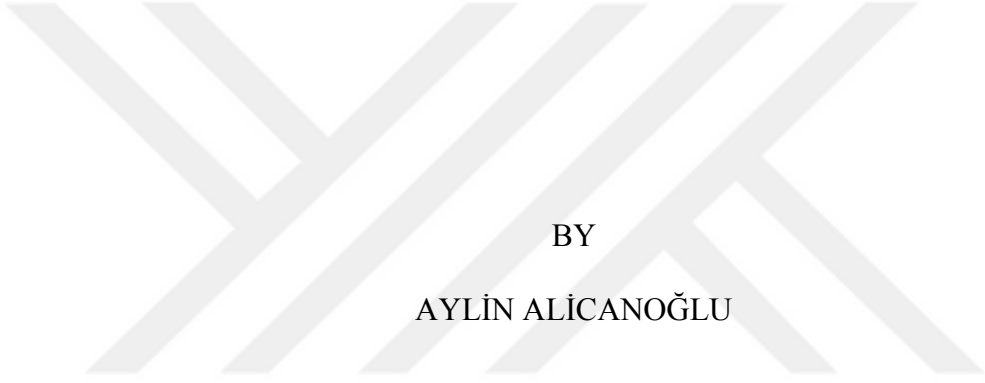


SPATIAL AND SOCIAL CHANGES OF URBAN PARKS ON ATATÜRK
BOULEVARD, ANKARA

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO
THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF NATURAL AND APPLIED SCIENCES
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AYLİN ALİCANOĞLU

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BOULEVARD, ANKARA**

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ABSTRACT

SPATIAL AND SOCIAL CHANGES OF URBAN PARKS ON ATATÜRK BOULEVARD, ANKARA

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Urban parks are essential components of cities. They have ecological, recreational, aesthetic, economic, and social contributions to cities. Especially after the industrial revolution of the Western world, individuals needed urban parks in order to bond with the nature in their urban everyday life. Within the context of Ankara, urban parks have not been a part of social life until the republican era. In this period the major aim of building urban parks in the new Turkish capital was to maintain and symbolize the ideology of the new republic through creation of a modern urban spatiality. The first plans of Ankara made by Lörcher in 1924 and Jansen in 1928 had an inclusive green structure, which was unifying with the other parts of the city. This unified green structure designed by Jansen has been destroyed dramatically in time as it can be seen in 1957 Uygur-Yücel Ankara development plan. Since Atatürk Boulevard, the main axis of the city, was suggested as the significant public space of Ankara, there located many urban parks of different scales and concepts near to it. This study examines past and current conditions of seven urban parks which are on Atatürk Boulevard. These are Gençlik Park, Abdi İpekçi Park, Zafer

Park, Güven Park, Milli Egemenlik Park, Kuğulu Park, and Seğmenler Park. This research suggests parks as nodes in the city center of Ankara. Within this conception, morphologies, experiences and functions of the parks are studied in a comparative way.

Keywords: Urban Parks, Green Space, Ankara, Morphology, Experience



ÖZ

ANKARA ATATÜRK BULVARI ÜZERİNDEKİ KENTSEL PARKLARIN MEKANSAL VE SOSYAL DEĞİŞİMLERİ

Alicanoğlu, Aylin
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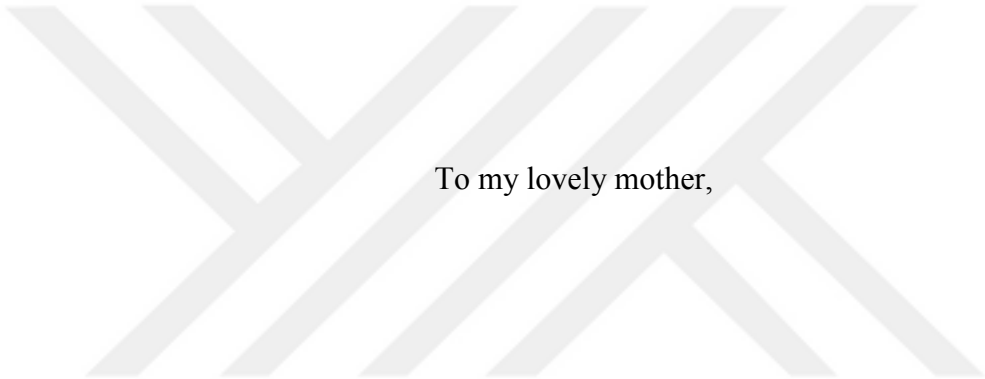
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Kent parkları şehirlerin vazgeçilmez bileşenleridir. Şehirlere ekolojik, rekreasyonel, estetik, ekonomik ve sosyal katkılar sağlarlar. Özellikle batı dünyasında gerçekleşen sanayi devriminden sonra, bireyler doğa ile bağ kurmak için gündelik hayatlarında kent parklarına ihtiyaç duymuşlardır. Ankara bağlamında cumhuriyet dönemine kadar kent parkları kent hayatının bir parçası olmamışlardır. Bu dönemde Türkiye'nin yeni başkentinde kent parklarını inşa etmenin temel amacı, modern bir kentsel mekansallık yaratarak genç cumhuriyet ideolojisini temsil etmek ve sürdürmektir. Ankara'nın 1924'te Lörcher ve 1928 yılında Jansen tarafından yapılan ilk planları, kentin diğer bölümleriyle birleşen kapsayıcı yeşil bir yapıya sahipti. Jansen tarafından tasarlanan bu bütünlüklü yeşil yapı, 1957 Uybadin-Yücel Ankara imar planında görülebileceği gibi zaman içinde önemli ölçüde yıkılmıştır. Şehrin ana eksenini oluşturan Atatürk Bulvarı, Ankara'nın önemli kamusal mekanı olarak önerildiği için, çevresinde farklı ölçek ve konseptler sahip birçok kent parkı bulunmaktadır. Bu çalışma Atatürk Bulvarı'ndaki yedi kent parkının geçmişteki ve günümüzdeki mevcut koşullarını incelemektedir. Bunlar Gençlik Parkı, Abdi İpekçi Parkı, Zafer Parkı, Güven Parkı, Milli Egemenlik Parkı, Kuğulu Parkı, ve Seğmenler Parkı'dır. Bu araştırma parkları Ankara şehir merkezinde yer alan düğüm noktaları olarak

önermektedir. Bu anlayış içerisinde parkların morfolojileri, deneyimleri ve işlevleri karşılaştırmalı olarak incelenmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kentsel Parklar, Yeşil Alan, Ankara, Morfoloji, Deneyim





To my lovely mother,

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Problematic, Aim and Scope of the Thesis

This study examines how physical and social construction of green spaces have changed and evolved over time and become urban parks. It scrutinizes urban parks within the particular context of Ankara from the early Republican period until now. Urban parks include the primary properties of the city and contribute to the identity of city as well. Therefore, in the creation of new societies and their identity surrounded by the sociopolitical climate of the early 20th century, it is unexpected that production of urban parks becomes crucial in terms of symbolizing the current ideology. Within this framework, physical qualities, activities, and characteristics of the parks on Atatürk Boulevard are examined comparatively in order to portray their part in the formation and recognition of urban identity. Regarding the fact that not only the parks but the boulevard itself was also designed as the significant public space of the time, the issue of public space plays a significant role in the theoretical positioning of the present study. Moreover, this study suggests parks as nodes in the city center of Ankara. In this respect, Atatürk Boulevard is considered as a strategic path where urban parks are related to each other as urban nodes. The boulevard in this sense is thought as a fundamental spine where parks work as important components of this spine and add a particular identity to it. Of course, the parks on the boulevard are not limited in number by the ones constructed in early republican period. From the Republican period to the present, new parks have been designed, constructed, and transformed for various purposes in the capital city of Ankara.

Within such socio-spatial urban conjuncture, the guiding research questions of this study materialize as follows:

- How did the daily life conditions change the meaning of both the boulevard and the parks regarding their role in identity construction of city?
- What type of places/nodes are parks currently and what purposes are they used for?
- Do citizens experience the path-node relationship in different ways while walking through the boulevard and while being in the parks?
- How do Ulus, Kızılay and Kavaklıdere regions, where the parks are located, differ from the early republican times to the present in terms of their formation over the years?
- How does the socio-economic and socio-cultural structure of the region where the parks are located provide information about the city?

1.2 Literature Review

Literature review is classified under five main headings which are green spaces and urban parks; urban green in Ankara; changing urban identity of Ankara; urban parks on Atatürk Boulevard; and theoretical framework.

Green Spaces and Urban Parks

Evolving over time, especially with the industrial revolution, green areas have become urban parks of today. Citizens use urban parks mainly for recreational activities in order to get away from the confusion of cities for a certain period. Discussing different functions and purposes of urban green in its historical process, Inci Kale (1990) describes the transformation of the urban green concept regarding five periods before the industrial age. Babylon, Egypt and Persia; Ancient Greek and Roman period; Medieval cities; Renaissance period; and Baroque age are the main

periods, respectively, in terms of alteration in usage and meaning of the green areas. Specific features of these periods are discussed in different sources. For example, Garden of Babylon is explored by Stephanie Dalley (1993) from the point of a symbolizing paradise; Patrick Bowe (2004) concentrates on the early understanding of Romans about publicity/publicness and its effects on public parks; Michael Laurie (1975) addresses walled medieval cities that were having green areas outside their walls; and, McNeur (2002) discusses the reflection of idealization at Renaissance period to green places. Obviously, both green places and urban parks have an important role in terms of culturally representing the historical continuity. They include the primary properties of the city and contribute to the identity of city. Therefore, it is understandable that their spatial character may change according to the necessities of city life or priorities and visions of administrative authorities. Asserting that urban parks produce a new knowledge of the city, Nate Gabriel (2012) examines the shifting meanings within the urban park discourse. When the history of urban green is analyzed, it is obvious that there has been an alteration from scenic pleasure grounds to recreational urban parks. Gabriel's classifications about historical continuity help one to clarify how urban green areas and urban parks were formed in Ankara after its declaration as the capital of Turkey in 1923. Through a critical examination of the period of early Republican Ankara, one can assert that the new capital was an ideological and spatial construction which was shaped through a powerful amalgam of nationalist and modernist discourses. Until the early years of the Republican period, urban parks were not a part of urban life. However, during the construction of the new capital, green spaces were identified as the symbol of a modern urban texture. Every single urban park designed in this period contributed not only the urban spatial formation but also intended to sustain the modernist ideology of young republic via the activities that supported a modern everydayness in the city.

The theoretical framework of urban parks can also be built regarding social and cultural sustainability according to Setha Low et al. (2015). For instance, they mention the "other" and cultural diversity issues in relation to urban parks. History

and social context of the park types in the United States are examined and they are classified according to their characters and purposes. When compared to the Ankara case, they are more varied in terms of their activities and contributions to cities; such as hosting facilities like museums, cafes etc. In this manner, although the book *Rethinking Urban Parks: Public Space and Cultural Diversity* may not frame the premise of the present research, it contributes to develop a socio-cultural understanding on urban parks in a larger scale.

Emergence of public parks in different periods at their specific social contexts in terms of their identity is scholarly discussed by Zeynep Uludağ (1998). She examines socio-cultural contributions of public parks to society. Especially changes of bourgeois public sphere in the 19th century with the industrial revolution, affected the physical and ideological meaning of public places. As a turning point, the gardening revolution of Britain is emphasized under the concept of “*design of outdoor space for human use*” which starts the “*parks movement*” (Uludağ, 1988: 52). In that sense, the transformation of public parks is revealed through historical analysis of urban landscape and landscape architecture. While doing this, she refers to the structuration theory of Anthony Giddens and time-geography concept of Torsten Hagerstrand as theoretical framework; and analyzes Gençlik Park as a comprehensive case study.

Urban Green in Ankara

Capital cities are assumed to have an important symbolic duty of representing their country to the world. They have pioneering roles, which have the objectives of constructing a unity of national identity and maintaining it (Uludağ, 2009). Declared as the capital city of the young republic of Turkey, Ankara has undertaken a significant role to represent the modern Turkish nation to other countries and as well to other cities in Turkey as an ideal model. Therefore a careful planning of this new capital was crucial, especially when one thinks that it was going to replace the pompous Istanbul. In order to bring the modern urban understanding of Western countries; urban planners and architects planned and designed public spaces,

boulevards, administrative buildings, and parks with not only an aim of fulfilling the spatial requirements of the new regime but also with the aim of changing the habits of society then. Carl Christoph Lörcher and Hermann Jansen were two foreign planners who came to Ankara for that purpose. Here it is important to mention that Ali Cengizkan (2004) digs out the initial plans of Ankara prepared by Lörcher, for the first time. Until his work, *Ankara'nın İlk Planı: 1924-25 Lörcher Planı*, was published, Jansen was widely known as Ankara's first planner. The unknown documents of Lörcher were discovered through this significant book. Actually it demonstrates how Jansen's urban design was inspired from Lörcher. The subjects covered in the book are about the whole city but the parts about urban green and urban parks indicate the emergence and development of the parks on Atatürk Boulevard. The book also contains a lot of information about Atatürk Boulevard; how it was originally emerged as 'Millet Caddesi' and has become the boulevard as we know today. In line with this present study's scope of urban green, the green structure of Ankara through its plans is analyzed by Sinan Burat (2008). He points out that the first development plans of Ankara made by Lörcher in 1924 and Jansen in 1928 contain a comprehensive and holistic green structure which also integrates with the other parts of the city. The integrated green structure designed by Lörcher and Jansen has been destroyed dramatically in time, which can be seen in 1957 Uybadin-Yücel Ankara development plan. Burat demonstrates this alteration by evaluating the existing plans and, as a case to his study, analyzes Güven Park-Tandoğan Greenway.

Changing Urban Identity of Ankara

In his book *Life Between Buildings*, Jan Gehl (2011) emphasizes the importance of livability of cities and questions meetings of people in public spaces. The character of the life between buildings according to him, changes with changes in societal situations. Thus one can claim that the changing conditions within the Republican period in Ankara changed the life of people who were living in the city. All kind of public spaces were essential in the spatial attempts of this period, which was

basically addressing a social modernization, thus commonly named as modernization project. Especially urban parks provide a variety of activities and experiences where urbanities find various opportunities of recreation. As Uludağ (1998) states “For the re-construction and implementation of the new social life in the Republican Turkey, recreation would be a new social experience. The establishment of a public park could perform this in public sphere.” (Uludağ, 1998: 110). These activities either can be defined as a program by the designer, planner, and architect; or it can be influenced by a number of conditions and happen spontaneously in time. Physical environment matters as an important factor which affects the activities to a varying degree and in many different ways.

Edward Relph, a pioneering scholar of the concept of placelessness, defines placelessness as “a labyrinth of endless similarities” (Relph, 2013: 119). It means that everything becomes same at different and irrelevant places and it refers to mass culture, anonymity, and exchangeable environments. On the other hand, place refers to first identity and then to meaningful experience, a sense of belonging, human scale, cultural contexts, and local significance. The meaning of identity is properties of something which makes them distinct by distinguishing. Relph (2013: 120) mentions about some components of identity which shape a particular place. Those components are; syntheses of natural and man-made objects, activities and functions, and meanings given by intentions. Nevertheless, they are not enough to define identity. It is strongly related with people’s past, memory, and affiliation. Urban identity can be defined as perception of the user who interests with the distinctive appearance of the city which integrates environmental, historical, socio-cultural, functional, and spatial values in urban space. The permanent users of a city are its citizens. Citizenship is something more than just living in a city rather it is having a deep feeling of belonging to it. In order to better understand how the identity of a city is constructed and what the contribution of citizens to that identity is, the urban parks and their structure on Atatürk Boulevard will be analyzed.

Urban Parks on Atatürk Boulevard

Parks on Atatürk Boulevard; Gençlik Park, Abdi İpekçi Park, Zafer Park, Güven Park, Milli Egemenlik Park, Kuğulu Park, and Seğmenler Park have been discussed separately by various articles and dissertations. However, Yalçın Memlük (2009) focuses on the Atatürk Boulevard and its green parts together. Considering them as origins of today's urban parks, he discusses the subject historically by mentioning 'millet bahçeleri' which date back to constitutionalism period in Ottoman Empire. This article also provides brief information about the urban parks and green in Ankara, including embassy gardens and garden of Çankaya Palace. Since the title and content of the article is *Bulvarın Yeşil Parçaları (Green Parts of the Boulevard)*, it provides a fundamental resource for further studies. Çılga Resuloğlu (2011) explores what kind of public space Tunalı Hilmi Avenue is, by addressing also Kavaklıdere District and Kuğulu Park extensively. The boulevard itself and the public spaces it possesses, especially squares of Ulus and Kızılay are discussed recently by Nuray Bayraktar (2017). As mentioned, parks in Ankara are examined as single cases at a number of studies. Gençlik Parkı, the most important urban park of the capital, is deeply scrutinized by Zeynep Uludağ (1998) and Nihan Oya Memlük (2012) from different perspectives. Can Akansel (2009) examines the values of Gençlik Parkı and analyzes its changing conditions. It is important to address Akansel's study since it discusses the elements inside the park as paths, nodes, districts etc., in a Lynchian categorization, whereas this present thesis discusses Atatürk Boulevard as a *path* and the urban parks on the boulevard as *nodes* related to each other among their *districts* by employing Kevin Lynch's theory.

Theoretical Framework

Kevin Lynch (1960), in his book *The Image of the City*, provides information about how cities are formed through the eyes of observers. He claims that people who experience the city create mental maps in order to generate an image in their minds and orient themselves in the city. According to Lynch these mental maps consist of five elements which are paths, edges, districts, nodes and landmarks. This research

suggests parks as nodes in the city center of Ankara. Lynch states that nodes are vital points in the city where people can experience and practice them as transition points. They can either work as junctions or concentrations. Nodes are also related with paths, since they are considered as the convergence of paths. The urban parks perform as particular places of concentration, junction and transition at the city scale. In this respect, Atatürk Boulevard is the element which is considered as the path where urban parks are related with each other as nodes. Since Atatürk Boulevard itself is an important public urban space, the issue of public space has a central role within the theoretical positioning of the thesis as well. Henri Lefebvre's¹ (1991) conceptual triad of representations of space, representational space, and spatial practice, is included in the research in order to comprehend the spatial and social characteristics of urban parks which have developed over time. In the creation of new/modern societies and their identity, production of urban parks becomes crucial in terms of symbolizing ideology. Examination of the difference especially between the representations of space and the spatial practice is important since it demonstrates how the urban parks have been formed and taken its present form. The theory of Lefebvre supports the idea of parks designed as a symbol of ideology and become indispensable parts of the city. The city is an object/artifact that is constantly changing; social, economic, political, cultural, and demographical agents influence the existing condition of the city and its elements over time. It can be construed that urban parks as important public spaces of the city are shaped through the complex relationality of these mentioned issues. Human activities, behaviors, needs, and expectations of the citizens are able to change the meaning and even the object of the park which was designated in its representations. Also, people associate themselves with their environment through their own perceptions and experiences and as a result they generate some memories which they willingly or unwillingly protect. Amos Rapoport explains that behavior as follows:

¹ The book, *Production of Space*, written in French in 1974 and translated into English in 1991.

“We are interested in how people experience cities, give meaning to what they perceive, how they understand the city and organize it conceptually, how they give identity to environmental elements, how they classify elements and how they behave as a result of this, how designed environments reflect ideal images and how they affect behavior, how choices are made and on what basis.” (Rapoport, 1977: 6)

Despite the existence of books, dissertations, and articles about the urban parks separately on Atatürk Boulevard, little amount of research has been conducted to evaluate them together in relation with the boulevard. Within this conception, long term goals of the research are;

- To present the transformation of how urban parks on Atatürk Boulevard have produced a new knowledge of the city,
- To provide a comprehensive review of sources with an aim of comparing past and current situations,
- To develop a classification in terms of physical setting, activities, special spaces, use of water etc.
- To refine a comparative look at the focused parks regarding their contributions to the city with their identity.

The possible outcomes of this study are as follows:

- The role of parks in the construction of the nation,
- The contribution of the parks to the urban identity of Ankara in the first years of the republic and after the following years,
- The change of the physical and social qualities of the parks,
- The development of the parks from Ulus to Kavaklıdere,
- The impact of urban parks on the boulevard as nodes within their districts.

1.3 Methodology

Methodologically, a theoretical and historical framework of urban parks as important public places will guide the study to provide a sound basis for the case study. This framework will be obtained through the works of aforementioned key names, as well as the current debates of recent scholars. The theoretical framework will be contextualized in multiple-cases of Gençlik Park, Abdi İpekçi Park, Zafer Park, Güven Park, Milli Egemenlik Park, Kuğulu Park and Seğmenler Park. Mapping the present situation both through plans and sections will show the properties and relations of the parks.

As it has been underscored this study approaches to Atatürk Boulevard as a path and to the mentioned urban parks as nodes. As Lynch (1960) states, nodes are related with paths and they are considered as convergence of paths. Adopting this theoretical view, this study examines the characteristics of these nodes in terms of their physical, functional, and identical qualities.

Current situation of the parks are documented by photographs. Sources like maps, plans, visual documents etc. at official and local institutions on this topic are searched in order to collect and present objective information. Parks' past statuses are investigated through an archival search of old documents such as magazines and newspaper reports. They are used to support, refine and interpret the historical knowledge. In addition, some personal interviews are made with landscape architects of the parks to get their point of view from the time parks were designed until now. Also conversations are made with people who are informed on the subject and period. Their personal archive and documents are used as well by their courtesy.

1.4 Structure of the Thesis

Having introduced its problematic, aim, scope, theoretical structure and methodology in the very first chapter, the study is conducted in three main chapters and a conclusion.

The second chapter is based on the re-conceptualization of green areas as urban parks. It aims to scrutinize the concept of green spaces and what it means for people and different civilizations throughout the time. Religious, political, and social reasons behind the formation of green spaces are examined in order to ascertain how urban parks of today have been formed. To better understand the transformation of urban green to urban parks, industrial revolution and its effects on the urban park discourse are investigated. Shifting meanings of economic, social and political issues have deeply influenced the concept of parks. In this respect, how the green areas were shaped and used throughout the history and how it has been reconceptualized after the industrial revolution is analyzed with some cases.

The third chapter aims to present a theoretical basis for the general concept of urban parks in terms of their identity and their relations with the city in which they are located. It starts with the issue of place and placelessness. In order to understand the notion of identity better, the concept of space and place has to be scrutinized. The concept of public space is also studied. Relations of public spaces with other urban components and identity given by these spaces to the city are important research subtopics of the thesis. Components of identity which shape a particular place are mentioned. Urban image elements of Kevin Lynch and space production theories of Henri Lefebvre are explored to realize the situation. People's past, memory, and affiliation are strongly related with identity of city and parks. In particular, sense of belonging and collective memory is emphasized in relation with the planning decisions of Ankara as a new modern capital in this chapter. In this regard, plans of Lörcher, Jansen and Uybadin Yücel Plans are mentioned in order to understand how the city has developed. Relation of Atatürk Boulevard and districts with the city and the urban parks are discussed in detail.

The fourth chapter focuses on how urban parks were started to be formed with the declaration of Ankara as the capital of Turkey in 1923. The place of urban parks in development and identity formation of Ankara is examined. Importance of urban parks in the urbanity of Ankara is scrutinized through Millet Bahçesi, Gençlik Park, Abdi İpekçi Park, Zafer Park, Kızılay Park, Güvenpark, Milli Egemenlik Park, Kuğulu Park and Seğmenler Park, respectively. They are elaborated in terms of their context, design strategies and elements, planning and design process, change and development process, current utilization and activities.

The conclusion chapter includes diagrammatic drawings which demonstrate the present experiences, functions, and morphology of the urban parks on Atatürk Boulevard. The physical qualities, activities, and identities of the parks are examined in a comparative way based on the theories that are mentioned. The changes at social, political, economic and cultural situations both in Turkey and the world, have also changed the identity of the city and the parks in time. These results show that cities and parks have important roles in terms of either constructing or demolishing the social structure of urban culture. The main contribution of this study is to document the alteration of the parks on Atatürk Boulevard in terms of their identity, on collective memory and urban culture.

CHAPTER 2

RE-CONCEPTUALIZATION OF GREEN SPACES: URBAN PARKS

2.1 Historical Review of Green Spaces

‘‘If any lesson can be drawn from the history of architecture, it is that architecture is the expression of the spirit of age, sometimes splendid, sometimes mediocre. But it must always wait until the age is ready for it.’’²

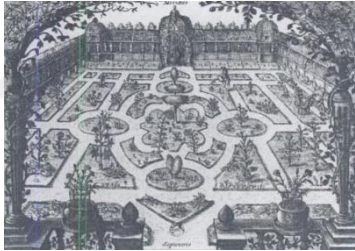
Green spaces and urban parks have an important role in terms of culturally representing the historical continuity as mentioned in the introductory chapter. They include the primary properties of the city and constitute the identity of city as stated by Kati Susi Wolf (2010). Therefore, they need to change according to the necessities of city life. When the history of urban green is analyzed, it is obvious that there is an alteration from scenic pleasure grounds to recreational urban parks. This alteration is almost same with the evolution of history of architecture, as is it is stated in the quote above, the transformation of urban green to urban parks has also waited for the appropriate time.

The change of the urban green idea in a historical process could be examined in five periods till industrial age (Kale, 1990: 8-19). The first is Babylon, Egypt and Persia, the idea of garden was utilized initially at that period. In those ages the gardens were symbols of paradise in which man gets pleasure. *Paradeiosos*, a persian word used by Greeks instead of paradise, corresponds to enclosure, garden, orchard, and Garden of Eden (Dalley, 1993: 11). At those times gardens were made regarding to religious and representative implications. However, they could only be utilized by the higher

² Jacquet, P., 1966.

class and the ruler. The second, in the old Greek and Roman period there were urban spaces for the utilization of entire society. The best known open space was agora (5 B.C.) which was an urban square for individuals in order to get together and discuss social, political and commercial issues in the Greek period. The agora in Athens was having a few planted trees but it was not sufficient to create a public park. Romans have derived an awareness to plant trees in public areas from Greeks. Although Roman period is famous with its villa gardens, as Roman cities start to grow and common implementations are sought for each, the need of public parks has emerged. The first known public park of Rome was Pompey's Portico (55 B.C.) which was pioneered other Roman parks. Their common properties were being attached to public buildings (Bowe, 2004: 107). The third, medieval cities were covered with walls in order to preserve people living in the city from outside dangers. Besides, they had the opportunity to get to green spaces outside the walls. In any case, there were additionally open spaces in the town where individuals could use for various aims as Greeks and Romans did. However; they were not serving for a specific aim (not like an agora or square), in common they were only spaces for recreation (Laurie, 1975: 21). The fourth, with the Renaissance age, people had begun to search for the perfect at each part of life. This interest likewise reflected to the arrangement of green spaces. Exploration of ideal proportions and forms in architecture has been also reflected to the gardens. In that period gardens were arranged as a representation of ideal nature. They were organized as far as a perfect nature and human feelings in which people thought about themselves as the focal point of the universe. Renaissance gardens were seen as an extensions of villas. According to that rooms of the garden were as important as rooms of the villa (McNeur, 2002: 1112). The fifth, in Baroque age there was a sharp class distinction where privileged people have the power in hand. Geometrized perfection was the significant thing while arranging the gardens. In that situation green spaces were seen as the indication of power. Therefore, the pleasure gardens were just utilized by aristocrats, which have the power, for activities such as playing sports, eating, drinking, dancing, and watching light shows (Kale, 1990: 16).

Table 2.1 Green space use before industrialization

Babylon, Egypt, and Persia		Drawing of a garden at Nineveh. Dalley, S. (1993). Ancient Mesopotamian Gardens and the Identification of the Hanging Gardens of Babylon Resolved. <i>Garden History</i>, 21(1), p.10.
Ancient Greek and Roman Period		Roman garden. Bowe, P. (2004). <i>Gardens of the Roman World</i>. J. Paul Getty Museum. p. 109.
Medieval Cities		Medieval style garden. Mukerji, C. (1997). <i>Territorial ambitions and the gardens of Versailles</i>. Cambridge University Press. p. 29.
Renaissance Period		Garden of Villa Lante. Last accessed: 28.03.2020. https://www.tripadvisor.com.tr/Attraction_Review-g1472371-d246595-Reviews-or5-Villa_Lante-Bagnaia_Viterbo_Province_of_Viterbo_Lazio.html
Baroque Age		Gardens of Versailles Last accessed: 28.03.2020. http://en.chateauversailles.fr/discover/estate/gardens

It can be said that until the industrial revolution the structure of cities were different when compared with the past. Industrial revolution has changed the way people live. The majority has started to live in cities while working long hours for money. In that condition, they started to look for ways to recreate themselves. Urban parks in the cities are the best and free way to get rid of the confusion of the city. In 1833, the necessity of urban parks, which will make better the urban living standards, has been displayed at the Report of the Select Commission on Public Walks as follows;

With a rapidly increasing population, lodged, for the most part in narrow courts and confined streets, the means of occasional exercise and recreation in the fresh air are everyday lessened, as enclosures take place and buildings spread themselves on every side. A few towns have been fortunate in this respect from having some open space in their immediate vicinity...yet even at these places...the accommodation is inadequate to the wants of the increasing number of people.³

Almost all the developing cities on the world have been facing the increasing population problem and they were looking for solutions. Ankara was also one of these cities and as well as the new capital of the new nation with a mission of representing all virtues of urban life. Gabriel (2012: 65) claims that;

Urban parks are a part of web of power relations that collude in a discursive framing of the city that situates labor and laborers within a nature/society imaginary, helps to produce a knowledge of the city as wholly capitalist (social) space through the reification of the park as a non-economic (natural) space, and produces urban subjects who embody and reproduce those spaces.

Galen Cranz (1982) brought up a well framed chronological order within four stages about the politics of park design by the birth of capitalism; the Pleasure Ground (1850-1900), the Reform Park (1900-1930), the Recreational Facility (1930-1965), and the Open Space System (1965-and after). Later on she has defined Sustainable Parks (late 1990s) as a new model for urban parks. Actually this grouping demonstrates how the park as a discourse has been classified and transformed in time. Until the emergence of sustainable parks, concerns were more related with

³ <http://urbanrambles.org/background/a-brief-history-of-rus-in-urbe-1307>

social issues; however, with the emergence of them, parks have become to respond ecological issues as well. Cranz states that ecological issues are one of the biggest social concerns of the society. So the problem has to be settled both with social and ecological aspects.

“...results from social needs and accommodate a variety of functions economic, social, political, religious, and cultural. Their size, appearance, location and form are governed not simply by the physical factors (climate, materials or topography) but by a society’s ideas, its forms of economic and social organization, its activities, and the beliefs and views which prevail at any one time” (Rettig, 1985: 7; cited in Kale, 1990: 90)

Like the way parks are constructed, our perception about them also varies. Our understanding of nature and city are generated by different aspects. How they are produced and perceived is not only related with physical conditions but also with different factors as they are mentioned by Rettig. The following sections are then focusing on four fundamental factors with specific spatial dynamics of their own: industrialism and capitalism, identity and modernism, contemporary and competition based, transformation and sustainability. While focusing on these, the situations that affect all kinds of conventions that people produce and practice, and phenomena that are suggested as reformer and transformative are taken into consideration. The parks through which these notions can be traced respectively are selected as Central Park, Gençlik Park, Parc de La Villette and Highline.⁴

⁴ Although Central Park and Highline are in the same city, the reason for being chosen are; they have been influenced by different situations and have been made at different times and for different reasons.

2.2 Discourse of Urban Parks

“More can be derived from discourse than is explicitly stated.”⁵

It can be asserted that urban park notion attained a discursive unity through its various conceptions, paradigms, relations and understandings as well as designed urban portions throughout its historical development. As Michel Foucault asserts “discourses are practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak” (Foucault, *Archaeology of Knowledge*, p. 49). Discourse itself is an ever transforming operation. Like the concept itself, the meaning of green spaces evolved in time and it transformed from being green plots in the city to urban parks. Selected cases display how they reshape their environment and reshaped by it. At the past they were related with belonging to bourgeois and to the authorities of power, but now they are places utilized by citizens, thus become very symbolic spaces of public accessibility. The urban identity is connected with the judgments and ideas of the residents or the users of the city and its urban places. The urban identity will be involved just when individuals affirm the ideological messages forced by the urban places. This is expressed by Basa as follows:

There is no discourse that appears accidentally or with the initiation of a single person or a single idea. The appearance of discourse cannot be abstracted from its associated field of facts. Objects of discourses exist under positive conditions of a complex group of relations, and these relations characterize discourse itself as a practice (Basa, 2015: 724).

By this transformation, urban park discourse has been specified through the new definitions of publicness as public place notion has begun to be formed and has taken its present form and of course as parks started to be acknowledged as major public spaces in cities. As it is mentioned, respectively, the main agents in terms of

⁵ Renkema, J., 1993.

producing the knowledge of the parks are; capitalism and urbanism, identity and modernism, contemporary and competition based, transformation and sustainability. In different centuries and cultural geographies, parks were acclaimed and publicized for their different properties and potentials in relation with the effect of these factors. All these differences have shaped the park discourse in time.

2.2.1 Capitalism and Urbanism: Central Park

“Cities, like dreams, are made of desires and fears, even if the thread of their discourse is secret, their rules are absurd, their perspectives deceitful, and everything conceals something else.”⁶

Central Park in New York was designed by Frederick Law Olmsted, Calvert Vaux, and Andrew Jackson Downing in 1857. It is a perfect case which shows how pastoral landscape could be formed in the city. It contains many different activities such as sightseeing, zoo visiting, picnic making, running, etc. After the industrial revolution, individuals need urban parks in order to bond with the nature. It was a compulsory need which provides leisure activities for the working class of industrialized and modern cities. With its strong premise it has become an imitated model in the world. The repetition feature made it easier for the park itself to become a powerful discourse. In 1861, Olmsted argued that “almost every large town in the civilized world had public parks and that in the U.S. there was scarcely a finished park or promenade ground deserving mention.” According to the influential landscape architects and park supporters, parks were significant tools of enlightenment and social control of nineteenth century (Dorceta E. Taylor, 1999: 420). It is asserted that such kind of urban parks were built by elites in accordance with the taste of middle and working classes. We see that capitalist discourse is extremely influential even in public spaces such as urban parks. Elites are defined as the ones who take the most

⁶ Calvino, 1978.

share of capitalism. They aim to provide recreational spaces especially for the working class, so the members of working class will work more after recreating themselves at the parks. If working class participates to the activities of the park, life conditions of people would be better since they are familiar with pastoral and rural environments. Also that kind of a park in the middle of Manhattan would make a great contribution to the great national idea of USA. Richard Morris Hunt and Clarence Cook declared that a park in Manhattan would:

Convert the central part of the island on which New-York is built into a pleasure ground, around which will spring up terraces, villas, and blocks of dwelling houses excelling in beauty and magnificence any we can boast of in the New World, and giving new ideas of the beneficent principle of democracy, which permits the mind to expand to its utmost possibilities. (Taylor, 1999: 425).

Central Park case demonstrates that urban parks are designed and used as a place/tool of social control for the benefit of capitalism. Although it is criticized about being constructed for the sake of the city and elites, it is a worldwide known urban park that provides various activities for all urbanites as it's supposed to be. Most of these activities have continued since the first years of its establishment. For example, there are more than one ice skating places in the park (Figure 2.1). This is an indication that habits which are settled in an urban park for more than a century are now part of the city.



Figure 2.1 Ice Skating in Central Park, 1900. Source: The Museum of the city of New York.⁷



Figure 2.2. Ice Skating in Central Park, 2014. Photograph taken by author.

⁷ Retrieved from: <https://www.westsiderag.com/2014/02/01/12-remarkable-old-photos-of-central-park-in-winter>

2.2.2 Identity and Modernism: Gençlik Park

“What we call ideology only achieves consistency by intervening in social space and in its production.”⁸

In the time of early republican Ankara, the political authority was confronted with ideological and spatial construction of the new capital through a powerful nationalist and modernist discourse. İlhan Tekeli (1994) states that there are three groups of aims in declaring Ankara as the capital: Getting rid of the Ottoman figure established in Istanbul, ensuring the development of Anatolia, establishing a modern city according to the principles of republic. Consistent with the last of these groups, it was targeted to establish a new city where modern, contemporary and western life can emerge. Green spaces are seen as the symbol of a modern urban texture. Until the republican period, urban parks were not seen as a component of urban and social life. Then one can speculate that every single urban park designed in this period was intended to maintain the ideology of the young republic.

Uludağ (1998) states that in typical Turkish Islamic cities the notion of public space was restricted by primarily a mosque with a fountain surrounded by open spaces. Considering that the frequency of women going to the mosque is very low, the user density and usage frequency of this limited area was also very low. It could not be go beyond from being an area where men socialize with each other only during prayer and festive times. In addition, the organic urban pattern was not suitable for using the city streets in order to socialize and recreate. Another public space in such a situation was water distribution stations (Figure 2.3.). Compared to European cities, there are no streets that guide people with axiality and symmetrical layouts and the squares that allow them to meet. The places where men and women gathers together were mesira grounds. These were the first places where green is used

⁸ Lefebvre , The Production of Space, 44.

recreationally in Turkish culture. So, it helps to create people's recreative culture in the daily life.

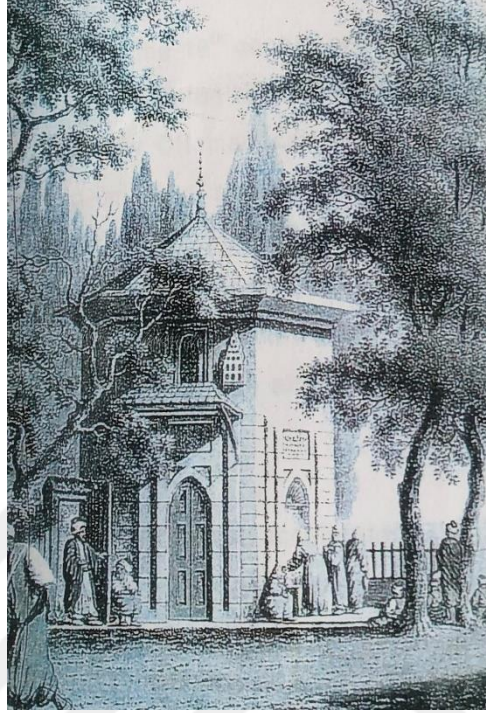


Figure 2.3. Water distribution station at Istanbul. (Source: Uludağ, 1998: 67)

Tekeli (1985) describes the transformation in Turkey as follows: The function of urban green areas has started to change within the changing urban fabric. Urban green areas have started to move away from agricultural production sites that directly contribute to the nutrition of the urban dwellers. Some of them like vineyards and groves have become new housing areas, others have started to be formed in the cities as municipal parks which are open to use for all citizens. Municipal parks were generally carried out with the transfer or transformation of the cemeteries within the city as a result of the growth of the city.

The best example of early Republican Period Park in Ankara is Gençlik Park (Figure 2.4.). It was the first urban park of early republican period of Ankara. Atatürk recommended a youth park which would ensure the creation of a new, modern and westernized generation. It is exceptionally significant component of urban

community since it have social, aesthetic, and recreational contributions to the city. The design, identity, and activities of the park have reflected the character of the city. It was not just arranged and intended to be green space; besides, it was created in order to make and present the new and current identity of the new Republic. Gençlik Park shows that in the creation of new societies and creation of their identity; production of urban parks is as important as other urban and architectural elements. By being representatives of modernism, they become more than being green and park.

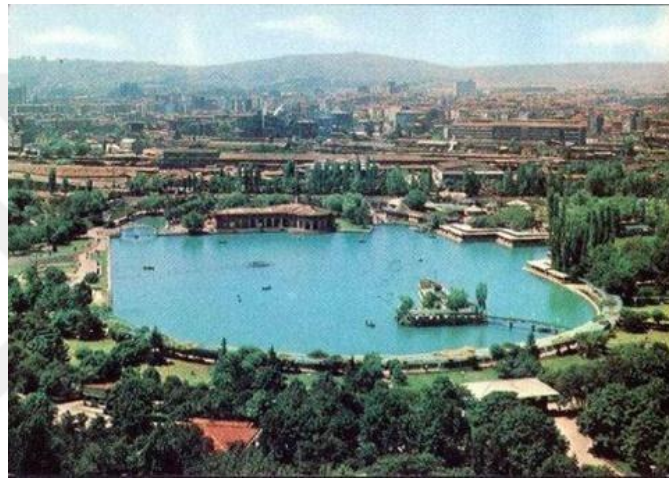


Figure 2.4. Gençlik Park, 1965.

Source: <http://mimdap.org/2009/12/gecmithten-gunumuze-genclik-parkly/>



Figure 2.5. Gençlik Park, 2017. Photograph taken by author.

2.2.3 Contemporary and Competition based: Parc de La Villette

In the documents of the international competition prepared by Etablissement Public du Parc de la Villette (EPPV) it is stated that modern parks have lost their functioning in 1982. They moved away from being an activity place used by the society in cities. The reason for this was that they did not have a variety of activities. It is stated that “Whole sectors of Paris grow and live around parks, but people no longer venture into them. Distant from the spatial and temporal rhythm of the city, they are bereft both of ritual and of all relevance to daily life”.⁹ The competition brief of Parc de La Villette was presenting the park as an urban renewal tool in its district. The brief was targeting three main principles which aims to regenerate its urban surroundings. ‘The creation of a complex’, ‘an original cultural project’, and ‘an urban decision’; are the objects which demonstrate how Parc de La Villette will meet the necessities of being a contemporary urban park.¹⁰

Proposal of Bernard Tschumi was suggesting a park with a superimposed organization (Figure 2.6.). Tschumi has introduced layers as strategic elements to his design. Different elements on the layers which are points, planes, and lines were defining several places and functions for the users in different times. With the completion of the park in 1987 the urban space was totally transformed to a landscaped area within the urban context. The ultimate alteration it brought to the park discourse is different than historical parks. It was settled to an urban area where warehouses were located. Therefore, its spatial and programmatic design required a different approach.

⁹ EPPV, Rapport d’objectifs, p. 6, cited in *Tracing the development of contemporary park-city relationships: Parc de La Villette, Paris*, Rene van der Velde. EPPV is the organization established for the competition.

¹⁰ Van Der Velde, R. (n.d.) *Tracing the Development of Contemporary Park-City Relationships: Parc de La Villette, Paris*.

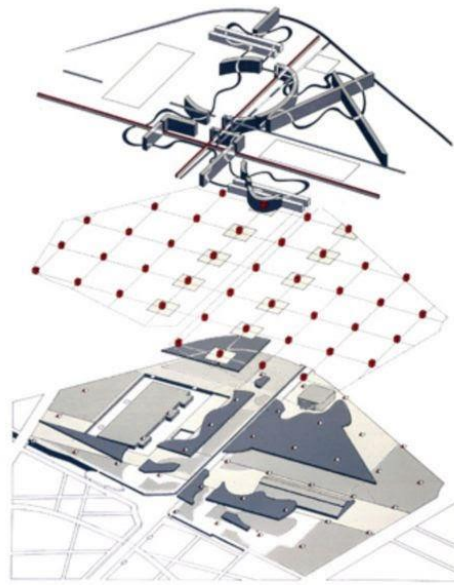


Figure 2.6. Planes, points, and lines of Parc de La Villette

<https://www.archdaily.com/92321/ad-classics-parc-de-la-villette-bernard-tschumi>

Actually this approach was separating Tschumi from other participants of the competition and bringing a new method and discourse to urban park design. Bernard Tschumi was affected from the thoughts of deconstructivism and his design was like a reply to the philosophy of Derrida. Therefore he introduced follies as the architectural elements which create various possibilities of experience (Figure 2.7.). They were connected with the paths as lines to each other. Each of them were created according to specific rules, which are repetition, intersection, distortion, fragmentation etc. The follies were providing unprogrammed activities to the users of the park and also they create the contemporary identity of the park. In this context, Parc de La Villette represents the 21st century urban park program that combines form and ideology.



Figure 2.7. Figure : Folies of Parc de La Villette
<https://www.archdaily.com/92321/ad-classics-parc-de-la-villette-bernard-tschumi>

2.2.4 Transformation and Sustainability: High Line

“...people interact with the environment rather than to react it.”¹¹

Highline is a public park designed by James Corner Field Operations and Diller Scofidio+Renfro in 2003 as a winning proposal. It is built on elevated rail lines and its first section is opened in 2009. New York City’s High Line intends to bring economic, ecological, and equity advantages to the city as a park which is established on an abandoned railroad. According to the researches it fulfills the economic assertions with a huge impact to the growth. However, the ecological and equity advantages are controversial. It is said that the social equity constituent stays behind the discourse of sustainability (Lang & Rothernberg, 2017: 1743). Aside from being controversial in terms of those problems, its design purpose and strategies have become popular worldwide as a new greening model of urban

¹¹ Canter, D., 1981.

environment. High Line displays that urban parks can have design strategies and management styles which break new ground. It can be said that it creates a powerful discourse by itself; it is used as a well-supported reference at studio projects, competition projects and as well as in real life practice with its architectural and environmental elements. What makes High Line that much powerful in recent years as a park discourse, is an important question. First of all; using recyclable materials, green technologies, and native plants make the design worthwhile. Therefore, Cranz and Boland (2004) claim that it is a good example for 'sustainable parks' (Lang & Rothernberg, 2017: 1744). Moreover, "it also exemplifies an emerging model of urban park design that combines urban entrepreneurialism with sustainable development and ecological discourses" (Davidson, 2013; Gandy, 2013). Urban entrepreneurialism is a quite new notion for the parks when we look at the history of parks. The term firstly used by David Harvey in 1989. It is related with late capitalism and used to indicate the transformation of urban governance to public-private partnership. With this case we understand that parks are not only under the control of government and its political desires. A private partnership can also create an urban park in accordance with their request and produce that much important knowledge for parks worldwide. It can be deduced that the High Line is the pioneer of a new urban park model which marks an era with its design strategies and applications. It becomes a project which is replicated several times and memorialized as 'High Line effect'.



Figure 2.8. High Line, 1950s. (Source: untappedcities.com)¹²



Figure 2.9. High Line, 2016. Photograph taken by author.

¹² Retrieved from <https://untappedcities.com/2015/04/01/looking-back-at-the-history-of-the-high-line-in-nyc-blueprint/>

CHAPTER 3

CHANGING URBAN IDENTITY OF ANKARA

3.1 A Conceptual Approach to Place and City

*As time passes the roles, too, are no longer exactly the same as before; certainly the action they carry forward through intrigues and surprises leads toward some final denouement, which it continues to approach even when the plot seems to thicken more and more and the obstacles increase. If you look into the square in successive moments, you hear how from act to act the dialogue changes, even if the lives of Melania's inhabitants are too short for them to realize it.*¹³

Every city has its own characteristics which creates a particular urban identity. This urban identity also shapes the identity of people; they associate themselves with the city they live in. It is very important that the citizens feel that they are a part of the city and belong to a place. This sense of belonging creates both individual and collective relation with cities. This chapter aims to explain the importance of place identity and its effects on citizens and development of the city. There has been a tendency of transformation first with the effects of industrialization and then globalization which caused a growing sense of placelessness that produces change at urban identity. In this respect, how the urban identity was once constructed in Republican period's Ankara, and what the current condition is, appears as a relevant issue to be discussed to reinforce the study.

Having declared that every city has its particular identity which makes them unique, the notion of place should be marked by a great importance in the formation of identity. A great number of disciplines deal with the concept of place; philosophy, physics, geography, urban planning, and also architecture. As the concept itself

¹³ Italo Calvino, *Invisible Cities*, 81

continued to be studied, it has been discussed with notion of time. They are considered as one unity and relative to each other. Lefebvre deals with the relationship of time and place with daily life in detail. According to him, each of these concepts should be considered and interpreted together rather than separately. He uses rhythm as a method (tool) to analyze cities and states that “Everywhere where there is interaction between a place, a time and an expenditure of energy, there is rhythm.” (Lefebvre, 2004: 8).

As time goes by, conventions that affect the concept of place change. Modernism is one of these conventions which influences the notion of place. The principal problem about modernism could be that it produces placelessness.¹⁴ Edward Relph (2013) resembles placelessness to a “labyrinth of endless similarities” where everything get similar at different places. One type of a building can be built in different regions of the world regardless of cultural differences. For example, two people; one who lives in a city in Asia and another who lives in a city in Europe, have started to live and work at similar conditions. Actually they are totally different regions and cultures. However, the effects of modernity and globalization make it compulsory and that causes loss of identification. According to Christian norberg-Schulz (2006: 134) identification is to become friends with a particular environment. For example, while Nordic people have to be friend with ice and cold, Arab people have to be friend with sandy desert and burning sun. For modern man the identification is reduced to man-made things such as streets and buildings rather than natural environmental elements. In short, placelessness is referring to mass culture, anonymity, and exchangeable environments. On the other hand, place is firstly referring to identity and then to meaningful experience, a sense of belonging, human scale, cultural contexts, and local significance.

¹⁴ Placelessness is not an object of this study. However; in order to interpret the idea of place better, the notion of placelessness needed to be discussed.

Schulz states that a person's identity is related with where he lives since people determine the world which is accessible. He gives an example to clarify his position; people mention about where they come from in order to tell who they are, "I am a New Yorker" or "I am a Roman". Rather than mentioning their job or something else, they point out to this detail because this means much more than others (Schulz, 2006: 134). It can be said that the roots of people and where they live is very important to identify themselves. This is explained by the concept of *genius loci*. In the belief of Romans every independent being has its *genius* which is a spirit that gives life to people and place. People believed that spirit gives life to people and places; survival of people depend on their good relationship with the place. Actually these relations determine their character. As a result the special thing is spirit which gives identity and character to a place. If the place doesn't have this kind of spatial characteristics, it cannot be defined as a place.

According to Schulz space has two different means which are three dimensional geometry and perceptual field. Space comprises of elements formed by three dimensional organization and constitutes the place. While spaces are defined by nouns like in-out, up-down; places are determined by nouns which refer to real things that exist like island or forest. As Schulz states "a space distinguished by qualitative differences" becomes a place with everyday experience. He claims that "A place has a particular identity. This identity or spirit, may be described by means of the kind of concrete qualitative terms" (Schulz, 2006: 128).

In order to concretize the space notion as place in case of the parks analyzed in this study, five elements of Lynch are used. Lynch introduces the terms of nodes, landmark, path, edge and district, which concretize space through qualitative terms. According to Lynch these are the fundamental elements, which give orientation to people in space and make people feel like they are in a place. According to Schulz centralization, direction and rhythm are significant means of concrete space. In this study, the fact that the parks as a whole are part of the axis defined by the boulevard, strengthens their aspect of having a certain character. Character is seen as the essence

of place hence all places have a character. As mentioned, spaces are defined by prepositions and places by name, and character is defined through adjectives. This definition can be applied to spatial features as well as social features. As Lynch's theory declares, being on a path or belonging to a district gives the place a character. Schulz asserts that "Similar spatial organizations may possess very different characters according to the concrete treatment of the space-defining elements (the boundary)" (Schulz, 2006: 129). According to that statement it can be said that being on the same path (Atatürk Boulevard) or belonging to the same district (Ulus, Sıhhiye, Kızılay, Kavaklıdere) can differentiate both spatial and social characters due to many distinct features.

Schulz states that "everyday language confirms our analysis of place" (p.131). This statement is related with the spatial practice notion of Lefebvre. His triad is designated with the notion of space because his main focus is actually on the transformation of space to place. Lefebvre states that space is not an isolated thing independent from anything else; on the contrary, what is expected is a living, historically changing, and transforming entity which dependably develops over time. He classifies the produced social space with a conceptual triad. This triad of production of space includes three components, (representations of space, representational space, and spatial practice), which are seemingly isolated yet really influencing each other. Representations of space is the conceived space which is conceptualized and made by architects, planners, urbanists and administrators. For instance, planners make some maps, plans, and models for the city, and directly or indirectly create a new ideology for the society via their proposed spatiality. Representational space is the lived space which is passively experienced as Lefebvre considers. Inhabitants of the space utilize the signs and images with specific aims to get meaning from the space. Spatial practice is the reproduction of space by daily utilization of occupants. Along these lines, one might say that space cannot be produced by the employment of just one of them. Creating a city merely through the realization of plans isn't sufficient as implied by Lefebvre. Human activities and practices are similarly critical to make the place real. It can be said that the creation

and production of space, and especially public space, is unavoidably related with politics. Within this conception, political contexts can't be ignored while the production and utilization of the parks are considered. Changing of society affects changing of space, and vice versa. The most proper example for this can be Gençlik Park in the case of Ankara. As it will be pointed out in detail, it was designed with ideological reasons at the formation of a new society.

According to Relph places are “directly experienced phenomena of the lived world hence are full with meaning, with real objects, and with ongoing activities.” These properties make places significant for individual and collective identity. As Relph states people have emotional and psychological ties with places therefore they accumulate memories within particular places. In an urban environment these memories or meanings are more cultural and communal rather than individual. This can be explained by the phenomenon of collective memory. Collective memory is a phenomenon owned by people living a certain past. It occurs when the same events and same activities are experienced in a common place. Especially repetitious situations are of great importance in the formation of collective memory. People who are dwellers of the same environment learn from each other by interacting. Collective memory discourse was first studied by Emile Durkheim on traditional societies. According to Durkheim, societies need continuity and relationship with their past in order to protect their social unity. Although he did not use this term directly, his student sociologist Maurice Halbwachs used this term for the first time. Halbwachs states that individual memory also occurs in social structures. The greatest effects of the transformation in the physical environment can be seen in the change on collective memory. One of the most important reasons is that the meaning of urban place has been lost over time. Jan Gehl argues that relationships of people with each other and with the environment develop in places where they can be together (2011: 168). When they come together rather than being alone, they have the opportunity to meet and engage with each other at the same place. People start to be a part of a common culture as they establish complex ties and communicate with each other and

with their environment. As a result of sharing common activities, a common history and common interest occur among people (Gehl, 2011: 53).

All of the concepts mentioned above are related to place making. As it is discussed, places can be designed and planned in relation with different necessities of cities before their construction. Then, the identity and meaning are formed through the urban practices of citizens. Within this framework, the question of how Ankara as a new modern capital has been planned with respect to green areas is discussed in order to understand the historical development and its effects to today.

3.2 Lörcher, Jansen and Uybadin Yücel Plans for Ankara

Capitals have a significant impact on the representation of the whole country to the world; they have pioneering roles with the aim of establishing national and social unity and ensuring the continuity of this unity. Istanbul was the capital of the Ottoman Empire for centuries until the modern Turkish republic was founded in 1923. It could no longer be the capital of the new nation because it had a strong relationship with social lifestyle and former governance. Basa states that “The republicans’ choice in moving the capital from Istanbul to Ankara shows that they were aware of how architecture affects the creation of a society and of the power of the representational nature of space.”¹⁵

Before Ankara was declared as the capital, the fact that the National Assembly was established here in 1920, and then the influx of soldiers, candidates and job seekers, increased the population of the city in an unpredictable way (Cengizkan, 2004: 15). But in the difficult struggle that did not last until 1923, it was understandably very difficult to make and implement spatial decisions on behalf of the city. The decisions that could be applied were moreover related to the resettlement and restructuring of

¹⁵ Basa, I. (2015). From praise to condemnation: Ottoman revivalism and the production of space in early republican Ankara. *Journal of Urban History*, 41(4), p.712.

destroyed places. As Cengizkan affirms by 1924, it was seen that the objectives of the general plan report for Ankara's reconstruction, prepared by the Ministry of Exchange, Reconstruction and Housing, were including only the immediate needs (2004: 17). Undoubtedly, the green areas and parks were not mentioned among the priorities of the development plan of a nation that has just come out of the national struggle and suffers financially. However, before this report on the planning of Ankara dated in 1924, two important initiatives were brought to the agenda about green areas and parks.

First one of these initiatives is seen in a letter written to Prime Ministry by İsmail Ziya, former İzmit deputy, in 1921. He declares that projects and plans are ready to build up a contemporary city model with the words as follows: "in a very short time, such as five years, as Turkey's second government center, with its wide streets, *parks*, empty spaces, necessary religious and official structures and future private venues, telephone, electric trams, lighting services, a complete contemporary city model" (in Cengizkan, 2004: 28).

The other initiative, known as Chester, intends to plan Ankara at a completely new area in 1923. It has objectives such as solution to the problem of housing, the construction of government offices, the construction of railway lines, delivery of agricultural equipment; however, it was totally canceled afterwards. Parks were mentioned at the reports as follows: "The company will build the government buildings, but also roads of the city, streets, sidewalks; open *parks*; bring plenty of water to the city; light up with electricity; provide tram and telephone; most importantly it will provide welfare which can be in new cities of America." In addition, the plan was including a great artificial lake in the middle of the city.

According to Cengizkan (2004), Gençlik Park which has been improved from the swamp to the present day is the 'great lake' mentioned in the Chester plan.¹⁶

When the attempts of Ismail Ziya (1921), Chester (1923), and the general plan for the development of Ankara (1924), prepared by the Ministry of Exchange, Zoning and Settlement, are compared, it can be seen that the priority targets were more or less the same. However, two plans before the declaration of Ankara as a capital city were including the issue of parks while the general plan prepared by the state did not include parks. With these two private enterprises, it is obvious that parks should be included in the steps to be taken in the field of urbanization and modernization.

After these attempts, the actual planning of Ankara was made by invitations of urban planners to Turkey. As a result, plans of Cristopher Lörcher (1924-25) and Hermann Jansen (1928-1932) carried out planning works for Ankara respectively. According to Lörcher (Figure 3.1.a.) Incesu and Tabakhane streams were enough to create a natural park which surrounds the city and Cengizkan states that it was a positive aspect that the plan identified the main green corridors of Ankara (Cengizkan, 2004: 44). Unfortunately, today we even can not see the traces of the streams except Incesu to some extent. The most important aspect of Lörcher plan was the garden city concept which was a development model for residential neighborhoods (Sarıkulak, 2013: 55). Jansen's approach (Figure 3.1.b.) on planning was composed of three basic elements; light, air, and green. He arranged a green structure composed of natural and artificial water bodies, green strips and different sizes of sports fields and allotment gardens (Burat, 2008: 50). The green strips were used for separating the districts from each other in 1928 Jansen plan but this approach changed later on in the 1932 plan (Burat, 2008: 57). These approaches and decisions both at Lörcher and

¹⁶ Planning decisions for the green areas of Ankara were examined by the author at Jansen and Ankara Symposium. See Alicanoğlu, A. (2018). *Ankara'da Kentsel Parklar: Tarihi İnceleme Ve Karşılaştırma Çalışması*. International 'Jansen and Ankara' Symposium.

Jansen plans demonstrate that Ankara was planned as a green city with all its public spaces and private settlements in the early republican period.¹⁷

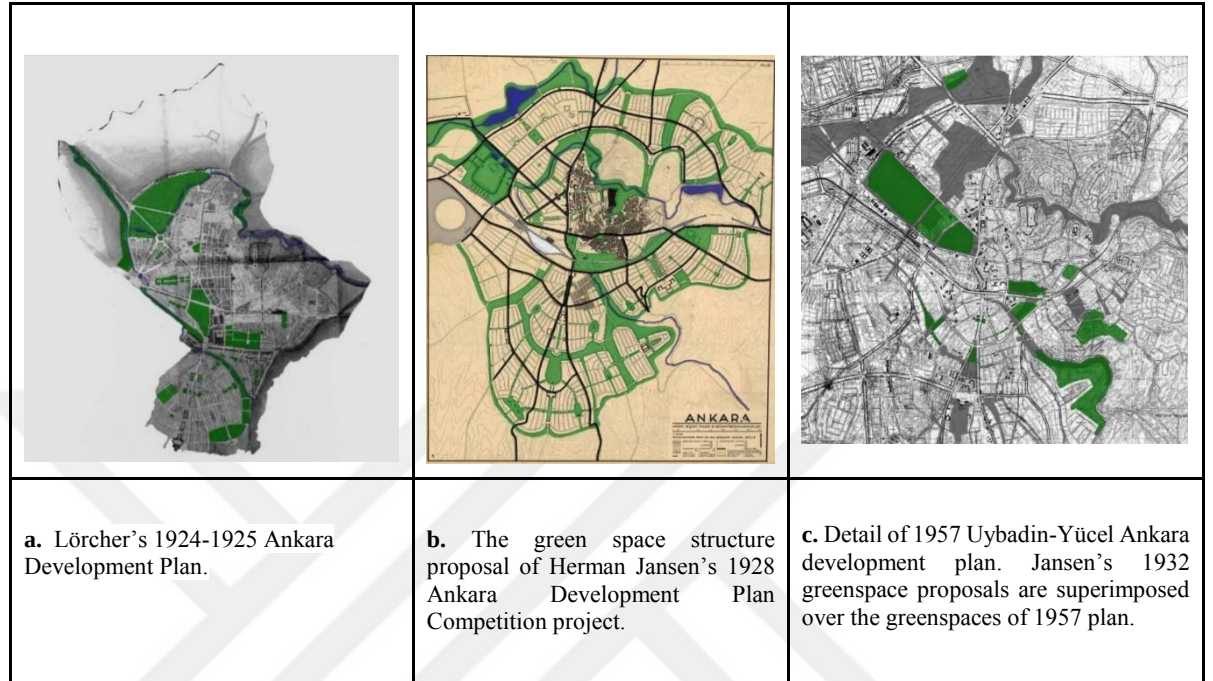


Figure 3.1. Historical change of green planning in Ankara. (Source: Burat, 2008, pp. 43, 56, 98)

The term green roads was emphasized by Jansen as *Grünstreifen*, as follows: Green roads are linear paths that are reserved for pedestrian access, arranged or used in agriculture, and connect other public open and green spaces to create a continuous green space structure. (Burat, 2011: 105). Jansen aimed to create a green network covering the whole city, and according to him it was the task of the city planner to make it possible. Starting from the gardens of the houses, the network aimed to reach the nearby sports grounds, parks, schools and beyond to the recreation and

¹⁷ The morphological change of urban greenways in Ankara has been examined in detail by Burat. The maps (figure ...), in which green was marked by Burat, were produced extensively with the information obtained from the planning reports. Therefore, they were used directly in this study. See: Burat, S. (2008). *The Changing Morphology of Urban Greenways, Ankara, 1923-1960*. Doctoral Dissertation. METU.

agricultural areas outside the city. He thought that the most important part of the free zones were these green diagonal stripes (kutrani yeşillik şeritleri, in Turkish). Unfortunately, this idea has not been able to go far beyond the plan due to unpredictable growth, and it is a little difficult to find traces in today's Ankara. Green roads and pedestrian green roads along the streams are part of the idea green of diagonal stripes. The rivers in Ankara were highly promising for the creation of open spaces and green spaces. Especially Kavaklıdere and İncesu Streams are worthy to investigate at the research in terms of their relationship with the parks and their traces (Cengizkan, 2004: 124).

In 1954, together with a new competition, a new development plan was prepared for the city of Ankara. The plans made by Raşit Uybadin and Nihat Yücel have started to be used in 1957. When this new plan is compared with the previous plans, it is seen that most of the green areas have disappeared. The green roads on the banks of the streams were channeled and turned into streets. Burat states that this is a result of the current engineering practice (Burat, 2008: 99). Today, a part of İncesu Stream still exists, including Kurtuluş Parkı on its axis. Güvenpark and Gençlik Park also continue to exist as important green areas of Ankara. However, most of the other urban green areas have not been preserved. This is due to the unpredictable and uncontrolled growth of the Ankara population. For instance, some regions planned for green areas have become settlements for *gecekond*. The planning was not containing an effort to provide accommodation facilities for the new dwellers. Its suggestion for the increasing population is augmenting the floor levels of existing buildings by uniting the plots. Rather than expanding to the peripheries of the city, this solution causes congested blocks in the city center as experience in Kızılay. However this did not bring any solutions (Bayraktar, 2017: 12-13). No suggestions for the association of pedestrians and vehicles were made. As no decisions have been made to improve public transportation, spontaneous solutions have emerged. With the notion of *dolmuş*, the blue minibuses have popped up to carry people in the city through some fixed routes. Despite some other possibilities in hand, *dolmuş* is still in use today. It has an enormous network system which is impossible to be ignored

by the users and administrators. Becoming such a significant component of the city over the years has caused them to attain a place in the city. As a solution, a part of Güvenpark is reserved for Dolmuş stops. Through such applications, the amount of green space has decreased. The green areas and parks with an area of 150.000m² in the Jansen Plan, have fallen to a total of 26.000m² in 2000s (Burat, 2008: 121) (Figure 3.1.c.).

With the effect of these plans and also unplanned growth, Ankara has grown in all directions. Atatürk Boulevard that has powerfully existed since the first planning attempts has experienced a significant change and development from North to South in time. The boulevard, which was once designed as the most important urban axis and public space of the city, somehow maintains its importance through its long-standing structures and urban parks with valuable green areas.

3.3 Atatürk Boulevard as Path

Lynch describes paths as “the channels along which the observer customarily, occasionally, or potentially moves. They may be streets, walkways, transit lines, canals, railroads. For many people these are the predominant elements in their image. People observe the city while moving through it, and along these paths the other environmental elements are arranged and related” (p.47). With reference to Lynch’s description, this study introduces Atatürk Boulevard as a *path* where people may observe Ankara in its historical change process while moving through *districts*. Moving from Ulus to Kavaklıdere, the changing urban fabric and the relation with environmental elements can be observed on the boulevard.

With the new planning efforts after the declaration of Ankara as the capital, this new city needed a public place to represent republican ideologies and modernization. As Lefebvre (1991: 42) states representation of space has always been important in the production of new spaces:

Representations of space have a practical impact [and] they intervene in and modify spatial textures which are informed by effective knowledge and ideology. Representations of space must therefore have a substantial role and a specific influence in the production of space.

Considering the emergence of Atatürk Boulevard, Lörcher designed the axis that began at the Sıhhiye railway station and continued to the new parliament building. He called this axis “Millet Avenue” which is the foundation of today's Atatürk Boulevard. The axis, which was once mentioned as the Strasse der Nation in the Lörcher Plan and Mustafa Kemal Avenue in the Jansen Plan, becomes today's Atatürk Boulevard in 1940s with the interventions such as expansion and breakage that it has seen over time and finally merging with Bankalar Avenue (Cengizkan, 2004: 11). In the report prepared by Brix, one of the architects who were invited to the 1928 competition, Atatürk Boulevard was mentioned as Millet Avenue, as follows: *“Starting from the south of the old city, the grand avenue passes parallel to the railway and connects the old city to the new city. This avenue will be the most polite and most important avenue of the capital”* (in Cengizkan, 2004: 104). As can be understood from these sentences; the boulevard is of great importance in terms of connecting the old city to the new city physically. It connects the ministries and Grand Assembly with the residence of Atatürk on top of Çankaya hills. In this respect, it has a powerful aspect in terms of keeping administrative buildings together on one single axis. Also it is socially important since it has been considered as the showcase of the city. Cengizkan (2004) states that Lörcher Plan formed the texture of Yenışehir at the south of the railroad and new squares were planned along Atatürk Boulevard. Public places designed as part of the axis were Kızılay, Sıhhiye, Zafer, Ulus and Lozan Squares. These places were representing the ideology of the Republic and giving meaning to the boulevard both physically and socially. They are still existing today, yet with some physical and social interventions. Atatürk Boulevard itself and the squares on the boulevard have been used as places of socialization among different groups of citizens' decades long (Figure 3.2.). However, with the decentralization of the city new settlement areas have aroused and upper-middle class has moved to the new areas, mainly to the west side of Ankara.

Jansen proposed green space structures under four different categories which are greenways (Grünstreifen), central green space, allotment gardens, and squares. According to this classification, Atatürk Boulevard can be evaluated under the title of greenways; and the urban parks existing on the boulevard, under the title of central green spaces. Pedestrian greenways were designed by Jansen in three different types as arterial pedestrian greenways, collector pedestrian greenways, and greenways along the avenues and streets. He designed plans and sections for the relation of sidewalks and roads. His main intention was providing shadow for people by integrating the streets with trees. In fact, Atatürk Boulevard is an implementation of this intention. As the drawings demonstrate, road-sidewalk and pedestrian-vehicle relations are taken into control along the boulevard (Figure 3.3.).

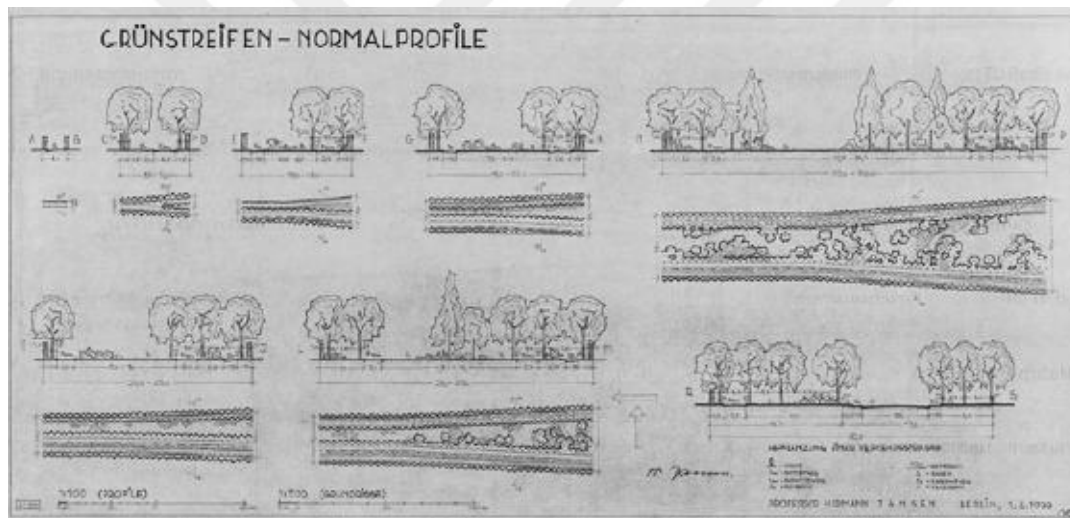


Figure 3.3. Plans by Jansen showing how the streets and roads relate with green.

Retrieved from: <https://architekturmuseum.ub.tu-berlin.de/index.php?set=1&p=79&Daten=158431>

Boulevards are defined as a street with greenery and trees on either side or in the middle (Figure 3.4.). It also allows pedestrians to use the urban place independently from vehicles with wide pedestrian sidewalks. Atatürk Boulevard and its surroundings have always been protected its city center identity through its changing meanings. However, being located along the center of Ankara has put many responsibilities on the boulevard. The most important of these is always being the

core of transportation facilities. This naturally causes a significant traffic problem along the boulevard. Actually this is why the boulevard is acting both as a path and edge. Especially the presence of the overpasses, underpasses, steel bars and the elevated greenery on the traffic island of the boulevard are preventing crossing of pedestrians. This situation makes the boulevard an edge which separates east and west sides (Figure 3.5.).



Figure 3.4. Atatürk Boulevard in 1935. (VEKAM Photograph, Postcard and Engraving Archive, Inventory No: 1414.)



Figure 3.5. Underpass and steel bars which prevents passing of pedestrians. Retrieved from: <https://www.mehmetakinci.com.tr/ankara-ataturk-bulvari.html>

Regardless of walking from one place to another through a park, passing by car in front of a park from the boulevard, or intentionally going to a park; Ankara residents continue to experience these parks in their daily lives (Figure 3.6).¹⁸ The most important factors in increasing these experiences are the spatial diversity of the parks and multitude of activities they offer. In order to improve urban space quality of Ankara; how the activities can be increased may be subject of further research. Even constructing a bikeway on the very strong spine formed by the boulevard would be a solution to physically strengthen the relationship between parks.

Baydar (1992) resembles Atatürk Boulevard to an architectural history museum of the Republican period. Likewise, buildings on the boulevard that were built after this period are also representing their own time. The momentous structures representing the identity of the boulevard mark it as a landmark: For example, the first Grand National Assembly of Turkey, Opera Building, Presidential Symphony Orchestra Building which is still under construction, Ministry Buildings, Emek İşhanı, Assembly Buildings, Presidential Palace etc. All of them attach certain values to the boulevard but at different districts. Accommodating different functions, they have been playing an important role in giving meaning and identity to the districts they are located.

¹⁸ Lynch's studies in 1950s precisely focuses on the automobilized cases of American cities. In that respect it is kind of different than the pedestrian scale of European cities. Atatürk Boulevard was built as an example of modernization in European cities and therefore it was designed with a focus on pedestrians. However; over time, the traffic load has made it no longer a boulevard as it was intended.

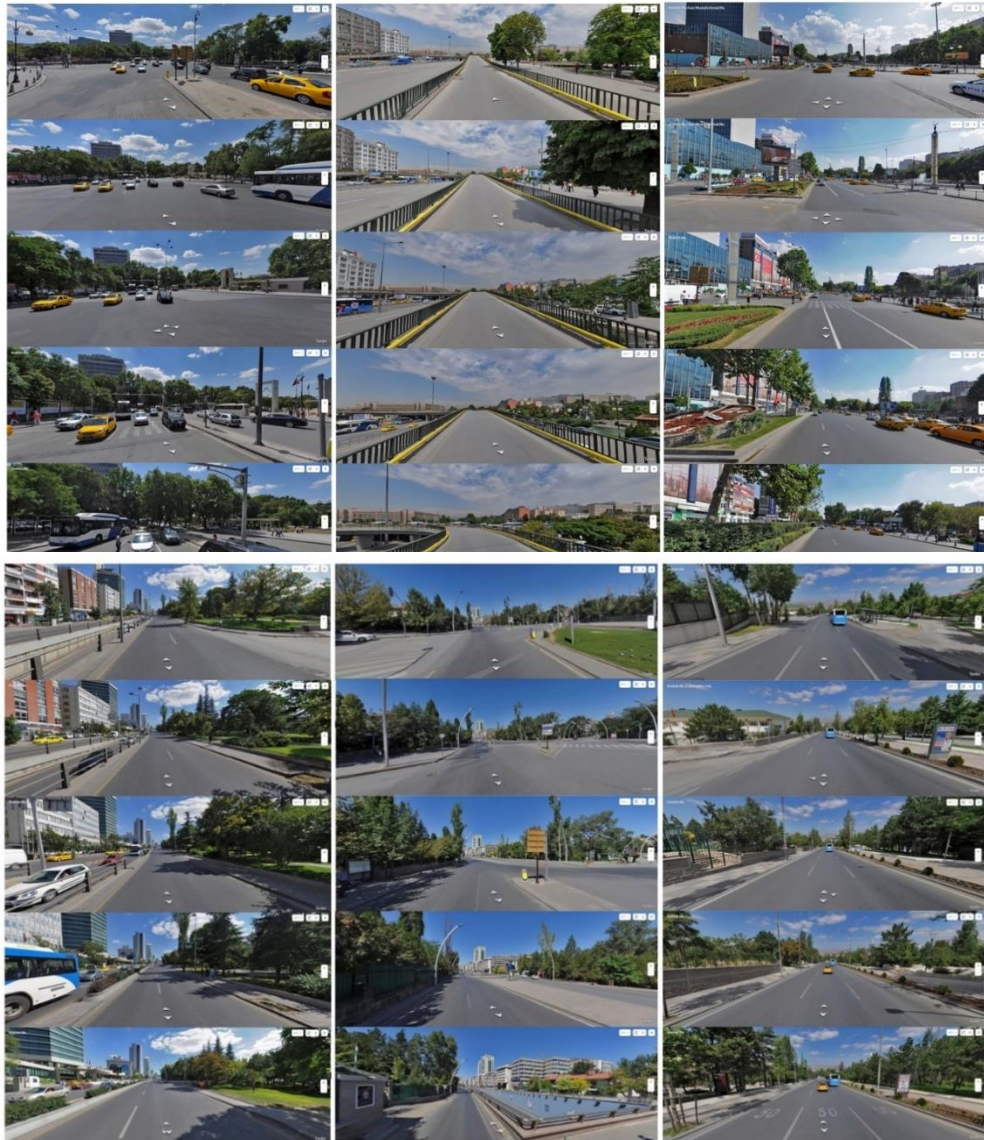


Figure 3.6. Sequences on Atatürk Boulevard while passing through the urban parks.

Source: Yandex Street view.

3.4 Districts on the Atatürk Boulevard

Lynch describes districts as “the medium-to-large sections of the city, conceived of as having two-dimensional extent, which the observer mentally enters inside of, and which are recognizable as having some common, identifying character” (p.47). Atatürk boulevard¹⁹ is assessed under 3 main districts, which are Ulus-Sıhhiye (between Ulus Square and Sıhhiye Square), Sıhhiye-Kızılay (between Sıhhiye Square and Kızılay Square), and Kızılay-Kavaklıdere (between Kızılay Square and Presidential Palace). These three districts can be distinguished by some physical characteristics, which can be defined by some thematic continuities. According to Lynch these thematic continuities comprises various components such as texture, space, form, detail, symbol, building type, use, activity, inhabitants, degree of maintenance and topography (p.67). Each of these components differentiates the districts on the boulevard. By creating a resemblance based on this Lynchian comprehension, differences of the districts on Atatürk Boulevard will be discussed accordingly (Figure 3.7.).

¹⁹ Atatürk Boulevardness of the road itself is resting on certain conventions. Discussions at TEDU MAUS Studio demonstrates the different approaches. According to Baykan Günay it starts with Vehbi Koç Orchard House (Vehbi Koç Bağ Evi) around Keçiören and extends to Çankaya Presidential Palace. On the other hand, Ali Cengizkan states that it starts at Yıldırım Beyazıt Square around Dışkapı. First segment is from Dışkapı to Ulus, second from Ulus to Opera, third from Sıhhiye to Kızılay, fourth from Kızılay to Akay junction, fifth from Akay to Kuğulu Park and lastly from Kuğulu Park to Presidential Palace.

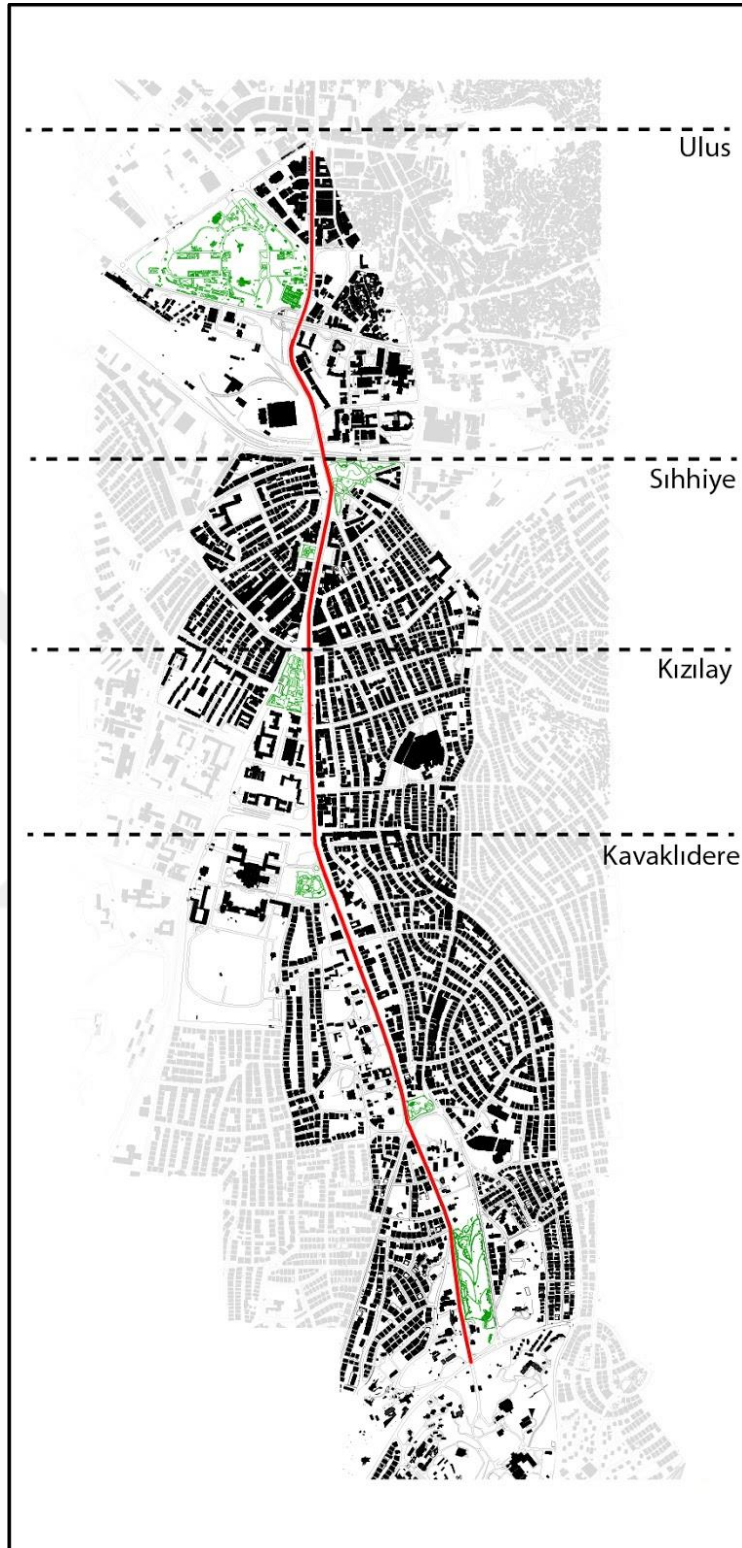


Figure 3.7. Districts on Atatürk Boulevard. Drawing made by author.

Ulus-Sıhhiye

The first name of the district, Taşhan, was taken from an existing building in the region. Later, it was renamed as Hakimiyet-i Milliye. In 1930, as it started to display the new identity of the state, it became Ulus addressing the new Turkish nation. Ulus was the old city part of Ankara (Figure 3.8). The first National Assembly Building and the Train Station were the significant landmarks of the district. The fact that the assembly building and other official buildings are located here indicates that the country was ruled from here. The presence of the train station demonstrates that the connection with other places in the country has been established here. Ulus was the administrative center of the Republic. In addition to its administrative identity, *Millet Bahçesi* the Garden of the Nation, the Garden of the Assembly, Gençlik Park, Ankara Palas and cinemas, the district contributed to cultural and social identity as well. Ulus square as a public place was the most important socializing place in the region, which hosted many ceremonies and celebrations. Atatürk Monument at the square, symbolizes national unity and independence.

As Ankara becomes the capital, civil servants have migrated from İstanbul to Ankara. Bayraktar (2017) claims that the dilemma²⁰ between the newcomers of Ankara and the local inhabitants of has emerged between those who migrated to be civil servants and those who are already living in Ankara (p.16). At first Ulus was a meeting place, a space for encounter for the newcomers and the local inhabitants. But with the development of Kızılay later, this situation has altered. Ulus has become a socializing place more for local inhabitants as Kızılay for the relatively new inhabitants of Ankara.

Ulus was intended to preserve its historical texture without interfering it. On the other hand, the development of the new city was the primary object. It is stated as: “old

²⁰ This extreme duality has also been the subject of Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu's *Ankara* (1937) novel.

city would be kept as it is, would be opened to building and restoration, would search for possibilities of extension ... and would take into consideration the unification of the old city and new city” (Şenyapılı, 2004: 62).



Figure 3.8. The aerial view of Ulu in 1930s. Number 7 shows Millet Bahçesi. (Kezer, 2015: 24)

Sıhhiye serves as a buffer zone between Ulu and Kızılay in respect to its location between them. It takes its name from being health district of Ankara. Hacettepe, İbn-i Sina, Numune are the important hospitals in the district. Ministry of Health was built in 1926-1927 in a modern architectural language by Austrian architect Theodor Jost at the district. An important landmark in district is the Hittite Sun Disk sculpture, which was designed in 1978 by Nusret Suman. Depending on its role of representing the early history of Ankara this artifact has a crucial contribution to the city. In addition to these, it is important to mention that before the İncesu Creek was covered, it passed through this area parallel to the Atatürk Boulevard (Figure 3.9). The closure of this creek in 1975 and construction of u-turn bridge in 1997 are two most obvious things that change the physical structure of Sıhhiye Square (Figure 3.10).

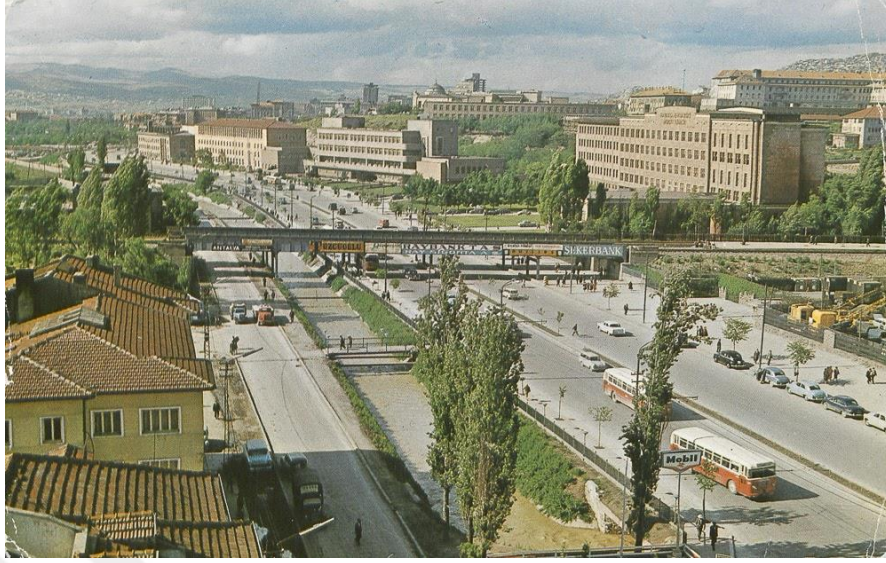


Figure 3.9. 1970's photograph of the creek, which was closed in 1975.

VEKAM Photograph, Postcard and Engraving Archive, Inventory No:2555



Figure 3.10. U-turn bridge constructed in 1997. Retrieved from:

<http://www.ypm.com.tr/project/sihhiye-u-donusu-ust-gecidi/>

Sıhhiye-Kızılay

In 1924, with the drying of marshland areas and the expropriation decision by the Ankara Şehremaneti (municipality of Ankara), the first steps were taken to establish a new planned city between the old district, Ulus and Çankaya (Tekeli, 1982: 275). The new district, which was called as Yenışehir, was planned to be designed as a residential area and did not host many commercial facilities, Ulus was left as a center for commercial facilities in Jansen Plan. The district was known as Yenışehir before it took the name Kızılay. Kızılay Square, which we know today, was called as Cumhuriyet Square in Lörcher Plan, Kurtuluş Square in Jansen plan and later as Hürriyet Square. It was consisted of a pool with a baroque sculpture group and a park arrangement around it in 1920's. The area was called as *Havuzbaşı* since people were gathering around the pool and socializing with each other (Figure 3.11). Kızılay Head Office Building was designed by Robert Oerley and built to the site near Havuzbaşı in 1929. The name of the park, square, and district has changed to Kızılay after this construction. The square and the park were symbolizing the modern life of the period.



Figure 3.11. Kızılay Park and Kızılay Building Source: VEKAM Photograph, Postcard and Engraving Archive, Inventory No: 1420.

With the developments in Ministries region in 1940s, new needs emerged for Yenisehir. Some new stores and restaurants were opened in order to serve the civil servants working in the Ministries. Kızılay has continued to undergo many changes over the years. Kızılay Head Office was demolished in 1979. After the demolition of the Kızılay building, this area remained empty for a long time. This destruction was a social destruction as well as a physical one. With the destruction, the meaning and identity of the district have begun to change.

After being removed from Kızılay, Havuzbaşı pool and sculpture were placed in Hacettepe Park and Gençlik Park, and finally to a place at Tandoğan Square. The sculpture, which was located in Tandoğan square in 1970-80's, has been the symbol of the area for many years (Çağlar et. al., 2006). However, due to the subway works (Figure 3.12), it was removed from there and kept in storages for a long time; it stands in the garden of Cermodern today.



Figure 3.12. With the construction of the subway, the variety of spaces at the underground has increased and this spatial change has also affect the streets. There are subway exits on each of the streets leading to the Kızılay Square. Source: Cumhuriyet 23.04.1986:6.

With the construction of Güvenpark in mid 1930s, Güven Monument was built in the region as a new sculpture which represents security of the nation (Figure 3.13). According to Nuray Bayraktar (2017), it is possible to make a formal and civil distinction on the scale of the sculptures. While the Atatürk Monument in Ulus was in line with the official identity of the district, Havuzbaşı sculpture in Kızılay was in line with the civil identity of the district. However, as a result of change and transformation at Kızılay, the official center shifted to the district and Güven Monument supported the identity.

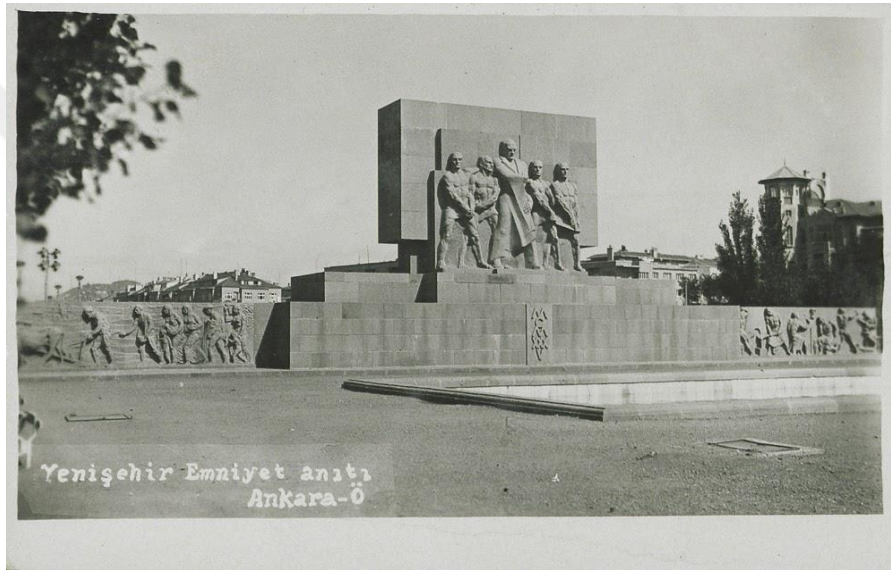


Figure 3.13. Güven Monument in 1940. Source: VEKAM Photograph, Postcard and Engraving Archive, Inventory No: 1432.

The major physical change in the district is the floor heights that have been changed several times according to the zoning plans. It was firstly started in the 1940s when the garden houses between Sıhhiye and Kızılay turned into apartment buildings (Bayraktar, 2017: 26). Later, with the increased floor heights in the Uybadin-Yücel Plan, the number of floors increased from 3-4 to 6-7. Increase in settlement density causes infrastructure and transportation problems (Tekeli, 1982: 286). In order to overcome the problems, road construction works have been done. The borders of

Güvenpark have changed and the area of Kızılay Park has started to shrink. Physical change of the buildings and environment on the boulevard has been reflected on social and cultural life as well.

Kızılay-Kavaklıdere

Kavaklıdere takes its name from poplar trees in the region and creek passing through it. Actually the district was a suburban area of vineyards until Kızılay was planned as the new developing city part in Jansen's 1932 Plan. With the transformation of Kızılay, rural identity of Kavaklıdere has also changed. Yards and yard houses which covered the whole area have begun to disappear (Figure 3.14). House of İsmet İnönü (known as Pink Mansion), which is converted into a housemuseum, is one of the rare examples of yard houses that still exists today. Kavaklıdere Wine Factory itself and its productions were landmarks of Ankara since 1929 until the factory was reopened in a place outside the center of Ankara in 1987. Today, Sheraton Hotel and Karum Shopping Center are located in the place of old factory. Construction of ministries and embassies, and opening of protocol road causes a major transformation in the district. Also Çankaya Köşkü (Presidential Palace) was also consisted of a yard house that was initially given to Atatürk. In 1940s, with the establishment of structures for administrative affairs, the need for housing has increased as well. Consecutive built houses led to a new physical and social life in the district.



Figure 3.14. 1924 plan of Çankaya showing the yard houses. Source: Baykan Günay's Personal Archive

In order to reduce traffic density and accelerate the flow on the protocol road, the underpass, which was constructed in 2007, has damaged the relations of people with the city, as in other parts of Atatürk Boulevard. The construction of this underpass has been the subject of many civil trials. The cutting of poplar trees, which gave the name of the district, in order to make the underpass, has been reported in the newspaper many times.

In *Cumhuriyet* dated August 22, 2008, there is a news about how the poplars dried after the underpass has been constructed with pre-post photos. According to the information given by an official; Kuğulu underpasses passing through the district and reaching about 5 meters in depth have stopped groundwater movements, which prevent groundwater reaching to Kuğulu Park.

With the increase in commercial activities in Tunalı Hilmi Avenue, and later in the nearby streets, Arjantin and Bestekar, the region has changed once again in recent years and became a commercial area as a result of residences being transformed into offices. The people living here started to move to regions such as Çayyolu İncek located in the southwest of Ankara (Resuloğlu, 2011: 206).

Tunalı Hilmi Avenue is a significant axis for the district. Resuloğlu (2011) divides the development of Tunalı Hilmi Avenue into two periods, the period until the 1950s and the period between late 1950s and 1980s. When Tunalı Hilmi Avenue in Kavaklıdere district is examined, it has been observed that with the construction of administrative and embassy buildings, apartment buildings have started to form the district; from the low density settlement where vineyards existed until 1950s. With the increase of commercial use on Tunalı Hilmi Avenue between 1950 and 1980, the structure of the region has begun to change (Resuloğlu, 2011: 97). Transformation of the residential area into an urban sub-center certainly affected the identity of Kuğulu Park and Seğmenler Park. The most significant effect of this change on Kuğulu Park and Seğmenler Park is that the parks are no longer neighborhood parks, but rather they become center of focus for all urban dwellers.

The three districts discussed in this section compose a whole with the buildings and the spaces determined by the boundaries of the buildings. Each architectural volume defines boundaries and creates voids between them. The voids formed by the definition of boundaries are streets, squares, urban parks and green spaces. Bruno Zevi describes this relation as follows: “Since every architectural volume, every structure of walls, constitutes a boundary, a pause in the continuity of space, it is clear that every building functions in the creation of two kinds of space, its internal space completely defined by the building itself, and its external urban space, defined by that building and the others around it” (Zevi, 1957: 30). According to this definition the external urban space is a notable component in the production of space.

All these three districts are articulated parts of the boulevard and they generate the everyday life on the boulevard. Urban parks that constitute the research subject of this thesis are located in these districts. Therefore, they also contribute to the formation of daily life through their various inputs. The next chapter discusses how urban parks exist as spaces in the voids between these structures; how they

transformed into meaningful places with the use of people; and how they became substantial *nodes* on the boulevard for the city.



CHAPTER 4

URBAN PARKS AS NODES ON ATATÜRK BOULEVARD ANKARA

4.1 Importance of Urban Parks in the Urbanity of Ankara

The importance of green and urban parks in the city has been preserved since the first planning decisions of Ankara. Atatürk Boulevard has been a planned axis from the very beginning and has been constantly differentiating with the growth of Ankara. Urban parks, which have been located in the districts, have generated an identity for the boulevard, districts and city. Through their physical and social characteristics, urban parks of Ankara have become significant nodes for the city. Lynch describes nodes as “points, the strategic spots in a city into which an observer can enter and which are the intensive foci to and from which he is travelling” (p.47). This chapter of the study scrutinizing the characteristics of urban parks, as nodes on the same path, by examining them in relation to their districts. As it was mentioned in the previous chapter, places have different characteristics which constitute their images. Besides being divergent, they can still have some common conventions. Although the addressed urban parks have different historical backgrounds, being on the same path on Atatürk Boulevard marks these parks as physically and socially related. The urban parks can be junctions of roads, places of breaks, moments of shifts, concentrations of activities. Lynch affirms that “the concept of node is related to the concept of path, since junctions are typically the convergence of paths, events on the journey” (p.48). Also they are related with the districts they belong to through their established spatial bonds with that district. Actually all the parks to be studied here are significant cores, landmarks, and symbols of their district on the boulevard. The parks are examined in terms of their context, planning and design process, change and development process, their current utilization and activities. The order of examining the parks is north-south axis, through which the city has developed on

the boulevard. Urban parks in Ulus-Sıhhiye district are Millet Bahçesi, Gençlik Park and Abdi İpekçi Park; urban parks belonging to Sıhhiye-Kızılay district are Zafer Park, Kızılay Park and Güvenpark; urban parks in Kızılay-Kavaklıdere district are Milli Egemenlik Park, Kuğulu Park and Seğmenler Park.

4.1.1 Millet Bahçesi: First Green Space of Ankara

The history of Nation Gardens (Millet Bahçesi) dates back to Ottoman period. New structures that reflect the spirit of constitutionalism in all Ottoman lands, especially in Anatolia, have been put into practice. One of the most important of these practices is the ‘Nation Gardens’, inspired by the French Public Gardens. These National Gardens were aiming to control individuals and society by socializing. Memlük (2017) defines *Millet Bahçeleri* as spaces, which have emerged with the Ottoman modernization. He states that with the Tulip Era (1718-1730), the Ottomans shifted from the traditional garden practice to park practice which is used very strongly by the western civilizations for the transformation and socialization of society.²¹

In 1924, in the young Republican era, Lörcher planned the surroundings of the train station as a new center in the new capital of Ankara. According to the planning decisions Istasyon Avenue was considered as the most important and prestigious path of the city in the early years of republic (Bayraktar, 2017: 9). The National Grand Assembly of Turkey, Ankara Palas, and Millet Bahçesi were located in that axis (Figure 4.1). Millet Bahçesi was located at the junction of Istasyon Avenue and the path which was later named as Atatürk Boulevard. Its location demonstrates its importance as a public space in that period (Figure 4.2).

²¹ Millet Bahçesi has been brought to the agenda again in the recent years. The re-establishment of *millet bahçeleri* as public spaces in many cities in 2000s, is an indication of how green and parks are important for the spatial representation of political power.

acacia trees and a pool in the middle had attracted the people of the period who lived in arid weather conditions in Ankara. Until 1926, the park has remained original as it was built until 1926; however, the wooden theater building in the park was burned 3 times and rebuilt like the other wooden buildings of the period. The building of İttihat ve Terraki Cemiyeti was built across the road, which later served as the first assembly building of the Republic of Turkey (Meml k, 2017). One can understand through the writings referring to this period that the park has a special place in the memories of those who experienced the park. Kadriye H seyin describes Millet Bah esi in her book *Mukaddes Ankara'dan Mektuplar* as follows:

”... Millet Bah esi is across the Parliament Building. It maintains its old relaxing feature despite being neglected. This is the meeting place for everyone because in the middle of this triangle which is decorated with flowers, there is a building with a restaurant and a coffee. Since alcoholic beverages are strictly prohibited throughout Anatolia, there is nothing but cold drinks and tea in summer and winter.” (translated from Meml k, 2017)

Until the city bazaar (100. Yıl  ar ısı) was designed by Oerley in 1931-32, Ankara Castle had been seen from the green area. This condition was supporting L rcher's Beautiful Castle metaphor. In addition, name of the park has been the source for the name of the district (Cengizkan, 2004: 122). Unfortunately, in today's Ankara, there doesn't exist any physical trace from this park. Furthermore, the area, which is at the opposite of the road had been planned to be integrated with Millet Bah esi and create an urban square, was destroyed by the construction of Ulus    Hanı in 1950s. Despite the architectural quality of these building reflecting their time, one may expect to keep the park during the development of the area. Today, the area is known as Ulus Square which houses Atat rk Statue and open public spaces around it, with which citizens of Ankara, and especially the older ones, have strong bonds (Figure 4.4.).



Figure 4.3. People socializing at Millet Bahçesi in 1920s. Source: VEKAM Photograph, Postcard and Engraving Archive, Inventory No: 1826.



Figure 4.4. Ulus Square with no traces of Millet Bahçesi

Source: <https://www.hurriyet.com.tr/yerel-haberler/ankara/ulus-meydanina-uclu-ortaklik-40956265>

4.1.2 Gençlik Park: Representation of Modernization

Gençlik Park is the application of the idea of a large-scale artificial lake, which was mentioned in the Chester Plan for the first time in 1923. The area where Gençlik Park situated was formerly a marshland area. It was opened for reconstruction as a result of expropriation and became an urban park after drying. As Cengizkan states, the transformation demonstrates how effective and rapid is the impact of a design idea in the construction of a city (Cengizkan, 2004: 30). In fact, the land, where Gençlik Park is located, has been dried and opened to construction in order to be developed as a school district in Lörcher Plan. Jansen's plan for the competition was suggesting the land as a school district as well. Later on, it was decided to be used as a recreational area by Jansen (Cengizkan, 2004: 87). The land was a part of İncesu Valley together with Abdi İpekçi Park and Kurtuluş Park. All of these were part of the green ways designed by Jansen together with hippodrome. Gençlik Park was thought to be welcoming the newcomers from the train station along İstasyon Avenue (Figure 4.5).



Figure 4.5. Gençlik Park at the junction of İstasyon Avenue and Atatürk Boulevard.
Source: VEKAM Photograph, Postcard and Engraving Archive, Inventory No: 0523.

It was the first time that with the Republic period Gardens Headquarters (Bahçeler Müdüriyeti) was founded in 1924. It is known that there were parks and green applications in the Ottoman capital Istanbul. Headquarters was within the ground of Gençlik Park and it was torn down in 1930s.

The newly established capital needed public places like in modern European capitals in order to represent a modern city. There was no green area other than Millet Bahçesi in Ankara that people could gather in the first years of republic. Establishing a park where social and cultural practices would be experienced was very important in this respect. As Uludağ identified, the Republican ideology founded Gençlik Park in order to create modern Turkish citizen (Uludağ, 1998: 102). Atatürk asked for an urban park that would create a new, modern and westernized generation. Gençlik Park can be seen as the first urban park being a representational space of the early republic period designed with these principles. This park would be a prestigious project to represent the new modern life of republican ideology. The park has two main features; the first is creating a public place for the city and the other is carrying out the functions of modernization process. In that sense, the park is the symbol of representations of a modern everyday life. Its construction changed the social practice and produced new meanings (Uludağ, 1998: 103). Rather than being the place for daily life leisure activities, most of the official celebrations were held in Gençlik Park. It was a place where the newcomers and the local citizens of Ankara were encountered. The initial design was made by Jansen but in 1936 the construction began with the plans of Theo Leveau and it was opened in 19 May 1943. The park was consisting of a pool, cascades, coffee houses and an exhibition hall. The great pool was hosting many different activities like swimming, sailing, rowing and skating in winter (Figure 4.6). These activities were of great importance for people to socialize and do sports. Having a pool in an urban park of a city, which does not have a sea and has a dry climate, was an indication of the significance given to the transformation of social life. Since the park used to be entered with a ticket, the area around the park is enclosed with walls. The park has many defined entrance gates but the main gate is on the Opera Square (Figure 4.7). Although it is no longer

entered with a ticket, it still has a controlled entrance, which is one of the most important physical features that distinguishes it from other parks on Atatürk Boulevard.

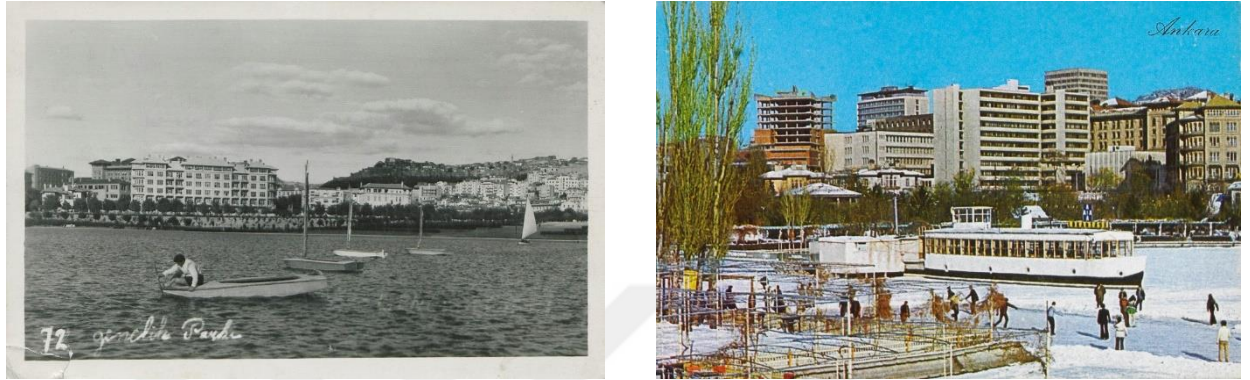


Figure 4.6. The pool in Gençlik Park was used for various activities in 1950s.

Source: VEKAM Photograph, Postcard and Engraving Archive, Inventory No: 1338 & 2793.

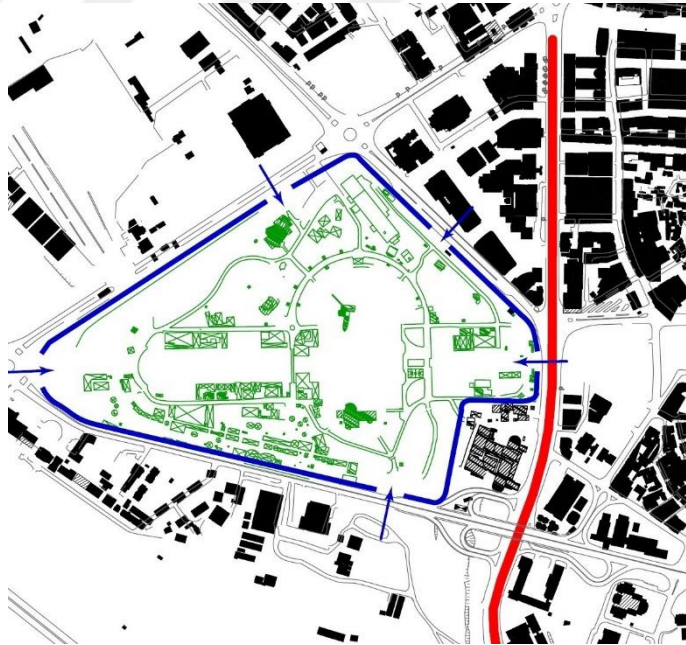


Figure 4.7. Gençlik Park as a gated place in its context. Mapping made by author.

As time passes, the social meaning of the park in the daily lives of citizens has changed. Since the population became more crowded and some new political conditions occurred, the municipality made changes in the operation of the park in 1948. Together with some changes in the societal meanings, the spatial characteristic has also changed and new social meanings were produced (Uludağ, 1998: 193). New activities and spatial environment were arranged to offer to the new consumption society. In the mid 1950s cafes, restaurants and entertainment places like an amusement park have emerged in the park. Car parking problem occurred in 1960s and an area in the park was arranged for this. In addition, a part of the park was used for road widening to reduce traffic problems. Political and economic changes after 1980s have highly affected the daily life patterns. As well as physical changes in the park itself, the transformation in the daily lives of people greatly affected the use of the park. For example, they started to spend time in shopping malls outside the city center. The park was renovated between the years of 2005 and 2009. Memlük defines the period before its renovation as the decline of the park. With the change of people's understanding of entertainment, more restaurants and cafes opened in the park (Figure 4.8). It is obvious that such places and activities also change the use of pool in the park. Leisure time notion of society began to change and they started to spend more time on entertainment. An amusement park was opened as well (Figure 4.9). Therefore, this period was interpreted as "age of disneyfication" (Demir, 2006; Memlük, 2012: 66). In time, the park has lost its contemporary popularity due to the increase in the population as well as due to the citizens' way of understanding of the leisure time activities; and the park started to be visited more by low-income groups. Despite some unfavorable spatial interventions, Gençlik Park is still a very precious urban environment of Ankara through its preserved green texture and water surface.



Figure 4.8. A cafe near the empty pool. Photograph taken by author.



Figure 4.9. Amusement park in Genlik Park. Photograph taken by author.

4.1.3 Abdi İpeki Park: A Space of Political Demonstrations

Abdi İpeki Park is located next to Sıhhiye Square which was planned by Lrcher. Today it is located very close to the hospitals, the market place and Kurtuluş Park in Sıhhiye district. It can be said that Abdi İpeki Park is located in one of the most important nodes for the planning of Ankara because Sıhhiye Square was designed to

ensure the transition between the Old City and the New City. The area around the İncesu Stream was designed by Lörcher as a part of the green strip idea. When the sustainability of this planning decision is examined, it is seen that Süleyman Sırrı, Tuna and Sakarya Streets are preserved as walking paths and contribute to the urban identity. On the other hand, construction of secondary and high school buildings of Ankara College, Sıhhiye multi-storey car park, Sıhhiye market area, and Abdi İpekçi Park covered the stream and it has reduced the usability of the green area (Cengizkan, 2004: 124).

In 1981, the park was opened for the memory of Abdi İpekçi, a significant journalist struggling for human rights. It is known with the urban artifacts of hands sculpture by Metin Yurdakul and the pool by Remzi Savaş (Figure 4.10). People used to utilize this park especially in summer because of the pool there, but today Sıhhiye is too crowded in terms of its pedestrian and car traffic thus fails to fully serve this purpose. Therefore, the park is moreover used as a transition space by people. On the other hand, Abdi İpekçi Park is often being used by protesters to gather for instance before strikes, or to give spatial start to a protest-walk of some groups. In this sense, it has an important and to some extent political place in the collective memory of the city dwellers. This shows that parks as public spaces are not only used for recreational activities, but also serve other public uses as needed (Figure 4.11).



Figure 4.10. Abdi İpekçi Park in 1980s.

VEKAM Photograph, Postcard and Engraving Archive, Inventory No: 2483



Figure 4.11. People gathered to read books during the week of reading books around the statue of 'hands' made by Metin Yurdakul.

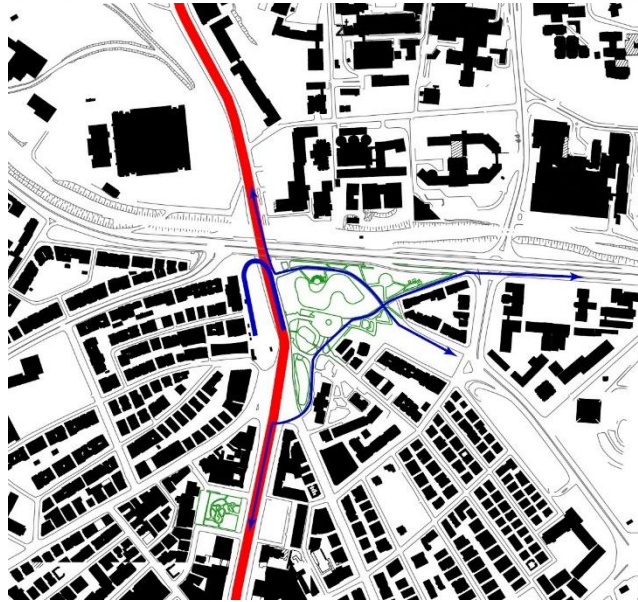
Source:<https://www.haberler.com/kitap-okuma-haftasinda-kitap-okuma-eylemi-3481926-haberi/>

Yenişehir market place in the mentioned district is located between Kurtuluş Park and Abdi İpekçi Park. The presence of a marketplace close to the park influences the user profile and activities in the park. For example, when the marketplace is open, some vendors sell their belongings inside the park (Figure 4.12). Therefore, the function of the park is temporarily changing, which causes some negative effects for users and the environment. Depending on such involuntary changes in functions and activities, it can be said that the social characteristics of Abdi İpekçi Park have changed over time.



Figure 4.12. Vendors at Abdi İpekçi Park. Photograph taken by author.

The u-turn bridge, which was built in 1997 served as a wall on Atatürk Boulevard that divides east and west physically into two. Barriers belonging to the bridge caused the park to narrow and prevented its physical relation with Sıhhiye Square and led the park to work majorly as a passage (Figure 4.13).



4.13. Abdi İpekçi Park is like a passage in its context. Mapping made by author.

4.1.4 Zafer Park: An Urban Room

Zafer Park was designed by Lörcher as a two-sided square where a cinema and theatre is located. Nowadays it accommodates a park and a bazaar named after the square. The first military social facility of the Republican era, Zabitan Dormitory, now called Sıhhiye Army House, is the first structure that gives its name to the park. This area, which was first called Zabitan Park and later named Zafer Park, also houses a statue in the middle of the boulevard. The Victory Monument was built in 1927 by Pietro Canonica. While the back side of the Atatürk statue faces the Old City, it welcomes those coming from New City with its face towards there. In addition, this two-sided square was planned to serve as the gate of victory (Figure 4.14). With Victory Gate (Siegestor) it was aimed to announce the salvation of Turkey to everyone and at the same time the government of the forum (Forum der Regierung) would be introduced (Cengizkan, 2004: 78).



Figure 4.14. Zafer Park and Square in 1920s and 1940sVEKAM Photograph, Postcard and Engraving Archive, Inventory No: 1017 & 1099.

The square, consisting of a park and sculpture designed for such important purposes, has unfortunately lost its originality over the years. First of all, Zafer Bazaar was built under the park, but later this became a structure that overflowed to the outside and reduced the area of the square (Figure 4.15). At the same time, crude structures located inside the park reduced the area of the park and undermined the beauty of the park. As mentioned before, one of the functions of the parks is that they are

meeting points for activists. Public parks are one of the most suitable places in the city for crowded groups to gather and go for a walk. Zafer Park hosted many actions until it shrank and became what it is today. On 04.01.1994:18 *Cumhuriyet* published that a case was opened by 200 State Council employees with the ‘right to be a citizen’ against the transformation of Zafer Park. As a result of the case, it was decided to stop the changes. This judgement shows that parks belong to all citizens and therefore citizens have the right to make decisions on their parks and oppose to the authoritarian decisions taken. However, many years after this decision, Zafer Park was turned into a construction site for subway construction in 2018 (Figure 4.16).



Figure 4.15. Atatürk Statue and Zafer Bazaar. Photograph taken by author.



Figure 4.16. Subway construction at Zafer Park. Photograph taken by author.



Figure 4.17. Diagram showing that the park is. Mapping made by author

4.1.5 Kızılay Park: Missing Value

The place at the intersection of Atatürk Boulevard and Ziya Gökalp Avenue was named as Hürriyet Square. Due to the pool and sculpture located there, it was known as Havuzbaşı Park (Figure 4.18). It was the venue of various band concerts and the resting place of citizens who were walking around and socializing (Çağlar et. al., 2006).



Figure 4.18. Havuzbaşı, 1920s. (VEKAM Photograph, Postcard and Engraving Archive, Inventory No: 2670.

Kızılay Building was built in 1929 by Robert Oerley, where the district was developing towards Yenışehir after Ulus and Sıhhiye. The garden with the Havuzbaşı sculpture which belongs to this building was arranged as a park (Figure 4.19). Due to the importance of this building and park for the district, the district has been called as Kızılay. Kızılay Park and Kızılay Square were aimed to be the places for the spatial practices of everyday life. The park had been a resting and socializing place for people working in the Administrative District and the people living in the neighborhood for decades. Kızılay Park is best described with the words as follows:

I have drank Afyonkarahisar soda and mineral water from the kiosk in Kızılay Park, and sit in the tea garden and drink tea. This park was like an oasis at the intersection of Ankara's roads. For the sake of nothing, the park and Kızılay Building were demolished overnight and remained as a wasteland for 30 years. (Meml k, 2017: 146)²²



Figure 4.19. Kızılay Park in 1930s. VEKAM Photograph, Postcard and Engraving Archive, Inventory No: 1419.

²² Meml k, Y. (2017). Benim Bildiđim Ankara. *Ankara Arařtırmaları Dergisi*, 5(1), p.146.

With the demolition of the Kızılay Building in 1979, Kızılay Park has completely disappeared and the site has been left empty for years (Figure 4.20). In 1980, Kızılay Business and Shopping Center competition ended with the first place of Nesrin-Affan Yatman. The building started to be built on the site in the mid-1990s and it could be completed in more than 30 years, in 2011.²³ This building has entirely changed the physical conditions of the district because of its multi-storey structure (Figure 4.21). It also causes many social changes. Kızılay Square has become a place where consumption dominated all socializing activities with less green area compared to the earlier decades. After years of change and transformation, Kızılay Square has turned into a transit point for both vehicles and pedestrians instead of being a public place.

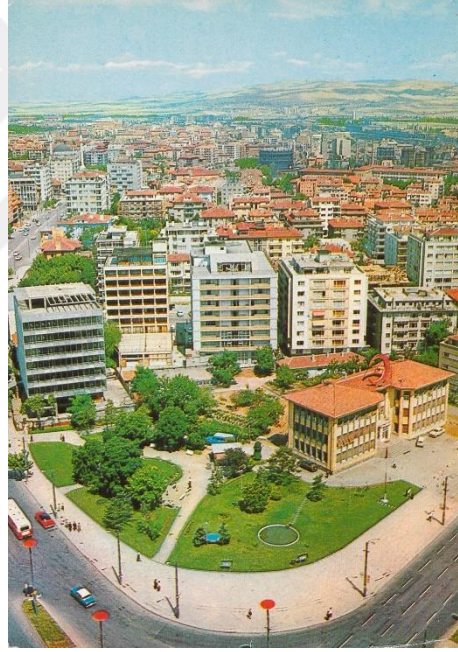


Figure 4.20. Kızılay Building and park before the demolition in 1979.

VEKAM Photograph, Postcard and Engraving Archive, Inventory No: 2557.

²³ Basa, İ., Zelef, H. (2011) “Kent Kültürü Tartışmalarında Muğlak Rollerle Ankara’nın Bitmemiş Yapıları”, Mekan ve Kültür, Tetragon İletişim, Ankara, pp. 157-166.



4.21. Kızılay Business and Shopping Center, 2019. Source:

<https://www.hurriyet.com.tr/yerel-haberler/ankara/kizilay-ve-ulusun-profil-degisecek-41318082>

4.1.6 Güven Park: Representation of National Identity

This site in which Güvenpark is located, was thought to be a part of the “Administration Neighborhood” in Lörcher Plan (Figure 4.22), and continued to maintain its geometric shape in the Jansen Plan and was later converted to a green area (Cengizkan, 2004: 87). Before the establishment of Güven Park, this square was named as Cumhuriyet Square in 1925 Lörcher Plan. Then its name was mentioned as Kurtuluş Square in the Competition Report of 1928 (Cengizkan, 2004: 75). In these years, this area was known for its sprinkler pool. In 1930s, Güven Park was proposed as part of the green strips. It was considered as a public place symbolizing the power of the national identity in the very center of the city of Ankara. The park was designed by the Austrian architect Clemens Holzmeister (Figure 4.24).

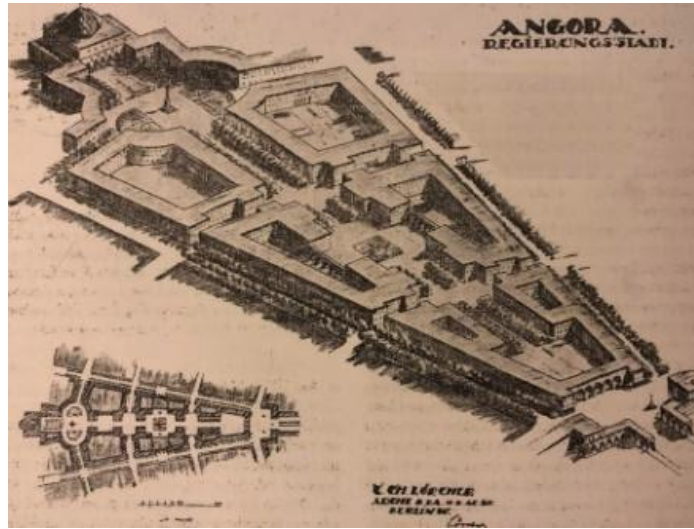


Figure 4.22. Administration Neighborhood Proposal of Lörcher. Source: Cengizkan, 2004:86



Figure 4.23. Güven Park aerial view, 2016. Source: Google Earth.



Figure 4.24. Güvenpark in 1940s.

VEKAM Photograph, Postcard and Engraving Archive, Inventory No: 0899.

Since Güvenpark is located next to the administrative district, it has been hosting the employees of the ministry buildings on Atatürk Boulevard for many years to relax and socialize with other people at the end of business day. Thus, it has become one of the best representatives of national identity and Republican ideology. It is known by the Monument of Trust (Güven Anıtı) designed by Anton Hanak and Joseph Thorak. The monument is dedicated to police forces and gendarmerie in 1935, which enhances the park as a place that supports political power of Republican ideology. Güvenpark was designed to be a conceived space which would represent the spatial features of the new daily life. In the historical context, it is a rare area that can create a unique urban memory without putting aside the function of the Republic as a symbolic emphasis.²⁴

Although it was in a unity with Kızılay Park which was once located at its opposite road; in time, first the park, then the Kızılay building were demolished and replaced

²⁴ Basa, I., (2015) “İnşacı Siyasal Erk Nesnesi ile Kamusal Mekan Salınımında Park: Göstergecinin Nadir Netliği” *Arredamento Mimarlık*, Sayı 294, 127-131.

by a shopping mall in the center of the city. This transformation demonstrates a clear evidence of how the characteristics of urban areas may disappear over time (Figure 4.25 & 4.26).



Figure 4.25. Güvenpark, Kızılay Building and Kızılay Park in 1930s.

VEKAM Photograph, Postcard and Engraving Archive, Inventory No: 1446.



Figure 4.26. Güvenpark and Kızılay Business and Shopping Center in 2018.

Photograph taken by author.

Güven Park is located in the Kızılay Square, at the intersection of Ziya Gökalp Avenue and Atatürk Boulevard. The central location makes the park itself a nodal point to move from one place to another. Over time, the park has shrunk due to road widening constructions and a part of the park have started to serve to bus stops and minibuses (Sarıkulak, 2013: 102). The situation rendered the surroundings of the park as an unsafe area. In 1980's, a transformation project was created for Güvenpark. Accordingly, an area with car parking and various shops would be constructed under the park. The construction of the project started in 1987 and was stopped after a short while because of the lawsuits.

Today, an important task of Güven Park seems to be offering a transition space for both pedestrians going from Kızılay to other places and people using public transportation (Figure 4.27). Güven Park, which lost its identity over time, has become a passage for its users rather than an urban park for recreation activities (Figure 4.28). However, its symbolic coding of being a public platform in the very core of the city maintains its spatial power as a significant urban realm.



Figure 4.27. Dolmuş stops at Güvenpark. Source: Photograph taken by author.



Figure 4.28. Diagram showing that the park is used as a passage. Mapping made by author

4.1.7 Milli Egemenlik Park: A Buffer between Parliament and Boulevard

Milli Egemenlik Park was opened on 23 April 1986 with concerts and games attended by children from various countries of the world. The plants in the park were gifted by these countries. These plants are kept alive in the park as a symbol of belief and devotion to Mustafa Kemal Atatürk's "peace at home, peace in the world" principle.



Figure 4.29. Milli Egemenlik Park in 1986. Source: Çorbacı et.al., 2018: 219.

Since the park is located next to the Grand National Assembly of Turkey and it is within the district of embassies and ministries, it has an official importance. The name of the park is also known as Meclis Park because it seems like it is a part of the parliament garden. However, the wall of the parliament, which continues through Güvenlik Avenue, causes a physical separation between the parliament and the park (Figure 4.30).



Figure 4.30. The wall between Milli Egemenlik Park and Parliament. Source: Yandex maps.

People use it as a transition area from Ataturk Boulevard to the residential areas in the back streets. It is frequently used as a passage, especially by Güvenlik Avenue residents (Figure 4.31). It has a highly formal physical characteristic since it is located near the assembly. However, there exists an interesting symbiosis because it is known for young people's roller skating activities as well. This situation demonstrates the transformation between representations of space and spatial practice. The park is experienced in a different way and used for a different and probably unexpected purpose than it was designed.



Figure 4.31. Milli Egemenlik Park which is adjacent to the wall of Assembly. Mapping made by author.

4.1.8 Kuğulu Park: Junction of Commercial, Residential and Natural

Since there are many embassies in the Kavaklıdere district, there exist large green areas that are owned by the embassies, which are public places in the past. The land on which the park was found, had belonged to the Polish Embassy until 1963. Then the land of Kuğulu Park was given as a present by Polish Embassy to citizen of

Ankara. The passage between old Dost Bookstore and Tunalı Hilmi Avenue was the former road until the new road between the Polish Embassy and Kuğulu Park was built. When the green area have been transformed to a park it had been existed as a neighborhood park for a while. With the commercial development of Tunalı Hilmi Avenue, it has been an urban park for not only the residents of this district but also those who come from different areas of Ankara as visitors.



Figure 4.32. Kuğulu Park, 1980s.

VEKAM Photograph, Postcard and Engraving Archive, Inventory No: 2551.

Actually, the neglect of the park has been news time to time in newspapers for many years. On 27.07.1966:5, *Cumhuriyet* announced that Kuğulu Park had become like a mosquito nest. The pool has turn to a mosquito swamp that threatens the health of the surrounding district due to this neglect. In the news Kavaklıdere was indicated as one of the most exclusive districts of Ankara which is beautiful and green. This news demonstrates that the pool in Kuğulu Park was likely to be closed because it cannot be kept clean like the other water sources in Ankara. Another striking news was about the death of swans that inspired the naming of the park. *Cumhuriyet* published a narrative from one of his readers on 17.10.1983. According to him, the pool in Kuğulu Park resembles a swamp for a year. With a transformation following these news, the park was saved from disappearing.

It is located at a site where different uses intersect (Figure 4.33). Being in the intersection of commercial, residential and natural makes the place dynamically changing. Therefore, its physical surrounding is constantly transforming. In 1991, Karum business and shopping center was opened at the district. Its opening was crucial in terms of the development of the region. With the opening of Karum, the surrounding apartments started to gradually turn into business places and the number of people coming to the district has increased. This increased the usage density of the park at the same rate. Thus, Kuğulu Park goes beyond being a neighborhood park and became one of the symbols of Ankara. Akay intersection opened in 2001 and Kuğulu underpass opened in 2007 were the main reasons for physical transformation in the district. With the opening of Kuğulu underpass the trees at the edge of the park began to dry and this caused a damage regarding the identity of the park.



Figure 4.33. Entrances of Kuğulu Park. It is used both by those who live in the surrounding settlements and by visitors from Atatürk Boulevard and Tunalı Hilmi Avenue.

Mapping made by author.

Kuğulu Park was once located on the axis which was continuation of Seğmenler Park. Over time, the Swiss Embassy, the Czech Embassy, the Polish Embassy and

the Ilbank Housing Complex were built between Seğmenler Park and Kuğulu Park. These interventions destroyed the intended continuity of the green area. It is located in a calyx topographically and this makes it possible for the users to be isolated from the city. Although it is a small park right in the center of the city, it is quiet and peaceful. There is always heavy pedestrian traffic on the street. Since the park is easily accessible from the street, people prefer to visit the park as they pass by. The swans in the pond inside the park have a meaningful place in Ankara citizens' minds, since they emblemize the area via their very special characteristics within a dense urban area (Figure 4.34). There is also a well-scaled playground for children and plenty of seating areas for visitors (Figure 4.35). Kuğulu Park has a special place in the memories of Ankara citizens because of its unique identity that strongly distinguishes it from other parks in the city.



Figure 4.34. Swans at the pool of Kuğulu park. Photograph taken by author.



Figure 4.35. Playground and seating areas at Kuğulu Park. Photographs taken by author.

4.1.9 Seğmenler Park: An Urban Valley

Seğmenler Park is located at Kavaklıdere district in towards the southern part of Ankara. The park was dedicated to the honor of Atatürk's 100th Birthday. It was started to be built in 1981 and opened in 1983. The park gets its name from the seimeni²⁵ who welcome Atatürk when he had come to Ankara. The urban context of the area has changed considerably in time. Before being an urban park, the area was accommodating yards (bağlar) and yard houses (bağ evleri). The very first plan of 1924 shows the condition of the area (Figure 4.36). There were many yard houses and green areas of the yards. The initial state of presidential palace at Çankaya was a yard house at this period as well. Baykan Günay narrates this situation as “Rıfat Börekçi, mufti of the period, bought the yard house from an Armenian man in order to give to the order of Atatürk.”²⁶

²⁵ Armed unit that protects the nomadic caravans of ancient Turkish tribes.

²⁶ Personal conversation made with Baykan Günay in 21.05.2018.



Figure 4.36. 1924 Plan of Çankaya. Red marked area shows the present place of Seğmenler Park. Blue marked area shows the yard house which was bought and used as presidential palace. Source: Baykan Günay's personal archive.

In addition to the situation of the yard houses another important point is the condition of the streams in this district. Kavaklıdere and İncesu streams were important sources for the city and they were passing throughout the whole city (Figure 4.37). Kavaklıdere passes through the area that Seğmenler Park is located and it forms the big pool in the park (Figure 4.38.). In 1937, Jansen determined the transit route of the roads in the plan that he made. Baykan Günay states that the roads on that plan have destroyed the future of the yard houses and streams.

As far as Selami Sözer²⁷, landscape architect of the park, states that as the city has grown up to the south, this new neighborhood, surrounded by embassies and governmental buildings, Kavaklıdere district needed a new recreational area (Figure 4.39). Kenan Evren, the president of the period, thought that the land was in terrible conditions and he ordered for a new urban park construction to Süleyman Önder who was the mayor of Ankara at that time period.²⁸

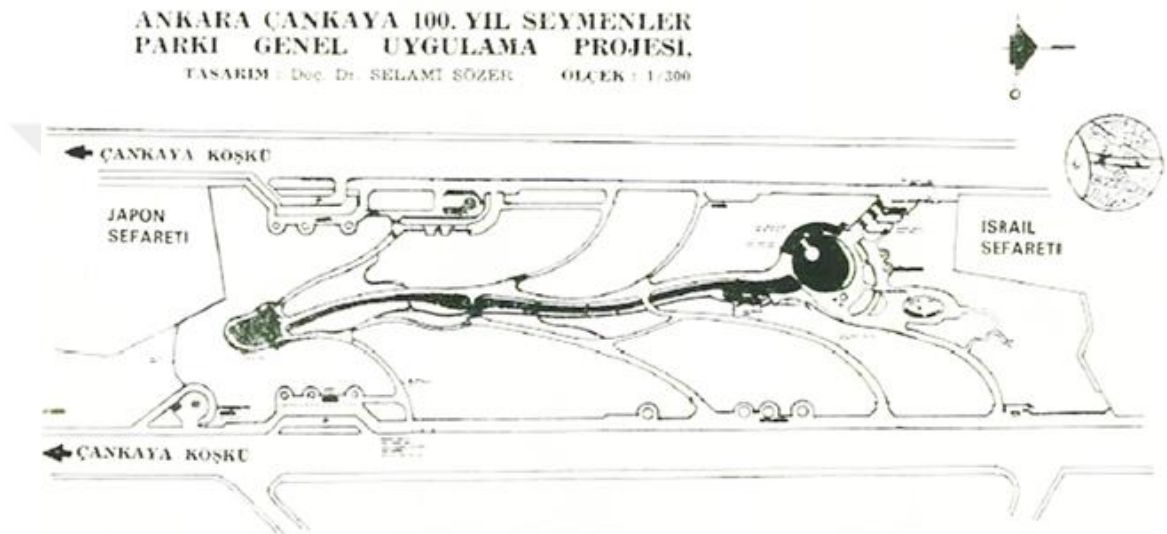


Figure 4.39. Application project of Seğmenler Park. Source: Peyzaj Mimarlığı Dergisi, 1983 (1), p.10.

Seğmenler Park covers 65,000 square meters section of Kavaklıdere valley, which ended in front of the Presidential Palace. The area is quite mobile. There is a difference of about 50 meters in the north-south direction and about 8-15 meters in height between the base and the main road elevations. The east of the area is the Iran Avenue and the Atatürk Boulevard passes from the west. There are a number of private residences including USA Ambassador House, Japanese Embassy, Çankaya

²⁷ Selami Sözer was one of the advisors of the mayor in 1980s. Thus, he was commissioned for the construction of the park in 1981 when he was also an associate professor at Ankara University Faculty of Agriculture.

²⁸ Personal conversation made with Selami Sözer in 06.03.2018.

Elementary School, İnönü Mansion, Embassies of Israel and Pakistan. In the park there is an amphitheater (Figure 4.40), a pool, a children's playground and many terraces (Figure 4.41).



Figure 4.40. Amphitheatre at Seğmenler Park. Photograph taken by author.



Figure 4.41. Terraces of Seğmenler Park. Photograph taken by author.

In the first years of the park, Kavaklıdere district has just began to develop. In these years, the users of the park were local residents. In the following years, especially with the development of Tunalı Hilmi Avenue many shops, restaurants and offices

were opened in the district. As a result, the revival that started in the surroundings also affected the spatial practice of the park. The park has become a widely used public space in recent years. Due to the spatial and natural diversity offered by its topography, it provides different possibilities of uses for the visitors. For instance, people can take a walk or run at the paths, rest on the lawn, sit on the benches, create temporary activities like yoga, participate to concerts at the amphitheater etc. In addition to the variety of activities it offers, it is also diverse in terms of accessibility. It has lots of entrances both from Atatürk Boulevard and Iran Avenue. Apart from the defined entries, it has a lot of entries for users to leak into the park (Figure 4.42)

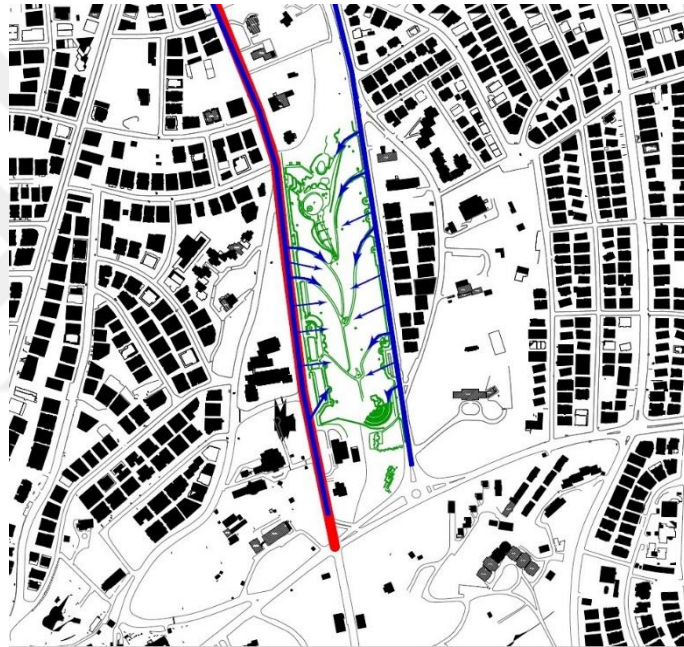


Figure 4.42. Accessibility diagram of Seğmenler Park. Mapping made by author.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

Lynch's theory creates the upper scale discussion and provides foundation to make the physical and spatial readings of the parks. The discussion of path, district, node, landmark and edge assist to realize the physical positioning of parks in the city. Meanings of the urban parks on Atatürk Boulevard and their relation with the city are discussed within this conception. On the other hand, when it comes to realize the urban parks individually, Lefebvre's spatial theory provides a better perception to understand the daily life and its effects in the production of social spaces. While stating arguments about the whole of the parks and associating them with each other, Lynch's theory provides a sound understanding as aforementioned. Social formation of the parks and everyday reading of each park is guided by a Lefebvrian understanding which allows one to trace the substance beyond physicality. Here it can be noted that even though Lynch gives tips for daily life reading as well, it may remain limited within the scope of a wider understanding. In fact, his method of understanding the urban form through the elements makes him discuss the mental space (defined as representations of space by Lefebvre) at an upper scale. In other words, Lynch's theory leads the debate in urban morphology by discussing the physical space; however how social space is produced and transformed can be better discussed by Lefebvre's production of space trilogy.

According to Lynch, elements should be evaluated as a whole, not separately, in order to constitute a city-scale form and environmental image. For this reason, the boulevard and the districts they belong to have been examined before the parks are evaluated individually. Understanding the pair relations between path-node, node-district or district-path is crucial to evaluate the total identity they form. For example, it does not make sense to study the boulevard alone as an isolated entity. Lynch explains it as follows: "The paths, again, are given identity and tempo not only by

their own form, or by their nodal junctions, but by their regions they pass through, the edges they move along, and the landmarks distributed along their length” (Lynch, 1960: 84). He claims that interaction of these elements may strengthen their potentials or on the contrary demolish some aspects of each other. In that sense, urban parks on Atatürk Boulevard provide benefits to each other, to their districts and to Atatürk Boulevard. Meanwhile, they are suffered from physical changes at the boulevard and districts. The physical changes always cause some unprecedented social changes. Actually, both Lynch and Lefebvre argue, at least imply, that space does not only exist as a mathematical convention but it comes into existence as socially produced places (Figure 5.1).

Considering the world parks such as Central Park; although its establishment has been centuries old, user density and usage potential are still increasing. This is caused by the variety of activities that can be done in the park. While it benefits from the crowded and touristic city of its existence, it is also a center of attraction for the city. On the other hand, Gençlik Park is not an attraction center as it was intended in the early years of the Republic. Eventually, existing activities such as skiing and boating, have been destroyed. Instead of suggesting new activities and putting them into practice, reducing the activities causes loss of identity.

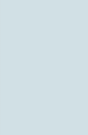
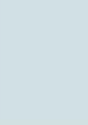
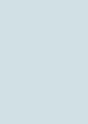
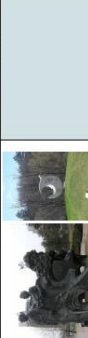
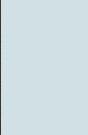
Name	Year	Architect	Sculpture Artist/Date	Use of water	Imagery	Activities
Gazlı Park	1943	L. Nuri Gönül H. Öner Tokdemir	Cemal Gürsel Anıtı/Mehmet Türker 2003			 boating  playing in the landscape  street trading  bicycle passage
Atatürk Parkı	1973-1980	Ali Engin/Bediye İskender Fahriye Şenel-Samir 1980	Atatürk Anıtı/Mehmet Türker 2003			 street trading  bicycle passage
Zaferan Parkı	1980	Yoruk	Zaferan Anıtı/Mehmet Türker 2003			 street trading  bicycle passage
Gazlı Park	1990	Özgenç/İsmailoğlu	Gazlı Anıtı/Mehmet Türker 2003			 street trading  bicycle passage
Atatürk Parkı	1995	Özgenç/İsmailoğlu	Gazlı Anıtı/Mehmet Türker 2003			 street trading  bicycle passage
Gazlı Park	1997	Özgenç/İsmailoğlu	Gazlı Anıtı/Mehmet Türker 2003			 street trading  bicycle passage
Gazlı Park	1997	Özgenç/İsmailoğlu	Gazlı Anıtı/Mehmet Türker 2003			 street trading  bicycle passage
Gazlı Park	1997	Özgenç/İsmailoğlu	Gazlı Anıtı/Mehmet Türker 2003			 street trading  bicycle passage
Gazlı Park	1997	Özgenç/İsmailoğlu	Gazlı Anıtı/Mehmet Türker 2003			 street trading  bicycle passage
Gazlı Park	1997	Özgenç/İsmailoğlu	Gazlı Anıtı/Mehmet Türker 2003			 street trading  bicycle passage
Gazlı Park	1997	Özgenç/İsmailoğlu	Gazlı Anıtı/Mehmet Türker 2003			 street trading  bicycle passage
Gazlı Park	1997	Özgenç/İsmailoğlu	Gazlı Anıtı/Mehmet Türker 2003			 street trading  bicycle passage
Gazlı Park	1997	Özgenç/İsmailoğlu	Gazlı Anıtı/Mehmet Türker 2003			 street trading  bicycle passage

Figure 5.1. Activities at the parks. Developed and drawn by author.

Approximately 90 years of small history through the values of the city itself is written through a discursive approach. In this part an aspect for each of them is attributed in order to make it legible in urban history as well. In the light of these information, usage patterns are discussed over physical readings. The physical readings are made through some diagrammatic drawings as Lynch does when reading cities. How they are used, how they live, how they turn into social places, are discussed through the theory of Lefebvre. In this way, how the physical and spatial conditions affect the social use of the parks could be examined.

Gençlik Park is a gated park which allows control at its accessibility and acts like an **enclave**. This reduces its inviting nature and physically separates it from the boulevard. Being an enclave partially separates the park from the city and creates a separate world inside. It is a very formal and idealized place because it was established as a representation of modernism in line with the ideologies of the republic. It has lost some of its features with the social and physical changes that have taken place over time. The physical transformations of the pool and landscape can be considered as the main reason for the disappearance of the park identity. Furthermore, alteration in the identity of Ulus over the years has also affected the general condition of the park. Ulus, used to be considered as the center of Ankara in the past, lost its former quality with the shifting of the center towards the South. When the citizens in the upper-middle income group settled first to Kızılay, then to Kavaklıdere and then to Çayyolu area in the west of Ankara, the user group of the park has changed and this has been reflected in social activities.



Figure 5.2. Gençlik Park as an enclave. Photographs taken and edited by author.

Abdi İpekçi Park is located at the intersection of hospitals, ministry of health, courthouse and marketplace. It also defined by Sıhhiye Square, which provides transition between Ulus and Kızılay; therefore, it functions as a **passage** among different zones. It has been a place for people who have no place to stay in hospitals, a place where street vendors set up temporary stalls, a place where protesters gathered. As it was the starting point of the activists for many years, its place in the memories remained as a space for political demonstrations. As it can be deduced, Abdi İpekçi Park is a place where social transformations take place and there are various temporary activities. In addition, physical transformation took place through the construction of the u-turn bridge. Thus it has become a place where vehicles pass through without stopping.



Figure 5.3. Abdi İpekçi Park as a passage at Sıhhiye between Ulus and Kızılay. Source: Yandex maps.

Zafer Park is a kind of urban room surrounded by buildings and acts like a **niche** on Atatürk Boulevard. The fact that Zafer Park is located in an area surrounded by buildings may cause less visit because it couldn't give the sense of being isolated from the city. The most important reason for not being able to provide the isolation mentioned is that it has lost its integrity with the land where Zafer Çarşısı is located. The public space, formerly known as the Zafer Square defined by the Atatürk statue in the middle of two niches and boulevard, was destroyed by physical interventions and become a modified public square. With the construction of Zafer Çarşısı, the shops in the underground level have made it even impossible to plant trees on this

land. The physical connection of the two areas was completely disconnected by pooling and chaining the median places along Atatürk Boulevard. The existing side of the park is lost behind the bus stops and among the buildings.



Figure 5.4. Zafer Park used to be as a niche. VEKAM Photograph, Postcard and Engraving Archive, Inventory No: 2539.

Güvenpark is working as a **net** in Kızılay. Kızılay is the most important stopping point to go from one place to another in Ankara. For this reason, the traffic and transportation load have increased in Kızılay over the years. Although the project of making parking and bus stops under Güvenpark is abandoned, a significant part of the park is reserved for bus and dolmuş stops. As a result of this physical transformation, the park has differentiated in terms of social practice. Instead of being a green area to relax and rest in the city, it has turned into a completely transportation-oriented place. Therefore, main character of Güvenpark as a network is challenging its parkness. Being there is for waiting at the bus and dolmuş stops or meeting with people, other than these Güvenpark is not perceived as a place for recreational activities.



Figure 5.5. Güvenpark as a net. Güvenpark as a net for transportation in Kızılay.

Source: *Güvenpark için önemli gelişme*. 15.02.2017. Hürriyet Gazetesi. Last accessed: 02.04.2020 <https://www.hurriyet.com.tr/ekonomi/guvenpark-icin-onemli-gelisme-40366729>

Milli Egemenlik Park is a **buffer** between Atatürk Boulevard and the Parliament. It is used especially by those who live in Güvenlik Avenue. People who live in the district use the park as a shortcut while going to Kızılay or coming from Kızılay. Apart from that the park is mostly used by skateboarders. In fact, this is an unexpected activity because there is no area designed for that activity in the park and there is no place nearby that would allow it. Being adjacent to Parliament Building makes the park a formal place but the skateboarders changes the meaning of the park a lot. Actually, this is a suitable example how activities emerge in undesigned places as Tschumi states. Güvenlik Avenue is a narrow road because of the high walls of the parliament.

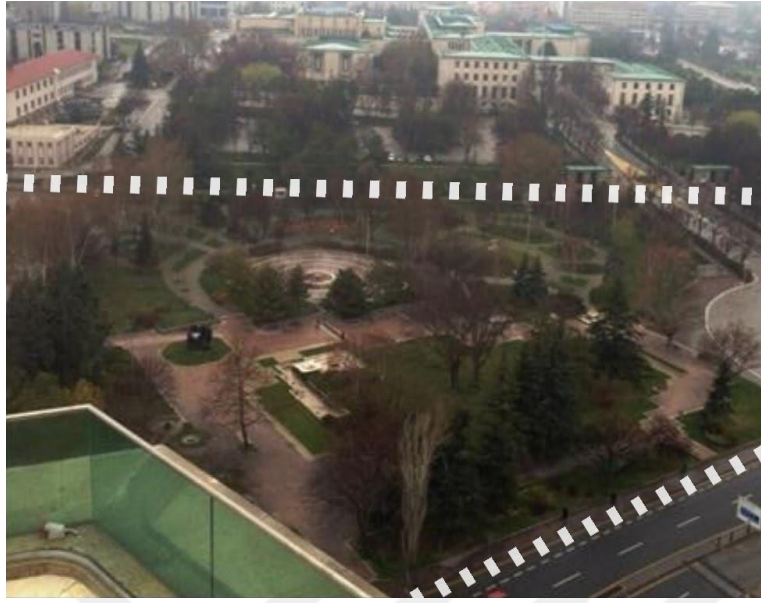


Figure 5.6. Milli Egemenlik Park as a buffer. Source: Çorbacı et.al., 2018: 219.

The fact that **Kuğulu Park** is in the form of a **calyx** makes it a protected place in the middle of the city center. Due to its physical structure, it is possible to enter from many points and after entering, it allows people to forget about the confusion of the boulevard and Tunalı Hilmi Avenue. It was a neighborhood park away from the city center when it was first built. However, it still offers people the opportunity to socialize in calm although it is in between the two important paths, which are Atatürk Boulevard and Tunalı Hilmi Avenue. Being at the edge of Tunalı Hilmi Avenue makes Kuğulu Park livable despite its smallness. Although Kuğulu Park is located at the edge of a shopping street, it is an isolated place like Seğmenler Park since it is in the form of a basin which belongs to the valley axis with Seğmenler Park.



Figure 5.7. Kuğulu Park as a calyx. Photograph taken and edited by author.

Seğmenler Park is a **valley** in between two roads. The reason why people choose Seğmenler Park is the morphology it has. It can be accessed from both roads, Atatürk Boulevard and Iran Avenue, which act as walls of the park and provides sense of isolation. Seğmenler and Kuğulu Parks are usually very crowded because they are both part of a valley and can be reached from anywhere. As can be seen from this comparison, urban morphology is one of the most important factors affecting the use of parks within the city.



Figure 5.8. Seğmenler Park as a valley. Photograph taken and edited by author.

When compared in terms of crowdedness Seğmenler Park and Gençlik Park which are at the two different edges of Atatürk Boulevard, it is seen that Seğmenler Park is more preferred because it is a place where freedom is physically felt. Gençlik Park, on the other hand, consist of walls and designated gates because it is a built place. Uludağ (1998: 236) states that Seğmenler Park has reduced the attraction of Gençlik Park since people with a high income group are living in Kavaklıdere and preferring to spend time in Seğmenler Park. It would be difficult to make this inference when only one of the parks was focused. An overall examination of the parks on Atatürk Boulevard makes it possible to compare them in various properties.

Unfortunately it wouldn't be claimed that some of the parks were designed as assets of Atatürk Boulevard. Except Güvenpark neither of them were designed as part of the boulevard or with the presence of the boulevard consciously. Zafer Park might be considered as an output of the planning process. It was not a part of the Jansen Plan but it was an end result of Lörcher-Jansen urban design. Abdi İpekçi Park was a depot area at the end of the railway and it was used especially by the American mission till the 1980s and then it was turned into a park. There is always Gençlik

Park but the area in Lörcher Plan was the main city center of the old city part and then in late 1930s it was turned into a park. However, it might be considered as a designed aspect of Jansen Plan. Kızılay Park is also offering a diverse issue within the framework of ownership. It was owned by Kızılay itself. So it was not designed as a park but it was an asset of the city at large scale. It is revealing in a sense that when we offer the city certain analytical bases it feeds us back certainly new information. Atatürk Boulevard with the 7 urban parks are bringing all the things together that are not there as designed issues.

All these discussions show that each urban park display a difference in its character than the others, all have its own physical and social qualities that are unique (Figure 5.9). Even their diagrammatic usage patterns demonstrate that they do not merely exist as their representations in architectural drawings but also they are lived by how they are actually experienced.

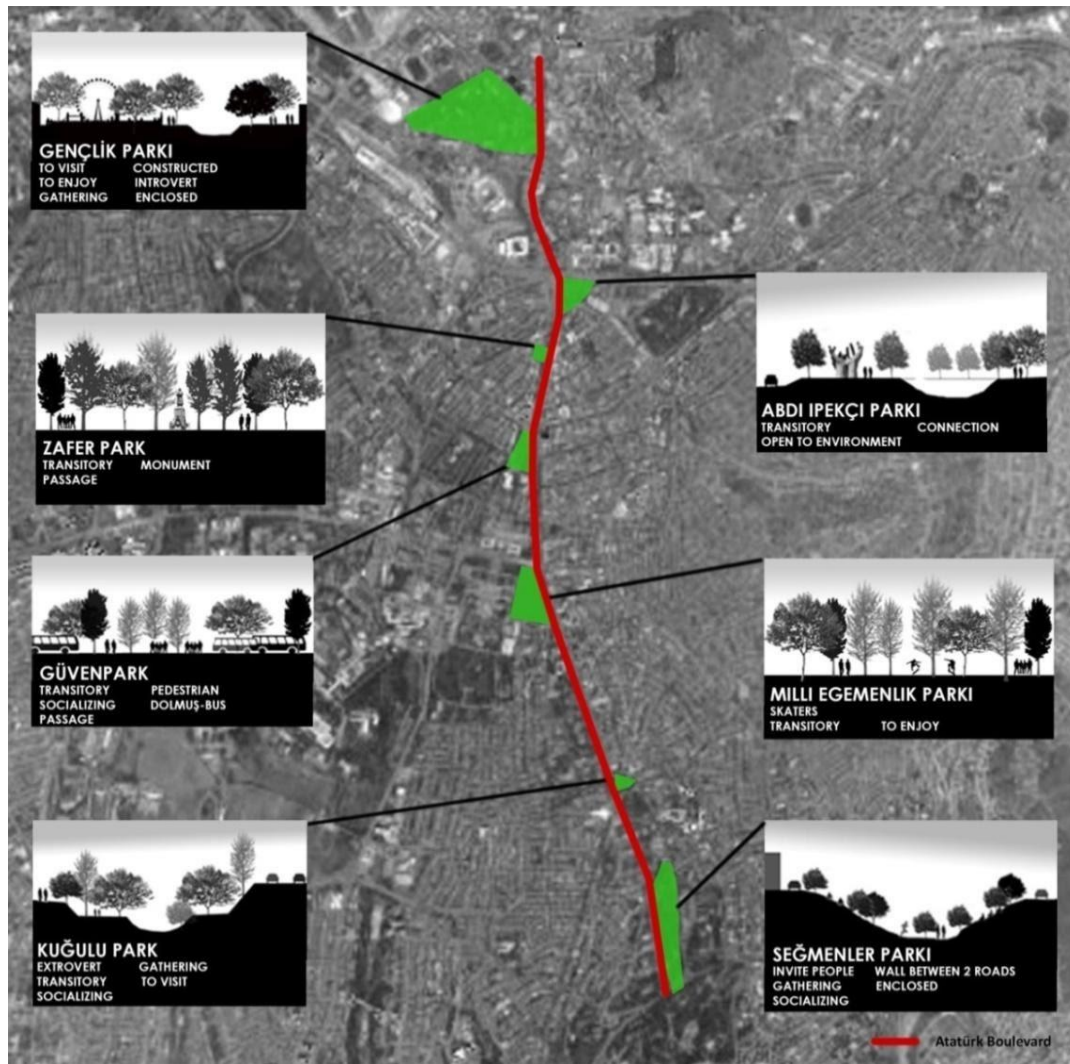


Figure 5.9. Diagrammatic sections demonstrating the experiences, functions, and morphology of the urban parks on Atatürk Boulevard. Diagrams made by author.

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