

DIFFERENTIATION OF USE AND PROVISION STRATEGIES OF URBAN
PARKS: AN EVALUATION OF PARKS IN URBAN TRANSFORMATION
PROJECTS IN ANKARA

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ABSTRACT

DIFFERENTIATION OF USE AND PROVISION STRATEGIES OF URBAN PARKS: AN EVALUATION OF PARKS IN URBAN REGENERATION PROJECTS IN ANKARA

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Urbanization strategies have usually been shaped by the historical changes in economic and political discourses in a society. Along with the changing economic and political discourses, powerful groups of the time have also been influential on the strategies that shape urban space. Urban parks, as essential components of urban space, were also affected by changes in economic and political discourses as well as actions of powerful groups. Even though the production strategies and usage purposes of urban parks have changed over time, the only thing that did not change is that the parks are representative places of specific groups. In Ankara, from the first urban park to today, urban parks usually represented the powerful groups but provision strategies of these parks have changed over time.

This thesis aims to understand the meaning and provision strategies of urban parks that are produced recently within urban regeneration projects for providers and users of the parks. Moreover, the thesis clarifies that urban parks are not only public spaces but also the reflections of ideological, political and financial concerns of their time. In order to achieve these goals, the thesis includes a comparative evaluation of the urban parks produced in different periods in Ankara since the Republican era. The empirical focus of investigation is on urban transformation projects developed around a large green area in the post-2005 period in Ankara. The findings of this research uncover the rationale behind and the meaning of urban parks in North Ankara Entrance, South Park Ankara and Göksu urban regeneration projects for municipal authorities, project developers, newcomers and gecekondu dwellers.

Keywords: Urban Regeneration, Urban Green Spaces, Urban Parks, Production of Space, Ankara

ÖZ

KENT PARKLARININ FARKLI KULLANIM VE SUNUM STRATEJİLERİ: ANKARA'DA KENTSEL DÖNÜŞÜM PROJELERİ İÇERİSİNDE ÜRETİLEN PARKLARIN DEĞERLENDİRMESİ

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Tarihsel süreç içerisinde ekonomik ve politik söylemlerdeki değişimler kentleşme stratejilerini de değiştirmiştir. Değişen ekonomik ve politik söylemler ile birlikte o dönemde güçlü olan sınıflar bu stratejiler üzerinde etkili olmuştur. Kentlerin bir parçası olan kent parkları da bu değişimlerden etkilenmiştir. Tarihsel süreçte kent parklarının üretim stratejileri ve kullanım amaçları değişim gösterse de değişmeyen tek şey üretilen parkların belirli bir sınıfın temsil mekânları olması durumudur. Ankara'da da kent parklarının ilk örneklerinden günümüze kadar olan süreçte, güçlü sınıfları temsil eden ancak söylemsel olarak değişiklik gösteren parklar üretilmiştir.

Bu tezin amacı, yakın dönemde Ankara'da kentsel dönüşüm projeleri içerisinde üretilen parkların arz ve talep grupları için ne ifade ettiğini anlamak ve bu alanların

kamusal bir alan olmaktan öte farklı ideolojik ve politik mekanlar olduğunu açığa çıkarmaktır. Bunu yaparken de Ankara’da Cumhuriyet döneminden itibaren farklı dönemlerde üretilen kent parklarına ilişkin karşılaştırmalar yapılmıştır. Tezin inceleme alanine, 2005 sonrası içerisinde büyük yeşil alan kullanımı barındıran kentsel dönüşüm projeleri oluşturmaktadır. Kuzey Ankara, Güneypark ve Göksu kentsel dönüşüm projeleri ile planlanan bu parkların belediye, inşaattan sorumlu proje sahipleri, gecekondü sahipleri ve yeni konut sakinleri açısından ne ifade ettiğı tezin temel bulgularını oluşturmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kentsel Dönüşüm, Kentsel Yeşil Alanlar, Kent Parkı, Mekan Üretimi, Ankara

To My Family

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Urban space is changing and evolving over time. From past to present, with the change of political, economic and social issues, the ways and purposes of intervention into urban space are also changing. When analyzed in a historical manner, it is obvious that development of urban space is highly influenced or shaped by special groups that are powerful in economic, social or political terms. Byrne and Wolch (2009) benefit from Lefebvre and Harvey's thoughts in order to explain the effects of these powerful groups on production of urban space. Lefebvre mentions that the imagery of urban is created under the hegemony of elites. Like Lefebvre, Harvey supports the idea that development of urban area cannot be thought without social phenomena and indicates that urban area is shaped by powerful groups or class (Byrne and Wolch, 2009).

Being powerful as a social group or having a power to influence socio-spatial processes is in fact a matter of time and geography. The factors that distinguish social groups can be political, social, ethnical or economic. To choose one or several segregation factors is about political thoughts. Because political thoughts vary according to period and geography, the causality that contributes to the definition of powerful groups is shaped by time and geography. This differentiation can be best exemplified by India and America. While, in India, powerful groups are economically advantageous people, in America, powerful groups are described by ethnic and economic factors.

Described as “the lungs” or “the oasis” of cities which are full of concrete buildings, parks are the primary recreational areas within the urban environment (Chiesura,

2004; Sarkowicz, 2003; Young, 1995). If urban space is shaped by actions of powerful groups, the urban parks then are similarly shaped by these powerful citizens of cities. In other words, urban green areas are not just produced as public spaces but also products of the ideological and political thoughts of their time. In general, production of urban parks is also seen as elitist actions because they usually are produced to offer pre-determined way of life like modern life (Byrne & Wolch, 2009). Urban parks which contain elitist discourse and effects of powerful groups are used mostly by powerful groups. Hence, urban parks, which are defined as public spaces, are actually produced according to the use of a particular class. In order to understand whether these public spaces are produced for specific class or not, the periods which are from emergence of urban parks to present must be analyzed with their economic, political and social motivations. To do this, it would be crucial to examine the main motivations behind development of urban green areas historically starting from 18th century to today. Such an examination has to be made in relation to urbanization strategies of the time periods in question. The results of this examination would highlight the links between development of urban parks and the ideological and political motivations behind urbanization strategies.

In the 18th century cities, urban parks were not public spaces, they were only present in place such as the Palace or the King's Garden. For this reason, urban parks of the time served mainly to the ruling class. Back then, open areas were squares and green areas were just urban parks which were used by the ruling class. Up to Industrial Revolution, the use purposes of urban parks were related to their political value in addition to their potential to increase the popularity of the rulers. After the Industrial Revolution, the need for healthy urban areas increased and this led to the opening of urban parks to citizens and thus public use. In other words, the Industrial Revolution has changed urbanization practices significantly in line with the new economic, political and social practices.

Migrations to urban areas in the 19th century brought about unhealthy urbanization practices. Urban centers were damaged by the huge population growth and industrial impacts. Urban areas became centers of chaos and environmental pollution. As a

result, the elites living in the city center began to leave the core or central parts of cities. For this reason, the bourgeois class began to live on peripheries of the city while the working class was located in the city center. For elites, residential areas which had urban parks started to be developed in the periphery of the city. Thus, in order to attract the attention of the elites and upper income groups, residential areas with urban parks were presented as healthier. Therefore, the city parks were being used by the powerful classes with the purpose of running away from the unsavory and eye-sore-view of the city. Urban parks were used by property developers as an economic added value in this period, As a result of the fact that they were built for the elite for aesthetic reasons, in this period, urban parks began to drift away from the public usage.

In this period, urban centers turned into depressed areas due to the migration of the elite from center to periphery. New strategies for regenerating the depressed areas were produced and the bourgeois class living on the urban periphery were tried to be attracted to the centers with these strategies. If it is remembered that urban parks are an elitist rhetoric, in order to attract this class, urban parks were used as more clean, green and modern urbanization items. The parks built in Glasgow, for instance, have the intention of pulling the elites into the dirty and depressed city center as a result of industrialization in order to gentrify the area (Byrne & Wolch, 2009). Moreover, working classes, who lived in the city center, were effected by bad conditions of the city. Therefore, the need for improving the urban environment within the city center became an important issue. Also, for employers, to increase the productivity of the working class, the idea of increasing the quality of urban space by opening urban parks for public received political and community support. Hyde Park is one of the examples of urban parks which were opened to public use, before being used by the ruling class for hunting and relaxing for a long time.

When it comes to the first half of the 20th century, new economic and political discourses began to take place with the end of World War II. Welfare state policies and democratization trends created the idea that every area produced in the city should be equally benefited by all citizens. Although “parks for everyone” became a

dominating thought, urban practices at that time created only mathematical equations based on quantitative values. The real users or target groups of urban parks were ignored. With the economic crisis, welfare state policies lost their importance and a brand new policy took place in order to overcome these problems. This novel policy is called the Neoliberalism.

As it is mentioned by Koç (2011, 41), urbanization strategies started to be shaped or influenced by the importance given to added value in the economy in the period of Neoliberalism. In other words, urban areas themselves began to be seen as items which create the economic surplus or rent. As a result, the investments made in the urban space have been increased and cities began to be concreted by massive infrastructure investments. Over time the potential of profitmaking via the built environment has turned urban investments into a likely solution to the crises of capitalist accumulation. As a result, brownfields and unplanned urban areas have become the sites of urban transformation as a major form of profit-oriented built investments.

Urban transformation became a major factor in development of urban areas in the direction of neoliberal strategies. In global markets, cities with open competition have tried to create many strategies with urban transformation projects in order to survive in such a competitive environment. The phenomenon of urbanization that emerged with globalization and neoliberalism at the beginning of the 21st century created the concept of city branding and this concept became the basic strategy that cities use for marketing and surviving the competition.

The cities that were branded with various definitions were formed around green spaces and sustainable development discourses as a result of the increase in the importance of environmental crises within the 21st century. In order to attract the interest of powerful groups, the marketing strategy and to hide the undesirable results that occur in the project, a number of urban projects have been produced with the urban green areas. As a result, in this period the state is now designing green public spaces to strengthen its economy (Inroy, 2000).

While public and private sectors produced urban transformation projects that included green spaces, they focused on strategies such as branding, marketing or segregation, and projects were made for certain groups of the society. Gentrification within urban transformation projects is masked by urban green areas which are produced in these projects. For example, as it is mentioned by Ghertner (2010), in Delhi, urban transformation projects which led to gentrification were introduced as “Cleaner Delhi Greener Delhi” in order to hide the gentrification process. After this transformation in Delhi in 2000, people living in slum areas had to leave their homes for upper income groups. The transformations that took place in Detroit and Los Angeles were also the use of art parks and the removal of the poor from these areas (Pincetl, 2007). When we look at all these projects, it can be said that production of the park was actually used as a tool of “gentrification” but at the same time it was used by project producers as a marketing and competitive strategy. Dooling (2009) and Gould & Lewis (2012) explain what the usage purpose of urban parks produced in urban transformation project is in their research. With these research, two concepts were found. While Dooling (2009) used ecological gentrification as a term, Gould & Lewis (2012) called the same concept as green gentrification in order to explain the urban transformation in Delhi.

As it is seen in the historical development of urban parks, urban parks are more than just public spaces. They are the reflections of political and ideological thoughts of their time and they are developed to serve for specific purposes and for social groups according to these thoughts. Moreover, urbanization dynamics also affect the locations and main features of these green areas. Although, the locations of urban parks were in city centers originally, their locations have shifted from centers to peripheries with rapid urbanization. After the emergence of brownfield areas due to deindustrialization along with the rise of green and sustainable urbanization ideas, urban parks started to be developed in central areas as well as unhealthy peripheral areas. All these changes supported the idea that urban parks were the ideological and political items in addition to being green public areas and the development process of these areas were affected from these thoughts in addition to urbanization trends.

Ankara have passed through similar processes that changed urban parks through development motivations. From the declaration of Ankara as the capital city to present, urban parks have been the reflections of political and ideological thoughts rather than just being public spaces.

Since the declaration of the Republic, the state has played a dominant role in production of urban parks, and the produced parks seem to serve for specific groups and reflect the dominant opinion of the period. Although, the powerful groups have been changing since the proclamation of the Republic, the only thing which they share in common is having economic and political power. In order to understand this process better, we can examine the green space policies of Ankara city which have been shaped by the dynamics of urbanization in Ankara in 4 different periods such as 1923-1950, 1950-1980, 1980-2000 and from 2000 to present.

In the period between 1923 and 1950, Ankara was declared as the new capital and planned urbanization initiatives were set for the first time. It was seen that the state's role was predominant in these years and it was aimed to guide urban development with the idea of westernization and creating a national identity. Thus, it was thought as national and modern urbanization befitting the capital of Turkey. At that time, lack of urban planners and architects in the country required to get professional help from foreign professionals. Lörcher and Jansen plans were developed during this period and these plans proposed systematically planned green areas in Ankara. However, in urban parks both in Lörcher and Jansen's plans, there were events and activities which were related to bourgeois class. In short, these urban parks were developed for bourgeois' leisure. Though they were designed to develop national identity, they were planned for the elite and seem to have neglected the other socio-economic classes. Also, these urban parks were located in the city center and along the main roads. This would be helpful to socialize these groups into the city center. Moreover, these urban parks were multi functional which are recreation, education, socialization, national identity reflection and sports.

During the period between 1950 and 1980, a different economic and political order created a different model of urbanization. In this period, as mentioned above, we see that Welfare State policies were taking place. In addition to this political change, the transition from the agricultural economy to industrialization began, too. In line with these dynamics, the migration to urban areas began to boom and the population of cities increased unexpectedly. With the increase in population, the plans produced in the previous period became insufficient which led to the occurrence of uncontrolled growth. In this process, the gecekondu areas that popped up also started to destroy pre-existing green areas. Yucel Uybadin's plan was prepared only for the population and settlement needs and there were almost no concern in this plan over urban green space provision. In addition to this, during this period, with the migration from rural to urban areas, the city now had different social groups, and urban parks became the meeting places of these classes. Over time, these areas have become the stage of social movements, and in the following periods, the public have been made to minimize and control these parks. Different than the previous period, there was no specific policy for urban green area provision in this period. Although, development of urban parks was not considered, existing parks and green areas started to be minimized by public and rapid urbanization.

In the period between 1980 and 2000, the Welfare State policies were replaced by the Neoliberal policies because of the economic crisis that followed the oil crisis in the 1970s. Along with the transition of public intervention to the policies set by market economies, most of the public authority responsibilities were transferred to the private sector. The most important transformation that took place in this period in terms of urbanization was no longer the delivery of use value but instead the increase of exchange value and the gaining of urban rent. Urbanization in this recent era usually takes place as a project-based activity rather than planned development. The 2025 urban macroform proposed by the city's master plan was prepared in this period. In this plan, while systematic decisions related to urban green areas were not made, the existing green areas were opened to destruction by further profit-oriented development. In other words, profit-oriented growth and increased construction

activity have led to the loss of existing green spaces in Ankara. Although some neighbourhood parks were developed during this period, we did not observe development of any large-scale urban parks within the city until 2000s. From 2000 to present, urban parks discourses mentioned by Ankara Greater Municipality have gained importance. Parallel with this political thoughts, large-scale urban parks and recreational areas have started to be developed after this period. From 2000 to the present, some of these large-scale urban parks were developed by the municipality as part or component of the urban transformation projects.

Several studies that focus on the use and other aspects of urban parks in Ankara have been conducted. For instance, Demir (2005) aimed to examine the profile of the visitors of the Gençlik Park in addition to examining their motives to use the park and their satisfaction level. Demir (2005) showed that after the elite moved from the city center around 1960s and 1970s, Gençlik Park is now mostly visited by the poor not the elite, especially by the housewives, the retired citizens, students and the unemployed who mostly reside in the northern parts of Ankara. In this study, it was also found out that the park was generally used for sitting, resting, enjoying the view, walking and entertaining the kids. Though it was conducted in another city, namely Kütahya, Aktaş Üstün et al. (2018) indicated that urban parks are also widely used for sport activities. According to Özdemir (2009) the use of urban parks in Ankara is not related to individual reasons but social ones. In contrast to Demir's study (2005), Özdemir (2009) asserts that urban parks in Ankara cannot be viewed as belonging to just one group or social class.

Although there are some other studies conducted on urban parks of Ankara, there are almost no studies or research that focused on urban parks produced as part of or within urban transformation projects in Ankara in the 21th century. This fact is the one of the main motives for this research which set out to examine the 21th century urban parks in Ankara. Another reason to make the research on urban parks in urban transformation projects in Ankara is the contradiction between recent urbanization dynamics and urban green areas discourses produced by Ankara Greater Municipality. As it is seen in historical perspective, the green areas that have been

destroyed since 1950s started to be used as a main discourse of development policies by the metropolitan municipality when we come to the 21st century. In a similar way, “Greener Ankara” advertisements prepared by the metropolitan municipality can be seen in various places in Ankara. In addition to the “Greener Ankara” rhetoric, when urban transformation projects are introduced, the importance of parks is emphasized by the municipality. Therefore, in this study, urban parks are not seen just as public spaces but are considered as ideological and political reflections of their periods. In order to understand the demand and supply motivations behind the development of urban parks in transformation projects, a comparison between urban parks of early Republican era and the 21th century will be made.

I.I. The Aim and Scope of the Research

In this context, the aim and scope of this research is three-fold: (1) to understand the historical evolution of urban parks in Ankara and other parts of the Globe, (2) to explain how the politics and ideology behind development of urban parks differs, (3) to understand the importance and provision strategies of urban parks in urban transformation projects from the viewpoint of different stakeholders and participants.

In order to understand the historical evolution of the ideology and politics behind development of urban parks in Ankara and the world and the processes of the use and provision of urban parks, three question will be answered by means of the review and evaluation of the related literature.

- 1) How do urban parks and their development processes evolve historically? Which are the main target groups of urban parks and what are the main reasons for development of these areas?
- 2) How did the use and provision strategies of urban parks in Ankara change from early Republican era to today? What are the main motives behind development of urban parks for demand and supply sides? Which are the main groups that benefit from urban parks? Are there any similarities between the strategies implemented in international examples and Ankara?

- 3) In the 21th century, why have urban parks started to be developed in urban transformation projects? What is the main motive behind this strategy for demand and supply sides?

After answering these questions, in order to analyse the meaning and provision strategies of urban parks in urban transformation projects from the viewpoint of different stakeholders and participants, four other questions will be answered by the help of the field study.

- 1) Why have urban parks been produced as part of urban transformation projects? Are they developed as parts of the urban green system or are they just project based developments? What are the main strategies to develop these areas?
- 2) Are there any benefits of the urban parks for project developers? Do they want to make investments on these urban parks? If so, why?
- 3) What are the effects of urban parks on rightholders – gecekondü dwellers?
- 4) Do urban parks have an impact on the sale of houses produced in urban transformation projects?

I.II. Methodology of the Research

The reseach design of this thesis is based on literature review for the first set of research questions and case study research for the second set of research questions. As one of the qualitative research designs, case study research requires the intensive study of a case or cases (Glesne, 2011). This intensive study of a case or cases often involve in-depth interviewing and document collection and analysis (Glesne, 2011).

In this study, multiple case study design is adopted. Three urban parks have been chosen as the cases to be examined in the scope of this research. The main reason to select these urban parks is that all of them are produced within urban transformation projects. There are also other urban parks which are planned to be produced in urban transformation projects but these projects have not started yet. Therefore, urban transformation projects which locate an urban park within its borders and are at a

certain level of development have been chosen as the case studies. These cases are Göksu Urban Transformation Project (Göksu UTP), North Ankara Entrance Urban Transformation Project (North Ankara Entrance UTP) and South Park Ankara Urban Transformation Project(South Park Ankara UTP). In order to answer the second set of research questions, interviews were made with different target groups. Because the level of development of urban transformation projects is different, the participants of the interviews differ from project to project.

Table I.II.I. : Number of Interviews (prepared by the author of the thesis)

Project Names	Target Groups			
	Municipality	Project Developer	Gecekondu Dwellers	Newcomers
Göksu UTP	1	2	Not existent	10
North Ankara Entrance UTP	1	3	25	Not existent
South Park Ankara UTP	1	2	Not existent	Not existent

Table I.II.I. shows the target groups which were interviewed. In South Park Ankara UTP, project developers did not let to make interviews with newcomers because of security concerns. Therefore, the information about this project could only be taken from the municipality and the project developer. In Göksu UTP, there are not any gecekondu dwellers in the area. The project area was empty so the target group was restricted with the municipality, the project developer and newcomers. Lastly, for North Ankara Entrance UTP, interviews were made with the municipality, the project developer and gecekondu dwellers because the houses to be sold were still under construction. Within the scope of the fieldwork, interviews were held with 25 participants which include 13 participants in the residential area and 12 participants in the parking area. All newcomers and gecekondu dwellers people were housewives

and had similar age groups-elderly. Thus, it is intended to reduce the factors that affect the use of the park in different times. All interviews ended when the same answers started to be received.

As for the data collection method, semi-structured interview method was utilized. To understand the reasons of the behavior of Ankara Greater Municipality, the interviews were held with project officers. The questions of semi-structured interview were as below for this target group:

- 1) What are the reasons to choose these areas as urban parks or recreation areas?
- 2) Are there any advantages or disadvantages to improve these urban parks?
- 3) What is the percentage of urban parks in this urban transformation project?

Another supply side of the development of urban parks is the project developer. Therefore, semi structured interviews were made around these three questions:

- 1) What is the importance and use of the park in the project?
- 2) Have did you make any investment in the park?
- 3) What are the advantages and disadvantages of the park to the project?

In order to understand the demand side of the project, the following questions were asked to the gecekondü dwellers:

- 1) For how long have you been living here?
- 2) How often do you use the park?
- 3) What are the reasons for using or not using the park?
- 4) What are the advantages and disadvantages of the park for you?

The last set of interviews were made with newcomers around the following questions:

- 1) For how long have you been living here?
- 2) Which features of projects that you paid attention to buy this house?
- 3) What do you think about the park which is yet to be developed?

All these interviews help to understand the demand and supply side strategies and usage of urban parks. Because all projects have different development levels, in the framework of all these interviews, the strategies and opinion of supply and demand side can be analyzed totally. In case studies, it is important to triangulate the data, which means collecting data from different resources such as interviews, documents and observations (Glesne, 2011). Therefore, in addition to literature review and interviews, plans of the urban transformation projects and advertisement brochure of the housing projects were also examined. Analyses of the data collected in this research are based on content analysis.

This study consists of 5 chapters. Chapter I is introduction which discusses the background behind the basic arguments of the study, aim and scope of the study and the methodology of the research. In Chapter II, emergence of urban parks and the situation of urban green areas in urbanization practices are analyzed via the literature review. In this chapter, urban parks were examined in four different periods and the questions about the purpose urban parks, economic and political discourses that influence the parks in different periods as well as the target social groups are answered. In Chapter III, first, emergence of urban parks in Turkey is explained shortly, and then the chapter focuses on urban parks' production strategies and dynamics in the case of Ankara. Parallel to the previous chapter, in this chapter, the parks that were produced in Ankara until the 21st century were examined within 3 periods. In general, the place of the urban parks, the groups that urban parks serve and their production strategies are analyzed in the context of urbanization that was shaped by the economic and political changes between the periods as in the previous chapter.

Chapter IV is the case study chapter. This chapter examines the case study urban transformation projects and the urban parks within these projects, namely the Göksu, the South Park and the North Ankara Entrance urban transformation projects. All the projects were discussed and evaluated based on the information provided by the actors interviewed during the field study. As a result of the case study analysis, the Chapter IV clarifies the meanings of the urban parks produced in the urban

transformation projects for demand and supply sides. Last but not the least, Chapter V is the conclusion where final remarks and suggestions for future actions are discussed.

CHAPTER II

GREEN OPEN SPACES AND URBAN PARKS

WITHIN PLANNING PROCESS

II.I. Introduction

Urban green areas have an important role in planning and human life. Since the first settlement emerged, the relationship between human and nature has been changing due to different political and planning approaches. The meanings and functions of urban green areas have differentiated from ancient civilizations to modern world within scales such as a promise of happiness and peace, the space to dive in religious excitement and philosophy, a symbol of monetary, societal and political power, a nutritious 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 (İlkay, 2016, 10). In addition to this, there are also different meanings and usages of different types of the urban green areas such as royal parks, public parks, and recreational areas and so on. Also, these different urban parks serve for different motivations about political, economic, environmental and social. This change in motivations and meaning has been in line with the views of ruling and dominant classes of that period. Although parks have undergone a discursive change, they have served as an urban space to certain social groups of the time (generally politically powerful or wealthy). In this chapter, the origin and evaluation of motivations behind urban green areas are explained and which groups are served by urban parks historically is analyzed. The main purposes of this chapter are to show the effects of politics and ideologies on production of urban parks and to discuss whether or not urban parks are just public spaces for all social groups.

II.II. Before the Industrial Revolution

The evaluation of the relationship between human and nature have been continuously creating new meanings and use of urban green areas. One of the milestones of this evaluation is the agricultural revolution in Neolithic Era (8000-5500 BC). Before the agricultural revolution, in hunter-gatherer mode of life, human beings benefited from the nature directly within their nomadic culture. In this era, green areas were used for shelter, nutrition and the habitat of animals. Inside these areas, animals were bred for hunting and there were severe penalties for trespassing and poaching of the stock. Many of these hunting parks in Britain were the basis of the large landscape parks of the late 17th and 18th centuries, as landowners increased their estates through enclosure.

After the agricultural revolution, human beings started to settle. In the first settlement areas, green areas which had religious and symbolic value were produced. Origin of the idea of “garden” came from a myth of heaven. İlkay (2016, 10) cited that Mayer-Tasch (2003) argues that on the basis of garden phenomenon there exists a myth of heaven, which has been transmitted from culture to culture getting through geographies and historical periods. Moreover, Tan and Jim (2017, 49) explain that various religions and cultures have vested symbolic meanings in plants and urban green spaces provide places of contemplation and reflection in the bustle of the city; creation and preservation of green spaces in cities for religious, spiritual and symbolic reasons are, inspiring, a widespread practice. Trees in urban green areas also had religious importance in human life (Dwyer, Schroeder and Gobster, 1991).

The agricultural revolution is also seen as the first step to improve the agricultural green areas. In Hellenistic era, large gardens with dense vegetables, marble and bronze statues, fountains, sitting areas, pergolas and colonnades but differently, was produced in houses of rich at ancient Roman cities. In addition, also in Turkish culture, gardens were attached to palace. However, as different as before, Great Seljuk created its own gardens with motifs and enthusiasm to settle down. Therefore, it can be said that Turks redefined their relationship with nature as a result of both

settling down and embracing a new religion (İlkay, 2016, 15). These were the starting points of the green areas in the settlement pattern. These examples show that the origin of urban parks belongs to a religious origin and for the sake of high income and ruling class. Therefore, it can be said that, originally, urban parks are not created for public use.

II.III. The 18th Century Urban Parks

The 1700s were the years of migration to cities and most European cities were becoming larger. The number of newcomers in cities was increasing, and networks of sociability were developing. In this period, large urban parks were built (Can, 2007, 28). According to the analyses of İlkay (2016), in the 18th century, there are four types of urban parks. These types are large or small green lots, baroque (palace) gardens, cemetery and formal parks. Two points are critical in this issue: the relationship between nature and society was defined in a more passive manner; and secondly, the green spaces of the time were owned by aristocrats and the royal class and therefore not open to the public (İlkay, 2016, 16). On the other hand, baroque gardens were also owned by aristocrats and royal class.

Rooijen (2000, 215) explains that, historically, palace parks were an enclosed area where the lord could pursue his hunting privilege and later it began to indicate the large-scale garden around the master's residence. These royal gardens and parks were opened to public during end of the 18th and 19th century. The design was still much of a high culture-based art form and ownership remained with the king, the sovereign or the state (Rooijen, 2000, 215). These areas served for upper and middle classes, however; uncivilized and ill-behaved classes of the societies were excluded from these areas. As Rooijen (2000, 215) says, the most convincing argument for creating such an open space was that a park would give the sovereign popularity amongst its subjects. It can be said that until the industrial revolution, there were not any urban parks dedicated to public usage. The green areas belonged to specific classes of the society. Therefore, development of green areas at that time was based on the demand or in other words mercy of these specific classes. Till the industrial revolution,

natural environment diffused to urban space to some extent but it also stayed apart from human settlements. However the industrial revolution led to a substantial transformation of the interaction between built and natural environment (İlkay, 2016).

II.IV. The 19th century Urban Parks

In the 19th century, the industrial revolution was the main reason of all changes. Because of the industrial revolution, new types of economic and politic thoughts emerged and developed. Also, with the industrial revolution, huge migration to urban areas occurred. For this reason, cities became more heterogeneous areas. Urban areas were affected by these new thoughts and huge migration. It can be said that the industrial revolution had also many changes on urban space. The relationship between human, urban space and nature was redefined by the industrial revolution and its results.

Open public spaces such as “urban parks, coffee houses, cafés, theaters, opera houses, assembly rooms and court halls appeared as meeting places of strangers” (İlkay, 2016, 15). In these areas, the domination of upper and middle classes was seen. Moreover, parks were opened to all citizens that included working class and low income groups in order to teach how to socialize by viewing the others. In these areas, low income and working classes were pushed to behave as middle and upper classes. As Sennett (1987), Carr (1992) and Cybriwsky (1999) mention that pleasure grounds, which were serving to privileged groups in the 1600s, were then opened to a wider sections of the society at relatively more central locations than the 1800s (Tunç, 2003 cited in İlkay, 2016, 16). Therefore, it can be said that with the industrial revolution, urban public areas started to be located at more central places and with increased access to almost all social groups.

In this period, with high population and pollution which occurred after industrialization, urban parks started to be used in order to escape from unhealthy and crowded city. Cities, especially the 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 urgency in planning of human settlements especially for working classes who were living in very bad living and health conditions (Bingöl, 2006, 11 cited in İlkay, 2016, 18). Parks were explicitly recognized as the "lungs" of the city and in the interest of the wider community no parts of town could be safely excluded from this cure and the implicit political motive behind the creation of green open spaces made available to the masses was the desire for a stable society (Rooiken, 2000, 219).

A new movement emerged in the 19th century because of these negative results of the industrial revolution. 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 cited in İlkay, 2016, 18). Initial issues of public park movement were "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, 2016 cited in İlkay, 2016, 19). The idea that "public should access to urban parks" led to the policy of producing urban parks at more central locations.

The movement had a philosophical approach whose basis lays in romanticism and its belief that nature and natural scenery had the power to uplift and restore human spirit, theological and nationalistic sources (Low et al. 2005, 20). As we understand the reasons behind the movement, Romanticism was also born to react to the effects of industrial capitalism which was rapidly growing cities, factory life, epidemic diseases, and smoke. In these gardens, formal design and straight lines were used in order to reflect baroque design principles. Moreover, as Schmidt (2008, 92) mentions that center of this movement was the preservation of natural features and a celebration of what was perceived to be the "natural" English countryside (itself not natural), which the wealthy went to great lengths to emulate.

Rooijen (2000, 213) explains that the American parks derived not just from European antecedents but from an anti-urban idea that dwelt on the traditional prescription for

relief from the evils of the city-to escape country. Therefore, urban parks were emerged in order to escape from a dense and unhealthy city life with aesthetic formula that was simulated the idealized English and North American countryside. Although the main issue seemed like environmental and about health, it was not served for every citizen in the society. Although these urban parks were located at central places of the city and the principle of accessibility of the public was adopted, again some specific social groups could benefit from these areas. Also, the design of the landscape and other features of these parks were the reflections of the needs of particular social groups. Prospect Park which was designed by Frederick Law Olmsted and Calvert Vaux is the best example of that type.

Prospect Park in Brooklyn encompassed 526 acres and incorporated pastures, woods, gathering places, and systems of surface waters, carriages drives, and footpaths (Low et al., 2005, 20). Because of the laws of supply and demand, some of the landscape designers argue that they were compelled to work chiefly for the rich and to study rich men's wants, fashions and prejudices. In addition to these, there are discussions about the relationship between "naturalism-romanticism" and 'elitist open spaces'. As it is mentioned in Schmidt's article (2008, 101), David Pepper notes that

The popularization of nature was largely a product of 'those who lived in cities or whose family money came from industrial capital. Such elitist romanticism... favored noble simplicity over an industrial complexity, feeling over rationality and aesthetics over utilitarianism.

In the same century, in addition to this movement, in England, rural cemeteries like Mount Auburn in Cambridge Massachusetts were opened for public usage. After that, idea of garden cemetery was soon adapted to other cities such as Green-Wood Cemetery in Brooklyn, Laurel Hill Cemetery in Philadelphia. Low, Taplin and Scheld (2005, 21) explains that the rural cemetery was an important precursor to the urban landscape park in demonstrating the popularity of a romantic landscape of winding paths, groves of trees, ponds, and beautiful views.

Another effort to integrate open space provision with public health reform was the playground movement, which originated in Boston in the mid-1880s (Schmidt, 2005,

97). The main purpose of the creating a playground was to improve the mental, moral, and physical well-being of children. As it is mentioned in Schmidt's article (2005, 97), Charles Hughes, governor of New York, put it most succinctly in an address to the 2nd annual congress of the Playground Association of America: "we want playgrounds for our own children into order that we may conserve the health of our people". In addition to physical health, it was believed that playgrounds provided also moral well-being. These parks were located in the periphery of the city because main target groups of these urban parks were the neighbourhood residents. Therefore, the scale of these parks was also smaller than other urban parks which located centrally and served publicly.

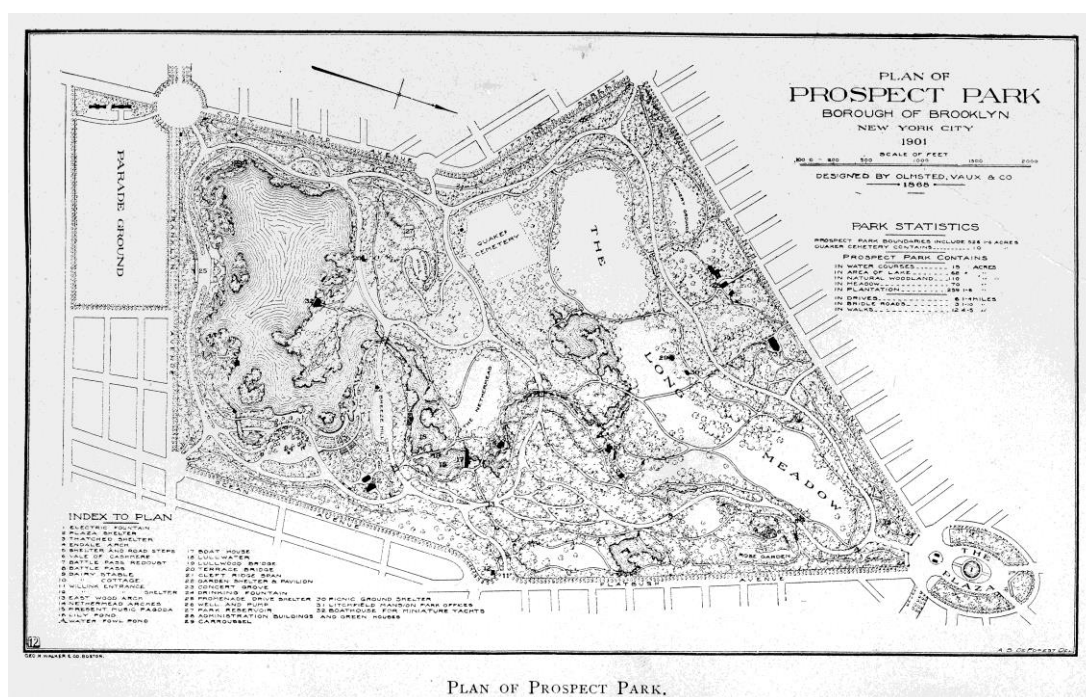


Figure II.IV.I : The Plan of Prospect Park (Source: 1901 map of Prospect Park (Parks Department 1902 Annual Report),(n.d.) Retrived from https://www.triposo.com/poi/W_19853889)

In the 19th century, different from other periods, citizens would not just benefit from a park, they also donated to them; they would actually create such public parks and similar spaces for themselves and those who paid for the provision were basically

their owners (Rooijen, 2000, 216). Rooijen (2000) defines these parks as Bourgeois Park. The idea that those who pay were owner caused to create a villas with parks by property developers. The park offered the wealthy a setting for desirable villas and creating such parks could be profitable (Rooijen, 2000, 217).

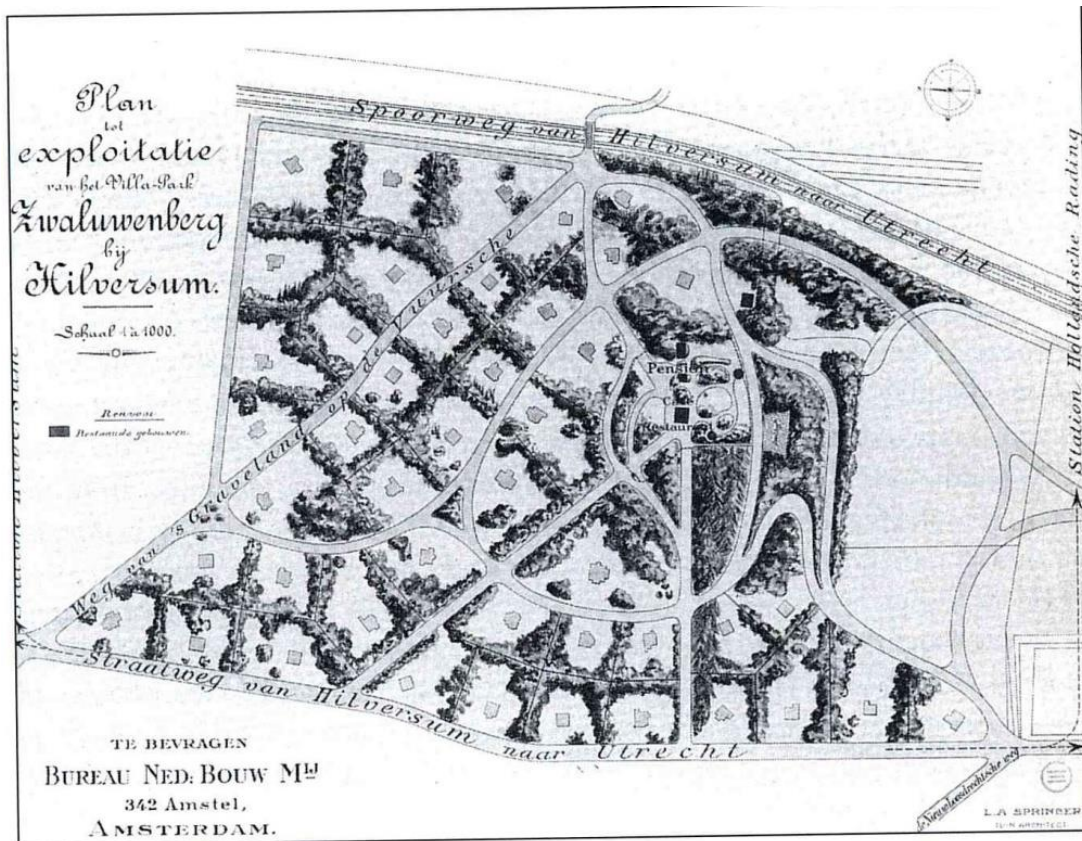


Figure II.IV.II : Typical Design of Villa Park (Source: Urban Planning in a Changing World)

These parks contained opportunities for elitist leisure activities such as horse riding or cycling. It was understood that urban green areas were created for the wealthiest residential areas although low rent and high density housing areas which were seen after the industrial revolution didn't have enough green areas.

In the mid-19th, recreational landscapes also appeared. In small and growing cities, unplanned and informal open spaces which were located the outside were used to get together, sports and games. Another type of vernacular tradition was commercial

pleasure ground such as Vauxhall Gardens in London or Copenhagen's Tivoli Gardens. The pleasure grounds liberally mixed all styles of art and decoration to create recreational spaces that responded to popular desires for novelty and diversion (Low et al., 2000, 22). Unlike the idea of creating healthy recreation areas for all citizens, in reality, these parks were produced for middle-class standards. Working-class was excluded from these green areas. For example, the Central Park was established in a central location in order to create social attraction among all citizens. However, as Schmidt (2005, 98) mentions, Roy Rosenzweig and Elizabeth Blackmar note that working classes were not represented in Central Park and different classes tended to use the park on different days of the week, at different times of year, and in different ways. However, in the 20th century and later, the idea, which urban parks were produced for wealthier and middle classes of society, had to change. The needs and demands of an increasing number of voters were taken into consideration. For this reason, unlike the 19th century in the 20th century, the period of democratization, also had a major impact on the ownership concept of urban open space. In the early 1900s, the idea of people's park as a green space for the people started to become an acceptable idea (Rooijen, 2000, 220). To analyze whether these democratization thoughts took place in reality or not, the 20th century's urban parks must be analyzed. Before the analysis of urban parks in the 20th century, understanding the utopian thoughts which were created in the 20th century can be helpful to understand the general perspectives.

In the 20th century, utopias were the main thought to shape urban space with 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 (İlkay, 2016, 23). In other words, these utopian thoughts emerged as a counter argument to overcome the high density and unhealthy urbanization practice which spread out after the industrial revolution. Garden City which was created by Howard, Broadacre City which was created by Wright and Le City Radiant which was created by Le Corbusier are the examples of these utopias.

Garden City and Broadacre City are different from the Le City Radiant according to their urbanization level. Garden City and Broadacre City are anti-urban utopias. This means that having a spatial pattern of low density, one-storey buildings with sporting areas, farms in small size and gardens, which promise a life integrated with nature (İlkay, 2016, 24). Anti-urban intellectuals' basic argument was that the lack of a traditional romantic attachment to the city has pervaded all levels of intellectual, social, and political thought to the present day (Schmidt, 2008, 92). In Le City Radiant, in order to provide continuous parks and pedestrian roads, the buildings were uplifted by colons and roads were elevated.

Garden City movement had a major ideological and practical influence on the planning of many major cities during the twentieth century (Rooijen, 2000, 223). Howard created the idea of satellite cities for health. In the Garden City model, settlement areas were self-contained within the system of the new social city which bankrupts the old city. Garden City model provided inspiration about new town in which green space was an integral part of a human scale-design in order to improve living conditions both physically and mentally. According to Howard, urban park was more than just green space; it was an opportunity for a fresh start for community living removed from the power relations of established centers like London (Bonne and Modarres, 2009, 168).

Garden city model development was not created suddenly; it took many stages to reach this model. The urban elites must leave the town in order to live in more attractive countryside. Cities would not create such environments to retain their own inhabitants, but also to strengthen their appeal to residents with higher incomes from other large cities (Rooijen, 2000, 224). Although, originally, Garden City model tried to provide living in a peaceful, healthy, spacious, green environment for every citizen, in reality the suburban areas with green spaces were used by higher income groups. After these utopian thoughts, urban parks were seen as not only the element of urban space but also the part of a human life.

II.VI. The 20th Century Urban Parks

After the World War II, new type of economic situation created new type of policies and administration system. This new type of administration system was called the Welfare State. The Welfare State was first used to describe Labor Britain after 1945 (Briggs, 1961, 9).

Briggs (1961, 14) defines the Welfare State as a state in which organized power is deliberately used (through politics and administration) in an effort to modify the play of market forces in at least three directions – first, by guaranteeing individuals and families with a minimum income irrespective of the market value of their work or their property; second, by narrowing the extent of insecurity by enabling individuals and families to meet certain “social contingencies” (for example, sickness, old age and unemployment) which lead, otherwise, to individual and family crises and third, by ensuring that all citizens regardless of status or class are offered the best standards available in relation to a certain agreed range of social services. The new relationship between state and citizens occurred after this transformation

The Welfare State policies were based on the equity of citizens. In addition to this, new concept which appeared after these approaches was “justice”. With rising of environmental and social justice issues, the meaning of urban green areas was also changed. Urban parks were seen as a part of urban services and the idea that all citizens could achieve all services which were equally provided by public became popular. Therefore, urban parks started to develop for all citizens who included poor and working classes. The tax revenues collected from citizens were used to develop urban parks as public services. However, equality and justice principles only remained in statements. The only reality, in this period, was mathematical distributions rather than social and political.

In the second half of 20th century, with rising distributional policies, the efficiency of urban greenery was a problematic area defined and considered as a spatial component which was enhancing the welfare of the society (İlkay, 2016, 29). With this transformation, the provision of green open space only became an obvious

integral part of town planning- at least in the industrialized world- during the second half of the twentieth century (Rooijen, 2000, 212). Municipal policies became important in order to develop urban green areas. İlkay (2016, 22) explains that these policies resulted in Municipal Park Movement, on the basis of this movement urban green areas were provided with the models of green rings, radials, fingers, and belts within the spatial structure of the city. The best reflection of this idea was comprehensive planning approaches in this period. As Rooijen (2000, 221) mentions that the systematic approach to open space planning was also enriched by the American concept of the parkway-linking separate green open spaces by continuous green corridors. Moreover, green fingers were a popular idea in Scandinavian town planning in order to provide relationship between the surrounding countryside and the city.

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, 2016, 20 cited in İlkay, 2016 25). Zoning was used by municipalities to address common environmental concerns through the privatization of open space (Schmidt, 2008, 103). In this period, unimproved and purely natural green spaces were replaced with systematic and re-organized natural areas. In the scientific planning approach of the twentieth century, artistic value, so clearly present in the public garden, was considered as of less importance (Rooijen, 2000, 220). In addition to these, in the modernist area, rational thought and positivist scientific methods were some of the main axes of movement to reject the traditions and develop “the new” (İlkay, 2016, 23).

The systematization of urban green spaces started to be more scientific. As Rooijen (2000, 221) explains the German planners Koch and Wagner made major contributions to open space planning, setting clear quantitative and systematic guidelines. Wagner created some simple guidelines for distances. From this period, green open spaces became well-defined areas within urban space. It was consolidated as an integral part of total land use package, to be rationally created and conserved in the proper proportion to housing, work, and traffic (Rooijen, 2000, 221).

Transportation system has also effects on urban green areas. Improved transport system helped to make urban plans in larger scales. Moreover, increasing mobility allowed redefining the hierarchy of green open spaces of cities. Green open spaces cannot be limited to city itself nor its immediate surroundings. In addition to this, modern transportation system allowed creation of recreational places and spaces such as country clubs, caravan parks, holiday camps, golf courses in the countryside. Later in the 1960s, the recreation concept was enlarged with commercial facilities and entertainment commodities, cultural and educational institutions such as exhibitions and museums, zoos, added entertaining activities with commercial content such as restaurants, bars, beer gardens, buffets, taverns (Bingöl, 2006 cited in İlkay, 2016, 27).

Shortly, with comprehensive planning, urban parks had some standards and urban parks were developed according to these standards such as size of urban parks or walking distances. By the 1990s, the concept of social justice and distributional equity 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 cited in İlkay, 2016, 29). Although urban parks started to be seen as a public property which all citizens could reach, these areas could not serve to everyone because these areas were regulated and developed by local and central authorities. After this period, location and usage of the urban parks were differentiated.

II.V. The Late 20th century and 21th century – The Neoliberal Period and Sustainability - Green City Branding

After the Welfare State lost its importance, because of economic crisis, new economic system appeared in world. This system is called the Neoliberalism. Neoliberalism, in structural critique, is a project that emerged in the late 1970s for restructuring international capitalism and restoring conditions for capital accumulation (Harvey, 2005 cited in Tulunella, 2015, 119). After this economic revolution, public authorities started to change their strategies. Because of increasing

of circulation, globalization and new types of economic situations, public authorities, unlike in the Welfare State period, started to give their responsibilities to private sector. Market-led provision became the main type of provision in the world and public authorities cut their expenditures.

Brand (2007, 618) summarized these changes by mentioning seven major characteristics of neoliberalism at urban level which are described by Brenner and Theodore (2002). First one was the heightened importance of city-region as a key spatial scale in the global economy and the rise of competitiveness. Second one was the multi-scale of government. The restructuring of local government and the introduction of private sector management techniques was third one. Forth one was new forms of governance and promotion of an enterprise culture. The restructuring of labor market was fifth one. Sixth one was privatization and marketization and last one was the rise of service sector and cultural economy. Similar to the previous periods, this new political era created the new urban development thoughts.

One of new thoughts was that cities started to be seen as competitive elements. As it is mentioned in Fainstein's (2014, 356) article, Schmidt and Thacher note that competition has been a core principle of neoliberalism. For this reason, if cities want to be alive, they have to compete with other cities. Therefore, mega-project started to develop. These projects were made by public-private relationship. Within these urban development projects, urban green areas were used. According to Brand (2007), urban environment was used in neoliberal urban development project as the competitive requirement of a clean-green city image to attract investment, leading sector of professional workers and tourists and the need to demonstrate a city's sense of global responsibility through the adaptation of environmental initiatives and participation in international urban environmental programs. Such urbanization has been characterized by a shift away from a tightly regulated, Keynesian, social-welfare model of urban management toward entrepreneurial models in which market logics dominate policy and drive growth, growth coalitions and entrepreneurial city agencies gain power, and urban branding becomes a central aim (Harvey 2001; Brenner and Theodore 2003; Hackworth, 2007; Greenberg, 2008 cited in Greenberg,

2015, 109). In these city-branding projects, urban parks were used as branding objects. Although urban branding projects date back to the 1980s, using sustainability and green city for branding issues occurred since the 2000s. For example, at a meeting of Stockholm City Council Environment Programme, representatives made it clear that the city should be built upon the “Green Capital” award to brand the city as a “world-class” destination for green capitalism and as the European leader for sustainable growth industries (Isenhour, 2015, 58-59). The answer of “How did green places become branding objects for cities?” was behind the attraction of skilled worker and tourism, and the negative effects and consequences of industrialization.

Deindustrialization process created different kinds of jobs. In these jobs, skilled workers were employed. According to Prilenska (2012), economy shifted from industrial to knowledge so industrial cities try to reduce their dependency on manufacturing and develop new sources. This change caused more mobile skilled workers and business. As it was mentioned before, because of the competitive situation, the image-making of cities became important in order to attract skilled workers and business. There are many researches about this issue. Prilenska (2012) mentions that skilled workers want to live in a place which has quality and affordable housing, public amenities and services, short travel times, lifestyle and cultural opportunities, and quality of city space, such as well-maintained green and public spaces. Busch and Anderberg (2015) also mention that in the emerging "knowledge economy", cities increasingly compete with one another and try to attract a talented, innovative and creative work-force (the creative class) as well as companies that employ them for well-paid jobs (Florida, 2002 cited in Busch and Anderberg, 2015, 3).

Greenberg (2015, 112-113) explains this argument in her research as

To become and maintain their position as “market leaders” in the realm of urban sustainability, cities and regions, as well as the corporations and real estate developers that build them, understand the need to create a brand image and narrative that can circulate across an array of media and cultural landscapes and communicate to a variety of target audiences. In cities and

regions, two kinds of entrepreneurial city and regional bodies have played a significant role; economic development and tourism-marketing agencies.

Davidson (2003, 662) explains that argument here is that while sustainable city projects have impacted urban processes, these impacts are ultimately shaped and conditioned by the demands of "neoliberal state ideology and interurban economic competition". Moreover, Greenberg (2015, 105) mentions that in the age of urban, environmental, and financial crisis, as well as intense global competition, the pursuit of a particular, market-oriented version of sustainability has become popular and has been instrumentalized to support broader goals of urban economic growth. Therefore, the city as a place for profitable business and the city as a good place to live in create green-city branding. Furthermore, Roger Keil interprets emergent discourses of sustainability since the 1992 Rio de Janeiro Summit as "a recipe for the survival of capitalism" in which 'sustainability gets redefined as one of the possible routes for neoliberal renewal of the capitalist accumulation process' (Keil, 2007, 46 cited in Quastel, 2009, 702). Briefly, although sustainable urban development occurs in order to achieve environmental-friendly urban development, because of neoliberal policies, sustainable urban development has become a profit-making process. In other words, for the last forty years, notions of "sustainable development" have been viewed as coterminous with the rise of neoliberalism, and as geared towards the "preservation of a particular social order rather than... the preservation of nature per se" (Harvey 1996, 148 cited in Greenberg, 2015, 106).

Greenberg (2015, 126) summarized these processes as;

It may be argued that sustainability strategies, like cultural strategies are now integral to neoliberal urban policies emphasizing rent and zoning deregulation, luxury development and privatization.

All these research show that "the green things" have become the main strategies to improve investments and urban rent. Urban redevelopment projects are also affected by this trend. Therefore, public and private developers use "green objects" in their urban redevelopment projects. With this change, as opposed to the industrialization period, urban parks were created for commercial activities and gained more profit from urbanization of some parts of the city. Therefore, locations of urban parks are

recently different from where urban parks were located in the industrialization period. The central location which provides accessibility for all groups is not primary as it was in the industrialization period. The location of urban projects designated the locations of large-scale urban parks after Neoliberal development thoughts whether the center or periphery of urban.

II.V.I. Urban Parks produced by Urban Redevelopment Projects

In the previous section of research, it can be understood that with the neoliberal urbanization, green urban development projects were used as city-branding. Rather, the pursuit of sustainability has increasingly become ‘instrumentally rational’ or the means to a larger end, namely the pursuit of profit and competitive advantage (Weber, 1978 cited in Greenberg, 2015, 125). Therefore, the main idea behind these development projects was profit-making. As it was mentioned before, in urban redevelopment projects, green areas were used in order to create branding projects and increase profit. There are two types of urban redevelopment projects which have large scale urban parks. The first one used as a revitalization of brownfield areas after deindustrialization process and the second one was made in low income areas as part of residential redevelopment projects.

Greenberg (2015) explains that we see new forms of ‘environmental gentrification’ as low-income housing is replaced by “‘green’” market-rate development (Quastel, 2009; Checker, 2011 cited in Greenberg, 2015, 126). The term of environmental gentrification refers to two things. The first one is the improvement of the existing urban green areas and this process, later, causes to replacement of low income groups by middle or high income groups. The second refers to the urban green space itself that are produced within the urban redevelopment projects so as to show or commercialize these projects as environmentally friendly or green. Therefore, as long as green areas and high quality environment increase the value of the area, gentrification process starts to occur.

Quastel (2009, 702) in his research, argues that;

Gentrification may arise due to new forms of urban environmental governance as languages of sustainability become applied to the entrepreneurial city. Urban governance trends toward urban revitalization, attracting wealthy residents, or cleaning up industrial sites that otherwise have gentrifying effects are now cast as green.

In the mid-20th century, brownfield redevelopment became one of the main urban development strategies. As it is mentioned in the article of Fisher (2011, 5), the reality for many major manufacturing and industrial cities in the late 1970s was a pattern of economic decline in the urban centers, leading to abandonment and subsequent blight of urban centers, thus the creation of brownfield. Main characteristics of brownfield areas were abandoned, often but not always contaminated, required reclamation/revitalization and relict of industry. These areas had environmental, economic and social problems. For this reason, redevelopment of these areas became a main issue. With redevelopment, reduction soils and water contamination, improvement public safety, increasing municipality tax base and job creation for local resident were provided. The primary focus of developer investment interest was on the sites that were viable economic development (Krake, 2007, 3). These areas would be used in order to create urban green and urban parks. As it is mentioned in article of Kraske (2007, 15-16)

Depending on one's scope of the definition, it can be estimated that almost half of all existing brownfields may be best suited for long-term uses (i.e. community garden) or for permanent open space, parkland or buffer zones. The opportunity to transform these lots into community green spaces or community gardens is often a sensible short-term solution with long-term benefits to surrounding community. Moreover, neighborhood greening and community gardens are effective tools in brownfield redevelopment and vacant land reuse on three critical level which are environmental, social/cultural and economic status of community.

The examples of these redevelopment type urban parks are Torino Metallurgy and Car Industry area and Vienna Cable Industry area. These urban parks provided some opportunities such as increasing attractiveness of real estates and reduction of some public fees. In Italy, if a builder takes in charge a remediation of portion of

brownfield that has to become a green area or park, it often has building fees that have to be paid to municipality (Seibilec, 2012, 17).

Another example which was studied by Curran and Hamilton (2012) shows that how brownfield areas became “urban green gentrification” areas. They use the term of “environmental gentrification” in order to explain this process. Environmental gentrification means environmental improvements result in the displacement of working-class residents as clean up and reuse of undesirable land uses make the neighborhood more attractive and drive up real estate prices (Curran and Hamilton, 2012, 1027). They also mention that environmental gentrification as;

The convergence of urban redevelopment, ecologically minded initiatives and environmental activism in an era of advanced capitalism. Operating under the seemingly a political rubric of sustainability, environmental gentrification builds on the material and discursive successes of the urban environmental justice movement and appropriates them to serve high-end redevelopment that displaces low-income residents (Checker, 2011, 212 cited in Curran and Hamilton, 2012, 1031).

Checker (2011) also uses environmental gentrification term. In her research, Harlem’s GreenX: Change project is explained. The main aim of the project is to improve urban green environment by urban redevelopment projects. In other words, creating new green areas within the redevelopment projects is the one of the purposes of the project. The project was served as sustainable and environmentally-friendly by public and private sector. However, while it appears as politically neutral planning that is consensual as well as ecologically and socially sensitive; in practice it subordinates equity profit-minded development (Checker, 2011, 212). According to research, after the project finished, gentrification process was seen.

Because of the industrial revolution, as it is mentioned before, unplanned settlement areas started to get in the urban areas. Another type of urban transformation projects with green areas is made on residential areas.

Within these urban redevelopment projects, “green-brand” or “sustainable city” issues also were used. As it is mentioned in the article of Lee (2007, 3), the new urban renewal projects are “the material expression of a developmental logic that views

megaprojects and place-marketing as means for generating future growth and for waging a competitive struggle to attract investment capital”.

According to recent researches, these urban redevelopments lead to gentrification process with discourse of “sustainability”, “green” or “clean”. These discourses were used as the ‘green mask’ of urban gentrification projects. Moreover, these researches show that not only environmental ‘bad’ but also environmentally ‘good’ create environmental injustice.

Gould and Lewis (2012) describe this urban redevelopment process as green gentrification. The definition of green gentrification is the urban gentrification process which is made by the creation or restoration of environmental amenities. They examined the process of Prospect Park. They observed that revitalization of Prospect Park caused the rise of property values and improvement of private development projects. After that, vulnerable groups (low-income) had to be relocated so that high-income group would become new home owners.

Dooling (2009) also explains this gentrification process. The name of this process, according to Dooling (2009) is ecological gentrification. In this article, namely, it is mentioned that improvement of urban parks and greening of urban environment leads to displacement of vulnerable groups. Dooling (2009, 630) explains this in the research as;

I prefer to this process as ecological gentrification and, for the purpose of this article, define it as the implementation of an environmental planning agenda related to public green spaces that leads to the displacement or exclusion of the most economically vulnerable human population-homeless people- while espousing an environmental ethic. Ecological gentrification is a provocative term that highlights the contradictions that emerge between ecological rationality and its associated environmental ethics, and the production of injustices for politically and economically vulnerable people.

The example of Delhi also well explains the process. The public strategy, in Delhi, was to create “first class” living space. “First class” living space means to get rid of slum areas which were defined as irregular, dirty and lack of esthetical areas. Gherther (2010) shows how government looked urban redevelopment projects in

Delhi. The slogan of the project was “Clean Delhi, Green Delhi”. This redevelopment of slum areas causes the displacement of vulnerable low income group. In addition to these redevelopment examples, in Detroit and Los Angeles, revitalization of urban parks also caused gentrification process (Pincetl, 2007).

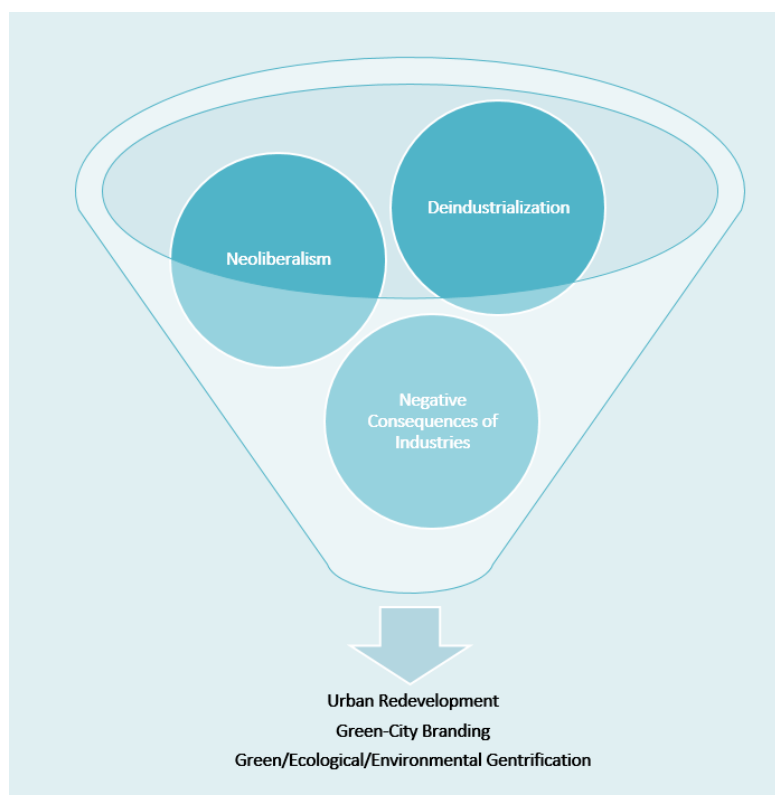


Figure II.V.II. : Diagram of Green/Ecological/Environmental Gentrification (personal diagram)

Shortly, as it was seen above, most of the recent researches show that whatever the name of the gentrification, the process is the same. After the improvement of urban environment, green or urban parks, the gentrification process starts to appear. Luke's (1999) proposition that 'environmentally' has become a central characteristic of the new political economy of globalization, which includes 'eco-knowledge' and 'eco-discipline' as a means of keeping nations and cities within the new economic order (Brand, 2007, 623). In all these researches, urban parks were used as marketing strategies, branding items and mask to hide the negative results, which were displacement of low income groups, of urban redevelopment projects.

Table II.V.II. : Different Values of Urban Green Areas in Different Periods

(prepared by the author of the thesis)

CENTURY	MOTIVATIONS			
	Symbolic/ Politic	Environmental	Economic	Design
Before 18th	Myth of Heaven	Empty/unimproved Green areas	Feeding Hunting	
18th	Palace Gardens King's Garden			Baroque Design
19th	Lifestyle upper- middle	Escape from City	Commercial Recreational Bourgeois Parks	Romantic Movement
20th	Utopias Urban Service/Welfare State	Integrated Green Areas		Comprehensive Planning
Late 20th/21th	Public Strategies for Place- Marketing	Redevelopment of Industrial Areas Sustainability	City-Branding Place- Marketing Green Gentrification	

CHAPTER III

URBAN PARKS DEVELOPMENT

WITHIN URBANIZATION PROCESS IN TURKEY

III.I. Introduction

In this part of the study, historical evolution of the urban parks in Ankara will be analyzed. In different periods, because of different political perspectives and economic thoughts, legal interventions are evaluated. Because of these, interventions on urban spaces are also evaluated. In other words, economic crisis which lead to new political and administrative strategies can be thought as the new door which open to different urban intervention. These interventions create new meaning and use of urban spaces.

Urban green areas are also the part of urban space, so these new intervention strategies shape the urban green areas, too. In the previous chapter, although intervention strategies and aims of development of urban green areas are changing according to the needs of the era social groups which urban green areas serve to are not changing. These areas have been developed for social groups which have economic and administrative opportunities. How politic and economic environment change development strategies of urban green area in Ankara is the main question which will be answered in this part of the study. Also, which class of the society benefit from urban green will also be answered in this part of study. In order to do these studies, urban planning system, legal interventions and economic structure will be analyzed together. In this part of thesis, the hypothesis that urban parks are not just public spaces but are ideological and political reflections of their periods will be

analyzed through the case study of Ankara. In order to understand this feature of urban parks, from early Republican Era to present, urban parks will be compared according to their location, function, equipment and form.

III.II. Ottoman Period

The roots of urban parks were based on European planning approaches. With urbanization and urban planning, urban parks firstly occurred in European cities. Yilmaz (2015, 35) says that as the westernization process started shortly before being accelerated in Administrative Reform period, parks, and likewise other public places (theater, cinemas, stage entertainment, cafes, etc.) emerged in the city center of Istanbul as Ottoman Empire was declining. These reforms were made by people who visited Europe and were influenced by European administrative and urbanization system. Therefore, urban parks in Turkey occurred like an imitation of European urbanization system and emerged after Administrative Reform.

In Ottoman Empire, before urban parks, there were “mesire” areas in Istanbul. Before urban planning processes were seen in Ottoman Period, mesire areas were used as park areas as recreational and social spaces. Entertainment activities such as births, weddings and religious ceremonies were made in the mesire areas. These areas were seen in Ottoman Empire from the 18th century.. As the traditional Ottoman lifestyle was a closed lifestyle depending on the community system, “mesire” could be defined as outdoor green urban spaces used within limited public approach (Yilmaz, 2015, 35). During the reign of Suleiman the Magnificent, some of them were publicly open to Ottoman citizens (Yilmaz, 2015, 36).

The first plan was prepared for Istanbul by Von Moltke in the years between 1836 and 1837 (İlkay, 2016, 96). The reasons to implement urban plan were increasing population and development of new migrant neighborhoods. This practice was mainly based on re-development at burnt neighborhoods, development of migrants’ new housing sites and creation of new urban parks (Tekeli, 1998, cited in İlkay, 2016, 96). Moreover, other changes were also seen in institutional structure and new legal frameworks which had similarities with European examples.

In 1848, “Ebniye Tüzüğü” was enacted for Istanbul. With this legislation, the weight of roads and the height of buildings were regulated. In the same period, Bekir Paşa also prepared a different urban plan for Istanbul. According to this plan, urban parks and gardens were recommended in neighborhood areas. Bekir Paşa who was educated in London, was inspired by European planning practices and used open green areas in his urban plan. In 1864, “Turuk and Ebniye Tüzüğü” replaced the previous “Enbiye Nizamnamesi” (İlkay, 2016, 97). The reason to enact this new legislation was Hoca Paşa fire. 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 the 19th century (İlkay, 2016, 97).

The concept of public parks entered into Ottoman terminology in the 1860s (Yılmaz, 2015, 42). In 1869, the first urban park was located in the center of Istanbul, Taksim. The design of the park was a perfect rectangular and beaux-arts design.

After its completion, Taksim Park became a central attraction for the residents of Pera. De Amicis stated “The park is full of people and cars on Sunday afternoons. The colorful world of Pera spreads out to the beer yards, cafes and places of entertainment. During the summer, people played musical instruments in the afternoons and French and Italian groups visiting Istanbul performed operas at the park” (Yılmaz, 2015, 43).

In addition to these legislation and institutional process, “New Ottoman” movement led to the establishment of “the public” and “public opinion” in Ottoman Empire from the 1880s (Yılmaz, 2015). With this movement and Administrative Reforms, new social, economic and political environment started to change urban space. This change and transformation are explained by the sentences of Çelik (2013);

Changes and transitions in Ottoman social life continued after 1876 within various dimensions. The declaration of a Constitutional Monarchy, the participation of the public in politics; the emergence of an organized opposition; attempts of controlling opposition groups through investigations, espionage, inspection and censorship; mass immigration experienced after the 1877-78 Russian War; significant changes in the demographic structure of the capital city and its neighborhoods; developments in the education system; demonstrations and delays due to demonstrations in daily life; and the integration of new concepts, spaces and entertainment into daily life, such as apartments, hotels, malls, museums, cinemas, clubs, parks, telephones, photographs, passports, electrical trams and automobiles; and so

the social structure and daily life of Ottomans gained totally different characteristics to the beginning of the century (Çelik, 2013, 170 cited in Yılmaz,2016, 41-42).

In 1882, ‘‘Ebniye Kanunu’’, in parallel with these changes, was enacted. This law was the first development law of Ottoman Empire. With this law, municipalities had to prepare their own development plans and implementation would be made according to these plans. Although this law was not enough to regulate beautification and develop macroforms, this law gave important responsibilities to municipalities. As a positive dimension, Ebniye Kanunu prohibited construction in recreational areas - mesire yerleri (İlkay, 2016, 98). With this legislation, urban parks were also made in Gülhane, Sultanahmet, Fatih and Üsküdar in Istanbul.

Shortly, in Ottoman Period, mesire areas were used as recreational places by people. After increase of the relationship between Europe and Ottoman Empire such as economic and social, Ottoman citizens started to visit Europe for different purposes, and these visits affected urbanization system. In parallel with these developments, new institutional and legal frameworks started to be enacted. Also, new urban public areas such as parks, theaters orcinemas started to be established as a result of these influences. Municipal parks started to be established after 20 years from European ‘‘park movement’’. Rather than an ideological approach like in Europe, the parks took place in urban space as an implementation of the western lifestyle in Istanbul, so users of the parks were the Ottoman bourgeoisie (Yılmaz, 2015, 42). This usage form was the same with the European primary urban parks. Also, because of the new and limited institutionalization and legislation about urban planning, there were not any systematic urban green systems like in Europe, urban parks were mainly located at Istanbul,as the capital city of Ottoman Empire. The Ottoman Period can help to understand original meaning and use of urban parks. The central location of these urban parks do not give the publicity features, limited groups could reach and use these urban parks as it is seen in European and American parks from the origin to present forms.

III.III. Republican Era – Ankara

In Ankara, there had not been any planned urbanization process until urban plans were prepared. Moreover, people lived mostly in rural areas. Before the Republican Era, the only urban green area was ‘‘Millet Bahçesi’’ which was located in Ulus Square. There were a small pond and a theatre building in this garden. However, in the Early Republican Era, firstly, small shopping areas were established in this garden, then, the garden area was turned into Bazaar of 100. Yıl with the re-organization project of Ulus. Therefore, the only green area which had been located before Republican Era was demolished. Moreover, from preRepublican Era to 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 İlkay, 2016).

With the establishment of Republic, Ankara entered the new social, economic and political period. Firstly, Ankara became the capital city of Turkey. After that, new socio-political ideas changed the view of Ankara. Ankara was started to develop as a project area in order to show new ideology of the Republic. The phenomena of Westernization turned into an ideology due to its implementation by certain reform movements (Yılmaz, 2015, 44).

İlkay (2016, 100) explains that the spatial institutional organization inherited from Ottoman Empire inevitably conflicted with the socio-spatial projects of Turkish Republic in mainly three points; 1) the lack of central political-spatial organization, 2) spatial stratification shaped on the basis of ethnic differentiation, 3) organic urban pattern which complicated the control of nation state (Şengül, 2003, cited in İlkay, 2016). Two ideas, in order to overcome these obstacles, are centralization and creation of national identity.

Administrators thought that Ankara must be the model of modern National City to other cities. However, current legislation and institutional framework were not enough to achieve this goal. For this reason, many reforms were made. Karaburun

(2009, 50) summarizes these important changes about legal and administrative framework as;

The first requirement of the creation of a modern capital city was building residential areas for government officers. The government started this operation by issuing the Ankara Sehermanet law numbered 417. The Ankara Şehramanet was established on 16 February 1924, by taking Istanbul as an example. Ankara Sehermini was appointed by the central government. The duty of the Sehermanet was providing urban services and managing and controlling construction projects. However, it came across some difficulties in managing uneven development. The institution was not equipped sufficient to meet the demands of a newly developing city. In order to compensate for the shortcomings of the Sehermanet, the Directorate of Urban Development of Ankara was established in 1928. The duty of this organization was to prepare a development plan for Ankara. The approval authority for this plan was held by the Council of Ministers. In other words, the Directorate of Urban Development was not a local institution. However, it had an independent budget and it managed and controlled all the construction works in city.

In addition to the need of institutional and legal transformation, there was also another need which was action plan for Ankara. This action plan would consider: 1- the reorganization of municipality, 2- obtaining a master plan of the city, 3- solving the problem of sewage system, 4- solving the water problem, 5- illumination of city, 6- construction of housing, 7- construction of streets and main streets, 8- local transportation, 9- communication by telephone, 10- budget (Cengizkan, 2002 cited in Sarikulak, 2013, 54). Because there were not enough professional staff such as urban planner or architect, foreign experts were called in order to prepare urban development model for Ankara. The approaches of these foreign experts also shaped urban spaces of Ankara. Although these approaches helped to achieve modernization and westernization goals, they ignored traditional urbanization pattern and urban life of Old Ankara.

In order to solve the problems of new capital city and create the national identity, in 1924 and 1925, Lörcher prepared two plans which are about Old and New City. The plan for the Old City was not implemented since it was not applicable, but the implementation of New City plan was initiated immediately to control and guide the needed housing development in that area (Burat, 2008, 42). Lörcher was inspired by

Garden City and Linear City movements. In the plan, greenway system, natural green areas like valleys and vista points and one-two storey gardened housing development approaches showed the reflections of Garden City Movement. Because of Garden City Movement, Lörcher concerned about urban green system and Ankara's nature. According to Burat (2008, 44-45) the green spaces of the plan were categorized into three different kinds. The first one was urban agriculture which are Kazıkıçı Bostanları [vegetable gardens], the Bent Deresi [stream] valley, allotment gardens and urban gardens. These areas were used in order to create urban aesthetics and economic values. The second one was valleys and streams. These areas were used in order to create sport fields and recreational areas for public. Moreover, these areas provided continuous green spaces system. Thirdly, sequential green space structure supplied recreational areas and sport fields for all ages. This idea was inspired by the Western cities. Linear City Movement was shown by axis which started from Old City to New City. For Lörcher, the linear axis between the train station and the Castle would represent the relation between the city and modern transportation, and the power that reflected to the city and the old culture coming from the past (Sarıkulak, 2013, 55). Also, urban metaphors were used by Lörcher in order to create national identity such as linear axis that name was Nation Street.

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 cited in İlkay, 2016, 101). Güvenpark was also created with Lörcher Plan as a symbol of the new republic and the park was used by bourgeoisie as a public space in 1925. Upper-income groups came to this park and sit with music at nights. Also, the parties which were thrown around the park was also the symbolic events which were reflection of bourgeoisie life styles. In addition to these, Ertuna's sentence which is cited by Ayoğlu (2010) described that " Monument was the main stop for school travels and at summer nights, young people met at this park with their guitars and accordions". Aforementioned, school travels were made for children in order to create national identity and dependence. Moreover, Güven Monument which

is located in Güvenpark represented the organization of safety and security of civil society, which was also the main idea of national state creation. Therefore, it can be said that Güvenpark and Kızılay Square were created for bourgeoisie and they were the reflection of national identity in addition their central locations.



Figure III.II.I : Güvenpark (Source: Güven Park 1940'lar (n.d.) Retrieved from <http://fotograf-gunlukleri.blogspot.com.tr/2012/10/1920-1930lar-ankarayenisehirin-kurulusu.html>)

Lörcher plan failed to satisfy the need of new national state. One of reasons was inaccurate population estimation. Elite character of urban development of the Yenışehir district was far from meeting the housing shortage of the city, and which necessitated the elaboration of a new development plan (Cengizkan, 2004, cited in Burat, 2008, 46-47).

Herman Jansen, in 1928, prepared a plan for Ankara, on the basis of Lörcher's study. Herman Jansen's competition project was not enacted originally. According to Karaburun (2009, 57), a basic difference between the 1928 plan and the 1932 plan is that the use of green strips for separating districts is much more evident in the 1928 plan and the district are not defined in the 1932 plan as they are in the 1928 plan.

This period was defined by Günay (2005, cited in Sarıkulak, 2013, 59) as the period of comprehensive planning which was seen obligatory in the 20th century due to the desire to create a western city model for Ankara. For example, Jansen Plan contained physical planning, master plan and implementation plans as recommended by the comprehensive planning approach. Herman Jansen was also attracted by Garden City Movement. Beside Garden City Movement, Jansen was also a follower of Camillio Sitte's approaches.

Barut (2008, 50) explains the main characteristics of Jansen's plan as;

Jansen's planning approach is based on the principle of providing the tree basic elements indispensable for the human health: light, air and green (licht, luft und grun).

Jansen emphasizes designing the settlement layout, streets and buildings according to sunlight.

By proposing gardens for houses and locating the industry zone according to the dominant winds, Jansen aims for a proper settlement design to provide clean air.

The 1928 plan sets up a green structure composed of natural and artificial water bodies, green strips and different sizes of sports fields and allotment gardens.

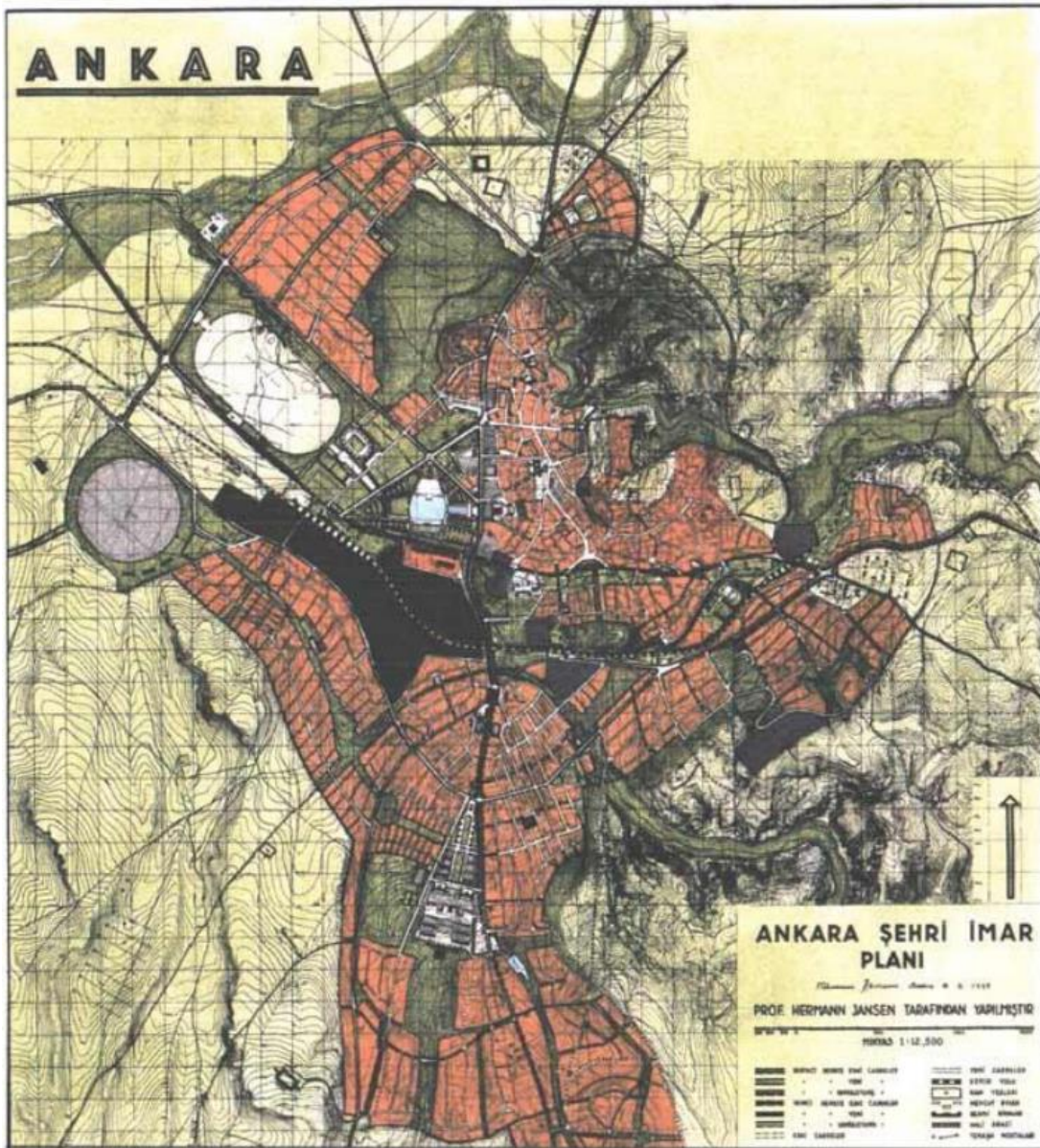


Figure III.II.II. – Jansen Plan

In relation to both of these trends, Jansen proposed a human scale, modest and cheap three-storey development (Tankut, 2000 cited in Karaburun, 2009, 52). Moreover, in the plan, green areas were created according to natural features of city withingreen space system. As a natural environment, Çubuk Çayı [brook], İncesu Deresi [creek] and Bent Deresi [creek] were considered as city's natural green and recreational areas with swimming pools and several sports facilities. Ankara's topographic features gave the advantages to create vista points such as Hacettepe, Kale and İsmat Paşa

Hill. In Jansen's plans, these areas were decided as vista points and protected from unplanned constructions. In this green space system, there was an interaction between different green areas and these interactions created green corridors into the city. As it was seen in the plan, this green space structure was well defined. Greenways were also used as buffer zones between different districts and help pedestrians move within city.

İlkay explains the summary special policies on urban green as fallows (Müftüoğlu, 2008 cited in İlkay, 2016, 106);

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 utilize 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, Hacitepe 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 Parkı, stadium and hippodrome towards the Kale in order to remark the gazes of people to the historical site of Ankara, Kale

Gençlik Parkı was designed as a large-scale urban park with pool which covered 1/3 of park land Building such a large water component in the heart of an Anatolia city with steppe was a huge dream at that time, which was realized in 1946 (Uludağ Sökmen, 2005 cited in İlkay, 2016, 105). The usage of pool was multiple from aesthetic purposes to sport activities. The park was located in the vicinity of the train

station. Passengers who came by train encountered the huge emptiness and ruined city image before the park was constructed. This emptiness was converted to Gençlik Park (Gündüz, 2002, 61).

As it is mentioned in Özer's article (2005), Uludağ defines this park as a reflection of modernization and ideology of republic. On the one hand, the old city of Youth Park will strengthen the organization's western urban space of the Republic of Turkey on the one hand; the historical view of Ankara Castle and its surroundings will remind the residents of the city (Gündüz, 2002, 65).

The park offers more than one activity. Apart from waterfall, pool and afforested areas, it is planned to host outdoor theatre, dance show, meeting, entertainment and festivals. It was also thought that there would be areas of use such as coffee houses, exhibition houses and playgrounds in places where the lake can be watched.

When considered from the point of view of park design and aesthetics, it was thought that Jansen was influenced by British Garden Art even though it was not a landscape architect, as mentioned in the work of Gündüz (2002, 86).

However, instead of Jansen's park plan, the project prepared by Theo Leveau was put into practice. Gündüz (2002, 109) mentions that

There was no significant difference in content between the two plans. The biggest change was about the design of the lake. Leveau's plan is preferred, because of the economical and social difficulties of Jansen's plan. (Uludağ, 2000 cited in Gündüz, 2002, 109)

Sculptures were designed in various places in the park. For example, on the Leveau plan, it was considered to have seven large and two small doors separated by six columns representing the six pillars of the Republican People's Party, and a marble statue representing youth on the right and left bases of the doors. (Bayındırlık İşleri Dergisi, 1935 cited in Gündüz, 2002, 87).

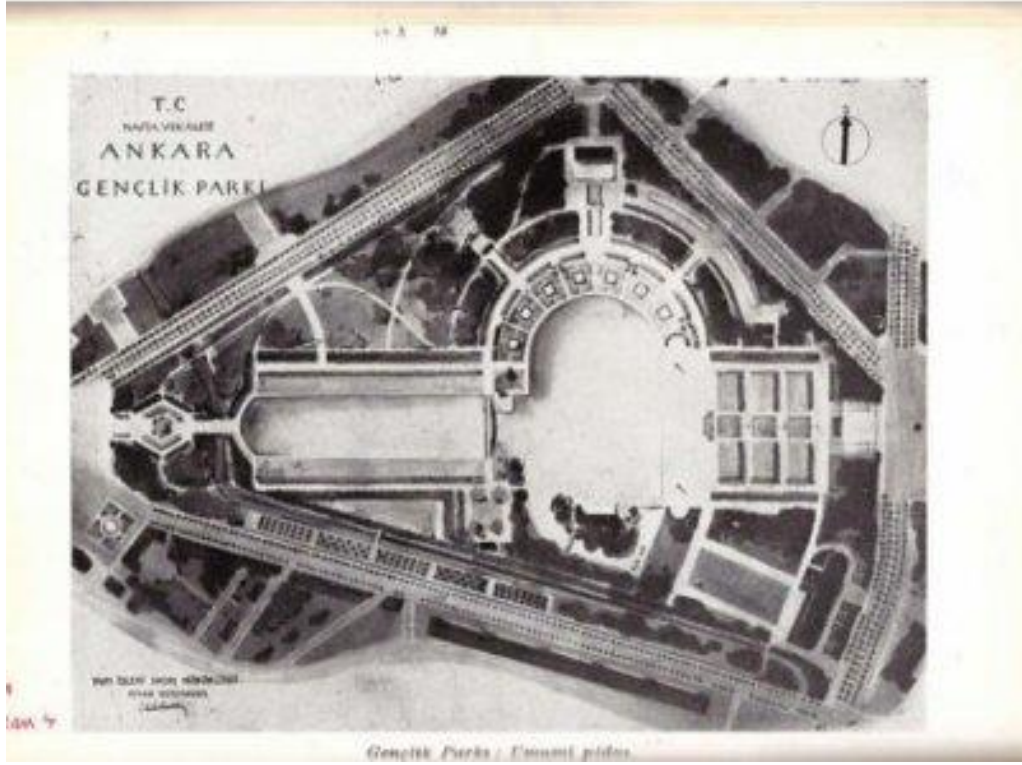


Figure III.II.III : Gençlik Parkı

(Source: Bütün Sokaklar Gençlik Parkına Çıkar (2008) retrieved from http://www.peyzajmimoda.org.tr/genel/bizden_detay.php?kod=2069)



Figure III.II.IV.: Kızılay Park (Source:1930-Kızılay Parkı (n.d.) Retrieved from <http://fotograf-gunlukleri.blogspot.com.tr/2012/10/1920-1930lar-ankarayenisehirin-kurulusu.html>)

Kızılay and Zafer Parks were also planned to provide recreational purposes in this period. Atatürk's demand was to construct youth parks, culture parks and urban forests to create a citizen identity and provide social places. Moreover, Güvenpark and Kızılay Square were also mentioned in Jansen's plan. The purpose of creating these places was same as Lörcher's idea. All of them were created for spreading the national identity idea of a newly established nation state. In addition to creating urban parks for political purposes, some political events which were made in urban parks also gave political value to urban parks. For example, Atatürk presented new Turkish alphabet in urban park firstly in Sarayburnu and then in Kayseri.



Figure III.II.V.: Zafer Monument

(Source: Zafer Anıtı](n.d.) <http://fotograf-gunlukleri.blogspot.com.tr/2012/10/1920-1930lar-ankarayenisehirin-kurulusu.html>)

There were also some negative aspects of Lörcher's and Jansen's Plans. The frameworks of these plans imitated German planning system. Therefore, these plans were not suitable and sensitive to organic and traditional urban pattern of Turkey. In addition to these, these plans were made by foreign planners and architects because of the lack of Turkish professionals, so physical development suggestions were not respectful for the realities of Turkish socio-spatial and economic patterns. Furthermore, urban green areas which were improved by these plans were mostly used by specific social groups. Moreover, although plans were very respectful for urban green area systems, it could not be implemented because of the power relations, land speculations and unplanned construction processes.

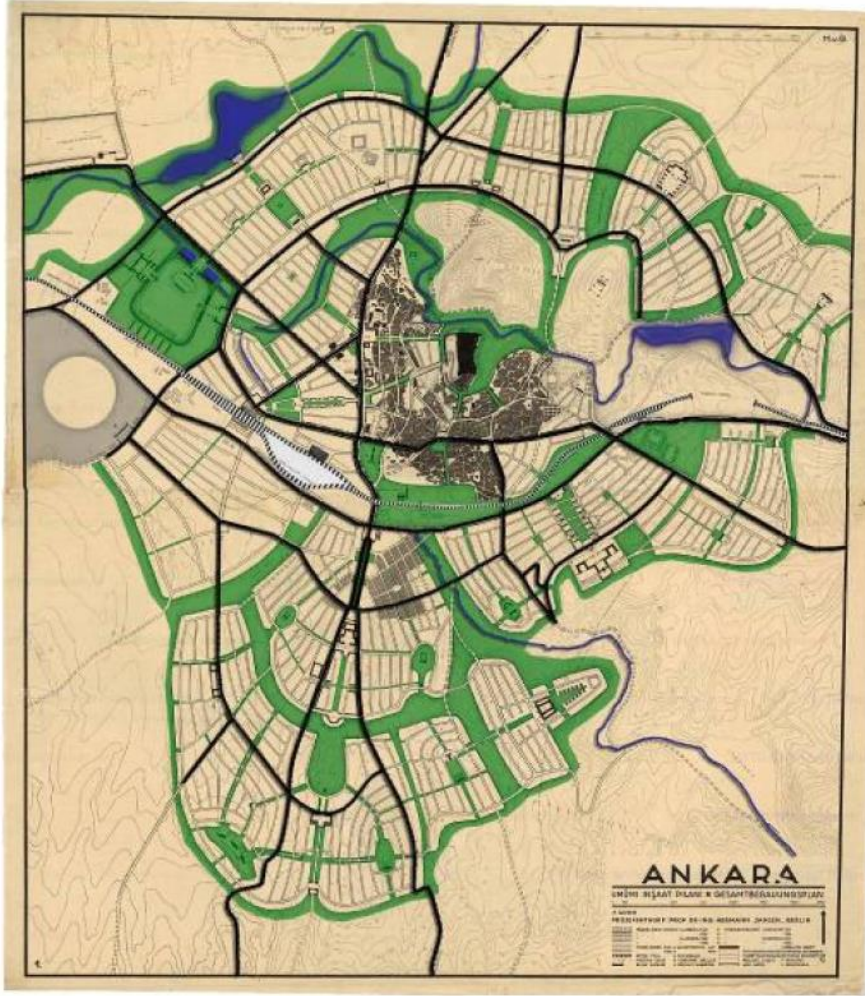


Figure III.II.VI : The Green Space Structure Proposal of Herman Jansen's 1928 Ankara Development Plan Competition Project. (Barut, 2008, 56)

Beside these negative aspects, with these plans, considerable amount of green spaces were gained to Ankara. These green areas were the Parliament Park, AOÇ, Gençlik Park, Presidential Palace and its green spaces, Hippodrome, Emniyet Park, Cebeci Park and Grove, Aktepe, Hacettepe, Cubuk-I Dam, Akköprü's green areas, public and private buildings' green areas, Kurtuluş Park, Güvenpark, Zafer Square and 19 Mayıs Stadium (Müftüoğlu, 2008, 41-42).

In the Lörcher's and Jansen's planning period, there were also new legal regulations. In 1928, the law numbered 1351 which was about the establishment and defining the

responsibilities of The Development Directorate of Ankara was enacted. With this law, planning practice as a western approach was used firstly. Moreover, preparing the base maps of cities and development plans became obligatory. Also, The Development Directorate of Ankara became under The Department of the Interior rather than “Ankara Şehremaneti”. In addition to this institutional centralization, in that period planning process was also centralized. In 1930, The Law of Municipalities was enacted. According to this law, the governors of Ankara could be mayor of the city as well until 1948. 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 neighborhoods, constructing municipal gardens, playgrounds, zoos, and botanic gardens (İlkay, 2016, 109).

In 1933, numbered 2290, The Law of Municipal Constructions and Roads was enacted. To prepare 1/2000, 1/500 and 1/1000 scale urban plans became the responsibility of municipalities. By this law, standardization of the quantity of specific areas was regulated. With this law, 50 m² per person for houses, gardens, roads and squares, 4 m² per person for commercial and industrial zones, 4m² per person for groves, meadows, lakes and playgrounds, 3 m² per person for places open to everyone such as hospitals, graveyards, coffee houses, 2 m² per person for official and military institutions, and educational places, 2 m² per person for schools and libraries were accepted (Müftüoğlu, 2008).

In sum, in this period, planned urbanization was attempted to be reached in Ankara. In the plans of this period, an important amount of urban green spaces and urban parks were gained. These large-scale urban parks were located at central areas. Trees, water and some sculptures were the main elements of these urban parks. Also, these urban parks were created to offer multifunctional public areas. Relaxation, socialisation, sports and cultural activities were the main use purposes of these urban parks. Moreover, urban parks in the newly established national state were created and used as political spaces and representation of the new westernization and modernization ideas. As it is mentioned by Gündüz (2002, 122), open public areas

strengthen Mustafa Kemal Atatürk's "cultural revolution" and document the permanence of this revolution.

III.IV. 1950-1980 Periods

After the World War II, as we analyzed in the previous chapters of the study, the political, economic and social environment of Turkey were also changed. As it was seen worldwide, Turkey's policy was also evolved to the Welfare State policies. The compositions of public policies switched, which made the modernity project of the early Turkish Republic more fragile and open to populist impact (Tekeli, 1998 cited in İlkay, 2016, 111). Also, Turkey shifted its economy from agriculture to industrialization. Industrial development was the main focus of state policies at this period. This new economic trend caused migrations from rural to urban in the second half of 20th century. Therefore, new economic class, working class, started to settle in urban.

This migration increased the population of Ankara. Local government was not prepared to provide the needs of these newcomers such as housing. For this reason, new settlement type occurred within the city. Name of these settlement areas were “gecekondu areas” [slum areas]. People who did not have enough opportunity to reach legal houses started to build their own houses. In order to build their houses, newcomers chose the empty places such as green areas or the periphery of city which was thought to be urban green. Therefore, urban green areas started to be turned into the slum areas. These settlement areas were mostly in Altındağ, Yenidoğan, Kurtuluş and Cebeci. Moreover, new settlement areas were also built in this period. These areas were Bahçelievler, Yenimahalle, Gazi, Varlık and Aydınlıkevler. Because of this unforeseen urban development, the infrastructure and transportation system of Ankara became inadequate.

“Dolmuş” was created to solve transportation system of slum areas. This transportation system helped working class to reach city center. As it was mentioned by İlkay (2016, 112), there were two type of accessibility which are political accessibility and participation via multi-party system; and public and symbolic

accessibility to the public spaces and sphere of the city since the public space ceased to serve as scene of the representation of elites and bourgeoisie. After that, some urban spaces such as Kızılay Square or Güvenpark became the encounter area for working class and elites. Hence,, this encountering would lead to social movements. Increasing private car ownership also led to some changes in urban space. Transportation system was shifted from railway to highway. Higher income groups and elites started to settle outside of the city center. The content of Lörcher's and Jansen plans' was to develop urban core area. After these population growth and new settlement areas, limit of the urban plans were exceeded. Therefore, although there were plan, the development of Ankara became as an unplanned. Moreover, urban infrastructure also became insufficient. Therefore, new urban plan was needed for Ankara. The Development Directorate of Ankara created international competition in 1955 to create new urban development project. Winner of the competition was Yücel-Uybadin urban development project. The owners of the project were Nihat Yücel and Raşid Uybadin. The plan covered the 10.332 hectares of urban area (Müftüoğlu, 2008, 45). The plan was approved in 1957.

Population estimation was decided by public authorities before the competition. Aim which was desired by competition was to solve housing and infrastructural inequities and to overcome unpredictable urban sprawl. The plan report contained topics such as population and housing status, regulation of building heights, transportation system, various regional facilities, water and sewage systems and green areas (Karaburun, 2009, 55). Because of the unpredictable population growth, one of the main effects of plan was vertical growth. The plan suggested increasing story of buildings because if density increases, the cost of infrastructure decreases.

According to Sarıkulak (2013, 64), plan was not successful in general respect since it aimed to arrange the growth and have an economical concern rather than shaping city and urban life. Another negative side of plan was that plan did not have macroform. Moreover, there was not any specific and theoretical vision behind the plan. Unlike Jansen and Lörcher, Yücel-Uybadin plan did not suggest any urban green structure or network into the city. According to İlkay (2016, 116) 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.

Before Yücel-Uybadin plan, the total urban green was 4.464.000 m² and urban parks covered 77.75% of total urban green-3.471.000m² (Çalışkan, 2009 cited in Müftüoğlu, 2008). As it is mentioned before, total coverage of plan was 10.332 and its green areas were 31.16% of total area-3220 m². Also, in the plan, different urban green areas such as parks, cemetery or sport areas were not separated one by one.

The plan was developed according to 750.000 people estimation in 1985. However, this population was reached in 1962. The density of urban areas increased unpredictably. The Floor Ownership Law came into effect in 1965 and a plan revised named District Height Regulation because limited boundary of plan could not meet the needs of this population growth. This new law led to demolish and rebuilt period for Yenışehir. While this plan defines different floor number in different regions, floor number of buildings in the Boulevard increased in 10 floors that destroyed the image of garden city concept in Yenışehir (Sarıkulak, 2013, 64).

According to Sarıkulak (2019, 67), the expansion of roads in Kızılay Square and the Boulevard initiated, most significant structures of Republic era were demolished and high-rise buildings were constructed and with the permission of dispossession of Ulus and Karacaoğlan commercial center, central commercial district of the Ankara shifted to Yenışehir and with high-raised structures that mentioned the characteristic of Kızılay and Boulevard were lost. Also, because of this demolish and rebuilt implementations, historical character of Ankara was lost. The building heights were doubled and tripled with high-density apartment type housing, especially in Bahçelievler, Emek, Yukarıayracı, Maltepe, Küçük Esat, Çankaya and Aydınlıkevler (Karaburun, 2009, 57). This density growth also caused to insufficient infrastructure which was already not enough.

Sarikulak (2013, 67) also listed the changes of urban green areas as;

Constructing underground closed shopping center at the Daniştay side of Zafer Park and also constructing building top of it, so that destroyed the most of the park.

Attempt of constructing parking plot and underground garage in front of Zafer Park however it was prevented by Daniştay.

The elegant building of Kızılay was demolished and constructed office blocks instead, that also caused of demolishing the most beautiful park of Kızılay.

At the green space that is continuation of Güven Park new construction was built by Ministry of national education and also in some parts it is created a station for buses and minibus of Dikmen and Çankaya, so that the park was getting smaller and neglected.

Political environment also shaped Ankara in this period. In the middle of 1950s, DP Government altered the image of the Kızılay and Yenışehir. In this period, Kocatepe Mosque was built .The location of Kocatepe Mosque was chosen as an alternative way to Atatürk Boulevard- at the end of the axis from Sıhhiye along Mithatpaşa Boulevard. Moreover, it was located in order to be seen from core area. In addition to Kocatepe Mosque, Emek İşhanı was also a symbolic construction of DP Government. It symbolized the power of capital. Its location was also important because it was located as alternative symbol to Güvenlik Monument. Existing legal framework became inadequate to solve problems. The number of 6785 law required urban development plan from municipalities which have population more than 5.000 people in 1956. However, this limitation was increased to 10.000 people in 1972.

After this law was legislated, in 1958 new authority which was responsible for urban development processes in Turkey was established. The name of the authority was Ministiry of Public Works and Housing. Although, according to this law, urban green areas per person were decided 7 m² at least, this amount could not be reached. 2 m² urban green areas per person could be provided.

According to the article 31 of 6785 numbered law, if the lands which would be converted to road, square, park, urban green area and car-park areas were owned by treasure or spatial authority, these lands would be left to municipalities without any

payment. Moreover, according to the article 33, in urban development plans, on road, square, car-park, green areas, park, children playgrounds, bazaar areas etc., construction was not permitted. In addition to these, 25% of planned area could be expropriated by municipalities without any charge in order to provide roads, squares, parks and other services (Müftüoğlu, 2008).

Table III.III.I: Urban Green areas in Ankara in 1965 (Çalışkan, 1990 cited in Müftüoğlu, 2008, 52)

Landuse type	Area Size (m ²)	Area size per person (m ²)
Passive Areas	1.038.945	1.1
Parks, gardens	809.500	0.89
Children Playgrounds	119.730	
Visual Green Areas such as squares, boulevards etc.)	109.715	
Active Areas		
Sport Areas	1.165.509	1.3
Sum	2.204.454	2.4

As it is seen in Table III.III.I., in 1965, urban green areas were not sufficient per person. The reasons were rapid urbanization and population growth, the development of slum areas and lack of taking precaution in order to preserve existing urban green areas. According to Müftüoğlu (2008, 52), the size of urban green area was reduced by half when it was compared with previous period.

Until the 1960s, slum areas were ignored. Only, protect areas were considered in order to prevent slum developments. However, with the five-year development plan of state which was prepared in 1963, slum areas started to be considered. In addition to this, slum law enacted in 1966.

As it is mentioned by İlkay (2016, 119), municipalities provide infrastructure needs of these populations such as water resources and electricity. One of the reason to this support was that with these regulations, these areas gained the legal statue so they became under the control of state. Another reason was awareness of vote potentials of this population which were almost half of the population of large cities in the 1960s and the 1970s. With these regulations, between 1973 and 1980 Republican People's Party won the local government elections in Ankara, Istanbul and Izmir.

After the election, local government became leftist approach. Therefore, democracy, productiveness, creating resources, organizing collective consumption, unity, integrativeness and rule making became a principle of New Municipality Movement (İlkay, 2016). The tension between central and local government also increased because while local government was leftist, central government was rightist. Moreover, economic crisis, in the end of 1970s and the beginning of 1980s, maintain increasing tension. These political chaos created new spatial effects on urban.

As it was mentioned before, working class and upper income groups started to encounter in city center. These encountering were mostly seen in urban parks such as Kızılay Park and Güvenpark (Batuman, 2012). As it was described before, Güvenpark and Kızılay Park took its representation from elites and upper income groups. Therefore, this encountering process, in time, led to conflict between these different income groups. In 1965, one of these conflicts were called "Kızılay Olayları" and took place in Güvenpark. After this period, Güvenpark became the arena of different protests. Therefore, starting from this period to today, Central and Local governments wanted to make Güvenpark smaller and brought under control. Moreover, because these areas were the political places of New Republic Period, central government wanted to shrink the area with bus station and parking lot in order to change the meaning of space. Moreover, Kızılay Square was also turned to be a passage of pedestrians and vehicles because of the some reason.

In this period, Master Plan was developed according to 20-years-perspective. The combination of this plan was comprehensive and structural planning. This structural

planning method was taken from the Europe which was used in the 1960s. The Jansen Plan was comprehensive but its field surveys and analyses were based on generalization (Karaburun, 2009, 60). Therefore, it can be said that new perspective to produce urban plan took place in Turkey. With new approach, planning process was thought as a continuous process. It was the first metropolitan plan for Ankara. 1990 Master Plan, because of its new perspective and metropolitan area, was a milestone in Turkey planning system. The reasons in order to create this plan were that the core area of the city reached the topographic thresholds on north, east and south boundaries and a lot of unauthorized and squatter housing areas developed outside the plan boundary (Karaburun, 2009, 59). Plan was mainly about periphery areas rather than the core of the city. The estimated population of plan for 1990 was 2.8 million while Ankara had 2.5 million populations in 1990. For this reason, the first correct population estimation was seen at this plan.

The main different policy of plan was the growth ways of Ankara which was decided the west corridor of the city rather than north-south development. İstanbul and Ayaş roads were the main development axes of city, according to 1990 Ankara Master Plan. Batıkent, Eryaman and Çayyolu were thought as new residential areas while Ivedik and Ostim was thought as a new industrial district. While Batıkent was thought as the residential area for low, middle income and workers who worked in Ostim, Çayyolu was developed for high income groups. However, although Batıkent was thought to supply housing for the working class, the area was attractive for middle and upper-middle groups (Karaburun, 2009, 62). Therefore, segregation between social groups started to occur obviously in urban space.

Urban green areas were also considered in the plan. The report which was attached by plan defined the inadequacy of green areas. Also, in report, policies in order to increase green areas were presented. Existing green areas in 1970 and targeted green areas in 1990 Ankara Master Plan was described by Müftüoğlu (2008, 53).

Table III.III.II. : Urban Existing/Targeted Green Areas in 1970/1990 Ankara Master Plan (Çalışkan, 1990 cited in Müftüoğlu, 2008, 53).

	Existing Standard (per person)	Targeted Standard (per person)	Existing Area (ha)	Targeted Areas (ha)	The percentage of existing areas about targeted area
Neighborhood Scale	0.42	8.00	51.27	968.79	5
Urban Scale	2.78	20.00	353.54	2421.97	14
Sum	3.20	28.00	404.81	3390.76	19

In order to improve urban ecological balance, prevention soil conservation, and afforestation, prevention of existing vegetation, dam, streams and valley which provide wind corridor into the city were assumed to provide. Also, improvement of green belt was one of the urban green approaches. These green belts would on the one hand provide air corridors to prevent air pollution and on the other hand enable citizens to experience various recreational and natural facilities (İlkay, 2016, 119). Moreover, AOÇ and the Campuses of Middle East Technical University and Hacettepe University were thought to open to citizens as recreational areas. The spatial aims of these parks were meeting the recreational needs, preventing the slum development also providing the ecological balance. As it is seen, in this period, although there were not any specific urban green development or improvement, existing urban parks and green areas became under the danger of extinction. Some interventions were occurred because of the comprehensive planning approach and new standarts for urban green amounts which defined by some laws. However, there were not any important decisions or implementations about green areas and urban parks.

III.V. From 1980s to 2000s

The economic crisis which occurred in the 1970s changed the political environment. At that period, as it appeared in previous one, political change affected the urban interventions. With this economic crisis, the Welfare State policies declined and replaced with the Neoliberal Politics. In other words, the growth-oriented policies were replaced by the redistribution politics in this period. With globalization, liberalization became as a policy to dissolve the border between nation states. National identities were not sharp as a previous period.

The main purpose of globalization was to develop a single market which includes all world economies. Therefore, declining of nation identity brought the creation of single market. According to new political view, national states lost its significance and gave its responsibilities to civil society, local authority and private establishments. Therefore, market forces took place to provide public services and urban development. Use values of the land also were removed by exchange values of land. Because of the privatization, land exchange values and quick economic changes, comprehensive planning approaches put away and incremental solutions, quantities sensibilities (green standards only in numbers rather than quality) and emphasis on “project” rather than “plan” shone out (İlkay, 2016).

Land exchange values and project based development made urban transformation projects as main urban development strategy. Because of these rapid and small scale developments, urban green areas, open public spaces and historical-cultural buildings became under the risk of destruction. 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 (İlkay, 2016, 124).

The 1980s was also turning point for Turkey's planning system. Different approaches in urban planning, changes in the institutional structures and new legislative regulations shaped the new spatial organization (Karaburun, 2009, 62). The law numbered 3030 was approved in 1984 and the law numbered 3194 was enacted in

1985. These two laws were the most effective ones which changed legislative and institutional structure.

The law numbered 3030 was about status of metropolitan municipalities and the defining its district municipalities. Moreover, budget and responsibilities of local governments were enhanced. Also, Greater Municipalities was firstly defined with this law. According to law, Greater Municipalities were identified as decision-making bodies in metropolitan cities. Ankara was the one of these Greater Municipalities. Under the Ankara Greater Municipality, there were Altındağ, Çankaya, Keçiören, Mamak and Yenimahalle which were established and Sincan, Etimesgut and Gölbaşı which were founded.

New legislation for urban development was needed instead of the law numbered 6785. The law numbered 3194 defined urban development standards. Centralized administration for urban planning and development was replaced by local administration. Therefore, municipalities became responsible authority on urban development. Although, law described some standards for urban green areas, these standards are never realized. Also, protection and conservation of urban green areas were not defined in this law.

The work of AMAMPB became the under the authority of Ankara Greater Municipality, according to arrangements within this law. Different departments of Greater Municipality was responsible for different scale of plans. For example, upper scale metropolitan plans made by The Department of Housing, 1/5000 scale plan made by the Directorate of Urban Development and 1/1000 scale plans made by the planning department. Although, development of urban plans were responsibilities of one authority, because of the lack of coordination between departments, plans were prepared and approved without consistency with each other and incremental plans were in effect again in Ankara (Akın, 2007 cited in Karaburun, 2009, 63). This process also created pressure on urban green areas. There were not any possibilities to create urban green system within these conditions.

The last metropolitan plan proposal of Ankara, which was 2025 macroform proposal, also approved in this period. This proposal was prepared and approved by the Ministry of Housing and Development. Until this plan, there was not any approved urban development plan although there were some urban plan studies such as 2015 Ankara Macroform Plan. Because of this lack, unplanned, project based small scale interventions occurred in Ankara. Two critical suggestions of 2025 Ankara Macroform Plan were about protected regions and urban macroform. In addition to determination of urban green standards of 2025 Ankara Macroform Plan, they also proposed to redesign the urban open and green areas and add these areas to the existing urban green stock by defining “Specific Project Areas”(İlkay, 2016, 135). AOC was the one of the examples of these “Specific Project Areas”. Therefore, for urban green areas, there were not macroform decisions. İlkay (2016, 135-136) summarized this period and its urban plan and urban green approaches as;

Examining the defined mechanisms, tools, authorized 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.

Housing constructions and increasing density of urban spaces also threaten urban green areas. The main reason of increasing housing and density of urban spaces was the economic concern of Ankara which was shifted from industry to construction sector. Moreover, legalization of slum areas also encouraged housing development. People who settled illegally gained legal houses with amnesty laws and partial development plans. For this reason, these laws worked as encouragement process in order to build these areas. Therefore, these areas continue to be built in urban green and natural areas such as green belts, valleys and streams. Some laws about these areas were enacted in the 1980s such as the law numbered 2805 and 2981. Because of the increasing exchange of land and these laws, slumareas became popular for

urban transformation project. In other words, urban green areas turned to slum areas then these areas turned to high-density and multistory areas without any social and technical infrastructure.

Mass Housing Administration- TOKİ was also a main actor about housing development in this period. This new institution was established by the mass housing law-[toplu konut kanunu] in 1984. The purpose of this institution was to provide houses for low income groups and slum areas. However, recently, this institution has also built residential areas for middle and high income groups. Moreover, with the increasing power and authority of the institution, Mass Housing Administration started to prepare own urban plans as a partial development. With these new authorities, Mass Housing Administration became the one of the main actors for housing. Although urban development projects had risk for urban green areas, whatever the reason to build urban parks, recent urban projects of Mass Housing Administration contained urban parks such as North Ankara Entrance Urban Transformation Project – [Kuzey Ankara Girişi Projesi].

With new laws such as the law numbered 5216 or 6306, urban transformation projects were encouraged. Although central and local government were responsible for executive, public-private partnership could be seen to transform these areas. Valleys of Portakal Ciçeği and Papazın Bağı were the examples of urban transformation projects in this era. With these transformation projects, on the one hand, natural and existing urban areas became in danger on the other hand new urban parks were built. However, these urban parks were different than previous ones. Urban parks in these projects were used according to economic concerns. Also, they were appeared as marketing strategies.

The effects of this neoliberal policies were defined by Yılmaz (2015, 50) as;

As a result of neoliberal policies, urban spaces became commodities and urban projects focused on how to earn the maximum profit. Commercial components were added to existing parks and new parks were created as commercial facilities. Walls were built around these parks, which now contained commercial structures.

Security issues, as we understand from the above sentences, also became important in these areas at that period. Therefore, in addition to walls, security guards and cameras became a part of these parks. Hence, it can be said that these urban parks were different than earlier ones because of its closed structure. Altınpark which was built in 1985, Harikalar Diyarı in Sincan, Göksu Park in Eryaman and Mogan Park in Gölbaşı were built with these features such as security guards, closed places and the purpose of profit making. Moreover, these urban parks provide space for local people to carry out sporting, cultural and entertainment activities in their leisure time with their closed or semi-open structures (Yılmaz, 2015, 50-51). There were also firm places and picnic areas in these parks. These urban parks were built in the areas which are open to development and expansion. Also, these new urban parks were also built away from city center. With these new urban park models and its locations local government could control the area. With the same idea, government continued to make central urban parks such as Güvenpark smaller in order to controled and overcame the social movements.

After the second half of the 1990s, Political Islamic parties became central and local authorities. As it was seen previous periods, political view which got power could change and reproduce urban areas and symbolic-historical content of spatial patterns. Hence, same issiue appeared for Political Islamic view in the present instance. Therefore, in addition to capital accumulation, Islamic representation was also effective in this period. For example, in Güvenpark, iftar tents were settled in order to give food to people. Batuman (2000) mentions that iftar tents and free transportation helped poor people to arrive at city center and shows Islamic identity to others at urban parks.

Table III.IV.I. : Urban Parks' Values of Ankara in Different Periods (prepared by the author of the thesis)

Period	MOTIVATIONS			Elements
	Symbolic/ Politic	Environmental	Economic	
1923-1950	National Identity Modernization Westernization	Green Network Green Belts Natural Resources Ecological Improvement		Modern Items Water Sculpture
1950-1980	Encountering Arena			Pastoral
1980- 2000	Islamic Values Under Controlled Areas		Recreational Areas Built for profit maximization in areas which were opened to development Marketing Strategies	Picnic Areas Water Private Firms Walls Entrance Door

As it is seen in the Table III.IV.I., until this period, there were not any economical concern to develop urban parks. Especially, after the 2000s, in housing and urban transformation projects as Delhi project which was analyzed previous chapter, urban parks were used as a marketing strategy and the increasing the housing prices in these areas. There are also differences in the location, design, usage and functions of urban parks which were produced in Republican Era and are produced after the 20th century. The lists of urban parks which are produced by Ankara Greater Municipality

from 1994 to 2013 also show the locational changes. From 1994 to 2005, municipality did not produce large scale urban parks such as Güvenpark or Gençlik Park. However, in the 21th century, new large scale urban parks started to be developed in the periphery of the city. Because of their locations, these urban parks do not serve to all citizens into the city. In order to understand these changes and other different feautres deeply, in the next part of the study, urban parks which were produced within urban transformation projects will be analyzed.

CHAPTER IV

THE CASE STUDY ANALYSIS: URBAN PARKS WITHIN URBAN TRANSFORMATION PROJECTS IN ANKARA

The literature review about European, American and Ankara's urban parks showed that urban parks serve to specific social groups for different purposes such as politic, social or economic. In the Chapter I, It is explained that, with neoliberalism, globalization and economic competition, urban spaces started to compete with each other. At that period, policies were produced as regional, sustainable, green and competitive urbanization. In addition to these, in order to get attention of specific groups such as high-income, more “green urban projects” started to develop. Therefore, as it is seen above, green-branding and green gentrification issues took place in cities. Green areas and urban parks started to be used within urban transformation projects as branding and profit-making items.

As it was mentioned above, although urban green areas were destroyed, it was recognized that ‘Green Ankara’ slogans took part in the billboards, speeches and advertisement. In order to understand this discourse changings, large scale urban parks must be analyzed. Interviews which made with Ankara Great Municipality showed that urban parks in that scale were developed with urban transformation projects mostly. Large scale urban parks which were developed during the 2000s in Ankara will be analyzed in this part of the study to understand this changing. It was learned by the interviews which made with Ankara Greater Municipality, Zoning and Urban Planning Department, urban transformation projects which were decided after 2005 and have large scale urban green areas are Göksu UTP, North Ankara Entrance UTP, and South Park Ankara UTP. Project officers mentioned that urban park was

created in North Ankara Entrance UTP and South Park Ankara UTP because these areas were not suitable for housing development because of its geological problems. In addition to this, they mentioned that for green marketing strategies, urban green areas were planned by municipality within Göksu UTP. Also, interviews showed that North Ankara Entrance UTP and South Park Ankara UTP gained importance because of their green-branding strategies. Therefore, it could be said that all interviews which were made with municipality responsible officers disclosed that although areas were chosen by planners because these areas were geologically inappropriate, all urban parks were created to increase the value of project, land rant and improve marketing strategies. It was also mentioned that the trend “using green areas for marketing within urban transformation project” hide the negative aspects of projects. As it was examined in the example urban development plans- figure IV.II-III-IV, green areas were planned as urban Regional Park or recreational areas. These large-scale urban parks are different than the Republican Era’s’ urban parks according to their location, function, equipment and forms.



Figure IV.I. : Advertisement of Ankara Great Municipality in 2014 (Source: <https://urbarli.net/2014/03/03/en-kalitesiz-havasiyla-bozkirdan-yesile-ankara/>)

IV. I. Göksu Urban Transformation Project (Göksu UTP)

Göksu UTP spans 510 hectares land. 20 percent of transformation area was planned as a large-scale green area. According to the development and implementation plans of the project, the municipality aims to enlarge the Göksu Park and form a relationship between residential areas and this large-scale urban park. Because of its size, this urban park has a regional park status. Total area of planned urban park in this project is 978.500 m² according to the information given by the officials of the municipality. The location of the park is 25 km away from the city center. For this reason, it can be mentioned that the accessibility to this regional park is very restricted.

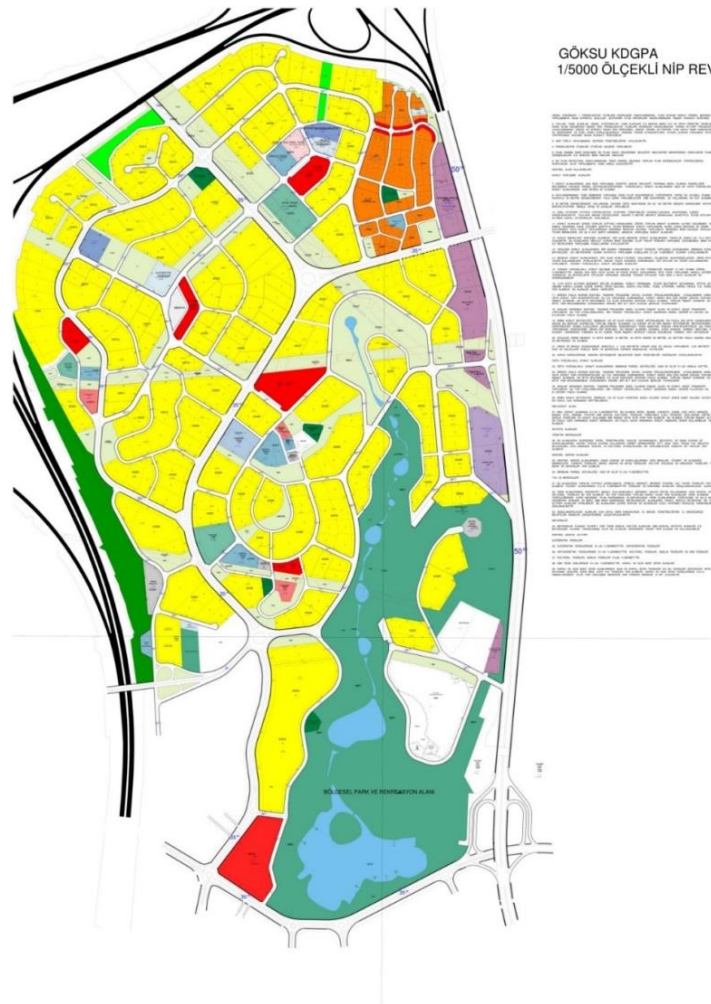


Figure IV.I.II. : Göksu Urban Transformation Project 1/5000 Scale Development Plan (Source: Ankara Greater Municipality)

In Göksu UTP, although there are more than one project owner in the side, the biggest project owner finished its project and newcomers settled in this area. The name of the project is Kaşmir Lake Houses [Kaşmir Göl Evleri]. Because of this, the interviews were made about Kaşmir Lake Houses. It was mentioned by project management office; Göksu recreation area which municipality is responsible to develop was used as a marketing strategy to sell these houses. Advertising catalog of the project also improved this issue. When the general layout plans of Kaşmir Lake Houses was analyzed, it was seen that huge part of the plan was covered by Göksu recreation area. In Advertising catalog created by project owners, Göksu recreation area was shown as a part of Kaşmir Lake Houses project rather than public space. Moreover, in the advertising catalog, some marketing sentences such as “a unique world that will provide you with a blue and green reunion that will take you away from the hustle and bustle of city life” took attentions. This marketing sentences reminded the idea of “escape from the city” which was occurred after the industrial revolution.



Figure IV.I.III.: General Layout Plan of Kaşmir Lake Houses. (Source: Advertisement brochure of Kaşmir Lake Houses)

The success of green-branding strategy can be supported by the interviews which were held with newcomers. These interviews revealed that all newcomers bought their houses because of recreation area. They said that “we bought these houses because the project owners said that all area from Göksu to project will be covered by green areas and our views will be a green, large-scale urban park”. Therefore, the claims and advertisements explained how Göksu recreation area was used as marketing strategy. However, it was observed that this recreation area has not been made yet.



Figure IV.IV. : The model of the Project (Taken by author)

In the field study, it was observed that the area which will be Göksu recreation area is still steppe. Interviews with newcomers disclosed that although they bought their houses because of Göksu recreation area, this area was not made and they mentioned that some people claimed that this rection area will be converted to new residential landuse. They said that this claim disturbed them and they sue the project owner

about this issue and other different conflicts. Also, one newcomer said that “we submitted a petition to municipality in order to preserve this area as a recreational area.” Moreover, they mentioned that if municipality cannot plant, they can plant trees by themselves as long as this area is remained as recreational. Newcomers thought that project owner deceived themselves in order to sell these houses. Although urban park is not produced yet, according to advertising catalog, the park will include golf courses, commercial units and a pond. Therefore, according to the interviews and the catalog, the park will have activities that target the upper income groups.

IV. II. South Park Ankara Urban Transformation Project [Güneypark Kentsel Dönüşüm Projesi]

South Park Ankara UTP covers a land area of 116 hectares. The location of the project is 10 km away from the city center. This project also has large-scale urban park. 50 percent of the total project area will be dedicated to green areas. Because of its size, this urban park will also be regional park for Ankara. However, its location does not enable people to reach easily.

In South Park Ankara UTP, the responsible construction company is Sinpaş GYO. Interviews were made with the responsible personel in sales office. The Project has three different construction areas which are Sinpaş Altın Oran, Marine Ankara and Güneypark Konutları.

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Figure IV. II.II The Project in 2004 (Source: Google Earth)

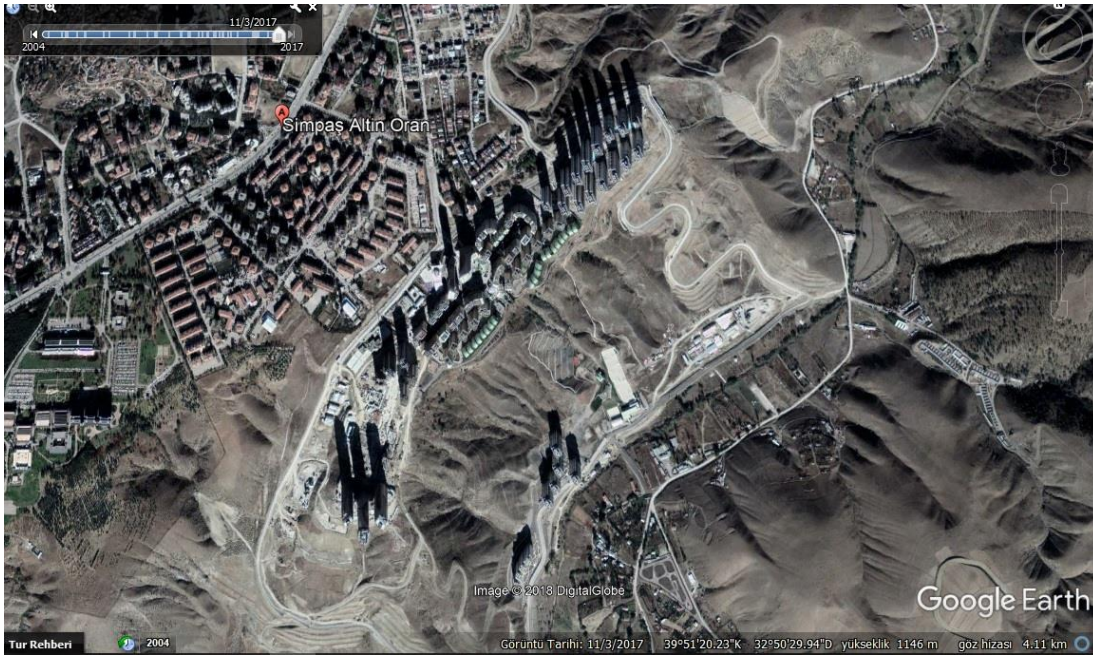


Figure IV.II.III. Project in 2017(Source: Google Earth)

As it was examined in the Google Earth views, project area was covered by slum [gecekondu] areas. With the project, all slum [gecekondu] areas were demolished by

municipality. Because urban recreation area has not finished yet, it could not be analyzed what the usage of the area is for newcomers and gecekondu dwellers. However, interviews and advertising catalogs showed that this recreation area will be used as a large-scale urban park with trees and there will be such commercial activities as ski run, ice skating, adventure park and private sport areas.

All zoning parts of the urban development plan are presented as Sinpaş' own project. For this reason, public areas are seen as private investment areas. Also, municipality confirms that all investments in urban transformation area which include urban green areas are made by Sinpaş GYO. Because project owner invests in urban open areas, they use these areas as a marketing and green-branding tool. However, according to the explanations of municipal officials and the project owner, these green areas seem to be produced for certain social groups which are the newcomers who are mostly higher income groups. This recreational development is different than Göksu recreation area. Unlike Göksu recreation area, because all area is invested by company, there is not any differentiation between advertising catalog and real investments.

It was observed that although Altın Oran and Güneypark projects ended, other areas are under construction. General layout plan – Figure IV.V was analyzed and it was learned that Güneypark Konutları were constructed for landowners. With this regional segregation, landowners and newcomers were separated. Project owners mentioned that “it is not appropriated for these two groups to live in same place”. Moreover, when urban green areas within Güneypark Konutları and others were compared, the same segregation was in evidence.

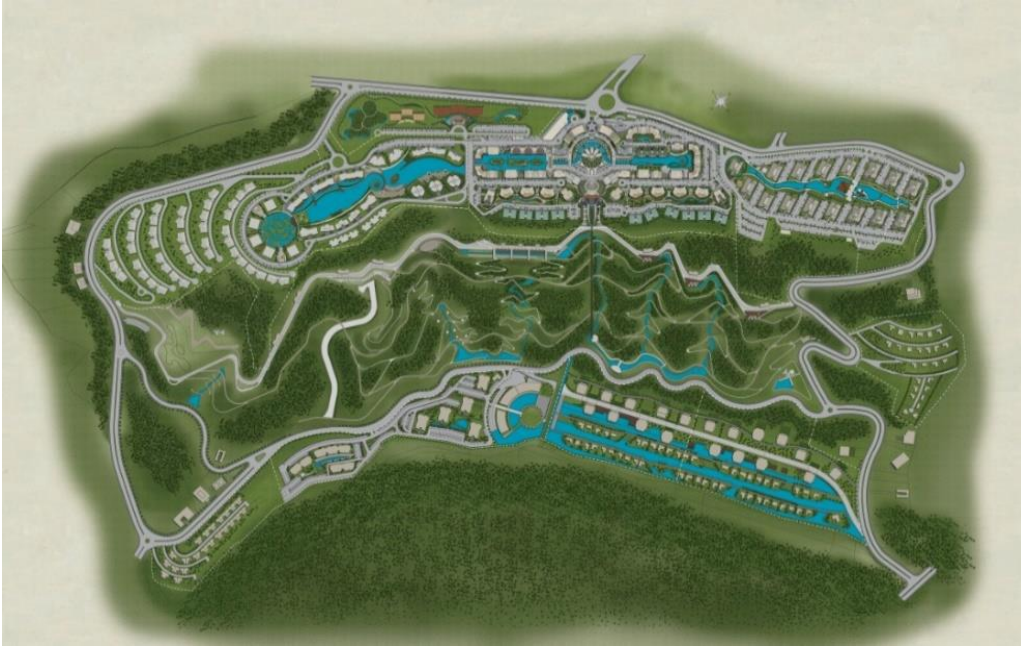


Figure IV. II.IV. : General Layout Plan of South Park Ankara Urban Transformation Project (Source: Advertisement brochure of South Park Ankara)



Figure IV. II.V. : Housing Areas in General Layout Plan of South Park Ankara Urban Transformation Project (Source: Advertisement brochure of South Park Ankara)

Unlike Güneypark Konutları, urban green areas in Marine Ankara and Sinpaş Altın Oran housing projects have cafes and restaurants. In other words, although an urban green area in Güneypark housing Project is passive, urban green areas in Sinpaş Altın Oran and Marine Ankara have active and commercial green areas.

Housing typologies are also different. Unlike Güneypark Konutları, Sinpaş Altın Oran and Marine Ankara housing projects were made more luxury and these houses are expensive than Güneypark Konutları. Also, sales office is not responsible to sale Güneypark Konutları. These houses are sold by real estates. Therefore, it can be said that in all aspects, gecekondu dwellers were segregated from other parts of project.

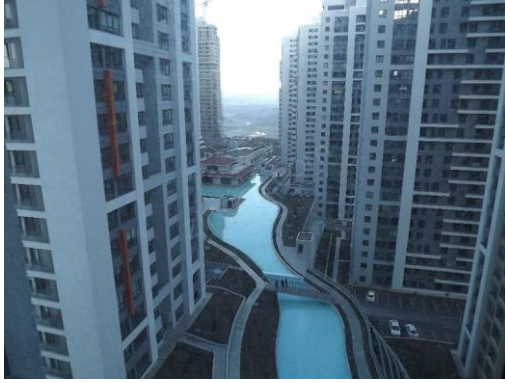


Figure IV. II.VI. : Güneypark



Figure IV. II.VII. : Sinpaş (anonymous)

IV. III. North Ankara Entrance Urban Transformation Project [Kuzey Ankara Girişi Kentsel Dönüşüm Projesi]

North Ankara Entrance UTP is covering an area within the boundaries of Altındağ and Kecioren District Municipalities and has been opened to construction by law numbered 5104 because project area has entered more than one municipality authority. With this law, authority confusion could be overcome. The law numbered. 5104 on North Ankara Entrance UTP includes the area called "protocol" route of Ankara from Esenboğa airway to city center. Project's aim was mentioned as to clean the slum areas and improve the physical appearance of the region.

If distribution of tasks was examined within the scope of Law No. 5104;

Ankara Metropolitan Municipality; determination of rights holders, determination of the right of owners to benefit from housing, preparation of zoning plan, making agreement with right holders, the expropriation process, infrastructure and road construction and recreation areas;

TOKİ; housing for right holders, infrastructure in city block, education buildings, health and religious facilities, sale of office buildings and trade centers;

TOBAŞ; consultancy and control services, preparing urban design projects, construction of financial houses, landscape construction.

The project contains two residence sections and one recreation section. In the interviews with the municipality, it was learned that the area within the boundaries of Kecioren was constructed by Toki, and the area within Altındağ was constructed by TOBAŞ. Construction phase is still in progress.

The aims of development plans of project are explained by municipality in the projects' development plan report as

The target of Plan; making identity for city entrance, emphasizing the image of capital city, rescue of the zone in the protocol route from the distorted structure, development of environmental conditions/ beautification, providing healthier layout and reaching the level of modern life.

As it was understood from the above explanations, the originating point of the project was completely cleared of the area from slum dwellers to present “modern life” for newcomers. Speech of the mayor of the period revealed the hidden gentrification process in project area. The statement was that

When many foreigners coming from abroad, our diplomats would say, 'How can we occupy foreign guests and not see this bad image'? From now on, this image is changing. (...) Around 500 housing units are being built together with TOKİ in North Ankara Entrance urban transformation project. (...) We will also make tenders for the 18 thousand housing. (...) Therefore 2 years later, Ankara will give a different view to the capital together with this Giant Recreation (Bostanoğlu, nd, 111).

The project was presented as a “Giant Recreation” project to clean up slum areas and slum areas were explained as “bad image”.

Municipality also mentioned about the construction process as

For this reason, decisions should be made to ensure that the planning area is primarily a residential area with high standards. The region should have prestigious uses for the entire city. As mentioned earlier, the piece of city to be constructed must be different from an ordinary slum-dwelling area transformation.

Again, “high standards” and “prestigious uses” terms foreshadowed the gentrification process. When the satellite photographs of project area were analyzed, how the transformation takes place would be understood better.

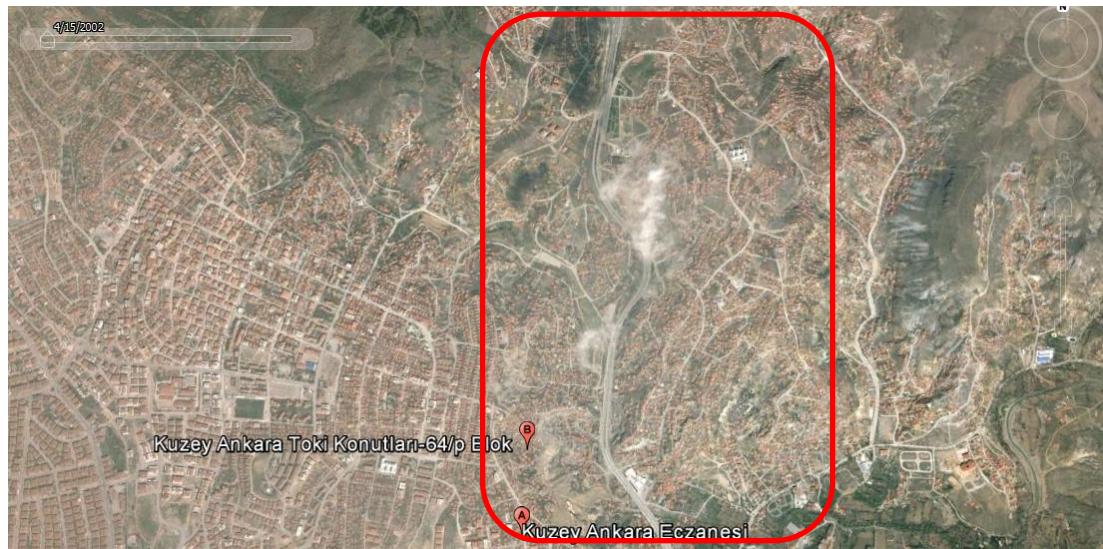


Figure IV. III. I. : The Project in 2002 (Source: Google Earth)



Figure IV.III.II. : The Project in 2006 (Source: Google Earth)

When Figure IV.III.I. and Figure IV.III.II. are compared, it is seen that all of the slum areas in the project area are destroyed. Thus, the area was completely cleaned from 'the bad image area' which authority were talking about. Figure IV.III.III shows the final stage of the project. The green area produced in the project is presented in the media as a sample project and giant recreation area.

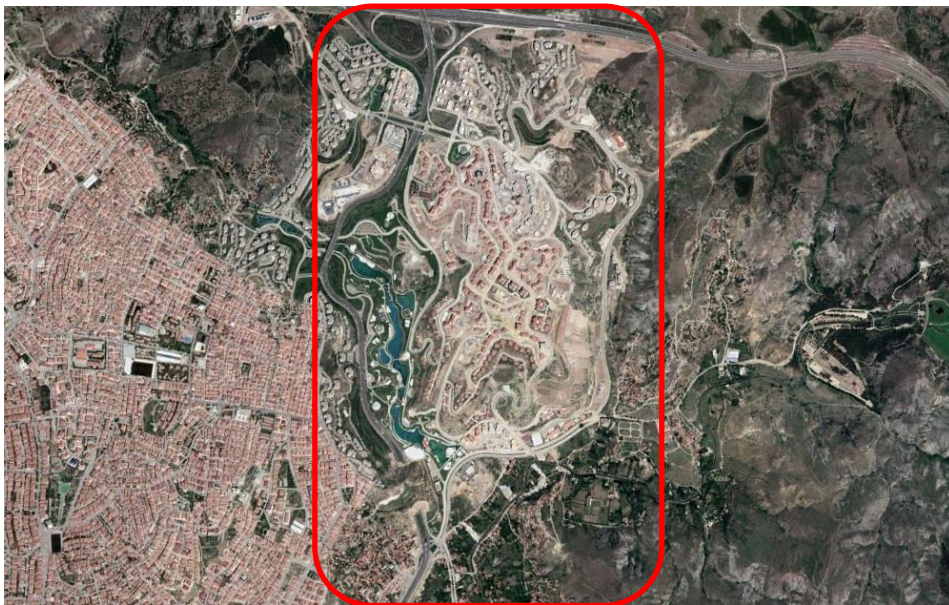


Figure IV.III.III. : The Project in 2006 (Source: Google Earth)

The interviews with the municipal project manager indicated that the recreation area was made on the geologically objectionable area and they mentioned that this recreation area added value to the project.

In addition to municipality, interviews were also held with TOBAŞ which is responsible for construction within the scope of field works. It has been mentioned that residential areas, which were colored in the above plan, are made by TOBAŞ. When asked what the recreation area means for the project owners, they stated that they used it as a buffer zone which separated the right holders and financial holders. It was also understood from the plan that recreation area was located as a buffer zone between residential areas built for right holders and financial houses. As it can be seen in Figure IV.I.II., the colored areas on the right side of the site plan are financial houses and the remaining areas on the left side are built for gecekondü dwellers.

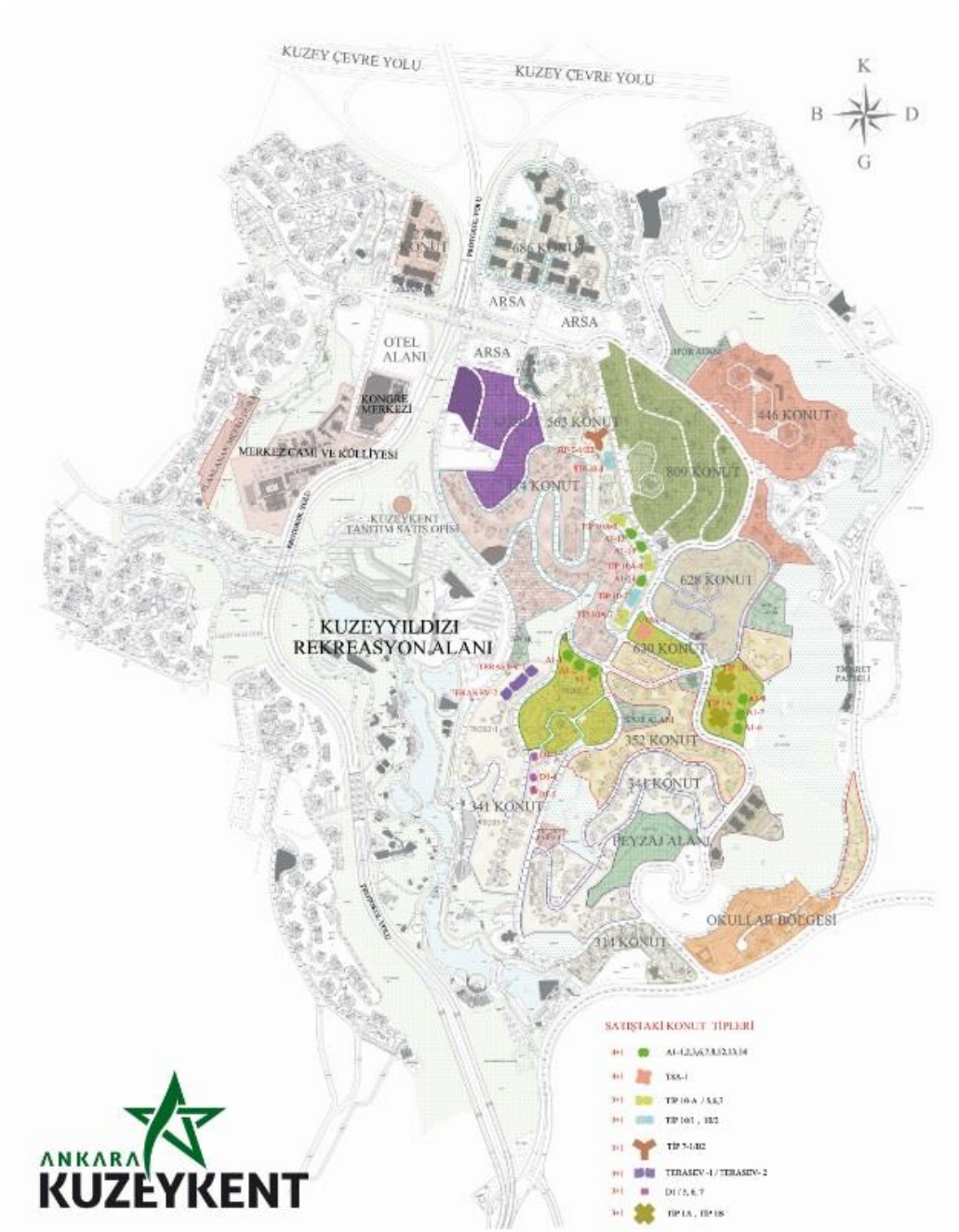


Figure IV.III.IV. : General Layout Plan of the Project (Source: TOBAŞ)

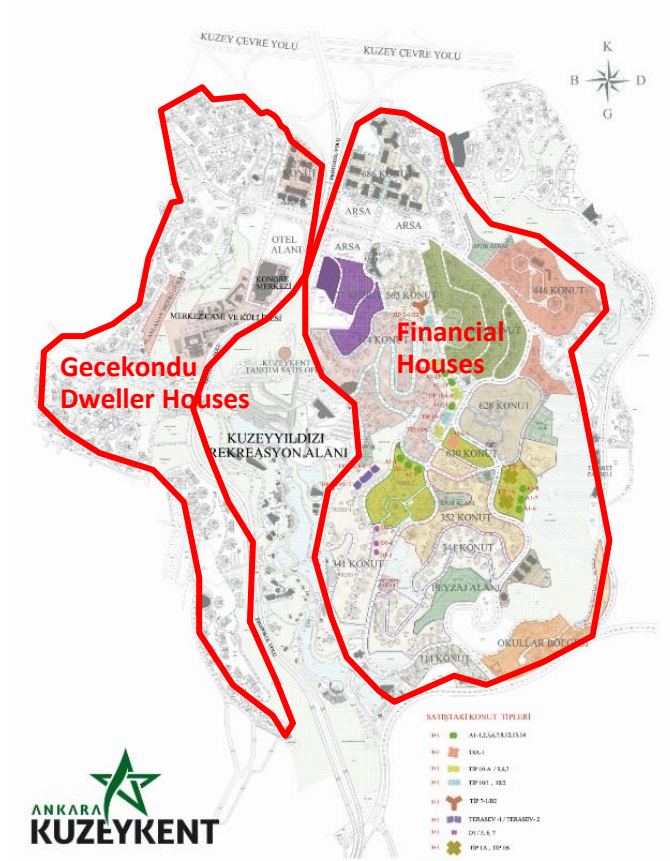


Figure IV.III.V. : Housing Areas of the Project

It was examined both in the field studies and in the site plan; the protocol road is also an obstacle between the houses of gecekondu dwellers and the park. While it is possible to go directly from the finance houses to the park, there are not direct accesses from the settlement of the right holders.

Although the municipal authority said that there is not segregation, segregation has been created by project developer. In addition to create segregated house areas, there is also a typological difference which was examined on field. As shown in Figure IV.I.II., the constructions built on the left side were reproduced for the right holders, whereas the houses on the right side with different typologies were developed as the financial houses. At the same time, average housing value of right holders is almost 2/3 of the financial house values.



Figure IV.III.VI. : Left for Gecekondu dwellers, Right for Newcomers

(Source: https://www.360tr.com/tobas-kuzey-ankara-7-panorama-sanal-tur_74d81cac31_tr.html)

This segregation was also confirmed with interviews which were made by right holders and park users. Interviews were held by thirteen people in the residential area and twelve people who used the park. People who lived in gecekondu dwellers houses mentioned that “they do not use park more than once a year”. The reasons of that are listed as the lack of vehicles, the difficulty of transportation, and safety issues. For example, one of the interviewed women mentioned that “her child had been kidnapped”. Moreover, the striking example about right holders never use park area is that two right holders who have lived for five years, have not yet visited the recreation area. Rather than the visiting recreational area, they prefer to go to Pursaklar because of easy transportation opportunities.

Similar results were examined by interviews with park users. 12 people, five of them from outside and seven of them living in the area, were interviewed. Those who came from the outside of area have lived in Keçiören and Pursaklar and they stated that “they visited the area very often”. These people mentioned that they prefer to come in the daytime because of security issues. Furthermore, seven people who have been lived in the area and used the park stated that they can come to the park only when they have vehicles. For example, a person living in the area for 6 years said that “I use the recreation area once every two to three months if our visitors have vehicle”. Again, the person living in the area for five years said that “I came today because there is a vehicle otherwise it is very difficult to reach the park area”.

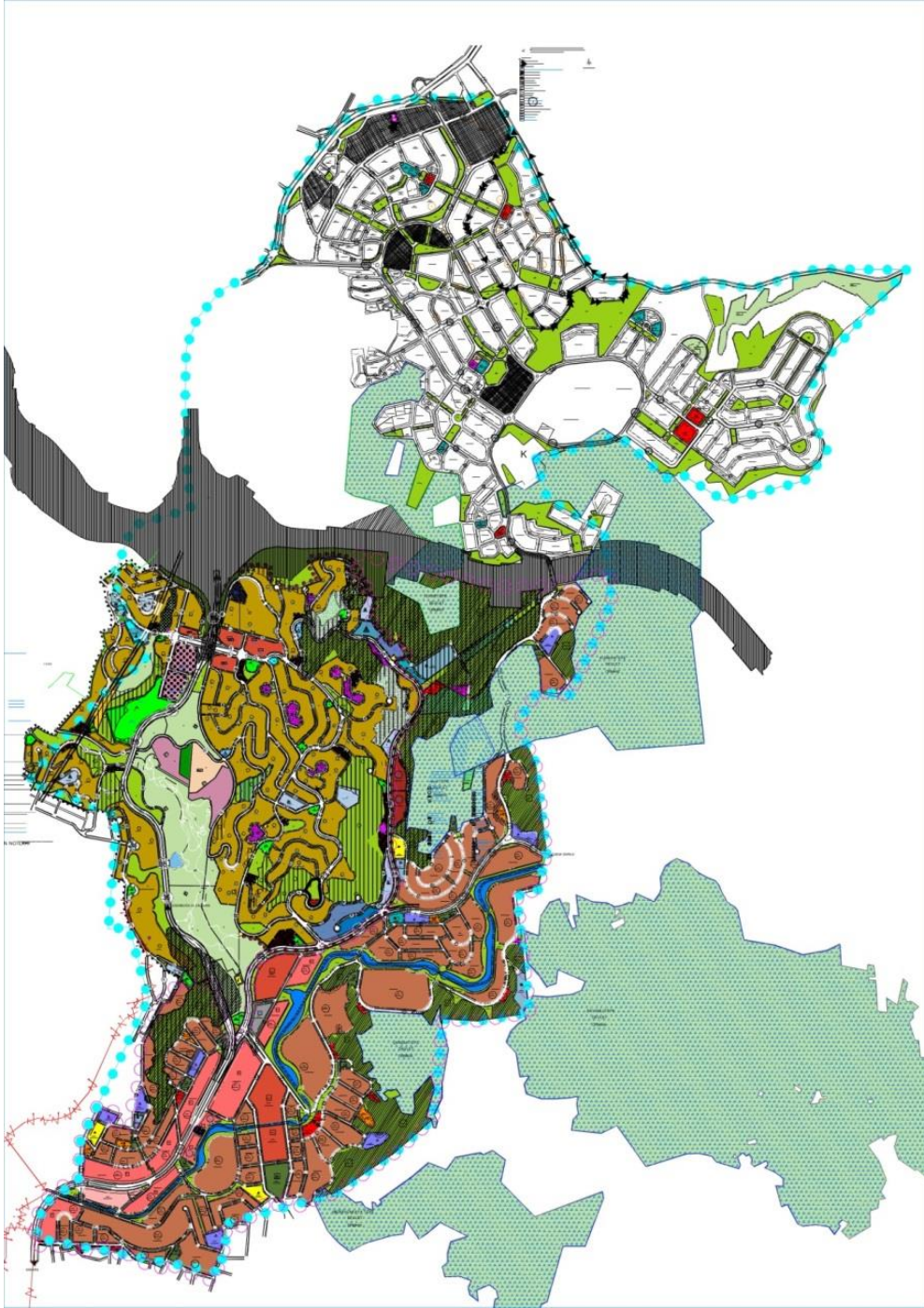


Figure IV.III.VII. : 1/5000 scale Project Development Plan (Source: Greater Municipality of Ankara)

In addition to all these, neo-liberal Islamic symbols were also seen when the recreation area was examined on the field. The Kuzey Yıldızı Külliyesi [islamic-

ottoman social complex] and mosque in the area were reflection of the New Islamic values .



Figure IV.III.VIII. : Islamic Values in Recreation

(Source: https://www.360tr.com/tobas-kuzey-ankara-7-panorama-sanal-tur_74d81cac31_tr.html)



Figure IV.III.IX. : Advertisement about Islamic-Ottoman Social Complex

(Source: <http://www.golbasinethaber.com/yasam/kuzey-yildizi-kulliyesi-buyuluyor-h6181.html>)

From past to present, as it is seen within study, urban parks as a part of urbanization are under the control of powerful groups. While in some periods these powerful groups are administrative classes, sometimes, these powerful groups can be high income groups and bourgeoisie. It should be noted here is that the urban green areas are not developed for public use or environmental concerns, these areas are mostly used in order to reflect political thoughts or attract the specific classes of the society.

As it was mentioned before, competitive city issues and sustainability also gave another strategy for development. All these factors led urban parks to be used as green-branding and marketing items. While for municipality, these urban parks were developed in order to attract private project developers, project developers used these urban parks in order to brand their projects. The success of this strategy was also confirmed by interviews with newcomers. Newcomers mentioned that they bought their houses because of these urban parks. Although newcomers had chance to use these urban parks, gecekondu dwellers were segregated from these areas by project

developers. For this reason, gecekondu dwellers saw urban parks as a buffer which they could not reach and use.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

Meaning and usage of urban parks evolved according to the relationship between human and nature. From Republican Era to today, economic and political changes have effects on urbanization strategies. With the new urban development strategies, urban parks were built for different purposes and reflected different values. In addition to this, development motivations behind these urban parks, the locations, functions and equipments of these urban parks are altered from one period to another. Because planned urbanization started within RepublicanEra, the new features and use purposes of the 21th century urban parks are compared with urban parks from Republican Era.

Between 1923 and 1950, the main purposes of New Republic were the creation of national identity, modernization and westernization. Urbanization strategies were evolved to achieve this purpose. Because of urban parks are the part of the urbanization, urban parks were also developed in order to reach New Republic purposes. The main example of urban parks which had national identity was Güvenpark and the main example of urban parks which had westernization approaches was Genclik Park. In these urban parks, bourgeoisie took their place and events within these parks.. In addition to these, political events such as announcement of some revolutions which were made by Atatürk in urban parks also gave the different political value for urban parks.

As it is mentioned by Gündüz (2002, 27), the explanation of Atatürk's language revolution in Sarayburnu park is extremely important in terms of emphasizing the characteristics of urban parks that bring people together and provide socialization.

Moreover, sculptures are the main elements of these urban parks. With these sculptures, Kurtuluş Savaşı [liberty war], Atatürk, his ideology and national identity items were symbolized. Therefore, these elements provide the reflection of the power of the regime in the public areas. The location of these urban parks is also important. These centrally located urban parks provided the socialization and accessibility for all citizens. Moreover, there were also cultural units such as exhibition areas into these urban parks. Mostly, green landscape was preferred and water could be used in the center of these Republican Era parks. These urban parks offered the socialization, relaxation, entertainment, education, cultural and sport places into its central located area.

The industrial revolution was a turning point for urbanization and urban green areas. Migration and industrialization caused the rapid population growth in urban areas. Therefore, density of residential areas increased. Also, industrial production leads to air pollution. These two results caused to polluted and unhealthy urban areas. In this condition, urban green areas started to be seen as an extension of nature. This imitation of nature provided people to escape this unhealthy, crowded and polluted urban condition. According to İlkay (2016, 250), 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 Ankara, this industrialization and migration occurred after 1950s. With this change, Ankara became the crowded and unplanned development areas. Therefore, existing green areas became under risk to transform housing zones. In addition to this, because working class started to settle in the core of urban area and urban parks which were mostly used by bourgeoisie became encounter area. This encountering resulted with social movements. Some urban parks such as Güvenpark and Kızılay Park were minimized in order to take under the control and overcome these social movements. Moreover, political thought wanted to hide the previous government's thought which was about national identity and westernization. For example, while Güvenpark which was developed in order to reflect New Republic's thought started

to be minimized, Kocatepe Mosque was constructed to overshadow the Güvenpark Monument.

After Welfare State, the Neoliberalism took part in the economic, social and politic life. Identity policies gained importance after distributional politics lost its significance. As it is mentioned before, use value was replaced by exchange value. The urban land itself became a phenomenon that was bought, sold and profited. Privatization, reproduction and exclusion were the key words of this period. As it is mentioned in the study of Liberman (2010, p.1397), within the built environment, the construction of new buildings or parks aid the circulation of capital through capital accumulation by landowners via rents, developers via increments of rent, builders via profit of enterprise, banks via interest and loans, and the local state via tax revenues. Urban transformation projects became the one of the important development strategies parallel with these policies. Also, rather than comprehensive planning strategies and plans, incremental strategies and project based development became significant urbanization strategy. Public spaces were increasingly seen as a crucial means to add value to speculative developments, both in terms of amenity and commerce and to market and regenerate localities (Ercan, 2007, 118).

In Ankara, this process took place after the 1980s. Firstly, the concept of national identity became blurred. Instead of national identity, international identity and single market gained importance. Because of the increasing the popularity of exchange value, urban transformation and housing process was the one of the main strategies of this period. Profit-making projects became important part of the urban development. Similarly, in this conjecture, the main purpose to develop urban green area was to increase the profit.

Moreover, because of competitive urban developments, development strategies were used as marketing of urban spaces. Furthermore, climate change, sustainability and green development issues were also feeding these marketing policies. Greenberg (2015, 125) explains that a market-oriented sustainability becomes hegemonic, displacing non-market alternatives, sustainability policies will be increasingly shaped

and constrained by capitalist logics. In capitalist cities, urban political ecology argues that the urban environments of the city are controlled manipulated and serve the interests of elite at the expense of marginalized population (Gulsrud, 2016, 35). Moreover, although, because of urban transformation projects and rant, urban green areas under the risk of destruction. Rather than the sustainability and environmental sensitive growth, these new urban green areas are the part of gentrification, segregation and branding processes.

İlkay (2016, 259) explains this usage of urban green areas as

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 pseudourban green areas of built environment, and commercial facilities (i.e. the case of regional parks in struggle among district municipalities and Ankara Metropolitan Municipality).

This historical perspective shows that until this period, parks have never truly been democratic spaces; they have suffered under egalitarian policy regime and have prospered under elitist policy regime (Liberman, 2010, 1392).

V.III. Summary of Findings

In order to understand what the meaning of urban parks is for demand and supply side of urban transformation projects, informations were gathered from four target groups. These target groups are municipality, project developers, gecekondü dwellers and newcomers. Ankara Greater Municipality and project developers are supply-side of the projects while gecekondü dwellers and newcomers are the demand-side of the projects. It was learned from the interviews with municipality officers, North Ankara Entrance UTP, South Park Ankara UTP and GöksuUTP are the examples of this type of projects. Moreover, with this thesis the idea that urban parks are not only public spaces but also ideological and political items is supported. In order to explain this,

some comparisons are made between Republican Era urban parks and the more recent examples of urban parks.

The development of South Park Ankara UTP is different than the other case studies. This urban park and recreation areas will be invested by project developer. Municipality only prepared the urban plans of project area. Interviews with project developer showed that they used the urban park and recreation area as a part of their project and in the advertisements of project these areas were showed in order to attract the newcomers. In the area, it was observed that gecekondu dwellers were segregated from other parts of the project. As a reason, project developer declared that if they had same living areas and opportunities, it would not be proper to their vision and lifestyle which they present to their customers.

In Göksu UTP, municipality mentioned that they planned urban park in order to attract investments. Also, they said that “as we see, after the rehabilitation of lake, urban land values and housing developments increased. Therefore, according to our foresight, this urban project will also create the same results”. After this interview, the ideas of project developer also supported this foresight. In addition to project developer’s expressions, advertisement brochure also used Göksu recreation area to market the project. Moreover, people who bought their houses from this project also said that the reason to buy was this recreation area. This three different target group proved that from planning process to today, this recreation area is used as a branding and profit maximization item.

When the interviews about North Ankara Entrance UTP is analyzed, other target group’s idea comes to existence. Different than the other projects, in this project, effects of urban park on gecekondu dwellers can be examined. According to gecekondu dwellers discourses, it was understood that rightholders cannot use urban park. This urban park was designed in such a way to hinder the entrance of gecekondu dwellers. All of the interviewers see these urban parks as an area which they cannot reach and use. These results are also proved by the views of the project developer. They mentioned that they designed urban park as a buffer zone between

gecekondü dwellers and newcomers because this segregation was obligatory to attract the newcomers. Also, municipality emphasized that before regeneration project, this area had a bad image, and this beautification process can help to improve this area. All these results are gathered with key words in Table V.III.I.

Table V.III.I : Strategies about Urban Park in Transformation Projects (prepared by the author of the thesis)

Project Name	Municipality Strategy	Private Sector Strategy	Gecekondü Dwellers	Newcomers
South Park Ankara UTP	Geologically Objectionable area Place-marketing	Place- marketing Segregation of right holders Commercial areas		
Göksu UTP	Place-marketing			Attract to buy
North Ankara Entrance UTP	Geologically Objectionable area Place-marketing	Place- marketing Buffer Zone between right holders and financial houses	An area they cannot reach and use Unsecure in nights	

Interviews with municipality and project owner explained the supply side's motives to develop these urban parks. For the municipality, urban parks provide attraction.

Municipalities integrating green spaces into their main place brands target elite groups through methods of political strategy and marketing (Gulsrud, 2016, p.46). Mostly, major construction firms want to invest this urban transformation projects to get more profit from development. As it was analyzed, all project developers which were the cases of this study use these urban parks as a branding and marketing strategy. Making the environment profitable is fundamental to the neoliberalization of nature (Kitchen, 2013, 1970). Moreover, project developers also use these areas as segregation. Inroy (2000, 23) proves that public spaces are increasingly seen as useful components of regeneration strategies as they can assist in developing positive images of an area and can potentially serve to improve an area's attractiveness to potential inward investors.

Demand-side also supported what the attitude of supply side for urban parks was. For the gecekondu dwellers, these urban parks are not more than the areas that they cannot reach and use. As it is mentioned by Liberman (2010)

Parks build during this elite republican policy regime limited park access by workers, immigrants and the urban poor. Instead of democratic spaces, parks were elite environmental amenities that acted as a spatial fix by enhancing private property values according to proximity principle.

Because project developers designed these urban parks as a buffer zone or developed commercial places which are mostly reflection of the need of higher income groups, gecekondu dwellers are excluded from the area. Interviews with newcomers also support this fact. Because all urban parks are created for the interest of newcomers, urban parks are the main reason to buy residential. Summary of strategies of target groups is explained in the Figure V.III.I.

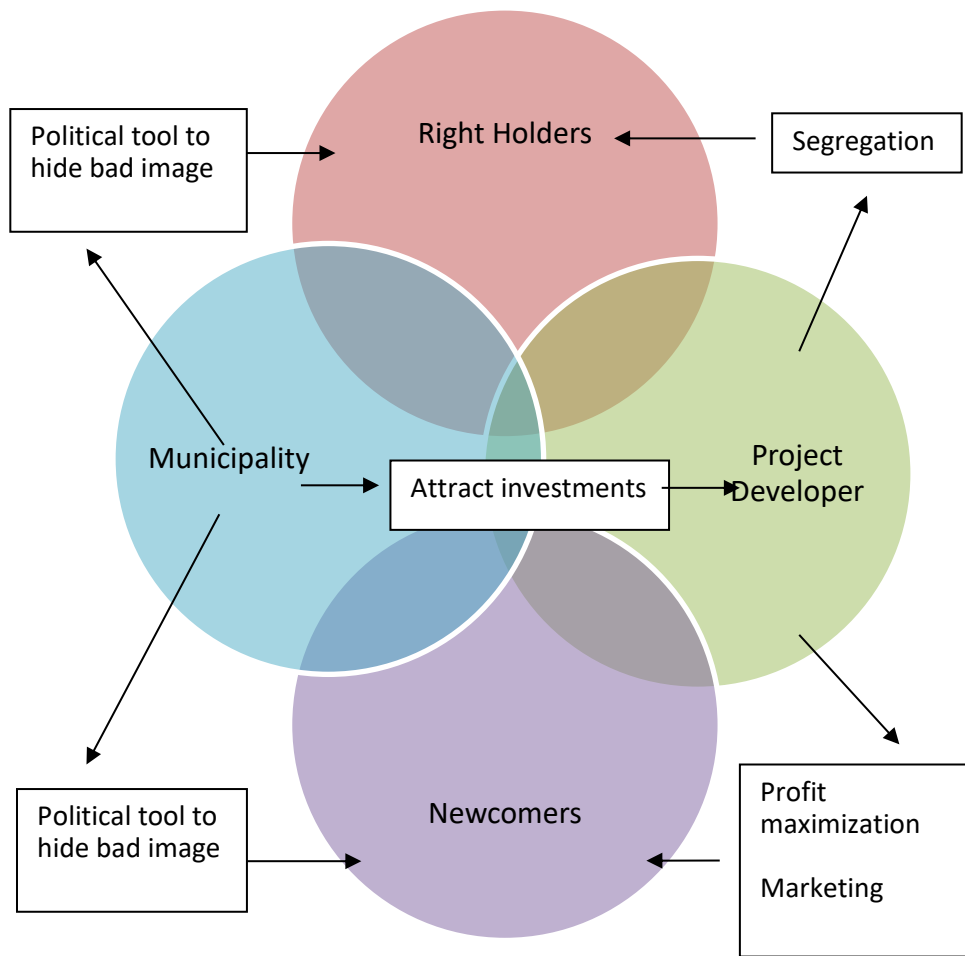


Figure V.III.I: Strategies of Demands on Supply Sides (Personal Diagram)

In addition to these findings, there are main differences in the 21th century urban parks in Ankara. The list of urban parks show that from 1994 to 2000s, Ankara Greater Municipality did not produce large-scale regional urban parks. After the 2000s, municipality started to make investments in order to create regional parks in the periphery of the city. When housing development dynamics are considered, it is realized that the location of the parks are choosen mostly in close areas to new residential areas. These urban parks attract housing investments such as Harikalar

Diyarı, Mogan, Mavi Göl. Preference of the periphery rather than central locations limits the accessibility of the parks to wider social groups. Therefore, socialization feature of urban parks, which were paid crucial attention in the Early Republican Era, seems to have left its place to the goals of attracting investors and making more profits.

The other differences are related to the function, equipment and form of the parks. In Republican Era, parks were attempted to serve for multifunctions such as socialization, relaxation, entertainment and enculturation. However, as it is seen in the case studies of this research, the main function of urban parks is a range of consumption. Dense commercial units are the similar functions in case studies. While in South Park and Göksu UTPs have private sport areas that serve to high income groups, North Ankara Entrance UTP has Islamic forms such as mosques and Islamic-ottoman social complex. This form and function differentiation reflect the ideological and financial alterations between Republican 0 Era and the 21th century in Ankara. A similar feature of some urban parks in these two periods is the presence of water. However, usage purposes of water are varied. Although, in Republican Era, this element was used for relief, it is now used for increasing the attractiveness of commercial units. The water in urban parks is surrounded by these commercial units. In Figure V.III.II, all these changes are seen shortly.

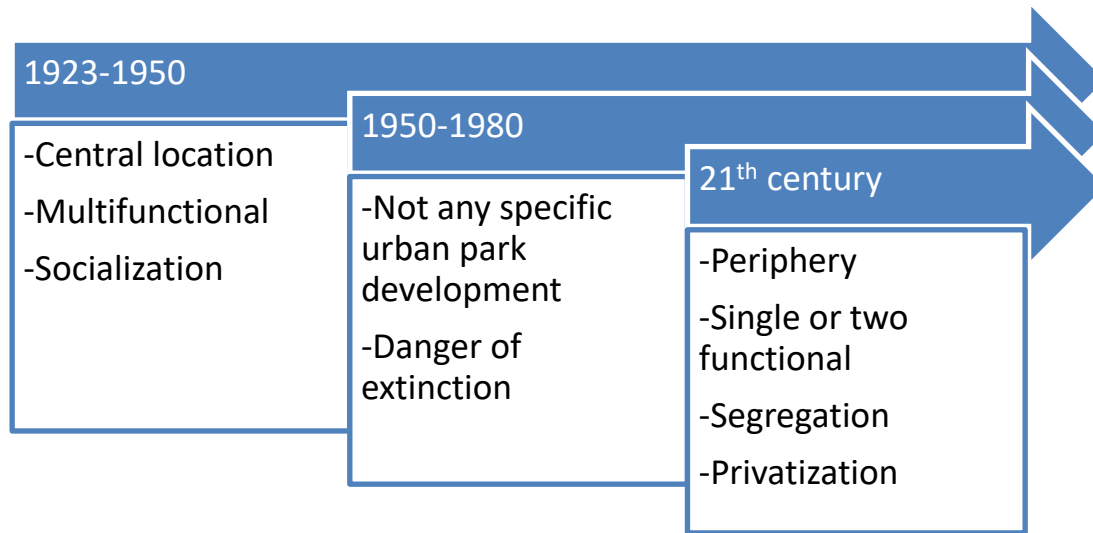


Figure V.III.II. : Political and Financial Evolution of Urban Parks in Ankara (Personal Diagram)

Inroy (2000, p.26)'s idea that there are issues surrounding the function of the park and this relates to questions surrounding who the public space is designed for and the extent to which the park has different meanings for different people is the one of the main aims of this research. This thesis helps to understand usage purpose of urban parks in urban transformation projects in Ankara during the 21th century. As it is seen in the background discussions, in the 21th century, urban parks are developed for specific political and economic concerns. When cities and municipal authorities gained more power, green spaces also started playing role in city branding efforts (Konijnendijk, 2010, 3). Also, knowing the economic role of public spaces, local governments in big cities put efforts to undertake various urban regeneration projects for marketing city branding through enhancing city imaginary and identity of place (Ellisa, 2011, 3).

This study shows that Ankara Metropolitan Municipality uses the urban parks in order to enhance city imaginary and market the land. In addition to branding, different than the historical manner, now, urban parks became gentrification and

segregation areas. Moreover, this thesis proved that projects which are presented as environmentally friendly by municipality that appears to be environmentally sound but in essence only serves profit-maximising interests and leads to the displacement of poor inhabitants to less well-off neighbourhoods (Bush and Anderberg, 2015, 6). In other words, as it is mentioned by Curran and Hamilton (2012, 1027), environmental improvements result in the displacement of working-class residents as clean up and reuse of undesirable land uses make a neighbourhood more attractive and drive up real estate prices. This means that recently these areas lost their public space role and altered to exclusivist areas. Finally, this thesis proves that the creation of urban parks includes political and ideological concerns beyond just creating public spaces. While the purpose of socialization was prominent in the republican era parks, the parks that are produced recently are being created in isolated worlds with no obvious intention for socialization purpose. Even socialization was aimed it would be quite difficult to achieve as the recent examples of the large scale parks are located on the periphery of the city. While doing this, forms that can be customized with past communities such as Islamic-Ottoman social complex are used.

V.IV. Recommendations for Future Development

In this case study and background discussions, there are some main outputs about the urban parks developments in Ankara. These outputs could be helpful in order to create urban parks for all citizens. For future development of urban parks, there are four main issues as a recommendation according to analyzes in this thesis.

- (1) Interviews with municipality showed that there are not any urban green systems in Ankara. Therefore, these urban parks are developed without any systematic approaches. For this reason, these green areas are very disconnected areas. In order to overcome this problem, urban green system must be developed in Ankara and these urban parks must be created according to this system.
- (2) In field studies, it was observed that, especially in South Park Ankara UTP, urban parks are invested by private developers. If private sector develops

urban parks, these urban parks become a part of project. Therefore, they produce a commercial and marketing items such as golf areas, ski centers etc. in order to attract specific social groups. For this reason, urban parks serve to just specific groups rather than public usage. In order to overcome this problem, public authorities must develop and invest for urban parks in order to create a park for all people in the city. Also, with the public development, there can be a standard for urban green areas' features.

- (3) Because these urban parks are developed for newcomers and their interest, gecekondu dwellers are not concerned. They are excluded from these urban parks because project developers concern that if gecekondu dwellers use the same areas such as common spaces with newcomers this would damage the prestige and sales rates. For this reason, segregation of gecekondu dwellers occurs in these projects. Boone and Modarres (2009, 174) explains this issue for greenways as

While it does not report on who uses the greenways, most research show that the poor and minorities are less likely to use parks but if planners pay attention to the needs of communities, more from all backgrounds may use greenways more often.

Chapman (2005,36) also mentions that green infrastructure must be planned in partnership with stakeholders in the field of health, education, environment, nature conservation, heritage, transport, the utilities, the private sector and the community, who depend on getting the natural and environment right. Therefore, it can be said that there must be participation planning when these projects start.

- (4) Urban parks as a part of urbanization process cannot be considered independent from the political, ideological and economic aspects of the period.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: URBAN PARK LIST INVESTED BY ANKARA GREATER MUNICIPALITY

1994-2013 YILLARI ARASI REKREASYON ALANLARI VE ANKARA PARKLARI				
SI RA	PARK ADI	YAPIM YILI	M2	İLÇESİ
1	S.HACIABDULLAHOĞLU PARKI	1994	30,349	KEÇİÖREN
2	KÜTÜKÇÜ ALİ BEY PARKI	1994	11,702	YENİMAHALLE
3	TÜRKMENİSTAN PARKI	1994	21,896	YENİMAHALLE
4	Y.BEYAZIT PARKI	1994	22,530	YENİMAHALLE
5	HACIBAYRAM VELİ CAMİ ÇEVRESİ (2010 REVİZE)	1994	45,332	ALTINDAĞ
6	ASAF BEY PARKI	1995	14,282	YENİMAHALLE
7	CAHAR DUDAYEF (ALİ HAYDAR BEY)	1995	15,278	YENİMAHALLE
8	BALGAT PARKI	1995	3,379	ÇANKAYA
9	DOSTLAR SİTESİ PARKI(VAZO)	1995	1,749	ÇANKAYA
10	DOSTLUK PARKI	1995	10,813	YENİMAHALLE
11	M.ALİ BEY PARKI	1995	10,470	YENİMAHALLE
12	NASRETTİN HOCA PARKI	1995	10,039	YENİMAHALLE
13	YASEMİN ÖZGÜR PARK (2012 REVİZE)	1995	14,191	YENİMAHALLE
14	YUMURCAK PARKI	1995	2,250	YENİMAHALLE
15	ALTI YEŞİL ALAN	1996	15,000	YENİMAHALLE
16	KARDELEN PARKI	1996	7,530	YENİMAHALLE
17	HUKUK PARKI (HUKUK FAKÜL. ALTI)	1996	3,490	ALTINDAĞ
18	KARDELEN MAHALLESİ PARKI	1996	13,377	YENİMAHALLE
19	M.AYDIN YUNT PARKI	1996	17,967	YENİMAHALLE
20	MAZDA ŞEHİTLER PARKI	1996	13,683	YENİMAHALLE
21	BARIŞ MANÇO PARKI	1997	9,353	ÇANKAYA
22	BATIKENT ÇAY BAHÇESİ 2(ŞHT.EVREN AYYARGIN)PARKI	1997	17,746	YENİMAHALLE
23	BATIKENT ÇAY BAHÇESİ 1 HÜSEYİN TEK PARKI	1997	19,554	YENİMAHALLE

24	CUMHURİYET PARKI	1997	7,510	ALTINDAĞ
25	ŞHT.ERSİN BATUR PARKI (AYYILDIZ PARKI)	1997	7,023	ETİMESGUT
26	EŞREF BİTLİS CAD. DİNLENME PARKI	1997	3,500	KEÇİÖREN
27	EVCİL HAYVANLAR PARKI	1997	18,137	KEÇİÖREN
28	HACETTEPE ACİL ALTI PARKI	1997	6,672	ALTINDAĞ
29	HOSTA ÖNÜ PARKI seymenler	1997	4,730	ETİMESGUT
30	İNÖNÜ PARKI	1997	8,495	ÇANKAYA
31	İSTANBUL YOLU KOŞU PARKURU	1997	80,850	YENİMAHALLE
32	SAMANPAZARI ESNAFLARI PARKI	1997	35,955	YENİMAHALLE
33	TOROS SOKAK PARKI	1997	2,441	ÇANKAYA
34	VATAN CADDESİ DİNLENME PARKI (2012 REVİZE)	1997	8,265	YENİMAHALLE
35	75. YIL PARKI	1998	4,905	YENİMAHALLE
36	1011 KARŞISI PARK	1998	3,033	ALTINDAĞ
37	TOPTANCI HALİ ARKASI PARK	1998	17,485	YENİMAHALLE
38	AŞTİ KARŞISI PARK	1998	1,195	ÇANKAYA
39	AŞTİ YANI PARK	1998	1,949	ÇANKAYA
40	BATIKENT LEVENT PARKI	1998	3,132	YENİMAHALLE
41	BEĞENDİK ÖNÜ PARK (İST. YOLU ADESE)	1998	1,461	YENİMAHALLE
42	ÇAMLICA DİNLENME PARKI	1998	1,095	YENİMAHALLE
43	ELVANKENT TOPLU KONUTLAR PARKI	1998	41,030	ETİMESGUT
44	EMRE PARKI	1998	21,491	YENİMAHALLE
45	ERYAMAN 3. ETAP PARKI	1998	9,995	ETİMESGUT
46	ESEN VADİ PARKI	1998	19,496	YENİMAHALLE
47	GÖLBAŞI SEĞMENLER PARKI	1998	24,091	GÖLBAŞI
48	KOCATEPE OTOYOL BAHÇESİ PARKI	1998	7,663	ÇANKAYA
49	MALTEPE KÖPRÜ ALTI PARKLARI	1998	2,680	ÇANKAYA
50	METRO PARKI	1998	9,741	YENİMAHALLE
51	SİMKENT SİTESİ YANI PARKI	1998	5,213	ÇANKAYA
52	SİNCAN GOP PARKI	1998	11,324	SİNCAN
53	ŞEHİT FATİH KÖYBAŞI PARKI (OSTİM)	1998	19,022	YENİMAHALLE
54	TESVİYECİLER CAD. PARKI	1998	6,595	ALTINDAĞ
55	T.GÜNEŞ BULV. MSB LOJ. ÖNÜ PARKI	1998	14,040	ÇANKAYA
56	HACETTEPELİLER PARKI	1998	9,434	YENİMAHALLE
57	KURTULUŞ DİNLENME PARKI	1999	1,505	ÇANKAYA
58	MALTEPE ŞELELE PARKI	1999	3,041	ÇANKAYA
59	OSTİM ALİNERİ BULVARI PARKI	1999	6,940	YENİMAHALLE
60	VARLIK MAH. PARKI (2012 REVİZE)	1999	24,117	YENİMAHALLE
61	YATIK MUSLUK MAH.PLEVNE PARKI	1999	2,668	ALTINDAĞ
62	ZİRAAT PARKI	1999	9,603	ALTINDAĞ
63	ALPARSLAN TÜRKEŞ PARKI	1999	25,797	YENİMAHALLE
64	ALTINSOY ŞELELESİ ÖNÜ	1999	833	ÇANKAYA

65	ERYAMAN OYUNCAKİSTAN PARKI	1999	22,372	ETİMESGUT
66	EŞREF BİTLİS CAD. PARKI (İLAVE)	1999	3,200	KEÇİÖREN
67	BATIKENT METRO İSTASYONU ÖNÜ VE KARŞISI PARKI	2000	21,845	YENİMAHALLE
68	C.BAYAR BULV. FORD ÖNÜ PARK	2000	1,650	ÇANKAYA
69	ETBALIK KAVŞAĞI KARADENİZ EVLERİ PARKI	2000	7,270	ALTINDAĞ
70	KARAKUSUNLAR GÖKÇE PARKI	2000	6,081	ÇANKAYA
71	GÖKÇEK PARKI	2000	51,842	KEÇİÖREN
72	HALİL SEZAI ERKUT CAD. KOŞU YOLU	2000	28,576	YENİMAHALLE
73	İVEDİK METRO İSTASYON ÖNÜ PARK	2000	9,262	YENİMAHALLE
74	KARAKUSUNLAR 100. YIL BİRLİK PARKI	2000	24,164	ÇANKAYA
75	YÜCEL PARKI (GENÇLİK CAD. YEŞİL ALAN DAHİL)	2000	1,500	ÇANKAYA
76	ANSERA ÖNÜ PARK	2001	5,345	ÇANKAYA
77	ÇETİN EMEÇ YAN BANT PARK	2001	2,857	ÇANKAYA
78	İLLER BANKASI PARKI	2001	19,920	YENİMAHALLE
79	ÇETİN EMEÇ SEYİR TERASLARI	2001	4,817	ÇANKAYA
80	ÇETİN EMEÇ TÜZÜN ÖNÜ KAVŞAK PARKI	2001	1,836	ÇANKAYA
81	ELVAN PARK	2001	16,276	ETİMESGUT
82	ZEYNEPÇİK PARKI	2001	44,400	KEÇİÖREN
83	DİKMEN ATATÜRK PARKI	2001	10,713	ÇANKAYA
84	KARAKUSUNLAR 100. YIL PARKI (İLAVE)	2001	14,000	ÇANKAYA
85	OVACIK PARKI	2001	2,224	KEÇİÖREN
86	SİNCAN MESİRE ALANI	2001	52,584	SİNCAN
87	MOGAN PARKI	2001	4,492	GÖLBAŞI
88	UZAYÇAĞI CADDESİ 1 PARKI	2001	900	YENİMAHALLE
89	UZAYÇAĞI CADDESİ 2 PARKI	2001	1,816	YENİMAHALLE
90	ZEYNEP PARKI	2002	2,233	YENİMAHALLE
91	BEYDA PARK BEYDA PARK(KARAKUSUNLAR)(II.KISIM)2010	2002	3,854	ÇANKAYA
92	HAYMANA YOLU YILDIZ PARKI (DOSA)	2002	2,723	GÖLBAŞI
93	ETİMESGUT YUNUSEMRE PARKI	2002	6,487	ETİMESGUT
94	HUKUKÇU DOSTLAR((ŞHT.BÜLENT SARIKAYA) PARKI	2002	13,326	YENİMAHALLE
95	HÜLYA PARK	2002	5,620	ÇANKAYA
96	KÜLTÜR PARKI	2002	11,945	ALTINDAĞ
97	VARLIK II. PARKI	2002	14,000	YENİMAHALLE
98	DOĞUKENT CAD. KOŞU YOLU	2002	43,526	ÇANKAYA
99	BAHÇEKENT PARKI	2003	9,290	GÖLBAŞI
100	CELAL BAYAR BULV. ALO CENAZE-DOĞUM	2003	4,200	ÇANKAYA
101	ALİCİK PARKI	2003	5,996	YENİMAHALLE

102	DAMLA PARKI	2003	24,476	ETİMESGUT
103	DİKMEN VADİSİ I. ETAP 1994	2003	196,325	ÇANKAYA
	DİKMEN VADİSİ II. ETAP		270,631	
	DİKMEN VADİSİ III. ETAP 2008		240,381	
104	HARİKALAR DİYARI PARKI (YUNUS GÖLETİ)1998	2003	1,300,000	SİNCAN
105	AKAR OTELİ YANI FATİH PARK	2004	4,384	ÇANKAYA
106	ARİF YALDIZ CAD. YANI PARK	2004	12,044	MAMAK
107	ERYAMAN GÜZELKENT(KEMAL SONUNUR) PARKI	2004	69,383	ETİMESGUT
108	ÇİFTLİK KAV. YANI VE TRAFO YANI PARK	2004	2,010	YENİMAHALLE
109	ARAPLAR MAH. PARKI	2004	44,178	MAMAK
110	İZMİR CADDESİ 1-2	2004	14,801	ÇANKAYA
111	İSTANBUL YOLU SEÇİL SİTESİ YANI PARK	2004	6,806	YENİMAHALLE
112	GÖKSU PARKI	2004	534,100	ETİMESGUT
113	KAZAN İLÇESİ GİRİŞİ PARK DÜZENLEMESİ (ANKARA CD)	2004	12,895	KAZAN
114	DÖRT MEVSİM PARKI	2004	13,436	ÇANKAYA
115	KUVAYİ MİLLİYE (DUYGU) PARKI	2005	61,638	ETİMESGUT
116	NEJLA KIZILBAĞ HUZUR EVİ PARKI	2005	3,158	KEÇİÖREN
117	MAVİ GÖL(BAYINDIR BARAJI) REKREASYON ALANI	2005	1,422,608	MAMAK
118	ZELİŞ PARKI	2005	889	ÇANKAYA
119	SANCAK PARKI+YILDIZ SPOR TESİSLERİ	2005	16,541	ÇANKAYA
120	SOĞUKSU MİLLİ PARKI	2005	851,840	KIZILCAHAMAM
121	ÇUBUK BARAJI 1-2	2005	388,769	ÇUBUK
122	MOGAN REKREASYON ALANI I 2002	2005	401,667	GÖLBAŞI
	MOGAN REKREASYON ALANI II		407,750	
	Mogan Sevgi Çiçeği Parkı (Mogan Gölü Rek. Alanı Yanında)2006		2,272	
123	ZİYAÜLRAHMAN CADDESİ PARKI	2006	1,777	ÇANKAYA
124	DEVLET MAH. PARKI	2006	51,602	ÇANKAYA
125	ATAŞEHİR YAŞAMKENT PARKI	2006	6,809	YENİMAHALLE
126	KAZAN ŞHT.HV.PLT EROL AKINCI PARKI	2006	21,733	KAZAN
127	SEYRANBAĞLARI SU DEPOSU PARKI(OZAN AYAZ PARKI)	2006	3,071	ÇANKAYA
128	KAZAN MİLLİ EGEMENLİK PARKI	2006	8,607	KAZAN
129	ÇELTİKÇİ MESİRE ALANI	2006	18,144	KIZILCAHAMAM
130	ELVANKENT 16.CAD. YAN BANT PARKI	2006	13,310	ETİMESGUT
131	GÖKKUŞAĞI PARKI	2006	6320	ÇANKAYA
132	AVRUPA BİRLİĞİ PARKI (COCA COLA YANI PİKNIK ALANI) (REVİZE-2011)	2006	52,323	PURSAKLAR
133	ALİ DİNÇER (BAŞKENT) PARKI	2007	72,744	YENİMAHALLE
134	AYAŞ İPEK YOLU PARKI	2007	23,350	AYAŞ

135	SİNANLI PARKI	2007	5,879	AYAŞ
136	AKYURT YEŞİL TEPE PARKI(şht. Miktar Şamdancı)	2007	3,321	AKYURT
137	SİRKELİ YEŞİLOVA PARKI	2007	29,925	ÇUBUK
138	GÜLŞEN PARKI	2007	1,643	MAMAK
139	ÜMITKÖY DODURGA MESİRE ALANI	2007	45,470	YENİMAHALLE
140	ORGANİZE PARKI(ŞEHİT DURSUN ALTUNTOP PARKI)	2007	7,647	YENİMAHALLE
141	KONYA YOLU SAMANYOLU PARKI	2007	29,640	GÖLBAŞI
142	AHMET TUTAM PARKI	2007	7,475	YENİMAHALLE
143	OSTİM HAMZA AKÇA PARKI	2007	2,506	YENİMAHALLE
144	YUKARI ÇAVUNDUR PARKI	2007	2,948	ÇUBUK
145	BALA PARKI	2007	10,900	BALA
146	ESENBOĞA PARKI	2007	15,491	ÇUBUK
147	SİNCAN YENİKENT CEZAEVİ İNF. İÇİ PARK	2007	26,000	SİNCAN
148	ÇAMLIDERE YÜRÜYÜŞ YOLU	2007	800	ÇAMLIDERE
149	YEŞİLDERE ÇOCUK PARKI	2007	1,145	ELMADAĞ
150	YEŞİLDERE PARKI	2007	1,790	ELMADAĞ
151	HUZUR PARKI	2008	50,528	YENİMAHALLE
152	HAYDAR ALİYEV PARKI	2008	75,892	YENİMAHALLE
153	EROL KAYA PARKI VE YÜRÜYÜŞ YOLU	2008	47,301	YENİMAHALLE
154	KARACAÖREN MAH.SEVGİ PARKI	2008	11,018	ALTINDAĞ
155	KIZILCAŞAR PARKI	2008	9,866	GÖLBAŞI
156	POLİS ŞEHİTLERİ PARKI	2008	51,518	ETİMESGUT
157	ESKİŞEHİR YOLU TOKİ PRESTİJ ÖNÜ KOŞU YOLU	2008	5,614	YENİMAHALLE
158	YENİBAHÇEKENT PARKI	2008	9,600	GÖLBAŞI
159	PURSAKLAR TEBESSÜM PARKI	2008	48,010	PURSAKLAR
160	SARAYKÖY PARKI	2008	10,635	PURSAKLAR
161	BEZİRHANE PARKI	2008	8,986	GÖLBAŞI
162	KARAGEDİK PARKI	2008	4,933	GÖLBAŞI
163	BALA KARAALİ PARKI	2008	19,257	BALA
164	KESİKKÖPRÜ PARKI	2008	10,920	BALA
165	LALAHAN PARKI	2008	1,775	ELMADAĞ
166	KURTULUŞ PARKI	2008	5,058	ELMADAĞ
167	ŞAHİN PARKI(2 KISIM)	2008	3,700	ELMADAĞ
168	KAZAN OVA FİDANLIĞI PARKI	2008	2,186	KAZAN
169	SARAY SPOR TESİSLERİ	2008	670,000	PURSAKLAR
170	SEDAT BURAK PARKI	2008	1,200	YENİMAHALLE
171	PINAR PARKI	2008	550	YENİMAHALLE
172	HİPODROM İÇİ(AKM)	2008	650,000	ALTINDAĞ
173	BAYRAM ŞİT PARKI	2009	7,195	PURSAKLAR

174	ESKİŞEHİR YOLU BEYAZGÜL SİTESİ ÖNÜ PARKI	2009	21,735	YENİMAHALLE
175	AHLATLIBEL AKADEMİSİ YANI PARK	2009	17,719	ÇANKAYA
176	YAKACIK PARKI	2009	2,504	YENİMAHALLE
177	ATATÜRK PARKI	2009	3,150	ÇUBUK
178	YILDIRIM BEYAZIT PARKI	2009	3,308	ÇUBUK
179	UYANIŞ PARKI 2008 UYANIŞ PARKI II.KISIM	2009	38,982 7,500	KEÇİÖREN
180	IHLAMUR PARKI	2009	4,821	KEÇİÖREN
181	MUHSİN YAZICIOĞLU PARKI I.KISIM MUHSİN YAZICIOĞLU PARKI DEVAMI (2013)	2009	27,670 4,000	KAZAN
182	ELMADAĞ MESİRE ALANI(I.KISIM) ELMADAĞ MESİRE ALANI (II.KISIM) 2010	2009	77,050 20,837	ELMADAĞ
183	OPERA KÖPRÜ ALTI PARKI	2009	6,710	ALTINDAĞ
184	OYACA PARKI	2009	9,096	GÖLBAŞI
185	PURSAKLAR ŞEHALELİ TEBESSÜM PARKI (II. KISIM) 2010	2009	45,000	PURSAKLAR
186	TEMELLİ PARKI (revize)	2009	1,150,451	SİNCAN
187	ERYAMAN ZEYNEPÇİK PARKI	2009	7,293	ETİMESGUT
188	BAHÇIVANLIK KURSU UYGULAMA PARKI	2009	3,000	YENİMAHALLE
189	KAZAN SATI KADIN PARKI (BAKIMINA BAŞLANDI)	2010	4,747	KAZAN
190	KAZAN SATI KADIN KOŞU YOLU(BAKIMINA BAŞLANDI)	2010	4,145	KAZAN
191	KAZAN ALPASLAN TÜRKEŞ PARKI (BAKIMINA BAŞLANDI)	2010	4,440	KAZAN
192	KAZAN ALPASLAN TÜRKEŞ KOŞU YOLU	2010	600	KAZAN
193	KAZAN FATİH PARKI (BAKIMINA BAŞLANDI)	2010	3,053	KAZAN
194	KAZAN İNÖNÜ PARKI (BAKIMINA BAŞLANDI)	2010	3,872	KAZAN
195	KAZAN OVALILAR PARKI (BAKIMINA BAŞLANDI)	2010	4,300	KAZAN
196	CEVİZLİDERE ASKI YANI PARK	2010	1,833	ÇANKAYA
197	PLANET AİLE YAŞAM MERKEZİ YANI PARKI (2010 REVİZE)	2010	16,688	ETİMESGUT
198	KAZAN ŞEHİT HAVA PİLOT FATİH DEVRAVUT PARKI (BAKIMINA BAŞLANDI)	2010	5,079	KAZAN
199	ÇİĞDEM MAHALLESİ GÜL PARKI	2010	9,788	ÇANKAYA
200	ÇUKURAMBAR FIRDEVŞ PARKI	2010	1,766	ÇANKAYA
201	BALA YENİ PARK	2010	11,000	BALA
202	YENİMAHALLE 15114 ADA PARKI (Hipodrum Karşısı)	2010	15,000	YENİMAHALLE
203	CESİM PARKI(BAKIMINA BAŞLANDI)	2010	9,637	YENİMAHALLE
204	OSTİM SOFU DURUCAN PARKI (BAKIMINA BAŞLANDI)	2010	3,264	YENİMAHALLE
205	GÖLBAŞI KARÇIÇEĞİ PARKI (BAKIMINA BAŞLANDI)	2010	7,727	GÖLBAŞI
206	ÇANKAYA KAZIM ÖZALP MAHALLESİ PARKI	2010	7,984	ÇANKAYA

207	KURTBOĞAZI PİKNİK ALANI (2010 REVİZE)	2010	512,550	KAZAN
208	KAVAKLI AYŞEGÜL PARKI	2011	1,180	ALTINDAĞ
209	YAKUP ABDAL MAHALLESİ PARKI	2011	5,325	MAMAK
210	KIRKKONAKLAR PARKI	2011	11,877	ÇANKAYA
211	ETİMESGUT SAMSUN 19 MAYIS CADDESİ EMRE PARKI	2011	28,490	ETİMESGUT
212	BEYPAZARI ATATÜRK PARKI	2011	7,296	BEYPAZARI
213	BEYPAZARI ANKARA PARKI	2011	24,932	BEYPAZARI
214	CEREN PARKI	2011	12,254	YENİMAHALLE
215	ÇAMLIDERE PARKI	2011	2,106	ÇAMLIDERE
216	İSTANBUL YOLU TOKİ PARKI	2011	18,300	YENİMAHALLE
217	AYAŞ YOLU KIYISI ŞEKER PARKI	2011	25,525	ETİMESGUT
218	NEVBAHÇE PARKI(2011 DE BAŞLANDI)(%80)	2011	51,170	YENİMAHALLE
219	GORDİON AVM YANI PARK (2011 DE BAŞLANDI) (%50)	2011	27,000	YENİMAHALLE
220	KUZEY ANKARA REKREASYON ALANI (2011 DE BAŞLANDI)(%95)	2011	600,000	KEÇİÖREN
221	ESKİŞEHİR YOLU TURKUAZ VADİSİ PARKLARI (BAKIMINA BAŞLANDI)	2011	62,000	SİNCAN
222	AOÇ HAYVANAT BAHÇESİ (BAKIMINA BAŞLANDI)	2011	365,858	YENİMAHALLE
223	ALİYE İZZET BEGOVİÇ PARKI	2012	12,770	KAZAN
224	Prof.Dr. NECBETTİN ERBAKAN PARKI	2012	27,502	KAZAN
225	KAZAN TOKİ CAMİ YANI PARK	2012	6,001	KAZAN
226	ERYAMAN OTOBAN KENARI PARK	2012	38,000	ETİMESGUT
227	GÖLBAŞI TOKİ ÖRENCİK PARKI	2012	83,682	GÖLBAŞI
228	BEYAZGÜL PARKI 2. KISIM	2012	8,008	YENİMAHALLE
229	OPTİMUM KARŞISI 46403 ADA YANI PARK (ORHANBEY CADDESİ YANI PARK)	2012	52,000	ETİMESGUT
230	KUŞCAĞIZ PARKI	2012	27,298	KEÇİÖREN
231	ENDÜSTRİ SOKAK KÜÇÜK PARK	2012	930	ÇUBUK
232	ELMADAĞ YENİ KURTULUŞ PARKI	2012	6,714	ELMADAĞ
233	MERVE PARKI (BEYSUKENT FIRAT CADDESİ ANGORA GİRİŞİ PARK)	2012	30,000	ÇANKAYA
234	OSTİM CAMİ YANI PARK	2012	900	YENİMAHALLE
235	ESKİŞEHİR YOLU DANIŞTAY YANI PARK	2012	6,166	ÇANKAYA
236	SİNCAN ÇAYI KENARI PARK(%85)	2012	60,000	SİNCAN
237	SACİT SAFİ PARKI	2012	12,187	PURSAKLAR
238	SAFA PARKI	2012	6,960	ÇANKAYA
239	ERYAMAN PARKI (%90)	2012	19,200	ETİMESGUT
240	KAYALAR PARKI (SAKLI VADİ) (%80)	2012	46,700	YENİMAHALLE
241	PAMUKLAR VADİSİ PARKI (%35)	2012	45,500	YENİMAHALLE
242	BATIKENT SEMT STADI PARKI (%90)	2012	20,000	YENİMAHALLE

243	ERYAMAN METRO ALTI PARK (%75)	2012	49,500	ETİMESGUT
244	ERYAMAN KAFE PARKI (%85)	2012	36,813	ETİMESGUT
245	KONYA YOLU GÖKKUŞAĞI MAHALLESİ KOŞUYOLU PARKI	2012	9,300	ÇANKAYA
246	ADNAN MENDERES CAD.YANI PARKI(%90)	2012	14,000	ÇUBUK
247	ÖVEÇLER VADİSİ REKREASYON ALANI (%80)	2012	168,043	ÇANKAYA
248	SİNCAN LALE UZUN PARKI (2012 DEVİR ALINDI - REVİZE)	2012	4,500	SİNCAN
249	RIDVAN SÜER PARKI (2012 DEVİR ALINDI - REVİZE)	2012	70,000	SİNCAN
250	OSTİM ERCAN DEDEOĞLU PARKI (2012 DEVİR ALINDI)	2012	3,972	YENİMAHALLE
251	OSTİM ŞEHİT ÇETİN GÜLEÇ PARKI (2012 DEVİR ALINDI)	2012	4,460	YENİMAHALLE
252	OSTİM MEHMET AKİF ERSOY CADDESİ PARKI	2012	9,345	YENİMAHALLE
253	ÇUKURAMBAR ERGUVAN PARKI	2013	7,362	ÇANKAYA
254	ÇUKURAMBAR ÇINAR PARKI	2013	4,876	ÇANKAYA
255	ÇUKURAMBAR AKASYA PARKI	2013	4,808	ÇANKAYA
256	365 AVM YANI PARKI	2013	5,600	ÇANKAYA
257	ÖRENCİK MESİRE ALANI	2013	70,000	GÖLBAŞI
258	ESERTEPE REKREASYON ALANI (%15)	2013	183,000	KEÇİÖREN
259	ŞAHAPGÜRLER MAHALLESİ PARKI(%75)	2013	5,900	MAMAK
260	GENERAL ZEKİ DOĞAN MAH. PARKI(%70)	2013	5,600	MAMAK
261	SAKLIBAĞÇE PARKI(%60)	2013	28,000	MAMAK
262	SİNCAN KAPALI SPOR SALONU YANI PARK	2013	6,500	SİNCAN
263	OSTİM AHMET TUTAM PARKI	2013	9,000	YENİMAHALLE
264	MEHTAP CADDESİ PARKI (%50)	2013	24,000	KEÇİÖREN
265	GÜZEL HİSAR MESİRE ALANI(%85)	2013	54,000	AKYURT
266	MERKEZ SU DEPOSU YANI PARKI	2013	2,600	BALA
267	KESİKKÖPRÜ GENÇLİK KAMPI (%60)	2013	60,000	BALA
268	GAZİ ÜNİVERSİTESİ ÖNÜ KOŞU YOLU PARKI	2013	11,211	ÇUBUK
269	YILDIRIM BEYAZIT MAH. RAHMET SK. KAYIN SK. KESİŞİMİ PARK (%85)	2013	10,000	ÇUBUK
270	YILDIRIM BEYAZIT MAH. RAHMET SK. KIZIL SK. DURMAZ SK. KESİŞİMİ PARK (%50)	2013	8,000	ÇUBUK
271	HATİP ÇAYI KENARI REKREASYON ALANI (%10)	2013	51,500	MAMAK
272	BALA MESİRE ALANI (%40)	2013	17,000	BALA
273	ELVAN MAH.46091-46095 ADALAR ARASI REKREASYON ALANI (%10)	2013	40,000	ETİMESGUT
274	SELÇUKLU CAD. KOŞUYOLU PARKI (%25)	2013	10,000	KAZAN
275	HASANOĞLAN PARKI (%80)	2013	15,000	ELMADAĞ
276	HACIENBIYA MAH. PARKI	2013	4,000	Ş.KOÇHİSAR
277	A.MAHMUT HÜDAYİ PARKI	2013	3,000	Ş.KOÇHİSAR

278	YATILI BÖLGE OKULU YANI PARKI	2013	4,000	Ş.KOÇHİSAR
279	ÇAYIRHAN PARKI (%90)	2013	5,500	NALLIHAN
280	CEVİZLİDERE 27881 ADA 2 PARSEL PARKI	2013	766	ÇANKAYA
281	GAZİ ÜNİVERSİTESİ GİRİŞİ PARKI	2013	2,057	YENİMAHALLE

APPENDIX B: TURKISH SUMMARY / TRKE ZET

Kent mekanının bir parası olan parklar, kentlerin retim mekanizmaları ile killenerek var olmaktadır. Parkların retimini anlamak iin bata kent mekanı retimini ve deęişimini anlamak gerekmektedir. Lefebvre kentlerde yer alan imgesel grntnn elit sınıfının hegemonyası altında oluturduęunu, Harvey ise , yine aynı doęrultuda, kentte yaratılan mekanların sosyal olgudan baęımsız olarak ele alınamayacaęını ve kent mekanlarının gl bir grup veya sınıf tarafından killendirildięini belirtmitir. (Byrne & Wolch , 2009). Burada gl sınıf olarak tarif edilen olgu aslında zamana ve coęrafyaya gre killenmektedir.

Sınıfları ayıran faktrler, siyasi-toplumsal-etnik-ekonomik kkenli olabilir. Ayrımaya sebebiyet veren olgulardan birinin veya bir kaının seimi ise politiktir. Politikanın da zaman ve coęrafyaya gre farklılık kazandıęı dnldęnde gl sınıf tanımının iini dolduran nedensellik de zaman ve coęrafyaya gre killenmektedir. Kent mekanı belirli bir sınıf etkisi ile killeniyorsa, kent mekanının bir parası olan parklar da doęal olarak yine bu sınıflar tarafından killendirilmektedir.

18. yzyılda kent parkları byklęnde retilen yeil alanlar, kamusal mekan olmaktan ziyade Saray ya da Kral Baheleri olarak kent ierisinde yer almıtır. Bu alanlar ynetici sınıfa avlanma, dinlenme ve gezme gibi ilevler doęrultusunda hizmet etmitir. Daha sonra kentte yeil alanlara olan ihtiyaın artması ile birlikte sz konusu yeil alanlar kamusal kullanıma aılmıtır.

Gnmzde sz edilen kamusal bir alan olarak kent parkları retme kavramı ise Sanayi Devrimi ile ortaya ıkmıtır. 19. yzyılda sanayileme ile birlikte yaanan nfus artıı, plansız yerleme ve evresel sorunlar, ii sınıfını olumsuz etkilemitir. Oluturulan rekreasyon alanları ise ii sınıfın kendini yeniden retmesi amacıyla kent ierisinde yerini almıtır. Saęlıklı kentler yaratmak amacıyla retilmeye

başlanılan bu alanlar bi yandan işçi sınıfın tekrardan kendi emeğini üretmesi için kullanılırken üst gelir grupları tarafından da kentin kaotik ortamından kaçış ve daha sağlıklı bir çevrede yaşama olanağı sağlayan bir mekan olarak tanımlanmıştır. Kentte yaşanan çevresel sorunlar ve sağlıksız yerleşme aynı zamanda üst gelir gruplarının kent çeperine kaçmasına ve oraya yerleşmesine neden olmuştur. 19. yüzyıldan itibaren, yapılan bazı konut projelerinde, yatırımcılar tarafından yeşil alanlar yaratılarak cazibe arttırılmaya çalışılmıştır.

II. Dünya Savaşı sonrası döneme gelindiğinde ise savaş yüzünden zarar gören kentler yeni ekonomik ve politik söylemler çerçevesinde şekillendirilmeye başlanmıştır. II. Dünya Savaşı sonrası refah devleti olgusu ortaya çıkmış ve refah devleti politikaları ve ideolojileri ile birlikte kentleşme ve kentsel yeşil alanlar da farklı motivasyonlar çerçevesinde üretilmiştir. Devletin, hemen hemen her alanda baskın olduğu bu politika doğrultusunda, kendi sınırları dahilinde yaşayan insanlara hizmet sağlaması birincil koşul olarak karşımıza çıkmaktadır. Kent parkları da devlet tarafından üretilen bu hizmet içerisinde yer almış olup eşitlikçi ve katılımcı gibi kavramlar doğrultusunda üretilmeye başlanmıştır. İlkay (2016, 310)’ın bahsettiği gibi 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. Ancak, günümüzde tartışılmaya başlanan her kesimin ulaşabildiği eşit nitelik ve büyüklükte kent parkları tartışmaları o dönemde yer almamıştır. Dolayısıyla, üretilen parklar her ne kadar eşitlikçi bakış açısına göre üretilmiş olsa da nitelik bakımından değil nicelik bakımından yatırımlar yapılmıştır.

20. yüzyıla geldiğimizde ise ekonominin krize girmesi ve yeni politik ve ideolojik çerçeveler sonucunda kent mekanı farklı dinamiklerin etkisi altında kalmıştır. Kapitalizmin küresel bir boyuta sıçraması ve yeni liberal politikalar kent mekanını da etkilemiştir. Koç’un (2011, 45) belirttiği gibi “ kapitalizm, mekanı da bir meta haline dönüştürmüştür ve artık kapitalizm ile mekan arasındaki ilişkilerden bahsetmek yerine, kapitalizmin metalaştırdığı, coğrafi bir alan olmaktan çıkarıp işlevsellik kazandırdığı bir mekan tasarrufundan söz etmek gerekmektedir”. Yani kent mekanının kendisi alınır-satılır ve kar edilir bir olgu haline gelmiştir. Mekan

üzerinden elde edilen karın artması ile birlikte, sermayenin krize girdiği durumlarda, yatırımlar kente yönlendirilerek çözümler bulunmaya çalışılmıştır. Ancak kent mekanı üretilip miktarı artırılabilen bir olgu olmadığı için yapıli çevre üzerinden bu stratejiler devam etmektedir. Erdoğan'ın (2015, 53) Ataöve'den yaptığı alıntı bu durumu net bir şekilde açıklamaktadır; “Kent merkezlerinde, sınırlı alanda oluşan kentsel değerlerden en fazla yararlanmak isteyen işlevler, diğerlerini dışa itme eğiliminde olup merkezi kentsel alanda yer almak istemektedir. Dolayısıyla “istila-yerine geçme” kent merkezlerinde mekân yapılanmasını belirleyen temel süreçlerden biri olmaktadır”.

2000'li yıllar ile birlikte, tüm bu gelişen dinamikler doğrultusunda, artık kentsel dönüşüm kentleşme sisteminin temel faktörlerinden biri haline gelmiştir. Yapılan dönüşüm projeleri, devlet tarafından devletin stratejisi olarak da uygulanmaktadır (Inroy,2000; Kurtuluş, 2006; Ghertner,2010; Dooling,2009; Bhan.2009; Gould & Lewis,2012). Hem kentsel dönüşümün önem kazanması hem de rekabetçilik ortamında kentlerin birer marka yaratmaya çalışması yeşil alanların farklı motivasyonlar tarafından üretilmesine neden olmuştur. Ghertner 'in (2010) Delhi üzerinde yaptığı araştırma da bunu doğrulamaktadır.

Delhi'de, devlet politikası olarak, ‘birinci sınıf’ yaşam alanları yaratma stratejisi yer almaktadır. ‘Birinci sınıf’ yaşam alanları ise devlet tarafından düzensiz, pis ve estetikten yoksun olarak tanımlanan gecekondu mahallerinde yapılmaya başlanmıştır. Gherther (2010) açılan bir davanın sonucunu konu ederek kentsel yenilemenin devlet gözündeki yerini göstermiştir. Mahkeme kararı Delhi'nin başkent olduğu vurgusu yapmış ve burada yapılan yenilemeyi gecekondu alanlarını temizlemek değil yeniden yaratmak olduğunu söylemiş, böylelikle ‘birinci sınıf’ yaşamın bu alanlarda üretileceğini belirtmiştir. Gelişmelere bakıldığında, Delhi'nin, küresel piyasada rekabet koşullarını arttırmak için yoksul kesimin yer aldığı yerleşim yerleri üzerinden ‘birinci sınıf’ atfı ile yeni bir yerleşim yeri yapma girişimleri olduğu görülmektedir. Dolayısıyla yapılan yenileme projeleri , zayıf olan sınıfın yerinden edilip güçlü olan sınıfın bu alanlara yerleştirilmesi ile ekonomik bir strateji olarak uygulanmaktadır. Ghertner (2010)'ın bahsettiği gibi Delhi'de bu yenileme

projeleri için kullanılan tabirlerden biri ‘Daha Temiz ve Daha Yeşil Delhi’dir. 2000’lerde Delhi’de yaşanan bu dönüşüm sonrasında gecekondü alanında yaşayan insanlar, evlerini üst gelir gruplu insanlara terk etmek zorunda kalmıştır. Yani bir nevi ‘soylulaşma’ projesi yeşil vurgusu ile elde edilmiştir. Detroit ve Los Angeles’da yaşanan dönüşümler de yeşil alanların nasıl birer soylulaştırma aracı olarak kullanıldığını göstermektedir. Sanat parkları, yoksul sınıfın bu alanlardan dışarı atılması için kullanılmıştır (Pincetl, 2007).

Yukarıda anlatılanların yanı sıra Brooklyn de böyle bir dönüşüme sahne olmuştur. Prospect Park yenileme projesi ile Brooklyn’de bulunan bir parkın cazibesinin artırılması amaçlanmıştır. Park yenileme projesinden önce, parkın etrafında, yoksul ve etnik sınıf olarak Afro-Amerikan gruplar yaşamaktadır. Ancak, parkın yenilenmesi sonucunda artan cazibesi ile park çevresindeki yaşam alanının da pahalandığı görülmektedir. Böylelikle, çevresel düzenlemeler ile park etrafındaki yerleşim yerlerine etnik olarak Amerikan kökenli ve orta-üst gelir grubu insanların göç etmesi amaçlanmıştır. Nitekim, yenileme projesinde çevrede yaşayan yoksul kesim, beklenen grup ile yer değiştirmiştir (Gould & Lewis, 2012). Tüm bu yeni çalışmalar ile yaşanan bu gelişmeleri adlandırmak için farklı kavramlar literatürde yerini almaya başlamıştır. Dooling (2009), yoksul kesimin parklar ile yerinden edilmesini ‘ ekolojik soylulaştırma’ (Ecological Gentrification) olarak tanımlarken Gould & Lewis (2012) ‘yeşil soylulaştırma’ (green gentrification) ismini vermişlerdir. Yukarıda bahsedilenlerde görüldüğü gibi kent parklarının üretimi arkasında yatan motivasyonlarda tarihsel süreç içerisinde yaşanan değişimler politik , ekonomik ve ideolojik değişimler ile paralel olarak yaşanmıştır. Ankara özelinde bakıldığında da benzer gelişmelerin sahne bulduğu görülmektedir. Ankara özelinde tarihsel inceleme 1923-1950, 1950-1980, 1980-2000 ve 2000’den günümüze kadar gelen süreçler olmak üzere dört farklı dönem içerisinde yapılmıştır.

Ankara’da planlı kentleşme olgusu Cumhuriyet’in ilanı ile başlamıştır. Cumhuriyet Türkiye’si’nin Yeni Başkenti olma olgusu ile şekillenen Ankara’da, Atatürk’ün modern ve kentleşme açısından diğer şehirlere örnek yaratma çabası dikkat çekmektedir. Hem bir ulus devlet hem de batı şehirlerine benzer modern bir

kentleşme yaratmak dönemin temel motivasyonlarını oluşturmaktadır. Bu dönemde, Türkiye’de henüz şehircilik ve mimari bilimleri gelişmediği için ve Atatürk’ün modern batılı kent anlayışını yaratmak istemesi ile ünlü mimar ve şehirciler Ankara’ya çağırılmıştır.

1924 yılında Lörcher tarafından Ankara için ilk plan hazırlanmıştır. Günay’ın (2005) açıkladığı gibi söz konusu planda Ulus ve Kızılay olmak üzere iki ayrı işleve sahip merkezler göze çarpmakta olup demiryolunun güneyinde kalan Yenişehir olarak adlandırılan alan; Kızılay’ı da kapsayan ve Atatürk Bulvarı boyunca Sıhhiye Meydanı, Zafer Meydanı, Tuna ve İzmir Caddeleri giriş meydanı bu planla gelişmiş ve Atatürk Bulvarı Güvenpark ile sonlandırılmıştır. Batuman’ın (2012) ifadesi ile ‘Başkentin odağı Yenişehir genç ulusun iradesini ve ideallerini temsil edecek ve aynı zamanda hem yeni idare şeklinin hem de yeni bir yaşam biçiminin mekanı olacaktır’.

İlk üretilen planlar içerisinde yer alan Güvenpark’ın oluşturulma amacı da ulusal söylemle ve merkezîyetçi bir yaklaşımla olmuştur. Batuman’ın (2012) bahsettiği yeni yaşam biçimi üretilen park üzerinden gözlemlenebilmektedir. Sözü edilen imgeleşmeyi en iyi gösteren şey ise Güvenpark içerisinde yer alan Güvenpark Anıtıdır. Anıt üzerinde bulunan heykellere bakıldığında Cumhuriyetin vurgusu olan güvenli ortam tahayyülü görülmektedir. Bu tahayyül aileyi koruma amacı taşıyan bir erk ile sağlanmıştır. Anıtın diğer yüzünde ise Atatürk figürü ve ‘Türk , Öğün, Çalış, Güven’ sözleri yine ulus devletin yardımcı figürleri olarak göze çarpmaktadır. Devlet etkisinin yanı sıra toplumsal dinamikler de ulus-devlet vurgusu altında yer alan burjuva toplum yapısının doğuşunu da simgeleştirmektedir. Cumhuriyetin ilk yıllarında Güvenpark’ın kullanımı üst sınıflar tarafında sağlanmakta olup akşam vakitlerinde gençlerin müzik eşliğinde oturduğu mekana dönüşmüştür. Ayoğlu’nun (2010) ifade ettiği Ertunanın “Anıt okul gezilerinin başlıca duraklarından birisi olmuş, yaz gecelerinde gençler ellerinde gitar ve akordeonlarla Güvenpark’ta buluşmaya başlamıştı.” deyişi de bu durumu desteklemektedir.

1928 yılında Alman plancı Hermann Jansen tarafından hazırlanan bir diğer plan da 1950’lere kadar olan dönemde Ankara’da önemli parkların oluşumunda etkili

olmuştur. Ankara için hazırlanan planda da kendisini gösterdiği gibi Jansen Bahçe Şehir kuramının savunucularından olmuştur. Hazırlanan planda yeşil alanların kentin topografik özellikleri doğrultusunda bütüncül bir şekilde ele alınmaya çalışıldığı görülmektedir. Kayasü'nün (2005, 174) ifade ettiği gibi “öngörülen yeşil alanlar arasında yeşil koridorlar ile bağlantılar oluşturulmuş kentte güçlü bir yeşil sistem kurulmuştur”. Byrne & Wolch'un (2009) elitist bir çözüm olarak tanımladığı bahçe şehir mantığındaki bu plan içerisinde ise Cumhuriyet Türkiye'sinin Batılaşma iddiasını ortaya koyan, batılı kentlerin ana mekanı olarak kent parkı da yer almaktadır. Planda yer alan yeşil alanların tamamı uygulamada yerine getirilememiş olmakla birlikte, batı şehir tarzlarının öngördüğü gibi planda yer alan kent parkı planının üretilen kısımları arasındadır.

1943'te tamamlanan bu park 19 Mayıs Gençlik ve Spor Bayramı günü açılmasından dolayı Gençlik Parkı adını almıştır. 1/3 ünün havuz kaplayacak şekilde tasarlanan park, Özer'in (2005) makalesinde belirttiği Uludağ'ın ifadesi ile kentte gelenleri karşılayan ve hatta Cumhuriyetin modern başkentiyle ilk tanışılan, kentin modern ve cazip atmosferini yansıtan ve aynı zamanda rejimin ideallerini temsil eden bir kent parkı olarak tanımlanmaktadır. Kısaca değinmek gerekirse, bu dönemde üretilen parklar merkezde konumlandırılmıştır. Her ne kadar belirli sınıflara hitap eden etkinlikler parklarda görülse de merkezi konuma sahip olması bu kent parçalarına toplumsallaşma özelliği kazandırmıştır. Bu dönemde üretilen parklar, dinlenme, eğlenme, eğitim ve sosyalleşme gibi çok fonksiyonlu yapılara sahiptir. Donanımsal açıdan bakıldığında ise daha çok doğal unsurların kullanıldığı ve kapalı alanların ve büyük kütlelerin olmadığı, her noktadan ulaşılabilir alanlar olarak öne çıkmaktadırlar.

1950-1980 yılları arasına gelindiğinde ise devletin planlama üzerindeki etkileri devam etmekte iken kente gelen yeni sınıflar farklı toplumsal bir dinamik yaratmıştır. Marshall yardımları ile başlatılan tarımda makineleşme kırlarda bir itme gücü yaratırken kent merkezlerinde yaratılan sanayi alanları ile meydana gelen yeni istihdam alanları ise kentlerde yeni bir çekim gücünü ortaya çıkarmıştır. Bunun sonucunda, kırdan kente göç arttırmıştır. Buna ek olarak, 1965 yılında kabul edilen

634 sayılı Kat Mülkiyeti kanunu ise tek parselde birden fazla mülkiyetin oluşmasına olanak tanıyıp kentsel nüfus yoğunluğunu arttırmıştır. Nitekim Ankara da bu değişimden payını almış olup 1950-1975 arasında hızla kentleşmiştir. Yeni gelen kırsal nüfus ulus-devletin yarattığı ve genel olarak burada yaşayan bürokratlara hizmet ettiği mekanlarda kendilerine yer bulamamıştır. Devletin de hızla gelen bu nüfusa yaşam mekanı yaratamaması sonucunda kentte gecekonduların öbekleşerek farklı bölgelerde ortaya çıkmasına neden olmuştur.

Bu gelişmeler sonucunda yeni bir plan ihtiyacı doğmuş olup 1955 yılında bir yarışma açılmış ve yarışmayı Raşit Uybadin ve Nihat Yücelin hazırladığı plan kazanmıştır. “Uybadin- Yücel Planı” olarak anılan bu plan diğer planlarla karşılaştırıldığında yeşil alanların plana dahil edilmesi açısından zayıf kalmaktadır. Yeşil alan vurgusunun az olmasının nedeni ise yapılan planın aslında hızla gelen nüfusu yerleştirmeye yönelik olmasıdır. Kayasü (2005, 176) bu durumu şu şekilde özetlemektedir; “Kurtuluş Parkı üzerinde hizmet verecek lunapark önerilmiş, Abdi İpekçi Parkına Belediye Sarayı düşünülmüş, Dil-Tarih-Coğrafya karşısında yüksek yoğunluklu yerleşim bölgesi önerilmiş olup ayrıca Jansen planının geliştirdiği açık ve yeşil alan sistemini bozan bir takım öneriler de getirilmiştir”. Yeni park önerilerinin olmadığı hatta varolan parkların ise bu dönemde yapılaşmayla birlikte yitirmeye çalışıldığı görülmektedir. Aynı dönem içerisinde yaşanan toplumsal hareketler de benzer şekilde kent parkları üzerinde olumsuz sonuçlar doğurmuştur.

Kente yeni gelen farklı sınıfların yarattığı toplumsal süreçlerdeki etkileri incelemeye başlarken aslında Batuman (2012) ın makalesinde yer verdiği Orhan Veli Kanığın dizeleri genel bir çerçeve çizme açısından etkili olmaktadır. Söz konusu dizeler şu şekildedir;

Kutu gibi bir dairede oturular
Ne çamaşıra gidilir artık, ne cam silmeye;
Bulaşıksa kendi bulaşıkları,
Çocukları olur nur topu gibi;
Elden düşme bir araba satın alınır.
Kızılay bahçesine gidilir sabahları;
Kumda oynasın diye küçük Yılmaz,
Kibar çocukları gibi.

Yukarıdaki şiirde ‘Kibar çocuklar gibi’ tarifi burjuva ailelerinin çocuklarını, ‘ Küçük Yılmaz’ ise kente yeni gelen işçi sınıfın çocuğunu betimlemektedir ve farklı iki sınıfın çocukları ‘Kızılay’ın Bahçesi’ olarak imgelenen Güvenpark’ta karşılaşmaktadır. Batuman’ın (2005) da ifade ettiği gibi Yenişehirin kendisi farklı iki grubun çatışma ve karşılaşma mekanlarına dönüşmektedir. 1965 yılında yaşanan Kızılay Olayları olarak anılan olaylar da iki farklı kutubun kentte karşılaştıkları ortak mekanda yaşanmaktadır.

Temsiliyetini üst orta ve bürokrat sınıftan alan ulus devlet projesinin parçası olan parklar artık bu dönemde yeni sınıfsal mücadelenin mekanı olmaktadır. Devletin isteği doğrultusunda Güvenpark’ın bir kısmı dolmuş duraklarına ayrılmış, Kızılay meydanı ise git gide küçültülerek bir çiçek tarhına, ardından da bir kavşağa dönüştürülmüştür. Kısaca söylemek gerekirse 1950-1980 arası dönemde kent parkları üretiminden ziyade var olan parkların da küçültülmesi ya da farklı kullanım kararlarıyla yok edilmesi söz konusu olmuştur.

1980-2000 arasına gelindiğinde ise artık ulus-devletin tek başına varlığından söz etmek yanlış olmaya başlamaktadır. Yaşanan gelişmelerle birlikte tüm dünyada kentsel mekan üretimi açısından bir dönüşüm yaşanmıştır. Yukarıda da bahsedildiği gibi yeni liberal politikalar , dışa açılma ve küreselleşme bu dönemde en çok etkili olan dinamiklerdir. Liberal ekonomik politikaların benimsenmesi ile dışsatım, ithal ikameci politikaların yerini almıştır. Refah devlet olarak tanımlanan devlet yapısının

artık biriken harcama yükünü karşılayamaması ve küresel ekonomiye eklemlenme çabası ile yerini özel sektöre bırakması gözlemlenmektedir. Özal dönemi olarak tarif edilen bu dönemde özelleştirmelerin önü açılmış olup kamu kurumlarından özel sektöre devredilebilen hizmetler artık özel sektör ile yürümektedir. Ekonomik süreçte ve üretimde yaşanan bu gelişmeler toplumsal ve kentsel mekanda da kendini göstermiştir. Aynı dönemde küresel ekonomide görülen ve dünya ile de aynı doğrultuda dönüşen sektörler, Türkiye’yi de etkilemiş olup sanayisizleşmenin hız kazandığı ve bunun yerine inşaat sektörü ile kar elde edildiği döneme girilmiştir.

Söz konusu dönem aynı zamanda Türkiye için imar afları dönemi olarak nitelendirilmiştir. Dönemin bakış açısı gecekondu ve kaçak yapılaşmaların yasallaştırılması olgusudur. Birçok yasa ile düzenlenen bu strateji gecekondu alanlarına çözüm getirmekten ziyade afla alınan tapular ve hak sahipliği sonucu bu yapılaşmaların yeniden yapılmasını teşvik etmiştir. Çıkarılan yasalar sırası ile ; 1983 yılında 2805 Sayılı İmar ve Gecekondu Mevzuatına Aykırı Yapılara Uygulanacak Bazı İşlemler ve 6785 Sayılı İmar Kanununun Bir Maddesinin Değiştirilmesi Hakkında Kanun 1984 yılında çıkarılan 2981 sayılı İmar ve Gecekondu Mevzuatına Aykırı Yapılara Uygulanacak Bazı İşlemler ve 6785 Sayılı İmar Kanununun Bir Maddesinin Değiştirilmesi Hakkında Kanun, 1986 tarihli 3290 Kanun, 1987 tarihli 3366 Sayılı Kanun ve 1988 tarihli 3414 Sayılı Kanundur.

Avrupa ve Amerika’da yaşanan gelişmelere paralel olarak Türkiye’de de hem kent mekanı üzerinden kar elde edilmesi hem de yeni liberal politikalar sonucunda kentsel dönüşüm kentleşme dinamikleri içerisinde önemli bir konuma oturtulmuştur. Sayılan yasaların yanı sıra kentsel dönüşüm projeleri kapsamında araç niteliğinde kullanılan bazı yasal düzenlemeler de getirilmiştir. Kamulaştırma Kanunu , 1984 tarihinde çıkan 3030 sayılı Büyükşehir Belediye Kanunu, 1985 tarihinde çıkan 3194 sayılı İmar Kanunu kentsel dönüşümde araç olarak kullanılan kanunlar olarak sayılmaktadır.

1982 yılında onaylanan 1990 Ankara Nazım Planı ise kenti yönlendirmesi açısından önem arz etmektedir. Plan incelendiğinde, gelişim yönlerinin batı ve güneybatı

koridorları doğrultusunda şehirler arası yollar vasıtası ile şekillendirildiği görülmektedir. Çıkarılan tüm kanunlar ve gelişmeler üst ölçek planların yapılmadan sadece bölgelere yönelik planlar yapılmasına sebep olmuştur. Üstelik bu dönemden sonra üretilen parçalı planlar bile tam anlamı ile uygulanamamıştır. Üretilen planlar ve yaklaşımlarda 1950'lerden itibaren mevcut yeşil alanların korunmasının dışında (hatta çoğu durumda yeşil alanların kırpıldığı görülmektedir Örn. AOÇ arazisi) yaratılan bir yeşil alan sisteminin olmadığını söylemek mümkündür.

Yaşanan süreçlere bakıldığında park üretimi açısından ulaşılacak sonuç 1950lerden 1990ların sonuna kadar mevcut değerlerin korunmaya çalışılması ancak yoğun bir kentleşme sürecinin yaşanması ile mevcut yeşil alanların da yapılaşmaya başladığı, mevcut parkların önemlerini yitirdiği ve Cumhuriyetin Başkentini yaratma arzusu ile üretilen kent parklarının zamanla yitirildiği ya da küçültüldüğüdür.

Ankara Büyükşehir Belediyesinden alınan üretilen parkların listesine bakıldığında özellikle 2000 yılı sonrası büyük parkların üretildiği göze çarpmaktadır. 50 yıllık bir süre içinde etkin bir kentsel yeşil üretme çabası olmayan kentleşme dinamikleri içerisinde Ankara Büyükşehir Belediyesi tarafından kullanılan 'Yeşil Ankara' sloganları ile yapılan reklamlar tezin ortaya çıkmasındaki temel söylemlerden biridir. Yukarıda bahsedilen tarihsel süreç içerisinde yer alan parkları anlatmak için faydalanılan çalışmalar bulunmakla birlikte 21.yy'da kentsel dönüşüm projeleri ile elde edilen kent parkları özelinde çalışmaların bulunmaması çalışmanın yapılmasındaki bir diğer temel itici güç olmuştur.

Bu tez çalışması ile amaçlanan, 21.yy'da Ankara'da kentsel dönüşüm projeleri içerisinde üretilen parkların arz ve talep grupları için ne ifade ettiğini ve bu alanların kamusal bir alan olmaktan öte farklı ideolojik ve politik mekanlar olduğunu açığa çıkartmaktır. Çalışmada bunu yaparken Ankara'da Cumhuriyet döneminden itibaren farklı dönemlerde üretilen kent parklarına ilişkin konumsal, işlevsel ve donanımsal karşılaştırmalar yapılmıştır. Tezin inceleme alanını, 2005 sonrası içerisinde büyük yeşil alan kullanımı barındıran kentsel dönüşüm projeleri oluşturmaktadır. Kuzey Ankara, Güneypark ve Göksu kentsel dönüşüm projeleri ile planlanan bu parkların

belediye, inşaatı sorumlu proje sahipleri, gecekondı sahipleri ve yeni konut sakinleri açısından ne ifade ettiđi tezin temel bulgularını oluřturmuřtur.

Tezin temel hipotezlerinden olan kent parklarının kamusalıktan öte bařka motivasyonlar çerçevesinde de üretildiđini incelemek için bu üç projede yer alan dört hedef kitlesi özelinde incelemeler yapılmıřtır. Bu hedef grupları gecekondı sahipleri, belediyede proje sorumluları, yeni konut sahipleri ve proje firmalarını kapsamaktadır. Hedef gruplarının hepsi her projede bulunmadıđından belirli gruplar ile belirli projeler özelinde yarı yapılandırılmıř görüşmeler yapılmıřtır. Göksu kentsel dönüşüm projesinde, belediye proje sorumlusu, projeyi yapan firma ve yeni gelen konut sahipleri ile, Kuzey Ankara kentsel dönüşüm projesi için belediyedeki proje sorumlusu, proje geliřtirici firma ve gecekondı sahipleri ile, Güney Park kentsel dönüşüm projesinde ise belediye proje sorumlusu ve proje geliřtirici firma ile yarı yapılandırılmıř görüşmeler yapılmıřtır.

Güney Park kentsel dönüşüm projesi içerisinde yer alan rekreasyon alanları, diđer iki projeden farklı olarak projeyi yapan inřaat firması tarafından geliřtirilmektedir. Belediye bu alanın sadece imar planını onaylamıřtır. Yatırımların proje firması tarafından yapılması planda yer alan bölgesel kent parkının konut projesinin bir parçası olarak kullanılmasına neden olmuřtur. Kamusal alan olmaktan ziyade proje özelinde yaratılan bir parkmıř gibi lanse edilen bu alanda kayak merkezi ve spor tesisi gibi üst gelir gruplarına hitap eden kullanımlar yer almaktadır. Alanda yer alan konut projelerinde ise gecekondı sahiplerine ayrı bir alan tahsis edildiđi ve alansal olarak ayrıştırıldıđı görölmüřtür. Buna gerekçe olarak da firma sahipleri her iki grubun aynı yerde yařamasını uygun görmediklerini düşündüklerini göstermiřtir.

Göksu projesinde ise mevcut park alanının kentsel dönüşüm için hazırlanan planda daha da büyütöldüğü görölmüřtür. Belediyede proje sorumluları, parkın yeni plan ile büyütölmesini alanın cazibesini arttırmak amacı ile olduđunu söylemiřtir. Sahada yapılan çalışmalar dođrultusunda park alanının henüz faaliyete geçmediđi görölmüř olup proje firması ve proje katalogları incelenmiřtir. Yapılan incelemeler dođrultusunda, bu kamusal alanın sanki projenin bir parçası gibi sunulduđu görölmüř

olup kullanım olarak da yine belirli sınıflara hitap edecek golf alanları gibi kullanımların önerildiği öğrenilmiştir. Dönüşüm projesi içerisinde yer alan konut projelerinden biri olan Kaşmir Göl evlerinde yaşayanlara sorulduğunda konutlarını Göksu Rekreatyon projesi dolayısıyla aldıklarını dile getirmişlerdir. Bu da yine rekreatyon alanının pazarlama strateji olarak kullanılmasını destekler niteliktedir.

Kuzey Ankara projesinde yer alan yeşil alan ise belediye sorumlusu tarafından jeolojik açıdan sakıncalı alan olduğundan böyle bir kullanım kararı getirildiği dile getirilmiştir. Ancak sahada yapılan incelemeler göstermektedir ki alanın ortasında yer alan yeşil kullanım iki farklı grubu birbirinden ayıran bir engel olarak tasarlanmıştır. Rekreatyon alanının bir tarafında gecekondü sahipleri için yapılan konutlar yer alırken diğer tarafında finansman konutları yer almaktadır. Yeşil alan çevresi ile tasarımı incelendiğinde gecekondü sahiplerinin yaşadığı konut alanlarından yeşil alana ulaşımın sağlanamadığı arada taşıt yolunun bulunduğu ancak diğer yandan finansman konutlarının ise erişilebilirliği yüksek rekreatyon alanına ulaşabilecekleri yolların tasarlandığı görülmüştür. Firma sahipleri ile yapılan görüşmelerde de bu yeşil alanın iki farklı grubu ayırıcı özellikte tasarlandığı dile getirilmiştir. Diğer iki projeden farklı olarak burada gecekondü sahipleri ile de görüşmeler gerçekleştirilebilmiştir. Yapılan incelemeler sonucunda alanda altı senedir yaşayan bölge sakinleri parka bir ya da iki defa geldiklerini çünkü ulaşımın sıkıntılı olduğunu dile getirmiştir. Diğer iki projede park içerisinde yer alan kullanımlar daha çok üst gelir gruplarına hitap ederken bu projede ortaya çıkan ise daha çok İslami değerlerin ön plana çıkarıldığı cami ve büyük külliye alanı ile farklı ticari ünitelerdir.

Aşağıda yer alan tabloda kentsel dönüşüm içerisinde yer alan kent parklarının üretilirken arkasında yer alan motivasyonların ne olduğu ve bu dört farklı hedef grubu nasıl etkilediği konusunda inceleme yapılabilir. Belediye ve özel sektör aynı Dooling'in (2009) ve Lewis ve Gould'un (2012) çalışmalarında olduğu gibi yeşil alanları alan cazibesini arttırma, pazarlama ve bunun sonucunda da birer soylulaştırma aracı olarak kullanmak istemektedir. Bu da kent parklarının bu döneme kadar olan kamusalılığından uzak bambaşka bir anlam kazanmasına neden

olmaktadır. Projelerin sunumunda da bu yeşil alanlar üzerinden söylemler geliştirilmektedir. Tıpkı ‘Yeşil Delhi, Temiz Delhi’ sloganlarının kullanılması ve doğurduğu sonuçları maskeleymesi gibi Ankara özelinde de projeler ile yaratılan olumsuz sonuçlar, yeni büyük yeşil alanların yaratılmasıyla ya da ‘Yeşil Ankara’ sloganları ile maskelenmektedir.

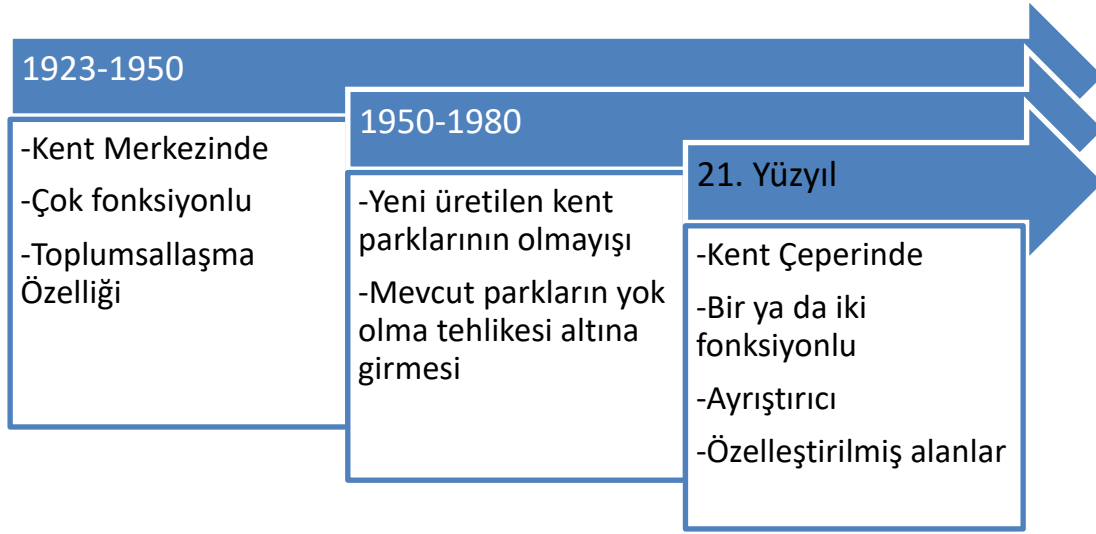
Tablo 1: Parkların Projede Yer Alma Nedenleri

Proje İsmi	Belediye	Özel Sektör	Gecekondü Sahibi	Yeni Konut Sahipleri
Güney Park Ankara	Jeolojik açıdan sıkıntılı Markalaştırma	Pazarlama Hak sahiplerini ayırma Ticari üniteler	Görüşmeye izin verilmedi	Görüşmeye izin verilmedi
Göksu	Cazibe arttırma	Pazarlama		Pazarlama
Kuzey Ankara	Jeolojik açıdan sıkıntılı Markalaştırma	Pazarlama Hak sahiplerini ayırma Ticari üniteler	Ulaşılamayan bir alan Gece güvensiz	

Tüm bu bulgulara ek olarak tarihsel süreç içerisinde kent parklarının kamusal alan olma dışında farklı motivasyonlar ile üretildiğini anlamak için Cumhuriyet dönemi parkları ile karşılaştırmalar da yapılmıştır. Ankara Büyükşehir Belediyesinden 1994’ten 2013 yılına kadar üretilen kent parklarının listesi alınmıştır. Listede de görülmektedir ki 2005 yılı ve sonrasında Harikalar Diyarı, Mogan, Mavi Göl, Göksu, Kuzey Yıldızı gibi parklar Ankara Büyükşehir Belediyesi tarafından üretilmesi planlanmıştır. Lokasyon olarak kentin çeperlerinden yer alan bu parklar Cumhuriyet Dönemi üretilen parklardan bu yönüyle tamamen farklıdır. Toplumsallaşma

özelliğinin ön planda olmasından kaynaklı merkezi konumda üretilen kent parkları son dönemlerde yerini yeni konut projelerinin üretileceği, yapılaşmaların yeni başladığı, kent çeperlerinde bulmuştur. Dolayısıyla, kent parklarının toplumsallaşma işlevi yerini yatırımcıların ve alıcıların dikkatini çekmek amacı ile cazibe yaratma işlevine bırakmıştır.

Cumhuriyet parkları ile diğer farkları ise fonksiyon ve donanım özellikleridir. Cumhuriyet döneminde çok fonksiyonlu olarak üretilen parklar bu dönemde daha çok ticari ünitelerin bulunduğu alanlar olarak tasarlanmıştır. Donanımsal olarak bakıldığında ise her birinde su ögesi kullanılmakla birlikte Cumhuriyet Dönemi parklarında kullanılan su daha çok sakinleştirme ve dinlenme amaçlı iken bu dönemde su ögelerinin etrafının ticari ünitelerle sarıldığı görülmüştür. Cumhuriyet döneminden farklı olarak daha ezici ve büyük kütleli yapıların kullanıldığı (örneğin Kuzey Ankara projesinde yer alan külliye gibi) da bir başka değişimdir. Yine bir diğer farklılık ise Cumhuriyet Parkları açık alanlar olup giriş çıkışın parkın her noktasından yapılabildiği erişilebilirliği yüksek olan alanlar olarak tasarlanmıştır ancak son dönemde üretilen parkların etrafı duvarla çevrili olmakla birlikte giriş çıkışın kontrollü olduğu ve güvenlik görevlilerinin bulunduğu alanlar olarak tasarlandığı görülmektedir. Bu da yine parkların kamusalıktan uzak özelleştirilmiş kapalı alanlar olarak karşımıza çıkmasına neden olmuştur. Tüm bu farklar aslında dönemler arasında ortaya çıkan ve tarihsel süreç içerisinde izlediğimiz politik, ideolojik ve ekonomik farklılıkların birer yansıması olarak ortaya çıkmıştır. Şekil 1’de bu değişim özetlenmiştir.



Şekil 1: 1923'ten Günümüze Parklar Özelinde Yaşanan Değişim

Bu çalışma göstermektedir ki 21.yüzyılda kentsel dönüşüm projeleri içerisinde yer alan parklar, Avrupa ve Amerika'da olduğu gibi alanın soylulaştırılmasına, kentsel rantın arttırılmasına, dönüşüm projelerinin markalaştırılmasına ve belirli sınıfların kullanıma yönelik olarak üretilmiştir. Kentte yaşayan herkesin ulaşabilirliğinden ziyade ekonomik getirilerin ve ideolojik yansımaların ön planda olması sebebiyle belirli kesimlere hitap eden bu parklar kamusal işlevini kaybetmiştir. Alanda eskiden yaşayan hak sahiplerinden ziyade alana yeni gelecek olan daha üst gelir gruplu kullanıcıların göz önüne alınması ile üretilen bu parklar temsiliyetini belirli sınıflardan almıştır. Her ne kadar kent parkları kamusal mekan olarak gösterilse de hem tarihsel süreçler hem de inceleme alanı ile Cumhuriyet dönemi parkları kapsamında yapılan karşılaştırmalar göstermektedir ki kent parkları kamusallığın ötesinde politik, ideolojik ve ekonomik motivasyonların da yansımalarını barındırmaktadır.

APPENDIX C: TEZ FOTOKOPİSİ İZİN FORMU

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