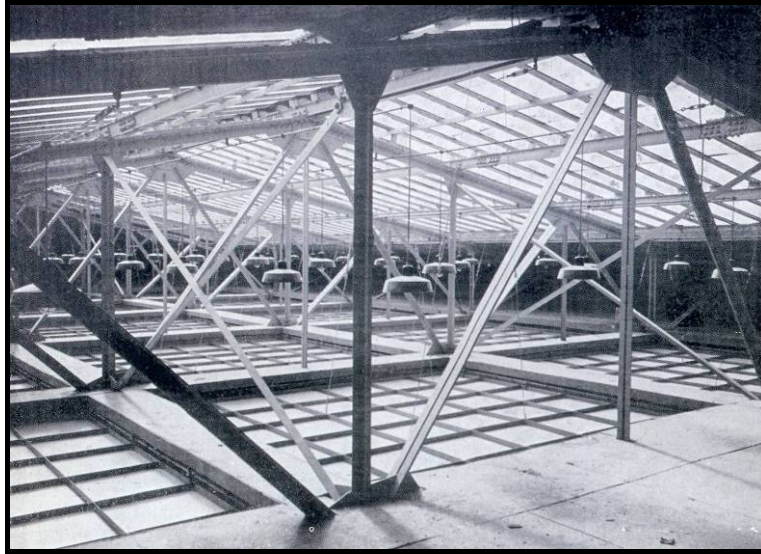
Figure D2- A view from the construction process of the Station Casino
(T.C.D.D. , 1937/2006)



Figure D3- Ankara stone finishings of the facades



Figure D4- The columns and the horizontal strips from Hereke Stone



**Figure D5- Steel strusses used in the ceiling construction
(T.C.D.D. , 1937/2006)**



Figure D6- Marble finishings in the hall



**Figure D7- The second class waiting room
(T.C.D.D. , 1937/2006)**



**Figure D8- The restaurant
(T.C.D.D. , 1937/2006)**



**Figure D9- Baggage section
(T.C.D.D. , 1937/2006)**

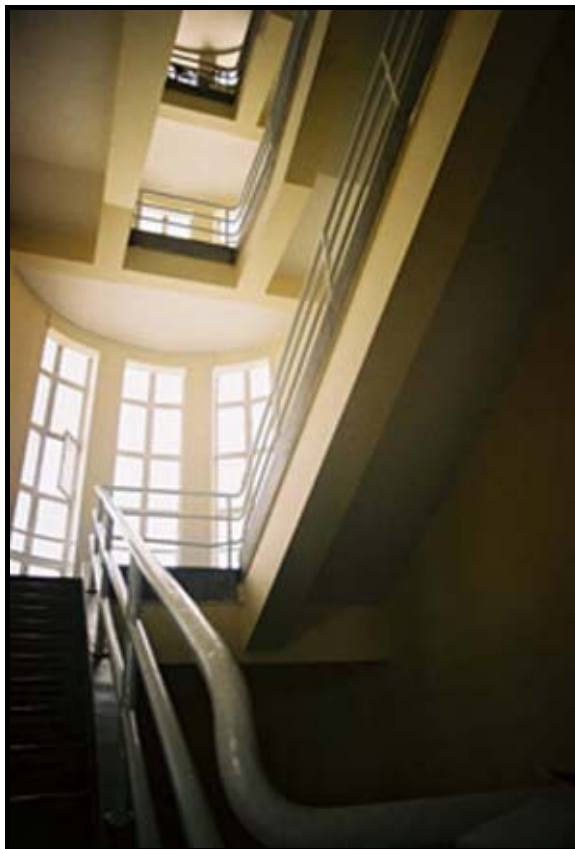


Figure D10- The stairs leading to the residents



Figure D11- One of the doors opening to the platform