(RE)PRODUCTION AND APPROPRIATION OF OPEN PUBLIC SPACES:
REPRESENTATIONAL MOMENTS FOR URBAN GREEN IN ANKARA

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ABSTRACT

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Urban green areas have a two-folded appropriation: as public spaces, they are open to anyone since they are public property; they are perceived, and experienced by citizens. Besides, they are regulated through official decisions by state institutions. This research examines the gap between 'perceived' and 'conceived' spatial arguments as a constitutive dimension of spatial appropriation, since parks are reproduced and appropriated as 'representational spaces'. The main research question is: how the moments of provision and appropriation of urban green areas reveal different modes of representational spaces in Ankara. This question is analysed within three sub-questions: (1) macro analysis focuses on how urban green areas differentiate in Ankara; (2) meso-analysis questions how reproduction and appropriation of urban parks differentiate at district scale in relation with representational policies; (3) micro analysis examines how representational struggles influence the form and rhythm of spatial appropriation at selected two neighbourhood parks (Ahmed Arif and Gökçek Parks).

Examinations are based on site observations between 2009 and 2015, reports of municipal councils, web sites of municipalities, legal texts, in-depth interviews, personal mappings. Three modes of urban green were explored as: (1) 'a policy instrument' attached to housing development and urban transformation projects; (2) 'a context of policy' shifted to a fragmentation and decrease in urban green quality; and (3) 'a site of policy' highlighted the representational dimension of urban green, all of which demonstrated the shift in definition of urban green areas from a natural entity to a public entity attached to political, economic, and technical phenomena.

Key Words: public space, urban green areas, spatial appropriation, representational space, Ankara

ÖZ

AÇIK KAMUSAL MEKANLARIN ÜRETİLMESİ VE SAHİPLENİLMESİ: ANKARA'DAKİ YEŞİL ALANLAR İÇİN TEMSİLİ DURAKLAR

Doktora, Kentsel Politika Planlaması ve Yerel Yönetimler Bölümü

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Kentsel yeşil alanlar ikili üretim ve sahiplenme süreçlerini imler: Kamusal mekan olarak, kamu malı olduğundan herkese açıktır; mekânsal pratikler aracılığıyla halk tarafından algılanır, deneyimlenir ve sahiplenilirler. Bunun ötesinde resmi kararlarla devlet eliyle üretilir ve düzenlenirler. Bu araştırma 'kurgulanan' mekanla 'anlamlandırılan' mekan arasındaki boşluğu ve çelişkiyi, mekansal sahiplenmeyi şekillendiren kurucu öğelerden biri olarak incelemeyi tercih etmektedir; çünkü parklar (gizil ya da açık çatışma ve mücadeleler aracılığıyla) 'temsil mekanları' olarak üretilir ve sahiplenirler. Tezin ana sorusu: Kentsel yeşil alanların sunum ve sahiplenme duraklarının, Ankara'daki kentsel yeşil üretme süreci içinde nasıl farklı temsil mekanları ortaya çıkardığıdır. Bu problem üç alt soru içinde analiz edilmiştir: (1) Makro analiz, Ankara'daki yeşil alan alanların farklılaşmasına odaklanmıştır; (2) Mezo-analiz, temsil politikaları ile ilişki içinde ilçe ölçeğinde yeşil alanların sahiplenmesinin ve üretilmesinin nasıl farklılaştığını sorgulamıştır; (3) Mikro analiz ise Ankara'da seçilmiş iki mahalle parkında (Gökçek ve Ahmed Arif Parklarında) temsili mücadelelerin mekânsal sahiplenmeyi nasıl etkilediğini incelemiştir.

İncelemelerin temelinde 2009-2015 yılları arasında alanlarda yapılan gözlemler, belediye meclis tutanakları, yerel yönetimlerin web siteleri, yasal metinler, derin görüşme ve kişisel haritalamalar bulunmaktadır. Ankara'daki yeşil alanlar için belirlenen üç durak: (1) konut ve kentsel dönüşüm projelerine eklenen 'siyasa aracı' olarak yeşil alanlar; (2) kentsel yeşil kalitesinde parçalanma ve düşüşü getiren 'siyasa bağlamı' olarak yeşil alanlar; (3) kentsel yeşilin politik ve temsili boyutlarını öne çıkaran 'siyasa alanı' olarak yeşil alanlar. Bütün bu duraklar, kentsel yeşil alanların doğal bir olguyken, politik, ekonomik, teknik olgulara bağlanan bir kamusal girdiye dönüştüğünü işaret etmektedir.

Anahtar kelimeler: kamusal mekan, kentsel yeşil alanlar, mekânsal sahiplenme, temsil mekanları, Ankara

To my dear *mom* and my first teacher,

Şenda İLKAY,

who engrained in me the habit of reading and searching

and

to the ones who lost their lives

while defending *trees and nature…*

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

'Public space' has a twofold meaning within spatial analysis: a space which is open to everyone and is assumed to be 'public property', which points 'the people' (*halk*); besides it is owned by the state and appropriated, regulated and managed through official decisions (on the basis of plans, projects and codes). Therefore, urban green areas, as public spaces, imply two modes of appropriation: possession (*sahiplik*) of the community and ownership (*mülkiyet*) of the state. This duality leads to implicit or explicit political-symbolic struggles, which (re)produce the (historical) meaning, (urban) function and (spatial) form of such spaces[1], which supports the argument of Lefebvre (1991) that any urban space is a social product. In line with these implications 'spatial appropriation' is both a result and a factor of this (re)production process; the greenness, openness, and publicness of urban green areas are differentiated through spatial appropriation.

In the related literature, parks are defined as green, open and public spaces to present a backcloth for spatial practices in daily life. Inhabitants of neighbourhoods recreate themselves, and interact with nature and each other in these spaces within several ways. To illustrate, parks are spread in Ankara with various spatial quality (as open and green spaces) and differentiated degrees of publicity, which are historically shaped through struggles among two main spatial arguments: "what is conceived" and "what is perceived". The degree and form of publicity can be read and re-written over "what is lived" through representations, practices and spatial forms and functions. This conflict between conception and perception influences spatial appropriation and (re)production of the representational character of the space. In return, form and rhythm of spatial appropriation affect these struggles and (re)shape the perception and conception of the space.

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[1] These three dimensions are discussed in–depth by Castells (1983) via other cases which questions how these dimensions occur as themes for political-spatial struggles within urban social movements.

The dissertation problematizes how the moments of provision and appropriation of urban green areas reveal different modes of representational spaces in Ankara. A three levelled analysis aims to grasp the modes and moments of (re)production and spatial appropriation of selected parks. Macro analysis comprises of a historical study of green inventory, and examines the differentiation of urban green areas in Ankara on the basis of pilot studies, reading existing data and research, pre-observations and five in-depth interviews held at urban parks (such as Kuğulu, Kurtuluş and Seğmenler Parks) in 2009. Meso-analysis concentrates on representational moments of recent green policy in Ankara by documenting selected parks through archive findings, scanning of newspaper and reports of municipal councils, web sites and news of local governments, legal texts, and trial reports of the Chamber of City Planners and Architects. Moreover, seven to eight in-depth interviews were held and collected with mental maps in Çankaya, Mamak, Yenimahalle and Keçiören districts in 2013 and 2014. Micro analysis presents two modes of spatial appropriation at neighbourhood parks in Keçiören and Çankaya districts by mapping representations of spaces more precisely and delicately with respect to in-depth interviews and site observations. 'Spatial appropriation zones' are mapped in Gökçek and Ahmed Arif Parks, which represent two micro modes of spatial representations within various spatial praxis [spatial practice, rhythms, daily routines vs. festive, and continuities vs. ruptures between private, semi-public and public spaces] in the daily life of neighbourhoods.

1.1.   Background and Context of the Research

Since its re-design as the new capital of established nation-state in 1920s, Ankara has maintained a special role in planning history of Turkey. The city was designed and developed delicately for both creating new publics and public spaces to lead the modern city planning in the new republic. However, this spatial policy has been deformed in the following decades; Ankara witnessed a socio-spatial displacement process via symbolic struggles. Though their recreational and public potentials in urban daily experience, open public spaces turned out to be spaces where people pass through; moreover they were (re)produced with respect to arbitrary plan amendments –codes and projects– of decision makers through market mechanisms. These incremental attempts have consequently

resulted in arbitrarily developed open public spaces. However, they still have social, political and professional opportunities of appropriation and recreation[2].

Although the recent tensions on public spaces and green areas (i.e. June Resistance at Gezi Park) imply the urgency of the problematic of the research, my interest on the dichotomy between experience and design (of public spaces) emerged in my first year at the university. Public and private spaces differ from each other within their function, form, and historical stories, which inhabitants can perceive easily. It is not necessary to be a spatial professional (a planner or an architect) to guess that these spaces have been designed in different manners and policies. Apart from the perception as an ordinary citizen, my academic interest on this problem flourished in the first year of the planning studio lectures (in 2001) coupled with the recognition about differentiation of public and private spaces in Ancient Greek cities, while reading the book of Wycherley (1993): How the Greeks Built Cities. Though its ordinariness, it was astonishing for me to read that Greeks designed, constructed and used the spaces like fountains, squares (Agoras), sacred places, official buildings, gymnasion, stadion and theatre, etc. –the spaces they call 'public'– in a more elaborate manner than the houses in the spatial organization of their cities. Our professors charged us to re-design the ancient cities of Miletos and Priene, in Aegean Region of Turkey. We (as the disciple planning students) were expected to grasp the transitivity among public, semi-public and private spaces throughout our readings of Ancient Cities both literally and spatially; and we were charged to design a spatial pattern. Thinking beyond the physical boundaries, this physical pattern was going to frame and limit the daily life of the citizens through a reciprocally interaction between space and experience. This recognition constitutes the origin of the problematic in the dissertation.

Why is the use-design dichotomy of public-private spaces in Ancient Greece so influential and interesting for me? Because, a historical-traditional gap has struck me between the roles of public spaces in Turkish urbanization experience and Ancient Greek case. Examining Turkish cities we can easily mark and define our private spaces through ownership and property rights, within a definite form of appropriation. However, different from the Greek case, open public spaces are not as easily perceived, defined, marked and appropriated as private spaces, although they promise several public experiences. In our

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[2] The case of Gezi Park (and the struggles over it since June 2013) is a good example. The opposition rose against not only the spatial intervention to our organization of public spaces but also to the undemocratic intervention to our everyday life and rhythms.

everyday lives we pass through and use these open public spaces, attach different meanings to them and reproduce both our daily lives and identities through such places. On the other hand, planners and architects design with codes, and local or central politicians, investors interfere via their spatial cognitive constructions such as policies, strategies, and projects. Furthermore, responsible local or central authorities own and maintain these spaces, which indicates the ownership of the institutions.

Urban green areas constitute a layer of the spatial pattern of open public spaces. However this is not solely a neutral physical configuration. Indeed, this configuration has been socially produced through a historical accumulation process of two main spatial arguments. The first argument builds up the space from an abstract idea to its physical reality; the second argument influences the psychological and social content of the space and forms mainly the basis for it to turn to be a 'place'. The accumulation of these arguments penetrates the form and degree of openness, greenness and publicity of urban green areas –which can be re-read and re-written through urban daily life. Beyond what we see in urban space physically, the clash of two spatial arguments (what is conceived and what is perceived) reproduces urban daily life. We can extract the characteristics of this clash from 'spatial praxis' within differentiated rhythms, forms and boundaries of use and design dichotomy by tracing 'what is lived' at the space. On the one hand, spatial practice at urban and neighbourhood parks is a critical component of spatial praxis reproducing urban everyday life since it frames daily rhythms, perceptions and behaviours. On the other hand, neighbourhood parks are defined, designed and (re)constructed as conceived spaces, which limits the physical and symbolic backdrop of spatial practices. At this point, the gap appears between the ownership of the government and spatial possession of inhabitants in parks.

1.2.   Problem to be Investigated

As we move in the city, above all we sense the physical dimensions of urban green areas at first glance, which points that they are 'perceived spaces'. As we perform there and experience the space, our acquaintance and possession deepens for specific parks via 'spatial practice'. In other respects, parks are (re)produced as 'conceived spaces' within a combination of spatial policy, design process and implementation tools through codes, plans, implementation notes –'representations of space'. Therefore, parks can be read as one of the everyday stages which are subjected to spatial-political struggles. The tension between conception and perception reproduces the public character, symbolic meaning and socio-spatial composition of these spaces. However, parks are not only political scenes and

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issues, but also they constitute a layer of open public spaces presenting a backcloth for both recreational facilities and interaction with nature and the other citizens. They are designed and constructed via a set of complicated professional, political and social aims. These spaces are owned and maintained by responsible local or central authorities. Specific design tools, codes, mental representations, spatial projects or political strategies indicate a planning approach, a political stance within an urban green policy. Besides each park receives a characteristic meaning and supports specific spatial practices of the citizens.

A park achieves its meaning (attached to its particular form and function) and turns out to be a 'place' within the phases of construction, maintenance and practice, although this transformation does not always occur in a linear sequence; it appears through a relational, complex process. 'Construction' and 'maintenance' phases imply the ownership of the state, 'practice' phase indicates place attachment and appropriation. Though planning and design tools are ostensibly homogenous at city level, parks differentiate with respect to their size, physical features, equipment, function, political essence, public character and historical meaning. They have spread throughout the city with changing physical characteristics, daily activities, and specific historical narratives which relate to attached meanings of their users. Having particular features and scales, parks enable daily encounters of inhabitants within differentiated ranges and forms through urban daily routines. This research focuses on modes of creation, provision and appropriation of parks in Ankara with respect to typologies of the tension between 'what is perceived' and 'what is conceived'.

Pre-observations in urban parks of Ankara indicated that urban green spaces have several forms, functions, and meanings in the urban socio-spatial pattern and have provided differentiated daily (periodic) or instant (carnival-like) experiences. These spaces differ with respect to their form, function and historical stories in addition to the distinct forms of activities of the inhabitants. Such a differentiation is critical, since different social-physical features influence both the form of reconstructing oneself (public and private identity) and reproduction of urban everyday life. Pre-observations displayed that neighbourhood parks differ through their: physical features, urban function and historical meaning (see Table 1.2-1)

Table 1.2-1. Items of differentiation of neighbourhood parks in Ankara

[1]	Physical features and spatial form	1. location, 2. form, 3. physical equipment
[2]	Urban function	1. the diversity of activities provided, 2. the density, frequency and form of usage of by inhabitants, 3. the recreational possibility and range
[3]	Historical meaning	1. development stories, 2. specific political or symbolic meaning obtained through reproduction process, 3. differentiated social/political tones of the park names (such as Ahmed Arif Park, Ahmet Taner Kışlalı Park and Gökçek Park examined during the pre-observations of the research)

The spatial practice has varied with respect to both the spatial features and the perceptions and experiences of inhabitants presented and performed within urban daily life. Despite such a variation of urban green areas, the planning approaches and implementations of urban green in Ankara seems not to be delicate enough towards this differentiation. Neither dialectical reproduction processes of urban green areas nor variety of users' needs are considered. Some recent case studies with various perspectives on the urban green space in Ankara (i.e. Bingöl, 2006, Yeşil, 2006, Müftüoğlu, 2008), imply different dimensions of problems in producing urban green (having legal and administrative dimensions) and in providing sufficiency they presented to the inhabitants. These studies are evident to have particular sensitivity to construction, maintenance and management of urban parks (Bingöl, 2006); some put forward issues about green standards (quota per capita) (Yeşil, 2006); some others analyse the physical and social sufficiency of urban parks and greenery in Ankara (Bingöl, 2006; Yeşil, 2006; Müftüoğlu, 2008); some question the institutional and legal frameworks related to the issue (Müftüoğlu, 2008). However, questions about relational reproduction process of urban green areas and open public spaces –within appropriation tensions– are still unanswered, which is the focus of my interest.

This PhD thesis aims to reveal moments for spaces of representations through analysing creation and appropriation of urban green areas in relation with the hind factors and mechanisms within reproduction of urban space and urban daily life in Ankara. The research focuses on the spatial gap between two political-spatial arguments –what is conceived and what is perceived– by examining the specific moments of creation, provision and appropriation of parks in Ankara. The main question of the research is: how do the moments of provision and appropriation of urban green areas reveal different modes of

representational spaces within (re)production process of urban greenery in Ankara? The research question is based on three basic assumptions: (1) symbolic meanings and representational struggles penetrate the form and rhythm of spatial appropriation within a scale from bottom-up appropriations to top-down creations; (2) the physical pattern of parks in Ankara sets a geographical, political and historical context for the differentiation of forms and rhythms of possession; (3) the cultural maps and spatial practices lead to a social pattern at parks in relation with both the penetration of symbolic meanings and with the physical patterning within daily rhythms. Therefore, in this study, three levels of differentiation will be investigated: physical typologies; forms and rhythms of spatial practice; symbolic meanings and political/representational content of the green areas.

1.3. Pattern of Questions and Content of the Thesis

The main research question of the dissertation was framed through three minor questions: (1) CONCEPTUAL and THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK (chp.2-3) concentrates on what 'urban green' means and why the rhythm and form of spatial appropriation at these places differ; (2) HISTORICAL and GEOGRAPHICAL FRAMEWORK (chp. 4) questions how the urban green areas and parks differentiated in Ankara; (3) RESEARCH (chp. 5) focuses on what modes and moments of appropriation are revealed through differentiated representational arguments.

In the second and third chapters of the dissertation, a conceptual-theoretical framework is constructed on the basis of the question: what urban green areas are in planning literature and what they represent today via their conflictual-political character. This question has three sub-questions: (a) "what urban green is and how it functions within both urban spatial pattern and daily life"; (b) why do people possess different parks via various spatial practices although the design approach and implementation tools are relatively homogenous at the city level?; (c) How representational character of space penetrates the differentiation of spatial appropriation at urban green areas and neighbourhood parks.

In the fourth chapter, the second minor question is answered: how and why do the urban green areas and neighbourhood parks differentiate in Ankara? This question constitutes the historical and geographical framework for the macro and meso-analyses. In this historical and geographical framework three sub-questions are attempted to answer: (a) what does "green policy" mean? (b) how has green policy, planning approaches and spatial projects transformed at green areas in Ankara in relation with both the changing definition of green

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spaces and Turkish legal-institutional framework?; (c) how do the urban parks differentiate on the socio-spatial pattern of Ankara?

On the basis of this historical-geographical framework, the last minor question constitutes the research framework and is discussed as a micro analysis in the last section of chapter five. The question is formulated as: what are different representational modes and moments of reproduction and appropriation of urban green areas in relation with representations of spaces and spatial practice at selected parks in Ankara? In the conclusion chapter a synthesis of these analyses is presented as a narrative consisting of the ontological, epistemological and methodological phases of urban green areas in Ankara.

CHAPTER 2

RETHINKING on DEFINITION of URBAN GREEN

Defining 'urban green' constitutes the basis of creation, appropriation and reproduction of parks, which influences not only planning approaches, but also reproduction of urban daily life. Since the first urban settlements emerged, the difference and conflict between natural and built environment is an issue of early planning attempts within religious, symbolic and natural origins. However, this relation re-appeared in the form of 'urban green' during and after industrial revolution for the sake of more healthy, beautiful and fair cities. Since its redefinition, the concept of urban green has transformed, which followed a path from its natural origin to being an open space in planning literature; and later shifted to being a public space, which represents beyond its natural content and planning targets.

In this chapter, the origin, nature and meaning of urban green areas are traced to present a conceptual and methodological ground to discuss the transformation of 'what the urban green areas were' to 'what they are' today. In the first subheading, the historical transformation of open public spaces and the emergence of green areas are examined. The second subheading focuses on two dimensions of defining urban green areas: as an extension of nature and/or as an urban open space. These two dimensions conflict with each other in some cases and complement each other in other cases within different design approaches. Under the third subheading, the methodological review is presented to frame a methodology for analysing urban green areas.

2.1. Phases of Defining 'Urban Green Areas' within Open Public Spaces

The relation between built and natural environment has been an essential part of urbanization history. Early definitions of greenery indicate the symbolic and natural dimensions of urban parks related to religious motives as an interpretation of 'heaven', which indicates a fenced, enclosed, protected area with defined boundaries. Nevertheless, 'urban green areas' have re-appeared as a need especially in mid-19th century, although 'urban' and 'rural' interacts with each other since almost agricultural revolution. The main motives to produce these spaces were developing healthy areas in industrially destructed

cities and providing recreational spaces for the working classes to reproduce themselves. These new spaces were created beyond the rural areas of 18th century and the huge green areas owned by privileged classes, most of the citizens had been excluded from such gardens. Public health and continuity of biodiversity in the natural environment was put forward after the industrial revolution; within this frame urban green areas were conceptualized as 'extension of nature'.

In the modernist era, urban green areas are conceptualized as tools to transform the urban daily life, and physical environment of citizens, as a part of utopian approaches, comprehensive planning principles and rational urbanization standards. This definition implies especially the dimension of openness (being urban open space), which is a basic issue of urban design and planning. After World War-II, as a result of the welfare state, the role of local governments in provision of such areas and the place of urban green areas as an urban service have come to the fore within the distributional politics. As a result, urban green areas shifted to be emphasised within urban policy planning field.

2.1.1. Transformation of Urban Open Public Spaces

Why do we need urban greenery? Is it a spatial need, or a psychological, social need? Did citizens, planners or politicians demand urban green spaces or did they emerge as a natural entity of the cities within urbanization? The meanings and functions attributed to urban green areas have differentiated from ancient civilizations to modern world within a scale such as: a promise of happiness and peace, the space to dive religious excitement and philosophy, a symbol of monetary, societal and political power, a nutrition source for the crowded families with too many children, a reachable garden for the stressed inhabitants living in the metropolis at the end of 20th century. This indicates a field of on the one hand 'Eden' on the other hand today's green lungs; or from the divine creation performance to communal green belt (Sarkowicz, 2003).

What can be the origin of the idea of 'garden'? And what is its relationship with open public spaces? Mayer-Tasch (2003) argues that on the basis of the garden phenomenon there exists a myth of heaven, which is transmitted from culture to culture getting through geographies and historical periods. He traces the idea of heaven in Koran, till 15th Century BC in Adapa Myth of Akkas. He argues that this myth also influenced the Sumerian-Babylon gardens in 12th Century BC explained in the Epic of Gılgamesh. Moreover this idea influenced the heaven description in Torah, only 1200 years before Koran (Mayer-Tasch, 2003) in 1600 BC. In line with this chronology, the etymological origin of the term 'park' implies a fenced

and defined area with boundaries, therefore an exclusion and inclusion related to some kind of prize and punishment, similar to the heaven concept in monotheistic religions.

Beyond its religious-symbolic content, the second dimension of 'garden' phenomenon is the relationship between built environment and the nature, which has been an issue since the first civilizations appeared. Human beings had to interact with nature before they settled down and constructed their villages; in the Palaeolithic era, they benefited from the nature directly within their nomadic culture, and hunter-gatherer mode of production. The relationship between man and nature started to transform within agricultural revolution in Neolithic Era (8000-5500 BC), which also influenced mode of production and as a result affected the space conceptualization. In the previous time period, during the Palaeolithic era (2,6 million-12 000/10 000 BC), three specific spatial formations were at the heart of hunter-gatherers' daily lives shaped via movements and stops (Mumford, 1961): (1) the holy nodes and settlements –especially in tumulus form– where death ones were buried and the living ones returned periodically; (2) caves which were used for both protection and religious rituals, and therefore similar to early holy cemeteries these places were also returned periodically; (3) primitive camping areas which were especially founded near to the fertile river or forest lands, and which were both accessible and sheltered. These three formations imply the features of the core of public space and open spaces. The first two categories are related with symbolic-religious content of these eras, and both are related with the rhythms and movements of people. Holy spaces and caves were at the intersection of humans' motion and stops through their relation with nature; they were coming together within definite time periods for symbolic-religious reasons, which constitutes the public nature of these two primary spatial formations. The third category was constructed for the sake of survival and economic reasons.

Agricultural revolution changed humans' motif to shape their surroundings. In Palaeolithic age, they were struggling to survive; in Neolithic age, agricultural activities necessitated new settlements, which redefined the relationship between humans and their environment. Primary villages and urban areas of Bronze Age appeared; societal mode of living shifted to permanent settlements, which increased the need for more open spaces in Anatolia differentiated such as courtyards (*avlu*), gardens, *karums*, *agoras*, forums, theatres, squares, roads and streets. All of these spatial patterns were shaped through social organization and topographic, climatic backgrounds of settlements (Malkoç Yiğit and Sönmez Türel, 2006).

In one of the planned settlements of Neolithic age, Aşıklı Höyük (in Aksaray), streets were found in between houses constructed in groups as two-three rooms. In Çatalhöyük , the oldest Neolithic settlement in Asia Minor, 5-6 thousand people were living in about 1000 houses. In this settlement, inward-oriented open spaces were encountered –such as courtyards formed where the group houses were opened to the square-like-places and open adoration areas built around the temples. A more organized spatial scheme with market places are seen in Chalcolithic Era (5500 – 3000 BC) with city walls surrounding the settlements (Malkoç Yiğit and Sönmez Türel, 2006).
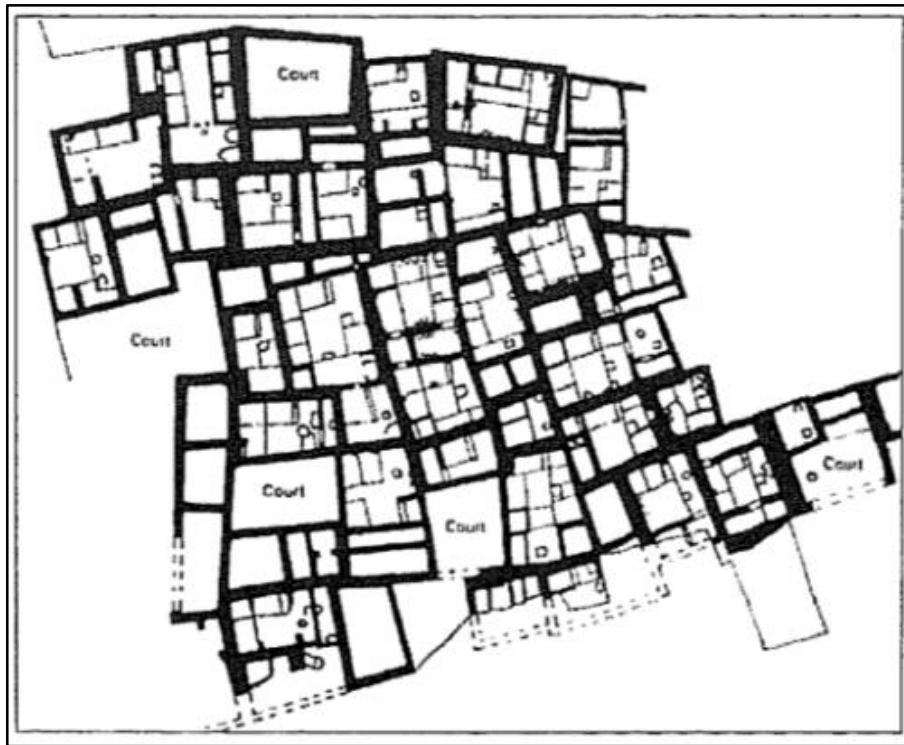
Figure 2.1-1. Çatalhöyük Map

Source: presented to attention in 1964, in an article "Excavations at Çatal Hüyük, 1963, Third Preliminary Report" by James Mellaart (Anatolian Studies 14 (1964, pp. 39-119) cited in http://makingmaps.net/tag/catalhoyuk/

In Bronze Age (3000 – 1300/1000 BC), three essential spatial formations were observed; firstly, the death bodies were started to be buried outside the settlements, secondly, as a result of the trade development among Assyrian Traders and the invention of alphabet and writing, *Karums* –large trade centres– as market places appeared, and thirdly, street, courtyard and structure were connected. In Hittite Civilization (2000-700 BC), more monumental temples of outdoors were seen as a category of open spaces. Moreover, palace structures with front courtyards was another development within the field of urban open spaces. Hittite architecture was similar to Hellenistic, Turkish and English architecture, as

it was organic not depended on alignment; and they used stone as monumental architecture. During Lydia, Karia and Lycian civilizations (750-300 BC), colonnade streets and structures appeared, which pointed the way to the Ancient Greek urbanization and open space structures (Malkoç Yiğit and Sönmez Türel, 2006). Considering early gardens and urban green areas, royal gardens were products of a long tradition of garden design in ancient cities like Nimrud, Khorsabad, and Nineveh. Marrakech (Morocco) is a city, designed around the garden spaces like orchards, temple gardens, and parks which were open to public use. In later examples, gardens and small scale neighbourhood parks were located around or near to the religious or civic structures (Stanley, et al., 2012).

Although some features of public market places can be traced in Mesopotamian cities in 2000 BC; major open public spaces are originated from Ancient Greece and Roman cities (Carr et al., 1992). In Ancient Greek Period (1600 – 1200 BC), outdoor spaces came into prominence within daily life of Ancient Greeks; social life and sports activities took place in open spaces (Malkoç Yiğit and Sönmez Türel, 2006). Ancient Greek spatialisation conceptualized common spaces delicately (Wycherley, 1983) and left for public use. After the rise of democracy, *Agoras* functioned as critical city squares within urban pattern (Malkoç Yiğit and Sönmez Türel, 2006). Greek Agora has been considered as 'a symbol of public sphere in modern literature' (Stanley, et al., 2012: 1092). Agora, as an open public space, functioned as market place, had on the one hand an economic essence and on the other hand political role in Greek life, since it was also the gathering place of the assembly (Mattson, 1999, Zucker, 1959, cited in Tunç, 2003). *Stoas* were constructed on the corners of roads and squares, and this structure with colonnades formed a special component of Greek and Roman architecture (Malkoç Yiğit and Sönmez Türel, 2006). Agora achieved a greater role as both a meeting and a secular place (Carr et al., 1992). Though being a gathering, meeting, and discussing space in daily life, immigrants, slaves, women were segregated from Agoras (Dijkstra, 2000).

Roads with colonnades, two-storey stoas surrounding the city squares, axial compositions, monumental stairs and structures took place in Roman urbanization (30 – 95 AD), as an extension of Hellenistic era. In Roman cities, squares, city assembly building, gymnasium, stadium, theatre, public baths and fountains were the monumental structures which were constructed from marble. Moreover, Romans were known to have a consciously produced road system, which indicates that 'the road' was seen as a vital component of the empire with respect to military, administrative, economic and cultural respects. In this era, terrace

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houses in Ephesus, called as 'houses of rich', had large gardens with dense vegetables, marble and bronze statues, fountains, sitting areas, pergolas and colonnades (Malkoç Yiğit and Sönmez Türel, 2006). In ancient Rome, gardens were emphasized and villa type life was idealized. However, Roman cities were so crowded that only new residential units could have a garden attached to them (Stanley, et al., 2012). The two other categories of open public spaces were 'hipodrame' (where cottage races took place) (Malkoç Yiğit and Sönmez Türel, 2006) and 'forums' – the Roman square. *Forum* (see Figure 2.1-2. Forum with the temple of Jupiter, Reconstruction) in Roman cities combined functions of Greek Agora and Acropolis on oneself. Composed of closed, semi-closed, and open spaces, forum enabled commercial and religious activities ('religious congregation'), political activities ('political assembly'), sports facilities ('athletics') and informal meetings (Mumford, 1961; cited in Carr et al., 1992: 53).
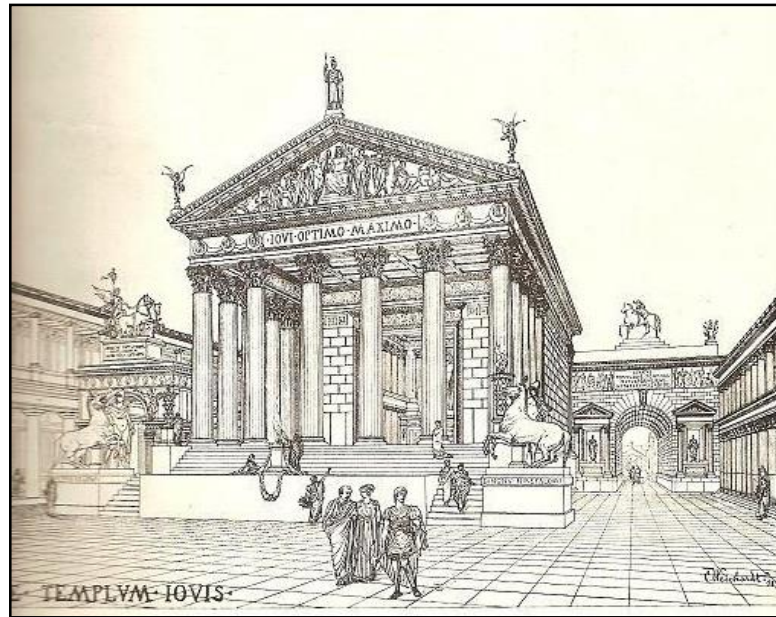
Figure 2.1-2. Forum with the temple of Jupiter, Reconstruction

Source: *Town and Square from Agora to the Village Green,* Zucker, 1966: Plate

In Byzantine period (476 – 1453 AD) the cities were moved towards the acropolis, and walls were constructed around. Christianity and the Church influenced the societal life and so spatial organisation. In 9th century, royal theatres flourished. The political system of Byzantine did not enable the people come together in agoras or forums; rather these places turned to be the vital nodes of trade and markets (Malkoç Yiğit and Sönmez Türel, 2006). During the same period, Alparslan, the emperor of Great Seljuk, entered Anotolia in 1071, Turks redefined their relationship with nature as a result of both settling down and

embracing a new religion. They created their own gardens with a motif and enthusiasm to settle down and be attached to a 'place'. Seljuk sultans had their palaces with gardens built in 13th century (Evyapan, 1972, cited in Malkoç Yiğit and Sönmez Türel, 2006).

The modern meaning and form of urban green has appeared in the vein of open public spaces. Till the development of parks, different open public spaces emerged and evolved (İlkay, 2007). 'Agora' of ancient times functioned as both political and economic centres (Carr et al., 1992; Malkoç Yiğit and Sönmez Türel, 2006). 'Forums' in Roman Era functioned as the place of commercial and religious activities, political activities and also enabled sports facilities and informal meetings. 'Market places' in Middle Ages and 'plazas' in Renaissance were similar to agora and forums; they functioned both for economic and political intentions. Market places of medieval towns were observed to be evolving naturally and they were organic. However, during the Renaissance, open public spaces were designed in great size carefully as plazas (Carr et al., 1992). By sixteenth century, 'wide avenues' also appeared to be open public spaces. Until industrial revolution centrally located squares had been perceived as the major public spaces of towns. By mid-nineteenth century, 'parks', 'playgrounds' and 'malls' also emerged to be regarded as public spaces (Carr et al., 1992; Tunç, 2003). Till industrial revolution, natural environment diffused to urban space to some extent but it also stayed apart from the settlements. However industrial revolution, transformed the interaction between built and natural environment. In the next sub-section, the emergence of urban green will be focused in the vein of open public spaces.

2.1.2. Re-emergence of Urban Green Areas after Industrial Revolution

The modern meaning of open public space appeared with the separation of work and home places, in seventeenth century, which enabled poor to encounter 'the concept of privacy'. Privacy was now out of luxury for upper classes. Industrial revolution had influenced both working–living place separation and transformation of urban space within social life. Since cities were now offering relatively more working opportunities, cities were attracted by immigrants. As a result of migration, cities became more heterogeneous places. Open public spaces such as 'urban parks, coffee houses, cafes, theatres, opera houses, assembly rooms and court halls appeared as meeting places of strangers. These places became critical 'to be civilized'. Parks were open to all citizens; working class and poor were considered to learn how to socialize by viewing the others in parks. Pleasure grounds, serving privileged groups in 1600s, were now opened to a wider public section at relatively

more central locations than 1800s (Sennett, 1987 and 1990; Carr et al., 1992; Cybriwsky, 1999, cited in Tunç, 2003).

2.1.2.1.   Emergence of 'Parks': Regulatory and Sanitary Functions

A 'concept' or a 'policy' exists behind each and every design idea and spatial implementation. The course of *Designing Cities* proposes five basic spatial ideas as: the wall, the grid, the axis, the city square and the cloister. (Coursera course, October-December 2013, Week 1, Module 1.2.). These 'spatial arguments' shaped or dominated the design of settlements before industrial revolution. Although industrialization changed cities in 19th century, these five ideas can be pursued within a continuity on how to design cities. Urban green areas are extracted and developed from the fourth idea, the city square. Before park movements, people recreated themselves in 'small pockets' and central areas near to their residence or work such as: burial grounds, plazas, market gardens, tenement courts, settlement houses, schoolyards, and streets, or commercial places like 'beer gardens', 'ocean beach resorts', and 'amusement parks' (Cranz, 1982).

Two categories of urban green areas can be examined before industrial revolution. The first category is large or small green lots, which are usually natural landscape elements. Before 18th century, the nature itself compensated the concept of urban green with 'its picturesque beauty'. These green areas represented 'passive', 'still scenery' and 'quiet, solitude environments'. During this period green areas were not open to public; rather they were the property of royalty (Bingöl, 2006). Two points are critical in this issue: the relation between nature and society is defined as a more passive manner; and secondly, they were owned and therefore open to aristocrats, royal class, not to the public. At the emergence of urban green areas, the second category was formed and evolved more or less artificially by human intervention (Low, et al., 2009). Centrally located and carefully designed squares were major public spaces in European and American cities until the industrial revolution. By mid-nineteenth century, urban parks emerged, as 'public provision of sizeable green spaces' (Carr et al., 1992: 60). Commons in USA is an example of this second category, which occurred as an extension of urban space, especially developed from urban open spaces and squares, plazas (Low, et al., 2009: 19).

After the appearance of parks in North America in the early 19th century, separate park types emerged (Brill, 1989, Warner, 1993, cited in Low, et al. 2005: 19). In the second chapter of their book, Low, et al. (2005) presents a comparative historical review of American parks in various types such as: landscape parks, recreational parks, historical

parks. Unimproved commons were first urban parks in USA; which were used for 'grazing cattle' and 'training militaries'. New York's original common is City Hall Park, which is now heavily gated. Boston Common, is a better example having recreational facilities such as: tennis courts, ball field, children's playgrounds and seasonal skating/wading pond. These first urban green areas, *commons*, were emerged from the idea and form of urban squares, but later urban green areas related to the urban space in a different motif in comparison with squares. Squares connect to the city with a dynamic and liveable relation, however considering the industrial context of the city where the urban green areas and parks emerged, these areas were seen as refugees to escape from dense and unhealthy city life; and they were formed to keep "the surrounding city out of view" (Low, et al. 2005: 20). Prospect Park in USA (see Figure 2.1-3. Prospect Park, USA) is an example of this type (Low, et al. 2005). Isolation (both physically and visually) from city life and space rose as a need with industrial revolution.
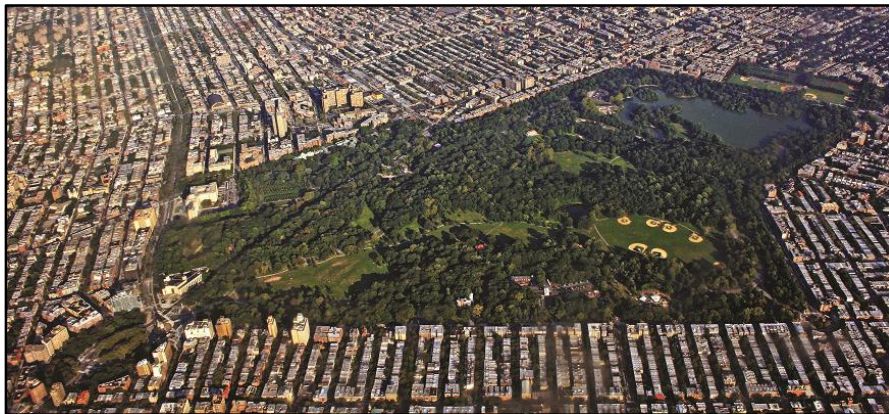
Figure 2.1-3. Prospect Park, USA

Source: http://www.bkmag.com/2013/08/05/the-most-beautiful-photographs-of-prospect-park-youve-ever-seen/

Urban green areas were differentiated from natural green lots like cemeteries and picnic areas, and new areas –such as pleasure grounds in USA case (between the years of 1850-1900)– were designed with forms imitating nature which resulted in artificial environments in some cases (Cranz, 1982). In the same period, English picturesque, natural, landscape parks appeared as a reaction to French Baroque gardens of royalty in 18th century (Sarcowicz, 2003). These ideas shaped the form and usage of earlier parks and green areas, after industrial revolution. In her thesis, Bingöl (2006) mentions three main periods on the development of urban green areas after industrial revolution: industrialization, modernisation, and post-modernisation. During the industrialization

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period, the regulatory function and sanitary role of green areas were put forward since the urban housing conditions were bad. After industrial revolution, large amounts of people migrated to city centres from rural areas, which resulted in 'dense urban patterns' and 'bad life conditions'. Cities, especially large ones in Great Britain, faced the problems of housing, crowding, pollution of water, soil and air, and as a result health problems. Therefore, 'public health' and 'hygiene' gained an urgency in planning especially for working classes living and health (Bingöl, 2006: 11-2).

In mid-19th century, the movement of 'dynamic nature' appeared as a reaction to industrialization. The movement was introduced by English Landscape Gardening School and influenced public park movement in USA, which lasted about 50 years after 1850 (Bingöl, 2006). Park movement in 1840s, which resulted in urban landscape parks, had philosophical, theological and nationalistic sources. The philosophical source was the movement of 'romanticism' (Low, et.al, 2005: 20). Romanticism occurred in 1840s and 1850s as a reaction to industrial capitalism, and its effects on the urban environment and life, some of which are: 'rapidly growing cities', 'factory life', 'epidemic disease' and 'smoke'. As a philosophical basis, romanticism, proposed that nature and natural scenery influence the human spirit positively and restore, enhance the life of people. As a result, in the beginning of 1840s, a park movement appeared in USA, lasting for 50 years. Prospect Park was built in this period in 1866; Central Park, another example was constructed earlier, in 1857, which is a well-known example (Low, et al., 2005). Stadtpark in Vienna (see Fig. 2.1-4), was built and presented to the public in 1860; Maximir Park in Zagreb, for another example, was constructed in 1787, opened to public in 1794 and re-organized in a Baroque style, in 1839, before park movement in USA.

Figure 2.1-4. Stadtpark, Wien

Source: http://lisavienna.at/en/vienna/living-vienna

The initial issues of public park movement are 'public access to urban parks' and 'a search for a healthy place in the chaotic situation in industrial cities'. As a result, the movement offered great parks with sunlight, fresh and open air, trees, all of which presents a 'remedy' for the bad living conditions and chaos in cities (Bingöl, 2006). Therefore, urban landscape parks, beginning with Central Park (built in 1857) (see Fig. 2.1-5), have different origins than squares and commons (Low, et al., 2005). First of all, they promised larger areas and were designed as 'refugees from the city', influenced from idealized English landscape ideas and connected these ideas to the countryside of North America (Low, et al., 2005).

Figure 2.1-5. Central Park, USA

Source: http://www.tatilneredeyapilir.com/central-park-new-york/

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Within this first era, after industrial revolution, large parks emerged with naturalistic romantic view. They were designed to carry the notions of nature however in fact they were created artificially. These parks were expected to enhance not only physical defects but also social ones too, which appeared with industrialized cities (Vernes, 1984, cited in Bingöl, 2006). Summarising, landscape gardening is a spatial expression of Romanticism, indicating 'a naturalistic imitation of nature'. This argument rejects previous dominant approaches of baroque design with straight lines and formal perspective (Low, et al., 2005). In this period, as a reaction to French Garden, which symbolizes absolutism, English style large parks emerged slowly, imitating nature. This English style was indicating the ideals of enlightenment (Sarcowicz, 2003); the contradiction between these approaches indicates the political-symbolic nature of urban green areas. Furthermore, royal parks were opened to public use, after park movement in many European cities (see also Table 2.1-1).

In their book, *Rethinking Urban Parks*, Low, et al. (2005) defines five types of green areas before modern era (see also Table 2.1-1). The first type is explained as commons, extracted from squares. The second type is 'the garden cemetery idea'; cemeteries like Green-Wood Cemetery in Brooklyn, Laurel Hill Cemetery in Philadelphia, Mount Auburn Cemetery turned to be 'popular resorts' especially for middle class citizens for picnics and outgoings. The third type is 'urban landscape park', which functioned as refugees from the city. Rural cemetery is a precursor to the landscape parks with their natural and romantic view consisting of paths, trees, ponds, and beautiful natural sceneries; cemeteries led to the demand for large parks. Central Park (1857) and Prospect Park (1866) are examples of this type, both of which were designed by Olmsted. This type was formed on the basis of romanticism movement as explained before. The fourth category is 'formal parks'. This category indicates a landscape tradition of unplanned, undesigned common spaces which were popular. Parallel to the large planned landscape parks and rural cemeteries, informal common spaces located within the developed city lands also used for picnics, sports, other outgoings and public meetings. Since these places were not planned formally, it was difficult to document them. The fifth category is 'the pleasure grounds' (Low, et al., 2005). Cranz (1982) also defines 'the pleasure grounds' as the early parks in USA which had a passive use, and dated between 1850 and 1900. Extracted from European pleasure gardens of seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, picturesque theory shaped this type of green areas.

Table 2.1-1. Park Definitions in 18th and 19th Centuries before Modernist Era

(prepared by the author of the thesis)

Era	Type	Definition	Function	Ownership and access	Design motif	Planning approach
18th Century Before Industrial Revolution	(I) large or small green lots	'natural landscape elements' (Bingöl, 2006)	• 'passive', • 'still scenery' • 'quiet, solitude environment' • (Bingöl, 2006: 11)	public access	First category: ⇨ nature compensated the concept of urban green with 'its picturesque beauty' ⇨ nature and society are related with a more passive manner	
	(II) Baroque (palace) gardens	French garden – absolutism (Sarcowicz, 2003)		aristocrats, royal class, not the public	⇨ Baroque design with straight lines and formal perspective (Low, et.al., 2005)	
	(III) cemetery (IV) formal parks	informal open spaces	• picnics, sports, other outgoings and public meetings	public access	⇨ a landscape tradition of unplanned, popular common open spaces	
By mid-19th Century	(V) commons in USA e.g. City Hall Park in New York; Boston Common	'an extension of urban space' 'a refuge from urban space' (Low, et.al., 2005: 19)	• 'grazing cattle' • 'training militaries' • recreational facilities	'public provision of sizeable green spaces' (Carr et al., 1992: 60)	Second category: ⇨ formed more or less artificially by human intervention (Low, et.al., 2005) ⇨ emerged from centrally located and carefully designed squares ⇨ like squares commons aimed to connect the city and green areas lively	
Park Movement for 50 years from 1850s	(VI) Landscape parks in USA e.g. Central Park (1857), Prospect Park (1866)	nature and natural scenery great parks with sunlight, fresh and open air, trees	• restoring, the life and psychology of people • presenting a 'remedy' for bad living conditions in cities	'public access to urban parks' (Bingöl, 2006)	Third category: ⇨ movement of 'dynamic nature' (Bingöl, 2006) ⇨ English style (Sarcowicz, 2003) ⇨ 'romanticism' ⇨ different from squares (Low, et.al., 2005) ⇨ 'Naturalistic imitation of nature'	
1850 – 1900	(VII) Pleasure grounds		• Passive and active use	for middle classes	⇨ Eclectic spatial components ⇨ Mirroring nature	
In 1920s Public Park Movement (Cranz, 1982)	green rings, green belts, green fingers, green radials		• beauty • utility • efficient city approach	Municipal parks for public use	⇨ From small scale urban green design to holistic greening movement	

The pleasure grounds had an eclectic style mixing eclectic spatial components such as statues, fountains, arbors, and tents for performance. They were designed for the use of middle classes, who joined picnics, festivals, games and sports. These early park projects, like the later ones, were often built artificially on degraded areas, rather than existing

landscapes which have ecological value and beautiful scenery. In this era, Olmsted and other designers aimed to create 'great social spaces' beyond the natural inputs; as a result lakes, waterfalls, streams were artificially constructed (Low, et al., 2005). Two critical points can be extracted from the public park movement. Firstly, large parks were designed with a romantic, naturalistic view; secondly the picturesque gardens of royalty were transferred to public as municipal parks. The ideals of public park movement can be traced later in city beautiful movement in USA, which combined 'beauty' and 'utility' in urban space. Transportation, residential environment, broad avenues and vistas, recreation, and great parks were aimed for beautiful and healthy cities (Bingöl, 2006).

Public park movement transfers English aristocratic picturesque parks to municipal parks to public use. In 1920s, the small scale of urban green design was enlarged to a holistic greening movement and planning concepts parallel to municipality policies. These policies resulted in Municipal Park Movement, on the basis of this movement urban green areas were provided by the models of green rings, radials, fingers, and belts within the spatial structure of the city. Added to the concepts of beauty and utility, the efficient city approach is also focussed in the fields of health, housing, and transportation. Burnam's 'Large Scale Urban Beautification' was the basis and starting point of this approach (Bingöl, 2006: 12). As an extension of this approach, Olmsted and Jensten represented the antithesis of grid and rectangular forms of the cities (Cranz, 1989, cited in Bingöl, 2006). Olmsted developed a naturalistic approach proposing a romantic idealistic aesthetics (Bingöl, 2006); and defended a park system –beyond a single park– to provide natural sceneries for all the inhabitants in walking distance (Low, et al., 2005). He designed pastoral parks, especially influenced from English style. Olmsted's parks presented picturesque beauty of wild nature, creating a contrast between civilization and wild nature in the boundaries of the city. In these parks, walking and resting activities were organized through pleasant circulated paths and promenades (Bingöl, 2006).

Before modernist era, the state park movement took place in USA. This movement started in California, in 1866, with Yosemite Park. On the basis of this ideal was 'reserving scenic land' to create state and country parks through protecting these areas from development. Every state in USA has a reserve and system of such lands having recreational potentials such as forests, mountains, water resources. Other parks and state park organizations are Niagara Falls Reservation (1885), Lake Itasco Park (1891), the first country park organization in Essex Country, New Jersey in 1895, the Starved Rock State Park in Illinois

(1911), a State Park Board in Wisconsin (1907), and a State Park Commission in Connecticut (Newton, 1971; cited in Low, et.al, 2005).

As a last point, scientific approach –adopted in the field of planning and management– resulted in comprehensive planning studies and within this process large scale urban green areas were recognized to be a political tool for 'large scale urban beautification' movement through providing green areas to public. As a continuity, after decades, legislation and measures were developed in the field of sanitary functions such as measures and rules on clean water, sewage, air, soil quality and emphasis on biodiversity and environmental sustainability (Bingöl, 2006).

2.1.2.2.   Organization of Space, Time and Nature via Urban Green Areas

During the first era of modernist period, urban green areas were conceived as tools to transform life and conditions of society via physical planning. Urban spatial pattern and daily life were both aimed to be organized through physical regulation of balance between open green spaces and buildings. Moreover, green standards were developed in the first era of 20th century (Bingöl, 2006). The comprehensive planning approach and zoning attempts resulted in holistic concepts such as greenways, green fingers, green network, green wedge and belts, all of which have some similarities but also different perspectives of spatial policies (Yeşil, 2006; Burat, 2000; Burat, 2008; Müftüoğlu, 2008). Rational thought and positivist scientific methods were some of the main axes of movement in modernist discourse to reject the traditions and develop 'the new'. As a result urban green policy shifted from natural dynamics of space to re-organization of the nature. Three issues can be put forward on this shift; first is utopian way of planning, second is the concept of recreation and third is welfare state and its extensions on spatial organisation of urban green areas (Bingöl, 2006).

In the first part of 20th century, grand narratives shaped the spatial policies and projects related with comprehensive planning. These narratives tried to shape urban space via utopias, within creating new physical and social patterning. The provision of green areas was considered as a part of the whole spatial structure of the city and served as a symbol and platform of new urban styles. Bingöl (2006) divides the utopian way of planning into two sub-categories; one is anti-urban utopia (Garden City ideal and Broadacre City) considering urban green areas as separating element; the other proposed a model of urban green areas as a connecting element.
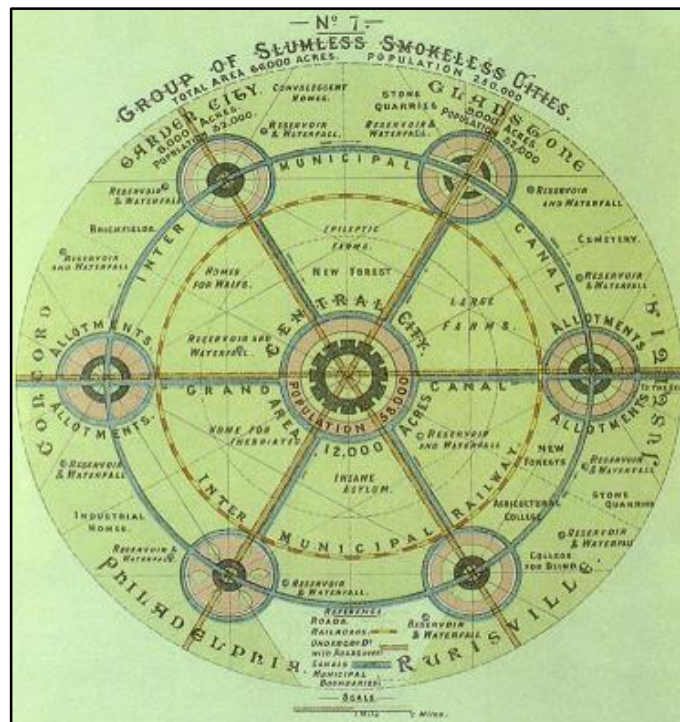
Figure 2.1-6. Ebenezer Howard – Garden City, 1898

Within their utopias these two opposite modernist approaches question how to relate urban space with nature while meeting the needs of growing population and urbanisation. Ebenezer Howard's *Garden City* and F. Lloyd Wright's *Broadacre City* interprets urban green as a separating element. Howard tries to combine the positive aspects of town and country in his three magnet composition; with a rural belt –which turns to be green belt as an ideal later– with the town park at the heart of his spatial organization (see Figure 2.1-6. Ebenezer Howard – Garden City, 1898). Wright, in his utopia of *Broadacre City* (see Figure 2.1-7. Frank Lloyd Wright – Broadacre City Plan, 1934-35), advocates a decentralized type of anti-urban development with a vision of 'back to the future' having a spatial pattern of low density, one-storey buildings with sporting areas, farms in small size and gardens, which promises a life integrated with nature. These two anti-urban approaches represent two different sides of political positions since Wright's mind set leans on technological developments emphasizing an automobile addicted daily life and transportation system in and between Broadacre cities (Bingöl, 2006).

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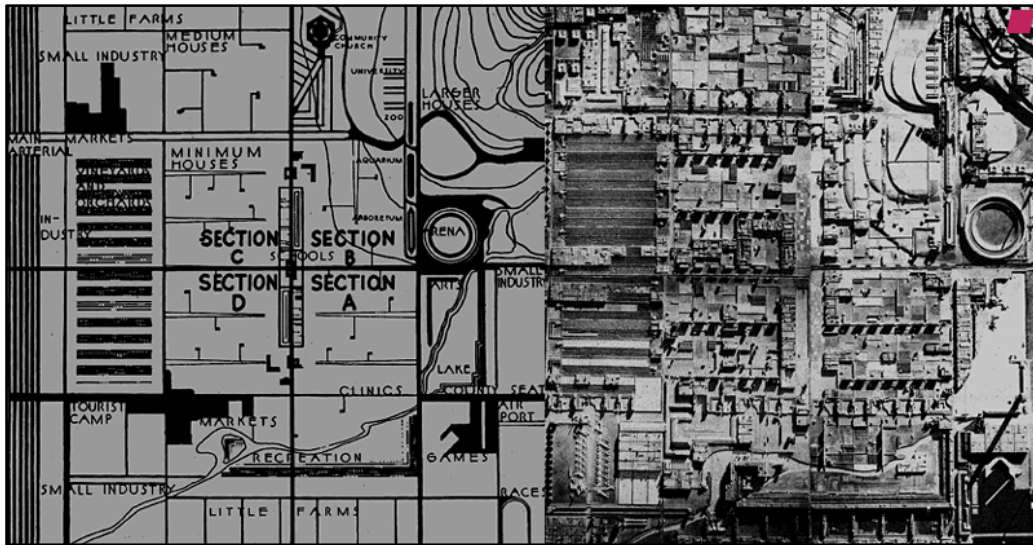
Figure 2.1-7. Frank Lloyd Wright – Broadacre City Plan, 1934-35

Source: https://orchestratedcity.wordpress.com/tag/research/

In the second type of utopia, Le Corbusier conceives green spaces as connecting elements in Le City Radiant. He proposes a new way of life using technological developments such as 'House Machine'. In his conception, the buildings are uplifted, the structures, and roads are elevated to protect the ground for continuous parks for the use of pedestrians; however, green areas are passively observed rather than actively experienced. Le Corbusier criticizes Howard's scheme since it invades the ground so he tries to solve this problem via a 'vertical garden city' scheme. In this scheme outer space is conceived to be watched passively by the inhabitants from the balconies of uplifted structures (Bingöl, 2006).

Beyond these utopias, as an extension of modernist discourse and utopian planning ideals, comprehensive planning was developed via 'approaches of land use', 'zoning' and classification of urban norms, which shaped the functions, standards and features of successful urban green areas (Bingöl, 2006: 20). The functions of green areas were differentiated in a scale of separating, zoning, integrating. Especially with respect to zoning, green areas were the tools to function as buffer spaces between roads, zones and different urban functions. The standards defined for these areas were availability, proximity and accessibility, which were later advocated and defined by CIAM. CIAM constructed the basis of the principles such as 'continuity', 'integrity' and 'systemized of green' proposing as: "everyone should live within walking distance of the countryside". This idea was developed as the objective of ten minute walking distance green areas free from vehicle traffic, within a changing range of urban open public spaces (Bingöl, 2006).

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In the second sub-era of modernist period, the concept of *recreation* entered to the literature in relation with urban green areas (Bingöl, 2006). Mumford (1971) defines 'recreation' as a 'biological need' and a part of the rhythm of life related to individual, family and social groups. Cranz (1982) argues that in early 1900s, larger incomes, shorter working periods, earlier retirements and longer vacation possibilities let people have more spare time. Two needs were attempted to be supplied; firstly to meet the leisure and recreation need of people now having more spare time and secondly to control the physical and temporal boundaries of recreational and daily activities through organized activities and green areas especially after 1929 American Great Depression. Within this era, the meaning of green areas shifted from a natural, picturesque beauty of romantic scenery to a functional role in health and recreational needs (Bingöl, 2006). Reform park was the spatial expression of this shift (Cranz, 1982). Parks were defined as new tools for social reform since urban parks turned to be places where especially working class came together to express themselves and by this way to reform the city socially (Bingöl, 2006).

Cranz (1982: 61) calls the era between 1900 and 1930 as 'Reform Park' era. The main issue in this reform park idea (different from pleasure ground) was to organize activities of citizens whose incomes and vacations increased. Park planners and reformers took a more 'activist stance' towards the concept of urban recreation, especially for children, therefore this goal firstly realized in the spatial form of playgrounds (Cranz, 1982; Low, et al., 2005). The term 'leisure time' first appeared in a magazine –called *Recreation*– in 1907, (Cranz, 1982: 62). As the concept of recreation emerged, the meaning of green areas changed (Wilson, 1980; cited in Bingöl, 2006). Moreover, different from pleasure grounds enabling and encouraging family excursions and recreation, 'reform parks' were designed with respect to differentiation of ages and sexes. For the first time, children were concentrated on during park planning and design. Playgrounds were constructed within a park programming. Reform parks consisted of tennis courts, gymnasiums, swimming pools, athletics, folk dancings, and libraries. In this new scheme, "play" was considered as a channel of activities to design and develop good citizenship; especially within social and physical development of young (Cranz, 1982).

Figure 2.1-8. Reform Park, St Luke's Recreation Ground Chelsea, London

Source: http://www.davidthorpe.info/parkhistory/reformparks.html

Moreover, small scale, neighbourhood parks were also developed parallel to reform parks and playgrounds, since more children were outside now however playgrounds were not enough (Cranz, 1982). The Olmsted Brothers designed neighbourhood parks in Chicago's South Park District. These parks were designed as small rectangular park type and turned to be the models of neighbourhood parks for structured recreational facilities (Low, et al.: 26-27). Neighbourhood parks were constructed to benefit from the open spaces around the buildings and schools for the sake of a more effective structure of green areas. Sometimes children were encouraged to go playgrounds within school time as a part of recreational program of the schools. This new type was easy to adopt in different areas, since they were small lands. Within time, two categories of parks were considered to invest on: neighbourhood parks for daily, frequent uses; and rural parks for longer time periods of holidays. Rather than beauty, the concept of 'utility' came to the fore with reform park ideals (Cranz, 1982). Later in 1960s, the recreation concept was enlarged with commercial facilities and entertainment commodities, cultural and educational institutions such as exhibitions and museums, zoos, added amazing and entertaining activities with commercial content such as restaurants, bars, beer gardens, buffets, taverns, etc. (Bingöl, 2006).

Table 2.1-2. Conceptual Transformation of Urban Green Areas after Industrial Revolution

(prepared by the author of the thesis)

Era	Meaning and Type of Urban Greenery	Main Motif and Function	Planning Approach
Industrial Revolution Mid-19th century till 1920s	⇨ tools to enhance urban life ⇨ Landscape parks ⇨ Pleasure grounds ⇨ EXTENSION OF NATURE	Sanitary Functions ⇨ Developing healthy areas in industrially destructed city spaces ⇨ Providing recreational spaces for working classes	⇨ large scale green areas imitating nature ⇨ designed as a refuge from urban space' or a 'remedy' for bad urban conditions

Modernist era 1920s to 1970s/80s	⇨ tools to transform the physical environment of citizens
	⇨ tools to transform the urban daily and conditions of society via physical planning
	
	⇨ OPEN SPACE
	⇨ GREEN SPACE
		⇨ physical regulation of open and built areas
		⇨ enhancing social structure of society by physical transformation
		⇨ standards of CIAM
		  o 'continuity'
		  o 'integrity'
		  o green system
			Comprehensive Planning and Zoning
			
			⇨ green standards
			⇨ holistic concepts such as green belts, networks, wedges
			⇨ shift from natural dynamics to 're-organization of the nature'

	⇨ Anti-urban utopia (Garden City Ideal, Broadacre City): urban green as separating element ⇨ Urban Green as a connecting element in Le City Radiant	⇨ creating new physical and social patterning ⇨ meeting the needs of growing populations and urbanisation	[I] Utopian way of planning ⇨ great narratives ⇨ provision of urban greenery as a part of urban spatial structure
	⇨ recreation as a 'biological need' ⇨ Recreational sites for organized activities ⇨ Reform park ⇨ Playgrounds ⇨ Neighbourhood parks	⇨ meeting recreational need of people having more leisure time ⇨ controlling physical and temporal boundaries of recreational and daily activities	[II] Emergence of the concept of Recreation (by 1907) ⇨ Defining parks for social reform ⇨ Reform park: a functional role in health and recreational needs
	⇨ urban service of local governments (rise of distributional politics) ⇨ a theme of urban policy planning ⇨ OPEN PUBLIC SPACE	⇨ enhancing welfare of the society ⇨ fair distribution ⇨ public provision of an urban service	[III] Welfare State Period (After World War II) ⇨ emergence of the concept of 'justice' ⇨ environmental sensitivity
Recent approaches and discussions	⇨ PUBLIC SPACE	⇨ accessibility ⇨ environmental justice ⇨ identity politics ⇨ quality	⇨ participatory planning Issues ⇨ design issues ⇨ mapping analysis

After World War II, the concept of 'justice' appeared as an extension of welfare state in western world, an expression of the third era within modernist way of thinking. In this period social and environmental justice were conceptually put forward in relation with both distributional mechanisms and rising environmental sensitivity. From this point, urban green areas were seen as a component of urban public goods and a part of urban services.

Therefore, these places had to be provided by public authorities, within a planning framework and policy definition. In the second half of 20th century, with rising distributional policies, the efficiency of urban greenery was a problem area defined and was considered as a spatial component which was enhancing the welfare of the society. Added to this emphasis, more public participation was demanded regardless income, race, national origin as a part of the grant policy of development and enhancement of environmental laws and regulations related to urban greenery. By 1990s, the concept of social justice and distributional studies regained an importance in geographical studies via the concepts of accessibility, proximity and safety of open public spaces and natural-green urban areas in relation with their local potentials (Bingöl, 2006).

2.1.3. Recent Approaches and Discussions on Urban Greenery

After modernist era, ecological perspectives, quality of life conceptions and participation were prompted (Bingöl, 2006). Similarly, recent research in Western literature discuss the issue of variety of accessibility and recreational facilities with respect to differentiations of 'identity' rather than 'class' (Low et al., 2005; Beler, 1993; Cattell, et al. 2008; Cutts, et al. 2009; Germann-Chiari, et al. 2004; Gobster, 1998; Seeland, et al. 2009). The era after modernism, some calls 'postmodern' era, fragmentation, differentiation, localization and diversification were witnessed through urban spatial and social patterning. During macro case study of the dissertation, the first sub-question appeared on an observation of such a fragmentation or differentiation at urban green areas in Ankara. According to Bingöl (2006), two channels were followed heavily in the field of urban green space theories during this era. First one is ecological studies, and second one is concentrating on quality of life perspective and participative theories. In this dissertation, neither of the perspectives is adopted. The recent concepts and studies are used to structure a conceptual basis; however the political-symbolic content of urban green, which is neglected in such studies, constructs the theoretical ground presented in the third chapter.

Recent literature on urban green areas focuses on the concepts of accessibility, urban justice, spatial targets such as proximity, variety, and social need, cultural diversity, and cultural and social sustainability (examples in Low, et al., 2005). Moreover, several studies examine the quality of urban parks, and investigate the role of urban parks both in city life and urban planning issues. Most of them concentrate on design criteria, and especially examine the accessibility to the parks (such as Cutts, et al., 2010). Some of the studies concentrate on mapping analysis, to evaluate the spatial patterning and logic of urban parks (such as Talen,

2010). Although most of the studies regard the distribution of urban parks as an issue of environmental justice (such as Miyake, et al., 2010), there is an astonishing lack of exact analysis of exclusion and exploitation issues within urban parks (however an example for such a study is Wolch, et al., 2002), rather inclusion, accessibility and cultural diversity are discussed (such as Low, et al, 2005) and planning techniques, design tools are proposed. It is seen that, most of the discussions are made on the concepts of 'accessibility' and 'justice'.

In their study, Cutts, et al. (2010) assume that the built environment influences behaviour and moreover that "specific attributes of built environment encourages physical activity". In their research they concentrate on health issue and they try to evaluate two concepts, 'walkability' and 'park access' as criteria in the design process of parks (p. 1314). 'Taking an environmental justice (EJ) perspective', as one of the examples of walkability studies, they examine "the suitability of neighbourhood form and function for walking as a means of recreation and transportation" (p. 1314) with the help of the concepts such as 'destinations, distance, density, and route' to determine the walkability of a neighbourhood (Cutts, et al., 2010). The essence of this study is that, they examine park planning as a part of greater urban planning field, as a whole within urban space (the emphasis on neighbourhood), rather than evaluating park planning solely as a technical design issue. They question the role and accessibility of urban parks in relation with pedestrian paths, providing safety and walkability.

Added to walkability and access, another study, in relation with this issue proposing other criteria for evaluating good design of urban parks, is the Talen's study. In her study of 'The spatial Logic of Parks', criticizing the lack in studies examining the patterns and 'spatial logic' of the distribution of urban parks, Talen (2010) makes an empirical analysis on Phoenix and Chicago with reference to three spatial goals: 'proximity', 'diversity' and 'social need'. She was disturbed since the urban parks have been studied with respect to either their environmental value in urban life or social economic value as separate open spaces. Therefore, she formulates the geographical distribution of urban parks since she thinks such an analysis would reveal design and planning clues. She tries to examine the interrelation between the size of the park and the density, diversity of the neighbourhood in her case study by using a set of data on population and land use characteristics.

Discussing the three criteria, first, Talen (2010) references some other studies on 'proximity' issue, which assumes that parks access promotes physical activity and improves health (Roman and Chalfin, 2008; cited in Talen, 2010: 475) and argues the

accessibility issue in relation with density of the urban land. The second criterion, 'diversity', is examined in relation with the functions and landuses, forms which surround the urban park. Referencing Jacobs (1961), Talen argues that, planner should first consider the density and diversity surrounding the parks, which provide sufficient use of such places. As the third criterion, she argues that "the achievement of social justice in the distribution of public resources like parks is a goal in which spatial distribution matters significantly (Talen, 1997, 1998; cited in Talen, 2010: 476). In their study, McMillian et al. (2010), propose five key variables in relation with health and physical activity, such as: (1) Sidewalk presence, (2) Ratings of attractiveness and (3) Safety for walking, (4) Connectivity, (5) Number of traffic lanes.

Miyake et al. (2010) also indicate that access to urban parks in New York is not homogenous across racial and ethnic categories; it is argued that their study aims to show the " 'unpatterned inequities' of park distributions identified in previous studies of New York City park access". Four components are examined across racial/ethnic categories: (1) the distance to the closest park, (2) number of parks within walking distance, (3) amount of accessible park space, (4) number of physical activity sites within "a combination of network analysis and a cadastral-based expert dasymetric system (CEDS)" (Miyake et al., 2010: 1). This study displays the unequal distribution but similar to other American studies, they concentrate on heavily the issue of identity, race and ethnic inequalities. Similar to this approach, Low, et al. (2005), in their comprehensive study, as a book, *Rethinking Urban Parks*, concentrate on the main theme that cultural and social diversity on urban parks provides the basis for more liveable parks. They focus on the differentiation of identity, race and ethnicity, rather than class, and examine different parks, in American cities with respect to both the perceptions of the users and the designers. Therefore, they try to grasp the differentiation from a positive point of view, and evaluate as a potential for planners and managers of the parks. This study is valuable, since urban parks are held in a broad context from environmental issues to historical contexts and different cultural appropriations. Moreover, their study is valuable with respect to their methodological inputs, which will be discussed later in the methodological review section of this chapter.

Wolch, et al. (2002), as a report, makes the researcher assume the accessibility to an urban park is a class-related issue, rather than a technical issue. They analyse the accessibility of parks in Los Angeles. They begin their research describing the lower rates of accessibility of low income groups to urban parks:

Low income and concentrated poverty areas as well as neighbourhoods dominated by Latinos, African-Americans, and Asian-Pacific Islanders, have dramatically lower levels of access to park resources than white dominated areas of the city (Wolch, et al., 2002: 3).

Wolch, et al. (2002)'s study is critical to our research, since they found the fact that quality and quantity of provision in the districts of urban poor seem lower, as a defeat of urban planning and resource allocation. This study also can be examined for their methodology, giving a tool to make a macro-level geospatial analysis. A similar study was held in Ankara, examining the perceptions on Gençlik Park; the distribution and quantity of urban parks are not homogenous Oğuz (2000), and are insufficient and unequal (Oğuz, 1998). In another study, 'The politics of decentralizing national parks management in the Phillippines', Dressler, et al. (2006), investigates the policy of decentralizing larger parks.

Another study, examining the urban parks and recreational facilities as a part of distribution of urban services is the article of Feyzan (1997) on the case of Ankara. She argues both the distribution of urban parks and recreational planning are issues of urban policy planning. Moreover, the research proposes that the most effective factors influencing the usage of urban parks are: (1) 'the user's income level'; (2) 'distance from the service area'. She investigates different approaches, perceptions and experiences of the low-income groups and high-income groups to the public character of urban parks. She also finds that: "in spite of the fact that inequality in the distribution of parks and recreational services in Ankara does not appear to be intentional, it tends to favour high-income neighbourhoods due to historical, spatial and locational variables" (Feyzan, 1997: 360). She concludes that, there is 'no evidence supporting the underclass hypothesis in Ankara', rather, according to her, the unequal distribution is influenced by 'the ecological and bureaucratic factors'. She mentions the role of local policies in the decision making process, which is also astonishing.

Urban parks, beyond being a type of open public spaces, also can be evaluated under the category of outdoor activities within recreational facilities, recreational planning. Gehl (1987) has categorised people's outdoor activities ranged on the basis of how 'compulsory' or 'voluntary' they are. Golicnik, et al. (2010) examines 'patterns of spatial occupancy' in their study and their contribution lies beyond merely recording different types of activity (e.g. walking, cycling) and shows how to interpret and evaluate behaviour observations. They found that voluntary and lasting activities were most affected by the environmental quality of the place and that these play an important role in the social cohesion of a neighbourhood. His final argument is that it is possible to influence some aspects of

outdoor activities, such as how long the individual activities last, which activity types can develop and, finally, how many people use public spaces, through the design and spatial arrangement of urban settings" (Golicnik, et al, 2010, p.39). In other words, the form and period of the activity can be organized through design and spatial regulation; as a result by organizing space the specific behaviour of the human towards or within this space can be influenced, which is a critical input. This argument is both conceptual and methodological, which is specific to the field of environmental psychology in the intersection with planning and behaviour.

In the book, Planning for Parks and Recreation Needs in Urban Areas, which was prepared as a report by the Commisioner Elinor C. Guggenheimer, (1969), urban parks are defined and evaluated in the broad field of recreation planning and urban open public spaces. This study gives a general view on basic headings, conceptual categories and definitions. Investigating patterns of leisure time, they define four main scales of recreation: (1) large concentrated periods of two weeks or more, (2) short holidays, weekly or weekends, (3) daily short breaks, (4) 15-30 minutes of play periods. Time criterion also determines the type and place of recreational facility. In this book, it is also argued that recreational facilities depend on 'the living patterns'. They discuss the role of the municipalities, and their functions within recreational planning and argues the function of recreational programs within the education of people, especially youth. In the chapter of design and equipment, they propose four criteria (p. 129): (1) criterion of accessibility, (2) aesthetically appealing and attractive, (3) quality of the program, (4) flexibility.

There are some other studies, concentrating on leisure and recreation issues, such as: Christopherson, S (1994) 'The fortress city: privatized spaces, consumer citizenship', Coalter, F (1990) 'Analysing leisure policy', Forster, B A (1989) 'Valuing outdoor recreational activity: a methodological survey', Goldin, K D (1977) 'Equal access vs. selective access: a critique of public goods theory', Hayward, J (1989) 'Urban parks: research, planning and social change', Jones, B. D. and Kaufman, C. (1974) 'The distribution of urban public services', Kirby, A (1985) 'Leisure as commodity: the role of the state in leisure provision', Mitchell, D (1995) 'The end of public space? People's park, definitions of the public, and democracy', Toulmin, L M (1988) 'Equity as a decision rule in determining the distribution of urban public services'.

2.2. Conceptual Framework of Urban Green Areas

Green areas provide the equilibrium between built and natural environment of urban spatial pattern, having several functions and forms with physical, psychological, social and political dimensions. They meet both the public and recreational needs of citizens, and design standards for the continuity of urban spatial and temporal organization. Urban green areas present a breathing space for the citizens within the morphology of the city. On the one hand, inhabitants (of a neighbourhood or the city[3]) can interact with each other through urban green areas which serve as public spaces of recreation. On the other hand, planners and architects design with codes, and (local or central) politicians, and investors interfere via their spatial cognitive constructions such as policies, strategies, and projects, since these places are owned and maintained by responsible local or central authorities. Urban green spaces are designed, created within a planning approach, a political stance via specific design tools, spatial projects or political strategies. The process of planning/design, creation and maintenance –in other words '(re)production'– of urban green areas and parks in a city is a crucial component of urbanization, planning and urban policy experience.

2.2.1. (Re)production of Urban Greenery: A Three Step Cyclical Process

Urban greenery is created and (re)produced through a three step, cyclical set of processes: definition, design and creation, which all indicate a (re)production process within urban policy and planning (see Fig. 2.2-1). This reproduction process is definitely neither a simple nor a neutral phenomenon, since 'what', 'how' and 'why' questions through these three steps have several alternative answers. Different bundle of answers lead to different frames of physical patterns, daily lives and rhythms, which both influence and is influenced by differentiated ownership and appropriation mechanisms. The definition process indicates the mental conceptions which define what the urban green areas are and should be for both the public and the city. The design process points out the codes, mental constructions and envisagement about how this definition will be actualized in urban space and everyday life of the public. The creation process makes the mental or virtual construction real and as a result the space is built / rebuilt (or not) and maintained with respect to this design approach and the legal-institutional frames and other limitations –such as reactions probably coming

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[3] The differentiation between 'neighbourhood park' and 'urban park' is critical since it indicates the shift on differentiation and fragmentation on open public spaces. Here the question is to what extent the park is open and accessible to the rest of the city, and what influences this composition, what role the state has in this composition. This shift may be concluded as a fall in publicness in the city, which is the theme of a possible other research.

from the grassroots or sometimes impositions dictated directly from top of the state (i.e. from the president)– or moreover sometimes this creation process may shift from its original route with respect to argumentations and struggles.
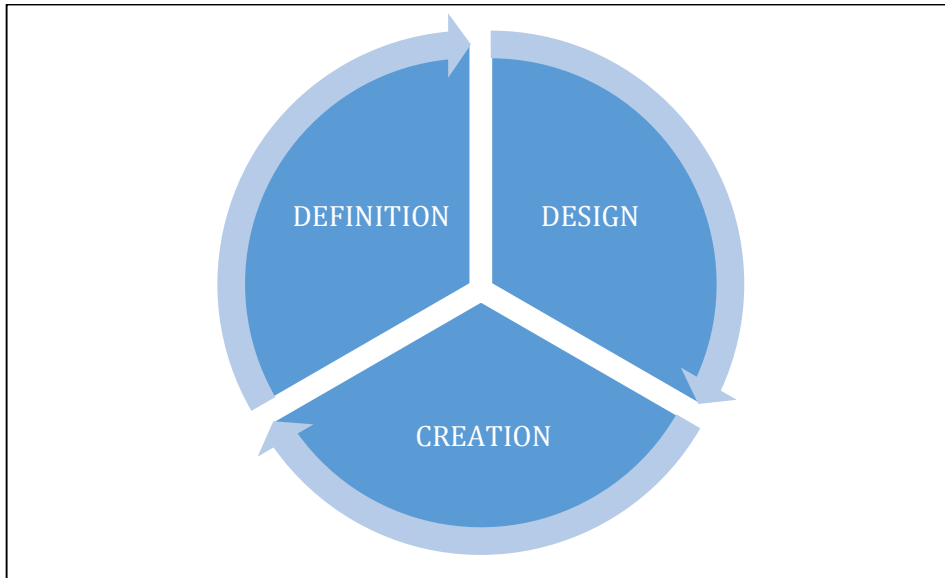
Figure 2.2-1. The reproduction process of urban greenery within urban policy

(personal diagram)

Urban green areas are located at the intersection of built and natural environment. These places are separated from the rest of the urban spatial pattern via green components they contain either left naturally as an extension of nature or constructed artificially. Within the urban spatial pattern, beyond their natural character, green areas are a sub-component of both open and public spaces. Urban parks disperse with different spatial, political and social characters through the urban green layout of the city. Each urban park's characters differ from other green spaces via their "spatial form" (size, physical form, spatial equipment such as ponds, trees, benches, buffets, etc.), "urban function" (i.e. historical, landscape, recreational, entertainment) and "historical meaning". These three dimensions are also presented by Castells (1983) as the fields of conflict while reproducing urban space.

The first step of reproduction is the (re-)definition of urban green: 'How is green space defined?' This question aims: firstly, revealing the spatial-political origins of urban green definition with respect to the historical era, and secondly, posing basic spatial assumptions which constitute the inputs to design approaches and tools. Moreover, the definition within its transformation should be examined to grasp both the formation of green policy and the

composition of legal-institutional frameworks with respect to socio-spatial outputs. Then, how is urban green defined? By whom? Within which processes or mechanisms?
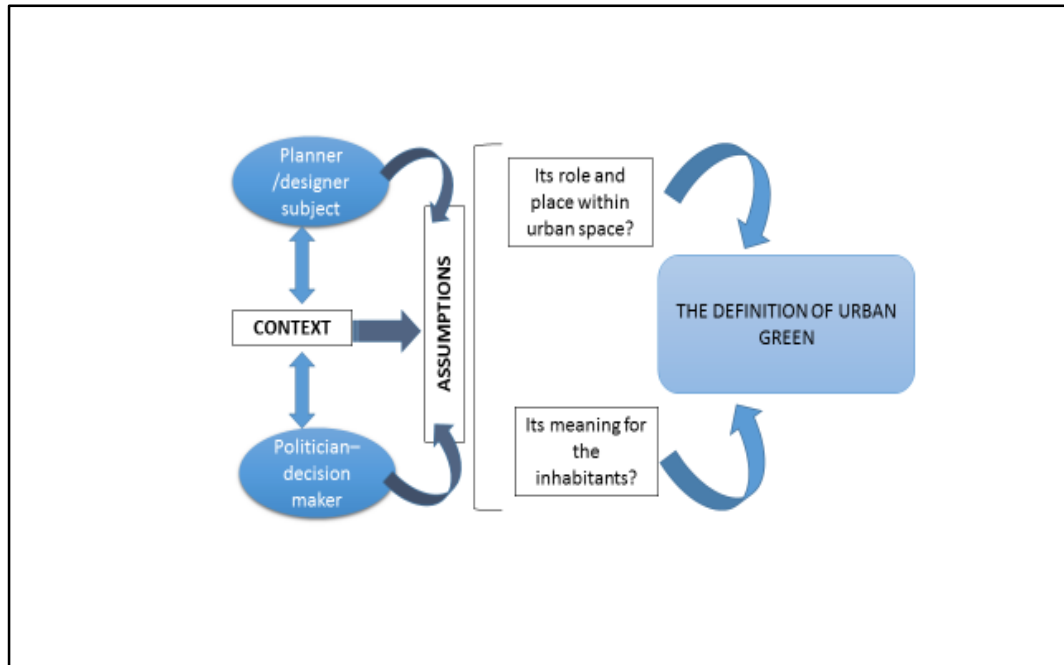
Figure 2.2-2. Definition mechanisms of urban green (personal diagram)

As demonstrated in Fig. 2.2-2, urban green is defined through the assumptions (policies and spatial projects) of decision makers and technical knowledge of planners, and designers. This definition has a twofold output: the role of urban greenery within urban space and the meaning of it for the inhabitants. Therefore the assumptions can be separated in two different sets. One set questions what the urban green states for the spatial pattern of the whole city, and second set responds to the question how the urban green areas are perceived and experienced by whom. The definition within these sets of assumptions constitute the basis of design approach, which shapes two different patterns: one is a horizontal topographic-physical pattern; and the other is a vertical typology-spatial topological pattern, both of which are handled via case studies presented in fifth chapter of the thesis. The first pattern is formed with the answers composing the first set of assumptions about the whole city; the second pattern influences the second set of assumptions.

What are the significance of urban greenery for the city and the citizens then? Urban green areas provide a physical, social and psychological balance between built and natural environments of urban spatial pattern. They compensate the distribution of open and closed areas in cities, and create breathing spaces (canals, and vacancies) for both the people and

the urban spatial organization. In addition, they present recreational opportunities to the people to meet with both the others and the nature within city space. Urban green areas, which shape daily perceptions and experiences of citizens in one sense, are subjected to the political discussions and different design approaches on the other side. What does lie behind these discussions and approaches? The answer is the changing 'meaning' and 'definition' of urban green throughout history.
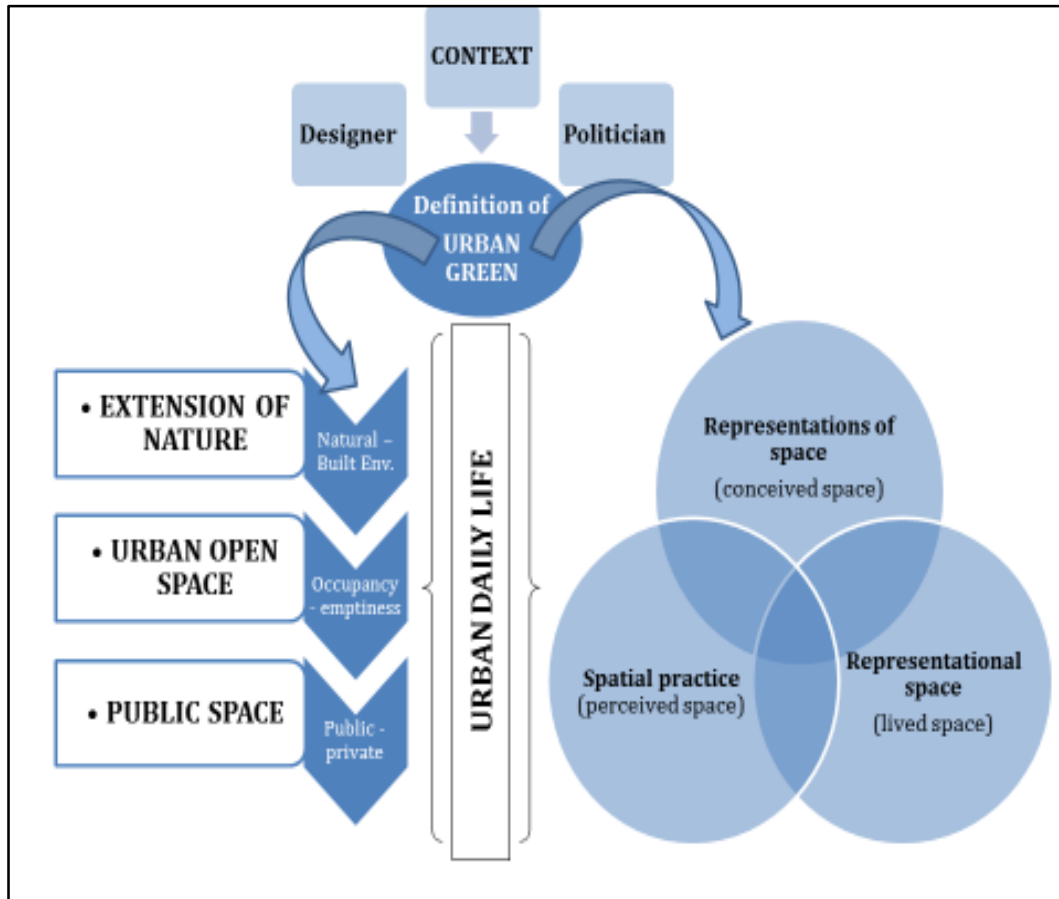
Figure 2.2-3. Urban green in relation with Lefebvre's spatial triads (personal diagram)

Urban parks, as a type of open public spaces, both constitute a pattern of daily recreational activities and provide a social-spatial platform for coming together within other public facilities. What is the definition of urban green spaces? Bingöl (2006) uses three dimensions of the definition of urban green areas: (1) an extension of nature, (2) an urban open space, (3) a public space. While defining urban green areas, following questions can be asked within the interpretation process of these three dimensions in relation with urban daily life, spatial practices, planning and design codes, and struggles for the definition:

* What kind of spatial practices does urban green offer?
* What kind of codes do exist within the design of urban green areas?
* What kind of potential struggles do occur during the definition process?
* How do green areas turn to be lived public spaces?

2.2.2. Urban Green as an Extension of Nature vs. as an Urban Open Space

Urban green areas defined as an extension of nature in early approaches of definition, which were flourished on the basis of ecology and biology. From this point forth, urban green areas are evaluated as 'natural elements' and components of the nature and natural life. The nature and its protection are on the focus of this approach; therefore urban green areas are handled as 'the protected natural elements' in urban areas (Cranz, 1989; 138: cited in Bingöl, 2006). Within the crowded cities, urban green areas are considered as components to fulfil the function of providing public sanitary. They both function to protect the biological diversity in urban fields and provide the spatial, physical base for the health of people (Bingöl, 2006). This approach was observed mainly during the industrial period, when the urban parks first emerged in mid-19th century, which is discussed in the previous sub-section. However, recently the ecological emphasis returned to the agenda via considering natural environments and sustainability.

The mind-sets which define urban greenery as 'an extension of nature' conceive the form, function and meaning of urban green space on the basis of the interrelation between natural and built environment. Nine basic issues can be examined in relation with definition, design and creation process of urban greenery as an extension of nature. Each step of policy process has three issues. The first three issues on the definition process associated with the form, function and meaning of the space are: (a) size in relation with the influence area; (b) the place of green space and the degree of its independent existence within urban spatial pattern; (c) the function and meaning of green space on the basis of its relation with the rest of the city, as a buffer or a transition zone. All these three points intermingle within definition process and urban everyday life, the categorization is only for analytical reasons.

During definition process, the first issue is the assignment of size and hinterland of green space, which determines the magnitude, density and influence area of it. Though slight differences in literature, Özkır (2007) defines four basic scales of parks: (1) urban neighbourhood park –*mahalle parkı*, (2) urban community park –*semt parkı*, (3) urban metropolitan park –*kent parkı*, and (3) regional park – *bölge parkı* (Table 2.2.1.).

Table 2.2-1. Locations and Criteria of green areas (Tümer, 1976, cited in Özkır, 2007: 12)

Parks	Housing unit addressed	Allocation unit to be built	Size
Neighbourhood park	700 – 1000	Primary School	1-4 ha
Community park	1000 – 5000	District / province	4-20 ha
Metropolitan park	5000 – 10000	Urban	20-50 ha
Regional park	20 000 – 30 000	Region	Over 200 ha

Monty L. Christiansen (1977, cited in Özkır, 2007) defines urban green areas with respect to the park users and locates the park within urban spatial pattern considering who uses the park, how. Another writer, Ertekin (1992, cited in Özkır, 2007) measures green areas associatively housing unit addressed, allocation unit to be built, and size (Table 2.2.2.).

Table 2.2-2. Size and numbers of urban parks (Ertekin, 1992; cited in Özkır, 2007: 13)

Parks	Population criterion da/person		Size criterion da		Role among recreational sites
	Min.	Optimal	Min.	Optimal	
Neighbourhood park	6	12	20	40	Singly or among community parks
Community park	6	14	200	400	Singly or among community parks
Metropolitan park	1	2	400	1000	The main recreational field in urban spatial pattern
Regional park	4	12	3000	4000	1-2 car ride to the periphery of the city

Neighbourhood parks are usually small places where we can reach on foot. These areas function as bringing inhabitants of the neighbourhood together to socialize and to recreate with small scale active and passive activities such as children playgrounds, micro scale sports facilities, sitting, resting (Özkır, 2007). These parks are usually designed adjacent to primary schools to provide the need of close and micro scale daily recreation of inhabitants, especially children. 1 ha of neighbourhood park is recommended for every 1000 people. The area differs in a range of 2 to 8 ha and these parks serve an urban area in between 2,5 km distance. Neighbourhood parks are fenced with suitable vegetation to prevent noise; and lightened at nights for the security reasons. Added to playgrounds, sitting areas for the families of children, tables for chess, table tennis, and picnics (Gold, 1980, cited in Özkır, 2007). Neighbourhood parks should be at least 5 da, should form unity with the surrounding parks, should have a parking lot of at least 10 car, and the accessibility of the park should be between 500 m and 1 km (Whitfield, 2001, cited in Özkır, 2007).

Urban community parks are usually connected to the crossroads arriving the centre. These parks present especially sports facilities done individual or in groups like volleyball, basketball having sports arenas, water surfaces, walking paths and large open spaces (Özkır, 2007). Community parks, similar to neighbourhood parks, meet the micro scale and close recreation needs of the inhabitants, which are usually daily activities. It is better to create these parks near to the secondary schools and high schools, and to include different recreational facilities which does not exist in neighbourhood parks. 1 ha is recommended for each 1000 people; it should be at least 8 ha; however its size can vary from 8 ha to 40 ha. Community parks are usually used by youth; therefore they usually contain sports complexes such as tennis courts, swimming pools, and multi-functional courts, social and cultural centres and parking lots. The best locations for these parks are defined on the axis of public transportation and near to the stations or bus stops (Gold, 1980; cited in Özkır, 2007). Added to these, Whitfield (2001, cited in Özkır, 2007) defines some additional criteria for these areas such as: these parks should have a size at least 40 da, they should consist of at least one significant activity, they should contain a parking lot of at least 50 cars, and lastly they should be located at a 2-3 km distance from the housing units.

Metropolitan or urban park presents a refugee from the chaos and defeats of urban daily life, to where citizens can access easily. Therefore, it should be located at or near the city centre. Urban metropolitan parks are suggested to be 12 ha for 1000 people and a 40 ha minimum size; however 100-400 ha is preferable. These places usually serve for a population of 50 000 – 100 000, in a 30 minute car ride distance. They usually consist of coppice forest areas (*koruluk alanlar*), changing topographic character with water resources which enable swimming, boating, fishing, camping, picnicking, walking and horse riding (Gold, 1980, cited in Özkır, 2007). These areas should be at the nodes of urban spatial patterning, where people from different ranges of ages, classes, gender and ethnicity can recreate actively or passively. Therefore urban metropolitan parks both enable interaction with nature within urban space and provide a platform for education and socialization of citizens (Ertekin, 1992, cited in Özkır, 2007). American commons and large scale parks in the modernist era of the planning are example. In Turkey, republican parks (Gündüz, 2002) and youth parks were in this category. Altınel (1998, cited in Özkır, 2007) describes sub categories of urban parks with respect to their themes such as botanic gardens, zoos, amusement, art, historical and cultural parks.

Regional parks serve for a wide region within at least one hour ride area usually preferred for weekends or holidays; which are better 50 ha for 1000 people having at least a 100 ha size. Designing such parks is a part of national and/or regional physical planning. These parks can be left to their natural growing or to some extent they can be opened to (urban) development with respect to the definition of the plan. In these parks, there may exist camping and picnic areas, natural centres, pedestrian path systems, water surfaces, botanic gardens, sports facilities (Gold, 1980, cited in Özkır, 2007). These parks are usually expected to hold an authentic natural feature, near to the rivers or lakes. The entrance of users (with their cars, bikes and or by walking) should be planned with the duration of visitors' stays. Such places should provide parking lots, entrances for massive visits and resources for trekking, camping and picnics (Oğuz, 1998, cited in Özkır, 2007).

The second issue in relation with the process of definition is related with the aim of the green space: is urban green space a 'target' itself, or is it a 'tool' to provide other aims or projects related with urban issues. The first choice implies the ecological perspectives, in which the nature itself is the priority, not the urban. If the designer take a stand with this side, then the design will consider the continuity of green and natural environment, biodiversity and sustainability. If the designer favours the second vein, then urban green areas are seen as tools to enhance and develop the urban space, in which the urban is prioritized and sublimed. This channel can be related with the anti-urban utopias – Howard's *Garden City*, Wright's Broadacre City– and urban friendly utopia –Le Corbusier's Le City Radiant. As a sub-period of modernist era, these spatial proposals were attempts to re-organize both urban form and urban daily life within the organizing the relationship between green spaces and buildings in two different manners. Firstly, Howard's green belt approach proposed to use urban green space as a separating element and a tool to protect rural from urban development. Secondly, Le Corbusier regarded urban green spaces as integrating spatial units of different urban regions. Different roles attributed to green areas within utopias indicate both the autonomy of urban greenery with respect to the urban built environment and the third issue, the function of these spaces in urban spatial patterning. The set of green standards is another result of this second issue considering the nature as an extension of nature; these standards are also indicating the comprehensive planning approaches and the frame to design open public places in these approaches. As a third point, and an extension of this second view, recently, green areas are seen as the tools

to develop the exchange value of housing projects. Especially within urban renewal projects, green areas are used as a marketing strategy via housing advertisements.

The third issue in relation with the definition process is how the green space functions as an integrative socio-spatial component (such as a transition zone) or a separator spatial component such as the buffer zones which protect one region from one of the urban defeats such as noise, pollution, or crowd of humans, vehicles, etc. or which separate different zones of urban pattern. On the basis of the previous issues, this issue on defining the function and role of urban green areas (within the whole spatial pattern of the city) constitutes the basis of the design process. This point is also put forward with the modernist utopian ideals and comprehensive planning approach in early 20th century.

The design process has also three issues in relation with the previous points of definition process. Firstly, should green areas be designed and solved holistically (which is a relatively difficult ideal in today's incremental planning and development approaches) or incrementally? In relation with this first question, secondly would the green areas be designed as a part of anti-urban design protecting the natural character and continuity of greenery or would support urban development. Thirdly, would the designer use natural characteristics and features of the space and leave the urban green area 'natural' or should the green areas be supported by different physical, artificial components and spatial, visual elements such as ponds, waterfalls, built environment.

The first modernist theories on green space advocated more holistic approaches conceptualized such as green belts, green wedge, green network, and greenways. These concepts are discussed as 'urban green systems' in the field of landscape architecture. Seeking urban green systems in planning approaches resulted in different definitions and solutions. The first concept was green belt, which was influenced by Howard's Garden City Approach. The idea of green belt –*yeşil kuşak*– was framed as to surround the city with a green belt and then construct satellite towns beyond this belt (Değirmencioğlu, 1997; Değirmencioğlu, 1998; Müftüoğlu, 2008; Yeşil, 2006) (Figure 2.2-4. Patrick Abercrombie's Green Belt, London).
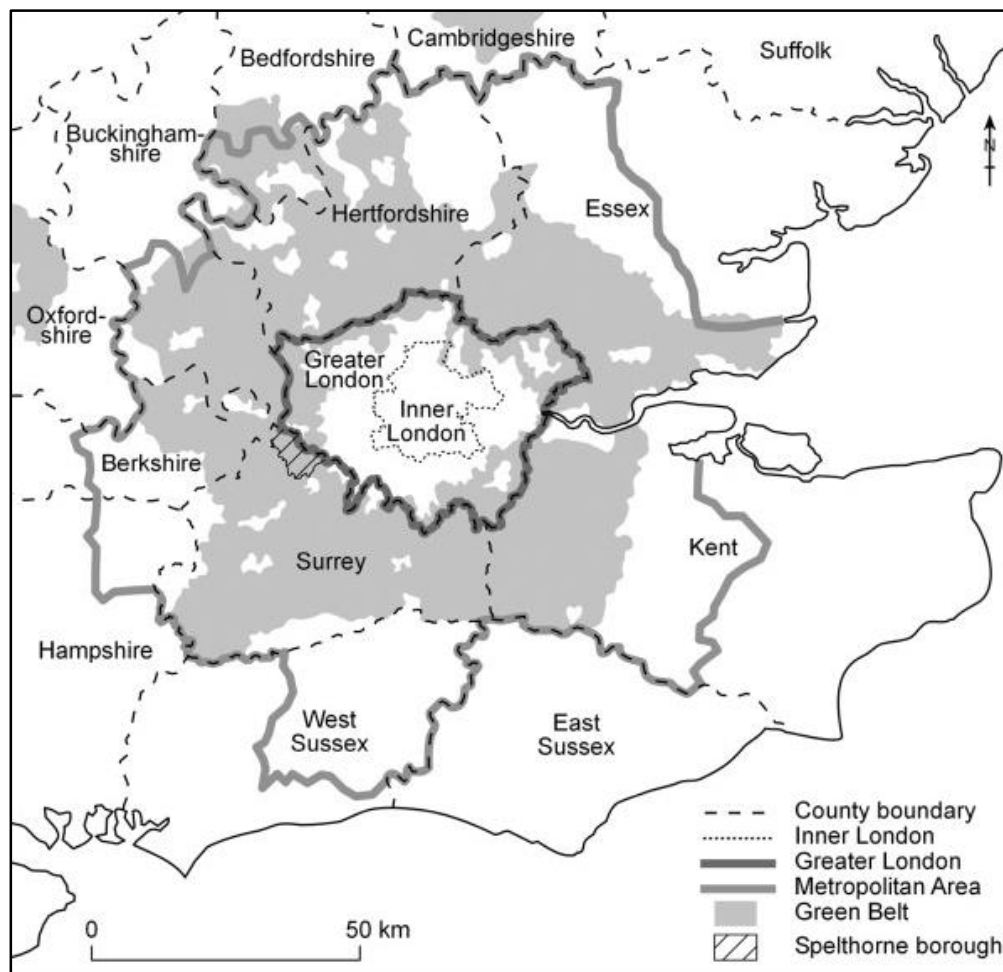
Figure 2.2-4. Patrick Abercrombie's Green Belt, London

Source: https://orchestratedcity.wordpress.com/tag/research/

As a system, green areas in this conceptualization function as a shaping boundary of urban macroform. Till 19th century, city walls were the basic element to provide the limits of spatial development. In 18th and 19th centuries, with the fall of European city walls, green belt concept flourished to limit the growth of cities. Bingöl (2006: 16) explains three functions of designing green belts as: (1) protecting the physical boundaries of the city and constraining spatial invasion in the city; (2) enable the citizens to reach countryside for their recreation needs and leisure activities (to make green areas accessible in this way); (3) these recreational facilities would prevent the invasion of the countryside therefore will protect this area from urban development. After 1970s, green belts were re-considered within rising environmental movement as a result of environmental degradation and problems. 'Green belt' ideal has been proposed to be a solution to the problems of overcrowding cities (Bingöl, 2006; Burat, 2000, Burat 2008).

43
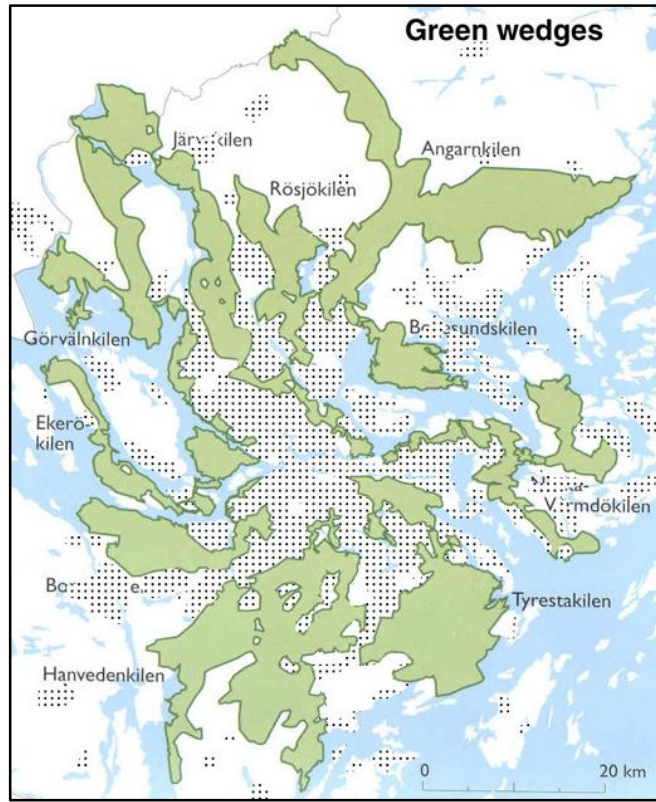
Figure 2.2-5. A case study on Stockholm's green infrastructure, green wedges

The second concept is green wedge – *yeşil kama* , in which the development axes of the city are determined; and then the peripheries of these axes are controlled with linear green areas, which also serve as urban recreational areas (Uzun, 1987 and Çalışkan, 1990, cited in Müftüoğlu, 2008) (see Fig. 2.2-5). Green lanes and corridors are getting narrower so that they can nestle towards the city centre. Green areas are connected to each other this way, and they connect the rural areas in the periphery to urban areas (Çalışkan, 1990, cited in Müftüoğlu, 2008). Green wedges are usually designed on the linear geographical structures of the city like rivers and valleys, which lies to the heart of urban development. This system is easier to accomplish comparing to green belt ideal (Yeşil, 2006; Müftüoğlu, 2008). The third concept of green systems is green network –*yeşil örgün*, which is developed for the cities having grid-iron plan (Fig. 2.2-6). This idea abandons the aim of shaping and limiting urban macroform with green areas; rather it distributes the greenery and open spaces within the urban spatial pattern equally. Grid-iron plan is used both to structure green areas and streets, plots of urban space. This way, inhabitants all over the city can easily reach to the green areas whenever they desire (Yeşil, 2006; Müftüoğlu, 2008).

44
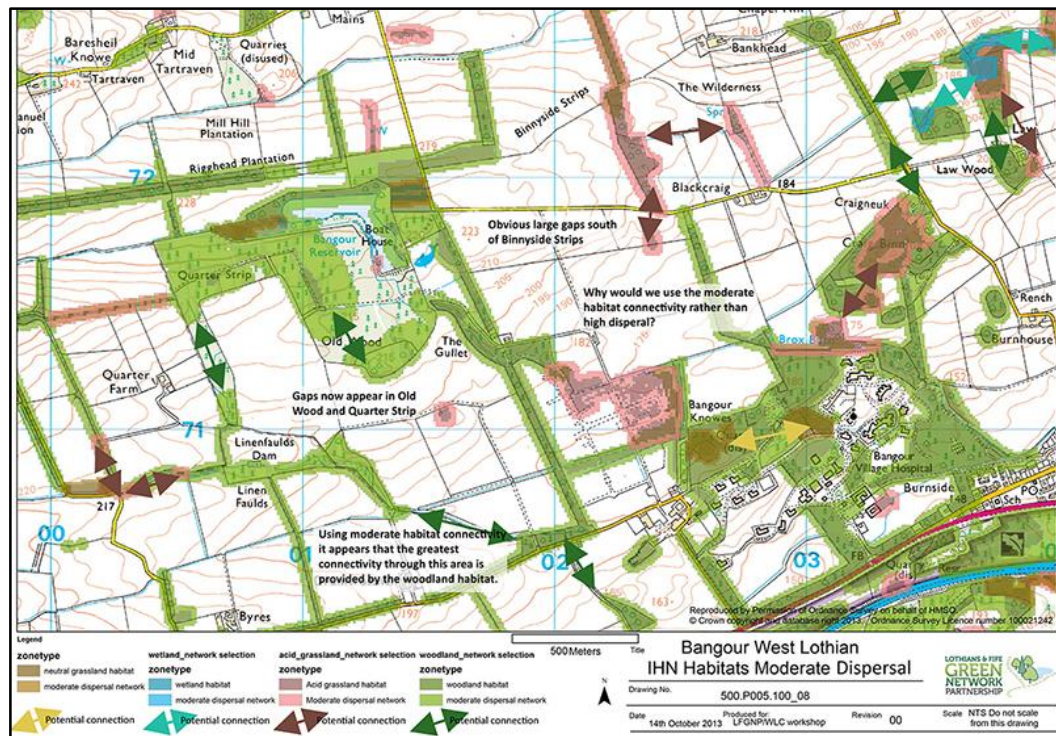
Figure 2.2-6. A project based on the green network in Bathgate Hills

The fourth concept, green ways –*yeşil yol*– constitute a system of parks, cultural activity areas and historical sites which are connected to each other through linear axes of natural corridors (such as river sides, valleys, mountains, channels) within pedestrian and bike paths having beautiful scenery and natural reserve areas (Yeşil, 2006). Green heart –*yeşil kalp*– is another concept, which connects cities in the scale of regions. 'Green heart' functions as a connector/integrator compared with 'green belt' that separates urban regions. This conceptualization of 'heart' also indicates the re-appearance of body and biological metabolism metaphor of cities similar to the approaches in 1930s; in 1950s, in Germany and West European countries, the cities were resembled to organisms having blood vessels, cells and heart (Kühn, 2003, Öztürk, 2004, Albayrak, 2006, cited in Müftüoğlu, 2008).

The creation process has also three sets of issues. Firstly, the creator of the green area should decide on the spatial organization and components of the space in relation to the type of activities: whether the green space would enable active or passive activities, and to what extent the design of the space would provide freedom of action (would the users be oriented or would they be left to their choices). This issue seems to be related with the previous step of designing green spaces. Second issue is the internal and external

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relationships and paths to be constructed, which determines who will access, how, to the park. This dimension consists of both physical and symbolic dimensions related to the social-political content of the neighbourhood and the district municipality. The form and location of entrances, the symbolic components of the park such as statues, ponds, and spatial components which address specific users, such as playgrounds for children and their mothers, basketball arenas for youth, amphitheatres, arenas for political activities or entertainment facilities. All these components frame the target population who will enter in and appropriate which part of the park. This is not a direct relation, however the design define the boundaries of spatial activities, zones and therefore spatial appropriation. The third dimension of issues contain the use of budget and the decisions on spatial components and material used to construct the green area with respect to the design approach, and the previous set of policy issues. Some questions to be answered by the designer, policy maker and creator are as follows: how much of the budget will be spared for natural environment (such as planting and maintenance of trees, flowers, protection of the soil, water sources); how much will spent for construction of built environment (concrete ground, structures on the park, other components such as tables, benches, infrastructure); what kind of material will be used – natural or artificial material such as pavements, benches, soil, lightning; what will be the physical–visual components of the park.

On the basis of this creation process, as a last issue, related to provision step, some new questions and issues of decision appear. Firstly, the provision with the opening ceremonies or advertisements –if there is any– indicate how the authority evaluate the park: whether a gift to the inhabitant, or a social project, or a political/commercial bribery for the sake of votes or political legitimacy. Secondly, again the provision and the process before the opening ceremony, also indicates the spatial policy of the authority in relation to how they see the role of the urban green area within social and spatial patterning. The urban green area is either presented as a natural component of the open space system of the city, to enable citizens come together and interact with nature, or it is regarded as a tool to upgrade the exchange of a housing, urban transformation project or it is used politically through attributing a symbolic meaning to the place, which can be traced via advertisements of housing projects and/or announcements of opening ceremonies of the green areas. These public announcements indicate who is included to these places, with which activities.

In his study (Ward) Thompson (2002), asks the question, "what should be demanded from urban open space in the 21st century?". Emphasizing the concepts of nature and sustainability, she argues that, urban open space should enable new lifestyles, values and attitudes within their spatial and social patterning, which is similar to the emphasis on cultural diversity criterion of other American scholars. She proposes that "one vital role that urban parks play is providing space for the expression of diversity, both personal and cultural; this raises issues of democratic provision for and access to public open space. It suggests, inter alia, that the role of the urban street as public space may need to be re-thought" (Thompson (2002: 59). Although this seems to be a naïve proposal on the contrary of commercialized content of public spaces and the fragmented composition of urban parks, the fact cannot be ignored that public character and political-symbolic potential of urban green areas have gained essence recently.

2.3. Analysis and Methodological Framework of Urban Green Areas

The methodology of the thesis is constructed on the basis of an inquiry of ontology and epistemology of open public spaces. As an ontological question, the existence and characteristic of urban green areas were examined in previous sections presenting a conceptual framework: what have been urban green areas? The second question is formulated as: how can the knowledge of urban green areas be achieved? On the ontological basis, epistemological premises can be discussed in relation with the methodology [which is defined as "the strategy or plan of action that links methods to outcomes" (Creswell, 2007: 4-5)]. The plan of action comprises: (a) 'epistemological assumptions', (b) 'major and minor questions', (c) 'layers of analysis' (Layder, 1993: 5) [Table 2.3-1], (d) 'methods', 'techniques and procedures' (i.e. questionnaire, interview, focus groups) (Creswell, 2007: 4-5).

Table 2.3-1 Research element and research focus (Layder, 1993, p. 8)

	RESEARCH ELEMENT	RESEARCH FOCUS
HISTORY	Context	Macro social forms (e.g. class, gender, ethnic relations, planning system)
	Setting	Immediate environment of social activity (schools, family, factory, urban park)
	Situated activity	Dynamics of face-to-face interaction
	Self	Biographical experience and social involvements

The research focus indicated by the term 'self' refers primarily to the individual's relation to her or his social environment and is characterized by the intersection of biographical experience and social involvements. In 'situated activity' the research focus shifts away from the individual towards the emergent dynamics of social interaction. 'Setting' denotes a research focus on the intermediate forms of social organization (such as schools, hospitals, factories) that provide the immediate arena for social activity. 'Context' refers to wider macro social forms that provide the more remote environment of social activity (such as gender or class relations) (Layder, 1993: 9).

The following three sub-sections present a methodological literature review with respect to these research levels defined: planning and green policy, social exclusion and inclusion issues and lastly mental-individualistic dimensions in relation with self and experiences.

2.3.1. Context: Planning and Green Policy

Analysing the reproduction process of urban parks, firstly the responsible authorities and institutions are examined in park production and maintenance, and secondly a park typology can be structured to understand the pattern of both reproduction and experience of urban parks. Therefore the question how to categorize such a typology is critical at that point – i.e. Talen (2010) points out 'a more spatially informed park typology' as a first step in urban park analysis. This typology would be constructed on the basis of 'surrounding context'; to enable the researcher to grasp investments, design, context, function rather than solely their size. In US context, "parks are categorized as 'neighbourhood', 'community', or 'district' based on their size rather than locational characteristics" (Talen, 2010: 484). According to the examination of Talen – which makes a comparison between Phoenix and Chicago – Phoenix have 220 parks about 4839 acres which are categorized under the names of desert mountain parks; community and regional parks, smaller neighbourhood and mini-

parks (parks of less than half an acre). In Chicago, there is a 'hierarchical structure' again in a system of mini parks to national parks. There are 550 parks in 7000 acres.

With respect to the criteria of proximity, in Phoenix 5% of the housing units are within a quarter of a mile (1/4 mile) distance (5 minute walk) within a park. In Chicago, 70 % of all housing units, are in ¼ mile to a park; 39 % of the housing units are 1/8 mile to a park (Talen, 2010). There is a department called *The Phoenix Parks and Recreation Department,* in Turkey there was a similar department within local governments: Directory of Parks and Gardens – *Parklar ve Bahçeler Müdürlüğü.* Now the responsibilities are distributed among several departments, one of which is Directory of Conservation of Environment and Control –*Çevre Koruma ve Kontrol Daire Başkanlığı.* In Turkish case, urban parks seem not to be regarded as a part of recreational planning or there is not a whole recreational planning as a part of entire planning system in urban areas. This also implies that urban parks are evaluated to be a technical issue rather than a social-planning issue in Turkey.

In Ankara, the distribution and quantity of urban parks are not homogenous, insufficient and unequal, according to the related case studies, such as Beler (1993), Oğuz (1998) and Oğuz (2000). Oğuz (2000) concentrates on three urban parks in Ankara through making user surveys to supply data for better planning and design outcomes. In her paper, she first concentrates on the 'distributional structure of parks' within a literature review; and in second part, she focuses on 'the characteristics of park users, user satisfaction, reported problems, and requirements' (Oğuz, 2000: 165).

Table 2.3-2. Characteristics of selected three parks (Oğuz, 2000: 167)

	Gençlik Park	Altınpark	Seğmenler Park
Established (year)	1940	1993	1983
Size (ha)	25.3	64	6.72
Location (in reference to city centre) (km)	2	8	3
Characteristics	5.5 ha green areas 4.5 ha water bodies 2.3 ha structural elements Mature plant cover	33 ha green areas 4.6 ha water bodies 3 ha structural elements Immature plant cover	5 ha green areas 0.2 ha water bodies 0.2 ha structural elements Mature plant cover
Characteristic facilities	Restaurants Cafes Funfair Wedding salon Playground Swimming pool	Exhibition and fair centre Amphitheatre Children culture centre Restaurants Cafes Playground	Amphitheatre Playground
Other	Average maintenance	Average maintenance	Good maintenance

Demir (2002) brings together the social, physical and psychological dimensions on the urban parks such as social / societal memory, representational space and urban image in the case of Gençlik Park, in Ankara. The text makes us ask new questions, which gives a fertile basis for our research. Demir shows that Gençlik Park had turned to be a more commercial recreational place from being one of the socio-spatial projects of nation state, in 1930s and 40s. This study presents: (1) the story of Gençlik Park within the urbanization process and the history of urban planning of Ankara, (2) a useful methodological approach, which concentrates on the perceptions of the citizens using or not using the park. Demir (2002) argues that people who use the park, express more positive statements on the park, however, the ones who do not use the park have negative feelings and ideas. He argues that, differentiated urban / spatial image of an urban park by different parts of the society is an indicator of fragmentation. This fragmentation, according to Demir (2002), can be analysed only through a relational analysis of urban formations, new urban living forms and development of modes of leisure time in relation with material processes within the macro framework of national and global processes.

2.3.2. Setting: Social exclusion and inclusion

To construct a methodology in relation with issues of social exclusion and inclusion the following question can be posed: what is the role of parks and urban green areas in urban public life and sphere? A second dimension to discuss social exclusion and inclusion is based on the question what may be restricting the accessibility and freedom of action on specific urban parks in a city; what formal, symbolic and economic restrictions exist. In their study, Seeland, et al. (2009) examines 80 parks and some other green spaces, urban forests in Zurich. These parks and urban forests were determined to cover 43 % of the city, and they seem to be attracting young people, who are assumed to come together in urban parks though their differentiated ethnicity, nationality and gender.

> A city's public green spaces – urban forests and parks in particular – are places where immigrant youths can meet their Swiss counterparts and build cross-cultural social capital (Warde. et al., 2005); there are typically few other spaces in a city that allow the same easy access for all. Because there is more potential for social inclusion to occur in public green spaces than anywhere else (Van Herzele and Wiedemann, 2003; Parr, 2003) (Seeland, et al., 2009: 11).

A third dimension is the construction of the inquiry to make a definition of class and its relationship with space and spatial differentiation. With reference to the study of Seeland, et al. (2009) and similar studies, the outdoor activities, the role of urban green space in social life and daily routines, activities, potential for fostering social inclusion or fragmenting either activities or perceptions which result in social exclusion are investigated. Relationships between age and gender and the frequency of visits and activities in urban parks are related; the social and cultural composition of the inhabitants in the surrounding neighbourhood and occupants of the urban parks are projected out. What activities take place in urban parks? How are parks perceived? What are factors influencing this differentiation of experience and perception?

> Forests, parks and other public urban green spaces are places where children like to play. In the forest, taking a walk, playing adventure games, cooking a barbeque and running or doing other kinds of sports are favourite activities. In parks and playgrounds, playing football and meeting people rank highest. Play was found to be the predominant activity of the younger pupils, whereas socialising and talking were reported more frequently by secondary school pupils. These findings show that certain activities and interactions are supported by the place and space where they occur, and that certain patterns of outdoor leisure pursuits coincide with age (Newell, 1997) (Seeland, et al.: 16).

On the basis of this methodological review, firstly parks were observed to grasp the activities in parks. The profiles of occupants were questioned: Who uses urban parks how? In Oğuz's (2000) study 300-320 people were selected for the user analysis via quantitative data of how many people visit the parks from the municipalities. He first extracted a user

profile; the first 13 questions of 46 questions of the questionnaire are asked to grasp the general profile of the users. Next 14 questions aimed to examine the activities of recreation of the users; and the left are asked to measure the satisfaction of park users. One of the findings of Oğuz (to be questioned) was that: "Gender does not affect park preferences. In all three parks, male users were counted more than female users[4]" (Oğuz, 2000: 168). Although they seem to be tenuous, such descriptive analysis may be benefited as a basis to produce in-depth data on urban parks. The general user profile is presented in Table 2.3.3.

Table 2.3-3. Gender base user profile of selected three parks (Oğuz, 2000)

Park	Male	Female	Total
Gençlik Parkı	206 (63,4 %) (36,5 %)	119 (36,6 %) (30,1 %)	325 (100 %)
Altınpark	188 (58,2 %) (33,3 %)	135 (41,8 %) (34,2 %)	323
Seğmenler Parkı	171 (54,8 %) (30,3 %)	141 (45,2 %) (35,7 %)	312
Total	565 (58.9 %) (100 %)	395 (41.1 %) (100 %)	960

Altınpark (34,2 %) and Seğmenler (35,7 %) are observed to be preferred mostly by women; on the other hand men (36,5 %) seem to prefer Gençlik Parkı more than women do. 58.9 % of the users are men and 41.1 % are women; the single ones prefer urban parks more than married persons. 33.4 % of the users who visit urban parks more frequently are between the ages of 24-44; 32.4 % are between ages of 19-24. Among these, the age group of 12-18 and 19-24 usually prefer Altınpark; the age group of 25-44 prefer Gençlik Park and Segmenler Park. People older than 56 usually prefer Seğmenler Park and Gençlik Park. With respect to education level, the ones who graduated from primary school mostly prefer Gençlik Park (53,7 %); high school graduates mostly prefer Altınpark (39,3 %), university graduates on the other hand usually prefer Seğmenler Park (46,5 %). With respect to income, low income groups were observed to prefer Gençlik Park, middle income prefers Altınpark and high income prefers Seğmenler Park (Oğuz, 2000). There seems to be a differentiation with respect to both economic and cultural factors. These findings constructed the basis for preliminary hypotheses of the macro analysis.

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[4] This argument leads to a suspicion, since generally in Turkish case, visibility and accessibility of women to urban open spaces seem to be not similar to the men's visibility and accessibility.

2.3.3. *Self* in Situated Activity: Mental and Behavioural Mapping

Several research, such as Golicnic, et al. (2005)'s study, concentrates on mostly the behaviour patterns rather than the hidden mechanisms beyond the social-spatial fragmentation. Therefore such studies aim to extract patterns, which would give an idea to form a base map for the examination of hidden processes, mechanisms behind the extracted patterns. What is the relationship between the matters and objects that are societal and the individualistic? What is the interrelation between spatial organization and experience? The role of the planner and the design of an urban open space is an essential question on the axis of producing urban public spaces through existing or ideal spatial policies to reproduce urban space, institutions, legal and institutional tools, planning and policy processes.

Linking environment to behaviour, Golicnik, et al. (2005) define a methodology of collecting data on the relationship between daily use of open public spaces and the spatial configuration of such spaces. They combine behaviour observations with GIS mapping to collect empirical data and to show this data on maps "to create empirical databases of environment–behaviour interactions that were directly linked to spatial patterns". First step is to make initial site observations to cover the site generally; then with this knowledge, site would be "divided into sub-areas for observation" then these initial observations would be enlarged to cover "the range of activities (passive and active) likely, to allow for preparation of detailed data collection codes or symbols" (Golicnik, et al, 2010, p. 40). These mapping strategies were adopted during the micro analyses of neighbourhood parks.

In addition to spatial patterns and configuration in relation with behaviour, functions and (offered or preferred) activities are critical to make observations and analyses on urban parks. Oğuz (2000) examines the preferred activities at urban parks. Frequent ones are: 'sitting on a bench and watching the world go by', 'walking and running' and 'using the dining facilities'. On the other hand, favourite aims to use urban parks are mentioned as: 'to spend time in the open air', 'to rest and contemplate by water and green areas', 'to meet and chat with friends'. The users of Seğmenler Park are mostly satisfied with the park, however the ones in Gençlik Parkı are not satisfied (Oğuz, 2000: 170).

Developed by Ittelson et al. (1970), behaviour mapping can be defined as "a way of understanding the interaction between people and place" (Golicnik, et al, 2010, p. 38)[5]:

> Much conventional behaviour mapping methodology (e.g. that promoted by PPS, 2005) involves dividing the mapped environment into zones and using a matrix to record use by people across each zone in a database. This facilitates the collection of large amounts of data for quantitative analysis. However, because individuals are not recorded on the map in their precise location at any point in time, it is not good at recording accurately how details of behaviour relate to the particular configuration of the physical environment—something that designers are particularly interested in. The value of the Cooper Marcus and Francis technique (1998) is that it takes a more detailed approach to behaviour mapping and encourages use of techniques that allow detailed recording of each individual's location on a map of the environment. They stress the importance of understanding details of time, weather, activity, social interaction, etc. in relation to the mapping of individuals' use of a site (Golicnik, et al, 2010, p. 39).

Table 2.3-4. A Sample Table of Research Methods for Park Analyses (Low, et al. 2005: Table 5.1., p. 107)

Method	Data	Duration	Product	What can be learned
Behavioural mapping	Time / space maps of site, field notes	5 days	Description of daily activities on- site	Identifies cultural activities on-site
Transect walks	Transcribed interviews and consultant's map of site, field notes	3 days	Description of site from community member's point of view	Community-centred understanding of the site; local meaning; identification of sacred places
Individual interviews	Interview sheets, field notes	20 days	Description of responses of the cultural groups	Community responses and interest in the park
Expert interviews	In-depth interview transcriptions	5 days	Description of responses of local institutions and community leaders	Community leaders' interest in park planning process

In their book, Rethinking Urban Parks, Low, et al. (2005) presents a methodological tool to analyse urban parks systematically both in sociological and psychological perspectives. This tool as a methodology plan in the research map was adapted to this PhD thesis. A summary of methodologies is given as in Table 2.3-5.

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[5] The mapping presented in these studies were used as methodological input for the thesis (see also Appendix D – Park Observation Sheet).

Table 2.3-5. Qualitative methodologies in cultural anthropology (Low et al., 2005: 180)

Methodological approach	1) The focus or Scale / Level of Inquiry	2) Degrees of contact and/or involvement	3) The kind of problem / the research problem
Cognitive	Individual	Minimal	Rules, ideals, and perceptions
Observational	Group and individual	Minimal	*Behaviour, observable actions and activities*
Phenomenological	Individual	Total	*Experience* of places and events
Historical	Societal	Minimal	Social and cultural trends, comparison of sites
Ethnographic	Group and individual	Moderate	Cultural motivations, norms, values, intentions, symbols and meanings
Discourse	Individual and societal	Moderate	Underlying meanings of speaking / conversation

Layder (1993) proposes five research elements (see Table 2.3-1), which indicate the levels of social organization with respect to the micro and macro levels interrelated with the research: (a) *Context* – (*macro social organization*) refers to the societal and political values, power relations, traditions, economic structure at macro; (b) *Setting* – (*intermediate social organization*) refers to both work related issues such as state bureaucracies, labour markets and non work related issues such as social organization of leisure activities, religious and spiritual organizations; (c) *Situated Activity* – (*Social Activity*) refers to face to face activities constructed within the frame of both context and setting, including the meanings, symbolic interaction and definitions conceived within a situation shaped within a context and setting; (d) *Self* – (*Self-identity and individual's social experience*) refers to the psychobiography of the individual, shaped within the above three elements. (e) *History* refers to a kind of accumulation of all these elements interrelated with each other. On the basis of this methodological review, the main question was relocated and reformulated with respect to different scales of research while formulating the research map (See Table 2.3.6.).

Table 2.3-6. Research map with respect to layers of analysis (Adopted from Layder, 1993)

	RESEARCH ELEMENT	RESEARCH FOCUS
HISTORY	*Macro analysis* (oval) — Context	Historically changing role and definition of urban parks in Turkish Planning policy and practice as urban open public places 1. History of institutional and legal issues 2. Conflict between possession and ownership
	Meso-analysis (oval) — Setting	Activities, daily routines in the neighbourhood
	Micro analysis (oval) — Situated activity	Recreational facilities in reproducing the public self in open public spaces / urban parks 1. Societal / social dimension, relations and neighbourhood 2. Cognitive and behavioural dimension
	Macro analysis (oval) — Self	Mental and behavioural mapping

The macro analysis, presented in the first sub-section of fifth chapter, concentrates on both the context and the self on the basis of historical framework examined in fourth chapter. Meso-analysis, presented in the second sub-section of fifth chapter, focuses on the intersection of the levels of context and setting. Micro analysis concentrated on the situated activity at selected settings (See Table 2.3.6.).

CHAPTER 3

SPATIAL APPROPRIATION of URBAN GREEN

Urban green is inherently 'public' since it has been a part of common spaces (i.e. in Western cities after the royal gardens were opened to public use). After this turning point, the state led to design and create parks in urban spatial pattern. As a public service, urban green areas are provided by means of the taxes of citizens for 'public use', which led to contradiction on spatial appropriation. Urban green areas, are on one hand assumed to be open to anyone since they are public property; on the other hand they are regulated through official decisions by the hand of state institutions and local governments –political actors, bureaucrats and technocrats. Therefore the public character of urban green indicates a two folded spatial appropriation: possession of people and ownership of state. The conflict between these forms of appropriation (re)produces urban daily life, spatial pattern and social-political content of different living environments within basically three scales: (i) reproduction of self via place attachment (body, home, park), (ii) construction and reproduction of daily living environment (neighbourhood) and (iii) reproduction of urban daily life through spatial appropriation at a urban scale.

On the basis of creation-use dichotomy, green areas are reproduced and appropriated as 'representational spaces' through hidden or explicit conflicts, which (re)produce the historical meaning, urban function and spatial form. Conflict is shaped during 'conceived' and 'perceived' spaces clash. These two spatial phenomena clash in everyday life at and over the space, which is revealed via 'lived space'. 'Everydayness', which is a neglected field in the literature, is reproduced through this conflictual process of urban space. As a summary, urban green areas have a political meaning and representational content within the conflicts between perceived and conceived spatial arguments, which can be re-read and re-written through 'lived space' of urban daily life. In this chapter, the theoretical basis (of political and representational potential of urban green areas) is constructed to discuss the shift from 'what the urban green areas are/were' to 'what they represent' today.

3.1. Urban Green Areas as Public Spaces

Public spaces have enabled interaction and exchange goods and ideas, through which social and daily life continued. Madanipour (1999, cited in Bingöl, 2006: 8) defines public space as: "a space provided by the public authorities, concerns the people as a whole, is open and available to them, and used or shaped by all members of a community". Though various definitions of the concept; 'public space' is generally determined within spatial features (form), activities (function) it enables citizens to accomplish and the symbolic-historical meaning with its role in urban patterning and history. Public space, since it has the adjective of 'public', is thought to 'belong to everyone', which separates it from 'one's home' or 'one's work place' (Dijkstra, 2000: 1). Public space provides information exchanges (Carr, et al., 1992) by enabling city-dwellers to encounter with others, the strangers (Dijkstra, 2000). Market place as an example, has enabled citizens to come together to obtain daily local news which can construct a political basis to struggle (Carr, et al., 1992). Arendt defines public space as 'a physical arena where culture and politics take place'. Celebrations, festivals, demonstrations and protests all take place in public space beyond daily activities (Dijkstra, 2000: 1).

Public spaces are usually constructed to achieve objectives of 'public welfare', 'visual enhancement', 'environmental enhancement', and 'economic development'. Examining the motivation of public welfare, streets in Greeks and Romans constitute a significant example. The streets were paved to enable and provide movement in safety; Agoras and Forums were designed as the 'noble centres' of public life. Usually designed to be 'lungs of the cities', parks provide fresh air and sunlight; moreover they enable citizens to relax from the physical and psychological oppression of urban life. In 19th century and early 20th century, parks and playgrounds have been produced to meet the need of recreational needs. Added to public welfare, as a symbol of 'high public life', for example in Roman cities, public spaces were designed for the sake of environmental and visual enhancement. Economic development has been another factor to produce open public space, since they can attract people with 'interesting activities' or 'informal performances'. Commercial activities have been closely related with the open public spaces beyond the recreational and enjoyment facilities (Carr, et al., 1992). Summarizing, public spaces have been places where people gather together to exchange information and to join either specific or daily urban activities. Furthermore, they have been designed and produced to provide public welfare, improvement of visual and environmental setting, and economic development.

3.1.1. 'Public' character of Urban Green Areas

Why do people come together in open public spaces? What influences this interaction among people at open public spaces? What kind of an experience is being seen and going out and meeting at public spaces? What is the relationship between this experience and the space/place? Why do people come together and need to interact through public spaces? In her famous book, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities,* Jane Jacobs (1961) asks why people need to participate in social engagements in pubs, bars, stores, streets and if there were more private outdoor places would they prefer to stay at private places, their houses and would not be seen in the streets. Jacobs points that the activities related to the streets and public places is 'public'. She emphasizes the dimension of bringing people together who do not know each other. On the basis of this question she focuses on the essence of sidewalks in city public life with respect to their public character. The point is that sidewalks enable citizens both to interact spontaneously and provide chances to construct a natural thrust and social boundaries among the people living in a neighbourhood. Sidewalks do not disturb the balance between the public life and the demand for privacy of citizens. Jacobs (1961) mentions the daily routines and symbols. Although citizens develop these symbols and routines through spontaneous daily lives, there is also a socially–physically built environment which limits not only the physical reality but also mental reality. Therefore, the design issue of a public space is not only a socio-physical issue but also a political-ethical issue as well.

Tekeli (2011: 171) proposes that the design process and the designed object of an architect, and planner is different than the one produced by an industrial designer, or other types of design activities; this is because the object designed/produced by an architect has 'a facet / an exterior face' and therefore a potential to 'influence'. In other words, a professional produces a construction, a building or an open public space, which influences perceptions, daily lives and actions of citizens; I, as a citizen, have to live within these boundaries, defined over me. Since, there is the idea of regulating daily life within designing/constructing a building or a place, Tekeli (2011)implies the conflict between the user and the designer in his article, which is a part of the book, examining the relationship between architecture and society. Therefore, the dual definition of public space can be assumed that public space is 'public' since it is used, experienced by public, but on the other hand, it is public, as a result of produced by public institutions, authorities, professionals as conceived space.

3.1.2. 'Ideological' character of Urban Green Areas

It has been a turning point for me to hear Lefebvre's argument that "capitalism has survived since it has recognized the space". In our daily lives we pass through so many spaces either public or private. We –as citizens– rarely recognize neither the (ideological) [re]production mechanisms and processes behind these built environments nor the reciprocal (ideological) influence of the reproduction process on our mental constructions and daily life experiences. The dual relationship is always a question that who (re)produces the space and who passes through, experiences or is influenced by the same space. This indicates a power relation within contradictions, conflicts and struggles. It is not a surprise that utopias deal with spatial constructions while organizing the societal patterns for the future. If the political role of space is accepted, then how do space and professionals (planners, architects) produce the ideological content of both space and planning?

The nature of space creates the ideological and political character of public space via its relationship with the social, political and ideological context. Space has a political character; it is not solely a physical phenomenon, but also a social and political entity. Though its practical deficiencies, conceptual triads of Lefebvre –examining the social and mental dimensions of space as well as physical dimensions– enable us to consider this political character within a dialectical process. Lefebvre (1991) conceptualizes perceived space (spatial practices), conceived space (representations of space) and lived space (representational space). Spatial practices indicate the daily life in relation with perceived space within urban pattern (Lefebvre, 1991), daily routines, a rhythm of everyday life such as walking, creating festivals, working, sleeping (Wright, 2000: 47). The concept of 'representations of space' refers to both 'abstract expert discourses' (Wright, 2000: 49) and spatial representations conceived by professions of urban space such as city planners, architects and engineers in a relation with policy makers (Lefebvre, 1991). These three concepts indicate three different facets of the same space, they are hardly separated from each other (Zhang, 2006). Lefebvre, himself defines his triad as 'three moments of social space' (Lefebvre, 1991: 40, cited in Zhang, 2006).

Representations of space provide understanding and talking on the material practices at space through the codes and indicators which they are composed of (Harvey, 1999). Representational space implies the space lived through symbols and images (Lefebvre, 1991). On the basis of Lefebvre's spatial triads it is a question how the form, function and meaning of a space are redefined. Each mode of production and its material practices

(producing societal life) influence the redefinition of the meanings attributed to space through reproducing both spatial practice and perception of space (Harvey, 1999: 229-30). Space is on the one hand an abstract on the other hand a concrete phenomenon, which enables the redefinition of the meaning of a place. Moreover, power relations, contradictions and struggles are observed as a result of the relationship between actual and imagined possibilities of space (Wright, 2000).

With reference to these assumptions, ideological character of public space can be examined with respect to some minor problem areas such as the contradiction between part-whole (architectural individual unit–urban fabric) and the interrelation between social transformation and spatial transformation with respect to Tafuri's relatively negative conceptualization in Architecture and Utopia and Gramsci's positive analysis of hegemony (Jameson, 1985). The existence of ideology is an issue discussed in relation with the changing form of capitalism, which would be critical for the basis of our assumptions of the relationship between transformative character of space and the transformation of space. Jameson (1985) gives a short critique of the idea that the end of ideology has come; rather he indicates that it is a new phase of capitalism –late capitalism or consumer society. The structural contradictions of capitalism are still there, but their forms are changed. Furthermore, consumption and practices of daily lives are the ideology hereafter. Jameson (1985) enables us to consider the ideological character of space, spatial forms and experiences in our daily lives.

So what is ideology? In the beginning of his text, Eagleton asks: "Are ideas so important for the political power[6]?" He argues that "ideology is essentially a matter of meaning;…" (Eagleton, 1991: 37). In the Blackwell Dictionary of Sociology 'ideology' is defined as "a set of cultural beliefs, values and attitudes that underlie and thereby to some degree justify and legitimate either the status quo or movements to change it" (Johnson, A. G., 2000: 151). "Ideology is a set of values, meanings and beliefs which is to be viewed critically or negatively..." (Eagleton, 1991: 43) since it has a two folded nature with respect to its different definitions. In a Marxist view, ideology indicates the boundaries and interests of hegemonic groups; an ideology acts like a mirror to reflect the existence of oneself. "In a more general sense, the culture of every social system includes an ideology that serves to explain and justify its own existence as a way of life" (Johnson, A. G., 2000: 151). It may also provide a basis for the social movements leading to social change (Johnson, A. G.,

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[6] Each spatial and urban project is also an idea, a product of an ideology.

2000). Ideology is not something solely related with 'ideas' on an abstract level; a successful ideology should be interrelated with daily lives and meanings. Ideology is neither solely a social practice; nor a set of ideas. Eagleton criticizes Althusser as:

> Louis Althusser risks bending the stick too far in this direction, *reducing* concepts to social practices. But there is a third way between thinking ideology as disembodied ideas on the one hand, and as nothing but a matter of certain behaviour patterns on the other. This is to regard ideology as a discursive or semiotic phenomenon. And this at once emphasizes its materiality (since signs are material entities), and preserves the sense that it is essentially concerned with *meanings* (Eagleton, 1991: 194).

Thompson (1990) argues that ideology relies on symbolic forms and practices, which are crucial in the discussions of ideology, to 'mobilize meaning'. He defines ideology as the study of "the ways in which meaning serves to establish and sustain relations of domination" (Thompson, 1990: 58). Added to the ideological character of space, the relationship between architecture/planner and politics is also critical. The attempt to examine such a relationship does not mean to discover a non-existing relation between architecture and politics; rather it is an attempt to display what should not be neglected. Rules of development, zoning, local politics, mafia, all are political and related with space and architecture.

Within the intersection area of politics and architecture the first tension is between architecture –as an art of individual building– and urban planning –as an attempt to regulate living and circulation of masses through a broader scale of space. There is a second tension between 'public' and 'private' in the issue of architecture. The tension may occur between the constructed or targeted symbolic meaning of a public building or place and the symbolic meaning attributed to the same place through daily life and with respect to private lives (Jameson, 1989: 109). Through re-organization of cognitive constructions, within changing spatial–historical representations of space, daily life would also be de-regulated and re-organized also within a set of material components. Space and spatial practices seem to be determined through daily routines naturally, in fact there are hidden mechanisms and patterns of struggles under the conceptualization of space (Harvey, 1999); hence with respect to dilemmas and conflict over and at space, urban space is assumed to be a social product (Castells, 1983). Hegemony constructed over the (reproduction of) space would lead to hegemony over the daily life, which would de-regulate the 'material practices, forms and meanings' of time, space and money and would determine the references and rules of societal organization (Harvey, 1999: 255).

3.1.3. Conflictual Nature of Urban Greenery as Representational Spaces

Three spatial dimensions are subjected to struggles during transformation: historical meaning, urban function and spatial form. Urban space is shaped and reproduced through three processes each having a conflict at its core (Castells, 1983: 303-304):

- ❖ "Conflicts over the definition of urban meaning"
- ❖ "Conflicts over the adequate performance of urban functions"
  - ▪ may arise from 'different interests and values'
  - ▪ may arise from 'different approaches about how to perform a shared goal of urban function'
- ❖ "Conflicts over the adequate symbolic expression of urban meaning and (or) urban functions"

'Historical meaning' of a place can be argued to be developed through interrelations between actors and space. Using space on the one hand, actors also contribute to the reproduction process of space with their histories and experiences. The connections which form the basis of the historical meaning are shaped and settled through repeated action and experiences (Carr, et al., 1992: 133). Not only repetition but also the 'raptures' and 'breaks' constitute the coincidental conditions to create historical meaning (Wright, 2000: 48). Meanings may transform within history through the changes of urban function and spatial form of the place (Carr, et al., 1992: 234). 'Urban function', in relation with Lefebvre's concepts of spatial practice and perceived space, refers to the characteristics of space which activities and daily routines the space enables the citizens to accomplish or experience (Castells, 1983: 303). 'Spatial form' indicates the boundaries of a space, especially the boundaries of public and private characteristics (Zucker, 1966).

Architecture and also planning have a potential to resist the status quo since there is 'a possibility of irony' in architecture (Jameson, 1989). An expression or allegory may lead the audience to think exactly the opposite of the meaning; the indicator and the symbolic meaning may tend to be shaped in a context. The artistic character of architecture may enable to resist to the status quo or it may be regarded as a non-political art. Jameson gives the example of Brecht's art and argues that a non-political art, which has only the claim to be aesthetic and decorative, can be rephrased and rewritten as political with a powerful interpretation. Even a painting would wait an audience to be viewed, architecture is something not only viewed but lived and articulated through (Jameson, 1989: 110-1).

It is possible to reproduce the pattern and logic of urban space either repeating the existing system or protecting a distance to the status quo by making 'irony' as Ventury displayed its possibility in architecture. The distance, indicating artistic dimension of architectural

product, enables a discussion or resistance not to adopt existing norms, and becomes a critique to the existing structure and systems. The irony (Jameson, 1989) brings the question: how can an architectural structure construct oneself as an object criticizing? The architectural units or urban units can be reorganized within a utopia or ideological manner. An example is the reorganization of cooking and eating spaces in housing system, in a utopia novel of Edward Bellamy, *Looking Backwards*. The kitchen was destroyed and new broader spaces for eating and in relation cooking are shaped within a feminist jest, which would enable people to eat in communes. This would also create a tension between the new communal reshaping and the symbolic meanings associated with the individualistic character of such space. Therefore especially reorganization and design of public-private space may be a political, ideological issue and this tension and contradiction is related with the symbolic meanings (Jameson, 1989: 114).

In line with such an ideological content, public space is a conflictual phenomenon, since the degree of accessibility and the rights on and at public space is not homogenous with respect to different classes, different groups of age, gender, and ethnicity. It is not a simple issue to provide the accessibility of each and every group and class into public space equally. Harvey (2002), emphasizes the concept of 'openness to unassimilated otherness', which implies both protecting differences by making them visible and to some extent obtain control mechanisms and tools over them. In addition, through 'visibility' the postmodern condition brought definitely a fragmentation and a competition between the claims on the rights of citizens and on the concepts such as 'rationality' and 'justice'.

Competition of claims means conflictual struggles and appropriation of places with other dimensions of social organizations which also would mean appropriation of daily routines and mental maps of citizens. Some struggles to appropriate the space would turn to be victories some would turn to be defeats. Spatial elements can transform the mental category of spatial practices which limit the boundaries of citizens' experiences –i.e. Berlin War implied the Cold War and turned to be a symbol itself which created a basis or a moment to transform. After all, the citizens destroyed the wall; not the social structure. What made them demolish the wall? Although the space or any spatial element cannot create directly a movement or action, once the movement starts then space turns out to influence the direction and shape of the action. Castells (1977) proposes that the social structure penetrates mental boundaries (such as symbols in the form of cultural elements) and

physical boundaries (such as walls, paths, etc.) but also such mental and physical boundaries have a potential to influence the social structure.

3.2. Scales of Spatial Appropriation at Urban Green

Green areas are settled within urban spatial pattern and socio-political organization through different scales and typologies with respect to the following dimensions: the scale of authority and experience; the spatial quality and quantity; the variety of use and function and recreational potentials; and the geographical-historical formation of the park. In relation to these dimensions, the urban daily life and some of the urban recreational routines, comprising both natural and bodily experiences are reproduced in urban green areas, where recreation needs are met, reproduction of social relations (so urban daily life) is encouraged and respiration of cities is supported by designing the balance between built and natural environment. On the one hand urban greenery are a part of our public sphere, on the other hand through limiting our spatial practice, they constitute a part of our historically accumulated experience of recreation and reconstruction process of one selves.

This sub-section concentrates on translating the concept of 'perceived space' to the phenomenon of 'lived space' and presents a theoretical and conceptual framework for examining the reciprocal relationship between experience of citizens and their appropriation mechanisms at urban green areas via everyday routines. This framework questions how specific spatial practices may lead to and (re)produce differentiated patterns of possession at urban green areas. Three main questions are analysed within this sub-section: (1) How and why is "the self" attached to a specific open public space within urban daily life? (2) How is the relationship between built environment and spatial practice conceptualized through the reproduction process of urban daily life? (3) What is the correct time and place to appropriate a space?

3.2.1. Reproduction of '*Self*' via Spatial Practice

The concept of 'place attachment' constitutes one of the most essential theoretical inputs in our inquiry, however it is not enough to cover the relational socio-spatial dynamics of the conflict between perceived-conceived spaces. Moreover, as Lewicka (2011) presents, in the literature the concept of 'place attachment' is usually defined via mental-cognitive components which are not only difficult to measure but also have still insufficiencies and complexities with respect to practical and methodological issues. Place attachment provides solely a basis to understand the transformation of a 'space' to a 'place', since it

gives hints about the relationship between the attachment and possession processes towards shaping the spatial appropriation of a specific place. However, this process of being bond to a place and possession of it is not solely a one-sided, cognitive-behavioural process; rather it takes place within reciprocal relations through struggles which form and are formed by spatial praxis. As a result, rooting from place attachment, the concept of spatial appropriation will be preferred to develop within this literature review.

3.2.1.1. Spatial-Temporal Body

Lewicka (2011) presents the recent growing interest in place-people relations that almost four hundred papers (on place attachment and place identity) have been published for the last forty years. Place attachment was first defined in Altman and Low's (1992) book. Place has been still subjected to strong attachments, although the mobility has increased in decades (Lewicka, 2011). Scannel and Gifford (2010) proposes a tripartite model of place attachment, which has three dimensions as: person, place and process. On the basis of her comprehensive literature review, Lewicka (2011) presents to the attention that the dimension of 'person' has been focused on more than the other two dimensions. Moreover, the issue of place and place attachment seems to attract an academic interest in these thirty-forty years, however, as Lewicka (2011) demonstrates that, place related concepts and studies seem to be fragmented as a result of researchers from different disciplines (such as human geography, environmental psychology, sociology, urban studies, ecology, architecture, and planning) and separate concepts (such as place attachment, rootedness, place identity, sense of place) acting like pieces of a jigsaw puzzle. This scene results in theoretical and methodological deficiencies (Hernandez, Hidalgo, Salazar-Laplace, Hess, 2007, Jorgensen and Stedman, 2006, Knez, 2005, Pretty, et al., 2003, cited in Lewicka, 2011). However, finally two main axes of analytical approaches appeared in the research field of place and place attachment: phenomenological approaches of especially human geographers on the basis of qualitative analysis, and quantitative approaches of environmental psychology (Patterson and Williams, 2005, cited in Lewicka, 2011).

Place attachment is usually defined as "the emotional bonds between people and a particular place or environment" (For reviews, see Manzo, 2005; Lewicka, 2011; Patterson and Williams, 2005; cited in Seamon, 2013: 11). The definition of place attachment in literature usually has three related components: place identity, sense of place and place meaning (see also, Hidalgo and Fernandez, 2001; Manzo, 2003; Scannell and Gifford, 2010a; cited in Manzo and Wright, 2013: 2). The book of Manzo and Wright (2013)

presents a comprehensive framework on place attachment, which has three sections: theory, methods, and applications. In the introduction part of the book, the concept of place attachment is argued to have weaknesses about being measured since it is basically a mental-cognitive issue and as a result it is difficult to reveal the exact unity about place. Seamon (2013), as a phenomenologist, proposes a dilemma in discussion of place attachment: to locate the concept whether as an independent phenomenon or a dimension of a broader structure shaped in the relationship between place and experience. He prefers to examine place, place attachment and place experience 'holistically', 'dialectically', and 'generatively', which enables us to understand the relations, and mechanisms of interrelation between place and action, beyond emotional bonds.

Then what is 'place'? Lewicka (2011: 209) defines place as "a meaningful location". Seamon (2013: 11) presents a phenomenological definition of the concept of 'place' as "any environmental locus in and through which individual or group actions, experiences, intentions, and meanings are drawn together spatially" (Casey, 2009; Relph, 1976, cited in Seamon, 2013: 11). On the basis of this definition, Seamon's phenomenological approach covers experiences, situations, intentions, actions and meanings therefore enables the researcher to examine the "lived comprehensiveness of place and place experience" (Seamon, 2013: 11) within different scales such as a room, a building, a neighbourhood, a city, a landscape (Creswell, 2004; Lewicka, 2011: 211). As a second issue, Seamon (2013) argues that place makes sense of only with human beings, since place cannot be conceptualized as a physical entity without people; rather the place gains its specific meaning with its relation to people who experience there. As a result, issues of place and place attachment are better to be studied phenomenologically within a holistic (body, experience, space and social-political context), dialectical (movement-rest, inward-outward, open-close, local-global, residence-recreation) and generative (within processes and mechanisms) methodology within different spatial scales.

What is the relation between body and space then? How does a 'space' turn to be a 'place'? What is the role of body and experience within this transformation process? Ontologically people and their (physical, social and psychological) worlds are 'intertwined' (Moran, 2000, Finlay, 2011, cited in Seamon, 2013: 11) and the concept of place provides both practical and theoretical insights to analyse this interconnectedness, since:

> As a phenomenon integral to human life, place holds lifeworlds together spatially and environmentally, marking out centers of human meaning, intention, and comportment that, in turn, help make place (Relph, 1976; Casey, 2009, cited in Seamon, 2013: 12).

The concepts of 'place' and 'body' constitutes the basis of spatial practice and place experience; therefore the 'body' is critical to examine in a dialectical, geographical manner, which is a neglected field in the literature. In her study, *Bodies, Sensations, Space and Time*, Simonsen (2005) explores Lefebvre's contributions to 'a geographical theory of the body', and the boundaries of his studies to cover an examination of the body as a creative part of social activity through the concepts of 'spatial bodies' and 'temporal bodies'[7] ('creative' and 'moving body'). She puts forward the dialog between Marx and Lefebvre; although Lefebvre was a Marxist philosopher, he criticized Marx's approach to social practice, finding it insufficient to grasp the reality of human within the body since he focused on 'work' and 'working man' (homo faber). However homo ludens (playing man) and homo ridens (laughing man) was not considered; 'joy', 'desire' and 'play' were ignored in Marx's conceptualization. "Shortly, it was reduced to tool making and had no right to satisfaction of its own" (Simonsen, 2005: 3).

For Lefebvre, different from metaphorical approaches to space, body and space are in an inevitable relation on the basis of "the body's constitution of a sensory-sensual space" (Simonsen, 2005: 1). Some other writers, such as Gregory (1994), Shields (1999), Merryfield (2000) and Elden (2004) also are mentioned to contribute to the studies on space-body relations. Lefebvre wrote on body-space relations on the conceptual, historical and political dimensions (Simonsen, 2005). The essence of Lefebvre's contribution here is that, space was a separate entity from body as 'the space of the body'; however Lefebvre puts forward the concept of 'the body in space', relating the history of space with the history of the body. This relational character was also continued in Gregory's (1994) studies later.

Lefebvre emphasizes that the body exists and is reproduced through social practice and becomes a part of it, rather than being an abstract historical entity; in fact the body is the essence and critical scale of the social practice in his writings (Simonsen, 2005). "…Each living body both is space and has its space; it produces itself in space at the same time it produces that space (Simonsen, 2005: 4)". Body or 'human being' both seizes the space and also is conquered by the space; which means locating the body within space and vice-versa. Although Simonsen's emphasis on body is exaggerated, this argument enables us to consider 'the self' within Lefebvre's conceptualization of daily life and rhythm analysis.

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[7] Time and space are two phenomena which are assumed to be at the same ontological level for Lefebvre; which is also emphasized in Simonsen's article.

Body can be regarded as a part of 'lived experience'; body both senses (smell, taste, touch, hearing) which give rise to perceiving the surroundings and also experiences, have practice and change space and so lives (Simonsen, 2005: 4). The body both perceives the surrounding through physical dimensions and symbolic mental dimensions, and also changes, experiences through social practices.

> A vivid and integrated physical setting, capable of producing a sharp image, plays a social role as well. It can furnish the raw material for the symbols and collective memories of group communication. A striking landscape is the skeleton upon which many primitive races erect their socially important myths. Common memories of the 'home town' were often the first and easiest point of contact between lonely soldiers during the war (Lynch, 1990: 4).

This quotation of Lynch indicates the process of connecting perception and experience to space. On the one hand, it implies the self-construction process and on the other hand it points out the self's developing social relations, constructing public identity and reproducing the space through spatial practices. In other words, "self" constructs oneself and interacts with the other via one's body and bodily-spatial experience and forms one's public identity by way of the publicity pattern and physical environment. Seamon (2013: 12-3) calls this interaction as 'place ballet', which is a 'large-scale environmental ensemble' in which individuals come together while they are acting in their bodily routines. During this interaction, individuals exchange meaning, and forms and rhythms of attachment such as a frequently used student dormitory lounge, a lively urban plaza or square or a street, or a lively neighbourhood (Fullilove, 2004, Oldenburg, 1999, Seamon, 1979, 2012a, cited in Seamon, 2013). Everyday habitual routines via place ballet lead to long term contact and involvement with the identity of place therefore place ballet turns to support the feelings of attachment to a place in the long run (Fullilove, 2004, Seamon, 1979, cited in Seamon, 2013). Therefore, daily routines within place ballet are connected to both the feelings and activities of place attachment and spatial appropriation. But what about the feeling of security in relation with attaching to or possessing a space?

> A good environmental image gives its possessor an important sense of emotional security. He can establish an harmonious relationship between himself and the outside world. This is the observe of the fear that comes with disorientation; it means that the sweet sense of home is strongest when home is not only familiar but distinctive as well (Lynch, 1990: 4-5).

This quotation points out the conflict between possession and ownership, discussed in this dissertation. The home brings the feelings of belonging and thrust, safety; moreover these feelings lead to attachment to a specific place. The possession and appropriation of a place grounds on the motivation to claim and preserve the feeling of thrust, and safety on the contrary of the fear to get lost. The lack of publicness of some specific public spaces can

be discussed with reference to the lack of such a ground; since they may be insufficient to sustain such a socio-spatial thrust to its inhabitants, which also indicates a dimension of the gap between conceived and perceived space. This feeling of 'home' will enlarge the density and depth of the experience it offers, beyond making the space more legible and remediating the feeling of getting lost, this feeling of belongingness would stimulate the meaning and rhythm of socio-spatial practices. Certainly the urban environments and images are quite complex, and the Lynch (1990 [2010]) argues that the physically prominent spaces would track deeper traces and meaning.

Lefebvre concentrated on the spatiality and temporality of the body; his writings can be used to understand the relationship between the bodily practices and socially constructed modes of space with also self-constitution processes (Simonsen, 2005: 3). Therefore, Lefebvre presents us conceptual tools to examine and understand the self-construction and social relations reproduction through socio-spatial practices with the help of the bodily practices. Lefebvre criticizes psychoanalysis for the neglect of spatial context of the self and mirror effect, and finds this approach as restricted within mental typologies. He, as an unfinished project, according to Simonsen (2005), puts forward and considers everyday emphasis and rhythm analysis as an alternative to psychoanalysis.

> Lefebvre discusses how the relationship between body and space are involved in the constitution of the self. In this discussion, he draws on ideas of the mirror and mirror effect. … The mirror extends a repetition immanent to the body in the space; in another sense it presents the EGO with its own material presence, with the doubleness of its absence from and at the same its inherence in this 'other space' (Lefebvre, 1991: 184; cited in Simonsen, 2005: 5).

What can be the relationship between production of social space and the constitution of the self, although they seem conflictual? Lefebvre is interested in the repetition and difference, and their social relationship to cover this issue (Simonsen, 2005: 5). This is astonishing since he traces, which is also my aim through this dissertation, 'a private construction process through a public, social reproduction process' as a dialectical relation. Therefore this dialectical relation consists of both material and ideal dimensions, perceptions through physical phenomenon and social dimensions through (social) practice; and reproduced through the encounters of the self to 'the other'. This also indicates a double construction process, one's constitution of oneself / self-identity and his/her public identity in a dialectical relation. "Social space itself becomes, a 'mirror', in a collective and historical sense" (Simonsen, 2005: 5-6).

Simonsen (2005) argues that Lefebvre's approach relating social practice and human body, makes his theory a spatialized version of Bourdieu's theory, since he argues that gestural systems indicate a sphere of codes, and rhythms over the daily lives, routines; and these gests are embodied in a given, ideological and historical system of codes of a specific society. So we can read the rhythms and codes of this very specific society (Simonsen, 2005: 6). Considering the experience of urban parks and recreation, it is related with both body and social practice. On the basis of this spatialized theory of Lefebvre, we can easily say that, an approach and accumulation of recreational behaviours and perceptions would be different than the other countries and societies. Even in Ankara, and in different neighbourhoods, differentiated modes of activities and spatial practices can be observed, which are shaped on the basis of different modes of constitution processes of self and public identities through spatial practices in cities[8].

> The articulation between bodily practices and social space may be understood through the way in which the body is involved in the constitution of the dimensions of social space (Simonsen, 2005: 6).

We can enlarge the discussion towards the conceptual triad of Lefebvre and his emphasis on urban everyday life to understand how the body plays a role in the construction process of different dimensions of social space which has three facets (Lefebvre, 1991): (1) Spatial practice – perceived space, (2) Representations of space – conceived space, (3) Spaces of representation – lived space. The concept of 'perceived space' can be reinterpreted as a bridge between spatial practice and built environment. Lefebvre (1991) relates body with social space on the basis of the 'practice', in relation with 'everyday activities' and 'social practice'. A dialectical relation within triads indicates daily life, practices, and human nature. Lefebvre (1991) proposes a need of spatial theory including physical, mental and societal spheres, which are three main facets of space (Zhang, 2006). He argues that space is a social product of dialectical relations among processes of perception (attributing a meaning[9]), conception (design and creation), and experience (lived). The physical and societal areas and urban spaces, where we live, are produced through material processes in addition to 'meaning attribution processes', within which perception, conception and

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[8] This is similar to Bourdieu's conceptualization of habitus; rhythm analysis and the spatial – temporal body (in everyday routines and activities) was used in Lefebvre's conceptualization to grasp the motivations and mechanisms influencing the level of 'self' in this research.

[9] Doğan (2007b) translates the perception/perceived space to Turkish as attributing a meaning to the space by the users, inhabitants of the place –*anlamlandırılan mekan*, which is an elegant translation to grasp the idea of perceived space within Lefebvre's spatial triads.

experience intermingle to each other. On the one hand, physical lived space is perceived and objected to attribution of meanings through routines and rhythms via urban daily life and reality (such as routes and webs among different spatial categories of working space, private sphere and recreational activities). On the other hand, the same perceived and lived space are designed, created and attempted to be formed by a specific coding with respect to some kind of abstract imaginations of social-political actors. Therefore, while analysing a concrete space, these three dimensions should be considered as Lefebvre developed a spatial triad while examining how the capitalist city has been formed and perceived, conceived and lived (Lefebvre, 1991: 38-9, 50, cited in Doğan, 2007b: 99).

Since the reproduction of societal relations is a prerequisite in 'spatial practice' (Lefebvre, 1991, cited in Doğan, 2007b), which is related to 'perceived space', it refers to daily life within its routines and rhythms in urban spatial pattern such as walking, creating or joining festivals, sleeping, doing picnics (Wright, 2000: 47). Spatial practice also indicates 'social (re)production' of particular locations and spatial forms of a specific social formation. Built environment, urban morphology and creation of zones for specific purposes constitute this social formation. "Through everyday practices, space is dialectically created as a human and social space" (Simonsen, 2005: 6). This aspect serves for the continuity and cohesion of the social formation and relations. "Lefebvre characterizes this space as a perceived space, which embodies the interrelations between institutional practices and daily experiences and routines" (Simonsen, 2005: 6). Spatial practice provides continuity and specialization in terms of societal formations and therefore guarantee people's performances and survival through urban life as social actors. Lefebvre argues that spatial practice is a practical issue since it includes processes which operationalize people's knowledge with respect to material self-reproduction processes and in addition spatial practice embodies conflicts of urban everyday life (Doğan, 2007b).

'Representations of space' (Lefebvre, 1991), on the other hand, indicates a sphere under the control and hegemony of the state, according to Lefebvre (1991; 1970), it is the space 'designed' (Doğan, 2007b: 99). This concept implies a scene of a moment of a specific order which is attributed to a specific space by socio-political actors such as the scientists, technocrats, planners, and community engineers. These social-political designers hold the knowledge and power to (re)create the space and they benefit from systems of verbal and graphic symbols while creating their abstract spatial conceptions and fantasies (Lefebvre, 1991: 38-9; cited in Doğan, 2007b). Representations of space are always relative and

flexible since they are mixed products of approaches and ideologies of governments. 'Spaces of representations', the third facet of Lefebvre's spatial triad, indicate the forms of manifestation of hegemonic or conflicting attitudes and interests which exist in a specific space in a specific time period (in other words of 'lived space'). The boundaries of lived space are drawn through activities, images, and memories; and the inhabitants turn to be both the readers of and writers of or players on this specific space (Lefebvre, 1991, cited in Doğan, 2007b). Lived space is the space of inhabitants, as Lefebvre (1991) argues. Spaces of representation (or lived space) act as the active centre of urban daily life and both compromise the space of passion, action and lived situations and indicate the specific time of this space (Doğan, 2007b). Shields (1999), proposes spaces of representations as 'the discourse of space' and argues that lived space is rooted from both the historical accumulations and utopian components. Dialectical relations among representations of space (conceived space), spaces of representation (lived space) and spatial practice (perceived space) reproduce urban space both top-down and bottom-up (Shields, 1999).

How can an inhabitant perceive and read the city and urban space? According to Lynch (1990), the legibility of a city or a section of urban space is possible via a pattern, which is composed of definable symbols, which makes the spatial composition visually comprehended. Well then, does this matter or not? At the point of design of green spaces, we mentioned mainly two approaches. One of the approaches advocate for the green systems surrounding the urban spatial pattern, which probably assumes that the inhabitants would perceive and grasp the holistic system and pattern of the green areas. The second approach is on more incremental / segmental methods; since they argue that the inhabitants cannot recognize the spatial systems indeed. The issue how the citizens perceive and recognize the spatial patterns is a critical hypothesis of this research to note down at this point: how do the inhabitants, citizens read the city and urban green areas, neighbourhood parks? Do the roots of this activity of reading correspond to the daily experience and the concept of perceived space, or rather to the conceived space, as Lynch (1990) proposes? While framing the translation from conceived to perceived, the concepts which Lynch used in his book can be benefited from: symbols, pattern (*doku*), boundaries, the allocation of paths and regions. These concepts also correspond to the built environment of everyday life within spatial practice, which forms the limits and boundaries of the public's spatial perception and practice. Lynch (1990) made a research which is based on the perceptions of the users and inhabitants.

To configure and define the surrounding by using the obtained senses (such as voice, smell, colour, sparkle, etc.) from external environment is a significant ability for the living organisms to survive. This fact has a two-dimensional assumption. The first dimension of the assumption is that the living environment is organised and experienced in a harmony and order, which indicates the natural structure of the environment. The second dimension is composed of the creation process of the environmental image, which is generalised in the mind of the self about the external world. During the formation of this image, both the instant senses and the past experiences take place. Environmental image is a mental/cognitive formation which is constructed through the self's interpretation of the information gathered and which is used to orient the following actions. At this point, being terrified of getting lost indicates a primeval vital skill of human beings which is both emotionally and practically critical in survival (Lynch, 1990; 2010: 4).

The image is created as explained below:

> Environmental images are the results of a two-way process between the observer and his environment. The environment suggests distinctions and relations, and the observer –with great adaptability and in the light of his own purposes– selects, organizes, and endows with meaning what he sees. The image so developed now limits and emphasizes what is seen, while the image itself being tested against the filtered perceptual input in a consistent interacting process. Thus the image of a given reality may vary significantly between different observers (Lynch, 1990: 6).

Then how is the urban image created? The urban image is shaped through common mental urban images and mental maps. Each and every individual creates and carries his/her own image, however the members of the same group share a mutual image which is compromised. Planners, who aim to shape physical environments which are used and perceived by many different persons, are in fact interested in such collective images which imply the conciliation of the inhabitants (Lynch, 1990). As a result a mental and spatial map is neither solely a psychological nor a physical map or outcome. Rather, it is a collective-social map in relation to contextual inputs, mechanisms… a set or series of contextual images. Therefore investigating the mental maps of a group of inhabitants or of 'the public' would be meaningful while ignoring some individualistic differences as Lynch (1990) does in this study too. In his book *Urban Image*, Lynch (1990) proposes that these common mental urban images would be revealed within an interaction among physical reality, common culture and a basic nature of psychology. As a part of this dissertation, it is aimed to reveal and map the cultural-mental maps of a selected neighbourhood and its inhabitants, in relation with the selected neighbourhood parks. In fact, the question how

these images have been created and reproduced is also an interesting issue. The technical and political connections and contexts would be interesting to be studied.

Lynch (1990) argues that, uncertainties, labyrinths, and surprises also have a value; however a chaos which is not connected to a whole does not delight the perceivers. While moving to perceived from conceived, these surprises and questions should be formulated so that perceived space would be well analysed and articulated. To what kind of uncertainties do people endure to what extent? And what kind of systems, dynamics and the sense of wholeness do they value? Three dimensions of 'identity', 'structure' and 'meaning' (in Lynch's (1990) words), and 'spatial form', 'urban function' and 'historical meaning' (in Castells' (1983) words) are critical to translate to perceived space. Since we call it daily life and rhythms then is it possible to express this translation as lived space? Or in other words how can we translate this side of perceived space to lived space?

3.2.1.2.   Lived Dialectics within Spatial Scales

Place and place experience is neither a static nor a one-way relational issue. Place experience indicates lived dialectics with reference to spatial practices at different physical scales and a generative set of dynamic processes related with the creation, meaning attribution and ambiance of the place. The lived dialectics of spatial practice flourishes within the comprehensiveness of place and place experience since human beings are always interrelated with their environments (Seamon, 2013). Place experience usually compromise of lived opposites such as inside – outside (Harries, 1997, Relph, 1970, cited in Seamon, 2013); dwelling – journey (Bollnow, 2011, cited in Seamon, 2013); movement and rest; and inwardness and outwardness. Seamon examines the last two examples in his text.

> Drawing on Merleau-Ponty's work, one can argue that, at their most basic lived level, movement and rest are founded in pre-reflective awareness and actions of body subject: Everyday movement patterns and places of rest are part of a habitual time-space lattice composed in part of bodily routines often intermingling in places of rest and paths of movement (Merleau-Ponty, 1962; Seamon, 1979: 13).

These places of rest and paths of movements also clue in the collective cultural-mental maps of the inhabitants, which both bridge to perceived and conceived space and appear via lived space. The body-subject or spatial-temporal body, moves and rests within "regular regimen of actions, experiences, situations, and occasions all grounded in particular places and the paths of movement among those places" (Casey, 2009, Rowles, 2000, Moores, 2012, cited in Seamon, 2013: 13). Here the habitual regularities and routines attached to space and place experience are interrelated with both design, spatial practice and urban

everyday life; these occur in a holistic and dialectic nature. Our routes and stops indicate emotional bonds and these movement and rest regularities are shaped via routines, habits and everydayness, all of which are hardly noticed and recognized (Seamon, 2013). Therefore:

> Many studies of place attachment ask respondents to describe or evaluate their environmental feelings explicitly through words, drawings, or measuring instruments (Lewicka, 2011). If much of the emotional fabric soldered to place is pre-reflective and thus typically beneath the level of conscious awareness, then developing a language and methodology for self-conscious elicitation is a formidable task" (Seamon, 2013: 14).

One of the methods used within place attachment studies is using the narratives of individuals and groups (Million, 1992, cited in Seamon, 2013). "Narrative" (novel approaches), constituted a methodology (Manzo and Wright, 2013: 4). Another significant concept within the methodology related to place attachment is 'walking voices' added to photographic techniques which assist the researcher to spatialize one's research about place attachment and evokes interviewees' visual imagination and memory in relation with movement and rest dialectic (Stedman, et al, 2013, Williams, 2013).

Another dimension of lived dialectic of place experience is the opposition between inwardness and outwardness. Home, for e.g., as a place, on the one hand is unto and within itself and on the other hand can be defined only in relation with the outer world which surrounds that home. Within any place, the entrance or a niche of the outer world exists (Blunt and Dowling, 2005, Donohoe, 2011, cited in Seamon, 2013).

> The inward aspect of any place relates to its being apart from the rest of the world, while its more outward, externally oriented aspects relate to the larger world of which it is a part. These two significances of place are often different and may even contradict each other, but both are integral aspects of most place experience (Seamon, 2013: 15).

These two opposite positions within place experience is also examined by Baydar Nalbantoğlu (1999) and Cengizkan (2000). Baydar Nalbantoğlu (1999) examines the boundaries of modern house in Turkish republic in relation with the position of women in houses. She also relates her determinations with her ideas on the permeability between public and private spheres at home and the city. Cengizkan (2000), on the other hand discusses the public-private character of the bathroom and its development in Turkish architecture history with both practical and discursive dimensions. These texts and researches are critical to grasp the dialectic of inwardness and outwardness in place experience, in Turkish cases. Some other examples of dialectical positions are examined in Lewicka (2011) such as gated vs. open, diverse vs. homogenous, local vs. global (place scales: home, cities, neighbourhoods, regions, country), residence vs. recreational places,

physical vs. social dimensions of place attachment, locals vs. newcomers, predictors vs. consequences of place attachment. A comprehensive comprehension of place, place attachment and spatial practice can be only provided by a methodology of dialectical relations and processes.

Place attachment is not a static phenomenon (Lewicka, 2011). People and their relation with their environments are not fixed, they are in a flux and therefore are generative. Hidden mechanisms of lifeworlds (or living environments) exist to generate the dynamism of place experience and attachment (Seamon, 2013). Understanding these dynamics, Seamon (2013) describes six processes: (1) place interaction, (2) place identity, (3) place release, (4) place realization, (5) place creation, and (6) place intensification, all of which indicate the generative side of place and place experience. These processes are interconnected and may act as place-sustaining or place-undermining.

Place interaction indicates the daily encounters and interaction:

> Place interaction refers to the typical gonigs-on in a place. It can be related to 'a day in the life of place' and involves the constellation of more or less regular actions, behaviours, situations, and events that unfold in the typical days, weeks, and seasons of place (Seamon, 2013: 16).

The place interaction is the main generator of reproducing and carrying urban daily life since the place obtains 'an environmental presence' through this process (Seamon, 2013: 16). Inhabitants and everyday users both practice through space and sense the place presence as an environmental entity. They reproduce both the place (and also space) and urban everyday life by their daily spatial practice within their interaction with the place. Seamon (2013) refers to Jacobs (1961) to explain the concept of place ballet as a set of individual actions and social interactions, exchanges spatially within both the bodily co-existence and social encounters which are located and shaped in place.

> Place interaction as process undermines place when certain actions, situations, events disrupt the co-presence of users and generate distress, fragmentation, and decline. Typical interactions become fewer or destructive in some way –for example, a busy stretch of sidewalk and street becomes empty of users; regular interpersonal exchanges in place become fewer and less friendly; the convenience of daily place interactions devolves into a situation of inefficiency, nuisance, worry, conflict, or fear (Fullilove, 2004; Klinenberg, 2002; Simms, 2008; cited in Seamon, 2013: 16).

The second category of place processes – place identity– indicates that the place turns to be a critical part of the life of individuals both personally and communal. The place obtains a significance and meaning in the reconstruction process of public-private identity of the inhabitants, then it draws an image in the perception and practice of the people. Place

identity and place interaction are related reciprocally with each other as participants penetrate into the space and engage with the place via place interaction, and after that process they sense the role of the place within their personal and social identity and life, which indicates the place identity (Seamon, 2013). Firstly a person interacts with the place and then he/she relates the character and identity of the place with his/her identity and life. Bonds are constructed among identities via these two processes. When people are extracted from the places where they feel as a part of their lives, then place identity undermines the place. This results in a fear and feeling of threaten (Klinenberg, 2002; Simms, 2008; cited in Seamon, 2013). Then who is excluded and who is included in a green area or open public space is also critical in studies of place, place attachment, and spatial appropriation.

The third process is place release, which indicates 'the unexpected encounters' such as suddenly seeing and chatting an old friend in the street without planning, or listening and enjoying a street short concert while passing through that site, or getting married with a person whom you met in the market. 'Serendipity', surprises and unexpected spatial practices enable people to be 'released' into themselves (Seamon, 2013) which leads to more attachment to the place. This process also provides people to interact with one selves deeply and express themselves naturally as spatial-temporal bodies.

In the fourth process –place realization– place is shifted to the focus rather than person and experience. This process indicates the physical realization and constitution of the place as a landscape or as a house. The human spatial activities and their meanings attributed to the place creates the place ambiance and character. When we talk about Istanbul-ness or London-ness, this process implies a unique phenomenal presence shaped through some physical images and sets of activities. When an accident or an event (such as a war) happens to destroy this public image or existence then both the place interaction and identity are influenced negatively from this destruction process (Seamon, 2013).

The first four processes are about what the places are and how they work. But the fifth and sixth processes, place creation and intensification, is about how the intended human activities enhance or depress specific places. During the process of place creation, human beings (such as a group of designers, community leaders, planners, or politicians) actively engage in making space. This indicates the fields of policy, planning, design and also participation. Place creation is critical for the enhancement or undermining previous four place processes.

Place creation as process undermines place when it leads to thinking, envisioning, and making that misunderstand or ignore the real needs of place. The result is arbitrary or thoughtless policies, designs, actions that weaken place by misinterpreting what it is and thereby negating its core features and situations. Examples include inserting constructions and functions inappropriate for the place or introducing environmental disruptions such that people who are a part of the place face difficulties or dissatisfaction in remaining associated with it (Alexander, 2012; Jacobs, 1961; Seamon, 2012a; cited in Seamon, 2013: 18).

The spatial intervention in some cases may reduce the quality and ambiance of the place, which destroys the processes of the place attachment. The last process, place intensification, represents an independent power to revive a place. Well considered policy, or delicate design or fabrication are examples of this independent power. Spatial changes in the place reshape spatial practice and experiences. In the previous process, place creation, the focus was the active role of people; however within this process the place gains an importance and takes an active role to penetrate the activities and experienced of human beings. Once the place is created, then in return it influences the human activities and daily lives.

Place intensification shades light on how the physical and designed environments, though they may be only passive material 'stuff,' can be an active contributor to enhancing place quality and character (Gieryn, 2002; cited in Seamon, 2013: 18).

These six processes are equally significant, however in specific cases the generative role of one process may influence place and place attachment in different degrees with respect to density, quality or duration. Sometimes one of the processes may reactivate other(s) as Jacobs expresses in a 'organized complexity'. The components, processes and relations are in a constant flux (Seamon, 2013).

In regard to place attachment, all six processes contribute to the modes and intensity of emotional bonds with place. Place interaction and place identity relate to place attachment in that one becomes affectively involved with the regularity and familiarity of actions and encounters that contribute to who one is and what his or her life routinely is in relationship with place. Place release and place realization relate to place attachment in that place uniqueness is fuelled by place serendipity and environmental character that, reciprocally, fuel place loyalty and love of place. In turn, place creation relates to place attachment in that planning and design most appropriate for a place is most probable if generated by individuals who care for the place they hope to make better. Similarly, place intensification relates to place attachment in that users are more likely to feel fondness for a place incorporating spatial, material, and fabricated elements and qualities that sustain and enhance everyday user needs as well as the ambiance and character of the place (Seamon, 2013: 19).

After all these discussions, what is the role and essence of the concept of place attachment in relation to applications and practical issues about planning and policy? Manzo and Wright (2013) proposes as "revealing how an understanding of people's attachment to place can influence research, policy and design practice" (Manzo and Wright, 2013: 5). To what places are people attached? Seamon (2013) answers this question as we attach to places where we both meet our everyday needs practically and which have an authentic

character or ambiance which affects our attention and favour. The six processes are not enough to grasp the place experience. Urban daily life and the scales for spatial appropriation constitute also a critical basis for analysis.

3.2.2.   Construction of Living Environment through Urban Daily Life

The second question related to spatial appropriation concentrates on the relationship among built environment, spatial practice and urban daily life, and has two sub-questions: (a) what does the reproduction of urban daily life refer to? What is the nature of the phenomenon? (This question frames the ontology and epistemology of everyday life in social sciences); (b) how can the process of construction (and reproduction) of one's urban living environment be conceptualized? What are the differentiated scales of this process? What is the specific place of 'neighbourhood' in relation with place attachment in a city? First of all, what do we mean by 'urban daily life'? How is the spatial practice interrelated with urban daily life? How can the rhythm be used as an indicator of the reproduction process of urban everyday life? These are some of the questions which occur while questioning the relations among daily life, reproduction of urban space and living environments via spatial practice within differentiated rhythms and forms.

The spatial practice in urban green areas are reproduced via repeated contacts and acts which are experienced through daily life within regular or irregular intervals. These green areas may vary in differentiated scales and locations. Then what does urban daily life refer to? This concept refers to an abstract set or pattern of temporal-spatial flows and stops, in other words a pattern of both stations and linear or circular routes within a temporal sequence and order of repetitions. This definition makes me re-consider the possibility of mapping the rhythms and forms of spatial practice in urban neighbourhood parks, which indicates the concept of spatial topology as a methodological input. The spatial practice at a specific park can be bond to both space and time accurately through reading deliberately the rhythm and form of the activities and representing the nature and public character of the place to the framed map. While determining the rhythms of the spatial practices and mapping them, the sub-spaces should be marked with reference to which one is appropriated by whom in relation with both temporal and spatial references. In other words, the background mechanisms of ownership-possession should be read and grasped beyond the observed rhythms and forms of activities, and situations.

Here we talk about a reciprocal relation. The relations and mechanisms of possession and appropriation are placed and then rooted at specific sub-spaces through repeated

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perceptions and experiences which are formed within a socio-spatial pattern and temporal density (frequency) within urban daily life. There are some conditions leading specific forms of spatial appropriation being nested in these very specific places, some of which come from the contextual frameworks and some of which occur from the grassroots shaped via social and psychological factors at neighbourhood scale or level of the 'self'. While these pattern is shaped and reproduced, this process and mechanisms also reproduce the urban daily life additionally. As an example, neighbourhood parks not only reproduce the social relations and boundaries of recreational and other spatial practices; but also reshape and reframe the boundaries of reproducing the self and one's public-private identity.

Let's assume that an ordinary person, a stranger, enters in a specific city or in a particular place in a city – e.g. a square, a park or a specific building, or (passing through) a particular street; moreover we can assume that he/she did not investigate the place within an analytical perspective before. As a stranger (either a researcher who aims to observe and analyse the spatial organization of the city, or a sociologist trying to grasp the relation between space, time and society, or a tourist living in another part of the world, etc.), what will primarily attract the attention of this person? Most probably the first thing which would catch his/her eyes would be 'the spatial forms' of the place; the person would firstly give meaning to this encounter and spatial experience through his/her quick analysis of the size, boundaries of space, its relations with the adjacent spaces (and functions), the signs which imply the features of the practice that the place invites, the specific points (and symbols) of transition, entrance and exits. The person who enters a place at first time would probably perceive the physical features of the place through both his/her preliminary knowledge on the space and his/her individualistic history, accumulation of spatial experiences, potential to perceive the spatial features. This constitutes the first layer of both the experience and perception at this place and the (re)production of it within a spatial configuration.

However, urban space is not composed of solely physical components; a second layer, which can be regarded as a social dimension of the place, becomes a part of the spatial configuration and the attempt to construe the perception and experience of this configuration. At this point, the basic assumption occurs to be Lefebvre's argument (1991) that space is a social product. In other words, when a citizen enters in a place or encounters with a place within its very specific spatial practice, he/she does not only sense the physical signs but also filters social and individualistic inputs at the place. As the time passes, this person becomes a part of this place in relation with the degree and form of interaction and

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depth of experience. On the one hand the place limits the behaviours of the person and on the other hand the person to some extent turns to be a component influencing the transformation of the space. What happens as the experience on and at the place develops and deepens, and the person adopts to the routines of this spatial unit is that he/she begins to possess this place to a certain extent. How is this possible? How does this person turn to be both the transformative of the place and an object transformed by the same space? The reproduction of urban daily life seems to be the key concept at this point, which Lefebvre (2007a, 2007b) emphasizes on his later works.

Lefebvre (2007b: 24) asks a question: 'Is daily life a first sphere of meanings, is it a ground where creative practice is held to enable new creations?' This ground can be summarised by neither subjectivity determinations of the philosophers nor objective definition of the classified objects through categories like clothing, food, furniture, etc. Rather urban daily life is beyond of and different from this. At the same time it is field / sphere / space and an intermediate station / a phase. It is a moment formed of moments. It is a dialectical interaction which is inevitable to begin at for the aim of realizing what possible is (Lefebvre, 2007b). This definition and explanation implies that Lefebvre evaluates the daily life beyond both the philosophical and the practical. To place the concept of everyday in social sciences, Lefebvre (2007b) compares with philosophical life and daily life. Philosophy looks for 'precision' however in everyday it is impossible to find such a thing. Everyday life is full of dangers, nevertheless philosophy only consists of spiritual or moral dangers. He gives the example of one of the very first professional philosophers, who did not write; and he mentions Socrates as how he started philosophical discussions and dialogues with only daily things such as shoes with shoe makers. As a last and critical point, the examination of creative activity (in other words 'production') leads us to investigate the conditions of the reproduction, which means the self-reproduction processes of the productive activities which create objects and works (Lefebvre, 2007b: 28-9).

Daily life is composed of loops, entering in greater loops. Lefebvre argues that, there is no linearity in movement of everyday, rather it is cyclical[10] (Lefebvre, 2007b: 14). Within its all simplicity daily life is composed of repetitions; and through the examination of everyday life these repetitions are possible to be discovered which indicates rhythms and routines. What can be the relation between repetitions and daily life? Is daily life a space where repetitions come together or is it a differentiated facet of repetitions (Lefebvre, 2007b: 29-

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[10] The cyclical nature of everyday life enables examining and studying rhythms.

30)? Lefebvre questions the potential of the concept of daily life to construct a dialogue between the philosophical line of Heraclitus-Hegel and Marx with Nietzsche. His emphasis and question makes us recognize the critical potential of everyday to grasp the background of both production and reproduction at urban space although we do not perceive 'urban daily life' as an object of study, a research area since it consists of repetitions and routines. He usually tries to relate daily life with space (mostly referring to a meaning of sphere, ground, field, etc.), which is a noteworthy attempt though its deficiencies. So in the beginning of his analysis of daily life (Lefebvre, 2007b: 10), he searches the conditions under which 'daily life' can be a scientific object.

Lefebvre (2007b) displays the exclusion of the phenomenon of daily life from the fields of social sciences, philosophy and urban studies, which he argues as a neglect. Instead, writers and artists, like James Joyce in his famous book Ulysses, benefit from and develop concept of everyday life in their works. Lefebvre presents the 16th June told deeply in this book as 'the symbol of universal everyday life' with respect to the expressions of Herman Broch. He proposes that the sudden entrance of everyday life in the field of literature means the penetration of the phenomenon of daily life into the fields of thought and consciousness through language and writing (Lefebvre, 2007b: 10). Lefebvre proposes the importance of a wide research on the daily phenomena which are underestimated by the philosophy and excluded by the social sciences (Lefebvre, 2007b: 37).

The first step to make such an analysis to construe these phenomena which seem not to be systematically ordered, is the intent to regroup these phenomenon with respect to concepts and a suitable theory rather than an arbitrary form (Lefebvre, 2007b: 38). It would be impossible for us to analyse what everyday is, unless we succeed to go out of daily life, which indicates a 'critical distance' he argues in his analysis on both everyday and rhythm analysis (Lefebvre 2007a, 2007b: 38). For such a method, a critical attitude is needed. It is impossible to grasp daily life while living in it through acceptance, without retreating. The critical analysis of daily life would reveal the ideologies. Moreover, the knowledge on everyday consists of an ideological critique and an ongoing self-criticism / auto critique. Lefebvre also emphasizes the unity in this analysis. He proposes that each and every research is connected to a general conceptualization of society, human and the world eventually / sooner or later. Therefore, the critique of everyday necessitates conceptions and evaluations at the scale of social whole (Lefebvre, 2007b: 39). He argues that it is necessary to determine the features which generate the everydayness of the society we live

in, while defining daily life (Lefebvre, 2007b: 40). We can note at this point some questions on this method to apply our Turkish case such as: what are the components producing everydayness of Turkish society?; which one of them are related with public spaces and especially urban neighbourhood parks?; what kind of bits and pieces influence the reproduction of urban daily life and reconstruction of public-private identities of the inhabitants experiencing the selected neighbourhood parks?

The last point of focus is, as an analyst what our reaction will be to the daily life. Will we possess and reproduce it, or struggle with it (Lefebvre, 2007b: 26)? While reading Lefebvre's book on everydayness and modernity, a question such as what the sites of resistance can be. Summarising, on the surface seemingly the meaningless phenomena can be analysed for possible relations and grasping an essence among them they can be redefined through organizing these issues; which will enable to define also the changes and perspectives of the society. Lefebvre proposes everydayness as not only a concept, but also a clue to trace and understand the society (Lefebvre, 2007b: 40). So how can this be done? In his book on modern life and modernism, at the beginning, Lefebvre focuses on the novel of Ulysses. He (2007b: 13) argues that the urban space has been predisposed to its inhabitants, in other words, Dubliners form their spaces and also be shaped by their spaces. The unstable/indecisive person who seems to travel idle within the city, in fact sums up the untidy pieces and scenes of this reciprocally adaptation. If the methods are known, there is a readable social text which is reflected over the urban space. What is reflected to the scene (or the city)? Lefebvre answers as the regulation and precise organization of daily life, its ramification into sections like work, private life, free time, and control over the use the time of the citizens. He mentions the urban framework and the daily life organized in the boundaries of the city, as the most essential result of industrialization in his society which have been developed dominantly under the capitalist mode of production and property relations (Lefebvre, 2007b).

With their remarkable physical features urban spaces create an observable pattern which can be recognized by both citizens' and designers' viewpoints on the surface of the city, especially if they are composed via cognitive construction. However, this composed pattern[11] does not always coincide with the experience-based patterns of the inhabitants

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[11] Articulated through the codes on maps, oriented through the cognitive formations of decision makers, local authorities, designers, central governments which reveal in the form of spatial policies, projects and designed maps.

during the daily lives. What does this mean? Although the traces of the proposed spatial configuration of the planners or decision makers can be traced to a certain extent, other layers of patterns and configurations can also be recognized in urban daily life and socio-spatial organization. What kind of a gap is this? What does it mean? What's expression is it? What can we do with this gap? The main question of this thesis lays on the intersection of such questions, which leads to other more articulated questions such as:

- Who owns the place? Who owns the space?
- Why are they 'public'? Why are they labelled as 'public'?
- Who possesses these places? Who appropriates them?
- To where they belong to? What are the boundaries of these places?
- By whom and with which budget they are maintained, refit?

Open public spaces are the places ('scenes') where urban daily life flows and the city 'pulsates'. At the background of this observed phenomenon spatial organization (composed of spatial structures and processes) and social organization (composed of social structures and processes) are possible to be read. These places embody a set of common deep connotations and promise various experiences on the one hand, on the other hand they are the places which enable different representations of daily life and public sphere. Therefore, within the frame of dialectical relations, these open public spaces give way to construction process of self's public and private identity. Furthermore, formation (reproduction) of urban spaces, spatial representations at the city, and distribution of the 'social' over the urban space reveals the relationship between space and the 'social' / 'political' (Aytaç, 2007: 199). A question appears at this point: whether the social can be re-read through the space, if so how? Can we decode the reproduction of daily life through analysing urban space[12]? Gandelsonas (1998) prompts the theoretical basis for such reading and re-writing.

Lefebvre attributes a specific meaning and essence to daily life arguing while explaining and giving the meaning to the class struggle, the concept of 'daily life', in other words 'the societal space of organised consumption', should be concentrated on rather than economic scale (Doğan, 2007b: 96-7). On the basis of this argument, the following assumption exists: "Capitalism has managed to soften its own contradictions (yet not solving totally) for a

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[12] Within this thesis, there is a two-layered representation: one is the representation of everyday life and social patterns over the urban space; the other is reading and representing this pattern on a map or a diagram. The first one is the representation of 'social' differentiation over the space and the second one is the epistemological representation of this representation. Here two kinds of analysis are invited: primarily spatial topology analysis and rhythmanalysis nested in this topology analysis.

century and succeeded in 'growth' by means of its emplacement in space and its production of a space" (Lefebvre, 1973, cited in Gottdiener, 2001: 253 – cited in Doğan, 2007b). Each and every mode of production produces its own space (Lefebvre, 1991 [1974]: 48-49, 53; cited in Doğan, 2007b). Moreover, beyond the general codes of hegemonic mode of production, each and every society develops its own spatial characteristics with reference to distinctive histories and institutions (Lefebvre, 1991 [1974]: 48; cited in Doğan, 2007b).

On the trail of the argument that each and every society produces its own space, then can we propose that each society and city produces its own green areas and patterns of recreational activities? Gökgür (2008) argues that the urban rhythms have been changed and got more complicated, and the dynamism has been shifted to recreation, leisure and entertainment. This new mode of life led to a different kind of socio-spatial pattern different from the urban daily life and rhythms of industrial city (Gökgür, 2008: 33-34). At this point, two basic questions occur. The first one is which factors determine the changing rhythms of urban spatial pattern within with the daily life. The second one is (if Gökgür's argument is right) how do the shift (in recreation, leisure and entertainment) influence the urban green areas and public spaces? In the fourth and fifth chapters, such a transformation in Ankara is represented.

3.3. Differentiation of Spatial Appropriation of Urban Green

Under the third subsection the question of right time to seize a place will be examined via two minor-questions: (a) what can be the mechanisms of possession at green areas and neighbourhood parks in relation with daily rhythms of spatial practice and the concept of place attachment?; (b) what is the potential conflict between ownership and possession at neighbourhood parks? The examination of these questions leads us to different typologies.

Urban spatial practices limit our perceptions and acts within urban daily life, and built environment. Moreover, the practices are influenced by the perceptions and activities reciprocally. As individuals we all are a part of these practices and also we produce them each and everyday within urban daily life, routines and rituals. On the basis of this reproduction process, spatial representations exist, which are formed through a common accumulation of spatial knowledge, codes, traces, signs at an abstract level. Considering the 'lived' dimension of urban space, the space itself turns to be both a part of and the (re)producer of our bodies and social relations as the space is experienced and reproduced, recreated. Furthermore, the space is subjected to struggles and alternative meanings. Within its physical (concrete/perceived) and conceptual (abstract/conceived) dimensions, space

becomes the place where we construct our personal identities, produce our societal relations (patterns of public identities and publicness) and also reproduce our private and public spheres of urban daily life. Considering the theme of construction of urban everyday living environment, first of all, what are the scales of this construction? This will also mean to decode the everyday life which is constructed and reproduced around this living environment. How can we decode the urban daily life around this environment and how can we decode, represent the spatial practices experienced and observed around this mentioned living environment of neighbourhoods and housing areas? Some questions[13] are:

⇨ What is the difference between district (*ilçe*) and neighbourhood (*semt*)?
⇨ What are the differences among institutional, physical and social boundaries? Do they overlap or differentiate from each other?
⇨ How are these scales and boundaries related to lifestyle, urban daily life and rhythms?

The concept of 'place' also stands at a critical position within this framework. The feeling of place also influences the perception and experience of the inhabitants who are living in a specific neighbourhood. In fact, this concept is also an essential basic concept within this research and dissertation. We discussed in the second sub section of this chapter, but how this concept is linked to the issues of everyday life and living environment, and spatial appropriation.

Examining the mechanisms, structures and agents which are influencing the (re)production of (public) space, Lefebvre (1991) puts forward three different levels of reality: physical, mental and social reality. The economical and the political structure, organization of sources and institutions, the form of built environment and the historical-cultural entities influencing the production of built environment, the historical being of the society, the social structure, and the agents' roles and character in both influencing the built environment and perceiving it. According to Lefebvre, space is produced as a product of historical sequences and mode of productions within three dimensions: physical, social and mental. Since the physical (built environment), mental (symbols, abstractions, cultural

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[13] The ideas produced within this framework of questions define the limits and boundaries of our case study, constituting the basis of spatial topology analysis in neighbourhood parks. The English term 'neighbourhood' is translated to Turkish as the following terms, which indicate the almost the same socio-spatial scales: *İlçe, Semt, Mahalle, Komşuluk birimi, Muhit*.

entities, social-political codes, etc.) and social (everyday lives, social habits, relational webs, etc.) are different therefore the reproduction of public space would be different as well with respect to different social, political and geographical contexts (Lefebvre, 1990).

Lefebvre proposes urban space as constructed on three planes: (1) a plane aimed at using and doing; (2) a plane intended to conceptual proposal, (3) a plane of experiencing the space within perception (Sargın, 2002: 20). On the basis of this main triad, formulating and analysing the usage and experiences at a public space should be mostly investigated in relation with on the one hand the actors' activity to construct and design the space, on the other hand the spatial form through which the representation of this design and ideas take place in relation with the architecture and city planning professions. At this point construction implies the activity of assembling in mental respects by either a designer or an individual who aims to produce solutions through concepts or images. Design refers to the production created by the designer or professional actor producing space through the professional tools –such as plans and projects. Usage of the space, on the other hand, indicates the possession of the space through utilization, experience or appropriation. The dimensions of design, construction and usage of space enable us to investigate the power relations reflected on the space during the production of space. Both the construction and design stages seem to be political and ideological; on the other hand, either by appropriation and experience, usage stage seems to be in relation with civil society. There is an astonishing point in the discourse of institutional framework in early republican period in Turkey; the mayor of this periods in 1930s, the concept of *şehremini* was used, which means 'the person who was so trusty that the city could be committed'; therefore the real owners of the city were regarded as the inhabitants (Cengizkan 2002, 216-220). However, today it can be discussed that who is the owner and who produces the space and who uses, possesses it. Thinking on the production process of urban parks, therefore the conflict between ownership and possession is flourished and established during the early stages of designing and constructing the space.

In Turkish experience, the urban parks seem to be owned by either the central government in the early periods of nation state establishment and later the local authorities, who are responsible to produce the urban green areas. In the earlier eras of Turkish urbanisation, urban parks seemed to be a part of macro socio-spatial projects within the construction of nation-state, which is discussed in the next chapter (chapter 4). Urban greenery produced in this era, was used and experienced by the citizens and constituted the history, the public

/ common memory of the city. The state had a determining role to produce such places; it was not a bottom-up demand; rather it was in the shape of a top-down supply. This is one of the crucial points constituting the contradiction between possession and ownership at urban green areas. The social and cultural attitudes embodied into the mental constructions and practices of citizens. This constitutes the second dimension of the contradiction between possession and ownership.

The municipality can act as the owner of the urban park, since the land is public land, and the park as a built environment has been produced and reproduced by the local authorities. However, the rights for urban space cannot be only related with ownership rights, rather they are realised through rights of use value in relation with possession. The owner of the space is neither the mayor/authorised central institutions nor the, designer (architect or planner). On the basis of use value, the owner of the space is in fact the inhabitants, who experience the streets, use and work at different sites, sit in open public spaces (Cengizkan and Kılıçkıran, 2009). However, what would determine the patterns of possession, the dynamics of relations and the potentials of reproducing these patterns and dynamics?

Designing a building indicates a hidden demand for power, since there is an idea to organize daily life. The relation between the architect/designer and the 'client' is differentiated between the design of inner side and outer side/façade; it is a well-known fact that no one would go and ask the designer to make a specific design for the façade of the building in normal circumstances. This is related with the ownership patterns and conceptualization within the society and mode of production. Therefore the situation mentioned within this paragraph is not only a result of the power demand or role of designer but also the patterns of property in the society. The ownership of a real estate is different from other types of properties with respect to the public dimension, since the object which is owned has different features from the other types, other objects of ownership. First, the position of the object cannot be changed, its place is fixed. No one is concerned in the way I assess an apple, however owning a real estate has externalities which influence both the others and the following time periods. Field of planning protects urban space from potential destructions which may be resulted from individualistic assessments of such property relations. Summarising the conflict between ownership and property, there is a tension between the way the citizens use the place in daily life and the way the planner, architect designs, organizes the space, since it influences the users' daily lives (Tekeli, 2011). Constructing a building in relation with the entire city or demolishing, reproducing a

neighbourhood affect both the lives and collective memory. Therefore there is a kind of unresolved conflict between the user and producer in relation with ownership/property and possession patterns through (re)producing urban space (see Table 3.3-1).

Table 3.3-1. 'What of' urban parks in Ankara, theoretical inputs

Urban parks	THEORY	CASE STUDY
STATE	• Symbol of 'power' • Wealth state • Sustainability • Urban service • (International) Ecological concerns	Discussed in chapter 4-5
PLANNER	• Recreational units of the spatial-social pattern • Components of green systems amid built environment • Open space	Discussed in chapter 4-5
URBAN DAILY LIFE / SPATIAL ORGANIZATION / RHYTHMS		
CITIZEN	• Provides/ suggests a specific SPATIAL PRACTICE • Routines in daily life • Interaction with nature • Public space • Process of reconstructing oneself [reproducing public and private identity]	Discussed in chapter 4-5

Spatial practice at pre-selected neighbourhood parks differentiates throughout Ankara. Via primary observations and interviews, roles of urban parks in the recreational pattern were recognized to differ from neighbourhood to neighbourhood; considering the phenomenon of reconstructing identity through spatial/practical attitudes. On the other side, mental maps and experiences over pre-observed urban parks alter from one case to another. Both the physical-social features of the parks located on different neighbourhoods of the city and mental maps over these constitute a differentiated pattern which indicates a social-spatial topography of open public spaces in the city. In Ankara, on the one hand, the roles of urban parks in the pattern of recreational facilities differ from neighbourhood to neighbourhood; and on the other hand, the role of specific urban parks alters considering the form and content of their influence on and interrelations with reconstructing identity / oneself of the citizens inhabiting at specific neighbourhoods. The research (presented in fourth and fifth chapters) aims to investigate, read and figure out the differentiated topological pattern (with

respect to both physical and mental dimensions) of the public recreational forms, experiences and perceptions within urban parks in Ankara.

Within conceptual framework, first the definition of urban green was examined within a historical perspective and presented in second chapter. Lefebvre's spatial triads and emphasis on right to the city comprises the theoretical ground of the thesis. Urban justice, which constitutes one of the veins in recent urban green research studies, is related with right to the city concept within the dissertation. Especially, in addition to justice issues, the measures of accessibility, walkability and variety were related to the five rights of public spaces. On the basis of such a conceptual and theoretical ground, the focus of the methodology consisted of mapping analysis of spatial patterning of parks, rhythmanalysis via everyday life, and the concept of spatial appropriation (which is derived from the concept of 'place attachment'). Via three levelled case study, this methodological focus was analysed with respect to spaces of representations, all of which will be discussed in fourth and fifth chapters (see Fig. 3.3-1 for a conceptual scheme of literature map). The fourth chapter puts forward a historical framework of the reproduction of urban greenery in Ankara, presenting also a green inventory of the city from Republican Era. The fifth chapter demonstrates different representational modes and moments of urban green in Ankara through a three-levelled analysis, macro, meso and micro analyses.

Figure 3.3-1. Literature Map (personal drawing)
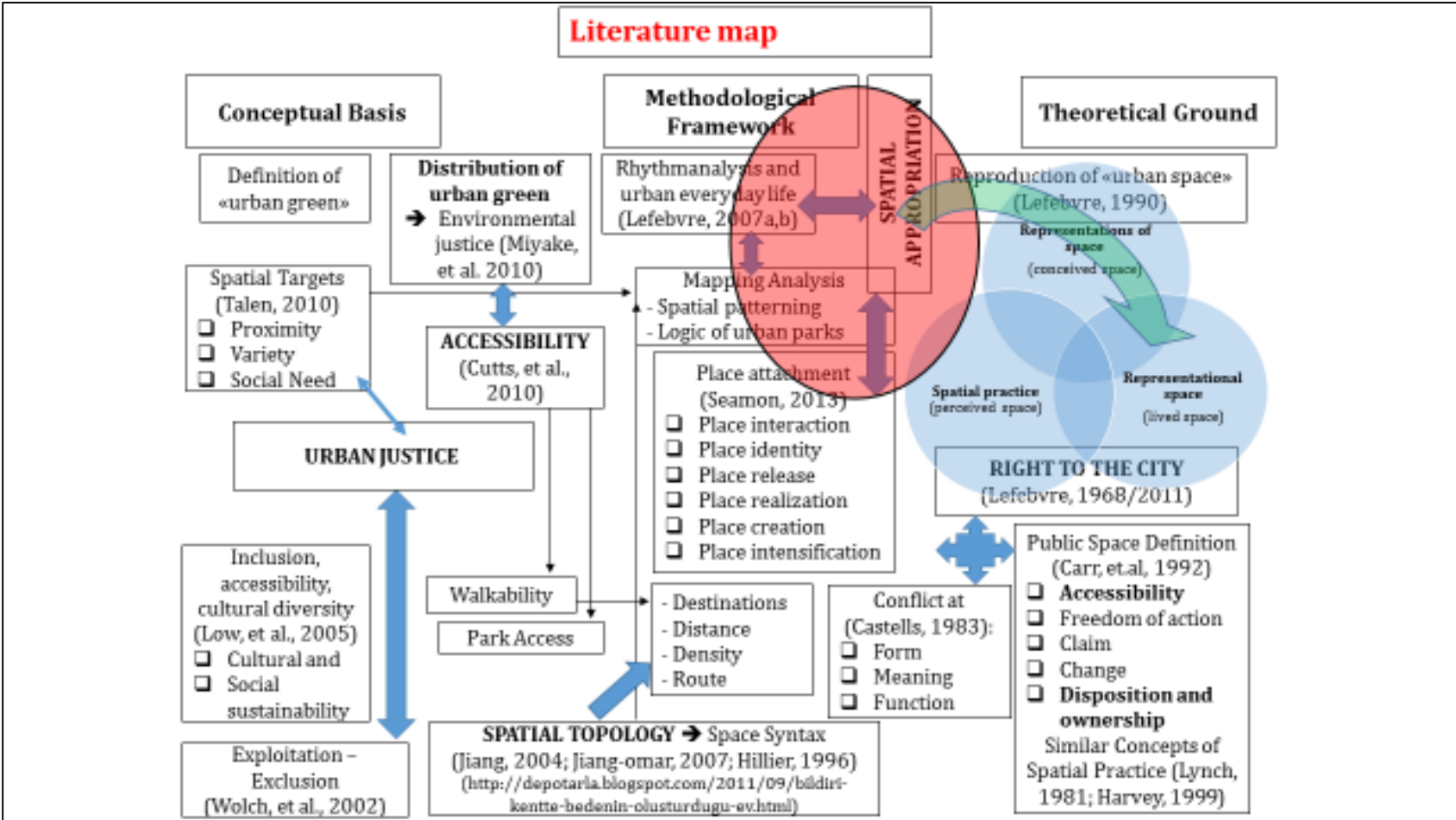
CHAPTER 4

(RE)PRODUCTION of URBAN GREEN in ANKARA

Ankara has a spatial and political significance in the planning history of Turkey, since its re-design in 1920s as the capital of newly-established nation-state. The design of the city served for both creating new publics with their (public) spaces and constituting the examples of modern city planning in new Turkish Republic (i.e. Gençlik Park and Güvenpark). Nevertheless this organized pattern of publicness has disrupted in the following decades. Open public spaces turned out to be places where people pass through rather than experience publicness. Incremental attempts resulted in arbitrarily developed spaces; moreover, within a socio-spatial and political-symbolic displacement process decreased the quality of such spaces. As a result, countless green areas were (re)created as inadequate and dysfunctional public spaces through plans, codes and projects of decision makers within market mechanisms though their recreational and public potentials via urban daily experience.

As a continuation of the displacement process, the government has attempted to reproduce several public spaces and green areas after June Resistance at Gezi Park in 2013, such as the construction of a mosque in Validebağ Grove in İstanbul, construction of the new house of president and Ankapark in *AOÇ* (*Atatürk Orman Çiftliği* – Atatürk Forest Farm), and destruction of almost 6000 trees in Yırca Village, in Soma, despite the legal rejection of the construction permit, which may be seen as 'sickness'[14] (Fig.4.1.). These attempts also led to struggles, implying the symbolic and political tension between the two faces of the *public*: the inhabitants (the 'public' as users) and the government (the formal 'public' in the role of state who has the right to shape physical boundaries of public spaces), which indicates the political-spatial potentials for appropriation.

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[14] The cartoon criticizes the recent attempts of central government in Turkey; the translations are: (1) They were constructing a building in Validebağ Groove; (2) They were determined to cut the trees in Gezi Park; (3) A law was enacted to cut the olive trees; (4) Hundred thousands of trees were cut for the construction of bridge and airport in İstanbul; (5) They are going to construct buildings on the open spaces for gathering during earthquakes; (6) Oh my god! The state has officially got sick!

Figure 4-3.3-2. A cartoon criticizing the green policy of JDP, Behiç Ak, 22.11.2014,
Cumhuriyet

Such a tension within recent conflictual events indicate the gap between conceived and perceived spaces (the conflict between (re)construction of space and spatial practice). In the mentioned cases, both ordinary citizens and activists sensed this gap and protested the spatial interventions and projects since a spatial policy or intervention directly influences not only our physical environment but also everyday lives –the rhythms, forms and processes of self-identity constructions and daily habits. This set of events can be re-read as a crucial turning point or an era in the line of green policy of governments –especially JDP's spatial policies and projects– and also can be regarded as a clue for a potential political field of symbolic and political struggles at urban level. The recent environment and green policy of JDP's government is represented in the cartoon, arguing that the state has got sick (see Figure 4-1and see footnote on page 91, for the translation of the cartoon). In this chapter, the context for reproduction processes and ownership mechanisms is examined in Ankara as a part of macro analysis, which traced the changing framework for 'representations of spaces' within policy phases (legal-institutional framework, planning approach and space reproduction processes) in Turkey. This part of research compromises the analysis of urban green as conceived spaces by examining the mechanisms of ownership within changing legal and institutional codes for urban green areas. The main

question of this chapter is: how the reproduction process of green areas in Ankara has been shaped reciprocally with policy shifts in Turkey – the phases of green reproduction.

The historical phases of reproduction of urban green in Ankara are presented under three main periods (Şengül, 2003): 'urbanization of state', 'urbanization of working class' and 'urbanization of capital'. Under these main periods different phases are defined as well. The first part discusses the historical transformation of urban green policy in Turkey before 1980s in three phases, with respect to policy shifts in urban development, planning approaches and the transformation of local governments in Turkish administrative system. The second part examines the recent green policy in Tukey after 1980s with respect to political-economic transformations and legal-institutional framework of urban green production and ownership mechanisms of the state. The third part presents the recent two phases of green policy in Ankara which will be on the basis of the geographical-institutional topography of differentiation of urban green areas in Ankara discussed in the next chapter.

4.1.   Phases of Urban Green Reproduction in Ankara before 1980s

This subsection examines the history of hind mechanisms and processes which have shaped the spatial differentiation of urban green in Ankara. Although the socio-economic factors seem to be critical in defining socio-spatial differentiation (such as the case in Seeland, et al., 2009), the historical conditions framing and reproducing the socio-spatial differentiation is also essential. Therefore, the macro analysis in this PhD thesis is considered to be a historical examination of a socio-spatial grouping in the example of urban greenery; as Harvey (2002) argues "the historical origins of societal and spatial differentiation are critical" (Harvey, 2002: 165). He also asks that: How can the relation of the emergence of a specific societal grouping with the process of spatial differentiation be explained (Harvey, 2002)? What exactly determines who will prefer which park?

Examining the history of urban parks in Ankara, most of the large and famous parks were formulated and established during and after Ankara was declared as the capital city of Turkish Republic in 1920s. Oğuz (2000) argues that in Turkish planning tradition, urban parks did not appear until the Republican era different from Western examples. Before, palace gardens were reserved for the sultan; orchards (*bağlar*) and private gardens served for the recreational needs for the society. As a result, urban parks in Ankara can be evaluated as products of 'Republican project to construct a modern society' (Oğuz, 2000: 165); the first planned urban park is Gençlik Park to supply the recreation need of the public in Ankara (Uludağ Sökmen, 1998a, 1998b.; Oğuz, 2000). In this part, the phases of urban

green reproduction is traced within the historical-geographical transformation of urban green policy in the planning system of Turkey considering especially the changing tension between central and local governments.

4.1.1. 1<u>st</u> Phase: Socio-Spatial Inheritance of Ottoman Empire

Since 1840s, the economic inputs of industrial revolution and modernist framework of enlightenment influenced the urbanization (spatialisation), legal-institutional framework and planning approaches in the empire. In this period, during which Ottoman Empire was opened to capitalist relations, five basic spatial transformations were observed within the urbanization. First one is the transformation of the city centre. In traditional Ottoman city centre, market places were located around the *bedesten* –a covered Turkish bazaar– and the harbours were surrounded by traps and bazaars. However, in the new centre, there existed banks, insurance firms, office blocks and hotels. In addition to these, train stations, harbours, docks, entrepots (storehouses), and post offices were located in the centre. Lastly, as the ottoman administrators turned to be waged civil servants, as a result of rising bureaucracy the state buildings also settled at the centre. Second spatial transformation was experienced in the field of urban transportation as pedestrianized transportation was evolved to a vehicle transportation of cars, trams, ferries, and suburban trains. Third spatial transformation was the shift in the societal stratification from nation based differentiation to class based differentiation. Fourth spatial transformation, in relation with these two previous ones, was the development of urban sprawl around the city as suburbanization which is a result of increase in population (with immigrants from lost lands) and shift in societal stratification. And lastly, all these spatial changes led to new types of landuse (Tekeli, 1998).

As the population increased (with improvements in public health and Muslim migrants coming from lost territories), new migrant neighbourhoods developed in the peripheries of the cities. Urban transformation experienced in this period, and inadequacy of legal-institutional frameworks raised awareness on the urgency of planning. The first plan was prepared for İstanbul, by Von Moltke in the years between 1836 and 1837. After this experience, the planning attempt in the second half of 19th century was seen as incremental planning practice rather than comprehensive planning approach in Paris in the same era. This practice was mainly based on re-development of burnt neighbourhoods, development of migrants' new housing sites and creation of new urban parks (Tekeli, 1998).

In the second half of 19th century, this socio-spatial change with the other transformations led to inadequacy of the existing institutional structure [*kadı* (directing the city), *mimarbaşı*

(the head of architects), *mühtesib* (a mayor like civil servant who is responsible from the order of the city) and *vakıf* (responsible for the city services)]. Therefore, a new institutional structure with a new legal framework was started to be established in Ottoman Empire similar to European examples. In 1848, *Ebniye Nizamnamesi* (the Code of Structures) was legislated for İstanbul (Tekeli, 1998). With this regulation, rules and codes were defined on land expropriation, ways of construction permit, control of constructions, width of the streets, and the height of the buildings around these streets (Çalışkan, 1990, cited in Müftüoğlu, 2008). The establishment of *Şehreminliği / Şehremaneti* for the city of İstanbul, in 1855, was one of the first institutional regulations in the empire (Tekeli, 1998, Kayasü, 2005) which indicated a kind of mayor, the person / institution who the city was committed to. This also indicates the role attributed to the mayor of the city at that time (Cengizkan, 2002) with respect to the conflict of possession and ownership over the city since the wording consists of *şehir*-the city and *emin*, which means reliable, trustworthy, to whom you can resign the city. The Sixth Office of City Hall (*Altıncı Daire-i Belediye*) was constructed in both Galata and Beyoğlu in 1857 (Tekeli, 1998) as a result of the inadequacy of *Şehremaneti* in İstanbul for planning and administration affairs. *Altıncı Daire-i Belediye* started many implementations which would be successful examples to other municipalities such as: preparing cadastral map of the region of Beyoğlu and Galata, widening of the roads, paving the sidewalks, relocating the graves to Şişli and replacing these lots with parks in Taksim and Tepebaşı, opening health facilities like hospitals (Çalışkan, 1990, cited in Müftüoğlu, 2008).

In 1864 a new legislation, *Turuk ve Ebniye Nizamnamesi (Tüzüğü)* –Code for Roads and Structures– replaced the previous *Ebniye Nizamnamesi*. It was enacted after the *Hoca Paşa Fire* in İstanbul, in which 2910 buildings were burnt. This was the first holistic legal attempt to regulate some of the large cities of the empire which had problems due to rapid development in the second half of 19th century. This code regulated mapping, expropriation, land subdivision (*parselleme*), width of roads and height of buildings. While examining the code, although the legal text did not include an idea of development plan yet, the regulations attempted to shape the urban land aiming beautification of the cities like the European modern urban areas (Çalışkan, 1990, cited in Müftüoğlu, 2008). This new regime was spread to the whole empire in 1877 by enacting the laws for *Dersaadet* (İstanbul) and other provinces (Tekeli, 1998). The success in physical development realized by the *Altıncı Daire-i Belediye* was targeted to be spread to the other cities and municipalities by the law

of *Vilayet Belediye Kanunu* –Law of Province Municipality– in 1877. With this legal arrangement, municipalities were charged to make development plans of the cities, construction and maintenance of facilities of roads, sidewalks and sewage system, expropriation for the re-organization of the cities, organizing the water issues, performing the illumination and cleaning of the cities (Çalışkan, 1990, cited in Müftüoğlu, 2008).

In 1882, *Ebniye Kanunu* (the Law of Structures) was enacted (Tekeli, 1998), which was the first development law of Ottoman Empire. Ebniye Kanunu determined the regulations on open public spaces of the city, especially focussed on the width of roads and contained details on the existing structures and new buildings to be constructed. Although these codes were not enough to regulate the beautification and planned development of the cities, municipalities were charged with significant commitments. However, still these legal framework was lacking the holistic planning approach; the urban pattern was assumed to be renewed and redeveloped through physical planning. The decisions or codes on the macroform and development of cities were not included, which resulted in the failure of the first development law of empire. As a positive dimension, *Ebniye Kanunu* (Law of Structures) –dated 1882– prohibited construction in recreation areas (*mesire yerleri*). Urban parks were constructed in Gülhane, Sultanahmet, Fatih and Üsküdar-Doğanlar, in the period of Cemil Paşa's mayorship (*Şehreminliği*) in Istanbul (Müftüoğlu, 2008).
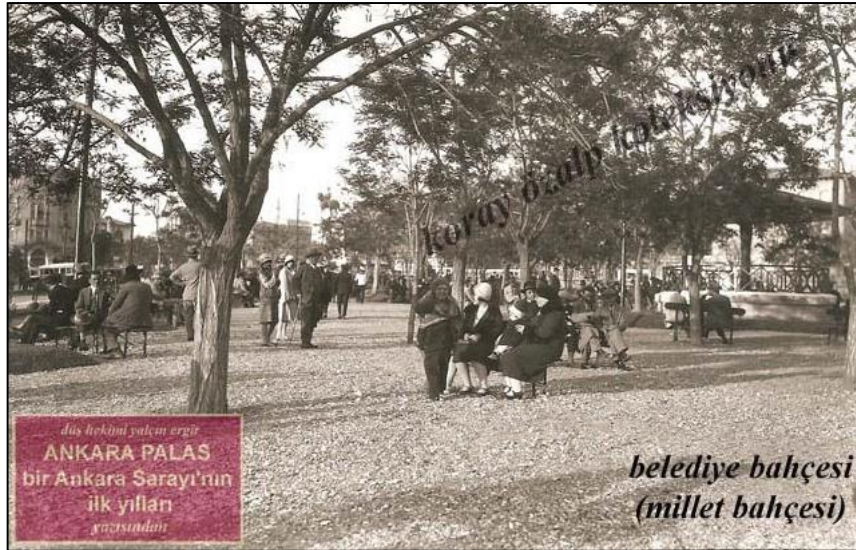
Figure 4.1-1. Millet Bahçesi, Ulus
Source: http://www.ergir.com/2012/Ankara_Palas.htm

In Ankara, the first urban green area was *Millet Bahçesi* –Garden of Nation, which was also the only urban green in the city before Early Republican Era. A small pond and wooden

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theatre building existed in this garden, which was located in Ulus Square. In the Republican Period, this garden was turned to be today's *100. Yıl Çarşısı* –Bazaar of 100.Yıl– within a spatial redesign through competition for Re-organization of Ulus and its surroundings (*Ulus Çevresini Düzenleme Yarışması*). In the first half of 20th century, citizens were using vineyard houses in Çankaya, Etlik and Keçiören, which are around the city of Ankara for the need of urban greenery (Çalışkan, 1990, cited in Müftüoğlu, 2008).

Figure 4.1-2. Millet Bahçesi, Ulus

Source: http://www.ergir.com/2012/Ankara_Palas.htm

After 1850s, other cities than İstanbul were also planned. Towards the end of first decade of 20th century, the planning affairs started within a comprehensive planning approach basically oriented by City Beautiful Movement. Therefore, the field of planning shifted from cartography to architecture (Tekeli, 1998).

4.1.2. 2nd Phase: 'Urbanisation of State' during Early Republican Era

After being declared as the capital city of newly established nation state, Ankara was developed as a spatial project of republican socio-political ideals. Şengül (2003) identified this era as 'urbanisation of state' between 1923 and 1950. Planning and urban policy within this period was shaped on the basis of the conflict between values of the new republic and the socio-spatial inheritance of Ottoman Empire (Şengül, 2003; Tekeli, 1998). Tekeli (1998) summarizes the socio-spatial practice inherited from Ottoman Empire in three main points: firstly, especially in the harbour cities, the urban pattern and daily life were transformed to some extent within the integration process of the empire to the world capitalist system. Secondly, a primitive planning practice (in the form of partial reconstruction plans –*mevzi imar planı*) was transmitted to the republican planning practice.

And thirdly, a weak but substantial nucleus of a local institution to govern city – *Şehremaneti* (municipality)– was established (Tekeli, 1998). However Ottoman cities were neither politically nor spatially autonomous structures (Şengül, 2003). The spatial-institutional organization inherited from Ottoman Empire inevitably conflicted with the socio-spatial projects of Turkish Republic (Tekeli, 1998) in mainly three points (Şengül, 2003): (1) the lack of a central political-spatial organization, (2) spatial stratification shaped on the basis of ethnic differentiation, (3) organic urban pattern which complicated the control of central nation state. To cure these obstacles, two strategies were followed: 'centralization' and 'creation of a national identity'. These strategies led to transformations first on the nation state scale, then on the urban scale (Şengül, 2003). Firstly, the space of country had to be turned into the space of a nation state, then the city had to be designed as the node of the new modernist project of this state (Tekeli, 1998).

Ankara was selected to be the new capital city both to establish a new identity of nation (referring to a new idea of *motherland* since it is located at the centre of Anatolia) and to invite capital to Ankara for the sake of economic development (Şengül, 2003). Added to these spatial policies, railways, which were partially developed in the empire period for the purpose of articulation to the capitalist mode of production, were now extended to the whole country to develop a unity in the national market; and industrialization was encouraged by construction of factories in the Anatolian cities, which were located on railways. Urban scale was aimed to be the nodes of modernity (Tekeli, 1998). Two of the initial steps for this spatial strategy were establishment of local government units in the cities, having a population more than 2000, and employing these units with planning affairs (Tekeli, 1973: cited in Şengül, 2003). In addition to the national scale, within urban scale, two major problem areas occurred in planning field: (1) Re-development of West Anatolian cities which were burnt by Greeks while retreating, (2) the development of Ankara as the capital city of new Turkish Republic which was identified with the success of new nation state. The first planning challenge was overcome via plans drawn by Turkish topographical engineers (*harita mühendisi*) on the basis of Ottoman planning practice, since re-construction of built areas was one of the major areas of spatial development and planning in Ottoman tradition. However, the second planning challenge was a new problem area for Turkish political and planning practice (Tekeli, 1998).

The spatial development and planning of Ankara as the capital city was one of the most critical problems during the establishment of Turkish Republic (Cengizkan, 2002). In

1920s, Ankara was a city which had been developed partially within the legal boundaries of a simple law of urban development which regulated only roads and structures. Added to planning practice, the institutional and legal frameworks inherited from Ottoman Empire could not suffice the needs of constructing the new capital of Turkish Nation State; a comprehensive approach was lacking (Kayasü, 2005). Therefore, various institutional transformations and spatial regulations were held since 1924 (Cengizkan, 2002; Kayasü, 2005).

The Directory of Development in Ankara –*Ankara Şehreminliği*– was established in February, 1924 by the law numbered 417. With respect to this law, Ankara had a *Şehremini* who was assigned by the Ministry of Internal Affairs, and a *Cemiyet-i Umumiye Belediyesi* (a municipality of the public) with 24 members (Müftüoğlu, 2008), and it was equipped with a wider authority of planning and implementing (Tekeli, 1998). The first spatial policy (in the years 1923-1924) was a demanded report which was prepared by Lörcher – with three plans attached to it. The report was demanded to get an inventory of the city's spatial and social needs (Cengizkan, 2002).

Kızılay Square –as an open public space– was a spatial project of this period, which implies both the imposition of values and power by nation state and the construction of a new life style for the arising bourgeoisie of new established state (Batuman, 2000; Batuman, 2002). In addition to the spatial project of Yenişehir, in 1925, Atatürk decided to establish *AOÇ* (*Atatürk Orman Çiftliği* – Atatürk Forest Farm) firstly on an area of 20 000 da, which was later enlarged to 150 000 da. This farm was conceived to be multifunctional. Such a huge green area would turn Ankara to a green city in the middle of Anatolia, and it will lead the agriculture in this region, and moreover it would both provide a recreational space for the citizens and meet their needs of milk, beer, cheese, oil, and yoghurt (Müftüoğlu, 2008).

Lörcher Plan, which was prepared and approved in 1924-25, did not only develop the area of Kızılay-Yenişehir, but also provided the spatial construction of several public spaces in the old and newer districts of the centre of Ankara. The square in Yenişehir was designed as an essential node of the pattern of public spaces created within plan (Cengizkan, 2002).

Figure 4.1-3. A Drawing of Atatürk Forest Farm (AOÇ), 1936

Kızılay Square and relatedly Güvenpark, was planned to be both the symbol of the new republic and the public space of the bourgeoisie. Designed at the intersection of two main streets, Kızılay Square would present a new kind of public life and experience with spatial elements such as Havuzbaşı and Güvenpark (Batuman, 2000; Batuman, 2002).

Figure 4.1-4. Güvenpark

Source: *Gürkaynak Alpayeski's Personal archive*, in Ankara Resimleri meraklıları Platformu Facebook group page

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Lörcher Plan could not be implemented as a result of discussions over appropriation of urban land and implementation; a new plan was going to be demanded (Cengizkan, 2004). In 1928, the Directory of Development in Ankara –*Ankara İmar Müdürlüğü*– was established by the law numbered 1351 (Tekeli, 1998). This new institution was not linked to Şehremaneti, rather it was directly related to the Ministry of Internal Affairs, in order to have more power and technical-economical and administrative potentials. Since the development of the capital city was a matter of state, not solely a matter of the city. Later in 1937, this directory was going to be linked to Ankara Municipality (Müftüoğlu, 2008). On the basis of Lörcher's study, a plan for Ankara was prepared in 1928 by Herman Jansen, the winner of the competition in which three international architect-planners participated (Tekeli, 1998; Altaban, 1998).

Table 4.1-1. First Two Phases of Reproduction Process of Urban Green in Ankara ('Urbanisation of State') [table prepared by the thesis author]

Historical Phase	Period	Spatial transformation / Urbanization	Legal-Institutional Framework	Planning approach	Political and Spatial Focus	Ex. of Urban Green
1st Phase: Socio-Spatial Inheritance of Ottoman Empire	Modernisation of Ottoman Empire (1850s-1923)	1. Transformation of the city centre 2. Urban transportation (cars, trams, ferries, suburban trains) 3. Shift in societal stratification from nation based to class based 4. Suburbanization 5. New forms of landuse	**1848** – *Ebniye Nizamnamesi* **1855** –Establishment of *Şehremaneti* for İstanbul **1857** – *Altıncı Daire-i Belediye* **1864** – *Ebniye and Turuk Nizamnamesi* **1877** – *Vilayet Belediye Kanunu* **1882** – *Ebniye Kanunu*	• Incremental planning practice • Re-development of burnt urban neighbourhoods • Development of migrants' new housing sites and • Creation of new urban parks	Focus of Policy: ➢ Integration of world capitalist system ➢ Construction of legal-institutional basis for spatial transformation and planning of cities Spatial Focus: ➢ İstanbul	İstanbul: Taksim and Tepebaşı Bahçeleri (Gardens of Taksim and Tepebaşı) Ankara: Millet Bahçesi, Ulus
What is inherited from Ottoman Empire to newly established Nation State?		partly transformed urban pattern and daily life	a weak but substantial nucleus of a local institution to govern city –*Şehremaneti* (municipality)	a primitive planning practice (in the form of partial reconstruction plans –*mevzi imar planı*)	➢ lack of a central political-spatial organization ➢ spatial stratification shaped on the basis of ethnic differentiation ➢ organic urban pattern complicated the control of nation state	
2nd Phase: 'Urbanisation of State'	Early Republican Era (1923 – 1950)	Two major problem areas in urbanization: • Re-development of burnt West Anatolian cities • the development of Ankara as the capital city of new Turkish Republic Population growth and land speculation in Ankara by 1930s	**1923** – Declaration of Ankara as capital city **1924** – The Directory of Development in Ankara **1930** – *Belediye Kanunu* **1933** – *Yapı ve Yollar Kanunu*	**1924-25**–Lörcher Plan **1928** – Jansen Plan Shift to a professional planning approach via architecture from traditional approaches within local authorities.	Focus of Policy: ➢ 'Centralization' of political-spatial organization ➢ 'creation of a national identity' Spatial Focus: ➢ Ankara as the capital city, ➢ Anatolian cities	Ankara: • Gençlik Park, Ulus • Güvenpark & Havuzbaşı in Yenişehir • Atatürk Forest Farm (*AOÇ*)

The list of conditions –presented by *Ankara Şehreminliği*– for the competition consisted of priorities and demands on protection of streets and green open public spaces. Therefore, Jansen concentrated on the principle to construct a spatial balance between urban green areas and open public spaces and built environment with constructions; moreover the continuity of urban green areas was provided in the city plan within an urban green system through a radial urban green unity. During this attempt the natural potential of Ankara –*the valleys*– was benefited from. The relation between the historical site of Ankara –*the castle*– and the designed urban green system was proposed by Jansen (Kayasü, 2005).

Natural environment was inserted into the city such indigenously (Cengizkan, 2002). The valleys such as Çubuk Brook, İncesu, Bent Brook, which are large urban green areas were assigned to be recreational sites of the city; swimming pools and several sports facilities were planned to be located in these sites. Moreover, Gençlik Park, which was designed as a huge urban park, was designed to have a pool occupying 1/3 of the park (Kayasü, 2005). Building such a large water component at the heart of an Anatolian city with steppe was a huge dream at that time, which was realized in 1946 (Uludağ Sökmen, 2005.b).

Figure 4.1-5. Gençlik Park, 1953

Source: *Gürkaynak Alpayeski's Personal archive*, in Ankara Resimleri meraklıları Platformu Facebook group page

Moreover, in Jansen's plan, a gardened housing pattern was proposed and the story heights of buildings were regulated and limited not to deform city's silhouette which is formed by Ankara's topographic features. Furthermore, the hills such as Hacettepe, Kale, and İsmet Paşa Hill, were proposed to be vista points (*bakı noktası*) so that they would be protected from unplanned constructions (Kayasü, 2005). In his plan Jansen proposed the main spatial policies on urban green as follows (Müftüoğlu, 2008: 34):

- To insert green belts into the housing areas and the whole city,
- To create an organic system via linking green belts with other urban green areas,
- To control the limits of the city and to protect the natural features through green belts and agricultural lands surrounding the city,
- To preserve valleys and brooks such as Bent Brook, Çubuk Brook and İncesu Valley, and to utilise from Bent Brook and Çubuk Brook as swimming pools by constructing small dams,
- To build vista points as recreational sites at the hills –*Kale*, Timurlenk Hill, İsmet Paşa Hill, Hacıtepe and Hacettepe– so that these places would appear as green monuments from the city,
- To construct a large urban park which would enable citizens to rest and which would restore the view of the city with parks, trees, children playgrounds via a deep impression on the visitors getting out of the train station (Gençlik Park),
- To constitute a chain of green areas on the axis of Gençlik Park, Stadium and Hippodrome to give joy to the citizens,
- To orient green belts, Gençlik Park, stadium and hippodrome towards the *Kale* in order to remark the gazes of people to the historical site of Ankara, *Kale*.

Urban green areas had a special role in Jansen's plan, which was sensitive to the urban natural layout, especially valley basins and natural features. Moreover, urban green areas were proposed to meet citizens' needs, which was totally a different planning attempt in contrary with recent interventions (Değirmencioğlu, 1997). The idea of urban parks as 'gardens of nation' –in Ottoman Empire– comes from the implementation of 'public gardens' in France (Memlük, 2009). After the establishment of nation state, both in Ankara and other Anatolian cities, urban parks were constructed as open public spaces defined next to private gardens of houses, functioning to bring women and men citizens next to each other. The concept of *making 'giro'* (An Italian word coming from the root of the verb

'girare', to stroll, walk. In Turkish: *piyasa yapmak*) – as an attitude to be confronted with the other (sex) – was developed in urban parks first, beginning from 1930s (Tanyeli, 1999).

Güvenpark is one of the urban parks designed as a part of the pattern of open public spaces of Ankara in 1925. Within Lörcher Plan an isosceles triangle can be seen as surrounded by symmetrically located buildings however this was not determined as an urban park at the beginning. Within Jansen Plan prepared in 1929 and accepted in 1932, this triangular form was protected to some extent with specific differences; an urban park was decided to be constructed at the north edge of the triangle (Saner, 2007). Güvenpark, as a component of the system of green areas determined in Jansen Plan, was constructed on a land of 22 000 m^2. As a result of its central location, the park had a feature to be a 'square-park'. The name of the park comes from the statue at the centre of the park (Memlük, 2009). In 1932, for the construction of the *Güvenlik Anıtı* – Security Monument, Anton Hanak was charged, after his friend Holzmesiter's demand (Elibal, cited in Saner, 2007). Güvenpark with its *Havuzbaşı* and its statue was constructed to be the public space of the new established nation state and its capital city. Jansen Plan had to propose a spatial strategy for the policy to produce a public sphere at which both the social and political coincides. Kızılay Square, was designed with respect to this strategy in the shape of a scene defined by Güvenpark (the end point of the neighbourhood of *Vekaletler*) and on its opposite Building of Kızılay with its parking lot (Batuman, 2002).

Figure 4.1-6. Kızılay Square, Güvenpark, in 1942, postcard

Source: http://urun.gittigidiyor.com/ANKARA-KARTPOSTAL-KIZILAY-MEYDANI_W0QQidZZ5248552

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Güvenpark seems to lose its significance and value since it was designed and located at Kızılay Square, which was constructed as the public space of the new nation state and its bourgeoisie. This transformation is not only within the physical environment, but also the transformation can be monitored through the publicity (Saner, 2007) and the political character of the space. The historical-political meaning of this public space has been (re)defined through differentiated social layers within different time periods and contexts in Ankara, Kızılay Square. Atatürk Boulevard was another public space of that period, serving as both a recreational-public axis and the north-south skeleton of public sphere of Yenişehir. Moreover, this axis joined the old and new city centres (Batuman, 2002).

Gençlik Park, Kızılay Park and Zafer Parks were also servicing people for their meeting and recreational needs (Memlük, 2009). Atatürk demanded youth parks, culture parks and urban forests to be constructed for the purpose of both creating 'citizen' identity and providing places for people to socialize (Gündüz, 2002). Gündüz (2002) examines the early parks of Turkish Republic built between 1923 and 1945 in several cities such as Adana, Afyon, Ankara, Antalya, Bolu, Bursa, Çanakkale, Gaziantep, İstanbul, İzmir, Samsun and Trabzon. These urban parks were constructed in the form of squares and people's gardens – *halk bahçeleri*. She also demonstrates the political role of urban parks during the period of publicising the reforms. Atatürk presented the new Turkish alphabet in Sarayburnu Park, on 9th of August, 1928. The language reform, one of the critical developments of national identity ideal was introduced to the public in an urban park, which indicates the mission attributed to the parks. Again, Atatürk chose a park in Kayseri, to introduce the new alphabet on 28th of September in 1928 (Gündüz, 2002). Summarising, during the Early Republican Period urban green areas served as representational spaces; the social-spatial reforms of the newly established nation-state were publicised in these parks. Moreover, create modern examples of new Turkish planning and political system are attempted to be created. Urban parks were both the scenes and subjects of urban policy in this period.

After the declaration of capital city, Ankara turned out to be a growing city with a 6 % increase of population each year. The plan had to be implemented both to lead the example of modern planning system of Turkish Republic and to solve problems of such a growing city. However, during the planning practice of Ankara, the speculative nature of the land market was noticed as an obstacle to implement a comprehensive plan. In this era, Ankara was the only city experiencing such a huge amount of population growth and speculative constraints. On the basis of this learnt experience from Ankara, some new legal regulations

were held between the years of 1930 and 1935. Some of these legal-institutional transformations were as follows (Tekeli, 1998): The Law of Municipalities numbered 1580 –*Belediye Kanunu*– in 1930; The Common Hygiene Law, numbered 1593 –*Umumi Hıfzısıhha Kanunu*; The Law of Constructions and Roads numbered 2290 in 1933 –*Yapı ve Yollar Kanunu*; The Law of Establishment of Municipality Bank, numbered 2033 in 1933 –*Belediye Bankası Kuruluş Kanunu*; The Law of Municipal Expropriation numbered 2722 in 1934 –*Belediyeler İstimlak Kanunu*; The Law on the Establishment of Development Committee of Municipality numbered 2736, in 1935 – *Belediyeler İmar Heyeti'nin Kuruluşuna İlişkin Kanun* (Tekeli, 1998).

The Law of Municipality (in 1930) invalidated *Şehremaneti* as an institution. Until the year of 1948 the governors of Ankara would also mayors of the city since that legislation. Municipalities were charged with regulatory functions such as providing the sanitary conditions with respect to the local needs, preserving natural environment such as forests, groves, gardens, pastures, designing the parks and squares of the neighbourhoods, constructing municipal gardens, playgrounds, zoos botanic gardens. Added to this legal regulation, in 1933, The Law of Municipal Constructions and Roads numbered 2290 – *Belediye Yapı ve Yollar Kanunu*– was enacted to regulate the planning affairs. With this law, municipalities were assigned to prepare base maps –*halihazır harita*– of 1/2000 and 1/500 scales and contour maps –*tesviye eğrili harita*– of 1/1000 of the city (Çalışkan, 1990, cited in Müftüoğlu, 2008).

During this period, architects and engineers were regulated to perform within the process of construction of buildings as licensed professionals, rather than traditional production mechanisms. Local institutions were also charged with plans for settlements, which had to be prepared by architects. This planning approach was comprehensive; however it did not show awareness to the existing urban pattern, since it was product of western modernist frameworks (Tekeli, 1998). With respect to the third article of the Law of Municipal Constructions and Roads –*Belediye Yapı ve Yollar Kanunu*– legislated in 1933, the plans had to be prepared by professionals and they would be approved by the Directory of Development in Ankara after being admitted by the municipal council. City plans were approved by this directory until 1936. After this date, the approval authority was given to the Ministry of Public Works by the law numbered 2799 (Çalışkan, 1990, cited in Müftüoğlu, 2008).

The Law of Municipal Constructions and Roads –*Belediye Yapı ve Yollar Kanunu*– (1933) also regulated the quantity of the areas attributed to specific zones for the first time in Turkish planning system as shown in Table 4.1-2.

Table 4.1-2. Measures of areas to be attributed to landuses arranged by the The Law of Municipal Constructions and Roads (Numbered – 2290)
Source: Çalışkan, 1990, cited in Müftüoğlu, 2008: 40

Landuse	Area per person (m^2)	Ratio in the city as area (%)
Houses, gardens, roads and squares	50	77,0
Commercial and industrial zones	4	6,1
Groves, meadows, lakes and playgrounds	4	6,1
Places open to everyone such as hospitals, graveyards, coffeehouses –*kahvehane*, hotels	3	4,6
Official and military institutions, and educational places	2	3,1
Schools and libraries	2	3,1
Total	65	100,0

The quantity of urban green areas were not particularly defined in this legal framework (Müftüoğlu, 2008). This framework imitated a German city code of constructions, therefore these ideal values could not fit the Turkish urban pattern and could not be implemented (Çalışkan, 1990, cited in Müftüoğlu, 2008). Moreover, at that time, Turkish planning system was inspired from Garden City ideal, which resulted in proposals of gardened housing areas. Though their positive aspects (such as being comprehensive), plans produced in this era had two inadequacies: (1) since these plans were not sensitive and suitable enough to the existing traditional organic urban pattern, planning attempts resulted in destructive socio-spatial outputs in Turkish cities; (2) similar to the Western urban beautification movements, this planning approach mainly focused on aesthetics of the cities and therefore neglected the economic dimension of cities, which led to obstacles in implementation process of planning (Tekeli, 1998).

Until 1956, the Law of Municipal Constructions and Roads –*Belediye Yapı ve Yollar Kanunu*– (numbered 2290, year: 1933) shaped the development and planning of cities. One of the main characteristics of the period between the years of 1933-1956 was that, the planners who oriented the planning studies in Turkey were generally foreigner professionals. Turkey could not educated own planners yet and tools and techniques of physical planning could not be developed with respect to the realities of Turkish social and urban patterns (Müftüoğlu, 2008). In the scale of Ankara, Jansen Plan which seemed to be sensitive to urban green areas was not totally implemented. Within power relations and

dense construction process open public spaces and green areas were narrowed, and the principles of the plan was broken through (Tankut, 1990, cited in Kayasü, 2005). However, the era before 1956, significant urban green areas were brought to the city of Ankara such as: Park of Parliament – *Büyük Millet Meclis Parkı* (20 ha), *AOÇ* – Atatürk Orman Çiftliği (7 km away from train station and located on an area about 500 ha, with playgrounds, picnic areas, zoo and plantation), Gençlik Park (34 ha), Presidential Palace –*Cumhurbaşkanlığı Köşkü*– in Çankaya and green spaces at the ridges of Çankaya hills looking to the city (about 550 ha), Hippodrome (70 ha with its grass and woodlands), Emniyet Park (about 6 ha), Cebeci Park and Grove (about 25 ha), Aktepe (having a green area of 40 ha), Hacettepe (15 ha), the green areas in Akköprü (about 20 ha around the city), and Çubuk-I Dam (40 ha with its all gardens, parks and green areas and 8 km away from the city). Furthermore, public and private buildings had green areas and gardens in the city. And moreover, afforestation of Güvenpark, construction of new facilities to Kurtuluş Park, Zafer Square arrangement, 19 Mayıs Stadium and Hippodrome were all projects of this period before 1950s. ın 1946, the green areas in and around Ankara was totally 1600 ha which was formed after the proclamation of republic (Çalışkan, 1990, cited in Müftüoğlu, 2008).

4.1.3. 3rd **Phase: 'Urbanisation of Working Class'**

After Second World War, the phenomenon of 'welfare state governed via democracy' appeared worldwide. Turkey shifted to multiparty system, which obstructed the top-down policies ('despite the public for the public' – '*halka rağmen halk için*'). The composition of public policies switched, which made the modernity project of the early Turkish Republic more fragile and open to populist impacts (Tekeli, 1998). Moreover, new economic strategies were adopted to develop agricultural sector, with the help of Marshal Aids (Şengül, 2003). Turkish economy was opened to the world capitalist system (Tekeli, 1998) and new economic development strategies in agricultural sector led to rural-urban migrations in large amounts in the second half of 20th century in Turkey. Farmers departed from rural areas and turned out to be industrial workers in masses. State policies focused on industrial development, rather than housing. The funds transfer of the state was at the minimum levels to the built environment and collective consumption items (Şengül, 2003). Within this context, a new socio-spatial layer was added to the political pattern of cities: working class. This historical phase is named as 'urbanisation of working class' by Şengül (2003).

During this period, the main policies of modernization in agriculture and liberalization resulted in an emphasis on the private sectors. The transportation policies and infrastructure investments shifted to highways rather than railways (Tekeli, 1998). Within urban scale, central state performed a negligent attitude towards built environment and invested less in both built environment and collective consumption although cities witnessed a noteworthy migration. Moreover, local governments were powerless and insufficient to meet the needs of the newcomers. These issues led to social-spatial and political transformations in the urban and national scales (Şengül, 2003). Slum belts –*gecekondu kuşağı*– surrounding the cities, *dolmuş* as a spontaneous solution to the inadequacy of urban public transportation and the problems as a result of urban development through insufficient urban infrastructure led to a fragmentation and dual structure in cities (Tekeli, 1998). In this way, new comers conflicted with the middle classes, which had spatial consequences on urban pattern (Suzuki, 1964; Levine, 1973: cited in Şengül, 2003).

The seizure of urban lands by squatters was a counteraction towards both the life styles of middle classes and the authority of the state (Şengül, 2003). In the spatial patterning of Ankara, Kızılay turned out to be a commercial centre by 1952. Informal sector entered into the urban areas as well (Batuman, 2002). *Dolmuş*, as a public transportation mode, enabled working classes reach the city centre from their squatter houses located along the peripheries of the city (Tekeli and Okyay, 1981, cited in Batuman, 2002). At this point two forms of accessibility were possible for working classes: one is political accessibility and participation via multi-party system; and second is public and symbolic accessibility to the public spaces and sphere of the city since the public space ceased to serve as a scene of the representations of elites and bourgeoisie. Rather public space addressed different representations. In the example of Kızılay Square, urban-societal interaction turned out to be a political confrontation. Differentiated groups and classes encountered at the square and produced their own spatial conceptions and narratives (Batuman, 2002: 57) which led to a socio-spatial conflict on the meaning and function of urban space.

The issue of counteraction of working classes to middle classes and the state within its spatial impacts resulted in two main axes of policies to be used. Firstly, related actors could be matured to increase their capacity to solve social-spatial problems and secondly institutional and legal improvements could be placed within the planning system. Tekeli summarizes the institutional arrangements in five basic veins (Tekeli, 1998):

1. The Bank of Cities –*İller Bankası*– was established in 1945 with the law numbered 4759. The Bank of Municipalities and the Council of Municipal Development were associated to a brand new institution in order to support municipalities through developing their plans, fulfilling projects of infrastructure with technical knowledge, equipment, and financial support.

2. Revenues of municipalities were regulated by Municipal Revenue (numbered 5237) –*Belediye Gelirleri Kanunu*– in 1948. Financial resources of local governments increased with this regulation however it was not enough to overcome the rapid and extensive development in cities.

3. The Association of Professions of Turkish Engineers and Architects (*Türk Mühendis ve Mimar Odaları*) was established in 1954 via the law numbered 6235.

4. New Development Law numbered 6875 was legislated in 1956. This law reflected the new planning approaches in the western world at that time. This legal regulation attempted to solve the rapid development problem in expanding cities through extending the planning authority and responsibility to the outer sides of municipal boundaries, municipal adjacent area –*mücavir alan*.

5. Ministry of Public Works and Housing –*İmar ve İskan Bakanlığı*– was established in 1958 with the law numbered 7116. This legal-spatial code regulated the issues of planning, housing and equipment of construction within an institution at central government level, as a ministry. Therefore, planning issue was expanded to state scale from urban scale. In addition to urban planning also regional planning was comprised within this frame.

After Second World War, only individualistic housing supply existed in Turkey, and two main forms occurred to overcome the scarcity of housing: squatter houses and build-and-sell housing – *yap-satçılık*. Rapid urbanization and insufficiency of provision of zoned land –*imarlı arsa*– led to increase in price of building lots, which hindered the possibility of middle and upper classes to construct one building in a parcel. Therefore, a new model of multi-owners on a single plot was legislated with property ownership law –*kat mülkiyeti kanunu*– in 1954, which paved the way for both build-and-sell housing and housing provision by cooperatives. In addition to these legal and institutional transformations, planning paradigm also shifted. Local planners would be educated so that in 1956 Middle East Technical University (METU) was established, and in 1961, a Planning Department

was opened. The view of planning as an extension of architecture was criticized and urbanism was proposed to be studied within an interdisciplinary approach. Moreover, in 1958 the Ministry of Public Works and Housing was established, which also indicated the paradigm shift in planning. This new paradigm mainly focused on both physical planning concerns and rational-comprehensive planning based on multidisciplinary and multidirectional research. However, this planning approach was not flexible enough to fix the rapidly changing socio-spatial pattern since incremental and local interventions had no place within this framework (Tekeli, 1998).

By the way, population of Ankara reached to 300 000, which was not estimated in the previous plan (Bademli, 1986; cited in Kayasü, 2005). In November 1938, the boundaries of the development plan of Ankara was expanded to the boundaries of municipality. This spatial decision resulted in many negative impacts on the spatial development of Ankara and made Jansen plan difficult to be implemented any more. The development of Ankara turned out to be disordered. Urban sprawl complicated the municipal services and slum-belts occupied the areas (such as valleys, hills, ridges, agricultural lands) which should have been protected as urban green. The population density grew since the single-storey houses in the centre were replaced with multi-storey buildings. Though the land speculation and increase in population density, the central government did not pursue an accurate urban green policy. The left-over areas in the building plots were converted to green areas partially and incrementally. The state could not develop a legislation to handle with these problems especially to fix squatter settlements, therefore urban areas developed arbitrarily by their own dynamics (Müftüoğlu, 2008).

Table 4.1-3. Urban Green Areas in Ankara before Yücel-Uybadin Plan
Source: Çalışkan, 1990, cited in Müftüoğlu, 2008: 44

Types of Green Areas	Area as m^2	Percentage (%)
Parks	3 471 000	77,75
Garden of Presidential Palace	500 000	11,20
Playgrounds for Children	23 000	0,52
Green ribbons and garden of the boulevard	120 000	2,69
Gardens of schools and public buildings	350 000	7,84
TOTAL	4 464 000	100,00

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The increase in population and squatter areas in Ankara with these spatial problems resulted in the need of a new comprehensive plan (Bademli, 1986; cited in Kayasü, 2005). The Directory of Development of Ankara organised a planning competition; the plan of Raşit Uybadin and Nihat Yücel was the winner. However, this plan is usually regarded to be prepared within a limited frame, not capable to foresee and orient the future tendencies of the city (Kayasü, 2005). According to the report prepared in 1953, before the competition, the quantity of urban green areas were relatively better. The amount of parks and kindergarten per person was 12,14 m^2 (Değirmencioğlu, 1997; Müftüoğlu, 2008); and Şenyapılı (1985) reported the amount of urban green area per person as 15,5 m^2 (Müftüoğlu, 2008). However, the distribution of parks and kindergartens was not balanced within the city (Değirmencioğlu, 1997). Urban green areas were intensified around the boulevard and Maltepe district. Before the plan period, the municipality turned to the urban green areas to produce urban land, since the public lands diminished (Çalışkan, 1990; cited in Müftüoğlu, 2008). The specification of competition lacked a set of consistent proposals on the distribution and quality of green areas. In the document the policies pointed solely the principle to include parks, kindergartens, fields for sports facilities, swimming pools, entertainment parks (Değirmencioğlu, 1997). Uybadin-Yücel Plan consisted of a 10 332 ha of zoned area; and 3220 ha of this land was reserved for urban areas of green character which is demonstrated in Table 4.1-4. Urban Green Areas in Ankara in Yücel-Uybadin Plan :

Table 4.1-4. Urban Green Areas in Ankara in Yücel-Uybadin Plan
Source: Çalışkan, 1990, cited in Müftüoğlu, 2008: 45

Types of Green Functions	Area as ha	According to the green usage %	According to the Grand Total
Areas reserved for graveyard development	92	2,86	0,89
Areas reserved for agricultural production facilities	61	1,89	0,59
Sport areas, parks and used green areas	1202	37,33	11,63
Unused green areas	1865	57,92	18,05
TOTAL	3220	100,00	31,16

A population of one million was estimated for the year of 1985; and according to the plan proposals 32,02 m^2 of green areas and 12,02 m^2 of urban green areas per person were aimed to be achieved. However, this ratio has never been accomplished in Ankara since the local governments neglected to develop urban green areas in relation with housing environments

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(Müftüoğlu, 2008). Moreover, Yücel-Uybadin plan seems to be a reaction to the dense and fast development process of Ankara, rather than being sensitive to the comprehensive designing of the urban green areas in relation with the rest of the city. In addition, some of the plan proposals seemed to threaten the green system produced by Jansen Plan (Uzel, 1991; cited in Kayasü, 2005).

Some relatively positive proposals of Yücel-Uybadin Plan were the Site of Olympics on Ankara Stream, the dam, zoo and recreation area in the valley of İncesu, a sports club for riders and golf players in Söğütözü. 32.2 m^2 green area was going to be attributed per each person. However, this ratio and proposals could not be realized (Uzel, 1991; cited in Kayasü, 2005). This was partly a result of the contradiction between Directory of Development of Ankara (who has the responsibility to implement urban plan) and Ankara Municipality, the owner of the city and its problems (Bademli, 1986; cited in Kayasü, 2005).

In relation with plan attempts in the second half of 1950s, DP Government had two political-spatial policies on Kızılay, which was a main spatial project of previous period. DP Government demanded *Kocatepe* Mosque to meet a religious-symbolic entity and *Emek İşhanı*, as an office building which would indicate the power of capital (Batuman, 2002). *Emek İşhanı* was designed to be first skyscraper of Turkey (Batuman, 2002; İlkay, 2007). *Kocatepe* Mosque was located at the end of the axis from *Sıhhiye* along *Mithatpaşa* Boulevard, which implies a symbolic conflict to be created between Atatürk Boulevard with its *Güvenlik* Monument and this new parallel axis. Moreover, *Emek İşhanı* also would create an alternative spatial symbol to the monument, square and the boulevard of Early Republican Era (Batuman, 2002; İlkay, 2007). In 1960, opposition against DP government rose and Kızılay Square with its components and Atatürk Boulevard turned out to be both the stage and subject of a symbolic-political struggle (İlkay, 2007; İlkay, 2009).

In 1956 a new development law was legislated, numbered 6785. According to this law, municipalities having a population greater than 5000 were charged to produce plans. This limitation of population was increased to 10 000 in 1972 (Çalışkan, 1990; cited in Müftüoğlu, 2008). A ministry was planned to be established to deal with all development issues in Turkey; therefore in 1958 Ministry of Public Works and Housing –*İmar ve İskan Bakanlığı*– was established with the law numbered 7116. This law authorised the ministry with all problems of cities and towns (Müftüoğlu, 2008). With the 30th article, municipalities were charged to prepare development programs of four years, and these programs would be finalised after they were discussed and approved in municipal councils.

In 1972 changes were made in the law with law number 1605. With the changes, the development programs were determined to be approved by the ministry after being approved by municipal councils. The amount of urban green areas was another judgement changed in this modified text of development law. Urban green areas were decided to be designed not less than 7 m^2 per person with respect to the population based on the planned area. However, this regulation was almost impossible since even in large cities this value rarely amount to 2 m^2 per person. Added to these, redevelopment readjustment share – *düzenleme ortaklık payı (DOP)*– was regulated as 25 %. The municipality could expropriate 25 % of the land developed with plan without charge to produce public facilities such as streets, squares, parks, parking lots, playgrounds, green areas with their infrastructural constructions. In case the municipalities needed more area than they achieved with this DOP, then they had the opportunity to expropriate more land. However, since they were struggling with financial incapability municipalities did not prefer this second way unless it was necessary (Çalışkan, 1990; cited in Müftüoğlu, 2008).

Meanwhile, in 1960s, the destruction of rapid urbanization in metropolitan cities and the negative aspects of competition plans were recognised (Sancaktar, 2003, cited in Kayasü, 2005). Yücel-Uybadin Plan foresaw the population of Ankara for 1985 as 750 000; however this population was already exceeded in 1962 (Müftüoğlu, 2008). In 1965s, the quantity and ratio of urban green areas were decreased to half; active and passive green areas in Ankara was 2 204 454 m^2 and the ratio was 2,4 m^2 / person (Çalışkan, 1990; cited in Müftüoğlu, 2008). After 1960s, forms of urbanization in Turkey changed. Before 1960, the population was about 200 000; but after it reached to 1 000 000. Moreover, before, air pollution did not exist, however by 1960s the city encountered with the air pollution problem. Ankara and Izmir turned out to be metropolitan cities. Several municipalities occurred around the metropolitan cities since the urban areas did not fit into the urban municipal boundaries. This would lead to a shift from administration of one municipality to multi municipalities of metropolitan cities. Furthermore, with the increase in private car ownership and production, high income groups trended to live in the suburban areas of the cities (Tekeli, 1998). Ankara necessitated a more comprehensive planning mechanism, which was going to cover the developments outer of the boundaries of municipality (Sancaktar, 2003, cited in Kayasü, 2005).

Urban areas were developed within urban sprawl –*yağ lekesi*; large lots of lands were added to the peripheries. Neither squatter housing nor housing provision by cooperation did not suffice the housing demands. In city centres, demolish-build (*yık-yap*) processes were witnessed. Historical and cultural spatial values were destructed. Population density increased and urban green areas diminished, all of which resulted in inadequacy of social infrastructure. On one hand, the mode of urbanization resulted in impacts decreasing the quality of urban life. But on the other hand, planning as both a concept and a performance was being developed in Turkish context. The establishment of State Planning Organization in 1961 and the start of five year development plans of the state –*beş yıllık kalkınma planları*– led to a more comprehensive and central planning of social-economic issues beyond physical planning. Within this historical phase rational-comprehensive planning approach was adopted. However, this planning approach could not cohere with Turkish cities which are rapidly urbanized via impositions rather than plans. Whereas Turkish cities necessitated a more flexible approach of strategic plans at that time (Tekeli, 1998).

As an extension of central and rational-comprehensive plan approach, metropolitan development plan bureaus were established in İstanbul, İzmir and Ankara, in the second half 1960s. Moreover, just after urban monographies, *İller Bankası* offered planning competitions for other large cities, such as Konya (1964), Bafra (1966), Adana (1966), Sivas (1967), Erzurum (1968), Trabzon (1970), İzmit (1970), Zonguldak (1971), and Gaziantep (1972). These competitions and planning bureaus created an intellectual atmosphere to discuss planning paradigms, which led to development of both the skills of professional planners and the scientific content of planning in Turkey. Two new areas of specialization entered in planning discipline: reconstruction development plan –*koruma amaçlı imar planı*– and development plan for tourism areas –*turizm amaçlı imar planı* (Tekeli, 1998).

The Ministry of Housing and Development established Ankara Metropolitan Development Planning Bureau –*Ankara Metropoliten Nazım İmar Plan Bürosu (AMANPB)*– in 1969. With respect to the studies held between 1970 and 1975, the bureau produced a metropolitan planning scheme called '1990 Ankara Metropolitan Plan', which was accepted in 1982 (Kayasü, 2005). In the report (attached to the plan) the insufficiency of green areas was determined and a policy to increase urban green areas in a ratio with respect to the needs of population was proposed (Uzel, 1991, cited in Kayasü, 2005). The existing

urban green areas and the targeted ones are seen in table 4.1.5.; which is insufficient in both the amounts and ratios of m^2 / person (Çalışkan, 1990; cited in Müftüoğlu, 2008).

Table 4.1-5. Urban green areas in Ankara within neighbourhood and urban scales in 1970s

	Existing standard (m^2 / person)	Targeted standard (m^2 / person)	Existing area (ha)	Targeted area (ha)	Existing area / Targeted area %
Neighbourhood scale	0,42	8,00	51,27	968,79	5
Urban Scale	2,78	20,00	353,54	2421,97	14
TOTAL	3,20	28,00	404,81	3390,76	19

Planning decisions to protect the existing green areas were placed in the report. This set includes the protection of valley of İmrahor-İncesu, lakes of Çubuk–I Dam and Bayındır Dam, protecting and benefiting from the surrounding of Mogan Lake. A second set of cautions consist of mountains, valleys and dams located outer circle of the city such as Nenek, Ravlı, Hatip, Lalahan Valleys, and mountains of İdris, Hüseyin Gazi, Elmadağ, and dam of Kurtboğazı. As a last proposal, the areas between the development axes was suggested to be developed for recreational facilities (Değirmencioğlu, 1997). Burat (2000) argues that the tendency of the bureau to value the valleys as urban green can be considered as an attempt to produce an urban green belt (Burat, 2000). These green belts would on the one hand provide air corridors to prevent air pollution and on the other hand enable citizen to experience various recreational and natural facilities. Great areas of urban green were also determined with this plan, to be opened to the use of citizens, such as opening Atatürk Forest Farm –*Atatürk Orman Çiftliği,* and university campuses of Middle East Technical University and Hacettepe University to the use of citizens (Kayasü, 2005).

While the rapid urbanization in these years, the main actor was the local governments (especially municipalities) to be empowered for the solution of urban problems. Therefore, in the second half of 1960s, new legislation was concentrated on local governments, development issues and squatter areas (Tekeli, 1998). For a long time, squatters were ignored both politically and spatially till the development approach in the first five year development plans of the state in 1963 and law on slum areas in 1966 (Şengül, 2003). Municipalities provide infrastructural needs of these populations such as electricity and water resources. By this way, these people were legalised and brought under control of the state. On the one hand, this led to their adaptation to both economic and political systems. On the other hand, supporting squatter settlements turned out to be a way to achieve more votes in 1960s and 1970s (Öncü, 1988; Özbudun, 1976: cited in Şengül, 2003: 161). The

populations in squatter areas voted for the leftist mayoral candidates (Tekeli, 1998) and since the population of squatters were almost half of the populations in cities, the political focus shifted to the leftist policies which concerned their needs and demands (Şengül, 2003). After local elections in 1973, a New Municipality Movement was observed with principles of: democracy, productiveness (*üreticilik*), creating resources (*kaynak yaratıcılık*), organizing collective consumption (*toplumsal tüketimi örgütleyicilik*), unity and integrativeness (*birlik ve bütünlükçülük*) and rule-making (*kural koyuculuk*) (Tekeli, 1998).

Between 1973 and 1980, Republican People's Party (RPP–*CHP*) was directing the local governments in large cities like Ankara, İstanbul and İzmir. Within this period, local governments had the chance to realize large-scaled systematic spatial policies on built environment. In the second half of 1970s, some political developments led to new channels of democracy such as devolution to local governments (*güç devri*), new expression channels of masses, and service provision of local governments to cities, all these developed the movement of 'New Municipality' (Finkel, 1990: cited in Şengül, 2003).

Table 4.1-6. 3ʳᵈ Phase of Reproduction Process of Urban Green in Ankara ('Urbanisation of Working Class') – 1 (1950–1960) [table prepared by the thesis author]

Historical Phase	Period	Spatial transformation / Urbanization	Legal-Institutional Framework	Planning approach	Political and Spatial Focus	Ex. of Urban Green
3ʳᵈ Phase: 'Urbanisation of Working Class' – I	Rapid Urbanization Period within Multiparty Regime (1950 – 1960)	Nation-state scale: 1. Shift to highway weighed policies from railways 2. Investment on industrial facilities rather than housing Urban Scale: 3. Development of squatter housing in metropolitan cities → slum belts 4. *Dolmuş* as a component in urban public transportation 5. Urban sprawl within insufficient urban infrastructure ⬇ 6. fragmentation as a result of conflict between working class and middle class (and struggle with the state) 7. dual structure in cities	**1945** – The Bank of Cities –*İller Bankası*– was established **1948** – Municipal Revenue (numbered 5237) –*Belediye Gelirleri Kanunu* **1954** – The Association of Professions of Turkish Engineers and Architects (*Türk Mühendis ve Mimar Odaları*) **1956** – New Development Law numbered 6875 **1958** – Ministry of Public Works and Housing –*İmar ve İskan Bakanlığı*	• Top-down destructive policies especially in İstanbul • Steps to comprehensive and central planning practice **1956** – Establishment of Middle East Technical University (METU) **1961** – Establishment of Planning Department in METU • Competition based physical planning concerns ⬇ 1957 Yücel-Uybadin Plan	Focus of Policy: ➢ modernization in agriculture and ➢ liberalization ➢ industrialization Spatial Focus: ➢ İstanbul To solve problems: ➢ Maturing the actors to increase their political-technical potential ➢ Institutional and legal improvements	Ankara: Kuğulu Park (1958)

Table 4.1-7. 3ʳᵈ Phase of Reproduction Process of Urban Green in Ankara ('Urbanisation of Working Class') – 2 [1960 – 1980] [table prepared by the thesis author]

Historical Phase	Period	Spatial transformation / Urbanization	Legal-Institutional Framework	Planning approach	Political and Spatial Focus	Eg. Urban Green Areas & Open Spaces
3ʳᵈ Phase: 'Urbanisation of Working Class' – II	Rational-Comprehensive and Central Planning Period (1960 – 1980)	Nation-state scale: 1. Ankara and İzmir turned out to be metropolitan cities Urban Scale: 2. Legalization of squatter housing in metropolitan cities → slum belts 3. CBD – central business districts transformed by construction of organized industrial zones –*organize sanayi siteleri*– industrial production out of the centre 4. Increase in private car ownership and *dolmuş, mimibüs* 5. Urban sprawl 6. Air pollution in Ankara 7. Multi-municipalities within one city 8. Suburbanization	**1961** – State Planning Organization **1961** – Department of Planning in METU **1969** – Ankara Metropolitan Development Planning Bureau	• Comprehensive and central planning practice • Destruction of cultural-historical sites • The concept of regional planning • Institutionalizing of economic and social planning via five year development plans of the state • Social and economic planning beyond physical planning • rational-comprehensive planning based on multidisciplinary & multidirectional research 1990 Ankara Metropolitan Plan	Focus of Policy: ➢ industrialization ➢ central planning ➢ squatter areas and their political potential Urban Spatial Focus: ➢ Urban public transportation and traffic jam ➢ Air pollution in Ankara To solve urban problems: ➢ Some parts of city centre were closed to traffic – pedestrian zones ➢ *Tahsisli Yol* – reserved road implementation	Ankara: University campuses (METU, Hacettepe), Sakarya Pedestrian Zone (planned in 1979), Fragmentation of Kuğulu Park (1973-77)

These developments increased the tension between leftist local governments and rightist conservative central government; in addition especially the metropolitan cities were turned out to be battlegrounds (Tekeli, 1982; cited in Şengül, 2003). At the end of 1970s, both economically and politically the country had entered a crisis which would lead to a new coup d'état in the year 1980 (Şengül, 2003).

Chaos in political atmosphere also influenced the spatial and symbolic transformation of urban green areas in Ankara with urbanization dynamics. Kızılay square turned out to be a political arena since 1960s although social movements were forbidden by law in 1964 (İlkay, 2007; İlkay, 2009). During the last half of 1970s, public space was both the subject and the scene of a destruction. Chaos in streets, squares and other open public spaces resulted in citizens to lock themselves in their private sphere, in their houses. People had to define their identities within their homes; neighbourhoods and urban spatial pattern was redefined by the hand of specific identities and groups which led to one of the worst violence actions in the city threatening the social topography. Different forms of political-spatial ownership (or place attachment) were imagined, conceived and represented at and over urban space (Batuman, 2002).

Especially the identities which were visible in Yenişehir (Kızılay) also started to demand moving and expanding through public webs of the city. This demand on movement and visibility led to urban violence and destruction of public space for the sake of controlling space and hegemonic representations and identities. Urban rent expelled public functions using outer space along the boulevard such as offices, pastry shops, cafes, and restaurants. In 1940 the road was 40 m, however by 1980, this road reached at 50 m since the green refuge and sidewalks were reduced. Moreover, urban green areas were also diminished. Güvenpark was partly destructed and reduced in area by constructing bus station within the park lot. In addition to its recreational function, Güvenpark turned out to be the entrance door of the city and city centre. Kızılay Park, similar to this example, had been shrunk in the years although it was also a project of early republican ideals. In 1979, Kızılay building was demolished with its surrounding park to construct a new parking lot at the centre of the city. The urban functions at the boulevard and the square were removed to the peripheries of the centre; and the square turned out to be a passage of pedestrians and vehicles. These functions were relocated in Sakarya, Yüksel and İzmir sub-pedestrian districts. By this way, the fragmented urban everyday life continued in sub-scales which were under control (Batuman, 2002).

4.2. Transformation of Urban Green Policy in Turkey after 1980s

Since the decline of welfare state in western world in 1970s, growth-oriented neoliberal policies have shaped urban areas rather than redistributive spatial policies. Furthermore, distributional politics replaced with the identity politics. These processes influenced the definition, creation and appropriation of urban green areas in Turkey especially after 1980s which resulted in three sets of factors. Firstly, by 1980s, the use value has replaced with the exchange value deeper in the creation and reproduction processes of urban space. As an output, public spaces are exposed to privatization, fragmentation and exclusion. Secondly, this economic context led to a decrease in the quality of urban space production, and as a result the comprehensive planning approaches are left aside; incremental solutions, quantitative sensibilities (green standards only in numbers rather than quality) and emphasis on 'project' rather than 'plan' shone out. Furthermore, (urban) green areas, open public spaces and cultural-historical and natural preservation sites, especially in Turkey, face the risk of reduction and destruction. Thirdly, as the identity politics gained a relative importance, the influence of representational politics fade in urban space reproduction, and the representational character had a special importance in planning and urban policy issues.

Examining the economic-political context in Turkey, by 1980s, emphasis shift from use value to exchange value in the urban spatial reproduction process generally. In his PhD thesis Balaban (2008) argues that especially by 2002, legal and institutional regulations have occurred to facilitate private investments on built environment, which is basic, framing argument to be considered through the analysis of reproduction process of an urban sector or function, even urban parks in relation with other land uses. Moreover, discussions have seemed to concentrate on identity issues, as a result of the rise of identity politics rather than class / (re)distribution politics by 1980s. Public sphere, class and spatial fragmentation also have been discussed on the issues of identity (such as accessibility of public sphere with *türban*, visibility of women in public sphere, destroying the Roman culture in Sulukule). Moreover, on the one hand reduction in both quantity and quality of urban parks has been experienced, on the other hand fragmentation has been seen in the urban open public spaces added to the conflict between property and ownership relations.

The 2013 report of worldcitiescultureforum.com compares the cities with respect to ratio of green areas open to public use (source: http://www.worldcitiescultureforum.com/data-themes/cultural-heritage). Istanbul has a ratio of 1,5 %, with respect to data from year 2009, which is the lowest rate among the other cities (Fig. 4.2.1).

Figure 4.2-1. Percentages of green areas open to the public in cities

However, the Ministry of Forestry and Water Affairs argues that İstanbul has been a greener city by displaying some visual material in the web site such as displayed in Fig. 4.2.2. (date of the news in this web page is 20.07.2012).

Figure 4.2-2. Alibeyköy Dam and the forests surrounding the dam, *Ministry of Forestry and Water Affairs***, the date of the news: 20.07.2012**

In the same web page, it is proposed that before 1994, forestation was impossible or rare as a result of lack of water in the city. But, since 1995, which is the year Recep Tayyip Erdoğan got to be the mayor of the metropolitan city, affairs of greening and forestation in Istanbul has enlarged with the help of the establishment of the firm Ağaç and Peyzaj A.Ş.

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It is explained that the problem of water shortage was resolved between the years of 1994-2002 by the General Director of İSKİ, Veysel Eroğlu, who was the minister of forestry and water at the time of this news. These arguments seem not to reflect the reality rather they seem to be presented for the sake of propaganda. Some other discussions and visual materials are shared within reports of chambers of architects, city planners, environmental engineers, and landscape architects and in some discussion forums, newspapers. However, it is really difficult to receive reliable information and visual documents on the transformation of green areas in cities. One of the visuals shared in virtual platforms is as follows, which is also argued to be published in the newspaper of Sözcü, in 2012.

Figure 4.2-3. The decrease in green areas in Istanbul
Source: http://wowturkey.com/forum/viewtopic.php?t=136028&start=160

It is difficult to document the decrease or increase of green areas in the cities, since the data on urban green seems not saved homogenously and correctly, and it is difficult to achieve this data. A similar situation exists in the transformation of green areas in Ankara, as the areas of greenery per person in Ankara is explained as in Table 4.2-1.

Table 4.2-1. The differentiation in m² of green area / person in Ankara after 1994
Source: http://www.ankara.bel.tr/index.php?cID=4245

Year	m² of green area / person		Year	m² of green area / person
1994	2,08		2004	9,13
1995	2,38		2005	11,03
1996	3,52		2006	12,16
1997	4,13		2007	14,91
1998	5,63		2008	17,36
1999	7,41		2009	17,74
2000	7,60		2010	17,87
2001	7,83		2011	13,36
2002	8,07		2012	18,76
2003	8,84			

However the in-depth interviews indicated that citizens feel the green areas have been decreased both in areas, and lost its liveability with different classes and groups of people. Moreover, the destruction of AOÇ has been the subject of legal processes and academic, political discussions. Nonetheless, urban green areas have been reduced both in qualitative and quantitative respects. Although the population has increased especially in metropolitan areas, the supplied green areas were not expanded with respect to their needs though the increase in built environment and number of constructions. The legal procedures, planning approaches and construction boom in Turkey are discussed in-depth in Balaban's PhD thesis of which indicates a 'deregulation' and 'liberalization' process in urbanization of Tukey (Balaban, 2008). This process affected the attempt towards green areas both in national scale (e.g. legal reformulation over demolished forest areas known as 2B forest areas within media) and in local levels (e.g. production of new urban parks which are heavily built environment rather than natural environment). The metropolitan areas of Turkey, such as İstanbul – as a city expanded a population to 14 million – and Ankara have lost their green areas either the urban parks designed or naturally grown groves. On the other hand, the size, function, form and meaning of urban parks in different scales have recently been transformed, which will be discussed for Ankara in the next chapter.

Another problem area in reproduction of urban green is the institutional and legal fragmentation in urban planning issues, which is evaluated delicately in the Master's thesis of Duyguluer (2012). As a result of the shift in spatial policy regulating urban space by

1980s, the process of construction and conservation of (urban) green areas have also been fragmented within legal, institutional and economic frames. This also resulted in a chaos in formulating urban green areas. Investigating the production process of urban parks especially in metropolitan areas, the actors are conflicting in some cases to have the authority and responsibility to supply urban green areas, and to reproduce urban parks; and the boundaries of authority occur as a question in relation with institutional framework of ownership of urban green. The motivation of the authority indicates the definition and philosophical basis of urban greenery for the responsible actors. Urban parks in Ankara seem to be designed for the sake of either political or economic rant within a greater political/economic project or in some cases as a prestige and gift to the inhabitants of the neighbourhood and in some other cases as a symbol of power; but in almost every case this process can be evaluated as a part of macro scale planning and urban policy framing.

In the next section, the context and policy shifts are examined in national scale for Turkish planning system and reproduction of urban green. Firstly, the theoretical basis is discussed on the conflict between redistributive and growth-oriented policies. And secondly, the historical phases and especially the recent planning approach of urban green are handled.

4.2.1. Tension between redistributive and growth-oriented policies

There is always a tension between redistributive and growth-oriented forms of state spatial policies because of mainly three reasons; firstly (at micro level) urban space is both the subject and scene of the contradiction between use value and exchange value [with reference to Lefebvre (1991)]; secondly (at a macro level influencing urban scale) capitalism needs to overcome 'space' by using space (in other words 'annihilation of space by time'; as Harvey (1982) argued through 'spatial fix' and 'built environment'); and thirdly, state on the one hand needs to reproduce the hegemonic, existing mode of production (capitalism) and on the other hand it should sometimes invest on non-profit areas such as distributive fields, which are never preferred by capitalists, as a set of condensed class-relationships (as Poulantzas (1973) and Jessop (1982, 1990) argues).

The tension between re-distributive and growth-oriented forms of state intervention in spatial planning and urban policy field has been argued since 1970s, and especially after 1980s. To understand and discuss the Turkish case of policy shift in spatial interventions (similarities and differences with the Western examples) first we should consider the socio-economic political context's transformation roughly and then as a result the paradigm shift in both local-central government (local-nation state) relations and the meaning of 'urban'

(and the meaning of urban policy) in local government and urban policy theories. Then we can discuss the specific case of Turkish urban green policy and planning with reference to spatial transformation, and changes in legal and institutional frameworks.

In 1960s, welfare state was functioning as a caution against capitalist crisis, in Harvey's studies (1982, 1985), over-accumulation crisis, as a result of spendings on demand side and the spatial investments in developed countries were made on consumption fund, housing and built environment. In this scenario, local governments were working harmonious with central government; they were functioning as 'distributive organs'. In Turkish case, the situation was a bit different since there was not an over-accumulation problem in Turkey, but rather Turkish Republic had to invest on the first circuit, since there was not enough capital and Turkey had to be industrialized by import-substitute policies. Besides, with modernization process in agriculture, large and developed cities were witnessed a wider migration; therefore the migrated masses had to find their solutions as ghettos-*gecekondu* and informal sector to be included in both spatial-social and economic life of the cities.

After 1970s, two critical issues were observed. 1970's economic crises led to a shift from Fordist production regime to Post-fordist regime (in terms of Regulation School) and Keynesian State to Post-Keynesian State. Capitalism had to overcome the crises through overcoming spatial boundaries of 'nation state' which brought about the argument on 'globalization', 'entrepreneurialism' and 'governance'. Harvey (1989) in his classical writing, *From Manegerialism to Entrepreneurialism*, explains the new role of attributed to local governments. In 1985, a group of seven advanced capitalist countries come together in Orleans, to discuss the 'erosion of economic base'; the solution was formulated as (though different methods) local government's becoming 'innovative' and 'entrepreneurial', which resulted in a shift from 2nd circuit to 3rd circuit in advanced capitalist societies, to develop technology, knowledge. Also in the same article, Harvey defines the process as both spatial and institutional rescaling. Therefore, the change in this process can be discussed with reference to two main issues; one is the relationship between local-central government (and the meaning of local governments in urban policy); and second is the changing meaning of 'urban' in urban policy process.

The shift of urban policy field is conceptualized as de-territorialization of both spatial dimension and institutional dimension in Brenner's theory [state rescaling]. He proposes a multi-scalar re-territorialization. In Turkish case, both spatially and institutionally this should be considered. Added to Brenner (1999a, 1999b, 2003), Jessop (2002) also

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formulates the rescaling process of state rather than dissolution of state; Jessop has a set of three concepts, denationalization (rescaling, and sub- supra- levels of nation state), destatization (government to governance), and internationalization (global economic processes). On the basis of this, urban has three new meanings; first 'urban as a policy instrument' (which means being a part of macro policy, world cities being engines / nodes of globalisation); 'as a context of policy' (which indicates urban specific problems such as segregation, poverty, gentrification, transportation) and 'urban as a site of policy' (which indicates the institutional part of the issue, governance) (Bayırbağ, 2010). These conceptualization will be adopted to reproduction of urban green areas in the following sections, however firstly the Turkish planning and political context should be grasped.

4.2.2. Policy Shifts in Urban Green (Re)production in Turkey

In Turkish case, urban policy, the meaning of the urban and local governments' role have changed differently from developed countries. In the second half of 1970s, a conflict between local governments and central governments was seen especially around the urban collective consumption issues; since the central state did invested on the first circuit rather than the built environment –tahsisli yol in Ankara, metro projects, Sakarya Pedestrian Zone were some examples of the intervention of local governments conflicting with the spatial policies of central government (İlkay, 2007). However, after 1980s, the authority and responsibilities of local governments have been changed. Balaban, (2008) presents two sub-periods after 1980s as: (1) the decentralization of planning authorities, (2) after 2002 recentralization of authorities.

With legal and institutional formations on the one hand, municipalities were authorized by planning and approving; on the other hand the planning organization was fragmented after 1980s. Moreover, international actors such as World Bank, IMF also joined the process. On the other hand, this didn't mean that nation state has collapsed or entrepreneur locals have occurred but rather, with TOKİ, Regional Development Agencies, the central state had more possibility to intervene the urban policy. This is partly because of the sector-based character of social policy and decentralization. Through governance, nation state is the one who makes interrelations between supranational and sub-national in Turkish case. Also, in Turkish case, not each and every city could join the global competing cities' system. Therefore, the role of nation state in reproducing urban space still takes a critical part in Turkish planning and production of urban space.

4.3.   Phases of Urban Green Reproduction in Ankara by 1980s

After 1980s, capital accumulation processes and exchange value have dominated the production process of urban space further. Moreover, class politics replaced with the identity politics. As a result, the conflict expanded between production of urban green as a service within use value of citizens and using these areas for political or economic rent by the local and central governments especially in Turkey. This period is called as 'Urbanisation of Capital' by Şengül (2003) and three phases are discussed under this period within this study. In the first phase, the shift and the dominance of capital accumulation in urban environments will be discussed until the Islamic political representations took the control in firstly local governments and then central government. In the second sub-section, the dominance of Islamic representations and the JDP government will be examined within urban green reproduction in Ankara. In the third sub-section, the last period and recent developments will be held to construct a basis for the examination in the next chapter, and especially counteraction against JDP's green policy will be focused on.

4.3.1. 4th Phase: Shift to 'Urbanisation of Capital'

1980s is regarded as a turning point on the basis of three reasons. Firstly, after the II. World War, urbanization and demographic shifts saturated and secondly the great depression of 1970s resulted in a reconstruction process of which direction became clearer by 1980s (Tekeli, 1998). This process also affected both urbanization, and economic-political context of Turkish Republic (Şengül, 2003). Thirdly, the new set of economic policies named as 24 January Decisions and Coup d'état on 12th of September in 1980 are cornerstones of a new era in Turkish political, economic and spatial history. The spatial organization of Turkish cities has been determined predominantly by the movement of two phenomena: population and capital, which were reorganized during this era (Tekeli, 1998).

The spatial reorganization of population is product of two issues: first of all, the population growth of each region and urban settlement, and second, attracted and/or lost populations. After 1980s, interurban migration became more apparent and rural-urban migration lost its significance. In 1950s, the population growth rate in Turkey was 2,8 %, however, in 1997 this rate decreased to 1,4 %. The urbanization pattern of the country also resulted in differentiated migration forms. The peak point in massive increase in urban population was experienced in the period between 1965 and 1970 as 6,1 %. This rate was about 4,1 % in 1997. In case regarding the settlements with municipalities as urban areas, then in 1945, the urbanization rate was 27,7 %; however this rate increased to 74,6 % in 1994. The

significance of rural-urban migration lost its importance within the total migration movements, however by 1980s, the intercity migrations gained a relative significance. After 1990s, new forms of migration was added to the scene with the migrations from Eastern and South-eastern regions as a result of security concerns and forced migration from the evacuation of villages (Tekeli, 1998).

The movement of capital also transformed on the basis of shifts within economic policies of the country. Three strategic choices shaped the form of adaptation of Turkey to globalized world (Tekeli, 1998). Firstly, Turkey shifted to an export-promotion industrialization (*ihraç ikameci sanayileşme*) from import-promotion industrialization (*ithal ikameci sanayileşme*) through an international process supported by IMF (International Monetary Fund) and the World Bank (Şengül, 2003). This policy necessitated Turkey to integrate to global markets and take its place via globalization process. To provide this integration, as a second strategy, Turkey concentrated on telecommunication investments within infrastructure policies. Turkey attempted to be a part of 'cyberspace' worldwide. The communication capacity of Turkey suddenly enlarged and even villages were added to this system. These first two strategic choices processes mutually, and cultivated each other. In addition to these first two, the third strategy was developing necessary institutional arrangements in such a new economic structure [i.e. arrangements in capital markets, constructing free trade areas (*serbest ticaret alanları*) and production zones (*serbest üretim bölgeleri*), and making reforms in banking structure] (Tekeli, 1998).

On the basis of these political-economic transformations, the spatial structure of the country also have changed. At the national level, three specific spatial transformations were witnessed. Firstly, the position of İstanbul within urban system of Turkey has changed. İstanbul demanded to re-gain its role as a world city in 1990s, this was realized by its coming into prominence via the spatial and economic shifts. The industries in the city adopted to the world system by being decentralized in the Marmara region, which resulted in the integration of these production areas to web of world settlements. Second spatial transformation at national level was spatial developments at coasts of Western and Southern regions of the country –called as *"kıyılaşma"* in Turkish. Thirdly, entrepreneurs in Anatolian cities turned out to integrate with foreign economics through developing their industries to produce for world markets directly, such as Denizli, Gaziantep, Çorum, Kahamanmaraş, which indicates a shift in scales (Tekeli, 1998).

In addition to national level, each city also had spatial transformations at urban scale. Three different impacts can be mentioned behind these transformations. First impact has been observed via the changes in the functions of cities and forms of control of urban areas around their surroundings. One of the best examples of this issue is the decentralization of industry and centralization of control and coordination functions in city centres during the shift from agricultural society to industrial society; then later from industrial society to information society, which also indicates a societal transformation within social stratification. Especially in metropolitan cities, the CBD (central business district) changed to consist of control and coordination functions, banking, business spaces and working areas which led to new prestige areas within CBDs (Tekeli, 1998). The second impact appeared in the forms of construction supply and the organization of urban transportation. And third impact has been witnessed within the changes in scales of cities. As a result, the transformation of urban spatial organization, the shifts in urban transportation and the increases of urban scales and sizes resulted in significant transformations in urban spatial pattern and especially in housing areas such as suburbanization, transformation of squatter settlements to apartment blocks –*apartmanlaşma*– and urban transformation projects around this issue (Tekeli, 1998) with gentrification.

Parallel to these spatial transformations, state changed the approach to urban built environment and the capital was reorganized in relation with first and second circuits of capital accumulation process. For a long time, the state had neglected the infrastructure of cities, after 1980s the intervention into the built environment increased through investments of both the state and private investors. Especially in large cities, investments shifted to urban built environment, communication and transportation infrastructures, and collective consumption (Şengül, 2003). Moreover the economic structure local governments were empowered by new legislation and their authority was expanded, which resulted a more entrepreneur model (Şengül, 1993; cited in Şengül, 2003).

Furthermore, on the basis of 1980 Constitution, before local elections, the structure of local governments in metropolitan cities were changed. Local governments were reorganized as metropolitan municipality –*büyükşehir belediyesi*– and district municipalities –*ilçe belediyeleri* (Keleş, 1988; cited in Şengül, 2003) which eased the entrepreneur practices entering the urbanization issues (Keleş, 1992; cited in Şengül, 2003). As a result, national and international construction firms took part in housing, infrastructure and transportation projects. The cities turned out to be on the focus of capital accumulation and rent became

the basic tools of this accumulation, private sector started to invest on built environment. Shopping centres, five-star hotels, and business centres occurred in metropolitan cities as an extension of this phenomenon (Keleş and Öncü, 1994; cited in Şengül, 2003). Via the amnesty laws and partial development plans by 1985, the squatter settlements converted to apartment blocks (Özdemir, 1999; cited in Şengül, 2003) and presented the lands of squatters to legal urban land market (Yönder, 1998; cited in Şengül, 2003). As a result of all these spatial transformations, the urban spatial pattern has formed in dualities and developed in a fragmented structure; middle and upper-middle classes settled in gated communities and with the formation of sub-centres multi-centred structure appeared as a result of this differentiation and fragmentation. The Turkish left had no project for the representation of urban poor (Şengül, 2003). In addition, by 1990s, the representation of urban poor started to be dominated by Islamic parties (Robins and Aksoy, 1995; cited in Şengül, 2003). Şengül (2003) argues that, in Turkish cities a class-based fragmented and patterned built environment was created, by the end of 1990s.

In addition to spatial transformations, by 1980s, several legal and institutional transformations were witnessed. Three essential institutional transformations were seen. Firstly, provision of mass housing, which was practiced gradually in the previous period, was institutionalised through laws of mass housing and as a result Mass Housing Administration – TOKİ (*Toplu Konut İdaresi*) was established. Different from 1960s, this institutional shift accelerated the funds transfer to the housing sector and transformed the urban forms in Turkey (Tekeli, 1998). Especially in large cities, this issue eased the capital transfer to the built environment by the hand of both state and private sector (Şengül, 2003). Second institutional transformation was the abolishment of *İmar İskan Bakanlığı* (Tekeli, 1998) and in relation with this the metropolitan bureau was also closed by the end of 1980s (Kayasü, 2005). Thirdly, the resources of local governments were enlarged by the legal regulations in 1983 and 1984; the control of central government over local governments were minimised and authority and responsibility of planning and approval were given to local governments (Tekeli, 1998). Furthermore, a new institutional organization of a layered municipal structure was legalised; as new institutions Metropolitan Municipalities were established over the district municipalities (by law, numbered 3030); the planning authority and responsibility was transferred to the Ankara Municipality. In the new law of development (numbered 3194), the ratio of regulating common spaces (DOP) was

increased, and the service spaces of public uses such as streets, squares, urban parks, green areas were going to be provided within this ratio in development plans (Kayasü, 2005).

The structural plan (2015) of Ankara – fourth plan – was developed as a set of policies on the basis of decentralization principle. Policies over valleys and the idea of green belt, which was inherited from the previous plan, were developed; the green belt was decided to be enlarged to 8-10 kilometres; moreover, the Bureau of Green Areas and Environmental Regulation was established in 1984 within the organization of Planning Department of Directory of Development, to produce urban green areas at neighbourhood level. The prioritized topics of bureau's study were Valleys of Portakal Çiçeği, Papazın Bağı and Dikmen; which were also subjected to urban renewal and transformation projects. The other decision was the (re)construction of Papazın Bağı, Seğmenler Park, Botanik Garden, Dikmen and Portakal Çiçeği valleys as urban parks in 1985 (Kayasü, 2005). At that time, also Kuğulupark was a specific place at Tunalı, on the Atatürk Boulevard, this park was constructed in 1958 and was fragmented by a road passing through the park in the years of 1973-77 as a result of a protocol signed by Vedat Dalakoy (the mayor of Ankara at that time) with the embassy of Poland (Memlük, 2009). In the last metropolitan plan proposal of Ankara (2025 macroform proposal) was prepared and approved by the Ministry of Housing and Development on the basis of the studies of Ankara Metropolitan Municipality. This plan proposed two critical issues: one is the regions to be protected and the second is urban macroform (Değirmencioğlu, 1997; cited in Kayasü, 2005). Ankara Metropolitan Municipality defined criteria of urban green areas in their report. In addition to the determination of urban green standards, they also proposed to (re)design the urban open and green areas and add these areas to the existing urban green stock by defining 'Specific Project Areas'. One example proposed as these project areas was *AOÇ* (Kayasü, 2005). Urban green areas are now recognized as partially and solved within 'project' areas, rather than in planning processes in relation with the other sites of the city and urban green system.

Examining the defined mechanisms, tools, authorised institutions and policy instruments, the frame has been fragmented. Ankara plans, which were achieved through competition processes, had comprehensive and planned approach to urban green areas, which also indicates top down process of constructing urban green areas within a motivation of either ideological or environmental targets within the planning discipline as a profession. After 1980s, the institutional aspect of the producing urban green has been fragmented, for the sake of developing tourism and urban rent the spatial policies advocating exchange value

rather than use value influenced not only the urban green areas but also destroyed national green areas, forests at macro level. At urban level efficient policy instrument to get urban green areas was provided by 18th article of the law of development (see table 4.3-1).

Table 4.3-1. 4ᵗʰ Phase of Reproduction Process of Urban Green in Ankara ('Urbanisation of Capital) – [After 1980s] [table prepared by the thesis author]

Historical Phase	Period	Spatial transformation / Urbanization	Legal-Institutional Framework	Planning approach	Political and Spatial Focus	Eg. Urban Green
4ᵗʰ Phase: Shift to 'Urbanisation of Capital'	The Period of Strategic Planning under the Authority of Local Government (1980s – onwards)	Nation-state scale: 1. İstanbul changed to a world city within urban system of Turkey. 2. Spatial developments at Western and Southern coasts – *kıyılaşma.* 3. Anatolian entrepreneurs integrated with world markets directly. Urban Scale: 1. Decentralization of industry and centralization of control 2. Transformation in forms of construction supply and organization of urban transportation. 3. Increases of urban scales and sizes 4. suburbanization, 5. apartment blocks – *apartmanlaşma–* 6. urban transformation projects 7. gentrification	**1984** – İmar İskan Bakanlığı and Ankara Metropolitan Development Planning Bureau were abolished. Bayındırlık İskan Bakanlığı was established. **1984** – TOKİ (*Toplu Konut İdaresi* – Mass Housing Administration) **1984** – New development law – numbered 3194 – enlarging the authority and responsibilities of local governments in planning and construction affairs. **1984** – Law of Metropolitan Municipalities – numbered 3030	• Incremental planning practice • Amnesty laws and partial plans • New law of development (numbered 3194), increased the ratio of regulating common spaces (DOP), and the service spaces of public uses such as streets, squares, urban parks, green areas were going to be provided within this ratio in development plans 2015 The Structural Plan of Ankara 2025 macroform proposal	Focus of Policy: ➢ Political decentralization and empowerment of local governments ➢ Local planning ➢ Mass housing provision Urban Spatial Focus: ➢ Spatial decentralization in Ankara ➢ Re-consideration of Green belt ➢ Development of western axis of the city	Ankara: Valleys of Portakal Çiçeği, Papazın Bağı and Dikmen, Seğmenler Park, Botanik Garden

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4.3.2. 5th Phase: Urbanisation of Neoliberal Islamic Representations

During the urbanisation of capital era, Political Islamic parties were on the rise first within local governments by the second half of 1990s, and then central government after the elections in 2002. They got power so that gradually they captured the power of reproduction of both urban areas and symbolic-historical content of spatial patterns and meaning of urban objects. Capital accumulation process and the hegemony of Islamic representations were the basic determinants of spatial reproduction in this phase. Batuman (2002) gives the example of iftar tents during Ramadans which were settled at the centre of Ankara, in Güvenpark since 1997. Ankara Metropolitan Municipality has distributed free food to the people passing through some specific parks, Gençlik Park is another example. This implementation still continues in 2015; Ankara Metropolitan Municipality distributes free food for İftar and people making picnics around.

1990s opened a new era in Turkish political history. With the elections in 1994, the local authority of certain cities was taken by Islamic municipal politicians. *Refah* (Welfare) Party –RP– won the elections in metropolitan cities such as Ankara and Istanbul, which have been significant castles of modernization projects of Turkish Republic and nodes of hegemony over rural populations (Doğan, 2007a). Batuman (2002) examines the function and meaning of some Islamic populist spatial implementations (between 1997 and 2002) in Kızılay Square such as Iftar tents, free public transportation during Bayrams, concerts of popular singers, and delivering plastic balls after victory of national football team. He argues that, placed iftar tents in urban parks and free public transportation have provided the conservative and poor populations of urban periphery to arrive at the city centre, which indicates the desire of Islamic identity to be seen by the others at urban open public spaces. This desire also brings about the demand of public legitimacy and power afterwards implicitly (Batuman, 2002).

Doğan (2007a) defines Political Islam or Islamist Politics as a tradition of political views, movements and organizations which defends Islam to be the hegemonic ideology regulating both the state and society through either radical or reformist ways. The political path followed by RP and FP –*Fazilet Partisi*– is labelled and examined as 'Islamist' by Doğan in his book, which is not regarded as only the rise of religious spirituality but rather than it is examined as an ideology or a legitimizing tool on the basis of their political struggle (Gülalp, 2003; cited in Doğan 2007a). RP's success continued in the general parliamentary elections in the following year, 1995. RP turned out to be a significant actor

as the partner of the government. The military based intervention attempted to stop this rise of Islamists in 1997 (Doğan, 2007a). This struggle influenced the later political and spatial developments spread to following decades which is another discussion point to be held after the completion of processes we are passing through with Gezi struggles.

Doğan (2007a) questions the factors of municipal practice of RP which carried them to power of local authorities second time in and the impacts of their ten year governing practice to urban politics and spatial reproduction. Islamist Municipal Governments, in the example of Kayseri, displayed a remarkable practice to reproduce urban space through their representational project as a part of political effort to empower their societal-political path both in local society and public sphere. In the period between the years of 1994-1998, the mayor Şükrü Karatepe worked on a strategy (called White City Kayseri) of recreating certain public spaces via Islamic motifs to highlight conservative values and relations by cleaning these sites from previous structures and symbols (Doğan, 2007a: 39).

By examining the first operations of RP municipalities, some representational actions can be distinguished as spatial-symbolic projects appealing traditional-cultural values of public alternatively to modern cultural-artistic practices. Some examples are iftar tents (as mentioned before), aids to mosques and dormitories, circumcision (*sünnet*) feasts, reinterpreting the motifs and symbols of Ottoman/Seljuk architecture and rural life. Added to these, RP municipalities placed monuments referring to their representations and arbitrary urban furniture such as plastic palms and portable waterfalls. Moreover, newly constructed streets, parks and roads were renamed with the famous persons' names or symbols of the same world view (Doğan, 2007a: 86-87).

Ankara has transformed both spatially and politically in decades with its pattern of open public spaces and urban green areas, which implies significant clues on urbanization and green policy of Turkish republic in different historical eras discussed in this chapter. Ankara is a city which is conceived delicately in terms of on the one hand creating new publics and on the other hand designing and creating new public spaces. However neoliberal spatial policies have deformed public character and pattern of the city with the help of Islamic representations especially by the end of 1990s, with Melih Gökçek Era. A socio-spatial and political-symbolic displacement process has been observed. (Open) Public spaces have turned out to be places where people pass through or where (police) power, capitalist or Islamic representations dominate added to monitoring mechanisms although they have recreational and public potentials via urban daily experience. Moreover,

arbitrary and incremental attempts of re-design of urban space consequently resulted in arbitrarily developed open public spaces. However, open public spaces still have both social-political and professional opportunities of appropriation and recreation, which we observe recently in the cases of defence of public spaces, green areas and other urban spaces. The case of Gezi Park (and the struggles over it since June 2013) is a good example, which can symbolize and explain the basic features of the last phase explained in this chapter.

4.3.3. 6th Phase: Struggle between Neoliberal–Islamic Representations and Counteraction of Urban Rights

On the last days of May, 2013, the government of Justice and Development Party (JDP) attempted to demolish Gezi Park in Taksim to re-construct Topçu Military Post (Topçu Kışlası) as a part of the pedestrianisation project at Taksim Square, which was obviously a highly symbolic-political attempt to re-design and to give a new meaning to a historically symbolic urban space in İstanbul. Without the legal reconstruction permit, the government insisted on the project and police power intervened violently to the group of activists, who inhabited at the park to protect the place. After activists' tents were burnt towards the morning –while they were sleeping, this attempt and project proposal resulted in protests, not only in İstanbul but also in other cities and several public spaces of Turkey and spread to a wide range as the police violence increased. In figure 4.3-1 two moments of the struggles in Ankara (Kızılay Square on 1st of June, 2013) are displayed.

Figure 4.3-1. Kızılay Square and Yüksel District, Ankara, 01.06.2013

Policemen are situated at the park in Kızılay, Güvenpark; and the protestors are struggling against them along the boulevard (left) (photos by Hüseyin Aldırmaz)

In the case of Gezi Park and June Resistance, the opposition rose against not only the spatial intervention to our organization of public places but also to the undemocratic intervention to our everyday life and rhythms. This very recent struggle indicates the tension between users and (technical or political) designers of these spaces. Protests and harsh struggles

continued for days, and several injuries, and deaths took place. Besides, inhabitants occupied Gezi Park and set their own daily lives and rhythms there: their music, forums, library, eating and drinking habits (without paying money) as some examples are seen in Figure 4.3-2. This spatial-political atmosphere lasted until the police entered to the park on 15.06.2013, Saturday evening, and demolished the spatial setting, meaning tents, posters, stands and activity points, with their gas bombs. This case was a critical example of struggle over reproduction and appropriation of a public space.

Figure 4.3-2. Gezi Park, Taksim, İstanbul 14.06.2013 (personal archive)
Protestors captured the park and constructed their own daily life there, within proceeding protests: posters and tents are seen (up); the food stands and one of the libraries (down)

After the destruction, protests and park forums continued in several parks. Some of the NGOs and park forums are follows: Anıtpark Forumu, Atatürk Orman Çiftliği Halk Meclisi, Ayrancı Forumu, Çayyolu Üç Fidan Parkı Forumu, Çayyolu Atapark Forumu, Çayyolu Türkkonut Halk Meclisi, Eryaman Forumu, Ethem Sarısülük Parkı Forumu, Güvenpark Forumu, Seğmenler Parkı Forumu, Yüzüncü Yıl Forumu and Tuzluçayır Dayanışması (*Ankara forumları hayallerindeki Ankara'yı konuştu*, Sol, 29.09.2013: http://haber.sol.org.tr/kent-gundemleri/ankara-forumlari-hayallerindeki-ankarayi-konustu-haberi-80334). These park forums also indicate the neighbourhoods and parks which play relatively more political role in socio-spatial patterning of the city.

This set of events triggered a new era on both urban social movements and political history of Turkey, which can probably be analysed better after this historical process will be accomplished in years or may be decades. Nonetheless, after Gezi protests and the June

Resistance, the recent attempts of government have continued to transform and re-create some specific public spaces and especially certain urban green areas, such as the construction of a mosque in Validebağ Grove in İstanbul, construction of the Presidential Palace in *AOÇ* (*Atatürk Orman Çiftliği* – Atatürk Forest Farm), and destruction of almost 6000 trees in Yırca Village, in Soma, despite the legal rejection of the construction permit. These attempts also resulted in conflict and harsh struggles, which indicate the same symbolic and political tension between the two sides of the public: the inhabitants (users) and the government (who has the right to define physical boundaries of public spaces).

The modes and moments of representational spatial struggles and appropriation will be examined in-depth for Ankara in the next chapter; moments of intervention on urban green areas by local governments and modes of appropriation of urban parks as representational spaces will be examined in the case of Ankara.

CHAPTER 5

SPATIAL APPROPRIATION for URBAN GREEN in ANKARA

In her article, 'Out of the Closet: The Importance of Stories and Storytelling in Planning Practice', Sandercock (2003) introduces us two characters of Lessing's novel (The Four Gated City, 1969): Martha, a Marxist intellectual who moved to London from Rhodes in 1950s, and Iris, a local inhabitant of the city. They are living together; however, they sense and experience the same city and neighbourhood differently. Martha perceives that London is ugly and it is suffering from social deprivation; on the other hand, Iris sees the same neighbourhood as 'a living archive' within the layers of history of people inhabiting there, having their own 'memories' and 'loves'. Sandercock contrasts 'knowing the city' within two perspectives: either through 'theory' or through 'senses' and 'emotions', which inspires us both a methodology and epistemology on research of urban space.

Although the stories of (especially female) inhabitants (such as Iris' narrative) are regarded as more valuable than the analytical viewpoint of Martha, Sandercock argues that both perspectives are valuable. This is a critical input for our dissertation, since she implies that conceived and perceived languages of space can be translated to each other. Stories have a central role in planning practice since "the ways we narrate the city becomes constitutive of urban reality, affecting the choices we make, the ways then we may act" (Sandercock, 2003: 12). We, as either citizens or designers, translate the languages of spaces to narratives through symbols, codes or rituals, with their social-physical components. Nonetheless, we should care about how power relations and representations influence narratives.

Sandercock (2003) suggests to uncover the role of stories in producing more effective planners and planning practice considering how the "power" influences which stories are told, which are heard and which become prominent. In another article, Connelly and Clandin (1990) come up with a similar argument in the field of educational science that "the study of narratives is the study of the ways humans experience the world". Furthermore, they consider both the educational research and education as 'reconstruction of personal and social stories' (Connelly and Clandin, 1990: 2). It is similar in spatial sciences. Since the problematic of the thesis imposed analyses of spatial narratives at

different scales from contextual layer to individual scale, 'narrative' is used as a form of research and as a style of writing the case study.

The historical-theoretical issues were examined in previous chapters as a context of spatial narratives of urban green areas. In this chapter, the narrative will focus on the setting and situated activities of individuals and institutions at parks via macro, meso- and micro scale case studies. This three-levelled case study unpacks the translation among perceived, conceived, and lived spaces via examining the representational moments of spatial appropriation. Within these analyses, it was aimed to re-read both representations of spaces (such as spatial policy, projects and planning codes) and spatial practices (such as daily routines, recreational habits, carnival–like experiences within daily life) to grasp differentiated narratives. These separate stories form the whole spatial narrative of the space and imply the power relations at the same space. For a good example of this kind of reading, Stanek's (?) research can be examined – '*The production of urban space by mass media storytelling practices: Nowa Huta as a case study*'. In the next sub-section, the narrative of the research, also indicating the methodology of the thesis, will be presented.

5.1.   Methodology and Research Map

This brings us to the question how the narrative inquiry can be conducted. Connelly and Clandin (1990) divides narrative inquiry into four parts: 'beginning the story as the process of narrative inquiry', 'living the story as continuing the process of narrative inquiry', 'writing the narrative' and lastly, 'selecting stories to construct and reconstruct narrative plots'. The narrative inquiry may comprise of field notes of shared experiences, interviews, story telling, letter writing, autobiographical or biographical writing, and other narrative data sources specific to the inquiry (Connelly and Clandin, 1990). Then, how do stories work? Sandercock (2003: 13) defines five certain key properties of stories: (1) "a temporal or sequential framework"; (2) "an element of explanation or coherence", (3) "a potential for generalizability": seeing "the world in a grain of sand"; (4) "a plot structure and protagonists"; (5) "a moral tension".

Starting from this methodological basis, how can this dissertation be narrated? First of all, the problematic was formulated around the main theme of modes for provision and appropriation of urban green areas in Ankara. These modes reveal different moments of representational spaces within (re)production of urban greenery. Therefore, the case study traces what 'urban green' has represented to whom in Ankara recently, through analysing the differentiated forms of (re)production, provision, and appropriation of urban parks. The

narrative of the case study, on the one hand, compares and contrasts certain modes of local governments for providing urban green areas in Ankara; on the other hand, it presents different forms of spatial appropriation at selected urban green areas. This analysis provides a backcloth for grasping the relationship between natural and built environments in cities with a specific emphasis on the transformation of 'publicness' via parks.

5.1.1. Pre-analysis and formulation of the methodology

The first research proposal concentrated on qualitative research methods, trying to find a synthesis of critical rationalist and interpretive research strategies. This trial was synthesised through the books on qualitative research methods such as Blakie (1993), Layder (1993), Cloke, et al. (2004) and Cooke, et al. (2007). In social sciences there are two critical phases during the research process: one is constructing data and the other is interpreting (or constructing the interpretations of) data. While constructing data, some categories occur. With respect to the type of data, there are two main categories: one is quantitative and the other is qualitative. Furthermore, with respect to the provenance, the data can be categorized in three main groups: primary data (generated by the researcher), secondary data (generated by someone else but not interpreted yet) and tertiary data (generated and interpreted, already existing data in the texts, journals, etc.) (Cloke, et al., 2004).

In this dissertation, the theoretical and conceptual patterns framed a synthesis of qualitative-interpretive and quantitative methods. At the beginning, a combination of qualitative methods (in-depth interviews, field notes, ethnographic study) and quantitative methods (surveys, questionnaires) was aimed for the sake of achieving the most meaningful results the research necessitates, rather than getting started with a rigid frame of reference. Therefore, a basic preliminary questionnaire was generated. Thirty to forty people were planned to be surveyed with respect to the different regions of the city they were living; demographic features of age, gender, education and especially class characteristics. However, interviewing with people at parks appeared to be difficult since so many park visitors rejected surveying; questioning them within their recreational activities seemed inappropriate and disturbing to them. As a result it was not possible to find such a sample offering the targeted variety in research design. Moreover, rather than talking in a large number of people, gathering fewer narrations in-depth seemed more meaningful in the later phases. Therefore, questionnaire was converted to an in-depth interview in addition to systematic observations and evaluation of previous studies (secondary and tertiary data).

The first observations and discussions intensified on the fragmented social-structure of cities; at the beginning class-based analysis was aimed on differentiation of recreational patterns in central parks of Ankara. However, the difficulty of such an analysis was recognized during the process so that as a part of macro analysis, urban parks (i.e. Kurtuluş, Kuğulu, Seğmenler) were pre-examined with respect to five basic rights through their role of organizing daily activities (Carr and Lynch, 1981; cited in Carr et al., 1992: 137). The rights are proposed by Kevin Lynch (1981) as: 'presence', 'use and action', 'appropriation', 'modification' and 'disposition'. The concepts are reframed as: access, freedom of action, claim, change, and ownership and disposition by Carr et al. (1992: 138). Harvey (1999: 250) also mentions similar notions as the dimensions of spatial practices: 'accessibility and determination of the distance'; 'appropriation of space as an estate'; 'hegemony over space'; and 'production of space', which constitute the essential components of 'control over use' (Carr et al., 1992: 138). These concepts were used during the pre-analyses as the indicators and mechanisms of the publicity degree of the space. In later phases of the research, the concepts of ownership-possession and appropriation came into the fore and the differentiation of spatial appropriation was concentrated on eventually.

The notion of 'accessibility' in relation with 'presence' indicates on the one hand 'the friction emerged as a result of the distance among people' (Harvey, 1999: 250); on the other hand it refers to 'the ability (of the citizens) to enter the space' (Carr et al., 1992: 138). Lefebvre (2011 [1968]) mentioned the public accessibility with the concept of 'the right to the city', which is the main criterion of being public (Dijkstra, 2000). In addition, accessibility is related with 'urban justice' within recent urban green studies, which is discussed in the second chapter. Accessibility has three sub-components which are physical, visual and symbolic accessibility. Public space, belonging to the society, is regarded to be physically and visually accessible; which means it is not closed by barriers, gates, and fences. Public spaces are preferred to be located in relation with main circulation paths to be easily seen and recognized, not hidden. The place would be expected to make people feel free to get in and use the space on the basic assumption that the space belongs to them (Carr et al., 1992). Among these three dimensions, symbolic access turned out to be the most prominent dimension of the case study in later phases. Symbolic access gives the space a kind of identity feature that will frame the boundaries of the definition of the citizens who will enter the space. Moreover, defining the boundaries of a space, symbolic

accessibility also implies who can control the space. The boundaries are usually determined by certain 'facilities' or 'design elements' (Carr et al., 1992: 149).

The macro analysis was grounded on observations and analysing previous studies on urban green of Ankara. Moreover, a set of questions for an in-depth interview was designed (see Appendix-A) on the main question "how an urban park is perceived and used recently"; five to seven citizens were planned to be interviewed in central urban parks. This set of interview questions composed of three sections. The first section of the questions aimed to portray the demographic and economic structure of the interviewees, daily routines and the individual history of them. The questions in the second section were asked to understand the interviewees' routines and habits for the experience of the park. The questions on the third section aimed to evaluate the perception of citizens on urban function, spatial form and historical meaning of the space through concentrating on five categories of rights on public space: accessibility, freedom of action, claim, change, ownership and disposition with respect to other parks of the city. Five in-depth interviews were conducted in January and February of 2009, at or on Kuğulu Park, Kurtuluş Park and Seğmenler Park. These interviewees are coded as Interviewee-(A), here 'A' represents the first in-depth interviews of which questions presented in Appendix A. 'M' symbolizes male interviewees, 'F' stands for female interviewees (see Table 5.1-1. List of Interviewees).

Table 5.1-1. List of Interviewees of the first in-depth interviews on Kurtuluş, Kuğulu and Seğmenler Park in winter 2009

#	Interviewees (A)	Date of interview	Which park? (in or at)	Gender	Profession	Age
1	Interviewee-(A)M1	31.01.2009	Kuğulu Park	Male	Teacher	Middle-age (45-50)
2	Interviewee-(A)F1	January 2009	Kuğulu Park	Female	University Student	Young (23)
3	Interviewee-(A)F2	05.02.2009	Kurtuluş Park	Female	Retired Teacher	Middle-age (50)
4	Interviewee-(A)F3	February 2009	Kurtuluş, Kuğulu and Seğmenler	Female	Research Assistant	Young to middle-age (29)
5	Interviewee-(A)F4	February 2009	Kurtuluş, Kuğulu and Seğmenler	Female	Research Assistant	Young to middle-age (29)

In addition to the interviews and questionnaires, as a researcher, I took field notes on my research diary, and took photographs to develop the research as explained both in the Cloke, et al. (2004) and Cooke, et al. (2007). This first phase emphasized the qualitative-

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interpretive methods, the visual material such as photographs, and in-depth interviews with interpretations are presented within the macro analysis. The hypotheses were formulated as: (a) Perceptions of citizens differ according to where they live and work in the city: Physical accessibility affects spatial perception. (b) Perceptions of citizens differ according to their class, gender and political stand: Symbolic and visual accessibility affects spatial perception. The findings are presented in the second sub-section of this chapter, via macro analysis.

This first pilot study aimed to formulate a research map on quantitative-interpretive methods; and examined the differentiation of perception, experience and reproduction of urban open public spaces (parks and green areas) in Ankara. Kuğulu, Kurtuluş and Seğmenler Parks were selected; 4-5 in-depth interviews were held. Two of them were carried out at Kuğulu Park, one of the interviewees was a 45-50 year old male teacher, who came Ankara and Kuğulu Park for the first time after about 25 years; and the other interviewee at Kuğulu Park was a 23 year-old female university student. The third interview was carried out at Kurtuluş Park with a 50 year old, female retired teacher, who is an inhabitant of Cebeci, and the other two interviews were held at METU, with two research assistants who had experience and ideas on these three parks and who could make comparisons among these three parks.

During this pilot study, the research question appeared to be located at the third and fourth levels of research with reference to the book of Layder (1993): levels of 'situated activity' and 'self' (see Table 2.3-6 Research map with respect to layers of analysis, in page 54). Situated activity contained: changing daily routines of different classes at urban parks; the dynamics of the interaction among citizens coming together in the parks; changing degrees of accessibility of the parks; functions and activities parks enable; claims on parks; and disposition of the places; the differentiation of activities with respect to different time periods –within a day, a week, a month, a year. Self indicates: the life story of the interviewees; the memories about this particular space; the perception of rights over open public space such as access, freedom of action, change, claims, ownership and disposition. Through such an analysis, three main categories of questions were organized; first category examined the economic, demographic composition of the interviewees with their individualistic history on both Ankara and the parks in concern. Second category questioned the routines and habits of the interviewees within the personal experience of the park; and the last set of questions focused on the perception of citizens on urban function,

spatial form and the historical meaning of the space through analysing their reflections on rights over public space within a comparative perspective. Class based analysis was aimed, however a severe, strong differentiation within mechanisms was not explicit, probably since the number and kind of interviewees were not sufficient for this kind of analysis

5.1.2. Pilot studies and formulation of the problematic

During two semesters (between July 2013 and June 2014) in Vienna Technical University, the research was developed through further discussions in SKuOR, with the help of visiting professors Jeffrey Hou and Rob Shields. After the PhD seminar sessions with Jeffrey Hou and discussions with Rob Shields in fall semester, the case study was decided to be framed through in-depth interviews. On the main question "how recreational patterns are differentiated among various districts", a second set of in-depth interviews were conducted in December 2013 as the set of interviews-B. Professor Hou offered an examination of recreational activities via a case study that was framed on the basis of 'place attachment' concept. Therefore, 'place' became prominent for the dissertation during this phase of the research. However Lefebvre's emphasis on space –and avoiding the concept of place– led me to hesitate on a direct place attachment study, rather I concentrated on situated activities and spatial practices and differentiation of daily habits and practices changing from one district to another. Moreover, Professor Shields suggested visual techniques (such as mental maps) to gather users' experiences and perceptions, which sounded meaningful. At the last phase, also photographing techniques were considered to be used. Although such visual research methods are so useful and end up with fruitful material to analyse, my interviewees hesitated to try drawing or taking photographs. These techniques can be used in further research, conducted in longer time periods within focus groups.

In-depth interview questions were adopted from the previous question sheet (See Appendix B) and new items were added to organize the interview more concentrated on themes of activities and spatial appropriation rather than the individual histories. This interview consisted of also three sections. The first section targets to achieve the socio-economic differentiation of interviewees. The questions in second section aimed to gather the habits of interviewees while experiencing urban green areas. The third section tried to evaluate the perception of citizens on urban function, the spatial form and the historical meaning of a specific park, which is selected by the interviewee, the park he or she uses most in their neighbourhoods. In addition to these sections, mental maps or photographs were collected. However, this material did not provide a sufficient basis to make such a visual analysis;

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therefore they did not come into use within this narrative but put in the Appendix G. Seven in-depth interviews were held in December, 2013. The interviewees were selected among people who are working at the same place (in a primary school in Çankaya District) and living in different districts with separate class and gender categories having similar ages (see Table 5.2-1). 'B' refers to the question sheet presented in Appendix B.

Table 5.1-2. List of Interviewees of in-depth interviews in December 2013

#	Interviewees (B)	Date of interview	Which district?/ Which park?	Gender	Social Class / Profession / Education	Age
1	Interviewee-(B)F1 // Dönüş H.	12.12.2013	Dikmen, Çankaya / Dikmen Vadisi	Female	Middle-class / Teacher	Middle-age to Old (55)
2	Interviewee-(B)M1 // Köksal B.	12.12.2013	Mamak, Köstence Neighbourhood / Mavigöl, Köstence Park	Male	Lower to Middle-class / Worker in School	Middle-age to Old (50)
3	Interviewee-(B)M2 // Durmuş B.	12.12.2013	Mamak, Abidinpaşa Neighbourhood / 50. Yıl Park	Male	Middle-class / Civil Servant in School	Middle-age to Old (55)
4	Interviewee-(B)F2 // Sevgi H.	17.12.2013	Mamak, Akdere / 50. Yıl Park	Female	Lower to Middle-class / Worker in School / primary school graduate	Middle-age to Old (56-57)
5	Interviewee-(B)M3 // Hasan B.	19.12.2013	Batıkent / Adnan Kahveci Parkı	Male	Middle-class / Teacher	Middle-age (43)
6	Interviewee-(B)M4 // Murat B.	19.12.2013	Mamak, Eymir Lake	Male	Middle-class / Folk dance trainer	Young to middle-age (35)
7	Interviewee-(B)F3 // Akgül H.	19.12.2013	Ümitköy, Çankaya / Muharrem Dalkılıç Koşu Yolu	Female	Middle to upper class / Teacher	Middle-age to Old (53)

Patterns of spatial practice of different district parks were focussed on rather than concentrating on specific places directly. Such a survey was preferred, since, firstly, a general pattern on urban green experience was aimed and spatial practices were on the focus of this survey. Secondly, it would be nonsense to visit urban parks in such a cold

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period of the year, which would not be a reliable examination, however at that stage a survey on case was necessitated. Eventually, the narratives (presented in the third sub-section of the chapter as a part of meso-analysis) were gathered during that stage of research. The findings of these interviews helped to narrow the limits of both cases and methodology. During this phase, also an interview was attempted with the Directory of Parks and Gardens –*Parklar ve Dairler Başkanlığı*– in Keçiören Municipality however only an informal interview could be done.

Within meso-analysis in addition to in-depth interviews, some other documents were investigated such as the legal texts defining the jurisdiction of local-central governments, municipal council reports, court trial reports of the Chamber of City Planners, and recent news on the urban green issue of district municipalities. The focus of the research was extended to examine the context for representational moments during the reproduction and appropriation of urban green by the hand of responsible institutions. This level of the analysis constructed the backbone of the study so that the micro analysis was later placed on this defined backbone. As a result, the research question was (re)formulated as how spatial appropriation at urban green areas differentiate via representational modes and moments in Ankara, revealing different modes of spaces of representations.

5.1.3. Research Map

These pilot studies guided the formulation of methodology, quantitative methods were left aside and qualitative methods were concentrated on. Although the issue of 'class' was felt to be the main determinant of the park experience, the case study could not be organized in a way to prove and study such a differentiation. The perception of citizens, even within the similar demographic situation were observed to differentiate deeply from each other. To investigate the mechanisms of these differentiation, varied interviews should be held; life stories and perceptions should be gathered and analysed within more delicate tools and methods. The last two interviews (of macro analysis) displayed that, discussion groups – mentioned in the book of *Doing Ethnographies* (Cooke et al., 2007)– may also be useful for further analysis. It was deducted that, quantitative-interpretive methods should be developed and reconstructed several times and also should be supported by quantitative data construction –such as statistical data, historical data, documents and news on the issue, the formal and informal data produced on the research question, photographs, secondary actors who will help the researcher to understand the situation within different perspectives. Moreover, in further micro analyses, different actors such as the buffetmanager –*büfeci*,

bootblack –*ayakkabı boyacısı*, security guards, who are also living and observing these spaces, should be interviewed to achieve the entire frame of reality.

Considering the research map, modes of creation and appropriation for urban green areas were analysed within three scales in Ankara. First two analyses focused on translation in-between conceived and perceived spaces via examining different motives of provision, experience and appropriation at selected urban green areas. The third analysis concentrates on lived space in-depth through observing the spatial appropriation via spatial practices. The analysis is narrated through three scales. The macro analysis presents a geographical-institutional topography of urban green areas in Ankara, which indicates the emergence of the research question through pilot studies held in autumn 2009 and spring 2010. The meso-analysis focuses on creation and provision of new urban green areas, and presents recreational patterns of interviewees from separate districts of Ankara on the basis of interviews conducted in winter 2013. The micro analysis maps the representational character of two selected neighbourhood parks with respect to sub-regions determined via final observations gathered between autumn 2014 and spring 2015 in Keçiören and Çankaya districts. The research map within pattern of questions in summarised in Figure 5.1-1. Research Map, Pattern of Questions (personal diagram). Next sub-heading will present the macro analysis of the dissertation.

PROBLEM TO BE INVESTIGATED:

HOW do the MOMENTS OF PROVISION AND APPROPRIATION of urban green areas *reveal* different MODES OF REPRESENTATIONAL SPACES in Ankara?

MAIN RESEARCH QUESTION:

How do *spatial appropriation* at **urban green areas** differentiate via *representational modes* and *moments* in Ankara?

revealing

DIFFERENT MODES OF SPACES OF REPRESENTATIONS?

MINOR RESEARCH QUESTIONS:

How and why do the urban green areas and neighbourhood parks differentiate in Ankara?

How and why do the form and rhythm of *spatial appropriation* at neighbourhood parks differentiate in Ankara?

Provision   **Spatial Practice**

What are different *spatial topologies* of appropriation in relation with **differentiated representational arguments** at selected neighbourhood parks in Ankara?

SCALE:

MACRO ANALYSIS

MESO-ANALYSIS

MICRO ANALYSIS

METHODS:

- Historical analysis ch.4
- Pre-observations
- In-depth interviews-A
- Green inventory

- Reports
- In-depth interviews-B
- Web-sites and news
- Research on urban green in Ankara
- Analysis of legal texts

- Observations
- Interviews
- Mapping
- Photographing
- Zoning

Figure 5.1-1. Research Map, Pattern of Questions (personal diagram)

5.2. Macro Analysis: Differentiation of Urban Green Areas in Ankara

Especially by 1980s, cities have been spatially and socially fragmented with respect to the economic fall of city centres, increase in gated communities and shopping malls in addition to a perception of decrease and fragmentation of urban green areas. It is observed that, on the one hand middle and upper class have been closed to their own spatial gated communities with their differentiated daily routines and spatial mental maps; on the other hand urban poor living in the peripheries have been pushed out of the city centres and they have been made to create their own limited open public spaces within their neighbourhoods. As a result, in the first thesis proposal in 2011, the problematic was formulated as the differentiation of the perception, experiences and reproduction processes of parks and green areas within a class perspective. The main question was how and why the perception and experiences of the citizens at urban green areas differentiate on the basis of their social classes. These first questions have been revised several times and the emphasis on class issue was left aside in the subsequent phases of the research. However, the first formulations and tentative answers constituted the basis of the dissertation.

5.2.1. A Rough Inventory of Green Areas and Parks in Ankara

Before, discussing first interviews, a rough inventory can be presented with respect to both review on research studies for urban green areas of Ankara and preliminary observations. Readings of former research on the issue and observations appointed the following findings for significant urban green areas in Ankara. Gençlik (Youth) Park is one of the most essential parks, which especially serviced to the north of the city in the past. It is located on the northern-central part of the city, next to the ex-centre, Ulus. In 1960s and 1970s Gençlik Park had been a place where families were going with their children, so that they were feeling themselves 'safe', having fun and feeling the place. However, by especially in the second half of 1990s the place seemed to lose the feeling of safety and citizens' possession dramatically. Recently Ankara Metropolitan Municipality has transformed the park to push the lower-class out. But the success of the revitalization project has been questioned, since the park lost its natural character and historical-symbolic components, and turned out to be a built and commercialized place rather than a natural environment.

Kurtuluş (Liberation) Park, which is an astonishing case, settled on a location between Ankara University, Kızılay Square and Sıhhiye –near to the old centres of the city. A few years ago, it was perceived as one of the spatial cores where the lower-class (such as thinner-addicted youth –*tinerciler*, and purse-snatchers –*kapkaççılar*) was concentrated.

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Recently it has been experienced differently, since the park was spatially transformed. The place now serves for both the neighbourhood and the city; and middle and working classes are coming to the park. Women do sports even in early hours, old men sit, chat and make jokes, younger people take photographs, and skate, the visitors coming from other cities rest in the park during a national protest or manifestation held in Sıhhıye or Kurtuluş. On the other hand, located on southern part of the city, Seğmenler and Kuğulu Park can be evaluated as places which are experienced by middle and especially upper classes, living in the South Ankara, in Çankaya District. These parks all are relatively large parks and have served for the whole city. However, it is also a question whether they preserve their public character and diversity and whether they serve as an urban park or a neighbourhood park. At the beginning of the macro analysis, it was assumed that the perception of these places differentiates through different mental maps and daily routines with respect to the class based features and experiences in addition to the contextual and political inputs.

On the basis of these first observations and early interviews in 2009, 2010 and 2011, a typology of urban green areas was formed roughly as: (1) huge urban green areas such as Eymir, Mogan Lake, Bayındır Lake, Mavigöl, AOÇ, which constitutes also natural layout of the city; (2) huge urban parks recently designed and constructed at the periphery of the city such as Harikalar Diyarı and Ankapark, and relatively more historical and large urban parks at the centre of either city or central neighbourhoods such as Altınpark and Gençlik Park; (3) urban parks in a scale of medium to large, produced in different time periods but having a historical or natural significance, such as Seğmenler Park, Kurtuluş Park, Güvenpark and Dikmen Valley, which serve both the city and/or neighbourhood; (4) relatively small-medium range parks within neighbourhoods, housing sites such as Gökçek Park in Keçiören, Ahmed Arif Park in Dikmen, and small or fragmented urban parks, seem residual or closed spaces, such as Ahmet Taner Kışlalı Park and small parks in Barış Sitesi.

Research on urban greenery in Ankara were evaluated after these pre-observations. Researchers from Landscape Architecture Department of Ankara University come to the fore. In one of the significant studies, Yeşil (2006) concentrates on the differentiation of quantities of urban green areas with respect to different district municipalities, which made me reconsider the data collection and interpretation of municipalities. Yeşil (2006) compares and contrasts eight central district municipalities with respect to their populations and urban green quantities. However, is population the only critical factor for determining

the amount of green areas? What about the nature of the population and the quality of the green spaces? These doubts prompted the problematic to change within this study.

Increasing population with the need for urban development leads to deterioration the balance between built and natural environment within the spatial formation of the city. Ankara, like many other Turkish cities, has not enough and responsive green spaces meeting the need of inhabitants. Yeşil (2006) argues in his abstract that the amount of the green areas in Ankara was increased between the years of 1990 and 2000, which is a parallel argument to the data in web-site of Metropolitan Municipality, which was presented in chapter 4, in table 4.2.1. This is a hypothesis to be tested however data on green areas were gathered arbitrarily and not homogenously among municipalities that makes a comparison unreliable. Yeşil (2006) also proposes that a significant increase in amounts of green areas was observed in Ankara between the years of 2000 and 2006 so that the amounts exceeded the standards –mentioned as 7 m^2 per person at that time. However, these arguments are open to discussion since they do not reflect the reality of urban green quality of Ankara. The interviews showed that inhabitants living in different districts do not perceive such an increase argued in Yeşil's thesis.

How are the sizes and amounts of green areas transformed in Ankara, in which districts decreased, in which ones increased? Can we evaluate green spaces only with respect to an increase in size or amount, or their adjustment with standards in relation with the size of population? If the amount is increased then how is this felt, how does this situation touch to our bodies? These questions shifted the focus of this dissertation to qualitative issues however the data presented in Yeşil's thesis were also benefited from to examine a rough differentiation among municipalities and this data (see table 5.2-3), which are not homogenously collected and presented by the municipalities. In the year of 1970, the green areas per person was 7,85 m^2 in Ankara, according to the report of Ankara Metropolitan Development Planning Bureau. In 1990s, this rate dropped below 2 m^2/person (Yeşil, 2006).

Table 5.2-1. Population in 2000 (Yeşil, 2006) and 2014 (http://www.nufusu.com/il/ankara-nufusu) with distances to the centre of the municipalities (Yeşil, 2006)

	Distance to the centre (km)	Population in 2000	Population in 2014
Altındağ	1	407 101	361 259
Çankaya	9	769 331	913 715
Etimesgut	20	171 293	501 351
Keçiören	3	672 817	872 025
Mamak	7	430 606	587 565
Sincan	27	267 879	497 516
Yenimahalle	5	553 344	608 217
Gölbaşı	20	62 602	118 346

Yeşil's comparison (2006) seems not delicate and reliable enough; according to his arguments, the metropolitan municipality seems to work more than the district municipalities when the amounts are compared with respect to the area that is included in the scope of authority. The study compares the working discipline of municipalities, however if the standards of green areas in the boundaries of municipalities were evaluated, the study would have been more valuable and meaningful. In subsequent studies, the municipalities may be compared and contrasted with each other with respect to their location in the city, and surface, population, density with respect to the amount of green areas, which are not covered within this dissertation.

Separating green areas that serve to all the city from the neighbourhood green areas is understandable, nevertheless this method (used in his study) brings into question whether it is the correct way to reveal the differentiation. Areas under the authority of metropolitan municipality should be added to the district municipalities instead of differentiating metropolitan municipality and the rest of the municipalities since the areas overlap and this comparison becomes nonsense. However, the data seem to be collected this way from the municipalities, which made us recognize that such data collection may only frame the research boundaries roughly not give us delicate enough ground for analysis. The metropolitan (municipality) is not independent from the district municipalities, although it is defined separate within legal and institutional frameworks. It is a question that parks serve to what extent to the whole city and to what degree to the neighbourhoods.

Table 5.2-2. Green areas m^2/person in districts (Yeşil, 2006: 61)

	District	Amount of the green areas per person (m^2/ person) in the year of 2006
1	Altındağ	0,7
2	Keçiören	1,84
3	Yenimahalle	2,6
4	Sincan	8,33
5	Mamak	5,51
6	Gölbaşı	4,69
7	Etimesgut	0,6
8	Çankaya	5,82

In Yeşil's study, the value (of green areas m^2/person) for the metropolitan municipality is 10,53; this indicates a conflict that the districts have not even reached the standards in oneselves. The metropolitan municipality has an excess, which seems ironic. In Çankaya district, for example, the size and amount of green areas were pretty much within the surface area of the district. Furthermore, the general in-depth interviews (held in December 2013 with interviewees living in different districts of Ankara), indicated that urban green areas in Çankaya and Keçiören Districts are used more lively. However, data indicate that both municipalities, but especially Çankaya District Municipality cannot suffice green standards on paper, which demonstrates that there is a problem in the method of analysis in such studies of data collection and comparison. In short, although it has some practical benefits at the beginning of research on urban green areas, the data gathered from municipalities have some insufficiencies, since they usually are not homogenously collected and presented and so not reliable enough. This is why the data from a previous study were benefited from in this study rather than gathering recent data.

Table 5.2-3. Comparison between districts compiled from the table in (Yeşil, 2006: 61) and other data in the thesis

#	District	Population (2000)	Surface area (ha)	Population Density (person / ha)	Number of green areas	Area (m^2)	The amount of green area per person (m^2 / person)
1	Altındağ	407 101	57 300	7.1	137	302 924	0,74
2	Çankaya	769 331	115 700	6.65	150	4 470 000	5,81
3	Etimesgut	171 293	1 000	0.171	68	603 562	3,5
4	Gölbaşı	62 602	181 000	0.35	22	293 445	4,69
5	Keçiören	672 817	75 900	8.86	285	1 235 555	1,84
6	Mamak	430 606	9 000	47.85	127	2 372 302	5,51
7	Sincan	289 783	36 400	7.96	75	2 413 879	8,33
8	Yenimahalle	553 344	29 500	18.76	219	1 140 195	2,06
	SUM OF DISTRICTS					12 831 862	

It is interesting to see the relationship between numbers of green areas and the amount of urban green per person. As seen in the table 5.2-3, Keçiören has more green areas (285 pieces) than Sincan (75 pieces). However, Keçiören seems to underperform with respect to the amount of urban green per person. Perhaps, Keçiören has a characteristic of having fragmented, small but more parks, which is better functioning in this district; and Sincan seems to have larger plots of green areas. These conflicts made me question how citizens experience and perceive urban green areas beyond such contradictory data. Therefore, in the field, pre-observations and first in-depth interviews were held in 2009 and 2010 to observe how central and historical parks of Ankara have been experienced and perceived by users.

5.2.2. Fragmentation or Differentiation in Urban Parks

Five interviews were conducted during the first phase of research in the cases of Kuğulu, Kurtuluş and Seğmenler Parks as pre-analysis in 2009. The perception of urban parks is questioned whether there exists a fragmentation or a differentiation in urban parks in Ankara. The narration of this study is composed of five parts: (a) personal and collective narratives within the memories of interviewees, (b) daily routines and spatial practice in parks in relation with maintenance, (c) relationship of the interviewees with the city and other urban green areas, (d) views on 'publicity' and quality of the park; (e) spatial rights and disposition of the parks.

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Concentrating on the personal narratives of interviewees, the first interview was conducted with a middle age, male interviewee in Kuğulu Park, when the park was relatively less crowded possibly as a result of cloudy and cold weather. At that day, Interviewee-M1 came to the city for the first time after 25 years; he graduated from the department of Physical Education Teaching in Ankara University, in 1983. For nine years he worked in Eskişehir, and currently he was working as a teacher in Hatay, Dörtyol. He visited several foreign countries such as Holland, France, Belgium, Germany, Sweden and Austria by car, train and bus. He first came to Kuğulu Park when he was a student. At that time, he liked exploring the city by walking along the streets and parks; and also he went to Gençlik Park through walking from Ulus to Çankaya several times. I asked him whether he liked Ankara or not. He answered that he was from Hatay, so at the beginning, he missed sea so much. Therefore, he solved his boredom through walking along the city, and passing in parks. He was going to meet with his university classmates at that evening in a restaurant in Tunalı Street; he arrived in Ankara in the morning and he was 'killing time' in the park till the meeting for 1,5 hours before we started to interview.

The second interview was held on Kuğulu Park too with a female university student (at the department of veterinary medicine), aged 23 and coming to Tunalı District twice a week. She was born in Ankara, then was grown up in İstanbul and recently returned to Ankara to have her university education. Her narrative was selected since she could compare and contrast the past and present of the green areas (also in relation with another city, İstanbul) on the basis of her memories about Kuğulu Park. She first referred to her childhood about the park. She remembers her first visits when she was primary school student (between 1995 and 2000). Her family has lived in Beşiktaş, İstanbul and Ankara was a second hometown for her since her mother's family was living in this city. Her grandmother was taking them to cinema and to Kuğulu Park with her elder brother; they fed swans with wafer. She explained the differentiation of her perception on the size of the park from her childhood to her later visits when she came to the park after years in 2002 as a high school senior: "It was a great park and crowded place, swans were everywhere. But when I saw it again after I grew up, suddenly recognized that this place is an ordinary park left over in the corner, as you may guess. It had no speciality". Although she visited Ankara frequently in the holidays, after a while she rarely came to the park. I asked how frequently she visited the park recently, she said:

> I rarely pass through the park, sometimes I walk around the park after I get off the bus. Two summers before I sometimes sat and waited for my friends and once I sat reading something before going to Slovakian Embassy. But I had trouble with flies during and could not sit on the bench. I had to move to the periphery of the park. And sometimes I came to the park when I had piano lessons two years before. When I got early I read magazine or book in the park.

Interviewee-(A)F2 was a retired teacher living in Cebeci, near to Kurtuluş Park. We interviewed while walking to Kızılay since she had an appointment. Every morning she came to the park at 7:30 and doing sports with friends whom she met in the park; "we became like a family", she said. When she mentioned about the security of Kurtuluş Park while talking her memories, I asked about security guards wandering everywhere, she expressed that they were 'lazy' and 'big head' –*ukala*; she narrated one of her memories that the pool was frozen a short time ago and a small girl was walking on the pool. She called the security and asked him to distance the child from the ice. However, the security guide answered her as 'Shall I tackle with only one person?', which made her angry. She also observed that the breakfast ceremonies of security guards lasted for hours; they sit chatting and neglect their work.

Lastly, two research assistants were interviewed at METU; we organized this session as a discussion and chose these two interviewees since they have ideas and experience on the selected three parks (Kuğulu, Kurtuluş and Seğmenler Parks). Interviewee-(A)F3 was also a city planner, and a female research assistant in the same department, aged 28-29, and Interviewee-(A)F4 was also 28-29 aged, female research assistant but worked in the Department of Political and Administrative Sciences in the same university. Interviewee-(A)F3 told that she did not have an in-depth history and contact with Ankara, she was born in İstanbul in 1980; and passed her childhood there. After she entered the City Planning Department at METU, in 1998, she stayed in the dormitory for a while then she lived in Ayrancı, as her family moved to Ankara. She stayed in Holland for a year during her education in 2005. Between 2003 and 2006, she worked in Mamak Municipality, which is located in Cebeci. She talked about her walking experience in this period: at each noon, they were walking to the park during their mid-day breaks; and in the evenings, they were walking to Kızılay. They preferred to pass through the park usually; however, especially in winter time, they beware of entering the park since it got dark earlier and some of her friends were afraid to get in the park such times therefore they had to walk on sidewalk. In the summer time, they always rested in the park while eating ice creams. She remembered the wooden benches with tables and how crowded the park was during these seasons. They were sitting on the grass, although it was forbidden. She told one of her memories as such: "Once, we had to stand up and leave, as the guard had opened the water jet –*fiskiye*".

Coming back to the last interviewee's story, Interviewee-(A)F4 has been in Ankara since 1992; before she lived in Ankara during her primary school period. Then she had her university education in Political Sciences at Ankara University, Cebeci. Recently, she works as a research assistant at METU while doing her PhD in political sciences and she lives with his husband in Birlik Neighbourhood, in Çankaya. During her university education, she lived around Cebeci until 2005. She talked about her memories on Seğmenler Park, once they were sitting with her husband and suddenly got disturbed and frightened when a man attempted to sell flowers persistently. When I asked whether she was harassed in Kurtuluş Park, she talked about rumours on the park, which indicated why she felt insecure in this park although she was not attacked or harassed: "In my dormitory there were so many rumours about the Kurtuluş Park. For example, a psyhco was told to inhabit there. Furthermore, we heard that addicted children were there. This park is so close to the city centre and the most of the purse snatchers in Ankara were told to hide in the park. Therefore I avoided to stroll through there alone". These reflections indicate one of the examples how a spatial narrative is constructed, reproduced and shared among citizens, which reproduces the meaning and function of a public space. A spatial narrative seems to be formed and spread in relation with both personal narratives and forms of social-public sharing on a space. Interviewee-(A)F4 experienced another interesting event, which empowered her feeling of insecurity. After her marriage ceremony in Vedat Dalakoy Wedding Hall, a boy jumped on their car to demand money, and they had to go with this child to Sıhhıye; they got anxious that they were still in traffic while the child was laying on their car. She explained that: "These children appropriated Kurtuluş Park, especially the region towards Sıhhıye", which supports reflections of previous interviewees.

While talking about spatial practice and daily routines in parks, it was recognized that usually memories were narrated rather than current usage and experiences. Among five interviewees, only the second interviewee was actively using the park we interviewed on; numbers of people can be observed doing sports in Kurtuluş Park recently too, in the park there is a running track (Fig. 5.2-1). Every day she did sports with her friends regularly. She argued that Kurtuluş Park is the most clean and well-kept park of Ankara. Only she complained about the material of poor quality used in the infrastructure of the park giving the example of *beton* poured on the bottom of street lamps: "A few months ago, they poured *beton* on the ground base of lamps, however, it easily spoiled and therefore they had to pour it again" (Fig 5.2-2). She also talked about the benches decaying. She added that:

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"Once tools for doing sports had been brought to the park but they were all broken". I asked whether someone did this purposely or not, she claimed that "no, people broke them while using, since they were so cheap and poor quality".

Figure 5.2-1. Running track, 04.02.2009 (Personal archive)

The concept of security constituted one of the main themes of both personal narratives and maintenance (especially for Kurtuluş Park, which also indicated the spatial transformation project at the site). Interviewee-(A)F2 found Kurtuluş secure and she adds: "Especially for the last one or two years, it is safer. Before, since the light posts were too low, the lamps were being stolen. Therefore the park was dark and dangerous." She argues that rearrangement on the height of streetlamps turned the park to a safer place. I asked to interview with one of the security guards there, however he refused me since he thought that talking to me and giving me information is inappropriate for, also he presented his obligation to stroll through the park as an excuse. He said that "park may turn out to be dangerous or unsafe only in the evenings".

Figure 5.2-2. Street lamp with concrete (*beton*) poured on its ground, 04.02.2009

(Personal archive)

Figure 5.2-3. Streetlights in Kurtuluş Park, 04.02.2009 (personal archive)

Interviewee-(A)F3 thinks that: "each of the gates of Kurtuluş Park is different than each other and activities densify at the central parts of the park (Fig.5.2-5), which is related to the sense of security. She feels herself at the central parts more safe, towards eastern and western edges of the park, especially at the section to Sıhhıye where Vedat Dalakoy Wedding Hall –*evlendirme dairesi*– is located. However, at the Cebeci gate she feels happier and safer. A similar perception was reflected by the previous interviewee as: "I always get in to the park at the Cebeci gate, since the ones who enter the park from Kızılay-Kolej got disturbed from the thinner-addicted children".

We continued to talk with the Interviewee-(A)F3 about her recent recreational habits and thoughts on parks. She explained that recently she rarely goes to Kurtuluş Park, since she is living in Ayrancı and does not work in the municipality. She (also one of her friends) name Kurtuluş Park as Cebeci Park. According to her, "this park enables people do several activities without disturbing each other such as: one is drinking tea and others can run, at another side a couple can sit comfortably, and at other sections one can eat something, others can pass in front of them". She thinks that people use this place frequently which makes Kurtuluş –or as she names Cebeci– Park a lively place; and also added that she liked the pool: "It seems lovely and clean; I liked it very much, when I saw it first time".

Interviewee-(A)F1 first mentioned the significance of Kuğulu Park for the city for both the neighbourhood and the city that: "Although I perceive the park is recently smaller, it is still important that people get there to pass time. If you want to view and watch swans in between greenery, this place is appropriate for these aims". Later we talked about the

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accessibility of the park, she thinks that although the park is open to everyone, usually high or middle income groups are coming, since the people who are living in Gazi Osmanpaşa or Çankaya Districts and who are coming to Tunalı Hilmi. She talks about the interest of her generation in the park as:

> Elder people prefer to come and chat with friends. Younger usually come here to pass time, when it is early before appointments university students come here since they have not enough money to go to cafes, so they prefer sitting and waiting in the park. And after you are tired while shopping, Kuğulu Park turns out to be an excellent place to rest. It is a necessary place where you take breath and a park which separates you from all the rush and the pollution of buildings. In Kızılay there is no place to sit comfortably, there is no square there. Kuğulu is better than Güvenpark; more comfortable.

I asked about her experience on other green areas in Ankara, she explained that in the first year of university, she sometimes went to Kurtuluş Park to visit her friend. She played table tennis there but she remembers that she did not like Kurtuluş Park so much. I asked about the reason whether it is an unsecure park, however she answered differently: "It was not about security. I felt the park so ordinary, it was so much 'like a park'- *Çok park gibiydi*". It is obvious that she did not like Kurtuluş Park and perceives Kuğulu Park differently as: "Kuğulu is more characterised place having trees, swans. It is a bit different place; it is more introverted as if it is a shelter you can refugee in. Maybe Kuğulu Park is more meaningful for me because of my memories from childhood". On the other hand, Interviewee-(A)F2 argued that: "Kurtuluş Park is larger and better-kept (*bakımlı*) than other parks such as Kuğulu Park". She mentioned about Abdi İpekçi Park, in Sıhhıye: "This region appeals to especially people going to Hacettepe and Sosyete Bazaar; however that park is not well managed". Interviewee-(A)F3 agreed with the previous interviewee that this park was better-kept and managed than Kuğulu Park. "Abdi İpekçi Park is dirty and smelling bad", she claimed.

Returning to Interviewee-(A)F1, she added her reflections on Botanik and Seğmenler Park. Similar to Kuğulu Park she remembered Botanik Park, under Atakule, as a large place when she went there once. In Seğmenler Park, she met with one of her friends and once she went there with her aunt to walk her dog. She expresses: "Seğmenler Park is called as 'dogs' park' since dogs are allowed to wander freely there". I requested her to compare and contrast these three parks: Kuğulu, Kurtuluş and Seğmenler Parks. She gives priority to Kuğulu Park; what Kuğulu Park reminded her was 'swans'. Kurtuluş Park brought a 'bad lot' –*it kopuk*– to her mind. I asked whether she saw or heard about this, she answered that she saw and experienced when she was there especially she did not like men who were managing the table tennis facility. Then we talked about neighbourhood parks in

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Yenimahalle district where she was currently living at that time. She was going to the parks near her house where she is staying with her grandparents and aunt; she thought that parks in her district were lovely. "So many children were playing in the park across my grandparents' house, where we used to go with my brother. However now, they demolished the park for afforestation". She implies that she did not like this renewal: "There are still children in this field playing ball, and they changed lightening however the place is not the same, they de aerated the park – *parkın havası değişti*". However sometimes when she walks her aunt's dog, she admitted that the park seemed to her pleasant and formed an open space creating spaciousness.

Interviewee-(A)F3] explained that her relationship with other parks as when she was living in Ayrancı, she used to pass through Kuğulu and saw –or "interacted with"– swans. She had heard that Kuğulu was a famous park, so she went to see, however she got disappointed to see the park so neglected. She thought that the café inside the park was also "disgusting":

> First off, as a mass, it is so repelling –*itici*; its store fronts on the park which is not a lovely scene. I think it stinks too. It looks like a 'wall', this café is expensive and besides it is not clear. That mass is not related to the service it gives. Kuğulu Park is a narrow place. Kurtuluş Park is wider. In Kuğulu, you can sit on a bench, but you cannot speak to your friend. It is so narrow and congested that you suddenly catch someone's eye in the park. However, I cannot compare and contrast Kuğulu and Kurtuluş Park properly. There is a kind of pollution on the baseboard in Kuğulu. In Kurtuluş Park, you can watch people, there is such a distance. But, it may be irritant in Kuğulu to observe other people.

Her evaluations indicated her profession and character. While we talked about her relationship with urban parks in Ankara, we also passed to her views on the publicity of mentioned parks especially concentrating the differentiated public attempts of users while experiencing parks. She perceived users of Kuğulu Park as more distant: "They are more individualistic and shy; when one come close to them they may get a fright. They are not so social." She explained the distance between people, which she observed in Kuğulu Park, through relating the festivals and carnivalesque character of the place:

> Music groups or other groups can easily open stands and give concerts or performances in Kuğulu Park. This is a place viewing original activities and therefore open to multi-cultural atmosphere, which leads to visitors' emotionlessness –*vurdumduymazlık*. A visitor in Kuğulu can say: I don't care, someone can perform or sing. However, if someone sings or performs in Kurtuluş Park, everyone gathers to investigate. More curious and traditional mass exists in Kurtuluş Park; so that someone may ask you: 'Are you sick?'

She contrasted this approach in Kurtuluş Park with the careless and individualistic, selfish attitudes in Kuğulu Park, which was one of her astonishing reflections. She felt more defined in Kurtuluş Park, however when she was in Kuğulu, she felt as if she was in a "black hole". At that point the other interviewee [Interviewee-(A)F4] got involved in our

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discussion and disagreed with her that she felt differently about place attachment and security in these two parks: Kuğulu Park was safer than Kurtuluş Park, and in addition she felt more attached with a sense of belonging to Kuğulu. She lived in that region where Kurtuluş Park is located, and went to school passing nearby the Kurtuluş Park for the years from 1997 to 2002. She said that: "People living there rarely think that the park is safe". She was using the same route (like the previous interviewee) between Kızılay and her home but she usually preferred the opposite side of the sidewalk. She was still having lectures in the campus of Political Sciences Department of Ankara University, and she reflected that the same perception continued. In addition, she talked about a conversation with her husband that: "There is such a beautiful park at the centre of the city, however it is not used much". This interview with two conflicting views created a fruitful discussion on differentiated park perceptions and attachments even among the people from similar class and educational backgrounds.

The previous interviewee [Interviewee-(A)F3] restarted talking with reference to her own fear about the Gençlik Park: "I was once exposed to drifters' verbal harassment even while I was walking outside the park." After this experience, she coded the Gençlik Park as 'a place to be distracted from' –'Keep Out!'. Interviewee-(A)F4 also reflected her views on the Gençlik Park in contrast with Kurtuluş Park. She thought that in Kurtuluş Park there was not such a sharp feeling of insecurity as it was so in Gençlik Park; "this might be a result of the location of Gençlik Park. It is located near to the old city centre, Ulus, which is falling. However, Kurtuluş Park is relatively a more useable and available place, since there is a university campus near and students as well". Nevertheless, she still did not feel comfortable to visit Kurtuluş Park. According to her: "Kuğulu Park is more decent –*nezih*". Interviewee-(A)F3 argued that this statement did not conflict with hers, since she also thought in Kuğulu park no one disturbs any other person, however similarly no one is interested in others, that is why she perceives a distance between people.

As a last point, we focussed on spatial rights (especially accessibility) for the parks in relation with appropriation and disposition. I asked Interviewee-(A)M1 how he came to Kuğulu Park that day; he answered that after taking off the bus in the morning he rested in a friend's house in Yukarı Ayrancı, then he passed to Ulus, and then walked to the park from Kızılay. I asked how he perceives about 'who accesses Kuğulu Park'; he saw mostly middle-aged people and students, not many elderly. He was grown up in a house with garden, therefore he perceived Kuğulu Park as 'a spacious place' especially with trees and

swans that creates such a feeling for him. He proposed that "citizens need such spacious places to get fresh air since within city space and urban daily life the person feels as if he is drowned". I asked him whose park is Kuğulu. He answered: "The park belongs to everyone either living in Ankara or coming from other cities". I argued that: "As you know, some spatial regulations and redesigns result in a perception that these public spaces are not owned by the public rather they belong to the municipality, such as in the example of redesign of Gençlik Park. What do you think about this conflict?" He explained his first attempt when he arrived to the park. He said that he examined the roots and barks of trees because he doubted whether the trees were dying through their natural death or acid was injected to their soil for decay of them. We finished our interview with him by discussing the role of local governments. After complaining about the erosion as a result of illiteracy, he argued that:

> Municipalities exist as a tool to serve for people. Their responsibilities are providing to public, fair and cheap transportation, creating spacious places for breathing. In other words, municipalities are tools to bring services for the sake of providing humanly life standards for citizens. However, they appear to be tools of oppression. Organization especially unionisation is lacking in this country, and therefore everyone feels depressed, and no one is living his or her own life.

Similarly, I asked Interviewee-(A)F1 who the owner of Kuğulu Park is, and what this question reminded to her:

> Normally I should reframe this question or my answer as 'who I want it to belong to'; however it is thought 'to whom it belongs to' now. Two answers come to my mind. Now it belongs to the Metropolitan Municipality; however it does not use the place for the sake of us; they build structures instead. They restrict our gathering places and so our freedom. Squares mean freedom; at least I saw its examples when I travelled to and lived in Europe. They are places where people can do anything they want freely: sitting, making music, drinking. Squares should be places without policemen around and without intervening. In other words squares should be places belonging to you. However, although municipalities are responsible to rearrange such places to our daily lives, they rather act as if public spaces are their property. There is no square –meydan– in Ankara. There were some parks, but how many are left where you feel comfortable? I do never sit in Kurtuluş Park, for example.

I asked whose place is Kurtuluş Park to Interviewee-(A)F2, and she reflected on my question as 'the Turkish public'. According to her, Melih Gökçek, the metropolitan mayor, attempted to capture the park on behalf of the municipality; however he could not achieve this appropriation. "Nevertheless, the park does not address youth", she claimed; and added: "Especially table tennis section (in blue colour) was constructed for young people, however this part does not appeal to children and teenagers, rather thinner-addicted youth is appropriating this place" [Figure 5.2-4. The table tennis section where is appropriated by thinner-addicted youth, Kurtuluş Park, 04.02.2009]. Contradictory to her statement, recent

observations (i.e. in April 2015) demonstrated that the park has been used by young people more than before, especially by skaters and bikers, teenagers doing sports taking photographs. In years, Kurtuluş Park was observed to become livelier. At that time, she also argued that "the park is open to everyone, even women with turban. In summer time it becomes more beautiful, old, young, student… Many people come here".

Figure 5.2-4. The table tennis section where is appropriated by thinner-addicted youth, Kurtuluş Park, 04.02.2009

Interviewee-(A)F3, who is a city planner argued that all these three parks indicated different owners: "Seğmenler Park is a place to where the inhabitants of the surrounding neighbourhood come weekends or evenings to walk their dogs, therefore Seğmenler is a meeting place for dogs. Since upper-middle class cares about coupling their dogs with selected strains, these meetings are critical for them." Within her perception, "Seğmenler Park is the place of upper-middle class coming to park with their raincoats and sport shoes". She recognized that there was no security in Seğmenler, and it was possible to sit in the grass. She did not feel as if the park was an institution or business –*işletme*. "Among three parks Seğmenler Park is the most beautiful one", she proposes.

She classifies parks with respect to her observations on social classes at the parks: "Kurtuluş Park rather addresses middle class housewives and teenagers, who attend to state schools. Young girls dress exaggerated while meeting with their boyfriends, these girls are probably from low class". Their dressing style made her think this way. I asked whether she saw any of children from high income group since there is a private college near the park, TED College. She answered this question negatively: "I don't think so." At last she explained her reflections on the owner of Kuğulu as:

> I think Kuğulu is a park of alone people a bit and men sitting on the benches to watch others. Also some parents come to show swans to their children. Pass-byers, going to Tunalı, sit and rest in Kuğulu. I think, no one suddenly decides to visit Kuğulu without a reason, but the

> people passing through this region may decide to sit in the park when they are tired. Unlike Kuğulu Park, Seğmenler is a place where people would like to go and visit purposely.

She emphasized that although she did not have a negative perspective on Kurtuluş Park, Seğmenler Park makes her more sense.

This macro analysis on the basis of in-depth interviews at urban parks demonstrated that a class based analysis was not possible with reference to the selected conceptual pattern and methodological tools although a class differentiation was sensed during the observations and interviews. Beyond this, all the narratives on perceptions indicated various needs, dispositions and appropriations rather than a fragmentation. However, a decrease in spatial quality and usage of central parks also was sensed during the interviews, which may be held in a subsequent studies by examining the differentiation among urban parks and neighbourhood parks. These interviews guided the slight changes in methodology and gave a broad idea about the urban parks in Ankara recently. Moreover, the narratives made us question the reaction of local governments to such various needs and dispositions; therefore in the next section, the differentiation of urban green areas will be discussed with respect to appropriation of municipalities on the basis of data produced in previous research studies on Ankara, as the last section of macro analysis.

5.2.3. Differentiation of Urban Green Appropriation among Municipalities

Under this subheading, differentiated agendas of metropolitan and district municipalities are examined with respect to their priority related to urban green through investigation of web sites, previous studies presenting data on quantities of green areas of districts. Ankara is known to have various urban parks and urban green areas at different scales from neighbourhood parks to large urban parks either having a historical meaning (such as Gençlik Park, Altınpark, Güvenpark, Kuğulu Park, Kurtuluş Park) or being constructed recently at the periphery of the city (such as Göksu Park, Harikalar Diyarı) or having a significant role in the natural layout of the city (such as Eymir and Mogan Lakes, Atatürk Forest Farm (*AOÇ*), and Dikmen Valley).

Studies (such as Yeşil, 2006 and Müftüoğlu, 2008) using the quantitative data on urban greenery of Ankara usually focus on the eight district municipalities (Altındağ, Çankaya, Etimesgut, Gölbaşı, Keçiören, Mamak, Sincan, Yenimahalle) of Ankara since such kind of data can be gathered from the responsible institutions. However, investigating such studies, the data seem not to be collected homogenously, the quality of the data on urban parks and greenery differentiate in between municipalities, which is a challenge for the researcher.

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Moreover, there are some suspicious arguments about the increase and decrease in the quantity of urban green areas. For example, Yeşil (2006) on the one hand argues that the balance between built environment and urban greenery has been destroyed with urbanisation and increasing population; on the other hand he proposes that the amount of urban green in Ankara has increased with respect to the projects and studies since 1990s.

He adds that the standards of urban green in Ankara increase significantly (between 2000-2006), which exceeded 7 m^2 / per person (this standard has been increased to 10 m^2 after 2010). This argument needs to be questioned: How are the standards determined? Is this increase a result of an objectively and accurately made analysis? If there is really an increase after 1990s and especially 2000s what kind of (social, political, spatial) transformations are there on the background of this increase*?*; What about the transformation of the quantity of the urban green areas in Ankara?; How can a reliable database can be constructed to form an accurate inventory? These questions go beyond the limits of this dissertation, however during the research process such problems paved the way for new questions and research fields in relation with green policy and urban green areas. Under this sub-section, a rough inventory of urban parks in Ankara is presented in relation with the different approaches of municipalities and citizens, which will indicate the differentiated political and spatial stances and appropriation modes of local authorities and citizens for urban green areas.

Keçiören is known as a district having so many green areas which are frequently used. And the service of the municipality is also liked, according to the interviews held both at the site and in city scale. However, in Yeşil's study (2006) the amount per person is left in the level of 1,46 m^2/person, which is ironic. The area of the district is 75 900 ha, and the population density is 8,86 person/ha. The green area, which should be 4 709 719 m^2, was calculated as 1 235 555 m^2. The parks are in the first place, and they constitute 79.32 % of all of the green areas (976 996 m^2) with respect to the data constructed in 2006. Although they are in the service of the district inhabitants, the large urban green areas (like Gökçek Park) are not counted as the active green areas of the district; rather they are calculated as the green areas of metropolitan municipality (Yeşil, 2006: 51). Here is a problem of gathering the data within municipalities.

Table 5.2-4. Distribution of urban green areas in Keçiören District (Yeşil, 2006: 51)

TYPE OF GREEN AREA	Surface Area (m^2)	Portion in the sum of district (%)	Amount of Green Area per person (m^2 / person)	The portion in the overall sum of the city (%)
Children Playgrounds	0	0.00	0.00	0.00
PARKS	979 986	79.32	1.46	9.19
Sport areas	85 441	6.92	0.13	10.12
Graveyards	0	0.00	0.00	0.00
Forestation areas	170 118	13.72	0.25	1.93
Squares and refuges	0	0.00	0.00	0.00
OVERALL SUM	1 235 555	100		

An informal interview was conducted in Winter 2012 with S. and A. brothers about their park experience in Keçiören. Mr. S. works as a nurse, and Mr. A. was a university student at that time. They are from Keçiören, and currently living there. We talked about Keçiören's parks especially focusing on their neighbourhoods. Our interview mapped a social typology of neighbourhood parks in the district. Mr. S. first talked about *Çiçekli Park* and *Şehit İsa Yusuf Alptekin Park* which were both located in Çiçekli Neighbourhood. When examined in the google maps, Çiçekli Park was seen as a small park located near to Keçiören Halkevi; however, Şehit İsa Yusuf Alptekin Park is relatively large and located on Gün Sazak Street, which indicates a political figure from conservative nationalist party, MHP. Added to that, building of Mukhtar –*muhtar*– of Çiçekli Neighbourhood is placed within the park.
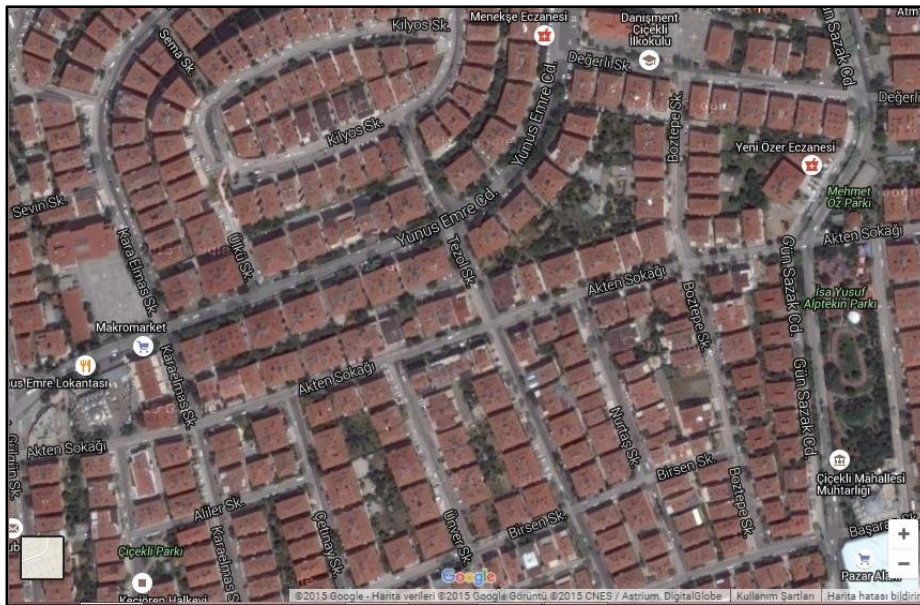
Figure 5.2-5. Çiçekli Park and Şehit İsa Yusuf Alptekin Parks in Keçiören District

When internet site of Keçiören Municipality was searched for Çiçekli Park and Çiçekli Neighbourhood, news was recognized on the provision ceremony in this neighbourhood on 23.10.2012. In the news the regeneration project and opening ceremony is introduced as a 'hidden propaganda':

> The Building of Mukhtar of Çiçekli Neighbourhood, market place and İsa Yusuf Alptekin Park were recreated and opened by Keçiören Municipality with a ceremony. The mayor of Keçiören, Mustafa Ak, who talked in the ceremony, said that: "In our perspective, public service is equal to service to the god; we are in a love to take service to everywhere without any discrimination"[15].

This park was also called and known as Çiçekli Park before (as also Mr. S. mentioned), and after regeneration it was renamed with a martyr's name. Although the speech of the mayor emphasizes unity and he says that the municipality avoids discrimination, this process of recreating and renaming indicates a highly political tone and representational content. The rest of the news text, which is officially posted in web site of the municipality, compliments to the mayor and municipality, as a result of the infrastructural services such as the amount and quality of pavements constructed in that year[16].

Then we talked about other prominent parks of Keçiören. Mr. S. mentioned *Fatih Park*, *Aşıklar Tepesi* and *Botanik Atatürk Bahçesi*, which are under the house of Erdoğan at that time. We talked about park experience of young people. He spoke about a seasonal tradition that in Ramadan evenings, young people come together in parks after Iftar. He also talked about İncirli[17]. The place where there is Pazaryeri. He said that: "Parks in Keçiören are so intensely used that seizing a place in camellias turn out to be a game". This was verified via in-depth interviews in Gökçek Park too. He argued that Fatih Park is a park usually preferred by elderly. He shifted to parks in other districts; shared his views and observations on park usage and spatial appropriation. He first gave the examples of Dikmen and Tuzluçayır as districts of Alevis. Then he talked about Büyük Park and Küçük Park in İzmir, Bornova. He proposed that Büyük Park is open to everyone, however Küçük Park is a place of herb and marijuana. He continued as: "In Ankara there are similar places, such as

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[15] <<Keçiören Belediyesi tarafından Çiçekli Mahallesi'nde yenilenen muhtarlık binası, Pazar yeri ve İsa Yusuf Alptekin Parkı törenle açıldı. Açılış töreninde konuşan Keçiören Belediye Başkanı Mustafa Ak, "Bizim anlayışımızda halka hizmet hakka hizmettir, hiçbir ayrım gözetmeksizin her yere hizmet götürme sevdası içindeyiz" dedi>>
(http://www.kecioren.bel.tr/CICEKLI_MAHALLESI_NDE_UC_ACILIS_BIRDEN-455-haber.html).
[16] http://www.kecioren.bel.tr/CICEKLI_MAHALLESI_NDE_UC_ACILIS_BIRDEN-455-haber.html

[17] …which is a place rather Alevis are living.

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Maltepe Park, which is next to the market place. Anıttepe Park in Emek, is appropriated by the skateboarders". He also mentioned other significant parks such as Bahçeli Park, Meclis Park and Cemal Süreya Park above the Parliament, and lastly Evcil Hayvanlar Parkı in Uyanış, Keçiören, which is closed after 9 pm. This last park was also mentioned by one of the security guards in Gökçek Park, as a more significant place than Gökçek Park.

Mr. S. also talked about a gang called "A-Team" –*A Takımı*– which acts as an informal security team and indicates the conservative morals of the neighbourhood –*mahalle baskısı*. During the in-depth interview, with Directory of Parks and Gardens –*Parklar ve Bahçeler Müdürlüğü*– of Keçiören Municipality (in December 2013), this issue could not be discussed with the interviewees (who were landscape architects) since they were suspicious about giving information. However A-Team can be followed through internet with several news, images and texts. According to this investigation, A-team –i.e. as a gang– was established in 1994 by Keçiören District Mayor, Turgut Altınok, who was elected from Nationalist Movement Party (*MHP*) (http://sendika7.org/2013/04/akpli-kecioren-belediyesinin-gerici-fasist-cetesi-a-takimi-yine-sahnede/). In a blog text dated 2014, A Team, which is supposedly a gang, was argued to be responsible from the recent violent and blow events in Keçiören parks, which supports oral explanations of S. and A. brothers.

> Recently, [the question of A-team] occurs behind the violent events and blows appeared and these are rapidly increasing at Keçiören's parks belonging to Keçiören Municipality. After a short survey, the mayor, Mustafa Ak, charged some people to protect parks and gardens in Keçiören, and later this group turned out to be a gang called A-Team, which has spread fear to the inhabitants of Keçiören recently. Many park users reported that these people, who were charged to protect parks and gardens before, started to beat citizens under cover of disturbing other people in the park, strolling improperly, and drinking alcohol. Moreover, they injure the ones who resist to them using knives and other weapons, even pistols. According to a claim, recently this team has beaten more than twenty persons so that they had to be treated in hospitals. This team turned out to be a criminal organization and continues to create fear and violence in Keçiören district[18].

Figure 5.2-6. A news fragment indicating an attack of A Team to two brothers

Source: https://oyyokhirsiza2.wordpress.com/2014/03/20/a-takimi-kecioren-belediyesi-asayis/

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[18] https://oyyokhirsiza2.wordpress.com/2014/03/20/a-takimi-kecioren-belediyesi-asayis

Several inhabitants living in Keçiören District protested this unofficial armed gang in front of the municipality building on 12, April 2013 (http://sendika7.org/2013/04/akpli-kecioren-belediyesinin-gerici-fasist-cetesi-a-takimi-yine-sahnede/) (see Figure 5.2-7. Inhabitants of Keçiören District protesting the attack of A Team).

Figure 5.2-7. Inhabitants of Keçiören District protesting the attack of A Team

Source: http://sendika7.org/2013/04/akpli-kecioren-belediyesinin-gerici-fasist-cetesi-a-takimi-yine-sahnede/

This representational content and struggles supported the pilot studies suggesting Keçiören as an interesting case to be examined during the micro analysis. Therefore, in the last sub-section the micro spatial and political elements were focussed on to achieve a clear understanding on this conservative representations take place within which mechanisms in the daily life and appropriation of a neighbourhood park in Keçiören district.

Returning to the amounts of green areas and standards in districts, similar to Keçiören, in Sincan, parks had the first place within green areas with 1 756 363 m^2 as presented in Yeşil's inventory (2006).

Table 5.2-5. Distribution of urban green areas in Sincan District (Yeşil, 2006: 55)

TYPE OF GREEN AREA	SURFACE AREA (m^2)	The portion in the sum of the district (%)	Amount of Green Area per person (m^2 / person)	The portion in the overall sum of the city (%)
Children Playgrounds	0	0.00	0.00	0.00
PARKS	1 756 363	72.76	6.06	12.89
Sport areas	0	0.00	0.00	0.00
Graveyards	0	0.00	0.00	0.00
Forestation areas	614 651	25.46	2.12	6.97
Squares and refuges	42 865	1.78	0.15	1.17
OVERALL SUM	1 413 879	100		

This forms the 72.76 % of the greenery in the district. Amount of parks seems as 6,06 m^2 per person, which constitutes 12,89 % within the sum of green areas in the city. The population density of the district is 7,96 person/ha; and the surface area is 36 400 ha. In 2006, according to Yeşil's study, eighty seven of the parks were accomplished; one was under construction. In the study, it is seen that the central refuges and junctions are also assumed as green areas (Yeşil, 2006: 55), however in fact they are not. This puzzles us about both gathering and interpreting of the data on urban green areas. We should begin with the different definitions of green areas in separate district municipalities probably.

In Yeşil's study (2006) the amount of green spaces per person in Altındağ district was 0,74 m^2 / person. In this district parks are located in the second place within greenery. Parks were covering 206 927 m^2 and having a ratio of 68,31 %. However, a large urban green area, *Asri Mezarlık – Modern Graveyard*, was not counted as urban greenery of the district, since it is under control of the Metropolitan Municipality (Yeşil, 2006: 43). This is another nonsense attempt of gathering data on urban greenery in metropolitan cities. It is reasonable that, this cemetery serves the whole city and it is a large area, but it is a question why it is separated from other small or medium green spaces in the district. It is nonsense to keep out such a large space from the rest of the district area; this made me think that while gathering data on green areas, it turns out to be a competition between metropolitan municipalities and district municipalities. Nonetheless, the evaluation should be done with respect to scales but also with respect to the areas, densities, and composition within the district and within the urban space. This kind of methods of gathering data indicates that there is a tension, and a chaos of powers between municipalities; and moreover, probably within definitions.

Table 5.2-6. Distribution of urban green areas in Altındağ District (Yeşil, 2006: 43)

TYPE OF GREEN AREA	SURFACE AREA (m^2)	The portion in the sum of the district (%)	Amount of Green Area per person (m^2 / person)	The portion in the overall sum of the city (%)
Children Playgrounds	6 462	2.13	0.02	0.58
PARKS	206 927	68.31	0.71	1.52
Sport areas	19 083	6.30	0.07	2.26
Graveyards	0	0.00	0.00	0.00
Forestation areas	13 590	4.49	0.05	0.15
Squares and refuges	0	0.00	0.00	0.00
Other	56 862	18.77	0.20	37.58
OVERALL SUM	302 924	100		

In Çankaya district, parks were in the second place too, they had a portion of 24,62 % with 1 145 176 m^2. Similarly, some large green areas are under the control of metropolitan municipality, so they are not counted as the green areas of the district municipality. Therefore they were not included in the calculations and inventory (Yeşil, 2006: 45). Within this study, these parks were not mentioned; this is another nonsense or weakness of such inventories. It is a question why these parks are excluded from the calculations and inventory of green areas? What is the logic behind such a categorization and data collection? A new kind of data collection seems to be necessitated and this new set of data should be re-mapped. However, this dissertation does not aim such a huge goal, this may be subject of another study. We benefit from these data to grasp the whole picture roughly.

Table 5.2-7. Distribution of urban green areas in Çankaya District (Yeşil, 2006: 43)

TYPE OF GREEN AREA	SURFACE AREA (m^2)	The portion in the sum of the district (%)	Amount of Green Area per person (m^2 / person)	The portion in the overall sum of the city (%)
Children Playgrounds	556 835	12.46	1.92	49.93
PARKS	1 145 176	25.62	3.95	8.40
Sport areas	452 825	10.13	1.56	53.62
Graveyards	0	0.00	0.00	0.00
Forestation areas	2 315 164	51.79	7.99	26.26
Squares and refuges	0	0.00	0.00	0.00
OVERALL SUM	4 470 000	100		

In Etimesgut district, parks were also in the second place, they had a 26,08 % with 157 415 m^2. The area of greenery per person is 3,5 m^2/person. Again, the critical and large urban parks are counted as the active green areas of the district municipality since they are under the control of metropolitan municipality (Yeşil, 2006: 45). During data collection the approach was seems to be based on a categorization with respect to the boundaries of authority rather than boundaries of service or urban neighbourhoods. Who benefits from these green areas and how they use these sites, are left aside. The question how these green areas are related to the rest of the neighbourhood, district or the city, is also neglected. And the researchers who use such data seem not to be aware of this weakness.

Table 5.2-8. Distribution of urban green areas in Etimesgut District (Yeşil, 2006: 47)

TYPE OF GREEN AREA	SURFACE AREA (m^2)	The portion in the sum of the district (%)	Amount of Green Area per person (m^2 / person)	The portion in the overall sum of the city (%)
Children Playgrounds	234 047	38.78	0.30	20.99
PARKS	157 415	26.08	0.20	1.16
Sport areas	102 100	16.92	0.13	12.09
Graveyards	110 000	18.23	0.14	1.99
Forestation areas	0	0.00	0.00	0.00
Squares and refuges	0	0.00	0.00	0.00
OVERALL SUM	603 562	100		

For this district, within the table, there is a problem on the amount of graveyards. Different from previous districts, area of graveyards are included in this calculation, which indicates huge gaps in data collected on green areas of different districts.

Table 5.2-9. Distribution of urban green areas in Gölbaşı District (Yeşil, 2006: 49)

TYPE OF GREEN AREA	SURFACE AREA (m^2)	The portion in the sum of the district (%)	Amount of Green Area per person (m^2 / person)	The portion in the overall sum of the city (%)
Children Playgrounds	0	0.00	0.00	0.00
PARKS	154 150	52.53	2.46	1.13
Sport areas	50 000	17.04	0.80	5.92
Graveyards	0	0.00	0.00	0.00
Forestation areas	89 295	30.43	1.43	1.01
Squares and refuges	0	0.00	0.00	0.00
OVERALL SUM	293 445	100		

In Gölbaşı district, parks are in first rank among green areas, with 154 150 m^2 and 52,53 %. Green areas per person is 0,35 m^2/person. Similarly, Mogan Lake, which is a large urban green area, is not counted as the active greenery of the district, since it is under authority of Metropolitan Municipality (Yeşil, 2006: 49). It seems that all these calculations were made in Metropolitan Municipality's favour, to show that they are working well.

Table 5.2-10. Distribution of urban green areas in Mamak District (Yeşil, 2006: 49)

TYPE OF GREEN AREA	SURFACE AREA (m²)	The portion in the sum of the district (%)	Amount of Green Area per person (m² / person)	The portion in the overall sum of the city (%)
Children Playgrounds	0	0.00	0.00	0.00
PARKS	504 920	21.28	1.17	3.71
Sport areas	38 550	1.64	0.09	4.61
Graveyards	0	0.00	0.00	0.00
Forestation areas	1 662 792	70.09	3.86	18.86
Squares and refuges	71 000	2.99	0.16	1.94
OVERALL SUM	2 373 302	100		

In Mamak, afforestation areas took the first place and (neighbourhood) parks are located in the second place with 504 920 m², and they are 21,28 % within all greenery in the district. Ortaköy Graveyard is not calculated again, although it is expected to increase the amount of passive greenery in the district. However, graveyards are under the authority of Metropolitan Municipality. This decreased the amount of greenery in this district, however increases the amount of green areas of the Metropolitan Municipalities (Yeşil, 2006: 53). Mamak is argued to be urbanised unplanned, however within Yeşil's study, this district seems to have relatively more green areas. It is surprising that such a district, which has a wide agenda on urban transformation, has such a huge amount of green areas relatively.

The data made me question how the inhabitants perceive these standards? How do they experience? Moreover, another issue is that in some calculations central refuge and squares are counted within green areas, in others graveyards are counted, why does this difference occur? All these issues deserve in-depth examination via data collection and interviews with responsible institutions via further research.

Table 5.2-11. Distribution of urban green areas in Yenimahalle District (Yeşil, 2006: 57)

TYPE OF GREEN AREA	SURFACE AREA (m²)	The portion in the sum of the district (%)	Amount of Green Area per person (m² / person)	The portion in the overall sum of the city (%)
Children Playgrounds	317 891	27.88	0.57	28.50
PARKS	491 905	43.14	0.89	3.61
Sport areas	96 030	8.42	0.17	11.37
Graveyards	0	0.00	0.00	0.00
Forestation areas	234 369	20.56	0.42	2.66
Squares and refuges	0	0.00	0.00	0.00
OVERALL SUM	1 140 195	100		

In Yenimahalle, parks the first place with 491 905 m^2, and they are 43,14 % within all greenery in the district. Karşıyaka Graveyard is not calculated again, although it is expected to increase the amount of passive greenery in the district. However, graveyards are under the authority of Metropolitan Municipality (Yeşil, 2006: 57).

Although the deficiency in his methods, Yeşil (2006) also mentions about the mistakes and lacking parts in both data collection and planning of urban green areas:

> [Amounts of] Urban green areas are estimated with reference to population and are stated as 'm^2 per person'. With this approach, urban green areas are considered to demonstrate an equal distribution within the city. However, especially in Ankara, the distribution of urban greenery is not homogenous; in some districts this amount remains low, in others it is higher. Insufficiencies in planning of urban green areas lead to such an irregular distribution in Ankara. Within development plans, the left-over spaces in urban pattern are assigned to be green areas, which results in imbalance of usage among the districts. Therefore, first off, the hinterland of urban green areas should be determined. By considering the necessary population and size with respect to hinterlands, the necessitated spatial amounts should be defined; most appropriate locations should be selected for children playgrounds, sports facilities and parks; a program should be prepared for expropriating these areas. Moreover, spaces reserved in development plans for urban green areas should be preserved against the danger of urban development with a tendency of rent seeking (Yeşil, 2006: 75).

This examination indicated that beyond formal information, informal data exist for each and every district municipality. Municipalities and districts seem to have differentiated agenda of urban green and various degrees of publicness with respect to open public spaces, which cannot be understood solely on the basis of the quantitative data gathered from responsible institutions. Further examinations and research should be conducted on the differentiation of urban greenery in Ankara at macro scale within considering the two perspectives of perceived and conceived spaces[19]. This macro analysis attempted to frame both the geographical ground and methodological basis in relation with historical analysis presented in the fourth chapter of the thesis.

5.3. Meso-Analysis: Representational Moments of Green Policy in Ankara

This sub-section displays prominent modes for urban green (re)production in Ankara via meso-analysis of determinant representational moments. How do these moments shape urban green areas and spatial appropriation at them? The differentiation of urban green

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[19] The green systems for Ankara and the potential conflict areas with possible solutions are discussed in one issue of the journal of Landscape Architects Chamber in 1991. Following articles can be viewed: Öztan (1991) ['Ankara Kenti'nin 2000'li Yıllar İçin Açık Yeşil ve Yeşil Alan Sistemi Olanakları, 2000'li Yıllar için Ankara Kenti'nin Açık ve Yeşil Alan Sistemi Ne olmalıdır?']; Kortan (1991) ['Ankara ve Jansen Planı, 2000'li Yıllar İçin Ankara Kenti'nin Açık be Yeşil Alan Sistemi Ne olmalıdır?'], Uzel (1991) ['Ankara İçin Hazırlanan İmar Planlarında Yeşil Alan Yaklaşımı ve 2000'li Yıllar'].

areas within spatial appropriation is solely neither a physical nor a socio-political issue. On the one hand, location and changing compositions of neighbourhoods influence parks' quantitative and qualitative features. On the other hand, these places have been (re)produced within particular social, political motives and so each have different stories and socio-spatial accumulation with respect to their (spatial) form, (urban) function and (historical) meaning.

Examination and first in-depth interviews indicated that the first central urban parks of Ankara – Gençlik Park and Güvenpark– were created within specific socio-spatial projects; and later gained social or/and political meanings through either urban daily experiences (routines) or determinant representational moments through symbolic struggles. Another central park, Kuğulu Park, gained its meanings within memories of citizens and was exposed to spatial attempts to be narrowed and later turned to be one of the political scenes in Ankara during Gezi protests. This symbolic core is a result of political accumulation of historical meaning and representational struggles at this site. Similarly, a recent project proposal of Ankapark, has also a political-economic motive and a representational content.

Representational modes of spatial policies and appropriation were traced after 1980s in Ankara within a political-geographical meso-analysis under this sub-heading. The appropriations of both local governments and inhabitants were presented as a topography of representational forms. Institutions appropriate space through spatial policy and production which consists of recent legal-institutional framework, and processes of planning and project implementation. Inhabitants appropriate space through daily routines, rituals and festive moments in various rhythms and forms. Within this meso-analysis, the institutional–geographical layout of urban green in Ankara was questioned in relation with on the one hand changing green agendas of responsible local governments via struggles and on the other hand differentiated recreational patterns of inhabitants in separate districts on the basis of in-depth interviews held in December 2013.

Municipalities attempted to transform some parks socially through physical re-design of the place and slight formal changes; i.e. during first interviews held in 2009, interviewees argued that Kurtuluş Park had been appropriated by thinner-addicted children in early 2000s. Therefore, the municipality reorganized park to re-invite middle class citizens, especially women and families, by changing the lighting system and security cautions of the park so that the place turned out to be more luminous and made people feel safer, which indicates a struggle in the form of appropriation between underclass and the municipality.

Gençlik Park is another example which was redesigned and rebuilt. On the basis of observations at site, the metropolitan municipality seems to focus on developing built environment rather than preserving the historical meaning of the park or developing a more natural pattern. Recent urban park projects, such as Harikalar Diyarı, Göksupark, indicate a kind of decentralization since huge urban lands in the peripheries are reserved and developed as large urban parks focusing on the entertaining functions with different facilities, possibly as a result of economic and political rent distributed by the (metropolitan) municipality. Ankapark is also another recent park proposal, which emphasizes entertainment and delimits the visitors with entrance fee.

Institutional boundaries will be narrated in the next part. Under the second part of this section, the differentiation of users' presence and appropriation will be presented. This sub-section will conclude reproduction modes of urban green areas in three scales: urban parks, pseudo-regional parks and neighbourhood parks.

5.3.1. Recent Jurisdiction of (Re)production of Urban Greenery

Urban green areas insert natural environment among structures, roads and built areas, which enable both the city and citizens 'to breathe' so that these spaces constitute a significant layer of urban pattern. Production of urban greenery is a part of urban planning system in Turkey. Although the political context and spatial policy of central government influence these processes, locals (districts and neighbourhoods) have their authenticity within their specific natural layout, historical background and political composition (local-central relations).

Investigating the production process of urban parks especially in metropolitan areas, the first question is the actors having the authority and responsibility to supply urban green areas, and to reproduce urban parks; and what the boundaries of their authority are. In addition to the historical-political analysis of planning system in Turkey, observations and interviews prompted some noteworthy questions about the creation and appropriation of urban green areas by the hand of governments, institutions and state. First question is: Who has the right to build and create urban parks? What kind of an authority and responsibility is defined? This question can be formulated in three sub-questions. The first one is: How do the local governments implement the responsibilities and rights given them by law? We can open up this question for discussion through two further issues. First off, what kind of a service is park creation? Creation/production of parks has been usually perceived as the municipality's kindness by the inhabitants in certain cases within a dominant discourse on

"municipality is working" recently in Turkey. Why is this happening? At the very beginning of production process, what kind of seeds are spread so that this creation is considered as a mercy rather than a 'right to the city'? Secondly, there is an arbitrariness in the building process of parks, and this is the reason for the previous observation. There are parks built to be said that "we added 10 000 m^2 more". In other words, local governments seem to aim providing their legitimacy through such services, but they don't consider public use and use value. Moreover, economic sustainability may be another reason. What motivates them? How can it be explained?

The second sub-question focuses on the typology of green areas, definitions and legal-institutional references of these definitions. What are the types of green areas? Which of them serve for the neighbourhood and which serve to the city? And how is the responsibility of local governments shared with respect to scales? Are these institutional boundaries defined in the Law of Metropolitan Municipalities or Development Law or occur only in implementation process rather than defined in a legal text? The third sub-question is about the relationship between central and local scales of urban spatial production: is there any conflict, or any harmony between metropolitan municipality and district municipalities?

While examining institutional organization for production of urban greenery, it was observed that neither studies on urban green areas nor related legal-institutional framework prefer to use the concept of 'urban green policy' directly. Furthermore, a comprehensive conceptualization and systematic-holistic research on 'urban green policy' is lacking. Rather than, urban green policy is held under more general fields, such as 'Environmental Policy'. Moreover other concepts are developed or adopted to Turkish planning literature in relation with institutional frame. In one of the comprehensive studies on urban green and environmental issues, Keleş, et al. (2012) defines the concept of 'environmental management' as the sets of actions to constitute a whole system of communication, planning, coordination and control for the purposes of preserving, utilizing and developing natural resources within a healthy and balanced environment and added to this system, an organization is also targeted to run this system.

In Turkey, a well-designed organization was lacking to handle environmental issues and management till recent years. In fact, there is still no single institution or system to approach holistically to urban green and natural layout of the cities. Local and central institutions perform their executive, planning and control functions on preserving and

developing environment usually independently from each other. In some examples of other countries, environmental issues were institutionalized at central scale as ministries (such as Holland, Japan, Italy); on the other side, in some other cases central institutions apart from ministries are responsible for the environmental issues at central scale (such as USA, Sweden) (Keleş, et al., 2012).

Several institutions deal with urban natural environment in Turkey. Scattered duties and authority among different institutions lead to a lack of national environmental or green policy. Moreover, this schema results in a problem of coordination. In Turkey, the initial attempts were observed in 1970s to form a central organization on environmental management. Prime Ministry Undersecretariat for Environment –*Başbakanlık Çevre Müsteşarlığı*– was established in 1978 for both to determine environmental policy and to coordinate the related institutions. At the beginning of 1990s, one of the ministers of state was charged with environmental issues, which paved the way for establishment of a ministry. In 1991 Ministry of Environment –*Çevre Bakanlığı*– was constituted, which ended the existence of Prime Ministry Undersecretariat for Environment (Keleş, et al., 2012).

In 2003, the Ministry of Environment was combined with the Ministry of Forestry under the name of Ministry of Environment and Forestry. In the summer of 2011 the institutional pattern of ministry was re-organized and a new ministry was established as Ministry of Environment, Forestry and Urbanization by the statutory decree –*yasa gücünde kararname*– numbered 636 (dated: 08.06.2011). However after a short while, this ministry was separated to two institutions, one was Ministry of Environment and Urbanization (by the statutory decree numbered 644 –dated: 04.07.2011); and second is Ministry of Forestry and Water Affairs (by the statutory decree numbered 645 and dated: 04.07.2011). The organization of these two ministries were completed in the following two months by slight changes in the statutory decrees. These urgent rearrangements just before the parliamentary election on 12th of June, 2011, brings about the intuition that the management of the issues of environment, urbanization, forestry and water affairs were re-organized and legalized at central–nation state scale in a 'hurry'. The incoherency of the legal texts also supports that argument. Added to this critique, these ministries were questioned since they were established through statutory decrees (enacted by the executive organ) rather than a law, which pass from the control of legislative organ (Keleş, et al., 2012).

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The duties attributed to this new ministry can be discussed in three main points. Firstly, as Keleş, et al. (2012) explain, the responsibilities on environment issues were narrowed and the work on urban development was emphasized since two contradictory field (natural and built environment) were reunited in the same institution. The duties defined in the legal text are usually related with urban and development issues, focusing on developing urban land rather than preserving natural environment. This new organization scheme features settlements, housing, and urban development (Keleş, et al., 2012). In addition to this, the second point is about the delegation of authority. Some of duties of local governments were transferred to the municipality. The area of jurisdiction of the central institution was enlarged. Coastal areas and fill areas is an example of this enlargement. The ministry has the right to make plans at every scale, to implement these plans, projects and to build structures at these areas. The ministry is responsible for public investments especially in the field of energy production such as constructing nuclear, thermal and hydroelectric power plants.

Since these government policies are regarded identical with the progress, the duties on local urban land development would inevitably contradict with the preservation of environment. The duty to protect and develop natural environment would be a secondary issue for the government (Keleş, et al., 2012). This means, re-centralization of planning and development authority which was decentralized after 1980, as a result of obstacles experienced in previous decades. However, in some other countries, such as English case, planning and urban green policy seems to be decentralized as explained in the article of Wilson et al. (2011). As examined in the historical framework (previous chapter), Balaban (2008) proposes a deregulation and liberalization process in planning through which legal and institutional regulations have facilitated private investments on built environment especially since 2002. The discussion of decentralization or recentralization in Turkish planning system is influenced from such a contextual transformation. Therefore the relationships (conflicts and harmonies) between central and local governments and on the other hand among municipalities gain importance.

In relation with this discussion, the second question appeared on the concrete process of park production during the pilot studies and analysis. However, it was recognized that revealing a clear and holistic frame of urban green production is so hard [see also Duyguluer (2012) for a comprehensive analysis of over-fragmented structure of planning practice in Turkey in neo-liberal era]. Therefore, this process was left in a bold outline and

narrated briefly here and following sub-questions were formulated for further analyses to be answered in subsequent studies: (a) how are green areas and parks designed?; (b) how are they constructed?; (c) what are the institutional boundaries of construction and design process?; (d) how can the selected parks be contrasted and compared with respect to their historical backgrounds and qualitative-quantitate features (ideological motivations, societal concerns, and political rent)? These questions need to be investigated profoundly through in-depth interviews and discourse analyses via local governments, institutions, opponent actors such as professional chambers (city planners, architects, environmental engineers), and other NGOs, which transcends the boundaries of my research, however they are still critical to answer.

In her Master's thesis, Bingöl (2006) examines the standpoints of different actors in Turkish planning system while producing urban green areas within a quality of life perspective. In her study, producing urban greenery is analysed as a sub-section of Turkish planning system within development plans in different scales and planning instruments (such as urban green policy and its legal context, land ownership, green standards and responsibilities in green space planning). Differentiated levels of administration (such as national, regional, local) result in various aspects of creation and planning, differentiated green typologies and instruments. She examines the legal sources of green production and management beginning from the Constitution, and Development Law, which are similarly held in various studies (Bingöl, 2006). Müftüoğlu (2008) also concentrates on legal framework of urban green areas and development in Ankara. He presents the implementation tools in development law as: (1) development programs –*imar programları*, (2) expropriation –*kamulaştırma*, (3) development readjustment share –*düzenleme ortaklık payı*– in Article 18 of Development Law –3194 (Müftüoğlu, 2008). The implementation of article 18 is used during the development of new areas for the sake of providing defined standards of services, and areas. In the development law of 6755, legislated in 1957, the standard area for urban green areas were determined as 7 m^2 per person; the next development law, numbered 3194, and legislated in 1984, also supported these standards. This ratio was redefined with a legal rearrangement in 1999, and it was raised to 10 m^2 per person (Bingöl, 2006). However, as seen in the previous part these standards cannot be achieved.

The boundaries of responsibility is also another critical point under discussion; this leads to significant contradictions especially among metropolitan municipality and district municipalities. Although in legal texts Metropolitan Municipality is responsible from the urban green areas and parks with a 30 000 m^2 area, an arbitrary distribution was recognized during an analysis of urban green inventory, which was achieved from the website of Metropolitan Municipality in 2012, and later this data was removed from the site (see Appendix C, for the detailed table of this data).

Added to professional and legal boundaries, some parks turn out to be subject or stage of ideological struggles or representational sites such as the example in 5.3. Mehmet Akif Ersoy Kültür Park, Hamamönü, Altındağ Municipality.

5.3. Mehmet Akif Ersoy Kültür Park, Hamamönü, Altındağ Municipality

Source: http://ankaraarsivi.atilim.edu.tr/libinstitutional/view/id/873/Mehmet-Akif-Ersoy-Kultur-Parki-Hamamonu/?lang=tr

An ideological framework exists in some park cases and within the surrounding a symbolic-political unity is aimed in such cases. The park in Hamamönü (within the urban transformation project site) is an example, and Mehmet Akif's museum house is also located in this area. This park has a function and meaning with the urban site it is related with, which are shaped through ideological and economic factors. There is also a dervish convent next to the museum –*Tacettin Dergahı*– and a grave of a political figure, Muhsin Yazıcıoğlu. Moreover, this park connects the campus of Medicine Faculty of Hacettepe University to Hamamönü and Ulus (see 5.3. Mehmet Akif Ersoy Kültür Park, Hamamönü, Altındağ Municipality).

Urban parks in Ankara seem to be designed for the sake of either political or economic rant; in some cases as a prestige and gift to the inhabitants of the neighbourhood. So what makes people go to a specific park? How does the political content and design penetrate perceptions and experience of users? Further sub-issues appear as: (1) the factors attracting potential users to the park; (2) pedestrian paths within a park; (3) the location of water element. Such micro design issues and local varieties impact on choices and daily habits of users. On the other hand, they are influenced by the spatial policy and macro scale political-economic and planning inputs. Before considering the representational modes and moments of urban green production, recreational patterns of park users will be narrated. Situated activity and mental maps of interviewees were concentrated on.

5.2.2. Recreational patterns of interviewees from various districts

Seven interviews were held (in December 2013) during the meso-analysis to examine the recreational patterns and spatial appropriation in relation with representational spaces in different districts and neighbourhoods. The narration of this analysis is constructed on the basis of five categories: (a) personal narratives, memories and current urban green routine of the interviewees, (b) different definitions of park culture i.e. hygiene vs. dirtiness, (c) adequacy and quality of parks and maintenance in different districts, (d) influence of security and surveillance in frequency of usage, (e) accessibility and appropriation of parks.

Firstly focusing on the personal narratives of interviewees, all interviewees were selected to work in the same place (at the same a school), in different positions and living in different districts of Ankara, they had differentiated incomes and social-educational background therefore differentiated recreational dispositions. Interviewee-(B)F1, Dönüş H. moved to Ankara from Kırıkkale six years before and has lived in Dikmen since then. She is a pre-school teacher therefore during our interview she several times emphasized children and their park usage. She goes parks almost everyday (apart from cold days like the time we interviewed) for doing sports and walking. She especially mentioned the beauty of 'Dikmen Valley' and talked about the development of new parks in her neighbourhood, which she evaluated as useful for both adults and children. She had difficulty to remember the names of the parks she goes however she expressed her satisfaction about the park service of the municipality: "Çankaya Municipality constructs several parks on Dikmen Street. Almost six parks were built recently around our street [Öveçler 4th Street]. New parks are also under construction, which are not named yet". She talked about the new parks through valleys, such as Öveçler Park, which was not opened at the time of interview. She goes to parks on

foot twice or three times a week during winter and everyday during other seasons, her friends usually accompany her. She visits parks for wandering, walking, doing sports and exercises, meeting with friends, or resting, taking a breath, relaxing by oneself and observing plants and animals. She does not use parks for doing picnics. When she reaches the park, she usually spends there at least one to two hours.

The second and third interviews were held with two persons together on 12th December, 2013. Interviewee-(B)M1, Köksal B. is fifty years old age, male worker at the school. He is living in Mamak, Köstence neighbourhood. Interviewee-(B)M2, Durmuş B. is fifty five years old age male civil servant in the school. He is also living in Mamak, in another neighbourhood, Abidinpaşa. At the beginning of our interview, both of them agreed that they cannot use parks in their own neighbourhoods in Mamak as a result of the spatial appropriation of thinner addicted children, heavy-drunks and alcoholics: "The neighbourhood parks do not serve as required in our district", said Interviewee-(B)M1, Köksal B. He could not remember the name of the park, and explained the reason as "this is because we cannot even enter the park." He was talking about the major park in Köstence neighbourhood. The other interviewee, Interviewee-(B)M2, Durmuş B., asks at that point: "But where are the guards?" Köksal B. answers his question as: "Guards in our parks leave the site at 3 p.m. There is nothing like a *bekçi* there". The parks in his neighbourhood seems to be more isolated than the neighbourhood parks where Durmuş B. lives.

Durmuş B. lives in Abidinpaşa, which is closer to the city centre; and he talks about Aşık Veysel Park firstly: "Women go there to do sports, and children play in the playgrounds there". We then talk about Kurtuluş Park and women doing sports there too, and they both agree on that Kurtuluş Park is safer than these parks. I ask which parks or urban green areas they prefer to go if they cannot use neighbourhood parks; Köksal B. answers: "We go to Mavigöl during summers, almost once a week to do picnics with my family". I asked whether they used large and central urban parks like Gençlik Park, but he answered they always preferred to go Mavigöl, "old Bayındır Dam", he explained. They go there with either their friends from the same neighbourhood or family by their private cars to do picnics or for fishing. In summer time, when they go to Mavigöl, they spend there a day, usually they arrive the place at 6 or 7 a.m., and stay there the whole day. In winters, Köksal B. goes to riversides (especially to Kızılırmak) with his friends, however never visits neighbourhood parks; he worked in Gençlik Park until 1985, and after he left his job there he rarely goes to urban or neighbourhood parks. They are both living in the same district

but in different neighbourhoods, Durmuş B., who lives closer to the city centre, has a more active experience of neighbourhood parks in comparison with Köksal B. living in Köstence Neighbourhood. They both prefer picnics as recreational activities, however Köksal B. goes further green areas which are larger and more natural. This seems as a result of both their habits of social class and the socio-spatial features of their neighbourhoods and houses.

On 17th, December 2013, the fourth interview was conducted with Sevgi H. who works as the servant of the school, cleans and cooks there. She is 56-57 years old, married however her husband works in Iraq. She is the poorest among the interviewees. Moreover, she is illiterate and it was astonishing that she was the only interviewee who refused to draw a mental map since she could not believe in herself and drawing ability. She is also living in Akdere, Mamak, similar to Durmuş B. She came from Kırşehir twenty years ago. She has been living in an apartment with her son, after her husband would return from Iraq (towards the end of that month) they would be three persons in the house. She mostly goes to 50.Yıl Park, to sit and wander, she used the pronoun 'we', therefore she usually goes there with friends or family, rather than by herself. They go there evenings or weekends, "we pass time there, sit and drink our coffee or tea, and crack the seeds –*çekirdek çitliyoruz*". She explains their ritual and rhythm as that they go to the park in summers once or twice especially evenings during the weekdays, and weekends. They go day time or if they cannot go during day, they certainly go in that evening. She several times repeats the term, "passing time –*zaman öldürmek*" or "spending time" there. They usually brought meals preparing at home such as *Kısır* or cake, and do picnics with female friends, which reminds the daily visits among women –*altın günü,* which reminds the recreational patterns in Gökçek Park, will discussed in the last sub-section of the chapter. They prefer to go to park, after they finish housework at about 11 a.m., then they sit and spend time in the park until 3 p.m. while eating and drinking what they prepared at their houses.

The fifth interviewee Hasan B. is a middle-aged male teacher and is married; has lived in İnönü Neighbourhood, Batıkent, for two years. Before they lived in Çukurambar and Eryaman; he and his family have been living in Ankara for 13 years. We firstly talked about Eryaman, he lived in the fourth stage of this site (*Eryaman 4. Etap*) and he expressed his positive perceptions and views on this site as:

> Eryaman was constructed within the western standards –I stayed in Germany– it resembles foreign countries a bit. Everything was considered while designing there; children playgrounds, areas for old people, sitting places, green areas, everything was constructed with a conception.

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He goes to urban green areas and parks almost everyday since his daughter like open spaces; they prefer to go to parks everyday during spring and summer time, once a week in autumn and during winter they go parks a few times (more than autumn) since his daughter wants to make a snowman. His daughter is fourteen years old when we interviewed in 2013; "she has grown up in parks. I wanted her to play in open spaces as much as possible", he mentioned. They usually walk to the parks, since there are several green areas near to their house in walking distance. Beyond his daughter, he goes parks for wandering, doing sports and exercise, and relaxing by oneself. He frequently goes to Adnan Kahveci Park, again in walking distance. When he goes there he spends more than two hours in the park.

The sixth interviewee, Murat B., is a relatively young interviewee (35 years old) among others, he is single, living in Mamak and works part time at schools as a folk dance trainer. He is living in Duralialiç Neighbourhood for three years with his family of seven people. He has a private car and works usually at the schools in Çayyolu district. Before he used frequently Seğmenler Park when he was living in Kavaklıdere; and in the mornings he used to go out for walking in Botanik Park. I asked about his current green space experience, he answered that: "This morning for example we made an appointment with my friend to meet and go to Eymir for cycling at the weekend." They usually go to the lake to have a breakfast, walk and cycle and breathe during weekends; they are going to Eymir Lake for meeting their need of parks and oxygen. In summer time, he goes to trekking in Kızılcahamam, Işık Dağı, Bayramören. I asked him whether he uses Göksu Park or Gençlik Park, he answered that: "Going there would be a great luxury for me, it is 45 kilometres from my house, and no need to go. Is there any green there? Only there is a lake, and there are barbecue and picnic tables around it. It is not a place where you can breathe in oxygen or do sports." Murat B.'s keyword is 'taking oxygen' which indicates his recreational patterns, rituals, and motivations. He also goes to Kale, castle, once or twice a month to take photographs.

The last interviewee, Akgül H. has lived in Ümitköy for fifteen years in their own house with her husband; before they lived in Portakal Çiçeği Valley, in Çankaya near to Atakule. She is working as a teacher at the same school. Her daughter is 25 to 30 and lives in Istanbul. Akgül H. talked about her recreational rituals in a park of Çayyolu, near to Park Street, the famous consumption and entertainment site of the district. We interviewed with her on both 12th and 19th of December, 2013. Although there is a park and running parkour within their housing site, which is in the form of a gated community, she prefers to go a further parkour; almost every morning she gets up at 5.30 a.m. then walks, runs and does exercise in a

circular shape park in Ümitköy-Konutkent neighbourhood (before going to school). The park is *Muharrem Dalkılıç Koşu Yolu,* which has a 900 meters parkour. She prefers to do sports there alone, however sometimes her husband accompanies her at weekends; they go there at 7-8 a.m. at weekends. She usually goes to park only for doing sports not for other purposes, she spends one hour and fifteen minutes in weekdays, and one and a half hour during weekends.

The narrative of personal histories and urban green dispositions also indicates how various urban green and park culture is defined, which is predominantly shaped through personal routines via urban green practice and then is developed on the basis of the spatial and social background of neighbourhoods providing urban green in different qualities and histories. It is sensed that class and education is one of the basic determinants, since Dönüş H., Hasan B., Murat B. and Akgül H. basically defines urban green experience on the basis of doing sports and passive recreational facilities such as resting, and usually prefer doing their recreational routines alone or in small groups. However, Durmuş B., Köksal B., Sevgi H. usually prefers picnicking and defines park culture and urban green quality different than the others, which also implied the function of zoning in parks. However, since the selected sample is not sufficient to make a class analysis, we cannot directly deduce such an argument, rather we can put this differentiation as an observation to test in further studies.

Dönüş H. expresses her satisfaction on the parks in her neighbourhood in Dikmen especially in terms of the existence of trees, walking parkour and tools for gymnastics, though the inadequacy of parks in Ankara. She argued that the municipalities work well on constructing parks, however people disuse parks (such as children playing football, basketball, running above the grass, or people using instruments which are not suitable for their age or weight). She expresses as: "People do not know how to use parks. They are leaving parks so dirty, in our society, no park culture has been developed," she proposes. The dirtiness of parks disturbs her too much, she expresses that she never ever thought of feeding birds, since they pollute the parks. Moreover, she does not like walking dog for the same reason. Her views prioritize parks and such places rather than animals and children, which is an astonishing point of spatial appropriation. Similarly, Hasan B. expresses that he is satisfied with the urban green areas in his neighbourhood in and his district, Batıkent, with respect to the perception that there exists enough and satisfying green space in the district and the possibility of doing sports in these places. However, the issue of cleanness

dissatisfies him, but this is not as a problem of service, rather it occurs as a result of people usage and bad habits of polluting.

The theme of park culture then concentrated on the adequacy and quality of urban green in different neighbourhoods; different views appeared on this theme similarly. Dönüş H. thinks that there is no enough green space neither in Ankara nor in Dikmen:

> Many parks were constructed however it cannot be counted as sufficient considering the population, the crowd. [Dikmen is] already a rugged site, and there are few places where children can play comfortably. As a matter of fact, each and every house should have its own garden; a park would be better per two-three apartments at least, since these three apartment consist almost a village population however there is not enough open space for these people. Nevertheless, there are small parks near and everyone runs there. That is not sufficient although parks are well developing in Dikmen.

She emphasized the Dikmen Valley since it has great green areas with different species of plants, addressing different seasons, and colourful compositions. She prefers Atapark (she was not sure about the name of the park), upside of her house, for walking and watching the city from the hills while she is sitting, which she likes most. Parks are accessible, in walking distance that satisfies her most. She goes to Ahmed Arif not for walking, or doing sports, rather she sits there and went there once for demonstration during the Gezi Protests. The natural features of parks (such as water components, trees, green sections, pools) are the most significant elements according to her; she favours cafes or buffets, kiosks. She says that: "In fact I do not want them in parks, however when people sit in long hours such places are necessitated". While talking about feeding activities in parks, she argues that parks and picnic areas should be differentiated[20], since she cares about the hygiene of streets more than the cleaning of inside the home. On the other hand, Sevgi H. mentions about rituals that people eat together i.e. 50. Yıl Park turns out to be so crowded during the Ramadan evenings since people go there to break feast –iftar açmak, it becomes difficult to find place at that time. She likes mostly the pool, the sports tools and the panoramic vista. She described the park with natural features, the sounds of water (waterfall) and birds, colours of the trees in addition to such eating and picnicking activities.

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[20] Similarly, during my observations in Vienna, parks were zoned according to different functions and uses; cycling and doing picnics, or walking dog and playing basketball would not coincide in the same area. This zoning issue is an interesting topic to discuss, since contradictory stands exist on such limits and zonings in relation with spatial appropriation. During one of my interviews with an instructor, artist and activist in Vienna, Elke Krasny, she stated her discomfort about the zoning approach in park planning of Vienna: "since it limits our creativity and freedom of actions, though the naturalness of urban green areas".

As the recreational habits differ, the definition of satisfaction and views on adequacy and park culture changes. Akgül H. argues that although there are not enough green areas, Akgül H. is satisfied with the park she recently goes, Muharrem Dalkılıç Park, since the length of the parkour satisfies her. Furthermore, she likes that the site is plain and the park has gymnastic tools at two edges. She also mentions about another similar park located in Beğendik, near Arcadium; this is also a satisfying parkour of 600 meters, however she heard from the people going there that this area had both bumps and plain parts, which makes walking and running difficult and she does not prefer such a challenge. She feels safer and more comfortable in Muharrem Dalkılıç Park, however there exists so many street dogs which annoys the users. Moreover, it turn out to be unhealthy to run or walk in this park, since it is located near to a road having dense traffic during peak hours. When I asked what other activities she does in parks, she usually remembers beautiful parks of İstanbul, such as Göztepe Park or Sahil Yolu. But she does not prefer the neighbourhood parks in her district for other activities. Once, in their previous neighbourhood, she was going to Seğmenler Park several times for walking with her daughter when she was a baby, and meeting with her friends there. "But in Çayyolu, Ümitköy there is not such an urban green area", she argued.

> When Seğmenler Park was first constructed, it was in front of our house, and we were meeting with friends there, performances were held at that time so we were going down to see the activities in the park. I brought my daughter there, together we were wandering. Also we visited Botanik Park frequently. At that time, Seğmenler and Botanik were beautiful parks. But the park where I do jogging and trekking is not such a park, where you can meet with your friends. Not in between green spaces…

Hasan B. was not sure whether the green areas were sufficient in Ankara, since he can reach open public spaces and green areas easily in his district, Batıkent however he was suspicious that: "I do not think that in every district inhabitants reach to green areas. For example, in Mamak, there is no such place. I also lived there. When I came to Ankara, during the first years I lived in Mamak, and there are no green areas in this district, no parks among squatters. They usually use their own gardens, they barbecue there, and sometimes they fire their houses". I asked about Çukurambar, and he answered that "it is similar, there was no parks, as a result of the transformation of squatters." He mentions about the design priority of western societies that: "… they first design green areas when they build or reconstruct an area. However, in Çukurambar, everywhere is full of buildings. They first put the open space and construct houses around it. However, we, first construct the house considering to make money from this firstly, then green space can come by itself, we think".

Before, Akgül H. was living in the district of Seğmenler Park therefore she knows the past of both Botanik and Seğmenler Park. She recently does not like Seğmenler Park since: "it lost its spirit". She mentioned about a place in Beştepe, in the Atlı Spor Kulübü: "You were feeling as if you were walking in a forest. That park was lying towards and reaching to the AOÇ. I several times did trekking there after I left my daughter to Atlı Spor Kulübü. It is a fantastic park. Sportmen and women were coming there to do training since it was a rippled –engebeli– place; the site provided a good challenge for athletes. What was the name? Beştepe park or Koşuyolu? I cannot remember". Akgül H. thinks that the parks and green areas in Ankara is not adequate, since: "I wish there were more parks near my house, and I could go there on foot rather than by car." When I asked why she did not prefer the closer park within her housing gated community, she tells about the reduction story of walking parkour in front of her apartment: "It does not satisfy me, since only 200 meters is left, which is too short for me. The municipality took the rest of the park for metro construction and did not compensate this area back."

She expresses her despair that the municipality would do nothing although they in fact bought this site with their money for the specific purpose of transforming this area to a walking parkour and park. The owner of this site was the municipality however the inhabitants of the housing site contracted with the municipality so that this area would not be transformed into a station or road, rather they paid money to reconstruct a park within this area. Nonetheless, later this area was taken during the construction of metro station, and the inhabitants were not paid back or given an alternative green space. She argued that the parks neither in Çayyolu nor in Ankara are sufficient; she added that:

> Parks should be in access of people, besides this is critical for the sake of safety. Consider that I am going there at 5.30 or 6 – such an early time in the morning. You cannot walk in all the parks you go. That is why I go this large park, there are people walking in the site at this hour. Sometimes I can see security guards, but other parks are usually so isolated. I cannot go there.

The natural character or greenness of parks constituted one of the main issues within park quality and culture. When I asked the adequacy of urban green areas, Köksal B. mentioned that "there is no green space to enjoy in the city". He has a single detached house with a garden in Mamak, he does not prefer to go parks but his children demanded sometimes to go different leisure places and open spaces since they got bored; however the family usually prefers large plots of more natural sites like Mavigöl rather than neighbourhood parks. In fact he also argues that: "Green areas are not natural anymore therefore no call to go to neighbourhood parks. In Köstence there are three parks but they are not sufficient".

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Similarly, Murat B. expressed that he perceives only roads, buildings, constructions and streets rather than natural spatial components which indicates that the emphasis shifted to the built environment in spatial organization rather than natural environment:

> There is really a major problem of parks where I live [in Mamak]. There was a large open area, but they constructed a huge sports centre of 5000 people, rather than building a school or a park. There is no park, in case you want to get up and walk in the mornings, or do sports. There is not enough in fact no park, since our neighbourhood is in a harsh urban transformation process, and they only build housing areas not anything else.

As a result, Murat B. prefers Eymir both for its natural character and accessibility, it is so close to his house, only 10 -12 kms to his house. He did not consider Gençlik Park as a real park, he only thought that Kurtuluş Park was preferable, it was an original park. I asked about old and historical parks, he mentioned Güvenpark: "Only a small portion of it is left. It turned out to be a place where I pass along before I meet my friends I stop and have a break for smoking. It changed to such a place." He emphasized both urban and natural sensibilities during our interview. Though his opposite political views, he mentioned the mayor of Altındağ District as creating successful urban sites such as Hamamönü; and he also talked about the number of parks in Keçiören district: "There are so many parks in Keçiören, even I do not live there, and there may be one park per each and every two streets. I was so surprised to see greenness and meadows in arbitrary sites. Mamak has also appropriate land, but they do not use". He perceives Seğmenler Park as a successful example of urban green areas, since he thinks that the site is so natural that the person does not feel the ramp. He also shares his views and memories on Demokrasi Park, which had been a significant green space in Mamak. He tells: "Municipality expropriated the site of Demokrasi Park and built two towers there, each is a housing site of 14-15 storeys", which is surprising. "The park had a small, beautiful amphitheatre inside, with a capacity of 300 people, where concerts were conducted. That was removed above all." He explained his astonishment on the inappropriate spatial decision of the municipality that instead of developing such a beautiful park, how come they demolished it.

Murat B. emphasized 'trees' as a significant natural component of parks and urban green areas, and he argued that many neighbourhood parks were not 'real' urban green areas. "In Demokrasi Park, for example, trees were 30-40 years old, but they were all demolished. Seğmenler is a park, but Güvenpark is not anymore." He also mentions about the new established park at that time, Ankapark, and the trees of 30 years old age which were ripped off to create a new park, and he said: "this is not the way to produce urban green areas". He thinks that in Mamak, where he lives, the prominent theme is 'urban regeneration'; so

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'multi-storey squatters' are built, "politicians do not consider 10 years or 20 years later. The inhabitants in Mamak will miss urban green soon", he concluded. I asked Akgül H. to compare and contrast urban parks of Ankara on the basis of the previous interviewee's (Murat B.'s) argument: "I do not count Gençlik Park as a park, and there are several parks in Mamak, but I cannot call them as 'park'. Nonetheless, Kurtuluş Park, or i.e. Kuğulu… Seğmenler Park… They are exactly parks". At that point Akgül H. began to present her memories and views on Kurtuluş Park that: "It was so beautiful and large, but later it deviated from its aim during the period before 12th September. No one could wander in the park safely as a result of every day terror and anti-gang groups. But we saw the site before, when it was so beautiful. There was even ice-skating. It was the first skating rink in a park in Ankara." Her views and memories supported the observation that urban green areas and especially the urban parks decline within their public character and spatial quality in Ankara, and towards the end of 1970s may be proposed as a turning point, which is also a fact parallel to the historical framework. She has been living in Ankara since she was 1,5 years old and lived near Kurtuluş Park, in Cebeci. She has a variant personal history of urban green areas, so I asked her memories about Gençlik Park. She remembered as: "What a wonderful time! Our childhood… When we say we'll go to Gençlik Park, we became so delighted with the idea. It was so lovely. Especially in the evenings, we used to go there. There were tea gardens in the park." She also remembered the recreational activities they were doing on the pool, and her visits with her family particularly focusing on the concept of 'entertainment', which is so different than her recent recreational patterns in parks. She then wanted to talk about Göksu Park, asked me whether I went there or not. She thinks this is also a beautiful park. She added Altınpark as a remarkable park. Akgül H. lived in various districts and as she is interested in urban green areas personally, she also knows the history of urban parks in Ankara by experience. For example she saw the beginning of construction at Seğmenler Park and she remembers the time when it was finished. And she knows as Botanik Park is older than Seğmenler Park. She also mentioned about 50.Yıl Park and its transformation, which was discussed with the previous interviewees. She also had a story from her childhood, they were calling this site as Pine Grove (which was also mentioned by Durmuş B.). In Akgul H.'s childhood, people were telling scary stories about that site such as: "Do not go there, in the park you may be cut or killed". While they were little children the adults around them made them frightened from this grove, and when the concept of 'large park' was mentioned, they were thinking directly that site.

The spatial transformation of parks in relation with park culture and quality was another issue to be mentioned. We talked about 50.Yıl Park with Interviewee-(B)M2, Durmuş B. while he is drawing the site on paper; He usually has a positive impression on this site, he proposed the multifunctionality of the park, since anyone can picnic there, or view the entire city from the vistas on the edges of the park, having security guards. He and his family prefer to go there usually in summer time weekends, since it is near to his house, "this region is called as *Akdere,* our neighbourhood, Abidinpaşa, is just under Akdere", he mentions. This park was constructed 6 years before we interviewed according to his memories; "before there was a Pine Grove –*Çamlık*, where drinkers drink alcohol and we could not go there with our families. But the site was rearranged spatially, so we can go there now". Sevgi H. describes how the park seems dense: "It is a large park newly constructed, it usually gets so crowded… It is so beautiful, there is restaurant –*lokanta*– in it. There are gymnastic tools to do sports… for children playing… Everything exists there: pools, football ground, ice skating...everything." She proposes that: "This park occurred in the news as the winner among parks in a competetion in Turkey, as Melih Gökçek said." She agrees with the memory of Durmuş B. as: "That place was a site of alcoholics –*ayyaş yatağı*– before the reconstruction. It was so bad with pieces of broken glasses and bottles, meanwhile wandering suspicious people there…We were scared of getting there, since under each and every tree there were someone's shoes or blanket, or any other property." However she is satisfied with the transformation, and she expresses her feelings that: "But now the site has its own guards. It is now so beautiful."

During the interviews, in relation with transformation theme, security and surveillance appeared as a critical issue influencing park experience especially in the cases of Mamak. Köksal B. expressed at the beginning of our interview that "… in fact we cannot even enter in parks", which was astonishing. I then asked about why the parks are insecure to go:

> There is no security guard and the parks are left isolated since they are a bit out-of-the-way –*sapa*– in the neighbourhood. It turns out to be a comfortable place for these [thinner-addicted] children. Furthermore, they removed the police station there, after which the number of such children and crime rates increased.

In relation with security issue, I asked whether Sevgi H. had any attack in 50. Yıl Park, she replied as she felt safe in the park since the entrances were under control from all gates. Usually interviewees prefer security guards which assure their perception of safety, however in some other cases this may disturb the users or visitors, such as my position as a researcher in Gökçek Park. These statements prompted the critical role of 'surveillance'

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and relations with the adjacent functions and sites for creating and reproducing liveable urban green spaces, which will be discussed in two neighbourhood parks in the micro analysis. Köksal B. lives in the same house for forty five years, I asked how the parks and urban green areas have changed since they moved to the neighbourhood, and he answered this question with his perception and general views on park experience: "There were no parks, since everywhere was full of green spaces already. No need for parks… Now they place tools for gymnastic, and make people do sports, I feel as if I am obliged to that specific activity, so I do not go to parks or miss such an experience of parks, rather I miss the past. Greenness, meadows, grass…". Parks were constructed in Köstence neighbourhood by 1990s; and I asked when the thinner-addicted children came to and appropriated parks, "five to six years but not more than ten years", he answered.

We also talked whether the inhabitants can reach to the municipality in case any spatial-social problem occurs; Köksal B. and Durmuş B. were solving their problems by their own, he explained, within their acquaintanceships. Relatedly, while we were discussing the conflict between local governments and citizens on spatial appropriation of parks, Dönüş H. proposed a different argument from many other interviewees as: "We have channels to reach Çankaya Municipality. Once we saw that in one of our neighbourhood parks the gymnastic tools were not arranged strong enough, we talked to the guard (*bekçi*), then he explained the problem to his superiors and introduced us to them, later the problem was solved and tools were fixed". I asked whether she was disturbed with the guards or not, she answered 'no' to my question, "rather, I feel safer with them".

As a spatial right, accessibility occurred as another theme during the narratives as a path to spatial appropriation. I asked Dönüş H. who she sees at parks mostly, she hesitated to propose precise statements, but she observed usually young and old together, women and men almost equally but men were a bit hegemonic; and with respect to class issue, she explained her view that neither poorest nor richest come to the parks in her district, rather middle classes could be viewed in such urban green areas within neighbourhoods. She confidently argued that everyone –from all classes and social categories– can and should come and reach neighbourhood parks. Hasan B. mentioned the relationship between the income level and recreational habits such as going to Mogan Lake, he proposes that "as there is no parks in the neighbourhood, people may go to places like Mogan Lake, but, who can go there, the ones who has a high income and a car." But the people living in squatters are rare even to see Mogan Lake, according to his memories, he did not meet anyone who

was living in Mamak and saw Mogan Lake. "They usually go to Kazan, apart from mountains to eat and drink something. But, going to parks and entertain in such places seem to be a business of bourgeoisie." His expressions supported the class based differentiation argument and other interviewees' narratives, on recreational patterns in Mamak District, which was critical for the dissertation. About such parks and green areas, he told the narrative of people asking him "how can we go there? People are walking their dogs, what will we do in such parks? It is not a place for us. We do not know how people sit and eat there". According to Hasan B., these people isolate themselves from both such green areas and middle-upper classes on the basis of such a perception.

Durmuş B. emphasized the entry fee for visitors having car and the amusement park in 50. Yıl Park. Sevgi H. also mentioned that visitors entering park with their private car have to pay an entrance fee; and in addition there is an amusement section in the park where you also pay an extra entrance fee, however the fee does not disturb her since she usually walks to the site on foot with her neighbourhoods and sit for doing picnics in free sections of the place. They do not prefer to go to other urban parks such as Gençlik Park, since it is so far, and there is a large and lively place like 50.Yıl Park near to their house. I asked whether they go to Mavigöl or such sites, and she answered that: "It is located near to Köksal's district, we seldom go there if we want to barbecue. Because, in the park barbecue is forbidden. … For only barbecue, we go Mavigöl once or twice at most three times a year". I asked whether they go to parks during other seasons, she answered that in winter times they sometimes go to park for shorter periods to wander, walk, view the urban panorama and pass through the park to breathe. She does not have any idea about the adequacy of urban green areas since she expressed that: "We cannot go to other parks far away to our home", therefore she thinks that parks in her district are sufficient to her needs, which is parallel to Hasan B.'s argument on income-park preferences relationship. When I ask about other parks in Abidinpaşa, Sevgi H. answers that "there are not so many parks near, one is close to Mamak", which indicates the inadequacy. They sometimes go to Kurtuluş Park, she mentions the pool and beauty of the park. When I asked about the sports facilities and gymnastic tools, she remembered that they sometimes used these sections too.

In addition to accessibility, as one of the last points, the phenomenon of spatial appropriation appeared within interviews. Again, the personal dispositions played a significant role in the differentiation of both spatial appropriation habits and views on this issue. For example, Dönüş H. appropriates parks and open public spaces as if they are

important as her house, according to her expressions. I asked about possession of parks and whether she has become alienated to any park. She answered this question with a Turkish saying which combines the acts of adopting and appropriating –*benimsemek*:

> After two or three visits, I adopt a park in case in my district or neighbourhood; however it is difficult for me to get used to a totally foreign park in a stranger neighbourhood. I cannot enter and sit in each and every park. I do not go to a park of which surrounding is not familiar to me.

She combines the living environment and urban green areas in her recreational patterns. She proposes that she cannot sit in Kurtuluş Park, or some other parks which have a bad fame of prostitution, and she mentioned also Gençlik Park, years ago she was going there by bus early in the mornings to walk, however recently she prefers the green areas in her district. We also talked about Güvenpark and the existence of policemen, which resulted in a perception of insecurity and fear rather than safety in contradiction with the name of the park. When I asked her views and experiences on new urban parks such as Harikarlar Diyarı and Göksupark, she answered me that she brought her students to there, nonetheless she does not feel safe and easy to go these parks by herself. She emphasized once more that: "The parks in my district near to my house assure the feeling of safety"; she feels more comfortable in Dikmen Valley and other neighbourhood parks like Ahmed Arif Park which are in walking distance to her house. She narrated her experience on relations among people in this park during the June Resistance demonstrations: "[Ahmed Arif Park] is like one's own house, you can go there with your husband, or young daughter or friends…. I witnessed in the demonstration that everyone cooked and brought their meals, they came and sit and then left the park with cleaning. I appreciated such behaviour; they were acting in the park as if it was their own room." We talked about the political atmosphere of the park during June resistance and Gezi protests. She explained that she went there almost everyday until 15th of July, 2013 although she had a broken leg and arm. She emphasized the mood and attempts of youth:

> It was amazing! The youth's coming together there, their struggle to do anything, and their pure views, intents… This is not an exaggeration. Perhaps this feeling is because I am favour in of their political stand, but the youth's friendly attempts were impressive. They were protecting and supporting each other as if they were brothers and sisters. They were so respectful. Even they do not know me, when I went there, they gave their place to me.

She related her feelings of safety and the communal experience of place in Ahmed Arif Park during her visits in demonstration period so that she perceived the unifying atmosphere of the park. She had an active usage of parks and positive perceptions on both recreational and political roles of urban green areas. We also talked about the views and

observations on the possession and spatial appropriation of parks with Köksal B. and Durmuş B.; Köksal B. expressed that passing along the Köstence Park for example, from outside, he saw old people going there in the mornings for gossiping with other old men; after dark thinner-addicted children, and criminals appropriate park, in summers he know that women do picnics sometime, especially when it is too hot, the park is safer in day time. But there is no one as a responsible agent in the safety or management of park according to his views, he links this observation to the small size of the park. Sevgi H. mostly perceives the families with children and old people, however she thinks all sections come to the park.

I asked whether Akgül H. felt unfamiliar with the park she is recently going, and she replied my question as "no". Her statement was interesting that, on the basis of such a fruitful personal narrative, she easily adopts to any park, either it is in her neighbourhood or even in İstanbul, totally a stranger park. She guesses that: "Since I am going parks to do sports, if I feel satisfied and happy, then I perceive that I belong to this place. I do not think that I am a stranger anymore." Nevertheless, she likes parks in İstanbul more than the parks in Ankara. In the park she visits frequently, she perceived mostly old and middle-aged people. However, she argued that a park should address to all ages and social groups, which makes a park lively and meaningful. Since everyone needs a place to breathe, according to her views. She observed young people rarely in the mornings in Muharrem Dalkılıç Koşu Yolu. Furthermore, she sees men more, which she finds interesting. I asked about the class of the users, and she estimates the income levels from the cars of users, and usually high-income groups are coming with their Mercedes, and BMWs. She never saw beggars –*dilenci*– however sometimes she come across with peddlers –*seyyar satıcı*– selling fruits and vegetables, who are usually caught by municipal police and the sellers who attempt to introduce different brands of water. She told about a man who was preparing and selling orange juice, for whom doing sports, however municipality police sent him away. I asked whether there is someone waiting in the park in case an emergency or a danger, she answered that there was a cottage of security –*güvenlik kulübesi*. When we talked about the impression that park prompted in her perception, she chose the positive adjectives, such as spacious, entertaining, authentic, free, belong to her, and familiar. She argues that everyone can come together in such parks, however the inhabitants living near to the park usually prefer to recreate in this park. When I asked whose park is this park, she answered that: "I cannot personalize saying it is mine, it is created for all the people, however it belongs to

the inhabitants living in these adjacent neighbourhoods." Moreover, the views of interviewees were examined on the question who the owner of the parks are. At this point Dönüş H. answered the question to whom parks belong to as:

> … common property of everyone. Not only people from Ankara, everyone even from foreign countries, everyone can sit in a park. Imagine that, a poor-fellow arrived at Ankara, and has problems and want to sit and calm down for a second; has no place to go, he is stranger. Then park turns out to be a refugee for him. What a nice thing to have a place like a park to go when you feel desperate and alone.

Köksal B. argued about the ownership-possession conflict that: "Parks should certainly be the public's, not municipality's." Sevgi H. considers the owner of the park as: "Gökçek had it built so the park is Gökçek's." She develops her view as: "…first his, then it belongs everyone. Anyone can come to the park".
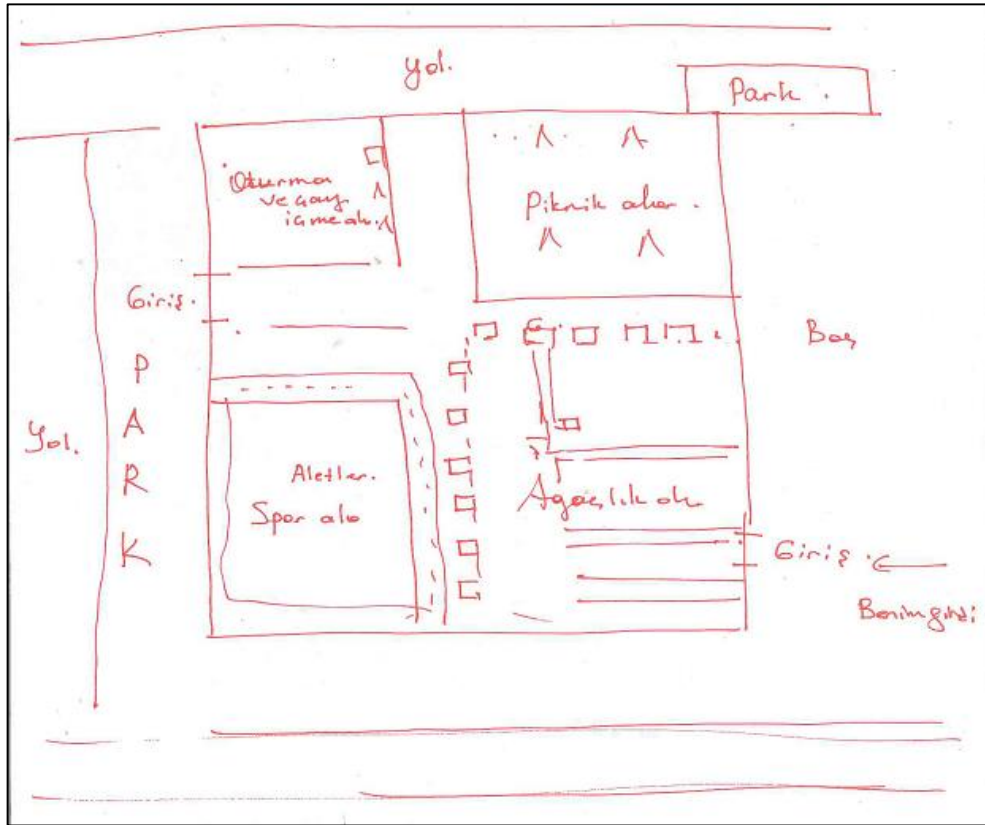
Figure 5.3-1. Mental Map of Hasan B. [Interviewee-(B)M3] on *Adnan Kahveci Park* in Batıkent

As the last point, the park experience, spatial appropriation and mental map of an interviewee is concentrated on to make a preparation for the micro analysis[21]. Hasan B. prefers Adnan Kahveci Park since it is close to his house firstly, and then he feels himself comfortable there; moreover, the park has a natural beauty and various diversity of functions and usages. He usually goes to park in the afternoons, after school during week days. He feels safe and that he belong to the park. The most remarkable component in the park is perceived as trees by Hasan B. He observes youth mostly in the park. He perceives the park as spacious, comfortable, and large enough. He thinks that the park belongs to the people from Ankara, and as a result everyone from separate income levels, genders and ages can access the park. I recommended him to draw a map of his park, and he was the one who drew the most readable map among all interviewees, which can be presented within this section (see Figure 5.3-1. Mental Map of Hasan B. [Interviewee-(B)M3] on *Adnan Kahveci Park* in Batıkent). He especially expresses his discomfort about the picnic areas as: "… it is every time dirty, every time." As seen in the narratives, interviewees differentiate with not only their recreational habits and rituals, but also with their striking sensibilities which influence possession and appropriation of the green areas. Therefore, making them draw is an efficient part of methodology while interviewing on a spatial practice and perceptions, which was a meaningful advice proposed by Professor Rob Shields during my studies in Vienna Technical University, however in depth analysing and synthesizing methods should also be included within the research period, which could not be achieved in the boundaries of this dissertation and left aside in subsequent studies.

Seven interviewees were examined with respect to their differentiated park experience and perception from different districts and neighbourhoods. The first interviewee was from Dikmen District, Öveçler Neighbourhood; doing sports and walking, meeting with friends were the basic recreational habits of her. In Dikmen there is a fruitful park culture consisting of both political content and recreational facilities. The second, third and fourth interviewees were from the same district, Mamak; however from different neighbourhoods. Köksal B. could not go to parks, since in his neighbourhood the parks are isolated and left aside, different from the urban park, 50.yıl Park in Abidinpaşa, Akdere Neighbourhood, which was the favourite recreational site of Durmuş B. and Sevgi H. Murat B. is also living in Mamak district, he also did not have a positive mind-set about neighbourhood parks, he

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[21] Since this map was relatively more readable, it was chosen to discuss; mental maps of other interviewees are demonstrated in Appendix G.

mentioned the historical and natural urban green areas as valuable, and he prefers to go to Eymir for trekking similar to Köksal B., who prefers to go Mavigöl, but for doing picnics. The fifth interviewee, Hasan B. also has an active park use with his daughter, and he made me think that Batıkent is also a rich district or region which has lively parks, which are under the control of Yenimahalle District Municipality. The last interviewee Akgül H. presented a personal history and geography of park experience, which concluded all the discussions with other interviewees.

The preferences and habits of the interviewees differentiate especially on the basis of their personal histories and sensitivities shaped within the spatial characteristics of neighbourhoods they were living. Three main implications during these interviews were: (1) urban green areas in Ankara are inadequate with respect to both quantitative respects (number, size, accessibility) and qualitative respects (publicness, greenness and openness); (2) park culture is considered to be absent among users since most of the people misuse or pollute green areas; (3) A decline of nature and a fragmentation of public character are perceived by the interviewees. The interviews indicated that Çankaya District (especially Dikmen Neighbourhood), Yenimahalle District (i.e. Batıkent) and Keçiören District are perceived as the regions having most qualified green areas in large numbers and variety. These implications brought us to the differentiation of provision and appropriation mechanisms by the hand of municipalities. In the next section, the modes of creating and appropriating urban green areas by the hand of municipalities will be focussed on.

5.2.3. Modes and Moments of Reproduction of New Urban Green Areas

Urban green areas and parks were defined in three categories as: an extension of nature, an urban open space and a public space, which were examined in-depth within a historical-conceptual frame in the second chapter. Moreover, urban green constitutes a spatial layer of urban pattern, and therefore has been reproduced or formed through market mechanisms and urbanization processes within defined legal–institutional frameworks and planning approaches. On the basis of historical transformation and phases explained in fourth chapter, (re)production modes of (new) urban green areas after 1980s can be examined with respect to three processes: (1) having a special role in urban spatial reproduction; (2) development of incremental planning and emphasis on 'project' rather than 'plan' which led to fragmented, arbitrary and/or low-quality green areas; (3) prominence of symbolic-representational dimensions while producing and providing urban green areas. These

processes appear in separate moments of creation, intervention and provision at different spatial levels as urban, regional and neighbourhood scales.

Creation of new urban parks in Ankara –such as *Ankapark*, *Göksupark*, *Harikalar Diyarı*– and interventions on large scale urban green areas (which are parts of either natural or historical layout of the city) –such as *Eymir* Lake, *Mogan* Lake, *Dikmen Valley*, *Hatip* Brooke, *AOÇ, Gençlik Park, Güvenpark*– indicate the first critical moment of recent urban green reproduction in Ankara: creation of new 'urban parks' vs. intervention into basic natural layout and historical green pattern. In the conceptual framework, urban park is defined as a green scale, addressing the whole city and therefore has a public character of different classes and sites of the city. Göksupark and Harikalar Diyarı, examples of recent large scale urban parks, meet the criterion of size. However they are observed to be produced in peripheries, especially in newly developing districts. This site selection leads to problems in accessibility and appears as an obstacle to define these places as 'urban parks'. Some of the interviewees also mentioned about this dimension.

In addition to problems of accessibility, three further problematic themes come to the fore while observing the development of new urban scale parks. First theme is the hegemony of built environment, which was also discussed during interviews. Parks have been created or recreated for the sake of producing open space with built environment and equipment, rather than inserting nature in the urban spatial pattern. In Keçiören Municipality, landscape architects were interviewed, in April 2014. They were working in the Directory of Parks and Gardens –*Parklar ve Bahçeler Müdürlüğü*– and producing designs of especially the equipment of parks in the district and deciding on which flowers will be planted, or where the camellias would be placed. They felt out of depth so not explained so much about neither park production process nor the qualitative data on inventory, however the park production process was recognized to be fragmented among at least three departments within the municipality (Directory of Technical Works – *Fen İşleri Dairesi Başkanlığı*, Directory of Construction Affairs –*İmar Dairesi Başkanlığı* and Directory of Parks and Gardens – *Parklar ve Bahçeler Müdürlüğü*). The user interviews and site observations supported this tendency of fragmented park production.

Spatial interventions reproduced built environments rather than natural environments, not only in projects of new urban parks, but also on regeneration attempts of both historical urban greenery (i.e. Gençlik Park) and natural layout (i.e. Mogan Lake). Gençlik Park was one of the prominent republican urban parks and a significant socio-spatial projects of that

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era (see Gündüz, 2002) with attributed social and recreational meanings (see Uludağ Sökmen, 1998b). The interviews displayed that Gençlik Park lost its urban park character and the natural content of the park was decreased. Although it turned out to be more accessible –the walls were demolished– and safer after its regeneration, people do not perceive there as a preferable green space within their daily or periodic recreational habits. Mogan Lake is another example, which was sacrificed to the oppression of built environment as well. Although it had a coast and therefore opportunity to swim in Ankara in late 1960s (see Figure 5.3-2. Mogan Lake, with its coast and pool, 1966), today when the visitor enters the site, the restaurants meet them and the region turned out to be a consumption space of wedding ceremonies.
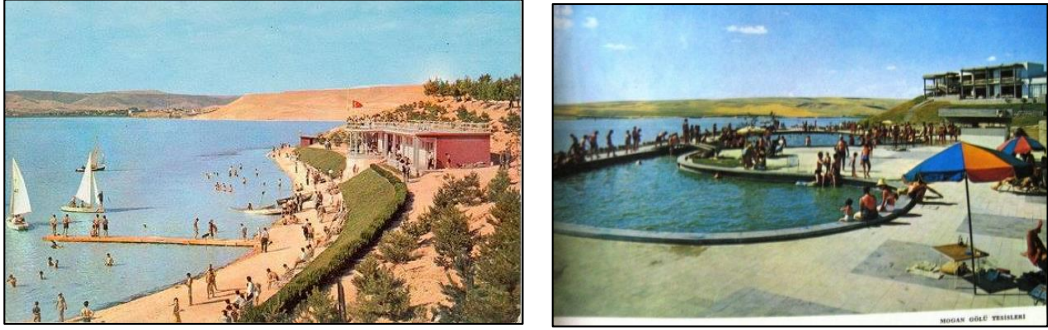
Figure 5.3-2. Mogan Lake, with its coast and pool, 1966

Second theme is the concept of 'entertainment' rather than 'recreation' or 'nature'. Ankapark and its provision is a good example of this theme. Trailers were found for the park, one of which can be watched via the following link: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8HRKApcILH0. Ankapark is presented as the largest theme park of Ankara, and the trailer film introduces the place as if it is a 'tale setting' with its entertaining concepts, not only for children but also for adults. The provision and advertisements on the park constitute a discussion vein, since news and web pages repeatedly introduced Ankapark within its components although only a little of the park has been accomplished. The date for opening ceremony was constantly leaped forward, such as in this news: "it will be opened in March 2014[22]; or "it will be presented to public service in August 2014[23]"; and later the mayor announced in his twitter account that: "the

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[22] '*Ankapark projesi Mart ayında açılıyor!*', 19.02.2014; source:
http://www.konuttimes.com/guncel-projeler/ankapark-projesi-mart-ayinda-aciliyor/33751

[23] '*Ankapark Temapark Ağustos 2014'te açılacak!*', 09.03.2014; source:
http://www.konuttimes.com/kenthaberleri/ankapark-temapark-agustos-2014te-acilacak/35179

park is under construction however the visitors can visit the site whenever they want with the public transportation service vehicles supported by the municipality", although the park is not finished or opened to service[24].

Figure 5.3-3. Discussions on AOÇ and construction of Presidential Palace, 2014
Source: http://kentinsesi.tv/?m=2014&paged=3

Recently in the autumn of 2015, the project and opening date with its ceremony got more complicated since the plan on AOÇ was cancelled[25]. This process and presentation of a theme park as a place which enhance the value of an urban site or a city indicates both the investments on built environment and the relationship between this pseudo-urban green space and urban rent. The park is explained to be entered with an entrance fee of 50 liras, which is another dimension of problems of accessibility and emphasis on entertainment rather than free access to recreational green sites. The destruction of AOÇ is not only for the sake of urban rent or reproducing built environment, it has also been the stage of struggles of representations with respect to the last phase defined in the previous chapter. A 'palace' (the house of president named '*külliye*') was constructed in the lands of AOÇ illegally. AOÇ has been a prominent symbolic large urban green area of Ankara, since the establishment of Turkish Republic and has carried so many social-physical values of

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[24] '*Ankapark projesi halka açıldı!',* 17.03.2014; source:
http://www.konuttimes.com/kenthaberleri/ankapark-projesi-halka-acildi/35786

[25] '*Ankapark ne zaman açılacak',* 14.09.2015; source: http://emlakkulisi.com/ankapark-ne-zaman-acilacak/409470

republican heritage. Therefore, construction of a palace like structural complex with its visible mosque, and naming the place as 'Külliye' is not only an issue of urban rent or reproducing built environment, rather this action has a representational dimension.

Third theme is surveillance in relation with changing content and form of security and freedom of action. This dimension is also related to the representational character of open public spaces and struggles on symbolic meaning and appropriation of green spaces. Güvenpark within Kızılay Square and its symbolic corruption process is a good example of this theme. Kızılay Square has been a political symbol and stage since the establishment of Turkish Republic. In 1960s, the foremost political space in Ankara and Turkey was Kızılay Square. Güvenpark, Atatürk Boulevard and Zafer Square were the political and spatial components of the square. Although the square was closed for the social movements in 1964 (İlkay, 2007 and 2009), beginning from the morning of 12th of September, in 1980, the square has gained new political meanings in which opposition was aimed to be departed. By1980s, the symbolic-spatial deformation process has started. In 1982, the minister of internal affairs of that period argued that "the squares of metropolitan cities would be monitored with open-system television systems" (Coşkun, 2000; cited in Batuman, 2002). The political arena of 1960s and 1970s was gradually turned into a controlled, monitored junction on the intersection of traffic flow. Especially, security disappeared at nights (possibly intentionally created an insecure atmosphere) in Güvenpark, and the space was developed to be a locus where the security forces were deployed. This redefinition of spatial and symbolic form of Kızılay Square found its meaning in three projects of the period: Güvenpark Regeneration Project, Building of Kızılay Rent Facilities – *Kızılay Rant Tesisleri Binası*, and Kızılay Metro Station Project. In 1985, Ankara Metropolitan Municipality brought a regeneration project into question for Güvenpark. A project proposal with its implementation projects was presented by Architect Sezar Aygen in 1986. However, this project was going to annihilate the historical structure of the square and the park, the physical and representational focus of the square was planned to be a traffic junction and the project designed the underground of the park as a shopping mall and parking lot with 160 shops, a supermarket and bank offices (Batuman, 2002).

The second critical moment of (re)production of new urban green areas in Ankara is the creation attempt of new pseudo–regional parks in Ankara in the hand of Metropolitan Municipality –such as Yüzüncüyıl Birlik Park, Şentepe Kayalar Park, Çukurambar Park, Batıkent Kardelen Regional Park, Kuzey Ankara Girişi Regional Park, Yakacık Regional

Park, Akpınar Regional Park, Batıkent İnönü Mahallesi Regional Park, Safa Park. Interviews were held with the Chamber of City Planners in April 2014 to understand their approach to urban green areas and reproduction processes of the municipalities. During these interviews legal cases and files of the chamber were achieved on regional park discussion, which has accelerated since 2012. Files and examinations indicated three issues on regional park concept in Ankara: (1) the definition problematic of regional park as a new scale within urban planning system in Ankara; (2) the definition of boundaries of responsibilities and duties among metropolitan municipality and district municipalities within their conflicts, struggles or harmony; (3) the rent issue either in economic or in political terms and the design of both functions and forms based on consumption, entertainment, location and built environment.

The number of regional parks was announced to rise to 'fifty' via a web-news in the web page of Metropolitan Municipality on 13.09.2012. According to the news, twenty six regional parks (in the districts of Etimesgut, Yenimahalle, Çankaya and Gölbaşı) were announced already; at that time twenty four new parks were added to these announcements in the districts of Mamak, Altındağ, Keçiören, Çubuk, Sincan and Pursaklar. The regional parks were placed in the following neighbourhoods: in Mamak, Ege, Şahap Gürler, Altıağaç, Ekin, Kıbrıs, Mutlu Neighbourhoods; in Altındağ, Aktaş, Solfasol, Beşikkaya, Ulubey, and Doğu Neighbourhoods; in Keçiören, Kuzey Ankara, Hacıkadın and Yükseltepe Neighbourhoods; in Sincan, Tandoğan, Malazgirt, and Temelli Neighbourhoods; in Çubuk, Yazın and Yıldırım Beyazıt Naighbourhoods; in Çankaya Çukurambar Neighbourhood; and in Pursaklar three other regional parks. These parks were delegated to the Commission of Development and Public Works –*İmar Ve Bayındırlık Komisyonu*. In case the official documents on these decisions are approved during the meetings of the commission, then they would be sent to the municipal council of Ankara Metropolitan Municipality[26].

However, these attempts resulted in struggles among metropolitan municipality and district municipalities, especially with Çankaya and Yenimahalle Municipalities, which are from opponent–leftist political party. One of the struggles was narrated in the web page of çayyolum.com as, the regional park proposal of metropolitan municipality was brought to

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[26] 'Bölge Parkı Olarak İlan Edilen 26 Park Alanına, Mamak, Altındağ, Keçiören, Çubuk, Sincan Ve Pursaklar'da 24 Park Daha Ekleniyor', 13.09.2012; source: http://www.ankara.bel.tr/haberler/bueyuekehir-belediye-meclisi...2/#.VSKEP_msXDE

the trial by Yenimahalle Municipality for fifteen separate decisions on the sites which are located in their district boundaries. Most of them are located in Çayyolu, which was departed from the boundaries of Yenimahalle Municipality recently. More than fifty regional parks were determined during the meetings of municipal councils in the previous months of 2012, and some of them appeared to be in Yenimahalle, and these parks constitute the biggest area among all the announced proposals of regional parks, as 2 million 381 m^2. The text in the web page argues that these decisions do not coincide with the macro plans of the city. Added to that, Yenimahalle Municipality prepared documents to sue the Metropolitan Municipality since these spatial proposals do not serve for the public good, in most cases these green areas were determined to be located under high voltage transmission lines for passive use of urban green areas rather than active usage. These municipal decisions on regional parks do not correspond to the policies of Ankara Metropolitan Development Plan –*Nazım İmar Planı* and these projects contradict with the scaled unity of development plans which is defined within the metropolitan development plan and development law. And lastly, the park sites attributed to regional parks do not meet the criteria of regional parks defined in literature and planning discipline (http://www.cayyolum.com/haber/Bolge-parklarina-15-dava.html).

Similar issues were observed during both the interview in Chamber of City Planners and examining the court files prepared for claims, which can be explained on the example of Çukurambar Regional Park. Çankaya Municipality and Ankara Metropolitan Municipality (ABB/AMM) struggled on Çukurambar Regional Park, which was reported on 27.08.2012, in the web site of AMM (ABB). Çankaya Municipality was accused to start a construction work illegally for the second time in the area determined as 'regional park' by municipal council of AMM (ABB). In this report, AMM (ABB) proposed that the area is in the hand of metropolitan municipality with respect to the definition of regional parks within the 7/g, 7/m and 27th articles of Law of Metropolitan Municipalities, numbered 5216: "The parks with more than 30 000 m^2 area are under the charge of metropolitan municipalities; and the mentioned park in Çukurambar Neighbourhood is 123 thousand m^2". This case was brought to the court by both Chamber of Architects and Chamber of City Planners (on 23.10.2012); moreover the issue was later discussed in the parliament as a written parliamentary question given on 05.10.2012 by Levent Gök, Ankara deputy from CHP (Number: B050MAH065000 / 14765). This example will be discussed here as a case.

The justification note in the file of Chamber of City Planners introduces the case as, with the document numbered 971, on 15.06.2012, Ankara Metropolitan Municipal Council approved the plan amendment –*plan tadilatı*– of 1 / 5000 Metropolitan Development Plan on the Regional Park in Çukurambar Neighbourhood of Çankaya District. On the basis of related articles, mentioned before, Directory of Conservation of Environment and Control –*Çevre Koruma ve Kontrol Daire Başkanlığı*– projected the area –the combination of green areas belonging to Çukurambar Recreational Zone– which is located among the city blocks numbered 27519, 27518, 27523, 27517, 27524, 28474, 27534, 27527, 27535, 27536, 27544, 27541, 27543, 27546, 27545, 27547, 27548, 27549, 27531, 27507, 27530, 27508 as a 'Regional Park'.
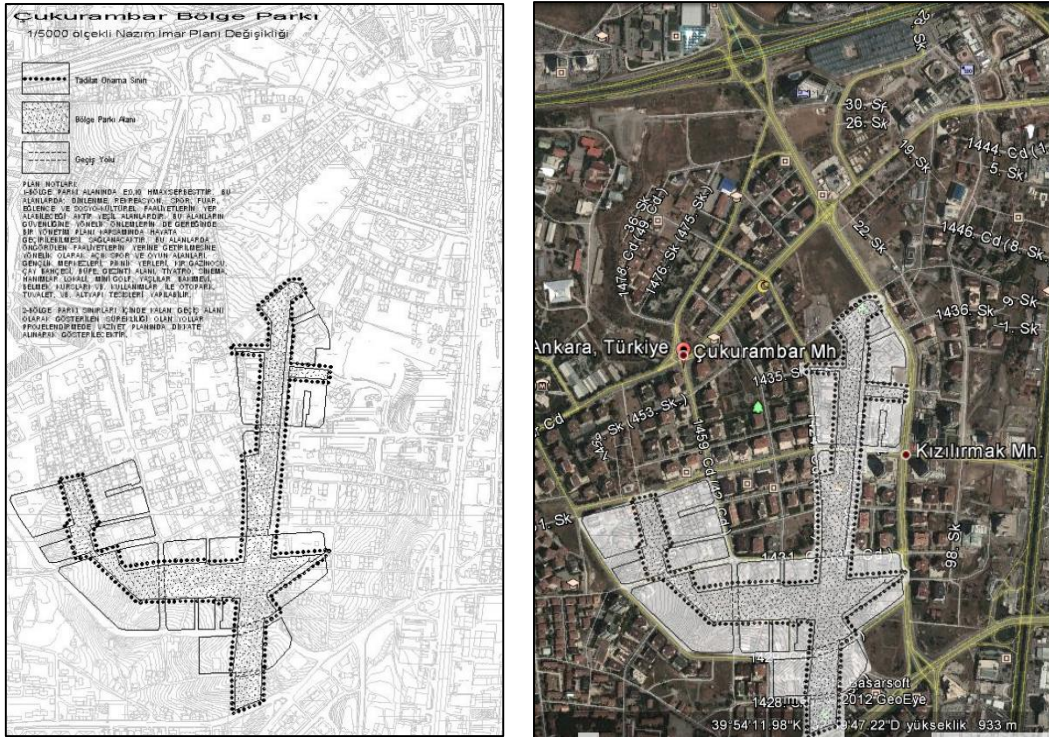
Figure 5.3-4. The plan amendment approved with the decision of Metropolitan Municipal Council dated 15.06.2012, numbered 971

From *Anfa Ankara Altınpark İşletmeleri Ltd. Şirketi* (company), the Directory of Conservation of Environment and Control demanded submission of an area of approximately 85 744 m² within the context of construction 'The Work of Parks, Green Areas, Picnic Areas, Dams, Botanical, Structural, Store Equipment, Maintenance and Repair in Ankara'. On the basis of municipal committee's –*belediye encümeni*– decision (on 03.08.2006 and numbered 959/3253), squatters in the regions were determined to be expropriated. Within the region of park areas –marked in the plan (see Figure 5.3-4. The

plan amendment approved with the decision of Metropolitan Municipal Council dated 15.06.2012, numbered 971)– sixty six service areas, trees and extensions were expropriated by the Ankara Metropolitan Municipality, and were demolished on the ground since their costs were paid; a service area is left, and the legal procedure has been in progress related to this building. The critical issues appear in plan notes as: the floor area ratio –*emsal*– was determined as E: 1,0 and maximum height is H.max: free – *serbest*, which would lead to increase in building density, and additional development right was aimed therefore it is against public good.

Such large regional parks are defined as active green areas to function as breathing space, and to provide recreation, sports, fairs, entertainment, social-cultural facilities. In addition to these functions, some facilities such as sports centres, playgrounds, youth centres, picnic areas, rural tavern or club –*kır gazinosu*, tea gardens, buffets, nursing and rehabilitation centre for old people –*yaşlı bakımevi*, walking areas, theatre, cinema saloons, women's club – *hanımlar lokali*, Belmek courses in addition to the infrastructural services such as toilets, parking lots. However, the proposed construction area is 12 300 m^2, which is not clear enough with respect to which section will function for what kind of a facility. This issue was approached with suspicious by the Chamber of Architects and City Planners. These functions and the large amount of proposed construction area indicate a tendency to destroy the green character and recreational aim or breathing space quality. With respect to its location, such a park seems to function as a neighbourhood park, since it is not 30 minute ride far away from the housing sites. Nonetheless, with respect to its spatial content, it would not meet the needs of neighbourhood green areas, which makes it nonsense to construct such a huge built-green area among a dense neighbourhood like Çukurambar.

By definition, regional park is generally placed at the peripheries of the city, addressing 20 000 to 30 000 housing units, having a size more than 100-200 ha. It serves for a region, rather than a neighbourhood. These urban green areas are preferred to be left in their natural character and are designed to be 30 minute car ride from the city centre; usually visited during holidays or weekends (Özkır, 2007). Nonetheless, neighbourhood parks are accessible on foot, not by car preferably. Moreover, camping sites, picnic areas, natural centres, pedestrian path systems, water components, botanic gardens, sports facilities may be places within such regional parks according to Gold (1980, cited in Özkır, 2007). However, the Çukurambar Regional Park proposal, similar to other projects, do not coincide such an aim or definition. Rather, Ankara Metropolitan Municipality seems to

attempt illegally to unite fragmented small urban green areas while demolishing houses, facilities, and other physical components located in this area, to take the responsibility of the site. Çankaya or Yenimahalle District Municipalities struggle with Ankara Metropolitan Municipality for the sake of protecting their jurisdiction – *yetki sınırları*– and retaking their planning and implementation zones. It is also another question whether they would reconstruct these areas as pure urban green areas or rather heavily built environments which are serving for urban rent. However, the political intention of Ankara Metropolitan Municipality, which is not explicit but hidden, can be reread from the rise of such proposals of regional parks, and especially the conflict occurs on the lands of opponent districts.

In the case of Çukurambar Regional Park, Ankara Metropolitan Municipality attempted to unite small neighbourhood parks serving their surrounding regions as children playgrounds, sports and recreational facilities and declare this unified area as regional park, to permit construction of 10 % (12 300 m^2) within this huge green area of 123 000 m^2. This attempt contradicts with the policy proposals of masterplan (so the municipal council amended the 1/5000 scale Metropolitan Development Plan) and does not consider the relationship of the green space with its surrounding spatial pattern, functions, density, and transportation system. Its influence to the whole city and adjacent neighbourhoods was not also taken into consideration. This spatial proposal seems to be incremental and therefore neither well elaborated nor for public use. Such projects also conflict with urbanization principles and planning basics.

There are other examples of such attempts. According to the unofficial report taken from Chamber of City Planners, eight cases were explained and reported on parks and urban green areas. The first one is Yüzüncü Yıl Birlik Park. On 17.06.2011, Ankara Metropolitan Municipality approved the decision on "Amendment of 1/5000 Metropolitan Development Plan on parcels numbered 7490 and 7492 in Karakusunlar in Çankaya District". The plan amendment was reapproved by the municipal council on 29.11.2011, then the chamber sued the Metropolitan Municipality with the demand of suspension of execution – *yürütmenin durdurulması*– and in pursuit of suspension, nullity of judgement –*kararın iptali*. In the report, the suspension demand was said to be accepted and later in the bulletin of the chamber (October-November 2012, n.218), was announced to be cancelled by the court, on the basis of the lawsuit brought on 21.03.2012, by the Chamber of City Planners. In a short time later, on 15.06.2012, the Metropolitan Municipal Council approved another master plan amendment on Çukurambar Regional Park, which was narrated above, and in

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the same bulletin this court was also announced. Gökkuşağı Recreation Project is the subject of another case which was brought to the court; the date of decision of Municipal Council was 16.12.2011; it was sued in 2012. The fourth case is on the demand to quash – *kararın iptal edilmesi–* the regional park named as *Kuzey Ankara Girişi*. On the basis of the amendment approval on 14.09.2012 with the decision numbered 1548, 45 155 m^2 built environment was proposed in the regenerated urban areas. In the report presented to the court, the allegation was justified that: "considering the density of project area within Kuzey Ankara Entrance Regeneration Project, it is inappropriate to propose such a huge built area which should have been reserved for open and green spaces, this would destroy the balance among spatial pattern by creating additional density".

The other six cases are on Yakacık Regional Park (approval date: 11.09.2012, decision numbered 1387), Batıkent Kardelen Regional Park (approval date: 11.09.2012, decision numbered 1392), Akpınar Regional Park (approval date: 11.09.2012, decision numbered 1393), Batıkent İnönü Neighbourhood Regional Park (approval date: 11.09.2012, decision numbered 1384). All these cases indicate the hidden intention of Metropolitan Municipality to destroy the balance among natural-built environment while creating huge pseudo green areas with dense built environment and equipment via amendments of master plan of the city. It is also common to reapprove the same decision or amendment in case the project is sued or cancelled. In 2014 and 2015 the new cases occurred probably, and courts have continued.

Provision moments of 'new neighbourhood parks' can be examined as the third critical moment of (re)production of new urban green areas in Ankara such as presenting Hatipçayı Park with Mamak urban regeneration project and opening ceremony just before the general elections in May with the speech Davutoğlu, 2015; the opening ceremony of Esertepe Parkı with the speech of Recep Tayyip Erdoğan; and some recent plan amendments changing the status and function of green areas among neighbourhoods to commercial units. On 23rd of May, 2015, Hatip Çayı Park was presented to public within the drawing ceremony –*kura çekilişi–* of housing sites in the recent urban regeneration project in Mamak (see Figure 5.3-5. The announcement of Ankara Metropolitan Municipality Hatip Çayı Park opening ceremony, 23.05.2015). Furthermore, the prime minister gave a speech, which was a part of his party propaganda just before the general elections on 7th June, 2015. A part of this speech was broadcasted in the web tv of metropolitan municipality (see the video via the

following link: 'MAMAK KENTSEL DÖNÜŞÜM VE HATİP ÇAYI PARKI AÇILDI', Ankara Bülteni, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=InCGSBt4V40).

The project was proposed to be the largest urban regeneration project in the world, Davutoğlu, emphasized the great transformation in Mamak district: "with a so beautiful green area, if god lets –inşallah– Mamak will experience this great transformation". Also the mayor of Ankara Metropolitan Municipality, Melih Gökçek, focused on the greatness of the project. The area of the urban regeneration was expressed to be 7 million m^2 by Gökçek. The park opening ceremony served not only for presenting the newly developed park to the public, but also both to legitimate the transformation of Mamak with urban regeneration project and to make a propaganda before elections. In addition, a few inhabitants were interviewed during the news; it was astonishing that they considered only how good or bad the drawing was for themselves, such as: "This time it is better, we chose a house from upper floors" in contrary to the emphasize on the beauty of green area during the news. After interviews, the speaker talks about the equipment of the park as:

> Mamak Hatip Çayı Park, which has an area of 40 150 m^2, consists of children playgrounds, sports centres, football, basketball grounds, tennis courts, and fitness groups, and there exists parks and social reinforcement areas, which were constructed by Mamak Municipality.

Figure 5.3-5. The announcement of Ankara Metropolitan Municipality Hatip Çayı Park opening ceremony, 23.05.2015

In addition to such opening ceremonies attached to urban regeneration projects and political propaganda, some decisions of municipal council indicate a recent attempt to transform urban green areas from 'urban recreational facility' to a new form of function: 'special purpose usages (such as commercial recreational area, sports facilities)'[27].

These three moments implied three issues: (1) capital and urban rent dominated urban green reproduction processes that led to prominence of built environment rather than natural environment; (2) urban green areas have been redefined and reproduced as either pseudo regional parks or pseudo neighbourhood parks for the sake of economic or political rent; (3) opponent district municipalities and profession chambers struggled with metropolitan municipality on jurisdiction of park production and definition of urban greenery within a fragmented framework of planning and design. These issues necessitated a more refined micro analysis on the relationship between spatial appropriation and spaces of representations, which will be discussed in the last sub-section of this chapter.

5.4. Micro Analysis: Spatial Appropriation at Neighbourhood Parks

In this chapter, spatial appropriation was questioned within a three-scaled spatial analysis examining how urban green areas and appropriation differentiate in Ankara. In the first scale of analysis, differentiation of everyday practice at urban parks in Ankara was problematized at a macro scale via a set of observations, in-depth interviews, and previous case studies on urban green areas in Ankara. This macro analysis aimed to archive a typology of urban green in Ankara; and concentrated on personal histories and urban green perceptions of interviewees. The second scale of analysis examined how production and provision of urban parks differentiate via representational meanings attributed to common spaces of the city. This examination was based on scanning documents (such as reports of municipal councils, web sites, maps, reports and readings, newspapers on urban green of Ankara, and legal texts) parallel to a second set of in-depth interviews. This meso-analysis presented a historical-geographical base map of urban green provision and reproduction examining spatial appropriation mechanisms at district level in Ankara. Within the final scale, the last phase of the case study will be presented as a micro analysis in this sub-section.

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[27] Municipal reports of Ankara Metropolitan Municipality on the master plan amendments for changing the status of parks and recreational sites to 'commercial recreational area' such as: decisions numbered 1728, numbered 1734, dated 09.09.2015, numbered 1904, numbered 1924, dated 14.09.2015.

5.4.1. Framing Micro Analysis through Pilot Studies in Selected Four Parks

Micro analysis was narrowed down to middle-class neighbourhood parks on the basis of urban green typology defined in macro and meso analyses. This is because, during the later phases of research, central urban parks were recognized to constitute heterogeneous settings for micro studies, having great sizes with respect to both social and spatial scales. Therefore, neighbourhood parks were preferred for the sake of their relatively homogenous and limited environment with respect to urban scale, function and composition of population. Possible cases were examined and discussed with both the instructor (Prof. Dr. Ali Cengizkan) and students during sessions of the course *Housing and Discourse*, in spring semester of 2010. After pre-examinations via these discussions, eventually four striking cases were selected among neighbourhood parks: *Ahmet Taner Kışlalı Park* in Çayyolu, *Barış Sitesi Parks*, *Gökçek Park* in Keçiören and *Ahmed Arif Park* in Sokullu, Çankaya. [See Fig. 5.4-1].
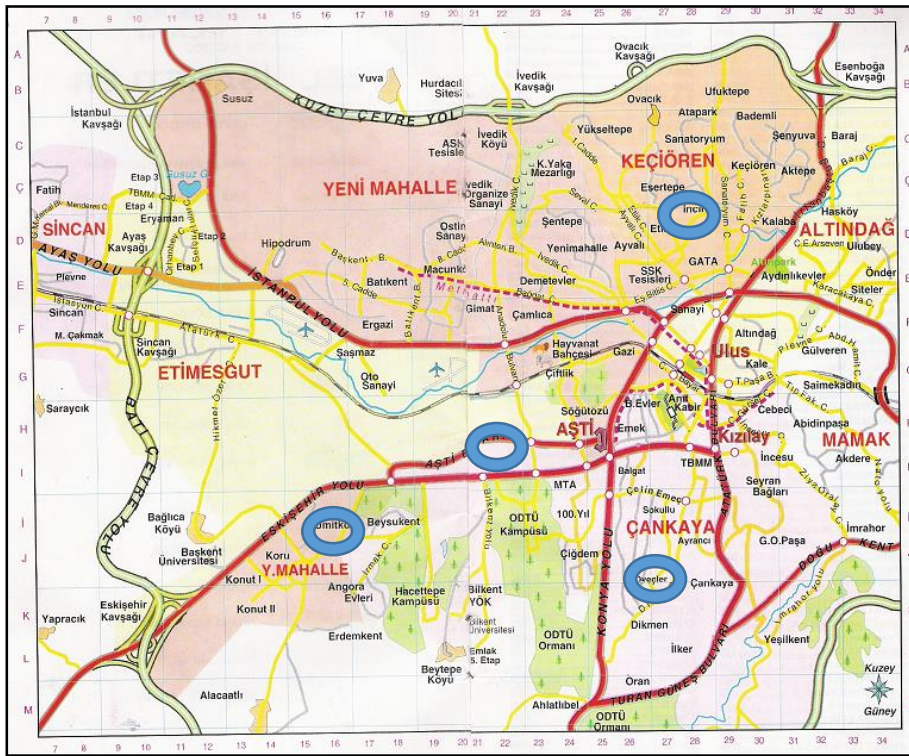
Figure 5.4-1. The districts of Ankara and the location of the selected four urban parks: Ahmet Taner Kışlalı (Çayyolu), Barış Sitesi Parks, Gökçek Park (Keçiören), Ahmed Arif Park (Sokullu)

These four parks were located in mainly middle or upper-middle class neighbourhoods so that they comprised of homogenous class configuration. Two of them were relatively small, Ahmet Taner Kışlalı and Barış Sitesi Parks, which were located in the west-southern part

of the city. These parks were disregarded after the pilot studies at site since they were rarely used parks in comparison with the other two and the inhabitants of these neighbourhoods are relatively high income groups who were usually observed to have private recreational facilities, such as doing sports by oneself, rather than using the selected parks; they were estimated to go to other entertainment facilities and closed recreational buildings such as shopping malls, cinemas, sports centres. Moreover, towards the end of the research formulation, the 'class' phenomenon was also taken out of the study since during the thesis follow-up committees the parks and neighbourhoods were recognized to be difficult to be defined within an exact class framework.

Ahmet Taner Kışlalı Park was constructed at the intersection point of two main roads with high traffic within a neighbourhood in the southwest of the city, relatively a high-income group or middle classes choose to inhabit. The park is surrounded by detached houses having their own gardens and gated blocks having their own playgrounds, where children are playing together. As a third astonishing point, near the park there is a shopping mall, Arcadium and cultural complex with a theatre, enabling activities such as feeding, going to the cinema, theatre and shopping. Moreover, although the park is empty, there is another small park on the opposite corner of the junction (Pre-observations at the site, 11.04.2010).

Figure 5.4-2. The location of Ahmet Taner Kışlalı Park, 2010 (google maps)

Park was constructed in 2009, its name is a Turkish leftist intellectual, who was murdered by an attack of bomb placed at his car; his house was located within this neighbourhood. Also the political atmosphere of this area is mainly democratic leftist [The mayor of the district is also from the party of Republican People's Party, the main opposition party currently]. The park is extended to one of the shopping malls of the district linearly; furthermore, the park was observed to be fragmented with metro construction as seen in the figure above (Figure 5.4-2. The location of Ahmet Taner Kışlalı Park, 2010). During the pre-observations, the park was so empty that a man was sitting lonely; a nuclear family of three with their dog was walking and passing through the park (Figure 5.4-3. Pre-observations at the site of Ahmet Taner Kışlalı Park, 11.04.2010). As the weather got warm, especially women started to use sport facilities; i.e. on a sunny day in May, 2010, two women were photographed while exercising with the exercisers put at the park by the municipality (See Figure 5.4-4. Sports facilities in Ahmet Taner Kışlalı Park, 10.05.2010).

Figure 5.4-3. Pre-observations at the site of Ahmet Taner Kışlalı Park, 11.04.2010
(personal archive)

Figure 5.4-4. Sports facilities in Ahmet Taner Kışlalı Park, 10.05.2010
(personal archive)

The day, pre-observations held, which was a Sunday (11.04.2010), a more crowded group was observed to eat, chat, go to cinema, visit the shops in the shopping mall (Arcadium) which was only 50-100 metres away from the park. Some children were playing in the parks and playgrounds in their gated housing areas around the park. This indicated the recreational pattern of this site. Added to these observations, a large park does not exist in Çayyolu Neighbourhood different from scales of Gökçek and Ahmed Arif Parks. In 2013, metro construction was completed. Although the site is not a field of construction anymore, the park is still rarely used. Only it seems to be used by the people passing to metro station. Despite its political content and symbolic name, the park was not used for commemoration ceremonies different from Ahmed Arif Park, only once last year an activity of

commemoration of Ahmet Taner Kışlalı was heard about. But the park does have neither a lively rhythm of usage or festive character. Therefore, Ahmet Taner Kışlalı Park was left aside during the micro analyses, however it enlightened some of the patterns of recreation and park usage in this neighbourhood.

The parks in *Barış Sitesi* are small scale parks, fragmented at different locations. They have been constructed in a system and continuity, some are relatively larger and contains sporting and exercising facilities. They are placed among housing sites, high blocks. Although the housing site is not gated, the parks are seen to be usually well hidden. The site and green parts of the site are seen in Figure 5.4-5. The location of and morphology of the parks in Barış Sitesi, 2010.

Figure 5.4-5. The location of and morphology of the parks in Barış Sitesi, 2010

There are private primary and secondary schools and some other playgrounds in the site. Parks are usually located at the intersection points of pedestrian paths inside the housing area. One of the parks, at the end of these pedestrian paths was the largest one, having a path for walking and jogging as seen in the Figure 5.4-6. The largest park in Barış Sitesi, Barış-3, 12.04.2010, but it was seen almost empty during these pre-observations at site.

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Figure 5.4-6. The largest park in Barış Sitesi, Barış-3, 12.04.2010 (personal archive)

Parks are in a walking distance and accessible for site inhabitants, however they are hidden from other possible users living in adjacent sites. These fragmented urban parks are possessed by the blocks in this area. They were not accessible and visible like Ahmed Taner Kışlalı Park. Although Barış Sitesi Parks formed an astonishing example of a park system among housing units in a small neighbourhood, they were not selected since they had neither a viable atmosphere nor an observed political-representational character different from Ahmed Arif and Gökçek Parks.

5.4.2. Spatial Appropriation at Gökçek and Ahmed Arif Parks

Among these four neighbourhood parks, two of them came to the forefront for an in-depth examination. Experiences of users were observed within differentiated forms, rhythms and representations. Gökçek Park was located on the north of the city in Keçiören District. Metropolitan Municipality is responsible from the park, which is located in a neighbourhood of relatively right-wing political stand. Ahmed Arif Park is located on the western part of the city, in Sokullu, in an Alevi neighbourhood under the control of Çankaya District Municipality of left-wing. Both parks serve to middle class and to some extent lower income inhabitants. These parks were selected for a micro-analysis as a result of their location, names, histories, and representational characters.

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Figure 5.4-7. Googlemap of Gökçek Park (2010), well-designed between the housing areas

Gökçek Park was designed carefully, from the entrance of the park. It was re-constructed about 2000, as a gift to the mayor of Metropolitan Municipality from the mayor of district so that the name of the park is 'Gökçek'. It is also located within a housing site, which was an urban regeneration area. Squatters were transformed to apartments, the site of the park was a marsh area, where street football was played, as the park security told in interview. Gökçek Park is also located in a walking distance to the housing areas, there is also a metro construction near to the park, however it does not split the unity of the park different from Ahmet Taner Kışlalı Park. During the pre-observations at the site, on 12.04.2010, firstly, surveillance effect was recognized at Gökçek Park; the park was surrounded by 3-5 storey housing blocks. The first observations and pre-interviews indicated that the inhabitants perceived a well-designed, well-defined park; and they possessed the space especially via recreational facilities, which makes them satisfied not to prefer going other sites of the city.

Ahmed Arif Park has a more political possession and appropriation, located in Dikmen-Sokullu, on the contrary of *Cemevi* [The religious center of *Alevi*, usually regarded as minorities]. A cultural centre of Alevis is located near the park. The park is on the edge of one of the main roads of the districts, it seems to be hidden. There is not a well-defined gate of the park, different from Gökçek Park, it is not surrounded by walls, or fences; but similarly it is surrounded by the houses – at least one row of 4-5 floored houses (Figure 5.4-8. The plan and location of Ahmed Arif Park, it is seen also between the housing areas and well-designed). Saloons of the houses look over the park, which also provides 'surveillance'. The pre-observations, in April 2010, displayed that especially older people were sitting in groups in the park at noon; there were also school children who skipped class with their friends. There was a limited number of landscape units which were not exaggerated, both the park was hidden and naturally developed towards the lower level within topographic patterning.

Figure 5.4-8. The plan and location of Ahmed Arif Park, it is seen also between the housing areas and well-designed

Ahmed Arif Park is called as 'Communist Park'. An interviewee (in 2010) told about the political character of the park: "most of the marches and political demonstrations begin in this park". The park has turned spontaneously to a part of both their daily life and to a site of their political resistance; inhabitants of the neighbourhood pass through the park going home.

Figure 5.4-9. '*Communist Park*': most of the marches and political demonstrations begin at this square of the park, pre-examinations, April 2010 (personal archive)

Pre-studies on selected four parks implied that all these parks offer their inhabitants different contexts within their setting; they have different histories and conflictual sub-fields in the production of urban parks. Therefore it was deducted that these settings and socio-economic-political conditions influence practices and perceptions of park users. Examining spatial practice and recreational patterns at sites, the most crowded parks were Gökçek Park and Ahmed Arif Parks, which were also observed to enable various sets of facilities. Their scale was also relatively greater than the other two parks in the southern part of the city. During the interviews in April 2010, the interviewees working at the shops in Gökçek Park (see Figure 5.4-10. In a shop called *Serap's Place*, working women are seen to come together to chat, April 2010) told that, women prefer to stay at home and clean their house on Mondays, therefore park is more isolated at the beginning of weekdays. However, it becomes crowded with women and children on Fridays, and at weekends. People usually prefer to make picnics, it is so crowded that they make their children reserve places with blankets and baskets. A woman indicated that: "mothers feel safe to let their children to play, since there is a strong surveillance both from the houses and within the park".

Figure 5.4-10. In a shop called *Serap's Place*, working women are seen to come together to chat, April 2010 (personal archive)

The experiences of young people at the Gökçek Park was astonishing. School children, probably from secondary or high school, chose to come and spend their time with their school friends, skipping class similar to Ahmed Arif Park. Also, a centre for youth exists in the park, in addition to small cafes, restaurants and shops in the park. Park was especially busy with the ones who are coming for picnic at weekends, and families coming in the evenings with their children. The working women in the park have strong ties with each other, usually meet to chat in one's shop; the first interviewees indicated the social atmosphere of the park. On the other hand, Ahmed Arif Park is mostly preferred for collective and political actions, demonstrations, one of the interviewees indicated that the park is known with its political character and most of the marches in the district begin from Ahmed Arif Park. Another interviewee told that a *Semah* [a special dance of Alevi] performance will be held in the park summer in 2010. In addition to its political character, Ahmed Arif Park is crowded with young mothers playing with their children, old men sitting in groups and chatting, high school children who skipped class. The park is also among houses and perceived as 'safe' by most interviewees. An interviewee mentioned that she always prefers to pass through 'this cute park' on the way going home. Another interviewee, a university student who was interested especially in the culture of minorities,

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told that for a long time she looked for a house near this park for the safety and social mood of the park.

The two parks seem to be 'social' but in different representational respects; and the users seem to have differentiated cultural capital and habitus, although having similar economic capitals or class compositions. The recreational patterns come to shine out in Gökçek Park, however in Ahmed Arif Park the political character of space seems prominent with respect to the population living in Dikmen who is relatively more 'political' and 'opponent'. Observations and informal interviews were held at two sites in addition to pre-evaluations, (between 2010 and 2015: spring 2010, winter 2013, spring and autumn 2014 and summer 2015). Daily (week days, weekends) and festive activities (during Ramadan, bayrams or specific activities like kermes or movie screening) were concentrated on. The zoning study was completed in autumn 2014, during Muslim Festival of Sacrifice –*Kurban Bayramı*. Sub-regions were distinguished via a more systematic set of personal observations in October 2014, supported by informal interviews at site and pre-observations held in 2010. This zoning study constitutes a ground for more detailed spatial topology with rhythmanalysis, to be held in subsequent studies.

On 6th and 26th, October, 2014, Gökçek Park was studied in-depth with observation sheets (see Appendix C). The park was divided into five zones added to the entrance zone, named as ①. It is located on the opposite of the stadium, at the corner of two intersecting roads. Kızlarağası Avenue, one of the main streets of this district, lies across the housing row on the west boundaries of the park. The south borders of park and the main entrance are opened to another dense street, Bursa Street. The east side is surrounded with a back-street, *Gelen Dost Sokak*, among housing units; and the northern section is defined with a housing site. The park is under the gaze of housing units of *Öztürk Sitesi* (seeFigure 5.4-11. Borderlines of Gökçek Park, google-maps, 2015).

Figure 5.4-11. Borderlines of Gökçek Park, google-maps, 2015

After getting off the bus (numbered 417, from Kızılay), the great and well defined entrance welcomes the visitors entering the park from stadium side; however you have to cross this dense street first, where vehicles are impatient. Dense traffic in Bursa Street does not seem to disturb the inhabitants of the adjacent neighbourhoods since they reach the park from other entrances along paths entering the park from other three sides; they are coming from either school or home. They usually do not need to cross Bursa Street as observed. This street functions as a spatial and mental barrier for out-comers, although the entrance is well-defined; during the pre-observations on 12.04.2010, the name of the park and the emblem of Metropolitan Municipality was observed as a remarkable component of the park. The small square placed on this main entrance is welcoming and attractive, which is also defined as Zone ① (Figure 5.4-12. The small, charming square on the main entrance, Zone ①).

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Figure 5.4-12. The small, charming square on the main entrance, Zone ①, 06.10.2014
(personal archive)

Southern entrance is defined with a square and gate towards a dense traffic, contradictorily the northern edge of the park defined with housing row. The children playground is located there, the park appears as 'the backyard' of housing units and ends with a cul-de-sac at this northern edge (see Figure 5.4-13. Children playground defined under the gaze of housing units on the northern edge of Gökçek Park, 06.10.2014 (personal archive)). This was defined as the fifth zone –children playground gaze zone– during the analysis.

Figure 5.4-13. Children playground defined under the gaze of housing units on the northern edge of Gökçek Park, 06.10.2014 (personal archive)

Figure 5.4-14. Female teenagers playing volleyball on the square, 06.10.2014, Monday
(personal archive)

Returning to the zone ①, the small square is designed in a circle shape and paved with pavement floor. On 06.10.2014, while I entered the park, four women were sitting on the wall around the square and two girls were stepping in the park on 15:03, and when I was leaving the park, female teenagers were playing volleyball (see Figure 5.4-14. Female teenagers playing volleyball on the square, 06.10.2014, Monday). A short talk with teenagers and two security guards of the park indicated that zone ① of the park usually is appropriated by these teenagers and their friends. They prefer to meet their friends and play volleyball. They spend most of their leisure time after school here; they became friends with security guards. Other people also pass along this site comfortably or sometimes sit on the walls to wait and meet their acquaintances. This zone belongs to either younger people who actively recreate by playing ball, skating, skateboarding or to middle aged people (especially women) who sit and wait as a passive user of place.

The first zone was a transition zone, addressing to all age and gender groups, however young and women come to the fore while observing. Although the park lies from south to north (between square entrance and playing ground), this zone is located on and defined by the backbone of a walking path from east side to west side in between two housing rows. There is a restaurant (see Figure 5.4-15. The restaurant on the left node of Zone 1, 12.04.2010) and playing section, called spider –*örümcek*, on the western node of this backbone. This linear zone is defined through a linear uninterrupted movement among both sides. During the observation that day, in approximately twenty to twenty five people passed along this zone.

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Figure 5.4-15. The restaurant on the left node of Zone 1, 12.04.2010 (personal archive)

It was impossible to draw the exact boundaries, however people pass along the zone among adjacent neighbourhoods while returning to their home from shopping, going to visit someone, returning home from school or going to get on public transportation on the main street. In this zone, the playground and a restaurant, which is also used as wedding ceremony–hall, dominates this region as attracting nodes with their physical masses. The restaurant with other small or larger cafes and restaurants define a consumer type user in the park, which is one of the basic differences between Gökçek and Ahmed Arif Parks.

Figure 5.4-16. Walking paths and benches lying on the two sides from south to north, 2ⁿᵈ Zone, 06.10.2014, Monday,3 p.m. (personal archive)

2nd zone welcomes visitors with its landscape components such as artificial polls (see Figure 5.4-16. Walking paths and benches lying on the two sides from south to north, 2nd Zone, 06.10.2014, Monday,3 p.m. (personal archive)), benches under camellias, and walking paths lying on two sides of the parks towards the artificial lake at the centre. Sitting, as a passive activity characterizes 2nd zone –sitting zone; middle age or elder men are observed to appropriate this region. On 06.10.2014, the weather was sunny; approximately twenty people were sitting there. Elder men, younger women, teenagers, and a couple with their baby were noted down. During observation, two security guards were encountered; then they were recognized to walk along the park so densely, which disturbed me as a researcher and my existence with note sheets and camera also disturbed them, that was a remarkable reflection of this site study in October 2014.

Figure 5.4-17. Sitting and walking activities in 2nd zone (personal archive)

Small linear pools and benches constitute the basic spatial elements of 2nd zone with paved walking paths and meadows in between. Almost all age groups were observed in this zone sitting or walking (see Figure 5.4-17. Sitting and walking activities in 2nd zone (personal archive)), also some male children were cycling, skateboarding or riding scooter. This zone also has a transition character but different from first zone, people seem to wander linearly from south to north or vice versa besides the pools. Cafes (such as Serap's Place- Figure 5.4-10. In a shop called *Serap's Place*, working women are seen to come together to chat, April 2010 (personal archive)) are located on the west side of the zone and table tennis platforms lie on the east side of the zone.

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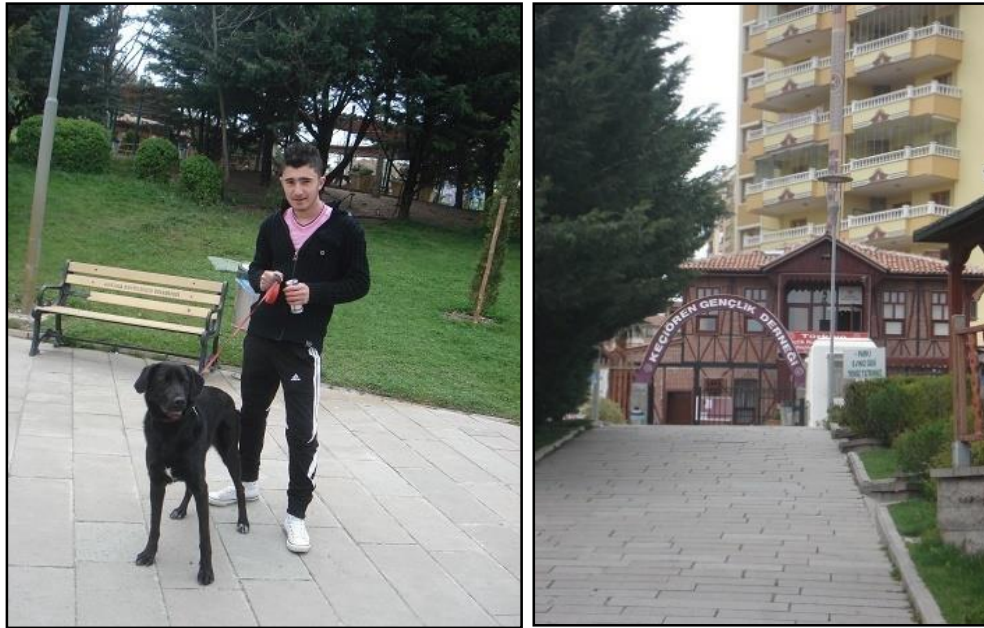
Figure 5.4-18. 'Take a photo of me, with my dog… Add me as a friend in facebook, my name is İsmail S.!' (12.04.2010 / 16:00), zone 3-4, Youth Centre in the park (right) (zone 4)
(personal archive)

The park has been commonly used by the young population of adjacent neighbourhoods, which was both observed during this holiday and narrated by the female teenagers interviewed in zone ① at the end of the day. Especially they are seen in these zones of entrance, they are using the park actively. The security guard, Nuri, joked with the female teenagers as: "They are always here, they come to the park skipping school".

Figure 5.4-19. Volleyball player girls, interviewed in zone ①, 06.10.2014 (personal archive)

Figure 5.4-20.Artificial waterfall and pool at the centre of the park, 3ʳᵈ Zone (personal archive)

Pool and artificial waterfall constitutes the 3ʳᵈ zone with a circular walking path and sitting units. There is a passage like cave under the waterfall. The artificial landscape components seem to be exaggerated at this zone; the space itself almost shouts as: 'I am over-designed!' Mostly male users were observed in this zone – two men passing with a boy, two male teenagers and others in groups, a boy riding on scooter, two-three men sitting in benches, and a male security guard. This region can be called as 'edge of pool' and seems relatively more isolated among others (Figure 5.4-20.Artificial waterfall and pool at the centre of the park, 3rd Zone (personal archive)). At the 3ʳᵈ zone, the vertical transition is observed to be ruptured as a result of the circular form of the path. People, especially women seem not to sit in this region, which reminds the effect of A Team in Keçiören. Men seem to be hegemonic in this area, and women pass in groups of three, four. The dominant feeling and perception in this zone is 'stillness' and 'deadness'. I felt and observed this feeling there several times. This may be a result of circular form and water components with their inaccessibility.

Figure 5.4-21. Camellias (4ᵗʰ Zone) are viewed from the other side of pool in 3ʳᵈ Zone
(personal archive)

Waterfall constitutes a spatial threshold; the park is so large and the upper side seems to be more protected after passing 3ʳᵈ zone. The 4ᵗʰ zone, appropriated by usually families and groups (of women or teenagers) comprise camellias, a small park of benches with tables and the youth centre of the park (see Figure 5.4-21.). During the first interviews, women working in the shops of the park told that the female inhabitants come here to organize their gold day –*altın günü*– and have picnics during holidays, and Iftar during Ramadan evenings. At the end of these camellias two sub-regions exist: a small group of benches with tables looking towards the children playground and the youth centre –*Keçiören Gençlik Derneği* is located, which is one of the most political node of the park, where hegemonic representations are presented and reproduced.

Figure 5.4-22. A poster on the fences of *Keçiören Gençlik Derneği* **defending Muslims in Philistine war, 06.10.2014**

Figure 5.4-23. Iftar Organization on 12.07.2015, in Ramadan

The fences, surrounding both the building of Gençlik Derneği and its front courtyard, are remarkable, since they on the one hand draw a border line between inner space and the remainder, which forms a sub-area in the park on the other hand they make the construction transparent. This node is the most active part of the park, in relation with the playground near. It arises as the most protected section –as if it is the heart of the park although it is located at the edge; and acts as the stage of political performances and messages, such as Kermes for the sake of Syrians in May, 2013; mass feeding service during Ramadan evenings, and other political messages of this youth association. The 5th zone defines the north edge of the park, the children playground under the gaze of housing site and consists of both playing instruments for children and sports tools for adults. It is also in a circular shape; there are sitting units around the playground, which is under gaze from both sides.

Figure 5.4-24. Children playground and exercise site for adults under the gaze of housing, visitors and *Keçiören Gençlik Derneği*, 5th zone, 06.10.2014 (personal archive)

The composition of Gökçek Park seems to be based on built environment, which ruins the natural setting a park should present. Furthermore, the park is not only under the gaze of houses, but also the security guards are wandering all through the park all the time, which may disturb the outer visitors like a researcher. The park has seven gates. The security guard told that: "Usually inhabitants of the adjacent neighbourhoods –locals– come to the park for picnic; fire is forbidden. And the park is sheltered from outside." The other guard

mentioned that: "There are more interesting parks in this region, such as Evcil Hayvanlar Parkı, Uyanış Park, totally seven parks near".

I asked whose place is this, and one of the guards, Naci, answered that: "It belongs to Metropolitan Municipality." And he was the one who followed me till the main gate (Zone ①) where I was returning, and run after me to catch and ask me what I am searching for. We talked about the park roughly but later he demanded to take me to his superior, which was really interesting about the park possession. Although I tried to be friends with them, these guards were suspicious about me and my research, since I am from Middle East Technical University. They did not let me to interview with park users unless I get an informal permit letter from Directory of Conservation of Environment and Control *–Çevre Koruma ve Kontrol Daire Başkanlığı*. Naci, told that the park was constructed in 1993, which was a contradictory information about the place. And he remembered that this area was a plain land; there was a football ground; and the park was constructed on a dryland.

On 7th October, 2014, Ahmed Arif Park was studied in-depth with observation sheets (see Appendix C). Within this study, the park was zoned into five regions added to the entrance zone, ①. The park was reached from Kızılay, with Sokullu Dolmuş. Ahmed Arif Park is located on a main street, Sokullu Mehmet Paşa Avenue. Similar to Gökçek Park, it lies among housing rows from other three sides and was placed on the intersection of two streets (Ahmet Haşim Street and Sokullu Mehmet Paşa Avenue) (see Figure 5.4-25. Borderlines of Ahmed Arif Park, google-maps, 2015).

Figure 5.4-25. Borderlines of Ahmed Arif Park, google-maps, 2015

This intersection defines the north east edge and main entrance of the park, which was labelled as Zone ①, which is relatively less defined (in fact hidden) entrance in comparison with Gökçek Park however you can easily reach to the park since you can step out from the dolmuş at this gate, you do not have to cross a street; there is also a bus station opposite the park. The park is welcoming for both the inhabitants and outcomers. Its entrance is so natural on the way of pedestrian paths; though the traffic in main street, inhabitants also seem to reach to park easily. Despite the hidden entrance, Ahmed Arif Park is a well-known and frequently used park by both the adjacent neighbourhoods and some outcomers.

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Figure 5.4-26. Zone 1 in Ahmed Arif Park: zone of elderly, 07.10.2015 (personal archive)

There are three entrances to the park from Sokullu Mehmet Paşa Avenue; although the entrance on the street side is hidden a circular small square occurs on the edge where two streets intersect. We enter from this circular form to the zone 1. During the first observations in Spring 2010, it was astonishing to see older people were sitting in benches in 1ˢᵗ zone. It was observed that, this disposition still continues at site; on 07.10.2014, fifteen to twenty people, most of who were old men, were observed to sit on benches around the small pool. Furthermore a female interviewee who comes to the park with her son almost everyday confirmed that: "This entrance zone is appropriated by elderly, they got angry with the children and their noise. They shout when children play there." (see Figure 5.4-26. Zone 1 in Ahmed Arif Park: zone of elderly, 07.10.2015 (personal archive))

Although this zone is appropriated by old people, families and festive like activities were observed in the same space. On 11.07.2015, during a Ramadan evening, *Nazım Hikmet Kültür Merkezi* organized a movie screening (a Russian movie, written by Nazım Hikmet). Therefore, though appropriation of elder people, this zone acts like a saloon or public face of the park. Moreover, another interviewee (Dönüş H.) shared her reflections at the park during Gezi protests. She told that, in this same area the protestors –young and old, women and men– shared their food and ideas, the forums were held in this zone.

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The recreational character of this zone in Ahmed Arif Park, is similar to the composition in Gökçek Park, since both old people and many teenagers exist in the entrance zones and also inside the park, some of these teenagers skipped their classes similar to teenager users in Gökçek Park. The 1st zone in Gökçek Park was a transition zone, however in Ahmed Arif Park, the first zone after the entrance acts like a sitting and socialization zone, appropriated by elder men. The circular form and concentration represents a different kind of spatial appropriation both in physical terms and social-political forms. First zone in Ahmed Arif Park evokes a feeling to gravitate space, sit, and watch feeling the entrance of the park, different from Gökçek Park, which indicates a place of flows and movements.

Figure 5.4-27. Topographic design of Ahmed Arif Park gradually going down to the playground, 2010 (personal archive)

The physical strength of Ahmed Arif Park attracts the visitor's attention after entering the park; the natural character and topographic design of the park evoke the desire either to sit or explore the park which means a desire to join the park (see Figure 5.4-27. Topographic design of Ahmed Arif Park gradually going down to the playground, 2010 (personal archive)). However, the appropriation of old men with their sullen faces to foreigners and children may lead to a disturbance, which is similar to Gökçek Park. A foreign visitor, such as a researcher or a new comer, feels an urgency to escape to inner sides of the park, unless there is no communal action in 1st zone.

Figure 5.4-28. 2ⁿᵈ Zone, sitting area, 07.10.2014 (personal archive)

A topographic threshold separates the 2ⁿᵈ zone from the first one, which seems like a natural separation. This second zone is also a sitting region, however offers various kinds of sittings such as simple benches, or benches with tables. Old couples and families were observed sitting in this zone; young people and especially women were seen in this area too with lots of pigeons (see Figure 5.4-28. 2nd Zone, sitting area). In Ahmed Arif Park, no security guard was observed that day, which relaxed me as a researcher however this same issue disturbed the mother I interviewed the same day; she said that: "Çankaya Municipality produces parks, however they are lacking to monitor what they created. I don't feel safe sometimes here with my son." The children are playing with their bikes or scooters on the ramp which connects the first and second zones.

The 3ʳᵈ zone constitutes the heart of the park, which is surrounded by a running track created with artificial material placed on an ellipse shape path. There is both a linear movement from down to up (or vice versa) and a circular spatial concentration at the sitting areas consist of benches with tables added to the running and walking people along the running track (Figure 5.4-29. 3rd Zone, running track around a sitting area of benches, 07.10.2014   (personal archive)). There is a pool at the centre of this section, which is the most peaceful part of the park, however it does not lead a similar feeling as Gökçek Park's 3ʳᵈ zone seemed to be a place of overdesigned in a deadness and stillness. Among natural

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setting, slight design details are seen in this zone such as a bridge connecting the sitting groups. Each sitting group seems to be isolated from others a bit, each have its own field, during Ramadan evenings and afterwards people were observed to have their dinner or tea in this area, as doing picnics without disturbing other people. The privacy in this zone is different than the one in camellias in Gökçek Park, which results in differentiated forms of spatial appropriation at similar zones through similar activities. The 3rd zone is the place where we can feel this differentiation most although the primary activity resembles more than other sections. Circularity, natural atmosphere and seeing rarely security guards results in a perception that Ahmed Arif Park is really a neighbourhood park, with both its natural environment and variations of different activities.

Figure 5.4-29. 3rd Zone, running track around a sitting area of benches, 07.10.2014
(personal archive)

The observations during Ramadan evenings (on 11.07.2015 and 12.07.2015), just before İftar, demonstrated a difference on spatial appropriation between Ahmed Arif and Gökçek Parks. Gökçek Park was almost isolated and empty apart from iftar dinner organization of *Keçiören Gençlik Derneği* and families in camellias. However, Ahmed Arif Park hosted various people, some of the people were eating and drinking before iftar and some others were waiting for it. Moreover, teenagers were sitting and chatting on the same benches. Also, a movie screening activity was held at the same day, in 1st zone, which makes the place livelier with various activities and differentiated modes of appropriation during an ordinary Ramadan evening, different from Gökçek Park. The third zone was distinguished

as the most significant section which makes the place a 'park'. In the upper part of 3rd zone, teenagers sat in groups. During an in-depth interview with a middle-aged mother, she told that the existence of teenagers sometimes disturbed her since "they talk in a rude language among themselves and act in bad manners, as if the whole park belongs to them". Despite this argument, different social groups seemed to take place in the same zone, in lower sides, near teenagers' part, families also existed for example.

3rd zone consists of three sub-regions, (a) the sitting area, (b) the pool and the open space around that is adjacent to the playground at the edge; and (c) the running track surrounding the zone. All three sub-regions provide different forms of movement and stay within differentiated forms and rhythms of appropriation. Trees create a feeling of natural environment in addition to the topography (from upper sites to lower and more protected sections of the place). Ahmed Arif Park is spatially more readable than Gökçek Park, though its more complex socio-spatial pattern with various activities and people.

Figure 5.4-30. Children Playground in 4th Zone, 07.10.2014 (personal archive)

The 4th zone consists of two sub-regions; one is a small children playground (Figure 5.4-30. Children Playground in 4th Zone, 07.10.2014 (personal archive)), which is adjacent to the sitting units in 3rd zone, the other is the amphitheatre with its surrounding small square, which is at the end of first and second zones. This part is the most political and directly representational section of Ahmed Arif Park. Two conflicting but spatially compatible functions come side by side in this zone. The playground is so lively and well designed in a harmony with the topographic features of the site. This playground is also under the gaze of housing units around. The amphitheatre creates a same perception of natural topographic

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placement; however it is not all the time lively, it is a place of festive moments. This is the section which leads to the fame of Ahmed Arif Park as 'Communist Park' since most of the marches and political demonstrations begin from this square and some other political activities take place in this area, it acts as if it is a stage. Furthermore, commemoration (for the murdered Alevis in Sivas on 1st of July, 1993) was also held on 1st of July, 2010 at this park, according to an in-depth interview.

Figure 5.4-31. Amphitheatre in 4th zone, October 2014 (personal archive)

The 5th zone is similarly the children playground also consisting of a part with sports tools for adults (Figure 5.4-32. The playground which is most protected section under gaze, in 4th zone, April 2010 (personal archive)). The running trace has a connection with this site, and the walking paths with this track ends and gets stuck into this zone. This zone is placed on the west edge of the park, at the most protected site, under the gaze of houses.

Figure 5.4-32. The playground which is most protected section under gaze, in 4th zone, April 2010 (personal archive)

5.4.3. Evaluations on and Comparisons between Selected Parks

In previous scales of analyses, 'self' and 'situated activity' were concentrated on during macro and meso-analyses at site. However, during micro analysis, 'park' itself was focussed on as a 'setting'; and the space was allowed to tell its own narrative through features, mechanisms, processes and nodes of spatial appropriation. Selected four neighbourhood parks are located in four different districts of Ankara and composed of middle(-upper) class inhabitants, which was a critical criterion at the beginning of the research. During this pre-analyses, personal perceptions and recreational patterns of park users were investigated generally in the selected four parks. During the more detailed case study at selected two parks the rhythms and representational forms were narrated in-depth under sub-regions of spatial appropriation.

The micro analysis examined two modes of spatial appropriation within their similarities and differences at two neighbourhood parks: Ahmed Arif (in Çankaya District) and Gökçek Parks (in Keçiören District). Spatial praxis frames the daily life of neighbourhoods and such parks, which implies a triology interaction among perception, conception and experience. This interaction was read through daily life via four spatial-temporal components during the micro analysis: spatial practice, rhythms, daily routines vs. festive, and continuities vs. ruptures between private, semi private-semi public and public spatiality.

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In addition to pre-evaluations (collected in 2010), observations and interviews were conducted at two sites (spring 2010, winter 2013, spring and autumn 2014 and summer 2015). Daily activities were observed (week days, weekends), festive activities (during Ramadan, bayrams or activities specific to parks like kermes or movie screening). The zoning study was eventually accomplished in autumn 2014; parks were determined within sub-regions with respect to spatial appropriation and representational characters. The maps constituted a first step for a more detailed a spatial topology with rhythmanalysis which is planned to be developed in subsequent studies (see Figure 5.4-33. Zones in Gökçek Park (personal drawing) and Figure 5.4-34. Zones in Ahmed Arif Park (personal drawing)).

Figure 5.4-33. Zones in Gökçek Park (personal drawing)

Recreational patterns prevail in Gökçek Park however political content and rhythms are dominant in Ahmed Arif Park, which led to different patterns of spatial appropriation and representational moments. In Gökçek Park relatively a top-down mode of spatial

appropriation was observed, as a result of the representational influence of Gençlik Derneği; however Ahmed Arif Park was appropriated bottom-up.

Figure 5.4-34. Zones in Ahmed Arif Park (personal drawing)

Although the parks were distinguished to have similar physical sub-regions (see Table 5.4-1), the depth, content and rhythms of spatial appropriation differ, which indicates significant issues on design and experience of urban green areas. More in-depth spatial topology analysis and rhythmanalysis should be conducted in neighbourhood parks to map the representational topology and political-spatial potentials of urban green areas.

Table 5.4-1. Comparison of Zones in Gökçek and Ahmed Arif Parks

Zone	Gökçek Park	Ahmed Arif Park
❶	Entrance - *Square*	Entrance
1	Transition	Sitting – Old men
2	Sitting – Landscape components + cafes	Sitting area
3	Centre – pool	Centre – mixed use
4	Family – Camellias	Family – Benches
5	Children playground	Children playground

The observations and interviews in micro-analysis both enabled us to focus on two appropriate cases and implied some astonishing points as insights for further research on urban parks of Ankara. These first insights can be concluded in four main points. Firstly, the political position of district municipality with respect to the metropolitan municipality may imply the design degrees and landscape components of the urban park also the boundaries of the facilities presented. Secondly, all four parks are within housing districts, in walking distance and surrounded by houses. Although Gökçek Park is surrounded by fences and Ahmed Arif Park is not surrounded by any fences or have any gate, both of them are perceived as 'safe'; this is significant since safety constitutes a critical issue of spatial appropriation at parks which was recognized during the in-depth interviews of meso-analysis. Thirdly, the recreational facilities are also fragmented in all of the four parks. In Ahmet Taner Kışlalı Park and parks in Barış Sitesi people prefer to exercise oneselves, these parks are more isolated especially in week days. However, the users in Gökçek and Ahmed Arif Parks prefer more social facilities, such as picnics, demonstrations, performances. Both of Gökçek and Ahmed Arif Parks address youth, women and older people. Fourthly, although both of the names of the parks (Gökçek and Ahmed Arif) are indicating political symbols, the social, recreational character of Gökçek Park is more emphasised, however the political character of Ahmed Arif Park is more addressed within the perception and activities of the users, apart from similar recreational features.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

Since humans settled down in Neolithic age, interrelation between nature and built environment has been redefined several times. The first phase of this interrelation is restraining nature via agricultural mode of production, so that human beings hereupon were able to produce their own food rather than being sentenced to mercy of the nature as hunter-gatherers. In the second phase, 'garden' occurred as a fenced, blessed area, indicating 'the myth of heaven' within Sumerian–Babylon narratives and monotheist religious texts. Following these two paths, a third phase was added as urban recreational activities. Before industrial revolution, first of all, nature itself compensated the recreational and social needs of people by large lots of green areas and graveyards. In addition to natural areas, before industrial revolution, on the one hand, aristocrats and privileged classes had their own palace gardens and fenced large green areas; on the other hand, informal and organic urban green areas such as commons rooted from urban square as a component of open public spaces for the use of public.

The early phases of defining urban greenery indicate the natural character of parks and gardens; however after industrial revolution urban green areas re-emerged firstly as 'an extension of nature' and were produced through deliberate planning and design to imitate nature. Such an approach had two origins: (1) to cure the spatial, social and psychological damages that industrial revolution led to in urban areas; (2) to react the absolutism in the form of overdesigned Baroque gardens (French garden) where other classes out of Aristocrats were excluded. In the first half of 20th century, within modernism, a third motif was added to this framework: (3) to standardise the quality and distribution of urban green areas within a holistic framework and utopian approaches. This new phase redefined green areas as 'open spaces', an essential layer of urban spatial pattern. The natural and urban characters of green areas conflicted and complemented each other during this phase, as discussed in-depth in the second chapter.

After World War II, urban green areas were redefined as 'public good' within the rise of welfare state. Distributional politics resulted in specific institutions such as local governments to (re)produce (create, provide and manage) urban greenery as an 'urban service' thereafter. Thus, public authorities supplied urban green areas within a planning and policy framework to ensure a spatial component enhancing societal welfare. Studies and policies have focussed on distributional and justice issues such as accessibility, urban justice, and spatial targets such as proximity, variety, and in addition social need, cultural diversity, cultural and social sustainability through examining the quality of urban parks.

Distributional politics replaced with identity politics after 1970s (in Turkey especially after 1980s); neoliberal urbanization got on stage more powerfully. This event has resulted in three sets of factors which influenced the definition, creation and appropriation of urban green areas. Firstly, by 1980s, the use value has replaced with the exchange value deeper in the creation and reproduction processes of urban space in Turkey. As an output, public spaces are exposed to privatization, fragmentation and exclusion (parallel to gentrification in housing areas). Secondly, this economic context led to a decrease in the quality of urban space production, and as a result the comprehensive planning approaches are left aside; incremental solutions, quantitative sensibilities (green standards in numbers only rather than quality) and emphasis on 'project' rather than 'plan' shone out. In addition, (urban) green areas, open public spaces and cultural-historical sites, especially in Turkey, face the risk of reduction and destruction. Thirdly, as the identity politics have gained a relative importance, the influence of representational politics fade in urban space reproduction, and the representational character have had a special role in planning and urban policy issues.

All these dimensions indicate the rise of 'public space' interface of urban green areas through spatial appropriation with representations. In other words, tracking the path of transformation of urban green definition, "what the green areas represent" became prominent rather than "what they really are" for the citizens and the city. The thesis tracks such an alienation from the origin of urban green definition. Recent urban green studies concentrate on accessibility, justice and social-cultural sustainability, environmental issues and cultural-social identity. However, most of them are lacking holistic methodologies, which are grasping the reciprocal issues and dialectical character of space production and representational dimension of appropriating urban green areas as public spaces. This research questioned the moments of provision and appropriation of urban green areas and

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examined different modes of representational spaces revealed within (re)production process of urban greenery in Ankara.

The introduction of the thesis presented the problem formulation. The second part of the research (literature review put forth in second and third chapters) provided a conceptual framework and positioned both the research and the researcher within the related literature. Historical and geographical framework constituted the third part of the research and was discussed in fourth and partly fifth chapter. Eventually, narrative of spatial appropriation of two neighbourhood parks in Ankara was completed with the micro-analysis in the last section of fifth chapter. The conclusion chapter synthesizes the outcomes of the case studies with epistemological, ontological and methodological frameworks on the basis of literature map (see also Table 6-1).

The conceptual transformation indicates that urban green has changed from a natural entity to a more 'designed', organized spatial tool to transform not only the physical environment but also the social organization and daily life of citizens. Before industrial revolution, nature itself compensated the need of recreation and leisure for ordinary citizens; however by industrial revolution firstly urban green was defined as 'extension of nature' and the sanitary functions were emphasized to recover the defects of industrialized cities. With the modernist era, planning approaches got to be more standardised, rational, holistic and comprehensive. After World War II, since social and environmental justice shone out, urban green areas were redefined as 'public good'. Moreover, the rise of distributional politics and environmental sensitivity led to a shift in approaching urban green areas; institutions such as local governments were charged to create and manage urban greenery as an 'urban service'. Thus, urban green areas have been provided by public authorities within a planning framework and policy definitions, since urban green areas were re-framed as a spatial component enhancing welfare of the society. Furthermore, public participation and equality were demanded in addition to environmental issues.

Besides, recent studies and policies concentrate on fair distributional policies such as accessibility, proximity and safety and on the concepts of accessibility, urban justice, spatial targets such as proximity, variety, and social need, cultural diversity, and cultural and social sustainability (related literature review was presented in the second chapter with a conceptual framework). Moreover several studies examine the quality of urban parks. Analyses of exclusion, exploitation and dialectical reproduction process are lacking, which constituted the origin of the problematic of the thesis. Within this dissertation, the 'public

space' interface was analysed with respect to the phenomena of representational space and spatial appropriation at urban green areas in Ankara.

'Public space' is bound to two modes of appropriation, which leads to the political-symbolic content and struggles on such spaces. Firstly, public space is a public property therefore open to everyone and appropriated by 'the people' (*halk*). But also it is regulated by the hand of state through institutions, development plans and legal codes. People or communities appropriate public space through spatial practices, perceptions and daily activities. In the hand of state, particular professional or political actors conceive, rule and manage space via 'representations of spaces', which form the language of state to appropriate open public spaces and urban green areas. The clash of possession of the public and ownership of the state results in contradictions and struggles to appropriate the same space, which has a dual nature: (1) these struggles reveal the spaces of representations; (2) this clash can be read and re-written through conflicts on three dimensions defined as the (historical) meaning, (urban) function and (spatial) form by Castells (1983). For these categories, reproduction process comprises three phases: (a) definition, (b) creation with provision, (c) appropriation (through management or spatial practice). Therefore, spatial appropriation emerges both as a result and a factor of reproduction process of public space by the means of spaces of representations. Such a theoretical frame is shaped on the basis of Lefebvre's (1991) argument that space is a social product.

Appropriating urban green areas is not a mercy of the state to inhabitants, rather it is a 'right to the city' (Lefebvre, 2011 [1968]). Moreover, both the patterns of spatial appropriation and the conflicts among perceived and conceived spaces are shaped through five rights to urban public spaces, which are conceptualized within different names in separate theoreticians: i.e. Carr, et.al. (1992) presents five rights as: accessibility, freedom of action, claim, change, ownership and disposition. The dimension of ownership came to the fore during macro, meso- and micro analyses of the thesis, which was reframed as appropriation.

As mentioned above, the public character of urban green areas implies two modes of spatial appropriation: possession of people and ownership of state. The tension between these modes (re)produces not only spatial pattern but also urban daily life, and social-political content of different living environments. Three scales are discussed within the theoretical framework in third chapter: (1) reproduction of self via place attachment (body, home, park), (2) construction and reproduction of daily living environment (neighbourhood) and (3) reproduction of urban daily life through spatial appropriation in relation with urban

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space at a larger scale (city). These scales are traced both in macro and micro spatial nodes by the case studies narrated in fifth chapter. The literature map is presented in Figure 3.3-1. and the research map is presented in Figure 5.1-1. with the pattern of questions.

Two modes of appropriation leads to two differentiated patterns of publicity; one is related with urban green policy and the other is related with spatial practice. The historical-geographical framework (presented in fourth and partly fifth chapters) evaluated the green policy for Ankara within three dimensions: (1) the philosophy of urban green and the roots of green policy in Turkey; (2) the historical transformation of legal-institutional framework; (3) the physical construction and patterning of urban green and neighbourhood parks in Ankara, all of which led us a base map of green typology within the macro and meso-analyses for the first pattern. Perceptions and experiences of inhabitants shape the second pattern, indicating the differentiation of spatial appropriation for urban green. This differentiation was examined in macro, meso- and micro analyses presented in fifth chapter. Both patterns of publicity can be read and recoded through 'what is lived' at urban green areas. Put differently, urban green areas can be examined within two main viewpoints: either citizens' or the designers'. However, each viewpoint will be lacking without the other one. The research aimed a synthesis to grasp and move beyond both viewpoints and analyse the issue more holistically, as unity of Lefebvre's (1991) spatial triads necessitate.

While examining the tension between what is perceived and what is conceived through lived spaces, the case studies questioned 'how and why the form and rhythm of spatial appropriation at neighbourhood parks differentiate in Ankara' (approaching the problematic inductively). This research question has three sub-questions: (1) how designers design (selected) urban green areas in Ankara and how the inhabitants contact with and experience these neighbourhood parks [meso-analysis]; (2) how and why urban green spaces and especially neighbourhood parks differentiate (How this differentiation is possible, through which mechanisms and processes) [macro analysis]; (3) whether there is a socio-spatial pattern and rhythm of the contact of inhabitants at the selected parks and whether this differentiation of pattern is possible to be mapped [micro analysis].

The question of 'how all this frame creates and reproduces a pattern within the city' constituted the ontological problematic of the research. The question of 'how this knowledge can be produced and represented' formed epistemological basis of the research. The question of 'how this research was conducted via which nested analyses' constituted the methodological frame of the research (See for details Table 6-1).

Table 6-1. Ontological, Epistemological and Methodological Framework

URBAN PARKS	➢ Recreational spatial units
	➢ Components of green system amid built environment
	➢ Open public spaces
	➢ Political-symbolic stages and subjects for ideological or economic aims
		➢ Open space
		➢ Public space
		➢ Green space
			➢ Spatial practice
			➢ Recreational units of everyday life
			➢ Part of daily routines
			➢ Process of re-constructing oneself :
			  o PUBLIC identity
			  o PRIVATE identity

NARRATORS	PLANNER / DESIGNER / PRODUCER Use value vs. exchange value? [CONCEIVED SPACE] ➡	THE CITY function, form, meaning [LIVED SPACE] ⬅	CITIZEN / INHABITANT Use value? [PERCEIVED SPACE]
ONTOLOGICAL	• What is (urban) park for the planner? • How is it created and (re)produced? • What is the role of urban parks in urban development and planning? • How is it OWNED? (ownership patterns)	• A layer of the urban socio-spatial pattern • Critical nodes of reproduction of urban everyday life • Potential political-symbolic places	• Experience/practice, mental and cultural maps • What does PARK *mean* for citizens? – USE VALUE • How is it experienced? • How is it POSSESSED?

EPISTEMOLOGICAL	• How can we get the knowledge of parks?
	  o Green policy
	  o Green creation
	  o Maintenance
	• How can we achieve the knowledge on the ownership pattern for urban parks?
	  o Boundaries of authority (jurisdiction)
	  o Mechanisms and tools of reproduction urban green
	  o Formal (institutional and legal) and informal relations with inhabitants
		• Physical pattern of urban green areas – mapping and typologies
		• Function of parks in the daily life of neighbourhoods
		• Representational-symbolic meaning of the place
		
		• NARRATIVES
		• Rhythm analysis
			• How can this EXPERIENCE and POSSESSION be *read*?
			• How can we reach the knowledge behind the differentiation of spatial practices (within the forms of appropriation and possession) at neighbourhood parks?

METHODOLOGICAL	• Mapping physical patterning of (neighbourhood) parks in Ankara as typologies within inventory of urban green areas • In-depth interviews with planners, policy makers and implementers • Legal-institutional framework [ANALYSIS – I] MACRO ANALYSIS	• A layered analysis • relational approaches • the historical (re)production process [ANALYSIS – II] MESO ANALYSIS: **Modes of spaces of representations**	• Mental map • User photography methods • Short surveys • In-depth interviews • Behavioural map • Ethnographic study [ANALYSIS – III] MICRO ANALYSIS

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At macro level, the conditions, tools and mechanisms seem to be almost homogenous; in other words legal and administrative frames, principles of planning and essences of urban development, the planning approach of the city planner or urban designer, the urban green policies of mayors and central governments are relatively determined homogenously. Though such a framed planning approach determining the processes and mechanisms of production of urban green areas at macro level, how come do urban and neighbourhood parks provide such a fruitful and various spatial quality and recreational experiences at micro levels? Thereby, the first investigation focussed on the assumption of homogeneity and testified whether the institutions and the legal, administrative frame and urban green policies have been such homogenous or not, and whether there are conflicts and struggles among these professional and political actors shaping the urban green areas. The macro and meso-analyses indicated that the production process and green policy of local governments are not homogenous, especially conflict and harmony are shaped via the political position of district municipalities with respect to metropolitan municipality. However, there are some similarities especially in motifs of reproducing urban rent and providing green areas as attachments to regeneration or redevelopment housing projects.

Urban green areas (re-)emerged as a natural, technical and social need after industrial revolution. They functioned as a natural entity and open spaces within urban spatial organization; provided a social-recreational sphere for citizens, and a technical-political tool for designers and policy makers. Urban green areas inevitably gained a public character as policy shifts rose firstly to the distributional politics in 1970s, then to the identity politics by 1980s. These shifts also transformed the definition, creation and provision of urban green areas, which can be regarded as a part of the rescaling in policy and reproduction of urban space. After 1970s, Brenner (1999a, 1999b, 2003) conceptualizes the shift of urban policy field as 'de-territorialization' of both spatial dimension and institutional dimension [state rescaling]. Jessop (2002) also proposes rescaling process of state within three concepts: denationalization (rescaling, and sub- supra- levels of nation state), destatization (government to governance), and internationalization (global economic processes). Within such a frame, urban has three new meanings: (1) 'urban as a policy instrument' (being a part of macro policy, i.e. world cities being engines / nodes of globalisation); (2) 'as a context of policy' (i.e. urban specific problems such as segregation, poverty, gentrification, transportation); and (3) 'urban as a site of policy' (the institutional part of issue: governance) (Bayırbağ, 2010).

In relation with the previous framework, in Turkish urbanization, 'deregulation' and 'liberalization' [examined by Balaban (2008)] also deteriorated green policy after 2002 both in national (i.e. 2B forest areas) and local scales (i.e. Gezi Park intervention). After 1980s, metropolitan Turkish cities, such as İstanbul and Ankara have already lost their urban greenery and naturally grown groves though their increasing populations with new recreational needs. In addition, as Duyguluer (2012) discusses the institutional and legal frameworks urban planning has been fragmented, which resulted in chaos and decreasing quality of urban green. Re-distributive policies yielded to growth-oriented spatial policies. Two sub-periods were witnessed as: the decentralization of planning authorities, and after 2002 recentralization of authorities (Balaban, (2008) (see also the fourth chapter).

The phenomenon of 'spatial appropriation' was questioned through a three-scaled spatial analysis examining how urban green areas and appropriation differentiate in Ankara with representational modes and moments. Macro analysis investigated differentiation of everyday practice at urban green areas (a green typology) in Ankara through observations and in-depth interviews. Meso-analysis examined the differentiation of production and provision of urban parks via attributed representational meanings through an scanning study (of reports of municipal councils, web sites, maps, reports and readings, newspapers on urban green of Ankara, and legal texts) and a second set of in-depth interviews. Within the final scale, micro analysis focused on two neighbourhood parks and comparison between spatial appropriation at these selected parks.

With reference to theoretical and historical frameworks, case studies traced the moments of what 'urban green' has represented to whom in Ankara within various urban scales. The macro, meso- and micro analyses revealed three moments of reproduction and appropriation of urban green areas in relation with representational spaces; urban green areas are reproduced and appropriated as: (1) 'a policy instrument' attached to housing development and urban transformation projects (economic content); (2) 'a context of policy' shifted to a fragmentation and decrease in urban green quality (technical content); and (3) 'a site of policy' highlighted the representational and political dimension of urban green areas (representational content), all of which demonstrated the shift in the definition of urban green areas from a natural entity to a public entity attached to political, economic, technical phenomena (see). In the dissertation this shift was discussed for the case of Ankara as a significant problematic of planning and urban politics. The micro analysis concentrated on the third moment.
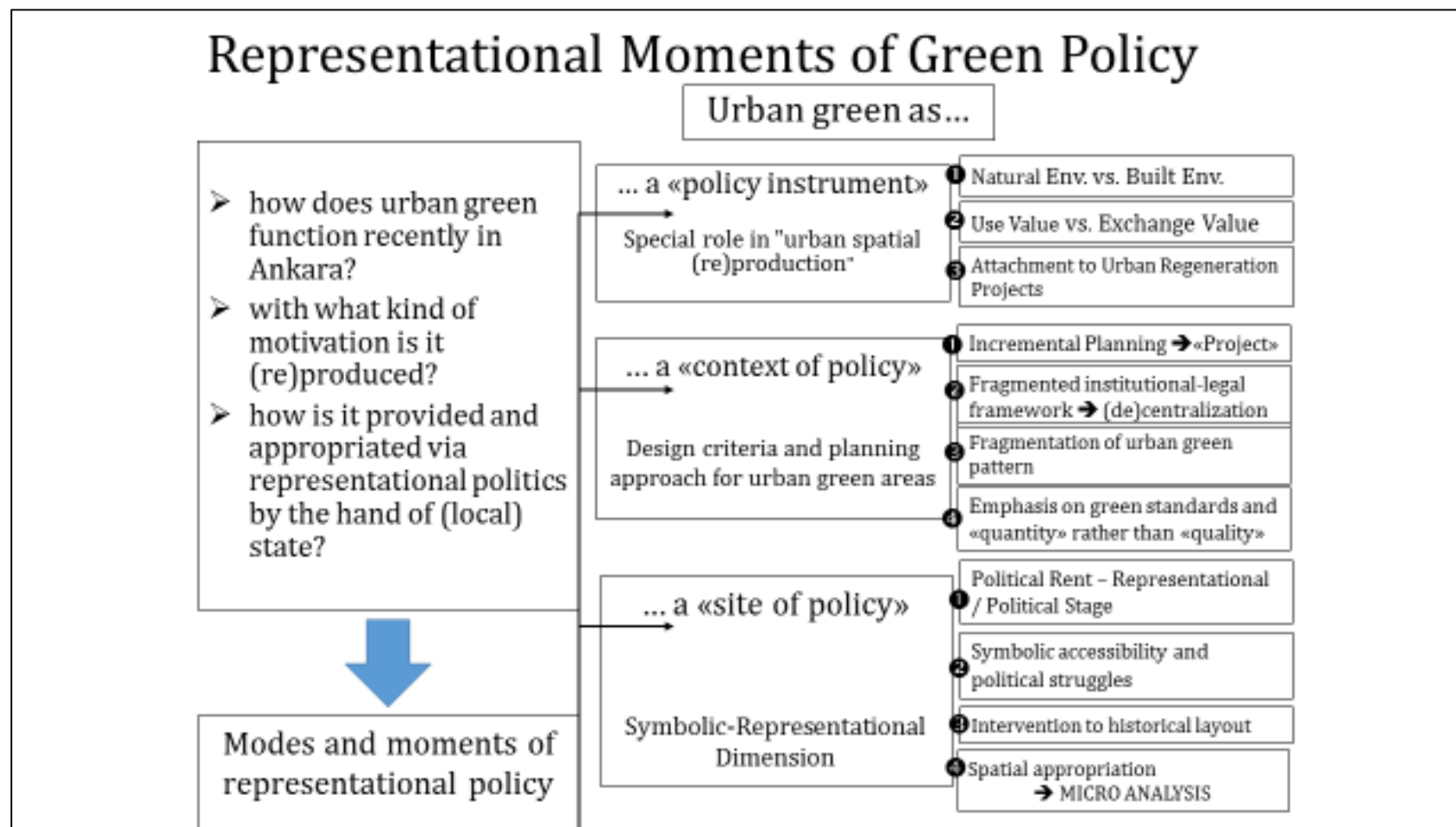
Figure 6-5.4-1. Representational Moments of Green Policy in Turkey (personal diagram)

Firstly, urban green areas have a specific role in reproduction of urban space, especially within processes of urban rent production. Examining the recent mechanisms, exchange value dominates the space production rather than use value (Lefebvre, 1976; Harvey, 1985). This phenomenon brings about the question whether how urban green areas function although they are produced purely for public good, without any urban rent and economic profits directly. How come is urban green still reproduced? They function as pseudo-natural fields attached to housing projects (i.e. Hatipçayı Regeneration Project Park) or entertainment urban nodes which are accessed via entrance fees (i.e. Ankapark) or pseudo-urban green areas of built environment, and commercial facilities (i.e. the case of regional parks in struggle among district municipalities and Ankara Metropolitan Municipality).

Secondly, 'urban green' gradually turned to be a technical issue and tool rather than a natural entity. Since modernist planning approach, urban green areas functioned as an urban open space, which contradicted and complemented with the natural interface of urban green areas. Is a park an urban (built) space or a natural space? Following the development path within this dimension, green areas transformed from natural (at least an imitation of natural) environment to a built space. At the beginning it was designed as a part of utopian enhancing spatial policies in a holistic and comprehensive planning to achieve a green and open space system in the cities. However, recently, planning has been fragmented and 'project' is emphasized, which unbalanced the interaction between built and natural environments. Three transformations decreased the quality and quantity of urban green areas: (1) the technical concern to come up to urban green standards determined within the law without considering the needs and characteristics of neighbourhoods or inhabitants; (2) fragmented tools to reproduce urban green areas such as 18th article implementation in Turkish Development Law, numbered 3194; (3) chaos within institutional organization and legal framework. All these three transformation lead to both fragmentation in urban spatial patterning (destructing the continuity of urban green and natural areas) and fall of publicness experienced via urban parks, which overstep the limits of this dissertation however can be studied in further research.

In addition to its deformation as an urban open space, thirdly, urban green areas are emphasized to be representational tools as political stages or symbolic issues, which was the focus of this dissertation. The local governments were observed to produce neighbourhood parks for the sake of three reasons: (a) political gain in the form of votes;

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(b) representational niches and castles to present as gifts to the supporters; (c) political stages and issues used in case political struggles.

The macro analysis comprised examination of urban green data of district municipalities, and the pre-analysis of in-depth interviews and observations. The research on quantitative analyses of urban green data were unreliable and heterogeneously collected, which solely used as a ground for a rough differentiation of quantity of green areas and institutional appropriation of district municipalities. This differentiation analysis indicated the gaps of green data gathering and the conflict among metropolitan and districts municipalities. Also, Keçiören and Çankaya districts shone out since they could not reach the standards however the interviews indicated the opposite perceptions on adequacy of green service. Furthermore, a research map was formulated focusing on quantitative-interpretive methods to examine the differentiation of perception, experience and reproduction of urban parks and green areas in Ankara. 4-5 in-depth interviews were conducted at the Kuğulu, Kurtuluş and Seğmenler Parks. The interviewees were posed three categories of questions to examine (I) the demographic composition with individualistic spatial narratives on the city and parks; (II) the routines and habits within park experience; (III) the perceptions on urban function, spatial form and historical meaning of parks.

The interviews revealed a scale of perceptions and experience of interviewees varying on the basis of mainly personal narratives. Even having a similar demographic background, the spatial practice were observed to differ deeply from one interviewee to the other. Moreover, although the same questions were posed to the interviewees, each and every park and interview had its own focus. While talking on Kuğulu Park, memories and the existence of 'swans' became prominent. The interviews on Kurtuluş Park concentrated on (transformation of) built environment, the security problem (addicted children and purse-snatchers –*kapkaççılar*) and spatial appropriation. Seğmenler Park is discussed as a specific entity, and labelled as 'dogs' park' by the interviewees. A class based differentiation was sensed, such as Kurtuluş Park address to low classes, Kuğulu Park is defined as "more decent –*nezih*", "closed" or "specific"; and Seğmenler Park is perceived as a middle class park also addressing high income groups. Despite such insights, the analysis could not be finalised on the base of 'class issue', which has three reasons. Firstly, during the pilot studies and discussions, difficulties were recognized on analysing urban parks within class differentiations. Therefore in later phases neighbourhood parks were concentrated on. Secondly, since the class related conceptual frameworks were left aside, deficiencies

occurred while constructing the theoretical ground. Class related definitions were lacking during the subsequent phases of the research. Thirdly, within this transformation the selected cases probably could not suit to the targets framed at the beginning of the research.

The interviews (held during the meso-analysis) demonstrated that users from different districts and neighbourhoods perceive the inadequacy of urban green areas in Ankara. Besides this critique, two other complaints were: (i) absence of a park culture among users who misuse or pollute green areas; (ii) absence of 'green' and 'nature' within parks, which makes such spaces 'pseudo-green'. The preferences and recreational habits differ with respect to social class, age, gender but mostly shaped with personal narratives (with sensitivities) and neighbourhoods they are living. The interviewees were observed to have a real urban green experience that was framed by the municipal service and physical patterning of their neighbourhood, and on the other hand they had an image of a desired urban green experience. This gap indicates the degree of their satisfaction. The interviewees living in Çankaya (especially Dikmen) and Yenimahalle (i.e. Batıkent), and Keçiören seemed more satisfied with their neighbourhood parks; they are satisfied more with accessibility (being in a walking distance) and security. However inhabitants of Mamak were the ones who mostly prefer to go to large scale urban green areas such as Eymir Lake or Mavigöl. Separating active and passive uses were favoured by most of the interviewees, such as separating natural fields (trees, grass, benches) and built places (picnic areas, playgrounds). Different patterns of usage mostly were influenced by the accumulation of personal habits and narratives. Two main motives were observed as: either being closed to district and neighbourhood parks for recreational daily activities rather than urban parks like Gençlik Park –if sufficient green areas exist in the neighbourhoods (i.e. Çankaya, Keçiören, Yenimahalle), or travelling to large scale urban green areas in the periphery due to the location of house in case there is not enough and safe urban green areas around (i.e. Mamak). This indicates a fragmentation and alienation within publicness of urban green experience, which needs further concern and research.

The micro analysis supported the macro and meso-analyses that the neighbourhood parks are distinguished as public spaces with built environments. Moreover, mapping studies indicated two modes of spatial appropriation: (1) in Gökçek Park a top-down appropriation within recreational facilities were observed; (2) in Ahmed Arif Park, relatively a bottom up appropriation is recognized with political practices. This PhD thesis presented a backcloth to grasp the relationship among spatial appropriation, representational characters and

physical forms within spatial-political design of urban parks in Ankara. The natural and social character of the green areas indicate the publicness, openness and greenness of parks, which paves the way for an alternative design and analysis of urban greenery, which is necessitated rather than producing pseudo-urban green areas as witnessed recently.

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APPENDIX – A. Questions of In-Depth Interviews (January – 2009)

1. Bana biraz kendinizden bahseder misiniz?
   a. Nerede oturuyorsunuz?
   b. Nasıl bir evde?
   c. Kaç kişisiniz?
   d. Mesleğiniz... işiniz...
   e. Ankara'ya nereden geldiniz?

2. Kurtuluş, Seğmenler ve Kuğulu Parklarını kullananların açık kamusal mekan **kullanma alışkanlıklarınız** hakkında konuşabilir miyiz?...
   f. <u>Parkla ilişkili</u>...
      i. Parka ne sıklıkta geliyorsunuz?
      ii. Hangi günleri tercih edersiniz? Neden?
      iii. Günün hangi saatini? Bunun özel bir nedeni var mı?
      iv. Geldiğinizde ne kadar kalırsınız?
      v. Burada yaptığınız özel bir şey var mıdır? (Kuşlara yem atmak, köpek gezdirmek, doğayı seyretmek, sadece oturmak, kitap okumak, arkadaşlarla buluşmak, birini ya da bir şeyi beklemek...)
   g. <u>Diğer park ve kamusal mekanlarla ilişkili</u>...
      i. Başka parklara gider misiniz? Hangilerine?
      ii. Bu parkları tercih etmenizin özel bir nedeni var mıdır? (Yakınlık, güvenilir olma, rahat hissetme, vb.)
      iii. Daha sıklıkla hangi parkı tercih edersiniz bunu mu onu mu? Diğer parkı ya da mekanı bu parktan ayıran en temel özellik nedir? (Daha geniş olması, daha çok ya da az insanın gelmesi, daha güvenli ya da daha güvensiz olması, daha sakin ya da daha canlı olması, daha sıkıcı ya da daha eğlenceli olması, vb.)
      iv. Evinizden çıktığınızda kapalı alanları mı açık alanları mı daha çok tercih ediyorsunuz? Neden?
      v. En çok sevdiğiniz park / açık alan hangisidir?

3. Parka ilişkin **deneyimleri**...

    h. Ne zamandan beri buraya gelirsiniz?

    i. Kimlerle gelirsiniz? Genelde yalnız mı?

    j. Parkta hiç saldırıya, gaspa ya da zorlamaya maruz kaldınız mı?

    k. Yanıtınız evetse... Ne zaman? Ne oldu? Nasıl oldu?

    l. Parka evinizden mi işyerinizden mi gelirsiniz?

    m. Buraya nasıl ulaşırsınız? Ulaşımın rahat olduğunu düşünüyor musunuz?

    n. Sizce park yeterince temiz ve bakımlı mı?

    o. Parkın sorunları var mı? Düzeltilmesini istediğiniz? (DEĞİŞİM ve SAHİPLENME, İDDİALAR)

4. Kullanıcıların park üzerindeki izlenimleri ve algıları... Park hakkında nasıl izlenimleriniz var? Nasıl bir yerdir burası? Ne düşünüyorsunuz? Mesela güvenilir... rahat.. huzur verici...

    p. Parkta en çok ilginizi çeken şey nedir? (Ağaçlar, banklar, canlılar, insanlar, havuz, vs.) (FİZİKSEL ERİŞİLEBİLİRLİK)

    q. Parkın güvenli olduğunu düşünüyor musunuz? (GÖRSEL ERİŞEBİLİRLİK)

    r. Parkın size ait olduğunu hissediyor musunuz? (SİMGESEL ERİŞİM)

    s. Parka yabancı hissettiğiniz oldu mu? Ya da daha öncesiyle karşılaştırdığınızda kendinizi parka yabancılaşmış hissettiniz mi? Eğer öyle olduysa bu durum ne zaman başladı? Nedeni ne olabilir sizce? (SİMGESEL ERİŞİM)

    t. Parkta en çok nasıl insanları görüyorsunuz? (genç / yaşlı, kadın / erkek, yoksul / zengin, çalışan / işsiz, dilenci, satıcı, vs.) (SİMGESEL ERİŞİM)

    u. Park sizde nasıl bir etki bırakıyor? (SİMGESEL, GÖRSEL ERİŞİM, EYLEM ÖZGÜRLÜĞÜ)

      ☐ ferah – rahat – geniş – büyük   ☐ kalabalık – rahatsız – dar

      ☐ eğlenceli   ☐ sıkıcı

      ☐ kendine özgü – kişilikli   ☐ kişiliksiz

      ☐ özgür bir yer   ☐ baskıcı bir yer

      ☐ bana ait   ☐ bana ait değil

      ☐ tanıdık   ☐ yabancı

      Diğer ....

    v. Buraya kentin her kesiminden her gelir ve eğitim düzeyinden insanın geldiğini ya da gelebileceğini düşünüyor musunuz? (MEKAN ÜZERİNE İDDİALAR & SAHİPLENME)

    w. Sizce park kimindir? (Benim, Ankaralıların, Çankayalıların, Büyükşehir belediyesinin, Çankaya Belediyesinin, valiliğin, vb.) (SAHİPLENME)

Bu derin görüşme soruları ODTÜ Kentsel Politika Planlaması ve Yerel Yönetimler Anabilim Dalı Doktora öğrencisi ve Araştırma Görevlisi Yasemin İLKAY'ın "*Ankara'da Mahalle Parklarındaki Mekansal Bağlanma ve Yaratımın Topolojisi: Gökçek ve Ahmed Arif Parkları Örneği*" başlıklı doktora tez araştırması kapsamında yapılmaktadır. Buradaki amaç, seçilmiş mahalle parklarındaki kullanım örüntülerinin mekanla ilişkilendirilmesi ve söz konusu parklardaki sahiplilik mekanizmalarının ortaya çıkarılmasıdır. Görüşme üç bölümden oluşmaktadır: (I) Kişinin hikayesi ve genel kent yaşamı; (II) park kullanımı ve rekreasyon alışkanlıklarına ilişkin genel sorular; (III) seçilen parkın nasıl algılandığı ve kullanıldığına yönelik sorular.

Görüşmenin yapıldığı tarih: ………………….. Görüşmenin yapıldığı yer / park & mahalle: …………………………………

I. Genel Kişisel Bilgiler ve görüşülen kişinin hikayesi:
1. Ankara'ya bu semte, bu mahalleye, ne zaman nerden geldiğinizi ve Ankara'ya yerleşme hikayenizi biraz anlatabilir misiniz?
    a. Oturduğunuz yer: İlçe: ……………………………   Mahalle: ……………………………
    b. Çalıştığınız yer: İlçe: ……………………………   Mahalle: ……………………………
    c. Kaç yıldır burada (bu mahallede, bu semtte) oturuyorsunuz? ………………….
    d. Neden bu mahalle?
    ……………………………………………………………………………………… …..
    e. Buraya nereden geldiniz? ☐ Ankara içi ……………………………   ☐ Ankara dışı …………………………...
    f. Nasıl bir evde oturuyorsunuz? ☐ Müstakil ev ☐ Apartman dairesi ☐ Site içi ☐ diğer ………..
    g. Ailenizle mi kalıyorsunuz? Kaç kişi oturuyorsunuz? …………
    h. Evin mülkiyet durumu nedir? ☐ Size ait ☐ Kira ☐ Aileden miras ☐ diğer ………..
    i. Bu çevreden memnun musunuz? Seviyor musunuz?..
2. Ankara'da günlük hayat içinde bir yerden bir yere nasıl gidip geliyorsunuz? (YAŞAM HARİTASI)
    a. Arabanız var mı?☐ evet   ☐ hayır

b. Varsa kaç model/markası nedir? ………………..

c. İş yeriniz nerede / hangi semtte/ mahallede?

…………………………………………….

d. İşyerinize nasıl gidiyorsunuz?

☐ Kendi aracınızla ☐ Yürüyerek ☐ Toplu taşımla ☐Diğer …….

e. Ankara içindeki ulaşım biçiminizden, günlük akışınızdan söz edebilir misiniz?

II. Açık Kamusal Mekan ve Yeşil Alan Kullanma Alışkanlıkları: Genel olarak Ankara'da gittiğiniz, kullandığınız yeşil alan ve mahalle parklarına ilişkin bana hikayenizden söz eder misiniz?

3. En sık gittiğiniz park veya açık yeşil alanın ismi nedir?

……………………………………… (Eğer içinde bulunduğumuz parkla bu park aynıysa,

soru 5.a'yı yanıtladıktan sonra; önce soru 8.a'ya geçelim, sonra da soru 6 ve 7'i

yanıtlayalım! Sonra sonraki sayfadan devam edelim.)

4. O yeşil alana ilişkin hikayenizden söz edebilir misiniz?

a. Ne sıklıkta gidiyorsunuz?

	İlkbahar	Yaz	Sonbahar	Kış
Her gün				
Haftada bir				
Haftada birkaç kez				
Ayda birkaç kez				
Ayda bir				
Hiç				

b. Hangi araçla/nasıl gidersiniz? ☐ Kendi aracınızla ☐ Yürüyerek ☐ Toplu taşımla ☐ Diğer

c. En çok kimlerle gidersiniz?

☐ Tek başıma ☐ Çocuklarımla ☐ Ailemin diğer fertleriyle ☐ Arkadaşlarımla ☐ Diğer

………………..

d. Kaç yıldır oraya gidiyorsunuz?

e. Parklara ve açık yeşil gittiğinizde orada genellikle ne kadar zaman geçirirsiniz?

☐ 30 dakikadan az ☐ 30' – 1 saat ☐ 1-2 saat ☐ 2 saatten fazla

f. Ne amaçla gidersiniz?

☐ Gezmek için …..

☐ Egzersiz & spor yapmak için …..

☐ Çocuklarımın oyun oynamaları için ….

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☐ Arkadaşlarımla buluşmak için ….

☐ Yalnız kalıp rahatlamak için   …..

☐ Bitki ve hayvanları gözlemek için ….

☐ Bisiklet sürmek için   ….

☐ Piknik ya da yemek/içmek amaçlı....

☐ Köpek gezdirmek için ….

☐ Diğer ………………………………………...

5. Ankara'daki parklar ve yeşil alanlar hakkında neler düşünüyorsunuz? En çok neleri seviyorsunuz? Nelerden memnun değilsiniz?

6. Hayalinizdeki park nasıl bir park?

GÖKÇEK / AHMED ARİF PARKININ HARİTASINI BU SAYFAYA ÇİZER MİSİNİZ?
➔

III.   (Gökçek Parkı / Ahmed Arif Parkı) Mahalle Parkı'nı Algılama ve Deneyimleme Biçimi: Bu parkı kullanmanıza ilişkin hikayenizi dinleyebilir miyim?

7. Bu parka ilişkin hikayenizden söz edebilir misiniz?

    a. Ne sıklıkta gidiyorsunuz?

    b. Parka en sık haftanın hangi günleri, günün hangi saatlerde gidiyorsunuz?

      ☐ Hafta içi ………………..   ☐ Hafta sonu ……………..

      ☐ Sabah ……………   ☐ Öğlen …………… ☐ öğleden sonra ……………

      ☐ Akşam ……………

    c. Parka nereden geliyorsunuz?   ☐ Ev   ☐ İşyeri ☐ Diğer ……………

    d. Hangi araçla/nasıl gidersiniz? ☐ Kendi aracınızla ☐ Yürüyerek ☐ Toplu taşımla ☐ Diğer

    e. En çok kimlerle gidersiniz?

      ☐ Tek başıma☐ Çocuklarımla ☐ Ailemin diğer fertleriyle ☐ Arkadaşlarımla ☐ Diğer ………………..

    f. Kaç yıldır oraya gidiyorsunuz?

    g. Parklara ve açık yeşil gittiğinizde orada genellikle ne kadar zaman geçirirsiniz?

      ☐ 30 dakikadan az   ☐ 30' – 1 saat   ☐ 1-2 saat   ☐ 2 saatten fazla

    h. Ne amaçla gidersiniz?

8. Bu parkı tercih etmenizin özel bir nedeni var mı? [10'dan 1'e önceliğinizi belirterek birden fazla şıkkı işaretleyebilirsiniz!]

    ☐ Yakın olma ….

☐ Ulaşılabilir olma ….

☐ Güvenilir olma ….

☐ Rahat hissetme ….

☐ Doğal güzelliği ….

☐ Mobilyaları ….

☐ Bakımlı ve temiz olması ….

☐ Kullanım çeşitliliği ….

☐ Diğer ……. …………..

9. Bu park özelinde yaptığınız bir şey var mı? [10'dan 1'e önceliğinizi belirterek birden fazla şıkkı işaretleyebilirsiniz!] Nerede yapıyorsunuz bunu? ➔ YER GÖSTERME

☐ Kuşlara yem atmak….

☐ Egzersiz & spor yapmak için…

☐ Köpek gezdirmek ….

☐ Çocuklarımla oyun oynamak, vakit geçirmek ….

☐ Arkadaşlarımla buluşmak ….

☐ Yalnız kalıp rahatlamak ….

☐ Bitki ve hayvanları gözlemek ….

☐ Bisiklet sürmek ….

☐ Piknik ya da yemek/içmek ….

☐ Doğayı seyretmek ….

☐ Kitap okumak ….

☐ Birini ya da bir şeyi beklemek ….

☐ Sadece oturmak ….

☐ Diğer ……. …………………………..

10. Parka daha çok hangi girişten giriyorsunuz?

…………………………………………………………………………………….(FİZİKS

EL ERİŞİLEBİLİRLİK)

11. Parkta en çok ilginizi çeken şey nedir? [FOTOĞRAF-1]

☐ Ağaçlar

☐ Banklar

☐ Canlılar

☐ İnsanlar

☐ Havuz

☐ Diğer ………… (GÖRSEL ERİŞEBİLİRLİK)

12. Park sizde nasıl bir etki bırakıyor? (SİMGESEL, GÖRSEL ERİŞİM, EYLEM ÖZGÜRLÜĞÜ)

- [ ] ferah – rahat – geniş – büyük
- [ ] kalabalık – rahatsız – dar
- [ ] eğlenceli
- [ ] sıkıcı
- [ ] kendine özgü – kişilikli
- [ ] kişiliksiz
- [ ] özgür bir yer
- [ ] baskıcı bir yer
- [ ] bana ait
- [ ] bana ait değil
- [ ] tanıdık
- [ ] yabancı

  Diğer ....

13. Parkta en çok hangi insanları görüyorsunuz? *İşaretleyin lütfen…* (SİMGESEL ERİŞİM)

genç / yaşlı, kadın / erkek, yoksul / zengin, çalışan / işsiz, dilenci, satıcı Diğer ....

14. Buraya kentin her kesiminden her gelir ve eğitim düzeyinden insanın geldiğini ya da gelebileceğini düşünüyor musunuz? (MEKAN ÜZERİNE İDDİALAR & SAHİPLENME)

☐ Evet ☐ Hayır ☐ Emin değilim ya da fikrim yok

15. Parkın güvenli olduğunu düşünüyor musunuz? ☐ Evet ☐ Hayır

16. Parkta hiç saldırıya, gaspa ya da zorlamaya maruz kaldınız mı?

☐ Evet ☐ Hayır

Yanıtınız evetse... Ne zaman? Ne oldu? Nasıl oldu?

……………………………………………………

17. Sizce park kimindir? (SAHİPLENME) ☐ Benim ☐ Ankaralıların ☐ Mahallelinin / ……………………

☐ Büyükşehir belediyesinin ☐ İlçe Belediyesinin ☐ Valiliğin ☐ Diğer ……………

18. Parkın size ait olduğunu hissediyor musunuz? (SİMGESEL ERİŞİM) ☐ Evet ☐ Hayır

19. Bu parkta en çok neresi size ait? 'Evimde hissediyorum' dediğiniz yer neresi? Neden? [bana oranın fotoğrafını çekip hikayesini anlatabilir misiniz?] (SİMGESEL ERİŞİM) [FOTOĞRAF-2]

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20. Parka yabancı hissettiğiniz oldu mu? Ya da daha öncesiyle karşılaştırdığınızda kendinizi parka yabancılaşmış hissettiniz mi? ☐ Evet ☐ Hayır ☐Emin değilim (SİMGESEL ERİŞİM)

Eğer yanıtınız *evet*se bu durum ne zaman/neyle başladı? ....
…………………………….
Nedeni ne olabilir
sizce?…..………………………………………………………………………………………
…..

21. En çok nerede hissediyorsunuz bunu? [bana oranın fotoğrafını çekip hikayesini anlatabilir misiniz?] (SİMGESEL ERİŞİM) [FOTOĞRAF-3]

APPENDIX – C. Table of Parks with respect to Responsible Municipalities

Web Site of Metropolitan Municipality, 2012 (ABB)

<u>Source</u>**:** http://www.ankara.bel.tr/AbbSayfalari/Projeler/Rek_Ve_Cevre.aspx

	Name of the park	Construction Year	Responsible Municipality	District	Area m^2
1	1011 Karşısı Park	1998	A.B.B.	ALTINDAĞ	7 227
2	30 Ağustos Parkı	1997	A.B.B.	ETİMESGUT	4 200
3	75.Yıl Parkı	1998	A.B.B.	YENİMAHALLE	3 905
4	Abdi İpekçi Parkı	1981 (opened to service)			36 800
5	Adalet Parkı	1997	A.B.B.	ÇANKAYA	7 500
6	Adnan Menderes Parkı	1999	Sincan Bel.	SİNCAN	4800
7	Akar Oteli Yanı Park	2004	A.B.B.	ÇANKAYA	4 384
8	Akköprü İvedik Arası Park	1998	A.B.B.	YENİMAHALLE	9 741
9	Akyurt Yeşiltepe Parkı				3.294
10	Akyurt Meydan Düzenleme				4 200
11	Alparslan Türkeş Parkı	1999	A.B.B	YENİMAHALLE	23 066
12	Ali Dinçer Parkı	2007 Eylül			Approx. 68.000
13	Altı Yeşil Alan	1996	A.B.B.	YENİMAHALLE	15 000

14	Altınpark	1985 (produced as a result of competition)			640 000 85 % - green areas; 15 % - built environment
15	Altınsoy Şelalesi Önü	1999	A.B.B.	ÇANKAYA	833
16	Anayasa Loj. Yanı Park	2003	A.B.B.	ÇANKAYA	2 500
17	Ansera Önü Parkı	2001	A.B.B.	ÇANKAYA	5 345
18	Arif Yaldız Cad. Yanı Parkı	2004	A.B.B.	MAMAK	3 800
19	Asaf Bey Parkı	1995	A.B.B.	YENİMAHALLE	17 400
20	AŞTİ Karşısı Park	1998	A.B.B.	ÇANKAYA	1 195
21	Ayaş Parkı	2006	A.B.B.	AYAŞ	19 000
22	Ayaş İpekyolu Parkı (Ayaş)				23 350
23	Ayşecik Parkı	1998	A.B.B.	YENİMAHALLE	2 500
24	Bahçekent Parkı	2003	A.B.B.	GÖLBAŞI	10 500
25	Balgat Parkı	1995	A.B.B.	ÇANKAYA	3 399
26	Bala Parkı				10 900
27	Baraj Mah. I-II-III. Etaplar Parkı	1998	A.B.B.	ALTINDAĞ	18 560
28	Barış Manço Parkı	1997	A.B.B.	ÇANKAYA	8 549
29	Batıkent Başkent Parkı	2006	A.B.B.	YENİMAHALLE	68 000
30	Batıkent Çay Bahçesi 1 ve 2	1997	A.B.B.	YENİMAHALLE	25 440
31	Batıkent Levent Parkı	1998	A.B.B.	YENİMAHALLE	2 832

32	Batıkent Metro İstasyonu Yanı Parkı	2000	A.B.B.	YENİMAHALLE	9 947
33	Batıkent Zeynep Parkı	2002	A.B.B.	YENİMAHALLE	2 500
34	Beğendik Önü parkı	1998	A.B.B.	YENİMAHALLE	2 590
35	Beşikkaya Parkı	1998	A.B.B.	ALTINDAĞ	2 415
36	Beyda Parkı	2002	A.B.B.	ÇANKAYA	2 370
37	Bezirhane Parkı (Gölbaşı)				10.150
38	Botanik Park	1970			65 000
39	C. Bayar Bulv. Ford Önü Park	2000	A.B.B.	ÇANKAYA	6 114
40	Cahar Dudayef (Ali HAYDAR Bey)	1995	A.B.B.	YENİMAHALLE	19 090
41	Celal Bayar Bulv. Alo Cenaze-Doğum	2003	A.B.B.	ÇANKAYA	3 300
42	Celal Bayar Bulvarı Toros Sk. Parkı	1999	A.B.B.	ÇANKAYA	1 850
43	Cumhuriyet Parkı	1997	A.B.B.	ALTINDAĞ	6 700
44	Çamlıca Dinlenme Parkı	1998	A.B.B.	YENİMAHALLE	1 761
45	Çankaya Cumhuriyet Parkı	1999	ÇANKAYA	ÇANKAYA	6 540
46	Çeçenistan Parkı	1998	A.B.B.	SİNCAN	2 910
47	Çetin Emeç Seyir Terasları	2001	A.B.B.	ÇANKAYA	5 682

48	Çiftlik Kav. Trafo Yanı Park	2004	A.B.B.	YENİMAHALLE	1 060
49	Çiftlik Kav. Yanı Park	2004	A.B.B.	YENİMAHALLE	950
50	Çubuk Atatürk Parkı ve Çubuk Deresi Islahı	2006	A.B.B.	ÇUBUK	15 000
51	Damla Parkı	2003	A.B.B.	ETİMESGUT	25 000
52	Dikmen Vadisi II. Etap	2003	A.B.B.	ÇANKAYA	160 000
53	Dikmen Vadisi	1994	A.B.B.	ÇANKAYA	110 000
54	Doğukent Caddesi Koşu Yolu	2001-2002	A.B.B.	ÇANKAYA	4 600
55	Dosa Parkı	2002	A.B.B.	GÖLBAŞI	2 723
56	Dostlar Sitesi Parkı	1995	A.B.B.	ÇANKAYA	1 749
57	Dostluk Parkı	1995	A.B.B.	YENİMAHALLE	15 216
58	Dört Mevsim Parkı	2002-4	A.B.B.	ÇANKAYA	16 500
59	Elvankent 1410 Ada Parkı	2001	A.B.B.	ETİMESGUT	20 950
60	Elvankent 1415 Ada Parkı	2001	A.B.B.	ETİMESGUT	4 722
61	Elvankent 18210-18211 Ada Parkı	1997	ETİMESGUT	ETİMESGUT	7 023
62	Elvankent 45018-45020 Ada Parkı	2000	A.B.B.	ETİMESGUT	14 500
63	Elvankent Toplu Konutlar Parkı	1998	A.B.B.	ETİMESGUT	20 628
64	Emniyet Parkı	2003	A.B.B.	GÖLBAŞI	2 500

65	Emre Parkı Yenimahalle	1998	A.B.B.	YENİMAHALLE	13 636
66	Eryaman 3.Etap Parkı	1998	ETİMESGUT	ETİMESGUT	10 500
67	Eryaman Oyuncakistan Parkı	1999	A.B.B.	ETİMESGUT	22 372
68	Erol Kaya Parkı ve Yürüyüş Yolu (Yenimahalle)				53.039
69	Esen Vadi Parkı	1998	A.B.B.	YENİMAHALLE	17 675
70	Esenboğa Parkı (Çubuk)				16.060
71	Eston Boru Fab. Önü Parkı	1997	A.B.B.	SİNCAN	7 086
72	Eşref Bitlis Caddesi Dinlenme Parkı	1997	A.B.B.	KEÇİÖREN	3 500
73	Eşref Bitlis Caddesi Yan Bant ve Park	1999	A.B.B.	KEÇİÖREN	22 800
74	Eşref Bitlis Parkı	1997	KEÇİÖREN	KEÇİÖREN	2 500
75	Etbalık Kav. Hipod. Yanı Kültür Park	2001	A.B.B.	ALTINDAĞ	12 027
76	Etbalık Kav. Karadeniz Parkı	2000	A.B.B.	ALTINDAĞ	7 500
77	Etiler Parkı	1999	A.B.B.	ETİMESGUT	2 800
78	Etimesgut Yunus Emre parkı	2002	A.B.B.	ETİMESGUT	6 128
79	Evcil Hayvanlar Parkı	1997	A.B.B.	KEÇİÖREN	14 830

80	Gazi Hastanesi Karşısı Çamlık Alan	1998	A.B.B.	ÇANKAYA	23 066
81	Gençlik Parkı				
82	Gima Önü Parkı	1997	A.B.B.	ETİMESGUT	4200
83	Gn. Zeki Doğan Mah. Parkı	1998	MAMAK	MAMAK	5 100
84	Gökçe Parkı	2000	A.B.B.	ÇANKAYA	6200
85	Gökçek Parkı	2000	A.B.B.	KEÇİÖREN	46 500
86	Göksu Parkı				508 000 ➔ total area 127.189 ➔ artificial lake
87	Gölbaşı Kanal Kıyısı Parkı	1998	A.B.B.	GÖLBAŞI	4 622
88	Gölbaşı Mogan Rekreasyonel Park Alanı	2002-2005	A.B.B.	GÖLBAŞI	601 879
89	Gölbaşı Oyuncakistan Parkı	1999	A.B.B.	GÖLBAŞI	1 900
90	Gölbaşı Seymenler Parkı	1998	A.B.B.	GÖLBAŞI	23 983
91	Gülpınar Mah. Parkı	1997	ALTINDAĞ	ALTINDAĞ	7 500
92	Güvenpark				
93	Hacettepe Acil Altı Parkı	1997	A.B.B.	ALTINDAĞ	6 672
94	Hacettepelilier Parkı	1998	A.B.B.	YENİMAHALLE	11 268
95	Halil Sezai Erkut Cad. Koşu Yolu	2000	A.B.B.	YENİMAHALLE	35 897

96	Halil Sezai Erkut Cad. Zeynepçik Parkı	2001	A.B.B.	YENİMAHALLE	50 000
97	Harikalar Diyarı	1998-2003	A.B.B.	SİNCAN	1 189 000
98	Hayri Çeçen Parkı	1997	A.B.B.	ÇANKAYA	1 080
99	Hergelen Parkı	1997	ALTINDAĞ	ALTINDAĞ	1 000
100	Hosta Önü Parkı	1997	A.B.B.	SİNCAN	20 038
101	Hukuk Parkı	1996	A.B.B.	ALTINDAĞ	3 745
102	Hukukçu Dostlar Parkı	2002	A.B.B.	ETİMESGUT	6 128
103	Huzur Parkı (Yenimahalle)				54.223
104	Hülya Parkı	2002	A.B.B.	ÇANKAYA	5 600
105	Hüseyin Kaynar Parkı	1998	KIBRIS KÖYÜ	KIBRIS KÖYÜ	800
106	İlkadım Atatürk Parkı	2001	A.B.B.	ÇANKAYA	11 122
107	İnönü Parkı	1997	A.B.B.	ÇANKAYA	5 538
108	İstanbul Yolu Koşu Parkuru	1997	A.B.B.	YENİMAHALLE	42 826
109	İstasyon Mah. Parkı	1997	ETİMESGUT	ETİMESGUT	5 675
110	İvedik Metro İstasyon Önü Park	2000	A.B.B.	YENİMAHALLE	8 157
111	Karacaoğlan Parkı	1997	KEÇİÖREN	KEÇİÖREN	13 475
112	Karacaören Sevgi Parkı (Altındağ)				11 018
113	Karadeniz Parkı	2001	A.B.B.	YENİMAHALLE	9 250
114	Karakusunlar 100.Yıl Birlik Parkı	2000	A.B.B.	ÇANKAYA	11 000

115	Karakusunlar 100.Yıl Birlik Parkı (İLAVE)	2001	A.B.B.	ÇANKAYA	14 000
116	Karapürçek Parkı	1997	A.B.B.	ALTINDAĞ	9 000
117	Karapürçek Parkı II	2003	A.B.B.	ALTINDAĞ	5 450
118	Karaali Parkı (Bala)				11.674
119	Karagedik Parkı (Gölbaşı)				4 621
120	Kardelen Mahallesi Parkı	1996	A.B.B.	YENİMAHALLE	13 500
121	Kardelen Parkı	1996	A.B.B.	YENİMAHALLE	7 530
122	Kardelen 15339 Ada Yanı Parkı	2001	A.B.B.	YENİMAHALLE	13 377
123	Kartaltepe Şelaleli Parkı	2002	A.B.B.	MAMAK	27 311
124	Kazan Egemenlik Parkı	2006	A.B.B.	KAZAN	10 000
125	Kazım Karabekir Parkı	1997	A.B.B.	ETİMSGUT	2 500
126	Kalecik Parkı				1 684
127	Keloğlan Parkı	1998	ETİMESGUT	ETİMESGUT	5 200
128	Kesikköprü Parkı (Bala)				8 998
129	Kızılcahamam Çeltikçi Mesire Alanı	2006	A.B.B.	KIZILCAHAMAM	15 000
130	Kızılcaşar Parkı (Gölbaşı)				3 150
131	Kocatepe Otopark Bahçesi Parkı	1998	A.B.B.	ÇANKAYA	6 736
132	Kuğulu Park				

133	Kurtuluş Parkı	1999	A.B.B.	ÇANKAYA	110 000
134	Kurtuluş Parkı (Elmadağ)				4 267
135	Kutludüğün Gülşen Parkı (Mamak)				1 643
136	Kültür Parkı	2002	A.B.B.	ALTINDAĞ	11 945
137	Kütükçü Ali Bey Parkı	1994	A.B.B.	YENİMAHALLE	12 030
138	Lalahan Parkı (Elmadağ)				1 958
139	M. Ali Bey Parkı	1995	A.B.B.	YENİMAHALLE	12 400
140	M. Aydın Yunt Parkı	1996	A.B.B.	YENİMAHALLE	15 087
141	Maltepe Köprü Altı Parkları	1998	A.B.B.	ÇANKAYA	1 283
142	Maltepe Şelale Parkı	1999	A.B.B.	ÇANKAYA	1 500
143	Mamak Altı Ağaç Parkı	1998	MAMAK	MAMAK	1 700
144	Mamak Anayurt Mah. Parkı	2001	MAMAK	MAMAK	3 700
145	Mamak Çobançeşmesi	1999	MAMAK	MAMAK	4 250
146	Mamak Ekin Mah. 37105 Ada Parkı	2001	MAMAK	MAMAK	1 750
147	Mamak Ekin Mah. 37146 Ada Parkı	2001	MAMAK	MAMAK	1 163
148	Mamak Kayaş Parkı	2001	MAMAK	MAMAK	1 200
149	Mamak Misket Mah. Parkı	2001	MAMAK	MAMAK	3 280

150	Mamak Mutlu Mah. Zabıta Blk. Önü Park	2000	MAMAK	MAMAK	2 500
151	Mamak Mutlu Parkı	1998	MAMAK	MAMAK	4 350
152	Mamak Plevne Parkı	2001	MAMAK	MAMAK	2 500
153	Mamak Yunus Emre Sit. Parkı	1999	MAMAK	MAMAK	2 500
154	Mamak Zerdalitepe Mah. Parkı	1999	MAMAK	MAMAK	3 196
155	Mavi Göl Parkı	2005	A.B.B.	MAMAK	2 130 000 2 120 694 85 000 m²–greenery 180 000 m²– built env. 1 254 271 m²–picnic areas 601 423 m²– water area
156	Mazda Şehitler Parkı	1999	A.B.B.	YENİMAHALLE	16 406
157	Mehmetçik Parkı	1997	A.B.B.	ALTINDAĞ	7 025
158	Metro Parkı	1998	A.B.B.	YENİMAHALLE	9 471
159	Mogan Parkı	2001	A.B.B.	GÖLBAŞI	4 500 ?? 601 879
160	Nasrettin Hoca Parkı	1995	A.B.B.	YENİMAHALLE	10 079

161	Osmancık I Parkı	2001	SİNCAN	SİNCAN	1 500
162	Ostim Alınteri Bulvarı Parkı	1999	A.B.B.	YENİMAHALLE	2 574
163	Ostim Sergi Alanı Parkı	1995	A.B.B.	YENİMAHALLE	25 467
164	Ovacık Parkı	2002	A.B.B.	KEÇİÖREN	2 500
165	Piyade 1 Parkı	1997	A.B.B.	ETİMESGUT	2 640
166	Piyade 2[28] Parkı	1997	A.B.B.	ETİMESGUT	3 327
167	Portakal Çiçeği Vadi Parkı	1995	A.B.B.	ÇANKAYA	27 074
168	Pursaklar Parkı	1998	A.B.B.	ALTINDAĞ	5 135
169	Polis Şehitleri Parkı (Etimesgut)				43.106
170	Pursaklar Tebessüm Parkı (Keçiören)				50.115
171	S. Hacıabdullahoğlu Parkı	1994	A.B.B.	KEÇİÖREN	30 250
172	Sakarya Parkı	2003	A.B.B.	ETİMESGUT	61 000
173	Samanpazarı Esnafları Parkı	1997	A.B.B.	YENİMAHALLE	24 040
174	Sancak Parkı / Yıldız Spor Tesisleri	1995	A.B.B.	ÇANKAYA	20 000
175	Saray Rehailitasyon Merkezi Parkı	2005	A.B.B.	SARAY	17 250
176	Sarayköy Parkı				10.635
177	Seğmenler Parkı	1983			67 000
178	Simkent Sitesi Yanı Parkı	1998	A.B.B.	ÇANKAYA	5 000

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[28] Parks produced in series.

179	Sincan 1422-1424 Ada Parkları	1998	SİNCAN	SİNCAN	9 286
180	Sincan 1749 Ada Parkı	2000	SİNCAN	SİNCAN	4 539
181	Sincan 365 Ada Parkı	1999	SİNCAN	SİNCAN	3 500
182	Sincan 4128-4129 Ada[29] Parkı	1998	SİNCAN	SİNCAN	7 000
183	Sincan 4137 Ada Parkı	2001	SİNCAN	SİNCAN	2 500
184	Sincan 4232 Ada Parkı	2001	SİNCAN	SİNCAN	7 800
185	Sincan 621-624-625-626 Ada Parkı	1998	SİNCAN[30]	SİNCAN	4 250
186	Sincan Dinlenme Parkı	1997	SİNCAN	SİNCAN	4 750
187	Sincan Eski Garaj Alanı Parkı	1998	SİNCAN	SİNCAN	2 990
188	Sincan Gop Parkı	1998	SİNCAN	SİNCAN	12 196
189	Sincan Lale Parkı	1995	SİNCAN	SİNCAN	8 406
190	Sincan Mesire Alanı	2001	A.B.B.	SİNCAN	75 000
191	Sincan Onbaşı Parkı	1999	SİNCAN	SİNCAN	6 100
192	Sincan San. Girişi Parkı 1 ve 2	1998	SİNCAN	SİNCAN	11 079
193	HacıabduSincan Şelaleli Parkı	1999	A.B.B.	SİNCAN	17 000

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[29] There are so many parks like this produced for the development plot and named on the basis of number of the plot.

[30] Moreover, parks produced for development blocks are seen to be under control and maintenance of district municipalities.

194	Sincan Tren Yolu Kenarı	1997	SİNCAN	SİNCAN	7 000
195	Sirkeli Parkı	2006	A.B.B.	ÇUBUK	4 500
196	Solfasol Oyuncakistan Parkı	1997	ALTINDAĞ	ALTINDAĞ	1 500
197	Süvari Mah. 3 Parkı	1998	ETİMESGUT	ETİMESGUT	7000
198	Süvari Mah. 45252-45257	1998	ETİMESGUT	ETİMESGUT	7000
199	Şafaktepe Parkı	1997	A.B.B.	MAMAK	37 713
200	Şaşmaz Arkası Parkı	1997	ETİMESGUT	ETİMESGUT	2 000
201	Şahin Parkı (Elmadağ)				3.995
202	S. Şehit Fatih Köybaşı Parkı (Ostim)	1998	A.B.B.	YENİMAHALLE	25 467
203	Şehit P. Üstteğ. Ufuk Ünsal Parkı	1997	ÇANKAYA	ÇANKAYA	1 500
204	Şirinler Parkı	1998	ETİMESGUT	ETİMESGUT	4 800
205	T. Güneş Bul. Koşu Yolu	1996	A.B.B.	ÇANKAYA	23 490
206	T. Güneş Bul. Msb. Loj. Önü Park	1998	A.B.B.	ÇANKAYA	14 040
207	Temel Reis Parkı	1998	ETİMESGUT	ETİMESGUT	3 500
208	Temelli Gölet Parkı (Polatlı)				53 190
209	Tevsiyeciler Cad. Parkı	1998	ALTINDAĞ	ETİMESGUT[31]	6 595

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[31] How come this happens? A green area is located in boundaries of Etimesgut District, however under control of Altındağ Municipality.

210	Topçu Mah. 15-19 Refüjler Arası Park	2000	ETİMESGUT	ETİMESGUT	16 500
211	Türkmenistan Parkı	1994	A.B.B.	YENİMAHALLE	21 002
212	Uyanış Parkı (Keçiören)				33 900
213	Varlık Mah. Parkı	1999	A.B.B.	YENİMAHALLE	37 858
214	Vatan Caddesi Dinlenme Parkı	1997	A.B.B.	YENİMAHALLE	8 520
215	Y. Bayındır Mah. Parkı 35672 Ada Parkı	1999	MAMAK	MAMAK	2 972
216	Y. Beyazıt Parkı	1994	A.B.B.	YENİMAHALLE	24 422
217	Yasemin + Özgür Park	1995	A.B.B.	YENİMAHALLE	16 406
218	Yaşam Park	2006	A.B.B.	YENİMAHALLE	2 000
219	Yatık Musluk Mah. Plevne Parkı	1999	A.B.B.	ALTINDAĞ	2 595
220	Yatık Musluk Mah. Parkı	2001	MAMAK	MAMAK	2 620
221	Yeni Kıbrıs Köyü Parkı	1999	MAMAK	MAMAK	1 271
222	Yenibahçekent Parkı (Gölbaşı)				10 150
223	Yeşilbayır Mah. Parkı	2001	MAMAK	MAMAK	1 700
224	Yeşildere Çocuk Parkı (Elmadağ)				1 060
225	Yumurcak Parkı	1995	A.B.B.	YENİMAHALLE	2 370
226	Yukarı Çavundur Yıldırım Beyazıt Parkı (Çubuk)				2.948

227	Yücel Parkı (Gençlik Cad. Yeşil Alan dahil)	2000	A.B.B.	ÇANKAYA	1 200
228	Zeliş Parkı	2005	A.B.B.	ÇANKAYA	1 500
229	Ziraat Parkı	1999	A.B.B.	ALTINDAĞ	4 900

214	Vatan Caddesi Dinlenme Parkı	1997	A.B.B.	YENİMAHALLE	8 520
215	Y. Bayındır Mah. Parkı 35672 Ada Parkı	1999	MAMAK	MAMAK	2 972
216	Y. Beyazıt Parkı	1994	A.B.B.	YENİMAHALLE	24 422
217	Yasemin + Özgür Park	1995	A.B.B.	YENİMAHALLE	16 406
218	Yaşam Park	2006	A.B.B.	YENİMAHALLE	2 000
219	Yatık Musluk Mah. Plevne Parkı	1999	A.B.B.	ALTINDAĞ	2 595
220	Yatık Musluk Mah. Parkı	2001	MAMAK	MAMAK	2 620
221	Yeni Kıbrıs Köyü Parkı	1999	MAMAK	MAMAK	1 271
222	Yenibahçekent Parkı (Gölbaşı)				10 150
223	Yeşilbayır Mah. Parkı	2001	MAMAK	MAMAK	1 700
224	Yeşildere Çocuk Parkı (Elmadağ)				1 060
225	Yumurcak Parkı	1995	A.B.B.	YENİMAHALLE	2 370
226	Yukarı Çavundur Yıldırım Beyazıt Parkı (Çubuk)				2.948
227	Yücel Parkı (Gençlik Cad. Yeşil Alan dahil)	2000	A.B.B.	ÇANKAYA	1 200
228	Zeliş Parkı	2005	A.B.B.	ÇANKAYA	1 500
229	Ziraat Parkı	1999	A.B.B.	ALTINDAĞ	4 900

APPENDIX – D. Park Observation Sheet

PARK GÖZLEM FORMU – Yasemin İLKAY / Mayıs 2014   GÖZLEM FORMU NO: ......

PARK	BÖLGE	TARİH	GÜN	SAAT DİLİMİ	SAAT

Kişi sayısı	0–6 yaş		6-12 yaş		12-18 yaş		Yetişkin		Yaşlı	
	K	E	K	E	K	E	K	E	K	E

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AKTİVİTE (yürüyüş, bisiklet, piknik, oturma, futbol, vs.)	Aktiviteye katılan yaş grubu	Aktiviteye katılanların cinsiyeti (K, E, K+E)	Aktiviteye katılım süresi (dk.)	Aktiviteye katılım biçimi: GRUP vs. BİREYSEL	Katılımcı sayısı	NOTLAR

HAVA DURUMU: Güneşli ....   Parçalı Bulutlu ....   Bulutlu ....   Yağışlı .....   Sıcaklık: ......

APPENDIX – E. Chronology of Transformation of Legal-Institutional Framework of Urban Green Policy

1st Phase: Socio-Spatial Inheritance of Ottoman Empire

1836-7 The first city plan for İstanbul was produced by Von Moltke.

1848 *Ebniye Nizamnamesi* (the Code of Structures) was legislated for İstanbul.

1855 *Şehreminliği / Şehremaneti* was established for the city of İstanbul.

1857 The Sixth Office of City Hall (*Altıncı Daire-i Belediye*) was constructed in both Galata and Beyoğlu.

1864 *Ebniye and Turuk Nizamnamesi* (the Code for Structures and Roads) was legislated for the whole empire.

1877 *Vilayet Belediye Kanunu* – Law of Province Municipality was enacted to spread the success of *Altıncı Daire-i Belediye* to the other cities and municipalities in physical development of cities.

1882 *Ebniye Kanunu* (the Law of Structures) was enacted.

2nd Phase: 'Urbanisation of State' during Early Republican Era

1923 The declaration of Ankara as the capital city

1924 Ankara *Şehremaneti* was established by the law numbered 417.

1923-4 The first spatial policy for Ankara as a report demanded and prepared by Lörcher – with three plans attached to it. The report was demanded to get an inventory of the city's spatial and social needs.

1924-5 *Lörcher Plan.* Development of Kızılay-Yenişehir district, and spatial construction of several public spaces in the old and newer districts of the centre of Ankara.

1925 Design of Güvenpark with Lörcher Plan

1925 Establishment of *AOÇ* (*Atatürk Orman Çiftliği* – Atatürk Forest Farm)

1928 The Directory of Development in Ankara was established by the law numbered 1351

1928 A competition was held for the design of new capital city, Ankara and three international architect-planners participated.

1928   *Jansen Plan* for Ankara –the winner of the competition– on the basis of Lörcher's study.

1930   The Law of Municipalities numbered 1580 – *Belediye Kanunu*

1933   The Law of Constructions and Roads numbered 2290 – *Yapı ve Yollar Kanunu*

1933   The Law of Establishment of Municipality Bank – *Belediye Bankası Kuruluş Kanunu*

1934   The Law of Municipal Expropriation numbered 2722 – *Belediyeler İstimlak Kanunu*

1935   The Law on the Establishment of Development Committee of Municipality numbered 2736 was enacted – *Belediyeler İmar Heyeti'nin Kuruluşuna İlişkin Kanun*.

3rd Phase: 'Urbanisation of Working Class'

1945   The Bank of Cities –*İller Bankası*– was established with the law numbered 4759

1948   Revenues of municipalities were regulated by Municipal Revenue (numbered 5237) –*Belediye Gelirleri Kanunu*.

1948   The scarcity of modes of housing provision was attempted to overcome through the book of Ebül'ula Mardin on *Kat Mülkiyeti* – condominium regime.

1948   The first amnesty law of squatter settlements was enacted with the law number of 5218.

1952   The monography of Fehmi Yavuz –*Ankara'nın İmarı ve Şehirciliğimiz*– The development of Ankara and our Urbanism/City Planning was published.

1953   The Institute of Housing and Urbanism –*İskan ve Şehircilik Enstitüsü*– was established in Department of Political Sciences, within Ankara University.

1954   The Association of Professions of Turkish Engineers and Architects (*Türk Mühendis ve Mimar Odaları*) was established.

1954   Transformation in Notary Public Law enabled two new modes of housing provision: build-and-sell provision and provision by the hand of cooperatives.

1955   An international competition was run to achieve a development plan of Ankara.

1956   New Development Law –*İmar Yasası*– numbered 6875 was legislated.

1956   Middle East Technical University (METU – *ODTÜ*) was established.

1957   Yücel-Uybadin Plan was approved.

1958   Ministry of Public Works and Housing –*İmar ve İskan Bakanlığı*– was established with the law numbered 7116.

1960   Military coup d'état

1961   The new Constitution was legislated which opened the way of Leftist standpoint to Turkish political atmosphere.

1961   State Planning Organization was established.

1961   Department of Planning was established in METU.

1965   Property ownership law –*kat mülkiyeti kanunu*– legislated a new model of multi-owners on a single plot.

1969   The Ministry of Housing and Development established Ankara Metropolitan Development Planning Bureau –*Ankara Metropoliten Nazım İmar Plan Bürosu (AMANPB)*

1970-75 *AMANPB* produced a metropolitan planning scheme called 1990 Ankara Metropolitan Plan.

1978   Prime Ministry Undersecretariat for Environment –*Başbakanlık Çevre Müsteşarlığı*– was established.

4th Phase: Shift to 'Urbanisation of Capital' (1980-2000)

1982   1990 Ankara Metropolitan Plan was approved.

1984   Prime Ministry Undersecretariat for Environment –*Başbakanlık Çevre Müsteşarlığı*– was bounded to Prime Ministry as a general directorate.

1989   Prime Ministry Undersecretariat for Environment –*Başbakanlık Çevre Müsteşarlığı*– was re-arranged to a higher institutional status again as a undersecretariat.

1991   Ministry of Environment –*Çevre Bakanlığı*– was established and Prime Ministry Undersecretariat for Environment expired.

2003   The Ministry of Environment was combined with the Ministry of Forestry under the name of Ministry of Environment and Forestry.

2011   Ministry of Environment, Forestry and Urbanization was re-organized as a new ministry by the statutory decree – *yasa gücünde kararname* – numbered 636 (dated: 08.06.2011).

2011   Ministry of Environment, Forestry and Urbanization was separated to two institutions: Ministry of Environment and Urbanization (by the statutory decree – *yasa gücünde kararname* – numbered 644 – dated: 04.07.2011); and Ministry of Forestry and Water Affairs (by the statutory decree – *yasa gücünde kararname* – numbered 645 – dated: 04.07.2011).

APPENDIX – F. Glossary

Ankara Metropolitan Development Planning Bureau – *Ankara Metropoliten Nazım İmar Plan Bürosu (AMANPB)*

base map – *halihazır harita*

beggars –*dilenci*

build-and-sell housing – *yap-satçılık*

Building of Kızılay Rent Facilities – *Kızılay Rant Tesisleri Binası*

coffeehouses – *kahvehane*

the Commission of Development and Public Works –*İmar Ve Bayındırlık Komisyonu*

condominium regime – *Kat Mülkiyeti*

construction permit – *yapı/inşaat ruhsatı*

contour maps – *tesviye eğrili harita*

dervish convent – *dergah*

destruct-build – *yık-yap*

development plan – *imar planı*

development plan for tourism areas – *turizm amaçlı imar planı*

development programs –*imar programları*

Development Readjustment Share –*Düzenleme Ortaklık Payı*

Directory of Development in Ankara – *Ankara İmar Müdürlüğü*

Directory of Conservation of Environment and Control –*Çevre Koruma ve Kontrol Daire Başkanlığı*

Directory of Construction Affairs –*İmar Dairesi Başkanlığı*

Directory of Parks and Gardens – *Parklar ve Bahçeler Müdürlüğü*

Directory of Technical Works – *Fen İşleri Dairesi Başkanlığı*

district municipalities – *ilçe belediyeleri*

the drawing ceremony –*kura çekilişi*

export-promotion industrialization – *ihraç ikameci sanayileşme*

expropriation –*kamulaştırma*

five year development plans of the state – *beş yıllık kalkınma planları*

the floor area ratio – *emsal*

free trade areas – *serbest ticaret alanları*

free production zones – *serbest üretim bölgeleri*

funds transfer – *kaynak aktarımı*

import-promotion industrialization – *ithal ikameci sanayileşme*

jurisdiction – *yetki sınırları*

land subdivision – *parselleme*

Law of Constructions and Roads – *Yapı ve Yollar Kanunu*

metropolitan municipality – *büyükşehir belediyesi*

Metropolitan Development Plan – *Nazım İmar Planı*

Ministry of Environment – *Çevre Bakanlığı*

municipal adjacent area – *mücavir alan*

municipal council – *belediye meclisi*

municipal committee – *belediye encümeni*

New Municipality Movement – *Yeni Belediyecilik Hareketi*

nullity of judgement –*kararın iptali.*

Park of Parliament– *Büyük Millet Meclis Parkı*

partial reconstruction plans – *mevzi imar planı*

peddlers –*seyyar satıcı*

people's gardens – *halk bahçeleri*

plantation – *fidanlık*

Presidential Palace –*Cumhurbaşkanlığı Köşkü*

Prime Ministry Undersecretariat for Environment – *Başbakanlık Çevre Müsteşarlığı*

proclamation of republic – *cumhuriyetin ilanı*

property ownership law –*kat mülkiyeti kanunu*

to quash –*kararın iptal edilmesi*

recreation areas – *mesire yerleri*

reconstruction development plan – *koruma amaçlı imar planı*

rehabilitation centre for old people – *yaşlı bakımevi*

ridges of the hills – *tepe sırtları*

rural tavern or club – *kır gazinosu*

Sixth Office of City Hall – *Altıncı Daire-i Belediye*

slum belts – *gecekondu kuşağı*

specification of competition – *yarışma şartnamesi*

statutory decree – *yasa gücünde kararname / kanun hükmünde kararname*

suspension of execution –*yürütmenin durdurulması*

The Institute of Housing and Urbanism – *İskan ve Şehircilik Enstitüsü*

topographical engineers – *harita mühendisi*

transformation of squatter settlements to apartment blocks – *apartmanlaşma*

Undersecretariat – *Müsteşarlık*

urban sprawl – *yağ lekesi*

vista points – *bakı noktası*

Wedding Hall – *evlendirme dairesi*
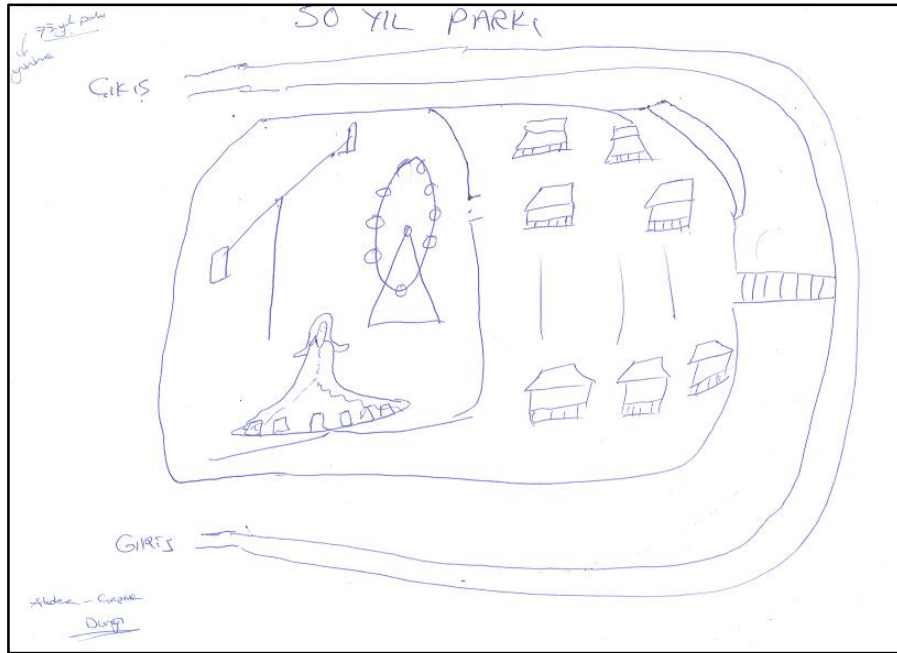
women's club – *hanımlar lokali*
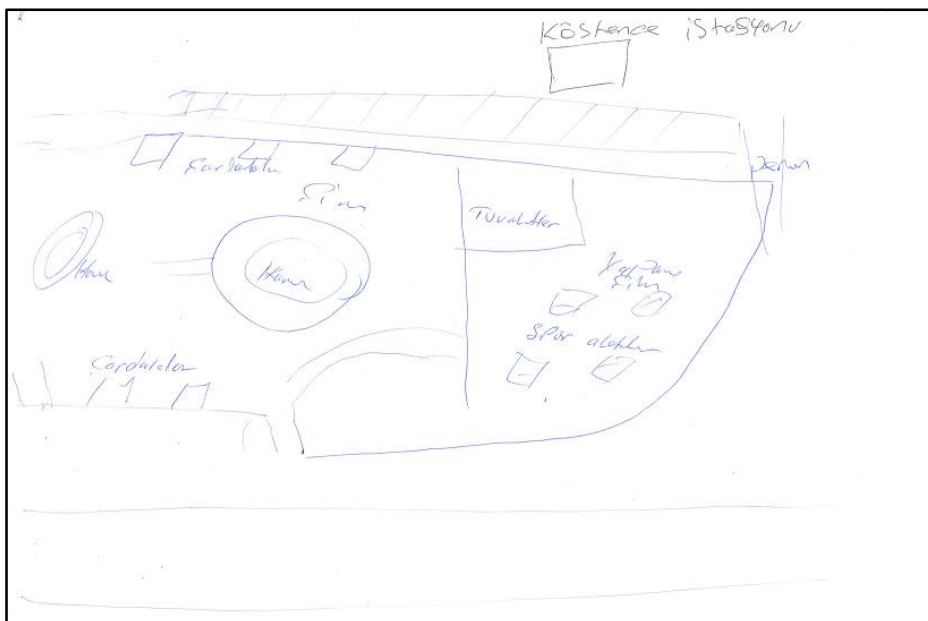
zoned land – *imarlı arsa*

zoned area – *imarlı alan*

Mental Map of Durmuş B. [Interviewee-(B)M2] on *50.Yıl Park* in Mamak

Mental Map of Köksal B. [Interviewee-(B)M1] on *Köstence Park* in Mamak

AÇIK KAMUSAL MEKANLARIN ÜRETİLMESİ VE SAHİPLENİLMESİ:

ANKARA'DAKİ YEŞİL ALANLAR İÇİN TEMSİLİ DURAKLAR

Mekansal analiz içinde 'kamusal mekan'ın ikili bir anlamı vardır. Bir yandan, herkese açık bir alan ve 'kamu malı' olduğu varsayılır ki bu da tanımının temelindeki 'halk'ı ya da 'kamu'yu işaret eder. Öte yandan kamusal mekanlar devletin mülkü olarak algılanır; kurumların hüküm ve tasarrufu altında, yasal çerçevelerle ve idari süreçlerle düzenlenir, sahiplenilir ve yönetilir. Bu nedenle, yeşil alanlar, birbiriyle yer yer çelişen kimi zamansa uyumlanan iki tür mekansal sahiplenme ve ele geçirme biçimine konu ve sahne olurlar: toplulukların ya da kamunun sahipliği (*possession*) ve devletin mülkiyeti (*ownership*). Bu ikili doğa aleni ya da örtük ya da açık politik-sembolik mücadelelere yol açar. Bu mücadeleler belli bir kamusal mekanın (tarihsel) anlamını, (kentsel) işlevini ve (mekansal) formunu yeniden üretir (Castells, 1983) ki bu da Lefebvre (1991)'in kentsel mekanın sosyal bir ürün olduğu yönündeki tezini destekler. Bu varsayımlar doğrultusunda, mekansal sahiplenme yeniden üretim sürecinin hem bir etkeni hem de bir sonucudur; kentsel yeşil alanların yeşil niteliği, açıklığı ve kamusallığı mekansal sahiplenme yoluyla farklılaşır.

İlgili yazında parklar 'yeşil', 'açık' ve 'kamusal' mekan olarak tanımlanmaktadır. Bu mekanlar gündelik hayat içindeki mekansal pratikler için bir zemin sunarlar. Mahalle sakinleri bu mekanlarda kendilerini yeniden üretir, doğayla ve 'öteki'yle bir araya gelip temas ederler. Bu şekilde özel ve kamusal kimliklerini de yeniden üretme fırsatlarıyla karşılaşırlar. Ankara'daki (kent ölçeğinde) yeşil alanlar ve (mahalle-semt ölçeğinde) parklar mekansal kalitelerine (açıklık ve yeşillik) ve sundukları kamusallık derecelerine göre farklılaşmaktadır. Bu farklılaşma ise iki mekansal argümanın (anlamlandırılan mekan ve kurgulanan mekan) arasındaki mücadeleler yoluyla şekillenmektedir. Farklılaşan parkların kamusallık dereceleri ve nitelikleri yaşanan mekan aracılığıyla okunabilir ve yeniden yazılabilir. Yaşanan mekan, temsillerde, pratiklerde, mekansal form ve işlevlerde kendini gösterir. Anlamlandırma ve kurgulama arasındaki çelişki mekansal sahiplenmeye ve mekanların temsili karakterlerine (dolayısıyla potansiyellerine) de nüfuz eder. Bunun

karşılığında, mekansal sahiplenmenin biçim ve ritimleri de bu çatışmaları etkileyerek, algı ve kurgunun yeniden şekillenmesinde rol alır.

Bu doktora tezi, Ankara'da yeşil alanların sunum ve sahiplenme duraklarının nasıl farklı temsil mekanları ortaya çıkardığını irdelemektedir. Araştırma, Ankara'daki yeşil alanların sahiplenme ve sunum anlarını tarihsel ve coğrafi bir analizle deşifre ederek, mekanların temsilleri ve mekansal pratikler arasındaki çelişkiyi problematize etmektedir. Tezin ana sorusu: kentsel yeşil alanların sunum ve sahiplenme duraklarının, Ankara'daki kentsel yeşil üretme süreci içinde nasıl farklı temsil mekanları ortaya çıkardığıdır. Bu problem üç katmanlı bir analiz çerçevesinde formüle edilip incelenmiştir. Makro analiz, Ankara'daki yeşil alanların farklılaşmasına odaklanmıştır. Bu farklılaşmayı da üç alt bileşende incelemeyi hedeflemiştir. İlk olarak daha önceden Ankara'daki yeşil alanlara ilişkin yapılmış niceliksel çalışmaları ve kentsel parklarda yapılan ilk ön gözlemleri temel alarak tarihsel-coğrafi bir altlık oluşturulmuş; bir genel tipoloji yaratılmıştır. Buna ek olarak, ikinci bir çalışmada (2009-2010 kış döneminde) Kuğulu, Kurtuluş ve Seğmenler gibi üç büyük parkta beş derin görüşme yapılmış; kullanıcıların kentsel parkları nasıl algılayıp deneyimledikleri irdelenmiştir. Bu çalışmalar tezin beşinci bölümünün metodolojiden sonraki ilk alt başlığında (ikinci alt başlık) sunulmuştur. Üçüncü çalışma Ankara'daki yeşil alan siyasasının ve yasal-yönetsel çerçevesinin dönüşümünün irdelendiği tarihsel çerçevedir ki bu da dördüncü bölümde tarihsel fazlar olarak incelenmiştir.

Mezo-analiz, temsil politikaları ile ilişki içinde ilçe ölçeğinde yeşil alanların sahiplenmesinin ve üretilmesinin nasıl farklılaştığını sorgulamıştır. Bu araştırma, 2009-2015 yılları arasında yapılan gözlemlere, belediye meclis tutanaklarına, yerel yönetimlerin web siteleri ve ilgili haberlere, yasal metinlere, ve haritalara dayanmaktadır. Bunlara ek olarak, 2013'te semt ve mahalle parklarında yedi tane derin görüşme yapılmış, ilçe belediyeleri ölçeğinde hizmet ve sunumdan kaynaklanan farklarla kullanıcıların rekreasyon yatkınlıkları çakıştırılıp karşılaştırılmıştır. Mikro analiz ise Ankara'da Keçiören ve Çankaya ilçelerinden seçilmiş iki mahalle parkında (Gökçek ve Ahmed Arif Parkı), temsili mücadelelerin mekânsal sahiplenmeyi nasıl etkilediğini incelemiştir. Bu çalışmanın temelinde 2010-2015 yılları arasında farklı mevsim ve zaman aralıklarında yapılan gözlemler, kullanıcı ve güvenlik görevlileriyle yapılan görüşmeler ve bu çalışmalarla oluşturulan kişisel haritalamalar bulunmaktadır. Mekansal sahiplenme alanlarının haritalanıp karşılaştırıldığı Ahmed Arif Parkı ve Gökçek Parkı mikro ölçekte iki farklı temsil odağını imlemektedir. Bu farklılaşma temelinde 'mekansal praksis' dikkate

alınmıştır ki bu da mahallelerin gündelik yaşamı içinde özel, kamusal ve yarı-kamusal mekanlar arasında deneyimlenen mekansal pratikler, ritimler, gündelik rutinler karşısında festival anları, ve süreklilikler karşısında kopuşlardan oluşmaktadır.

Çalışmanın arka planına ve araştırma bağlamına bakıldığında, problemlematiğin bu şekilde formüle edilmesine yol açan üç temel etken olmuştur. Birincisi, Ankara'nın açık kamusal mekanlarıyla birlikte son yıllarda içinden geçtiği sembolik-mekansal deformasyon sürecinin irdelenmesi gerekliliğidir. 1920'li yıllarda yeni kurulan ulus devletin başkenti olduğu dönemlerden bu yana, Ankara gerek yeni kamusal alanların ve mekanların üretilmesinde gerekse Türk Kent Planlama Tarihi içinde yol gösterici bir yere sahip olmuştur. Ancak son dönemde, yeşil ve kamusal mekanların azaldığı ve niteliğinin yozlaştırıldığı gözlenen bir durumdur. Bu tür mekanların içinde kalınıp deneyimlenen mekanlardan gittikçe içinden geçilip gidilen mekanlara dönüştüğü gözlenmektedir; parçalanmış planlama süreçleri ve rastgele olduğu düşünülen kodlarla yeniden üretildikleri düşünülmektedir. Bu da Ankara'nın başkent ilan edildiği dönemdeki bütüncül ve sistematik planlama ve tasarım yaklaşımlarından uzaklaşıldığı ve on yıllar içinde Ankara'nın kamusal mekan ve yeşil alan dokusunun zedelendiği sonucunu bize dayatmaktadır. Ancak yine de yeşil alanlar da kamusal mekanlar da toplumsal ve politik potansiyellere sahiptir.

Problematiğin aciliyetini oluşturan bir diğer etkense, özellikle 2012 sonrasındaki yeşil siyasasına da bir tepki olarak, Gezi Parkı'na yapılan müdahalenin 2013 Haziran'ında ülke çapında yol açtığı tepki ve bu tepkiyle yeşil alanların kazandığı yeni politik-sembolik anlam ve potansiyellerdir. Bu tepkiler sadece bir yeşil alanın tepeden yeniden düzenlemesine değil, aynı zamanda gündelik hayatlarımıza mekansal dönüşümler ve simgesel dayatmalarla yapılan müdahaleye de bir tepki olarak ortaya çıkmıştır. Bu gerilimler ve bağlamsal etkenler çalışmanın problematiğini formüle ederken her ne kadar etkili olsa da, tezin temelindeki gerilime olan ilgim şehir planlama lisans eğitimimin ilk sınıfındaki stüdyo dersinde okuyup değerlendirdiğimiz Wycherley (1983)'in *Antik Çağlarda Kentler Nasıl Kuruldu* kitabına dayanmaktadır. Kentte yaşayan herkes kamusal mekanlarla özel mekanların birbirinden anlamsal, biçimsel ve işlevsel olarak farklı olduğunu algılar; ayrıca bu mekanların birbirinden ayrı planlama ve tasarım biçimlerine yol açacağını sezmek için de plancı ya da mimar olmaya gerek yoktur. Benim bu farklılık konusunda sıradan bir vatandaşın ötesinde ilgim, planlama 1.sınıf stüdyosunda Priene ve Milet antik kentlerini yeniden tasarlarken ortaya çıktı. Wycherley (1983)'den okuyup antik kent kalıntılarında gözlemlediğimiz, Antik Yunan kentlerinde kamusal mekanların özel mekanlara göre daha

dikkatli ve özenli tasarlandıkları, kentsel gündelik hayatta önemli bir yer tuttukları argümanıydı. Bu, Türkiye'de o zamana kadar deneyimlediğim özel-kamusal mekan ayrımından farklı bir çelişkiye işaret ediyordu; iki farklı kültüre dayanan bu mekansal oluşumlar arasındaki farklılık tezin yazılmasındaki problematiğin temelini oluşturdu.

Antik Yunan kentleşmesinde gözlenen kullanım-tasarım ikiliğini bu kadar çarpıcı kılan, günümüzde Türk kentlerinde kamusal-özel mekanların sahiplenilmesinde gözlemlediğim farklılık oldu. Bir mekanı özel olarak etiketleyip sahiplenmek görece daha kolayken, kamusal mekanların mülkü ve sahipliliğini tanımlamak ve tartışmak Türk kentlerinde göründüğü kadar kolay değildir. Sahiplenme ve mülkiyet, bir mekanın dönüşümünün temel dinamolarındandır. Herkese açık olan ortak mekanların ve bunla ilişikli olarak bu mekanların dönüşümü gerek kentsel gündelik hayatımızın ve gerekse kamusal-özel kimliklerimizin yeniden üretim sürecinde kritik bir noktada durduğu için önemlidir. Bu mekanlar pek çok kişisel ve toplumsal deneyim vadederken, kentlerin en önemli ayırıcı özelliği olan 'öteki'yle temas edilmesini sağlarlar ve çalışma-dinlenme ritimlerinde bireylerin kendilerini yeniden üretmelerine yardımcı olurlar. Kent için de işlevsel ve biçimsel öneme sahiptirler; hem yapılı çevre doğal çevre arasındaki dengenin kurulup kentin nefes almasını sağlarlar, hem de yarattıkları mekansal farklılaşmayla hareket ve duruşlara bir zemin hazırlarlar, bu şekilde kentin ve mekanın okunup deneyimlenmesine olanak verirler.

Yeşil alanlar ise kamusal mekan dokusu içinde özel katmanı oluşturur. Ancak bu salt nötr ve teknik bir fiziksel örüntü değil, bunun ötesinde tarihsel bir birikim süreci ile dönüştürülen dinamik ve sosyal bir üründür. Bu süreç iki mekansal argümanın çatışmalarıyla şekillenir: kurgulanan mekan ve anlamlandırılan mekan. İlk argüman mekanı soyut bir düşünceden somut fiziksel bir girdiye dönüştürürken, ikinci argüman da bu girdinin sosyal ve psikolojik bileşenlerle etkileşerek bir 'yer'e dönüşümünü sağlar. Bu argümanların birikimi yeşil alanların açıklığı, yeşilliği ve kamusallığına nüfuz eder ki bu da kentsel gündelik hayat yoluyla okunup yeniden yazılabilir. Fiziksel olarak gördüğümüzün ötesinde, kurgulanan ve anlamlandırılan mekan temelinde farklılaşan iki mekansal argüman kentsel gündelik hayatı yeniden üretir. Mekanda yaşananlara ya da yaşanan mekan'a odaklandığımızda, bir yandan mekansal praksisin farklı biçim ve ritimlerini görebiliriz. Aynı zamanda yaşanan mekan tasarımın ve kullanımın sınırlarına dair de fikir verir.

Kent içinde devinirken, gözümüze ilk çarpan mekansal biçimlerdir ki bu anlamlandırılan mekana işaret eder. Ancak o mekanı deneyimledikçe, mekansal pratik yoluyla mekan hakkındaki tanışıklığımız derinleşir ve rutinlerle, ritüellerle mekansal yatkınlıklar oluşmaya başlar. Öte yandan, aynı mekan bir kurgulanmış mekandır; mekansal siyasa, plan, program, kodlar, tasarım ve uygulama araçlarının ürettiği bir üründür, ki bu da mekanın temsillerine işaret etmektedir. Bu nedenle, parklar mekansal-politik mücadelelere fon ve konu olan gündelik sahneler olarak işlev de görür. Algı ve kurgu arasındaki gerilim, kentsel yeşil alanların kamusal karakterini, sembolik anlam ve içeriğini ve ayrıca sosyo-mekansal yapısını (yeniden) üretir. Ancak parklar salt politik sahne ve meseleler değildir; aynı zamanda kentlilerin doğayla ve diğer insanlarla temas etmelerine olanak veren ve rekreatif etkinliklere zemin sunan açık kamusal mekan örüntüsünün bileşenidirler. Bu bağlamda, kentsel yeşil alanların doğal ve yapılı kentsel örüntülerin kesişiminde yer alması önemli bir tartışma damarına işaret etmektedir.

İnsanlar Neolitik Çağ'da tarım devrimiyle birlikte yerleşik hayata geçmesinden bu yana, doğal çevre-yapılı çevre arasındaki ilişki defalarca yeniden tanımlanmıştır. Bu ilişkinin ilk fazını avcı-toplayıcı üretim biçiminden tarımsal üretim biçimine geçiş ve bu yolla doğanın belli derecelerde insanın hüküm ve tasarrufu altına alınması oluşturmuştur. Tarım devrimiyle birlikte insanoğlu kendi besinini üretmeye başlamış ve doğanın insafına mahkum olma halinden kurtulmuştur. Uygarlık ve doğa çelişkisinin (ve ilişkisinin) temeli bu üretim biçimi geçişine dayanır. İkinci fazda, Sümer-Babil yazıtlarının ve tek tanrılı dinlerin işaret ettiği, çevrelenmiş ve bu şekilde kutsanmış bir alan olan 'cennet miti'ne işaret eden 'bahçe' kavramı ortaya çıkmıştır. Burada bir ayrıcalık ve sembolik-dinsel nitelik göze çarpar. Bu iki ilksel rotayı takip ederek gelişen doğa-yapılı çevre ikiliğine daha sonra kentsel rekreasyon olgusu da eklenecektir.

Kentsel yeşil alan kavramının günümüzdeki anlamını alması ise asıl sanayi devrimi ile 19. Yüzyıl'ın ikinci yarısından sonra başlamıştır. Sanayi devriminden önce, doğanın kendisi geniş yeşil alanlar, çayırlıklar ve mezarlıklar aracılığıyla, kentte yaşayan insanların rekreatif ve sosyal ihtiyaçlarını karşılıyordu. Bu doğal alanlara ek olarak, bir yandan aristokratlar ve ayrıcalıklı sınıfların kendilerine ait kapalı büyük yeşil alanları bulunmaktaydı. Öte yandan, kentsel yaşam içinde mekansal örüntünün içinden organik olarak çıkmış, meydandan türemiş açık-yeşil alanlar da kapalı büyük saray bahçelerine giremeyen halkın geri kalan kesimi tarafından kullanılmaktaydı.

Doğal ve kentsel alanlar tarım devriminden bu yana ilişki içinde olsa da, kentsel yeşil alanlar 19.yüzyılın ikinci yarısından sonra kentsel ihtiyaç olarak yeniden doğmuş; iki temel güdü etrafında üretilmiştir. Sanayi devrimiyle harap olan kentsel alanlarda sağlıklı mekanlar yaratmak ve işçi sınıfının kendini yeniden üretmesi için rekreasyon alanları oluşturmak. Kent parklarının erken tanımları sembolik ve doğal boyutları içermiş ve kentsel yeşili doğanın bir uzantısı olarak değerlendirmişken, Modernist dönemde ise, ütopyalar ve kapsamlı planlama yaklaşımları, kentsel yeşil alanı fiziksel ve sosyal çevreyi dönüştürme amacıyla 'açık kentsel mekan' olarak araçsallaştırmış ve standardize etmiştir. Kentsel yeşil alanların doğal çevreye ilişkin boyutu ile kentsel alanın bir parçası olma niteliği yer yer çelişmiş, kimi zamansa uyumlanmıştır. Bu ilişkide hangi tarafın ağır bastığına göre yeşil alanın tanımını ve niteliğini de değiştir ki bu konu tezin ikinci bölümünde derinlemesine irdelenmiştir.

II. Dünya Savaşı'ndan sonra refah devleti ve bölüşüm siyasaları içinde, yeşil alanların yerel yönetimlerin sağladıkları kentsel bir hizmet olarak öne çıkması, onu kentsel politikanın konusu haline getirmiş; eşitlik, katılım ve kentsel adalet kavramlarının da yükselişe geçmesi ile 'kamusal mekan' boyutu vurgulanmaya başlanmıştır. Bu tarihsel dönemde, kentsel yeşil alanlar belli planlama ve siyasa çerçevelerinin parçası olarak, kamu kuruluşları ve özellikle yerel yönetimler tarafından üretilip sunulmuş ve bakımı yapılmıştır. Bu dönem, bölüşüm siyasalarının ve refah devlet anlayışının hakim olduğu bir dönemdir ve yeşil alanlar da gerek kentsel refahın gerekse kamusal hizmetin parçası olarak tanımlanıp üretilmiştir. Zamanla, eşitlik, kentsel adalet ve katılım kavramları da yeşil alanların üretilip sunulma ve yönetilme süreçlerinde vurgu noktaları haline gelmiştir.

1970'lerden – Türkiye'de ise özellikle 1980'lerden– sonra, kimlik siyaseti bölüşüm siyasetinin yerini almış ve neoliberal kentleşme süreci öne çıkmıştır. 1970 ve 1980'lerden sonra, siyasaların kimlik siyasetine kayması ve kentsel mekansal üretime neo-liberal yaklaşımların hakim hale gelmesi kentsel yeşil üretim ve sahiplenme sürecinde de üç kritik dönüşüme yol açtı. Bunlardan ilki, 1980'lerle birlikte mekan üretiminde kullanım değerinin yerini değişim değerinin daha etkili biçimde almasıdır. Bunun bir sonucu olarak ve konut alanlarında gözlenen soylulaştırma ve kentsel dönüşüm projelerinin de bir uzantısı şeklinde kamusal mekanlar özelleşme, parçalanma ve dışlanma süreçlerine maruz kalmıştır. İkinci olarak, bu ekonomik bağlam kentsel yeşil alanların üretiminde bir kalite düşüşünü beraberinde getirmiş, kapsamlı planlama yaklaşımları ve bütüncül tasarımlar rafa kaldırılmıştır. Bunun yerine, parçacıl ve günübirlik çözümler öne çıkmış, yeşil alan

tasarımı mekan kalitesinden çok yasada tanımlanan standartlara uyularak oluşturulacak niceliksel bir yaklaşıma indirgenmiş, kaç parkların m² ve kaç tane olduğu öne çıkmıştır. Ayrıca projeciliğin vurgulanması da yeşil alanların doğal kentsel alanlar olmaktan çok yeni projenin prestijini artıracak, konut projesine eklenecek bir araç olarak değerlendirilmesine yol açmıştır. Bununla beraber, kentsel yeşil alanlar, doğal ve tarihi sitler de yok edilme tehlikesiyle karşı karşıya kalmıştır. Son olarak, kimlik siyasetinin öne çıkmasıyla beraber, temsil politikalarının da mekan üretimindeki etki alanı genişlemiştir. Bu nedenle, yeşil alanların ve kamusal mekanların temsil potansiyelleri hem planlama hem de kent siyaseti alanında özel bir yere sahip olmaya başlamıştır.

Bütün bu dönüşüm boyutları, yeşil alanların artık doğal alan kimliğinden kamusal mekan arayüzüne geçtiğini göstermektedir. Ayrıca, bu kamusal mekanlarda temsiller aracılığıyla mekanların sahiplenilmesi ve ele geçirilmesi de gittikçe önem kazanmaya başlamıştır. Diğer bir deyişle, kentsel yeşil alanların tanımının dönüşümünü incelediğimizde, yeşil alanların kent için ve kentli için ne olduğundan çok, artık ne ifade ettiği önem kazanmaya başlamıştır ki bu dönüşümün de temelinde mülkiyet-sahiplilik çelişkisi bulunmaktadır. Son dönemde yeşil alanlar üzerine yapılan çalışmalar daha çok erişilebilirlik, adalet, sosyal-kültürel çeşitlilik ve sürdürülebilirlik, çevresel sorunlar ve kültürel-sosyal kimlik üzerine odaklanmaktadır. Ancak bu çalışmaların çoğu kapsamlı ve bütüncül metodolojilerden yoksundur; yeşil alanların (kamusal mekanlar olarak) sahiplenilmesi ve üretilmesinin diyalektik süreçlerini kavrama yönünden de eksikleri vardır. Bu doktora tezi böylesi bir boşluğu doldurmak niyetiyle yazılmıştır. Araştırma Ankara'daki yeşil alan üretim süreci içinde, sunum ve sahiplenme duraklarının yeşil alanlarda nasıl farklı temsil mekanları oluşturduğunu sorgulamaktadır.

Türkiye kentleşmesinin ve planlama deneyiminin önemli parçalarından biri olan Ankara da, özellikle 1990'ların ortalarından itibaren, sosyo-mekansal ve politik kayma sürecinden geçmektedir. Ankara 1920'lerde kurulan Türkiye Cumhuriyetinin yeni başkenti olarak kurulduğu dönemden itibaren önemli temsil potansiyellerine ve politik içeriğe sahip olmuş; yeni kamular ve kamusal mekanlar yaratmanın yeri ve modeli haline gelmiştir. Bu tez çalışması, hem yeşil alanların doğal karakterinin bozulmasının hem de Ankara'daki bu tarihsel anlamın deformasyonunun izlerini sürüyor. Araştırma sorusunun yanıtı olarak, 1980 sonrasında yaşanan dönüşüm çerçevesinde, Ankara'daki yeşil alanların üretilmesi ve sahiplenilmesi içinde üç durak belirlendi: (1) konut ve kentsel dönüşüm projelerine eklenen 'siyasa aracı' olarak yeşil alanlar; (2) kentsel yeşil kalitesinde parçalanma ve düşüşü getiren

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'siyasa bağlamı' olarak yeşil alanlar; (3) kentsel yeşilin politik ve temsili boyutlarını öne çıkaran 'siyasa alanı' olarak yeşil alanlar. Bütün bu duraklar, kentsel yeşil alanların kendi içinde doğal bir olguyken politik, ekonomik, teknik olgulara bağlanan bir kamusal olguya dönüşmesine işaret etmektedir. Bu dönüşümün planlama ve kentsel politika alanlarında önemli bir problematik alanı olarak ortaya çıkışı tezde tartışılmaktadır.

Tezin giriş bölümünde çalışmanın ilk parçası olan problematik formülasyonu sunuldu. Tez problematiği üç alt soru çerçevesinde irdelendi. Tezin ikinci ve üçüncü bölümlerinde sunulan ve çalışmanın ikinci parçasını oluşturan kavramsal ve teorik çerçeve, kentsel yeşil alanın ne olduğu ve bu mekanlardaki sahiplenmenin ritim ve formunun neden ve nasıl değiştiği sorularına odaklandı. Kavramsal ve teorik çerçeve, aynı zamanda araştırmanın ve araştırmacının yazında nerede durduğuna ve çalışmanın pozisyonuna da işaret etmektedir. Çalışmanın üçüncü parçası tarihsel ve coğrafi bir altlık çalışması olarak tasarlandı ve problematiğin ikinci alt sorusunu yanıtlamayı hedefledi: Ankara'daki yeşil alanlar nasıl ve neden farklılaşmaktadır. Bu çalışma ağırlıklı olarak tezin dördüncü bölümünde sunuldu, yer yer beşinci bölümde makro ve mezo-analizlerle de desteklendi. Tezin dördüncü parçası olan mahalle parklarında mekansal sahiplenmesinin haritalanması çalışması da üç seviyeli bir alan araştırması şeklinde organize edildi ki bu çalışma da sahiplenme biçim ve anlarının nasıl farklı temsil mekanları ortaya çıkarabildiğini sorguladı. Sonuç bölümü, bu çalışmadaki ontolojik, epistemolojik ve metodolojik çerçevelerin ve bulguların bir sentezi olarak yazıldı.

Kentsel açık kamusal mekanlar temsil mekanları olarak üretilip ele geçirilir; aleni ya da gizil mücadelelere sahne ve konu olurlar. 'Kamusal' sıfatı iki türlü sahiplenmeye işaret eder: halkın sahipliliği ve devletin mülkiyeti. Açık kamusal mekanlar ve kentsel yeşil alanlar kamu malı olduğundan herkese açıktır; ancak aynı zamanda resmi kararlarla devlet eliyle üretilir ve düzenlenir. Bu nedenle, bu tür mekanlar ikili üretim ve sahiplenme süreçlerini imler: devlet kurumları aracılıyla yaratılıp yönetilir, halk tarafından algılanır, deneyimlenir ve kullanılırlar. Kamusal mekan olarak yeşil alanlar da bu nedenle iki türlü sahiplenmeye bağlanır; bu ikilik yeşil alanların politik-sembolik içeriğini ve mekan üzerine verilen mücadeleleri beraberinde getirir. Bir yandan, yeşil alanlar kamu malıdır ve herkese açıktır, bu şekilde halk, kamu (ya da farklı topluluklar) tarafından sahiplenilir ve ele geçirilir. Ancak öte yandan kurumlar, imar planları ve hukuki kodlar aracılığıyla devlet eliyle düzenlenirler. Kent sakinleri yeşil alanları, algı, mekansal pratik ve gündelik etkinlikler içinde sahiplenip ele geçirirken; devlet eliyle profesyonel ve bürokratlar, siyasi

aktörler de mekanların gösterimleri aracılığıyla aynı yeşil alanlar üzerine hüküm ve tasarruf hakkına sahiptir. Bu ikili sahiplenme biçiminin çatışması iki yönlü bir sonuçla analiz edilebilir. İlkin bu çatışma gösterim mekanlarını ortaya çıkarır. İkinci olarak da bu çarpışma üç kentsel boyutun yeniden üretilmesi süreci üzerinden okunup tekrar yazılabilir. Bu üç boyut (Castells, 1983): (tarihsel) anlam, (kentsel) işlev ve (mekansal) form'dur. Bu kategoriler dahilinde, kentsel yeşil alanın yeniden üretilmesi üç aşamadan oluşur: (1) yeşil alanın tanımlanması, (2) yaratılması, inşası ve sunulması; (3) yeşil alanın yönetilmesi ve mekansal pratik yoluyla sahiplenilmesi. Bu nedenle, mekansal sahiplenme, bu üretim sürecinin hem bir sonucu hem de bir etkeni olarak ortaya çıkmaktadır. Bu durum yeşil alanların temsil mekanı olarak yeniden üretilme sürecinde ortaya çıkar. Bu varsayımlar Lefebvre'in mekanın sosyal ürün olduğu yönündeki argümanı temelinde kurulmuştur.

Yeşil alanların sahiplenilip ele geçirilmesi, devletin ya da yerel yönetimlerin bir lütfu değildir; aksine bu Lefebvre'in (2011 [1968]) tanımladığı 'kentsel hak' kavramına dahil edilebilir. Bunun ötesinde, hem mekansal sahiplenme örüntüleri hem de kurgulanan-anlamlandırılan mekanlar arasındaki gerilimler kamusal mekanlar üzerine tanımlanan beş hakla da tanımlanabilir. Bu haklar Kevin Lynch (1981) başta olmak üzere, Harvey (1999) ve Carr ve diğerleri (1992) tarafından farklı kavramlarla ifade edilmiştir. Carr ve diğerlerinin (1992) kavramsallaştırmasında bu haklar şu şekilde isimlendirilmiştir: (a) erişilebilirlik, (b) eylem özgürlüğü, (c) iddia, (d) değişim (dönüşüm), (e) mülkiyet, yatkınlık, hüküm ve tasarruf hakkı. Bu kavramlardan özellikle 'mülkiyet' çalışmanın makro, mezo ve mikro analizlerinde gittikçe öne çıkmış ve mekansal sahiplenme (*appropriation*) olarak yeniden çerçevelenmiştir.

Yukarıda belirtilen ikili sahiplenme biçimi ve bunlar arasındaki gerilim salt kentsel mekansal örüntüyü değil aynı zamanda gündelik hayatı ve farklı yaşam çevrelerindeki sosyo-mekansal örgüyü ve politik içeriği de yeniden üretir. Bu konu tezin üçüncü bölümündeki teorik çerçevede üç ölçekte kavramsal olarak irdelenmiştir: (1) yere bağlanma yoluyla bireyin yeniden üretilmesi (beden, ev, park); (2) gündelik yaşam çevresinin (komşuluk birimi / mahalle) kurulması ve yeniden üretilmesi; (3) mekansal sahiplenmeyle kentsel gündelik yaşamın yeniden üretilmesi. Bu ölçekler, tezin hem makro hem de mikro ölçekteki mekansal odakları çerçevesinde incelenmiştir. Tezin yazın taramasına ilişkin haritası üçüncü bölümün sonundaki 3.3-1 numaralı şekilde; soru örgüsü ve metodolojiye dayanarak hazırlanan araştırma haritası ise beşinci bölümün ilk alt başlığını sonunda 5.1-1 numaralı şekilde incelenebilir.

İki farklı kamusallık örüntüsü, iki farklı sahiplenme biçimini imler. Biri, kentsel yeşil siyasası ile ilişkilidir; diğeri ise mekansal pratikle. Dördüncü ve parça parça beşinci bölümlerde sunulan tarihsel-coğrafi çerçeve, Ankara'daki yeşil siyasasını üç boyutuyla değerlendirmiştir: (i) kentsel yeşil felsefesi ve Türkiye'deki kentsel yeşil siyasasının kökenleri; (ii) yasal-yönetsel çerçevelerin tarihsel dönüşümü; (iii) Ankara'daki yeşil alanların ve parkların oluşturduğu fiziksel yapı ve örüntü. Bu üç boyutlu tarihsel-coğrafi çerçeve makro analizde ve sonraki aşamalarda kullanılmak üzere Ankara'daki yeşil alanların dökümü için bir altlık oluşturdu. Aynı zamanda da sözü edilen ilk kamusallık örüntüsüne dair bir fikir verdi. Kent sakinlerinin algı ve deneyimleri ise ikinci örüntüyü şekillendirir; yeşil alanın mekansal sahiplenmesinin farklılaşmasını imler. Bu farklılaşmalar tezin beşinci bölümünde Ankara için analiz edildi. İki farklı kamusallık örüntüsü, yaşanan mekan üzerinde deşifre edilip yeniden yazılabilir.

Farklı bir deyişle, kentsel yeşil alanlar ya tasarımcıların ya da kullanıcıların bakış açısından değerlendirilebilir. Ancak iki bakış açısı da diğeri olmadan tek başına eksik kalacaktır. Bu nedenle bu tez çalışması bu iki bakış açısını aşarak sentezlemeyi ve onların ötesine geçerek yeşil alanları, Lefebrve'in mekansal üçlemelerinin de önerdiği biçimde, daha bütüncül ve kapsamlı bir şekilde ele almayı hedeflemiştir. Bu bağlamda, üç kademede tamamlanan alan araştırmaları Ankara'daki parklardaki mekansal sahiplenme ve ele geçirmelerin biçim ve ritimlerinin nasıl ve neden değiştiğini irdelemiştir. Bu araştırma sorusu üç alt soruda çözümlendi. İlk soru: Ankara'da seçilmiş yeşil alanlar nasıl (kurgulayıcı özneler) tarafından tasarlanmış ve bunun karşılığında mahalle sakinleri bu üretilen ve belli biçimlerde sunulan mekanlarla nasıl ilişki kurup bu mekanları nasıl deneyimlemiş? Bu soru mezo-analiz çerçevesinde incelendi. İkinci olarak: Ankara'da yeşil alanlar (özellikle mahalle parkları) nasıl ve neden farklılaşıyor? Bunla ilişkili olarak bu farklılaşma nasıl mümkün oluyor, hangi mekanizmalar ve süreçler bu farklılaşmayı mümkün kılıyor? Bu soru da makro analizde irdelendi. Üçüncü olarak: kent sakinlerinin seçilmiş olan park ve yeşil alanlarla kurdukları ilişkinin ve bu temelde geliştirdikleri deneyim ve sahiplenmenin ritmi ve biçimi bir sosyo-mekansal örüntü olarak okunabilir mi, bu farklılaşma haritalanabilir mi? Bu soru da mikro analizde iki mahalle parkı incelenerek çözümlendi.

Tüm bu varsayımlar temelinde sunulan bu çerçevenin kentte nasıl bir örüntü oluşturduğu sorgulaması tezin ontolojik problemini gösteriyor. Bu ontolojik temelde, yeşil alanlara ilişkin böylesi bir farklılaşmanın ve örüntünün nasıl ortaya çıkarılıp okunacağı ve okunan bu örüntünün nasıl haritalanacağı tezin epistemolojik problemini oluşturdu. Lefebvre'in

analiz katmanlarından biri olan 'ritimanalizi' ile bu örüntünün haritalanmasını birleştirecek yöntemsel sorgulamalar ise tezin metodolojik problemini ve çerçevesini hazırladı. Bu üç çerçeve, birbiriyle ilişkili olarak tezin sonuç bölümündeki 6-1 numaralı tabloda gösterildi.

Çalışmanın başında sınanmak üzere bir hipotez ortaya atıldı: Makro düzeyde koşullar, araçlar ve mekanizmalar neredeyse homojenken –yani yeşil alanları düzenleyen yasal-yönetsel çerçeveler, planlama ilkeleri ile şehircilik esasları ve yeşil alan siyasaları görece homojen biçimde belirlenirken– mahalle ve semt ölçeğinde bu kadar farklı ve zengin kullanımlar ve biçimleri ortaya çıkaran algılanan mekan ile kurgulanan mekan arasındaki boşluktan kaynağını alan farklı sahiplenme biçimlerinin temsil mekanları ile ilişkisidir. İlk olarak makro düzeyde ve kent ölçeğinde üretim biçimlerinin homojenliği alt hipotezine odaklanıldı; yerel yönetimlerin aralarında ya da kendi içlerindeki olası çatışma alanları ortaya çıkarılmaya çalışıldı. Yasal-yönetsel çerçevenin yerel ölçekte, uygulama düzeyinde ne gibi farklılıklara yol açtığı üzerine düşünüldü.

Makro ve mezo analizler gösterdi ki, yerel yönetimlerin yeşil siyasaları ve üretim biçimleri –hatta özellikle sunum biçimleri– birbirinden farklı temsili nitelikler gösterirken, benzer ekonomik güdüler etrafında şekillenmektedir. Ayrıca yetki kargaşası ve özellikle Büyükşehir Belediyesi ile muhalif ilçe belediyeleri arasındaki mücadeleler de söz konusu tablodaki heterojenliğin önemli bir alt bileşenini oluşturmaktadır. Yerel yönetimlerin iktidar partisine ve Büyükşehir Belediyesine göre pozisyonu değiştikçe üretilen yeşil alanların üretimi ve sunumu da değişmektedir. Ancak, bu üretim sürecinde benzer motifler de dikkat çekmektedir. Bu benzerlikler daha çok kentsel ve politik rant yaratma güdüsü ve yeşil alanların konut bölgelerine ek olarak üretilen ya da belediyenin prestijini artırmak için sunulan mekanlar olarak işlev görmektedir; bu şekilde tanımlanmaktadır.

Bu dönüşüm, yeşil alanların çıkış noktasında doğanın uzantısı olarak tanımlanmasından ve daha çok doğal birer kentsel girdi olarak işlev görmesinden giderek uzaklaştığını ve kamusal mekan boyutunun öne çıktığını akla getirmektedir. Bu da yeşil alanın tanımını değiştirmekle kalmamakta, üretilmesini ve sunulmasını da etkilemektedir. Bunun politik süreçlerle ilişkisini anlamak için Brenner'in (1999a, 1999b, 2003) kentsel siyasa alanında tariflediği devletin yeniden ölçeklendirilmesi süreçleriyle ilgisi olduğu düşünülebilir. Jessop (2002) da bu doğrultuda bu yeniden ölçeklendirmeyi üç kavramla açıklar: ulussuzlaşma (*denationalization*), yeniden devletleşme (*destatization*) ve uluslararasılaşma (*internationalization*).

Bunlara paralel olarak, Türkiye'deki kentleşme pratiğinde ise özellikle 2002 sonrasında gözlenen iki süreci Balaban (2008) 'kuralsızlaşma' (*deregulation*) ve 'liberalleşme' (*liberalization*) olarak tariflemiştir. Buna ek olarak, Duyguluer (2012) de çalışmasında bu bağlamda, Türk Planlama Sistemindeki aşırı parçalanmaya dikkat çekmektedir. Tüm bu dönüşümler, bölüşüm temelli mekansal siyasaların bir kenara bırakılarak, kimlik temelli siyasalara geçilmesiyle de desteklenmiştir. Balaban (2008)'a göre 1980 sonrasında iki evre gözlenmiş; bunlardan ilki planlama otoritelerinin 'yerelleştirilmesi' (*decentralization*), diğeri ise 2002 sonrasında tekrar bu yetkilerin 'merkezileştirilmesi'dir (*recentralization*). Türkiye'deki kentleşmeye bakıldığında, kentin ve kent mekanının bu çerçevede üç yeni anlama kavuştuğu gözlenebilir (Bayırbağ, 2010): (1) 'siyasa aracı olarak kent' [makro politikanın bir parçası olmak, ör: dünya kenti]; (2) 'siyasa bağlamı olarak kent' [kente özel sorunlar, ör: yoksulluk dışlanma, soylulaştırma, ulaşım]; (3) 'siyasa alanı olarak kent' [yönetsel boyut, ör: yönetişim]. Yapılan makro, mezo ve mikro analizlerde kent mekanına ilişkin yapılan bu tanımların yeşil alanın tanımındaki dönüşümü de açıkladığı gözlenmiş ve bu üç boyut temsil mekanı olarak yeşil alanların üç farklı biçimi olduğu öne sürülmüştür.

İlk olarak yeşil alanlar kentsel mekanın yeniden üretilmesinde ve sunulmasında önemli ve özel bir role sahip olmuştur son on yıllar içinde; özellikle kentsel rant üretiminde üretilen konut alanlarının pazarlanmasında bir siyasa aracı olarak kullandığı dikkat çekicidir. Bunu da temelinde mekanın değerinin yeniden tariflenmesi süreci vardır. Son dönemdeki mekanizmalar incelendiğinde, mekan üretiminde kullanım değeri yerine ağırlıklı olarak ve gittikçe artan bir derinlikte değişim değerinin öne çıktığı görülmektedir (Lefebvre, 1976; Harvey, 1985). Bu dönüşüm de akla saf kamu yararı için üretildiği bilinen yeşil alanların bu üretim mekanizmaları içinde doğrudan bir ekonomik ya da politik getirisi olmaksızın nasıl bir işlev gördüğü sorusunu getirmektedir. Bu bağlamda nasıl oluyor da hala yeşil alanlar ve parklar üretiliyor? Özellikle mezo analizdeki çözümlemeler göstermiştir ki, sahte yeşil alanlar yaratılmakta ve bunlar varlıklarını ya eklendikleri konut projelerine borçlu olmaktadır (Hatipçayı Kentsel Dönüşüm Parkının sunumu buna örnektir); ya da parayla girilen eğlence-dinlence odakları olarak kendi varlıklarını değişim değeri üzerinden sağlamaktadırlar ki yeni park tanımı olarak bu tür tema ve eğlence parkları kent sakinlerine sunulmakta hatta empoze edilmektedir (Ankapark buna çok güzel bir örnek oluşturmaktadır). Bunun ötesinde bir üçüncü boyut olarak, kentsel ölçekte ya da planlama disiplini ve yasal çerçevesinde farklı tanımlandığı halde, sahte bölge parklarının önerisi ve özellikle 2012 yılında Büyükşehir Belediyesi ile ilçe belediyeleri arasında çekişmelere

neden olmuş olan 'bölge parkı' tartışmasıdır. Bu da yine sahte yeşil alan kavramı üzerinden geliştirilebilecek bir tartışmadır.

İkinci olarak, 'kentsel yeşil' aşama aşama doğal bir girdi olmaktan çıkıp gittikçe teknik bir konuya indirgenmektedir. Modernist planlama yaklaşımlarından bu yana kentsel yeşil alanlar açık kentsel alan olarak işlev görmüştür ki bu da gittikçe yeşil alanların doğal niteliği ile çelişen bir duruma yol açmıştır. Park yapılı çevrenin bir parçası olarak açık alan mıdır yoksa doğal alan mıdır? Bu damar içindeki gelişme çizgisi incelendiğinde, yeşil alanların doğal çevreden gittikçe yapılı çevreye kaydığı gözlenebilir. Türk planlama çerçevesinde de yeşil alanların nitelik ve niceliğini azaltan üç dönüşüm gözlenmiştir: (a) yeşil alan üretiminin standartları tutturma kaygısıyla sadece teknik bir konuya indirgenmesi, farklı komşuluk birimlerinin ve kullanıcıların otantik özelliklerinin ve ihtiyaçlarının dikkate alınmaması; (b) 3194 sayılı İmar Yasasında yeşil alan üretiminin 18.madde uygulamasına indirgenmesi ve parçacıl yaklaşımlarla üretilmeye mahkum edilmesi; (c) yasal ve yönetsel çerçevedeki yetki kargaşası ve yeşil alan plan ve tasarımının bu nedenle bütünlükten uzak oluşu. Bu dönüşümler, hem yeşil alanların bütünselliğinin bozulması sonucu mekansal örüntüde parçalanmaya hem de kentsel kamusal alanda çöküşe yol açar.

Yeşil alanların yaşadıkları bu deformasyon sürecine ek olarak, aynı zamanda yeşil alanlar artık temsil mekanları olarak da öne çıkmakta, politik bir içerik ve anlam kazanmaktadır. Bu da yeşil alanların temsil araçları ve politik sahne olarak kullanılmasını beraberinde getirmektedir ki tezin odağını da bu boyut oluşturmaktadır. Çalışmada son dönemde yerel yönetimlerin üç güdüyle yeşil alan ürettiği saptanmıştır: (1) oy şeklinde politik kazanç elde etmek; (2) destekleyicilere hediye şeklinde sunulacak olan temsili nişler ve kaleler üretmek; (3) politik mücadelelerde kullanılacak politik sahne ve konular üretebilmek.

Makro analiz ilçe belediyelerinden daha önceki çalışmalarda edinilmiş yeşil alan verilerinin değerlendirilmesi, kentsel parklarda yapılan ön çalışmalar ve ilk derin görüşmeleri kapsamaktadır. Yapılan derin görüşme soruları Ek-A'da sunulmuştur. Bu çalışmanın gösterdiği ilk nokta, belediyelerden elde edilen verilerin yetersizliği ve dengesiz dağılımıdır. Yapılan çalışmalarda gösterilen karşılaştırmalar verinin sağlıksız olduğu izlenimini uyandırmış, yeşil alan üretiminin standartları tutturmak ve niceliksel değerleri analiz etmekten daha öte tutumları gereksindiği fark edilmiştir. Bu veriler yine de ilçeler düzeyinde yeşil alanların kabaca nasıl farklılaştığı ve verinin nasıl değerlendirildiği hakkında fikir vermesi için kullanılmıştır. Aynı zamanda bu veri karşılaştırması mezo analizdeki bulgularla desteklenmiş ve mikro düzeyde bir analiz için Çankaya ile Keçiören

Belediye'sindeki yeşil alanların öne çıktığı saptanmıştır. Çünkü verilere göre bu ili belediyede de standartların çok altında kalmış ve yetersiz servis veren belediyeler gibi saptanmışken, derin görüşme ve gözlemler bu argümanın tersini söylemiştir.

Makro analiz kapsamında, Kuğulu, Kurtuluş ve Seğmenler Parklarında beş derin görüşme yapıldı. Sorular üç kategoriden oluştu; ilk kategori kullanıcıların kişisel hikayeleri içinde demografik yapılarını irdelemek için oluşturuldu. İkinci kategoride park deneyimi içindeki rutinleri ve alışkanlıkları sorgulandı. Üçündü kategoride ise parkların tarihsel anlamı, işlevi ve mekansal formuna ve mekansal haklara ilişkin algı ve görüşler tartışıldı. Yapılan görüşmelerde az sayıda olsa da görüşmecilerin çok zengin ve farklı profillerinin temelde kişisel hikayeleri ve yeşil alan yatkınlıkları çerçevesinde şekillendiği belirlendi. Benzer bir demografik arka plana sahip olsa da mekansal pratiğin kullanıcılar arasında çok farklılaştığı belirlendi. Ayrıca, her görüşmeciye aynı sorular sorulduğu halde, her bir park ve görüşme kendi odağını belirledi. Kuğulu Park'ta daha çok kuğuların parktaki varlığı ve kullanıcıların çocukluk anıları öne çıkarken, Kurtuluş Parkı'nda güvenlik problemi, tinerci çocukların önceki varlığı ve parkın daha güvenli bir yer haline dönüşüm projesi vurgulanmıştır. Seğmenler Parkı'nın ise 'köpeklerin parkı' olarak etiketlendiği ve daha üst sınıfların kullandığı bir park olarak algılandığı saptanmıştır.

Tezin başında sınıfsal bir analiz hedeflenmiş, ancak çalışma ilerledikçe gerek kentsel parklarda gerek mahalle parklarında bunu yapmanın zorlukları ve tercih edilen teorik ve metodolojik çerçevenin yetersizliği baş göstermiştir. Bu bir yandan teorik çerçevenin daha sonra vurgusunun temsil mekanına kaymasından hem de seçilen alanlarda sınıf temelli farklılaşmayı saptayacak araçların bulunmamasından kaynaklanmış olabilir. Aslında park deneyiminin temelinde sınıfsal bir farklılaşma olduğu sezilmiş, ancak bu yapılan alan araştırmasının niteliğinin bu konudaki darlığı ve yetersizliği nedeniyle, Ankara bütününe genellenememiştir. Daha sonraki çalışmalarda bu farkındalık üzerinde daha farklı araştırmalar kurgulanıp yürütülebilir.

Mezo analiz boyunca yapılan derin görüşmelerin gösterdiği ilk bulgu farklı deneyimlere ve kalite kriterlerine karşın, görüşülen yedi kullanıcıdan hemen hepsinin Ankara'daki yeşil alanları yetersiz buluşuydu. Bunun ötesinde iki konuda daha şikayetler olduğu saptandı. Bunlardan ilki, belediyeler iyi hizmet götürse bile kullanıcıların park kültüründen yoksun oluşu ve parkları kötü kullandıklarıydı. Diğeri ise, parklarda 'yeşil'in ve 'doğa'nın olmamasıydı ki bu da sahte yeşil alan argümanını destekleyen bir veri olarak kullanıldı. Park deneyimini belirleyen tercihler ve rekreatif alışkanlıklar sınıf, yaş, cinsiyet gibi

etkenler çerçevesinde farklılaşırken, yine en çok kişisel ve kolektif hikayeler üzerinden şekillenmektedir. Ayrıca kullanıcının yaşadığı mahallenin niteliği ve yeşil alan kalitesi, erişilebilirliği, güvenliği kullanıcının tercih ve deneyimini şekillendiren en önemli etkenlerden biri olarak ortaya çıktı. Ayrıca kullanıcıların bir hayali bir de gerçek yeşil alan deneyimleri olduğu ve bu ikisi arasındaki farkın da yeşil alandan tatmin düzeylerini belirlediği saptandı. Özellikle Çankaya (Dikmen), Yenimahalle (Batıkent) ve Keçiören'de yaşayan kullanıcıların parklarından memnun oldukları gözlendi. Güvenlik ve yürüme mesafesinde olma kriterlerinin en çok aranan iki kriter olduğu saptandı. Mamak'ta yaşayan görüşmecilerin ise park hizmetinden memnun olmadıkları, hatta parkları kullanamadıkları daha çok (Eymir Gölü ve Mavigöl gibi)kent çeperindeki büyük ve doğal rekreasyon alanlarını tercih ettikleri saptandı. Bu görüşmelerde iki eğilim olduğu ortaya çıktı. Kullanıcılar ya kendi mahalle ve semtlerindeki parklara sıkışmakta ya da mahalle ve semtlerinden uzakta ancak araçla ulaşabilecekleri büyük doğal yeşil alanlara kaçmaktalar. Bu bulgulardan yola çıkarak tüm Ankara geneline dair bir sonuç çıkarılamasa da bir fikir edinilebilir. Ancak bulguların gösterdiği Ankara kentinde yeşil alanlara dair bir parçalanma ve yabancılaşma olduğu yönündedir ki bu konuda daha fazla araştırma ve çalışma yapılması gerekmektedir. Göksu Park ve Gençlik Parkı gibi büyük kentsel parklara gitme alışkanlığının seyrekleştiği de sonraki çalışmalarda hipotez olarak ortaya konabilir.

Son olarak, mikro analiz de makro ve mezo analizlerin gösterdiği bulguları destekledi. Öncelikle incelenen mahalle parklarının birer doğal çevre olmaktan çok birer yapılı çevre ve kamusal mekan niteliğinin öne çıktığı saptandı. Bunun ötesinde, haritalama çalışmaları iki tür mekansal sahiplenmeyi imledi. Gökçek Parkı'nda rekreatif etkinlikler yoğunlaşırken daha çok Gençlik Derneği olarak bilinen bir binanın çevresinde görece tepeden aşağı gerçekleşen bir simgesel sahiplenme durağı saptandı. Ahmed Arif Parkı'nda ise politik pratiklerin de rekreatif etkinliklerin yanında daha çok yer aldığı ve amfiyatro gibi daha açık nitelikli bir alanda daha tabandan yukarı doğru bir sahiplenme durağına işaret ettiği gözlendi.

Bu doktora tezi, mekansal sahiplenme, temsil mekanları ve fiziksel biçimler arasındaki ilişkileri kavramak için bir altlık ve arka plan sunmaktadır. Yeşil alanların sosyal ve doğal nitelikleri aynı zamanda bu mekanların kamusallık, açıklık ve yeşillik derecelerini de göstermektedir. Bu tür bir farkındalık ve bu temelde yapılacak çalışmalar, alternatif yeşil alan siyasaları ve tasarımları için bir yol açacaktır ki sahte yeşil alanlar üretmektense bu tür bir çabaya ihtiyaç duyulmaktadır.

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Semester	Course	Assisting
2005-2010 Spring Semesters	UPL 548, *Urban Conservation & Municipal Behaviour*	Assoc. Prof. Dr. Emre Madran
2007-2008 Spring and Autumn	UPL 522, UPL 511, *Urban Pol. Plan. and Governments Studio I & II*,	Prof. Dr. Melih Ersoy and Assoc. Prof. Dr. H. Tarık Şengül
2008-2010 Autumn Semester	UPL 527, *Legal & Administrative Analysis of Urban*, and UPL 532, *Urban Politics,*	Prof. Dr. Ruşen Keleş
2010 Autumn Semester – 2013 Spring	ARCH 708, *Housing & Discourse – I,* and ARCH 709, *Housing & Discourse – II*	Prof. Dr. Ali Cengizkan

2012 Autumn Semester – 2013 Spring	ARCH 713, *Housing Research & Design Studio – I,* and ARCH 714, *Housing Research & Design Studio – II*	Prof. Dr. Ali Cengizkan

FOREIGN LANGUAGES

Advanced English, Intermediate Japanese, Intermediate German, Beginer Italian

PUBLICATIONS

1. **'**Kızılay Meydanı'nın Politik-Sembolik Anlamı: 1960-1964 Yılları Arasında DP Karşıtı Hareket', in *Mülkiye Dergisi*, Mülkiyeliler Birliği Genel Merkezi Yayını, Kış/2008, cilt: XXXII, sayı: 261, pp. 133 – 150 (2008)

2. **'**1960 Devrimi'nin Simgesel Mekanı Kızılay Meydanı', pp. 109 – 117, in *Cumhuriyet Devrimi'nin Yolu: Atatürk Bulvarı*, (ed. H. Çağatay Keskinok), Koleksiyoncular Derneği Yayını, 2009, Ankara, (2009)

3. Toplumcu Yerel Yönetimler Atölyesi, TMMOB Kentleşme ve Yerel Yönetimler Sempozyumu, 20–21 Şubat 2009, (2009)

4. **'***The Political Struggle on and at Kizilay Square with Respect to Perceived, Conceived and Lived Public Space before and after 1980*', in the PhD Seminar on Public Space in TUDelft, Delft, Holland

5. **'**Ankara'da bir kent gezgini (Flaneur) olma şansı var mıdır?', in *Trafik Dergisi*, Ankara Trafik Eğitim ve Sağlık Hizmetleri A.Ş. Yayını, Temmuz-Ağustos-Eylül 2009, sayı: 34, pp. 26–27 (2009)

6. **'**Ankara'da Her Yolun Çıktığı Semt: Kızılay', in *İdeal Kent – Kent Araştırmaları Dergisi*, İdeal Kent Araştırmaları Yayınevi, Ocak 2014, sayı: 11, pp. 118–137 (2014)

HOBBIES

Literature (writing, reading), different cultures (especially Japanese culture), Foreign Languages (especially Japanese and Italian), traveling, figure (ice) skating, aikido, flute, yoga

APPENDIX – J. TEZ FOTOKOPİSİ İZİN FORMU

ENSTİTÜ

Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü

Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü

Uygulamalı Matematik Enstitüsü

Enformatik Enstitüsü

Deniz Bilimleri Enstitüsü

YAZARIN

Soyadı : İLKAY

Adı   : YASEMİN

Bölümü : Kentsel Politika Planlaması ve Yerel Yönetimler Anabilim Dalı

TEZİN ADI (İngilizce) :
  (Re)production and Appropriation of Open Public Spaces:
  Representational Moments for Urban Green in Ankara

TEZİN TÜRÜ : Yüksek Lisans   Doktora

1. Tezimin tamamından kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir.

2. Tezimin içindekiler sayfası, özet, indeks sayfalarından ve/veya bir
    bölümünden kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir.

3. Tezimden bir bir (1) yıl süreyle fotokopi alınamaz.

TEZİN KÜTÜPHANEYE TESLİM TARİHİ:

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