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Space as a Projection of Spatial Practices: An Urban Park in Western Anatolia in the Early-Republican Period

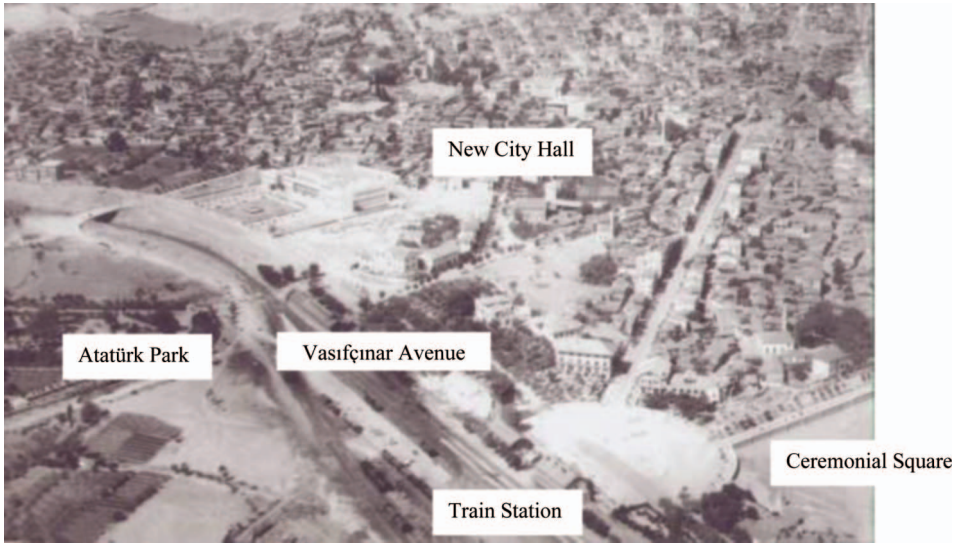
BERRİN AKGÜN YÜKSEKLİ & AYSU AKALIN

As has been widely asserted elsewhere, Turkey, during its early-Republican period, created politicized architecture, urban planning and landscape designs for its own peculiar historical reasons: to provide a visible manifestation of its progressive vision and great hunger for modernization. Although modernization attempts in Turkish society occurred during the Ottoman Empire's final two centuries, the secular Republic of Turkey, formally established in 1923, achieved great successes in radically changing and modernizing its institutions. During the early decades of the Republic, this tendency was variously called 'participating in contemporary civilization', 'modernization', and 'westernization'. Since it is the belief of the authors that the term 'modernization' best defines the discourse of the period, this term is preferred in this research. According to Tekeli modernization project required the education of society as a modern public that could be called 'social engineering' today.¹

In order to realize the ideals of the Republic of Turkey, a total spatial transformation project was launched which spanned almost all of Anatolia.² This same 'modern' attitude was experienced in the provincial Anatolian town of Balıkesir. The urban park of the study, Atatürk Park, was constructed in Balıkesir, a small town and regional capital in western Turkey, during its early-Republican period.³ The purpose of this article is to investigate it as part of the urban landscape and a tool for studying power relations which is transformed by society as much as it transforms society itself. The aim is to discuss two mutually reinforcing points. The first point focuses on how the discourse of those years was spatialized and the second discusses the role of discourse on the spatial practices of individuals.

New designs for Balıkesir during this period were separated from the older historical core, as was also done in Ankara.⁴ The Austrian-Swiss architect Ernst Egli⁵ was commissioned in 1939 to provide the town's first master plan.⁶ The new City Hall and Ceremonial Square were placed on a new road (Figure 1), Vasıfçınar Avenue, running between the old city (with the train station) and the new city centre, which was extended with new facilities like Atatürk Park, the Training Area and its related facilities, a People's House (*Halkevi*), cinemas, and tea houses – an important step in the modernization of Balıkesir.⁷

Figure 1. Vasıfçınar Avenue, Train Station and Ceremonial Square, New City Hall and Atatürk Park in Balıkesir.



In the early-Republican period in Balıkesir, the effort to construct material–physical space as a projection of the social order was an attempt to reconcile the ‘modern’ with the ‘national’. The proposed urban spaces offered ‘a new lifestyle’ different from what had taken place before the vernacular of the Ottomans (see Figure 2). That meant that rural citizens became qualified as urban citizens by means of an urban consciousness. Sporting and leisure facilities such as parks, stadiums, cinemas, and cafes began to improve the urban social life and free time practices of the public.

Atatürk Park, located in the southern part of Balıkesir, is the only large-scale green space in the city. It covers around 180,000 square metres⁸ and was constructed between 1935 and 1942 on the former graveyard of the town.⁹ During Atatürk’s visit to Balıkesir with the Persian leader Shah Rıza Pehlevi on 24 June 1934,¹⁰ both leaders were surveying the town from the Governor’s Office when the Shah asked about a large green area. Atatürk’s unexpected answer to this question was that it was a park, although it was actually a graveyard. When he realized, Atatürk immediately ordered that the area be organized into a recreational area. During his next visit, Atatürk asked to have a cup of tea in the park with the Balıkesir Mayor, served in a pavilion next to a pool. In this way, Atatürk had personally guaranteed the existence of not only the park but also a pool and a pavilion. Unfortunately, Atatürk died before the opening of the park in 1942 and was never able to see the finished product.

In fact, the position of Atatürk Park in the city was not a mere coincidence. Because it was located within range of the new spatial system of Train Station, City Hall and Ceremonial Square offered by the early-Republican discourse in urban planning, it was in a prime position for development. According to Batuman, the

Figure 2. Balıkesir in the 1920s (Balıkesir Municipality Archive).



positioning of the new spaces in the early-Republican period was usually a ‘political pretence’ and it could only exist as a political claim.¹¹ Politicians refused the existence of previous spatial organizations in Atatürk Park, including urban plans designed during the Ottoman Empire.

In the 1930s, Balıkesir had no experienced and/or qualified personnel to design and construct as large a park as Atatürk requested. Firstly, municipality engineers (not architects), who had never designed a park, proposed a project. Then, Mühassısı Mühendis Ferit,¹² an expert who had been involved in the planning and construction of the Izmir International Fairground (a large urban park in the middle of Izmir, the nearest big city and at the time the second largest in Turkey after Istanbul),¹³ was invited to Balıkesir in 1935 for his valuable comments. Thus, the Balıkesir Atatürk Park owes quite a lot to the Izmir Fairgrounds layout and experience.

During the construction of the park, priority was given to the pavilion and the pool that Atatürk had proposed.¹⁴ The pavilion, called *Park Gazinosu* in Turkish, has been amended and altered on several occasions and in time has lost its architectural identity and architectural value with these changes. In 2007, the building was demolished during a ‘regeneration’ project for the park. According to the available visual materials, the building was a modernist construction with cubic forms, wide terraces, a flat roof and of steel-reinforced concrete construction (Figures 3 and 4).¹⁵

In addition to the pavilion and pool, an Atatürk bust, called the ‘Atatürk Medallion’, and a ceremonial square were located to the north (Figure 5).¹⁶ When Atatürk died on 10 November 1938, a grand ceremony was held there, after which it became quite a meaningful place for the citizens of Balıkesir.¹⁷

Figure 3. The Pavilion: ‘*Park Gazinosu*’ (Altuğ Oymak Archive).



Figure 4. The Pavilion: ‘*Park Gazinosu*’ in 1955 (Municipality of Balıkesir Archive).



With its pavilion, pool, recreational areas, tennis courts, flower beds, Atatürk Medallion and ceremonial square, Atatürk Park was completed in 1942, and new opportunities for recreation, picnicking and entertainment opened up for the citizens of Balıkesir. Different classes, ages and genders began to come to the park to spend their free time, to stroll and to eat in the park. According to Birol, fancy dress balls and music concerts were organized in the pavilion building, and garden parties were

held on the wide terrace.¹⁸ A new modern, mixed-gender society was dining in westernized style, listening to westernized music and dancing together in public. The pool was used not only for informal dips, but also for water sports and swimming, and attracted a lot of visitors and spectators.¹⁹ Visual materials from the 1950s show some people swimming in the pool while others are sailing (Figure 6 and 7).

Figure 5. ‘Atatürk Medallion’ and Ceremonial Square under construction (Faruk Ergelen Archive).



Figure 6. The Pool near the Pavilion (Altuğ Oymak Archive).



Figure 7. The Pool near the Pavilion (Faruk Ergelen Archive).



The park in general had become the centre for socializing, entertaining and sporting activities. Before the park, there were few sporting facilities such as tennis courts or soccer fields in Balıkesir.²⁰ Egli proposed tennis courts in his 1944 plan,²¹ also stressing the importance of a stadium for the town. In reaction to this proposal, a stadium was built between 1939 and 1950 inside the park and opened on 19 May 1952 (19 May is ‘Youth and Sports Holiday’ in Turkey) (Figure 8). The stadium was not only for sporting activities, more symbolically it was also used as a stage for the many commemorations of national days declared by the Republic. Covering an excessively large amount of space in the park (27,753 m²), the stadium is capable of holding 2,000 people in closed stands and 10,000 people in the open.²²

Local newspapers and municipality annuals, as political agents of the young republic and its ideals, wanted to show the citizens how the city was helping in their new lifestyle, making the modern image of Atatürk Park propaganda for the local government. Between the 1930s and 1950s, the local Balıkesir newspaper was filled with news and images of the ‘modern lifestyle’ practices in Atatürk Park. Even Egli writes in his notes that Atatürk Park was a very considerable ‘modern’ place where the public could satisfy their social and recreational demands:

At the east side of the town, 250,000 m² in area, Atatürk Park with its design, its trees, its modernist pavilion (whose expense totalled 1000 Turkish Lira), its pool, flower gardens and of course its important location because of the lack of the immediate recreational areas or promenades, meets the citizens’ most important and inescapable sanitary and social demands.²³

Figure 8. Ernst Egli's 1944 plan for Atatürk Park (Balıkesir Municipality Archive).



In 1955, the Balıkesir Municipality Picture Gallery displayed black and white photographs of the park,²⁴ describing it as one of the most beneficial provisions of the municipality in Balıkesir and praising it as follows:²⁵

The park, which is called Atatürk Park, covers 180,000 m². A football stadium takes up 15,000 m² of this, 35,000 m² is arranged with flowers, 25,000 m² is forested and 15,000 m² allowed as a zoo. There is a tennis court, two kindergartens, two pavilions and two pools, one of which is big and the other is smaller. Although a 50m x 30m swimming pool has started construction, it has not yet been completed. Accommodated in environments suitable for their lifestyles, some wild animals and pets are carefully fostered and exhibited to hundreds of people, also benefiting schools for educational purposes.

In order to understand the projection of spatial practices in Atatürk Park reflected through the discourse of modernization, it is necessary to analyze the attempt to reconstitute the daily life, social relations and free time practices of the citizens of Balıkesir. As already revealed, Atatürk Park had an important cultural, social and discursive role providing recreational relaxation. This study will now analyze all three of these aspects of the park and their mission to introduce modern life to the citizens of Balıkesir.

Many Turkish towns and cities, not just Balıkesir, acquired public spaces and urban infrastructure during the early years of the republic. Photographs and postcards of Anatolian cities' entertainment pavilions, *gazinós*, teahouses, restaurants/cafés, ponds or pools, and flower gardens from the 1930s refer to places and spaces that allowed a new type of social interaction and provided a modern urban image of the new Republic of Turkey. These images were a testimony of what was done by the young republic to transform Ottoman towns and cities into modern cities in a short time.

As a new arena for different classes, genders and ages of the urban population to gather, the concept of 'park' at this time developed into an urban socialization centre. As understood by Arıtan, urban parks were the tools for realizing the 'rational, secular, collective and state-centred' modernization consciousness of the republic.²⁶ Allowing for both collectivity and volunteerism was also an important part of the social engineering project. The park as a recreational space would advocate a social arena by introducing the new concepts of leisure and recreation for the education of the people. The Youth Park (*Gençlik Parkı*) in the capital city of Ankara, designed between 1936 and 1937, is one of the parks providing such a function, described by Uludağ as 'a school for socializing the people into modern citizens'.²⁷ As a public park, the Youth Park was the rationalization of the idea of modernization (as an ideal of the republican regime), which operated on the level of social development with the control of the state. With the establishment of the Ankara Youth Park in the social life of the city, the republican discourse both produced and symbolized itself.

The park in early-Republican Turkey also would have an important role in the involvement of women in public life. The emancipation and modernization of women was a significant part of the discourse at this time. As Göle defines it, while the other revolutions in the world mostly defined an ideal man, the Kemalist revolution also defined the image of the ideal woman, since the Turkish modernization project was related to the nation's progress, especially in terms of the 'emancipation of women'.²⁸ The image of the modern Turkish woman played a similar role, with women's increasing access to the public sphere being publicized as the success of Turkish modernization.²⁹ Before the early-Republican period, in none of the Anatolian towns was there a public space where women could socialize. With the arrival of public parks, a tremendous opportunity arose for the inclusion of women in public life. The presence of women in public places was in itself a celebrated theme in these early years, what Bozdoğan calls 'a gendering of the modern', underscoring the Kemalists' pride in having liberated Turkish women from the oppressive seclusion of Ottoman tradition.³⁰ In addition, as Tanyeli states, images of women as inhabitants of modern public spaces such as parks, sporting events and fairs were 'preferred propaganda statements'.³¹ For that reason they were essential 'actors' and/or 'pawns' in the republican project of modernity.³²

In Balıkesir, the dominance of the discourse of modernization in public space, with specific spatial practices such as westernized dressing, westernized behaviour and socializing of mixed genders would serve to present Balıkesir citizens as modern. The Atatürk Park, with its pavilion, pool and tennis courts, intended to create modern leisure practices and provided a new realm for the different genders to mix. With its new sporting facilities, Atatürk Park was also a place where both male and female

citizens could wear sportswear and swimsuits and have fun in public. A change in women's style of dress due to sporting activities presented a modernized image of a changing lifestyle and emerged as a significant discursive issue at the time. Accordingly, women were encouraged to participate in sports to reflect the development and modernization of the country.

In this way, the disciplining of the citizens' bodies in the processes of nation-building and modernization was also a gendered process. As part of its modernization agenda, early-Republican discourse aimed to discipline the human body through sports. As Foucault has mentioned, disciplining the human body is the primary subject of power relationships. Power can notify the individual as a machine, centred on the body and exercise on the individual through discipline. In fact 'its disciplining, the optimization of its capabilities, the extortion of its forces, the parallel increase of its usefulness and its docility, its integration into systems of efficient and economic controls, all this was ensured by the procedures of power that characterized the disciplines'.³³

As such, the discourse of early-Republican Turkey idealized the qualities of being young and healthy, often contrasting these with the former Ottoman Empire, known as 'the old empire' or 'the sick man of Europe'. Sporting events in the early-Republican period were an important part of the project to create a modern nation of fit, intelligent, moral and dutiful modern citizens. Hence, for the perpetuation of the state, the fitness of the population was very important and it was thought that the human bodies of the state had to be sustained and managed to increase national wealth. As the future wardens of the republic, new generations free from harmful habits, healthy and intelligent and, most importantly, disciplined and docile were a significant concern in the discourse. Alemdaroğlu even argued that 'the goal of national sports was to create "hundreds of thousands of sturdy bodies", rather than merely win international sporting acclaim'.³⁴

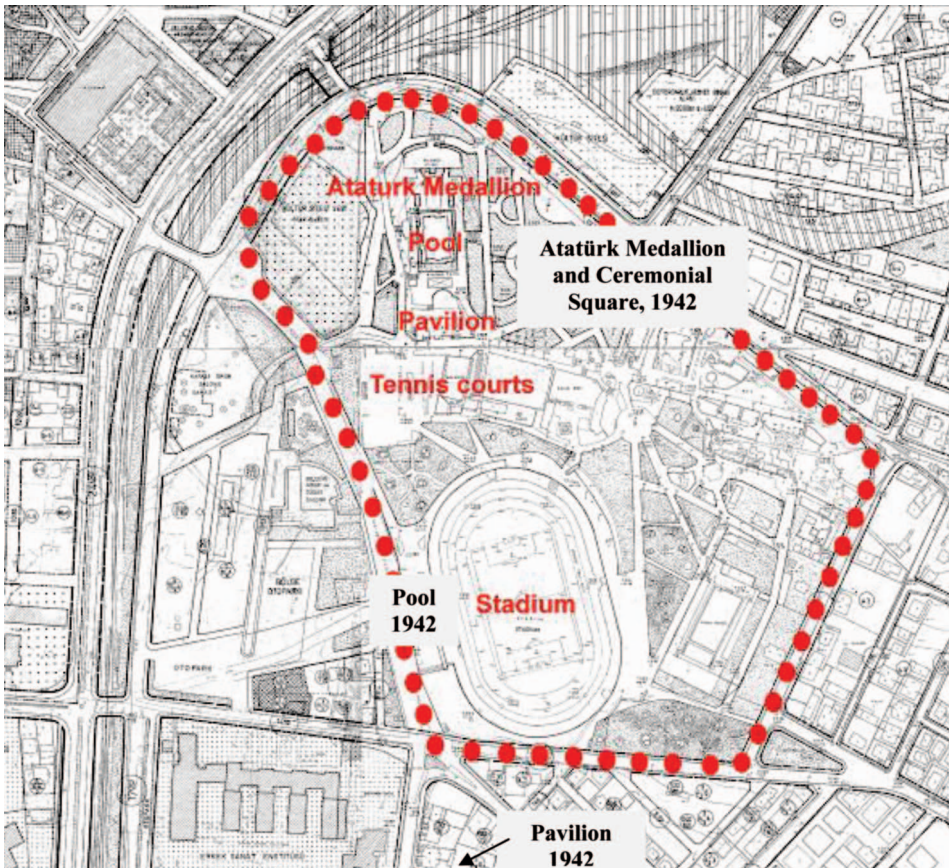
The sporting facilities in any park, including Balıkesir's Atatürk Park, could be used not only by those actually playing sports, but also by those watching or simply passing through the park. In addition, these facilities were used on special occasions such as state holidays, ceremonial and memorial days. Although public visibility as a technique of surveillance is not the subject of this paper, it does seem an important tool of social education projects in the early-Republican period. Through the stadium ceremony, the excessive use of power by the state was experienced by the audience in attendance. These ceremonies, mostly re-enacting the story of the Republic in itself, would be etched into the memories of those in attendance as a spectacle of modernization. This is the exact reverse of the spectacle that Foucault describes as 'our society is not one of spectacle, but of surveillance'.³⁵ The stadium allowed all citizens to join the ceremony and make themselves visible, fostering an object of visibility in the form of self-discipline: it engendered, in short, the will to behave in a modern way. It was not just social control that was produced here, but also freedom, a self-governing process.

As the necessarily spectacular manifestations of power, such ceremonies became a stage that conveyed the potential possibility of power. As Foucault notes, 'the role of political ceremony had been to give rise to the excessive, yet regulated manifestation of power; it was a spectacular expression of potency, an "expenditure", exaggerated and coded, in which power renewed its vigour. It was always more or less related to

the triumph'.³⁶ In fact, such ceremonies with citizens in attendance help to construct ties for the citizens to exercise rules as routine habits, turning power into abeyance. In fact, such ceremonies with citizens in attendance help to construct ties for the citizens to exercise rules as routine habits, turning power into obedience. To obey power has then spontaneously been exercised.

The Atatürk Medallion and Ceremonial Square in Balıkesir's Atatürk Park are important to mention not only for the benefit of discursive practices in the ceremonies held there, but also for understanding the role of the monuments in structuring the urban memory of the citizens. Within Atatürk Park, the decision to build the Atatürk Medallion and Ceremonial Square politicized the park (Figure 9), where both social and political uses were available for its participants. As already discussed, the pavilion, pool and flower gardens provided the social space where people could meet for leisure activities. On the other hand, the Atatürk Medallion and Ceremonial Square was a political space and symbolic focus of the Republic of Turkey in Balıkesir. In the words of Lefebvre, 'lived' (pavilion, pool and gardens) and 'conceived' (Atatürk Medallion and Ceremonial Square) are two aspects of the

Figure 9. Plan prepared by the municipality of Balıkesir, 1998 (using Egli's 1944 Plan).



same space.³⁷ These two uncompromising different usages of the park were not special only to Balıkesir. As Batuman mentions, at that time, in Ankara and in most towns in Anatolia, social spaces were also politicized in this way.³⁸

Today in Turkey, all public places, squares, schoolyards and even parks and recreation facilities are equipped with statues or busts of Atatürk or other important republican figures. In addition, posters, famous quotes and photos are also found in the interiors of all public buildings. According to Yalım, monuments as the tools of creating public memory are ‘the promise for the future leaning on the knowledge of the past’ that means make reference to the future.³⁹ Wilson describes collective memory, especially in Turkey, as a faculty that we use to ‘make sense of the present and shape the future’.⁴⁰ Atatürk monuments as icons are the starting point and the representative of the republic, like ‘Atatürk’s body carved on a stone’.⁴¹ Thus, the social memory of the public becomes identified and synonymous with the nation-state’s memory, creating an identity that is developed in the framework of a social identity broken from the past.

As a social and cultural instrument of power relationships in Turkish society, the discourse of modernization played a major constitutive role, like a binding mortar, for the Ottoman people to transform them into citizens of ‘a nation being re-born’. The word ‘modern’ used in the early years of the Republic of Turkey became an object of Kemalist reforms. At the beginning of the republican period, it became the dominant discourse over the social life of the people through its idealized qualities. Constructed for advocating the new concepts of recreation – a modern mode of leisure for the education of citizens – recreational parks were a specific component of the Turkish modernization project. Balıkesir’s Atatürk Park, which was designed and constructed after a personal request by Atatürk between 1935 and 1942, developed over time into an urban recreational and political centre. With its pavilion, pool, recreational areas, sporting facilities and Atatürk commemoration space, Balıkesir’s Atatürk Park also undertook an important discursive function beyond providing sports facilities or offering access to recreation: it represented a new lifestyle.

What was intended through the construction of Atatürk Park was a new consciousness and a new way of thinking in terms of the discourse of modernization introduced into the spatial practices of everyday life. The park was planned to spatialize the modern, future-oriented intentions of the young republic. As a functional spatial imperative of power relationships in society, Atatürk Park was a projection of spatial practices, a projection of how they should be practised by society. On the other hand, these spatial practices, which are far from the body–experience relationship between subject and space, had to be organized through the discourse of modernization in Balıkesir, turning rural people into modern (urban) citizens. That is, how to be a modern citizen has been shown through the discourse of how spaces could be how spaces could be used.⁴² Thus, through a park founded during early-Republican Turkey, the individual has been wrapped up in power from two directions.

Over the course of time, as a product of the cultural reality which paralleled the economic, political and social realities that were occurring, Atatürk Park changed and lost its identity. After the 1980s, the actions of the ruling liberal government resulted in new urban projects that demolished past values, including the green areas.

Interestingly, in the 2000s the idea of getting rid of ‘unnecessary uses’ and ‘ugly and old looking structures’ came to the mind of the locals and in 2005 a regeneration project was approved. However, those approving the project were missing the point that two important things in the park were going to be lost: the pavilion and the pool, which were removed since they were considered ‘old looking structures’. Today, only the photographs remain to remind us of the role that these structures played in shaping society during the early years of the Republic of Turkey.

Notes

1. İ. Tekeli, ‘Urban Planning as a Modernization Project in Turkey’, in S. Bozdoğan and R. Kasaba (eds.), *Rethinking Modernity and National Identity in Turkey* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1997), pp.136–52.
2. Ibid.
3. Balıkesir is as a small-scale agricultural city without much notable large industry. Today, a large amount of its demographical structure of 300,000 includes not only a native population but also a transient population of military personnel and Balıkesir University students. Despite these transient populations, these two driving forces generally promote the economic development of the city.
4. The new planning of Ankara was organized in grid patterns, unlike its older and vernacular counterpart, and had to be separate from what was considered ‘old’. The new Ankara ‘symbolized the breakaway from the old which would demonstrate what can be done in a short time’. Sibel Bozdoğan, *Modernism and Nation Building: Turkish Architecture in the Early Republic*, (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 2001, pp.68 and 75).
5. After 1933, more than 200 German, Austrian and Swiss professors, architects and city planners worked in Turkey as teachers, administrators and consultants, playing key roles in the establishment or improvement of major university departments in Ankara and Istanbul. They became the architects of Kemalist Turkey (Bozdoğan, 2001, pp.70–71). The Swiss architect Ernst Egli designed the State Conservatory of Music, Ankara (1927–28), the Higher Agricultural Institute, Ankara (1930) the Faculty of Political Sciences, Ankara (1935–36), and several private houses in Ankara and Istanbul.
6. The contract was signed on 5 April 1939. Egli finished his plan on 25 April 1941 and this was approved by the local government on 24 January 1944. However, a very limited part the plan was applied since the municipality had asked for revisions. The plan was completely repealed in 1955 and a different development plan has been in use in Balıkesir since 1986.
7. G. Birol and M. Çetin, ‘Ideology versus Tradition: A Struggle over the Plan of a Western Anatolian Town’, *Proceedings of the International Seminar on Urban Form (ISUF)*, Trani, Italy, 2003, pp.475–80.
8. Today, not only private gardens, but also public parks or green spaces are few in Balıkesir. Two large graveyards, Başçeşme Mezarlığı (80,000 m²) and Asri Mezarlık (48,311 m²), located in different parts of the town, have comprised the largest contribution to the ‘green’ appearance of the town during different periods. However, graveyards are passive recreational places that do not give allow the urban public to socialize or to entertain. Apart from the trees along the main boulevards, there are two large green areas in Balıkesir. Having a perfect panoramic city view, Çamlık Tepesi (138,000 m²), located in the western part of town, is one of them. However, due to its hilliness and difficulty of access, this park seems to be abandoned.
9. Zeynep Mercangöz has stated that according to several researchers there was a Late Roman/Early Byzantine city called Hadrianotherai in Balıkesir. She said that according to F.W. Hasluck, that city is most likely located somewhere near the stadium in Atatürk Park. However, there has been no archaeological excavation at this location. See Z. Mercangöz, ‘Bizans Çağında Balıkesir’ [Balıkesir during the Byzantine Period], *Bitek Kent Balıkesir* (Istanbul: YKY, 2003), pp.31–50. In 1942, during the excavations for some flower beds in Atatürk Park, archaeological finds such as mosaic pieces, pottery pieces, some columns and capitals, and pieces of water drains, came to light (E. Egli, *Balıkesir İmar Planı Notları* [Balıkesir Urban Plan Notes] (Balıkesir, 1944), p.30). In 2007, the ruins of a church dated to the late nineteenth century were found in Atatürk Park during the redevelopment construction works. These are from local publications of the small town of Balıkesir.

10. This was apparently Atatürk's seventh and final visit to Balıkesir before his death in 1938. The story of Atatürk mis-naming the graveyard is courtesy of journalist Ekram Balıbek, author of the 7 February 2008 Bizbize television programme, hosted by Ayşegül Özbay on local channel KRT. In addition, the book *İbrahim Cumalı'nın Anıları* [Ibrahim Cumalı's Memories] (Balıkesir: T.C. Balıkesir Valiliği İl Kültür Müdürlüğü İl Halk Kütüphanesi Müdürlüğü, 1993), gives details of Rıza Pehlevi's stay overnight in Balıkesir. For more details please see M.R. Kıpçak, *Merhaba Balıkesir: Gazi Mustafa Kemal Paşa'nın Balıkesir'e Teşrifleri ve Balıkesir'le ilgili Temas ve Bağlantıları* [Mustafa Kemal Pasha's Balıkesir Visit and his Relevant Contacts and Links in Balıkesir] (İzmir, 1999), p.7.
11. B. Batuman, 'Mekan, Kimlik ve Sosyal Çatışma: Cumhuriyet'in Kamusal Mekanı Olarak Kızılay Meydanı' [Space, Identity and Social Conflict: Kızılay Square as a Republican Public Space] in G.A. Sargın (ed.), *Ankara'nın Kamusal Yüzleri: Başkent Üzerine Mekan Politik Tezler* [Ankara's Public Faces: Spatio-Political Treatises on the Capital] (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2002), pp.41–76.
12. 'İlyaslar Mezarlığında Yapılacak Park' [A Park Will be Made on the İlyaslar Graveyard], *Türk Dili Gazetesi*, 2 June 1935, p.2.
13. For a detailed history of İzmir International Fairgrounds please see N.Y. Özgünel, *İzmir Kültürpark-Fuar Fikrinin Doğuşu ve Suad Yurdkoru* [The Birth of İzmir's Culture Park-Fairground Idea and Suad Yurdkoru], *İzmir Kent Kültürü Dergisi* (İzmir: İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür Yayını, 2000), Vol.1, pp.176–88.
14. From the *Türk Dili* newspaper published on 4 June 1934 (p.2), it seems that after consultation with experts, the works were allowed to start.
15. Modern architecture was embraced after the 1930s both in the capital city of Ankara and in Anatolia. Not only public buildings constructed under the state patronage but also the private buildings constructed by state elites and the new bourgeoisie, were built in modernist style. When modern architecture arrived in Turkey, priority was given to the modernist symbols and exterior forms because it was typically introduced in the absence of the conditions under which western modernism developed – industrialization, capitalist production and the bourgeois class. Modern architecture as an agent of a contemporary lifestyle fitted into the new architectural expression of the republic because of the promotion of new aesthetic sensibilities. That is, the 'revolutionary rhetoric' of modern architectural forms was the best representation of the revolutionary reforms of the Republic of Turkey that aimed to eliminate the Ottoman past. Simultaneously promoted in western countries, it also realized a 'participating to contemporary civilization' ideal of Kemalism that followed the West as a policy. As Bozdoğan puts it, this was a formalist understanding of modern architecture, an identification of these forms with the secularism of the republic rather than an understanding of its content (Bozdoğan, 2001, p.57).
16. The Atatürk Medallion and the Ceremonial Square kept its importance until a new ceremonial square was built with a statue of Atatürk at the western entrance of the park in 1963. Each year since then, not only the commemoration of Atatürk's death but also other official ceremonies have been held in the new square in front of the memorials, with the full attendance of state officials, military personnel, school pupils and the general public.
17. 'Atatürk Parkında Büstün Önünde Büyük Miting' [Big Gathering in Front of the Bust in Atatürk Park], *Türk Dili Gazetesi*, 19 Nov. 1938, pp.1–2.
18. G. Bırol, 'Bir Batı Anadolu Kasabasının Modern Bir Kente Dönüşümünün Hikayesi: 1940–1960 Yılları Arasında Balıkesir'de İmar Etkinliklerine Genel Bir Bakış' [The Story of a small Western Anatolian Town Turning into a Modern Town: General Overview of Construction Activities between 1940–1960], *Ege Mimarlık Dergisi*, No.51 (2004), pp.10–16.
19. *Balıkesir Belediyesi Albümü: 1950–55 Çalışmaları* [Balıkesir Municipality Picture Gallery: Works between 1950–55] (Balıkesir: Balıkesir Belediyesi Hesap İşleri Müdürlüğü, 1955), pp.29, 30, 53, 80.
20. The Corps Commander Ali Hikmet Ayerdem opened the tennis courts and football stadium in 1930. See *ibid.*, p.80.
21. Epli, *Balıkesir İmar Planı Notları*, p.30
22. *Balıkesir, Bir Kentin Kimliği* [The Identity of a Town, Balıkesir] (Ankara: Balıkesir Rotary Kulübü, 1997), pp.395–6.
23. Epli, *Balıkesir İmar Planı Notları*, p.30.
24. *Balıkesir Belediyesi Albümü*, pp.29, 30, 53, 80.
25. *Ibid.*, p.30.
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29. G. Baydar 'Tenuous Boundaries: Women, Domesticity and Nationhood in 1930s Turkey', *The Journal of Architecture*, Vol.7 (2002), pp.229–44.
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33. M. Foucault, *The History of Sexuality Volume I: An Introduction*, trans. Robert Hurle (New York: Vintage Books, 1980), p.139.
34. A. Alemdaroglu, 'Politics of the Body and Eugenic Discourse in Early Republican Turkey', *Body and Society*, Vol.11 (2005), pp.61–76.
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36. *Ibid.*, p.187.
37. According to Lefebvre, society/space relations can be called specializations that can be conceptualized to embrace a trilogy of intersections. As described by Lefebvre, spatial practices (spatial patterns of daily life or human activities in the social space), representations of space (conceptual models used to direct social practice or the space constructed through the discourse) and representational space (imagination based on the built environment and daily life) are three different surfaces of the same prism. H. Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. D. Nicholson-Smith (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1993), pp.33, 38–9.
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39. İ. Yalım, 'Toplumsal Belleğin Ulus Meydanı Üzerinden Kurgulanma Çabası' [Trying to Construct a Collective Memory based on Ulus Square], in Sargın (ed.), *Ankara'nın Kamusal Yüzleri*, pp.157–214.
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42. U. Tanyeli, 'Türk Modernleşmesinin Kentsel Sahnesini Yeniden Düşünmek' [Reconsidering the Urban Scene of Turkish Modernization], *Arredamento Mimarlık*, No.85 (1985), pp.22–7.