REEVALUATING A PROJECT OF MODERNIZATION: DESIGN PRINCIPLES FOR THE FUTURE OF THE ATATÜRK FOREST FARM

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ABSTRACT

REEVALUATING A PROJECT OF MODERNIZATION: DESIGN PRINCIPLES FOR THE FUTURE OF THE ATATÜRK FOREST FARM

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The Atatürk Forest Farm is a comprehensive modernization project reflecting the main ideology of the early Republican period that cannot be described as a simple open green area for the capital Ankara. The farm, conceptualized with the philosophy of creating a new society, is an exemplary initiative to socialize people, to integrate production and recreation relations, and to bring people together with education and science. On the other hand, located at an important position in the Ankara urban macroform since the first years of the Republic, the farm has always been an indispensable topic of the capital's planning experience. Therefore, in this study, the Atatürk Forest Farm is evaluated in terms of its planning and founding functions. The study examines the historical process of the farm by focusing on its establishment period during the early Republican modernization process and its transformation period from the mid-20th Century to the early 21st Century. Then it compiles ideas from the significant current studies on future development of the farm. Thus, the aim of this study, which synthesizes the information obtained from historical process and the determined current studies, is to re-evaluate the farm within the context of a modernization project and to draw the outline of the design principles for defining its future.

Keywords: Atatürk Forest Farm, Ankara, Modernization, Planning, Agricultural Production, Industrial Production, Social Development.

BİR MODERNLEŞME PROJESİNİN YENİDEN DEĞERLENDİRİLMESİ: ATATÜRK ORMAN ÇİFTLİĞİ'NİN GELECEĞİ İÇİN TASARIM PRENSİPLERİ

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Atatürk Orman Çiftliği, erken Cumhuriyet döneminin ideolojisini yansıtan ve başkent Ankara için basit bir açık yeşil alan olarak nitelendirilemeyecek kadar kapsamlı bir modernleşme projesidir. Yeni bir toplum yaratma felsefesi ile kavramsallaştırılan çiftlik, insanı toplumsallaştıran, üretim ve rekreasyon ilişkisini bütünselleştiren, ve halkı eğitim ve bilimle buluşturan örnek bir girişimdir. Öte yandan, Cumhuriyetin ilk yıllarından itibaren Ankara kentsel makroformu içinde önemli bir konumda yer alan çiftlik, başkentin planlama deneyimlerinin vazgeçilmez konusu olmuştur. Dolayısıyla, bu çalışmada Atatürk Orman Çiftliği, planlanması ve kuruluş zamanındaki işlevleri açısından incelenmektedir. Çalışma, çiftliğin erken Cumhuriyet modernleşme sürecindeki kuruluş dönemine ve 20. yüzyılın ortasından 21. yüzyılın başına kadar olan süreçteki dönüşüm dönemine odaklanarak, öncelikle tarihsel sürecini incelemektedir. Çalışma daha sonra çiftliğin gelecekteki gelişimi hakkında öne çıkan güncel çalışmalardan fikirler derlemektedir. Sonuç olarak, tarihsel inceleme ve güncel çalışmalardan elde edilen bilgileri sentezleyen bu çalışmanın amacı, çiftliği bir modernleşme projesi kapsamında yeniden değerlendirip onun geleceğini tanımlamak için tasarım prensiplerinin çerçevesini çizmektir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Atatürk Orman Çiftliği, Ankara, Modernleşme, Planlama, Tarımsal Üretim, Endüstriyel Üretim, Toplumsal Sosyal Gelişim.

To my family...

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The process of constructing Ankara as the new capital city developed within the framework of the process of modernization, the main philosophy of the early Republican period. The Republican regime had an ideology that aimed to maintain the development line by referring to Western values. In this respect, when Ankara was established as the capital of the modern Republic, it was constructed as the symbolic space of modernity in which all citizens would live in production and consumption relations as in the modern Western world. Since the foundation of the Atatürk Forest Farm and the construction of Ankara as the new capital city historically coincided, the spatial relationship between the farm and Ankara city has always affected each of them. Thus, while Ankara was a product of an effort to create a modern city, the farm was also a model that was constructed in the direction of this modernization ideology (Kimyon & Serter, 2015, pp. 45-46).

The Atatürk Forest Farm, founded in 1925 by Mustafa Kemal's personal initiative, has a special value and meaning for Ankara in the history of Republic. Since its foundation, it has been an experimental field of Republican revolutions and has become a symbolic area of modernization of agriculture, education, social life and industrialization. It was a modernization project and a product of a comprehensive plan to reach all of the objectives at the same time such as transformation of society, the development of agricultural and industrial production, the provision of the needs of the people, and the production of clean and healthy food (Keskinok, 2000, p.43). Moreover, by providing economic and technological progress and by contributing to social re-production and societal sovereignty, the farm pioneered the establishment of a self-sufficient city (Çavdar Sert, 2017a, p.69).

The Atatürk Forest Farm was established as part of the liberation movement of the Republic, expressing the ideals of Atatürk in enabling agriculture and industry to progress together with modern and scientific methods as a whole. It constituted a very important step towards urbanization policies and the idea of progress, which started in the first years of the Republic (Keskinok, 2008, p.70). The farm is a modernization project in urban scale, which expresses the culture of public value creation of activities such as agriculture and industry, production and recreation, the urban and rural culture, and practice and education. However, this public enterprise that Atatürk donated to the nation before his death has been fragmented in every sense with various laws and administrative decisions in the following decades. With the growth of Ankara towards the west, the city's intense infrastructural needs and rent pressures have affected the farm area negatively. Thus, the farm has gradually deviated from its establishment purposes and has become unable to function. The farmland has lost its integrity and continuity, and nowadays has become an empty area that is difficult to manage at the center of the city. On the other hand, as the development of the city and the farm continued in parallel, the farm has always been at the center of the urban planning experiences of Ankara. However, the majority of these planning decisions did not draw a comprehensive framework for the conservation of the farm, and the farm has long been perceived as an empty area (Cavdar Sert, 2017a, p. 288). In 2006, Ankara Metropolitan Municipality obtained authority over the farm and started an unavoidable transformation at the farm especially from 2010 onwards. The main reasons for this rapid transformation of the farm, which had been experiencing certain land losses in various periods since its establishment, are lack of social consciousness, lack of a comprehensive conservation policy and administrative abuse (Çavdar, n.d.). Despite all the land losses, the farm still constitutes a potential area for Ankara with its great amount of land and central location. For this reason, rather than to be regretful for the farm's losses, it is necessary to act and regain its functions in the direction of its establishment principles.

Since the establishment of the Atatürk Forest Farm and planning of Ankara as capital city coincided, the farm directly experienced the urban planning processes. On the

other hand, the farm was an exemplary and model public enterprise with functions undertaken during its foundation years. In this respect, the aim of this thesis is to reevaluate the Atatürk Forest Farm, one of the projects of modernization of the early Republican period, from its establishment to contemporary situation. For this purpose, the study is divided into three main historical periods. In Chapter 2, two fundamental historical periods will be mentioned. The first of these periods is the early Republican period when the farm was established and developed in line with its founding principles. In this period, the farm was actively involved in the creation of a new and modern society with production, education and recreational activities. Secondly, the process from the mid-20th century to the early 21st century will be examined. This period, which could be taken to have started with the transfer of the farm to the State Treasury in 1938, is the period when the farm experienced land losses with legal and illegal means. Especially from the beginning of the 21st century to the present day, there has been much greater interventions in the farm. Finally, the study will focus on the future of the farm in Chapter 3. This chapter will try to determine the principles for the future development of the farm in accordance with the information and strategies acquired from the significant current studies.

The content of the study throughout the thesis focuses on the planning and founding functions of the farm. Its founding functions are examined in terms of the role of the farm in the development of agricultural and industrial production and social development. This determined content will be examined in all the historical periods mentioned above. For its establishment period, the planning experiences of Ankara and the formation of the farm will initially be examined and then the impact of its founding functions on the farm will be explained. For the second period, the study will focus on the approaches of the urban planning processes witnessed in Ankara in relation to their effect on the farm and the simultaneous transformation of the farm's founding functions will be examined. Then, the current studies about the future of the farm will be evaluated in terms of its planning and founding functions in order to identify the design principles in these terms for the future.

Thus, the study reevaluates the importance of the historical development of the farm as a modernization project in Turkey with reference to its planning purposes and founding functions, and overviews the current contribution of professional or academic studies about the future of the farm. In this way, this thesis attempts to determine the design principles about the future of the Atatürk Forest Farm by synthesizing the information obtained from the historical analysis and the current studies.

CHAPTER 2

THE ESTABLISHMENT AND THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE ATATÜRK FOREST FARM

Atatürk Forest Farm (Atatürk Orman Çiftliği-AOÇ), representing the main philosophy of the Republic of Turkey, is a very important value for both Ankara and Turkey. The farm, which mainly aimed the development of agricultural and industrial production and the social development by transforming the living patterns, was conceptualized as a pioneering project for the philosophy of modernization of the new state ideology. However, over the years, the farm has begun to change and transform with the interventions that disregarded its founding principles of function. Hence, the farm has lost many physical features from land integrity to production activities and has come to the point of losing the social values it carries. Consequently, in this chapter, the process of the establishment and transformation of AOÇ will be examined historically within the context of early Republican modernization process and the period from the mid-20th Century to the early 21st Century.

2.1. The Farm during the Early Republican Modernization Process

The revolutions that aimed to transform the structure of the society were among the important tasks of the early Republican period. Most of these revolutions were for creating a modern society and national consciousness. However, while the process of social transformations was going on, the most important issue to be dealt with was to build a new capital city in this modernization process. Therefore, the construction of Ankara as the capital city was undertaken as an important part of the modernization project of the early Republican period. Ankara's acquisition of the capital city identity was equivalent to the success of the Republic and was considered as a program that

would constitute national consciousness (Alpagut, 2017, p. 3). One of the most significant experiences in the modern planning process of the capital Ankara was the establishment of the Atatürk Forest Farm. The farm was a campus that designed the scope and quality of the "modernity project" at its own scale with its values from the planning of the place where it was set up to the built environment and from agriculture, industry, production and education applications to recreational facilities. It was the exemplary complex of the Republic's development and liberation policy as well as the ideology of creating a new society (Alpagut, 2017, p. 2). Hence, the Atatürk Forest Farm, founded by the president Mustafa Kemal Atatürk to undertake a leading role in the field of agriculture, signifies a very special practice in terms of environment and history. The reason for being a very special practice is that it was indeed beyond the creation of an agricultural farm. It was instead the project of educating and transforming the productive power of the people as a result of the importance given to the development of the industrial production related to the agriculture. For this reason, the farm is an exemplary public enterprise demonstrating the determination and will of the young Republic (Keskinok, 2000, p. 43).



Figure 1. Mustafa Kemal Atatürk at the farm

Source: http://aocarastirmalari.arch.metu.edu.tr/fotograflarda-aoc/ Last accessed August 2018

As a result, in this section, the Atatürk Forest Farm will be reviewed through its planning and founding principles of function during the early Republican period. Since the establishment of the farm and the planning of Ankara as the capital city have historically coincided, the planning period of the farm will be examined by relating it to the planning of Ankara. The principles for the functions of the farm will then be examined in terms of the development of agricultural and industrial production and social development.

2.1.1. The Planning of Ankara and the Farm

The capital city Ankara that cannot be approached only as a spatial project is a comprehensive social engineering utopia of the early Turkish Republic. Likewise, the Atatürk Forest Farm was an important and unique "urban space utopia" carried out in Ankara and cannot be reduced to be interpreted as only a recreational area. It was shaped together with Ankara since the first years of the Republic and has always been an important entity within the metropolitan macroform (Ülkenli, 2017, p. 27). Therefore, the transformation of Ankara's urban spatial patterns has been reciprocally impacted by the development of the farm as a significant urban district (Kimyon & Serter, 2015, p. 44). Because of these reasons, it is not rational to think the development process of the farm and the planning processes of the new capital city independently as the farm, which carries the remains from the foundation period to today, obtained most of these traces during the planning process of the capital. That is why, in this part, the foundation story of the farm will be examined through a historical perspective starting from the planning stages of the capital city Ankara, and the contribution it gave to the transformation of the city will be evaluated.

After winning the War of Independence, with the proclamation of the Republic on 29 October 1923, a nation-state in Turkey was started to build and shortly before the proclamation, Ankara was declared as the capital city (Tekeli, 2011, p. 54). However, the transition from an empire to a nation-state in Turkey was the history of a struggle for power. Ankara's process of planning as a capital city became one of the examples of the conflict between the leaders of the National Struggle and the supporters of the

old administration. The abolition of the Sultanate did not end the conflict of power between the two centers. Istanbul, which was the center of opposition to Mustafa Kemal and the ruling cadre, continued to carry the title of the capital according to the supporters of the former administration. However, Ankara had been de facto capital since the beginning of the National Struggle (Kartal, 2013, p. 76). The process of accepting Ankara against İstanbul was never an easy task. The main reason for this was that Ankara was less developed than İstanbul in terms of urban services and housing. Nevertheless, there were important differences that distinguished Ankara, the capital city, from Istanbul. First of all, during the first years of the Republic, İstanbul started to face with decrease of population while the population of Ankara was increasing rapidly. Secondly, İstanbul had an old urban network that had remained from the Ottoman period and planning experiences that had been going on since the 19th century. Yet, this planning was much older than new practices and in the form of repairing and renewing. However, Ankara was a city with a high planning potential due to the small size of its traditional core (Tankut, 1988, p. 96). There were many thoughts for the planning of Ankara as capital city instead of İstanbul, which was the capital city of old regime. In this direction, Gönül Tankut (1988, p. 93) expresses the ideology for Ankara as follows: "Ankara is the administrative center where it is desired to leave an eastern world and head for a rational world. It is expected from this city to become a capital city that can fulfill all the functions of the new world and reflect its proper way of life." Thus, it was a very radical decision and a big claim that Ankara became the capital city after leaving İstanbul, which was the capital city of three empires and had the highest compatibility with the West. Ankara, on the one hand, served as the decision-making center for the establishment of a modern nation-state, while on the other hand, would be the first example of a modern city where modern life predicted by the new Republic started. It would be a model to be followed for other cities that would enter the path of modernization (Tekeli, 2011, p. 54).

At this point, according to researches, it is possible to correlate the founding purpose of the Atatürk Forest Farm with choosing Ankara as the capital city. At that time, a group of people who were pessimistic was questioning how a man would live, even when a tree did not grow up here. While discussions about the capital city were

ongoing, one of the great decisions of Atatürk with regard to the farm came to rescue the future of Ankara. Millions of trees would grow in Ankara and in the middle of the steppe (Atatürk Çiftlikleri, 1939, p. 19). On one hand Ankara was planned as the capital of the modern Republic, on the other hand the Atatürk Forest Farm was constructed as one of the most important parts of this city, increasing its attractiveness in comparison to İstanbul. In the new era, the city was now regarded as the symbolic space of modernity where all citizens would live in production and consumption relations as in the modern western world, not as a field of any belief system and its dominance of symbolic venues (Kimyon & Serter, 2015, p. 46). The fact that the Atatürk Forest Farm was a large urban green area, which would be in the center of the city later, became one of the most important elements that distinguished Ankara from İstanbul. On the other hand, the practices carried out in the farm were not only administrative but also economic moves. Thus, it is understood that the process of increasing the importance of Ankara against İstanbul was carried out in a rational and planned process through the farm, not just as symbolic and coercive initiatives (Kimyon & Serter, 2015, p. 48).



Figure 2. The Atatürk Forest Farm's social facilities as an alternative to İstanbul Source: http://aocarastirmalari.arch.metu.edu.tr/fotograflarda-aoc/ Last accessed August 2018

As a result, the new government designated Ankara as the official center after the National Struggle. Now the center of a political system governed by its citizens was at the center of Anatolia where the people were also concentrated. Besides, it can be said that the declaration of Ankara as the capital city was a fundamental change, which shows that a very different regime from the old administration was established. In addition, within this process of change, we can interpret that the Atatürk Forest Farm was one of the most elaborate elements that strengthened Ankara's hand against İstanbul.

Following the declaration of Ankara as the capital, there was a search for planned development, planned growth and planned construction at the main axis of the modernization efforts parallel to its development as the capital city. At the base of Ankara's urban planning search, the claim of proving that the young Republic was different from the Ottoman Empire would also show itself in the nature of all initiatives as an important emphasis (Cengizkan, 2011, p. 30). In this direction, the first plan of Ankara in the modern sense was made by 'Keşfiyât and İnşaat Türk Anonim Şirketi', regarding the old city and the new city in the time of the first Mayor Mehmet Ali Bey. The plan was made to organize the expropriation to the south of the historic center of the city and to direct the development of the city. It is understood that the Old City, which constituted the castle and its surroundings and one third of which had been destroyed by a fire in 1916, was given as an area for urban remediation and was requested to evaluate its expansion possibilities. The project owner, formerly a member of the Istanbul Constitutional Commission on behalf of the company, was the architect Dr. Carl Christoph Lörcher from Berlin (1884-1966). The report and plans ordered on December 30, 1923 were delivered to the Municipality on May 30, 1924.

The plan, which was in the form of a sketch, was distributed as an extension of the expropriation law numbered 583 dated May 1 (Cengizkan, 2011, p. 31). The 1924 Lörcher Plan tried to place the growing population of the city in the Old City and its surroundings, giving legitimacy to the new ways to make the city more comfortable to its surroundings. However, before the end of the plan, the pressure of rapid population growth brought to the agenda the design of the New City as a management

neighborhood with the name of 'Çankaya' with an expansion plan suitable for the expropriation law. Within this neighborhood, it was considered to build a new parliament, a 'state neighborhood' where ministries and other state institutions would be located, as well as a residential neighborhood where the workers would live. The relationship between the Old City and the New City was considered in a parallel fashion. The New City was equipped with public spaces, reinforcing the experience of the new nation and nation-state that was being established, with a spacious Garden City approach (Cengizkan, 2011, pp. 31-32).

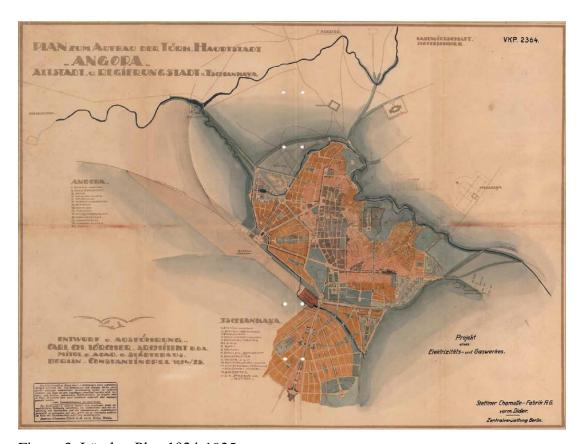


Figure 3. Lörcher Plan 1924-1925.

 $Source: http://www.goethe.de/ins/tr/ank/prj/urs/geb/sta/loe/trindex.htm\ Last\ accessed\ August\ 2018$

The foundation of the Atatürk Forest Farm, which is one of the most important public space projects of the city of Ankara, also corresponds to these times. According to the researches, there is no direct decision about the establishment of a forest farm in the Lörcher plan. However, according to Leyla Alpagut (2017, pp. 5-6), the similarities

between the principles observed in Lörcher's plan for Ankara and the founding principles and development of the Atatürk Forest Farm are remarkable. Lörcher, especially in the 'Serbest Meydanlar' chapter of his planning report, emphasized the importance of human and community health, and gave details of its reflection on urbanism at the beginning of the 20th century. Public spaces, green spaces, cemeteries, parks for the elderly and sports areas for young people, proposed by open spaces in a contemporary and modern city, are extensions of this thought. Parallel to this thought, in 1924 Plan Report for Ankara, Lörcher (1924) claims that:

These two water traces surround the city's settlement area with a natural belt, which can be seen as a natural park around the city. When viewed from a bird's eye view, or taken as a general picture of the city, this effect occurs in the general appearance of the city with its water resources. If this feature donated by nature are used and applied successfully, the city that looks barren and soulless today can be given a garden city form surrounded by park greenery. (Cengizkan, 2011, p. 30)



Figure 4. Lörcher Plan and the Atatürk Forest Farm borders

Source: METU Urban Design Studio, 1997-1998.

The foundation stage of the Atatürk Forest Farm was realized between the two planning experiences of Ankara. While the planning process of the city continued on the one hand with the Lörcher plan, on the other side Mustafa Kemal Atatürk started to work to construct a modern farm in Ankara. Therefore, he decided to implement an

important project prepared in 1925 in the capital. He stated that he "wanted to establish a big modern farm next to Ankara". In line with this aim, he wanted to establish a commission from well-known agriculturists of the country and he expected from these experts to find the necessary land for the farm (Aydoğan, 2012, p. 35). However, a significant part of the proposed farmland was marsh and the remaining part was arid. According to Tahsin Coşkan, a member of that commission, when they looked for a place for the farm around Ankara, they thought very little about the present farm site. The land was neglected, diseased and yellow. It was a place where nature did not behave generously. The land even made them pessimistic while looking (Atatürk Çiftlikleri, 1939, p. 12-13). Nevertheless, the land, which was known to be unsuitable for agricultural use by the people of Ankara, was chosen consciously by Mustafa Kemal (Bilsel, 2013, p. 1). It was not a simple farmland he was looking for. In fact, Atatürk wanted a report from agricultural experts, especially to build a farm in the worst soil for agriculture. His aim was to show that the strong relationship between the soil and the people of the country, where the main source of income is agriculture, could be established in a healthy way even in a piece of land where the natural conditions were hardly at all appropriate (Semiz, pp. 158-159). In fact, it is not possible to explain this land choice only with agriculture. The transformation of the society through the transformation of land was also targeted. It was desired to revive the forgotten social feelings with the attempts to be achieved in this barren land in the middle of Anatolia. According to Çağatay Keskinok, the reason for this conscious choice should be seen as an important indicator of the desire for the destruction of prejudices, the realization of the seemingly impossible, and for the people to gain confidence in their own strength (Keskinok, 2000, p. 43). At the end of the all these researches, the establishment of the Atatürk Forest Farm was inaugurated by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk on May 5, 1925 in Ankara. The farm, which was initially called "Gazi Farm", was Mustafa Kemal's own property, which he built by buying land from other people. The railroad and 20.000 square meters of land extending along the Ankara Stream purchased from Faika Hanım, the wife of the former Ankara governor Abidin Pasha, formed the core of the farm. With the purchase of other lands in time, the Gazi Farmland reached 102.000 square meters worth (Bilsel, 2013, p. 1).



Figure 5. The barren land in the middle of Anatolia (Original situation of the farm)

Source: METU Urban Design Studio archive



Figure 6. Transformation of the farm area

 $Source: \ http://aocarastirmalari.arch.metu.edu.tr/gorunumler-ve-yapilar/\ Last\ accessed\ August\ 2018$

While the establishment of the Atatürk Forest Farm was completed and studies in the direction of its establishment purposes were continuing, the planning process of modern Ankara was also in progress. However, in this planning process, there was a huge urban green area that could no longer be overlooked and it would find its place in the subsequent planning processes of the capital. By 1927, it was understood that 1924-25 Lörcher Plan area and some of its proposals lost their validity against pressing urban problems. The population of the city increased from 25.000 to 107.000 and it is necessary to plan the development of the city according to the population of 250,000. The municipality received a preliminary report by inviting experienced urban planners Hermann Jansen, Leon Jausseley and Josef Brix to Ankara. Among the proposals of the three experts who participated in the 1928 competition, Jansen's project was chosen (Cengizkan, 2011, p. 33). The competition resulted in 1929 and approved in 1932. The plan was prepared for a population of 300.000 people within a period of 50 years (Yıldırım, 2004, p. 62). Hermann Jansen's plan suggested a simple zoning for the capital city of Ankara; as it is requested from the competitors, it legitimized the construction carried out in the light of 1924-25 Lörcher Plan. Jansen plan made a general zoning. Vehicle and pedestrian movement was determined by the main urban backbone. The plan indicated the main direction of development of the city towards the south and proposed construction areas in three directions around the old city. By accepting the Ankara castle as a "city crown", the green "vista line" was suggested for the planning of the castle's surroundings and castle itself to look 'beautiful'. It accepted 'Bent Deresi' as an urban recreation area and the station area as a city center. Decisions about the development of a park system, the gathering of ministries in the New City, the use of the surroundings of Ankara-Sivas railway line as an industrial zone, the cemetery use in the north of Cebeci, and the use of zoos and large parks in the farm area had already been implemented. Adopting all the values of the 1924 Lörcher Plan, Jansen defined the development context of the city according to a zoning plan. In this frame, by defining the districts such as Workers' Neighborhood, Universities District, and Tandoğan Airport, Jansen proposed a general plan in which the main artery for transportation was Atatürk Boulevard (Cengizkan, 2011, pp. 34-35).

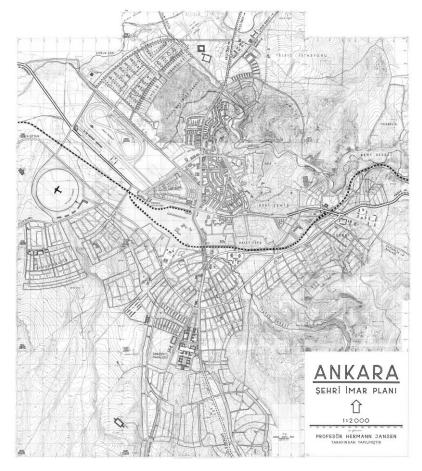


Figure 7. Jansen Plan

Source: METU Urban Design Studio archive



Figure 8. Jansen Plan and the Atatürk Forest Farm borders

Source: METU Urban Design Studio, 1997-1998.

The Atatürk Forest Farm was of great importance for the Jansen plan. Gönül Tankut (1990) claims that Ankara was planned with inspiration from the Garden City idea which rose in reaction to the destructions created by industrialists in European countries. The Atatürk Forest Farm was one of the most important actors of this planning movement. Actually, the municipality had already made it clear that the farm was very crucial in the planning of Ankara. So, in the competition for the planning of Ankara in 1928, article 17 under the heading "Oral, written directives and donations given to experts on the future plan of the city of Ankara" given to the competitors was about the already established and developing farm. This single article about the farm was indicating the development area in general terms by saying that "The zoo and the general park must extend from the Marmara Plateau to the road to İstanbul in the Forest Farm". However, the future direction, scope and pace of this exemplary farm pioneering the other state farms clearly demonstrates that it was an important project of the Republic. It was designed as a part of the policy of development and liberation and had a spiritual unity with the planning of Ankara. It was designed as a model space where the Republican individual would be trained in every aspect (Alpagut, 2017, p. 7).

However, the farm was not designed and developed through a certain planning direction until the early 1930s. Practices for the planned and integrative development of the farm started in the 1930s (Alpagut, 2010, p. 243). Within this period of time, there was another specialist who played an active role in the planning of the Atatürk Forest Farm, Ernst Arnold Egli. Egli as an architect of Swiss origin was quite influential in the planning of the 1930s, the determination of the location of new buildings and the preparation of their projects. The practices of Ernst Egli at the Atatürk Forest Farm initiated the second period in which the farm settlement showed a planned and regular development, its built environment was enriched and reached its current state (Alpagut, 2010, p. 241). Egli's relationship with the Atatürk Forest Farm had started earlier than Jansen's relationship. Shortly after his arrival in Turkey, in 1928, the design and construction of the Marmara Köşkü building in the farmland was assigned to Egli. Following this first design, in 1934, he prepared a three-page report and a sketch named 'Gazi Çiftliği Tadilat Eskizi' for the farm and presented it to the

presidency. Thus, the process of planning and developing the farm as a modern model settlement had begun (Alpagut, 2017, p. 11). In 1934, the same year with the suggestion of Egli, Hermann Jansen and the new Development Director Semih Bey signed the "Ankara and the Vicinity Development Plan Contract". In the second article of the 10-point contract, it is stated that a 1/5000 scale map belonging to the farm and Gazi Evi would be given to Jansen. It seems that, because of the contract, despite the existing Egli plan, Jansen was also involved in the farm's planning. In 1936, Jansen presented the drawings about the Brewery and its surroundings with a four-page report to Farm Manager Tahsin Coşkan. In the Egli report of 1934, this area, which was determined to be the center of the farm, now became a detailed planning issue (Alpagut, 2017, p. 12). According to the document dated 24.8.1936 about the proposal of Jansen about the regulation of the environment of the Brewery in the Presidential Palace Atatürk Archive, Jansen made plans for the Brewery and the large area where the houses were located. Egli, who worked with Jansen and undertook most of the planning and construction activities in later years, had implemented this plan with some changes. In addition, the design of the main buildings within this plan belongs to Egli (Alpagut, 2010, pp. 240-241). Consequently, the Jansen Plan mostly overlaps with the distribution of functions in the "Gazi Çiftliği Tadilat Eskizi" prepared by Egli in 1934 (Alpagut, 2017, p. 25). The planned development of the farm started with Egli's design in 1934, followed by Jansen's planning and Jansen-Egli cooperation in 1936. Functions such as accommodation, agriculture, production, etc. needed for a modern life were added to the Atatürk Forest Farm with the plans of Egli and Jansen (Alpagut, 2017, p. 10).

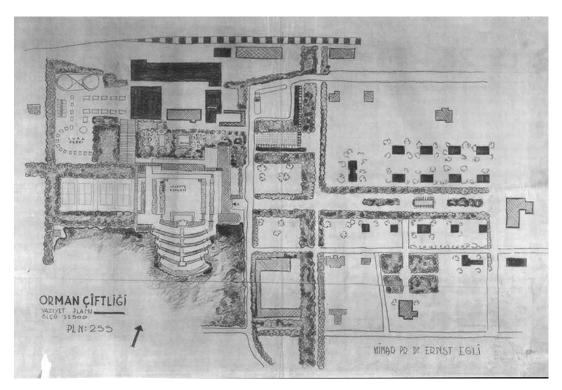


Figure 9. Site plan for the Atatürk Forest Farm by Ernst Egli, 1936

 $Source: \ http://aocarastirmalari.arch.metu.edu.tr/aoc-merkez-bolgesi/\ Last\ accessed\ August\ 2018$

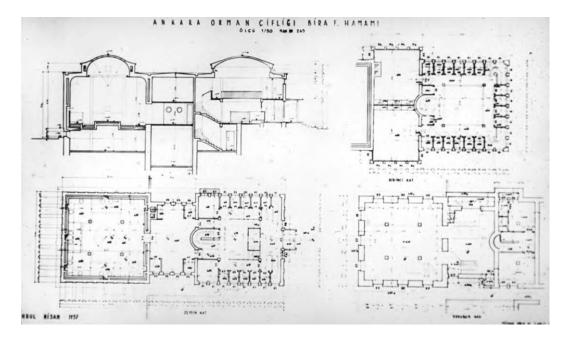


Figure 10. Modern Turkish Bath drawings by Ernst Arnold Egli

Source: Leyla Alpagut, Atatürk Orman Çiftliği'nde Ernst Egli'nin İzleri: Planlama, Bira Fabrikası, Konutlar ve "Geleneksel" Bir Hamam, 2010.

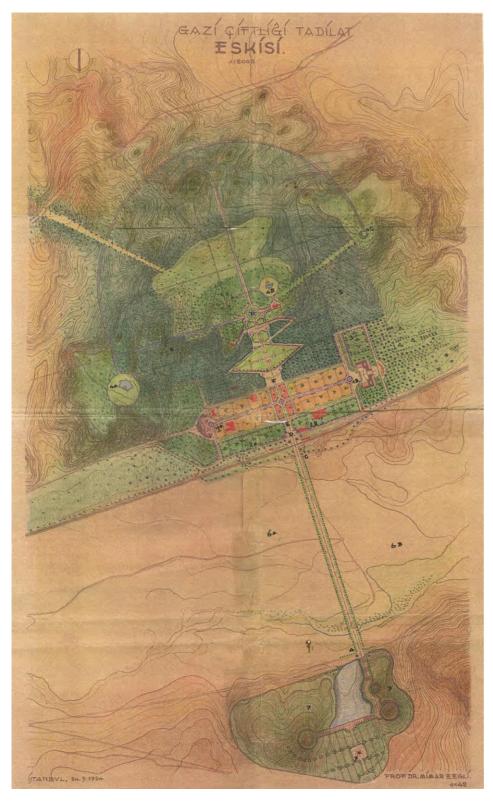


Figure 11. "Gazi Çiftliği Tadilat Eskizi" by Ernst Arnold Egli, 1934.

Source: Leyla Alpagut, Atatürk Orman Çiftliği'nde Ernst Egli'nin İzleri: Planlama, Bira Fabrikası, Konutlar ve "Geleneksel" Bir Hamam, 2010.



Figure 12. Jansen Plan for Brewery Site, 1936.

Source: Leyla Alpagut, Hermann Jansen için Ankara'da yeni bir görev: 'Gazi Orman Çiftliği' Planlaması, 2017.

As a result, Ankara's being the capital city and modern planning processes in this direction were carried out in parallel with the foundation and planning of the Atatürk Forest Farm. While Ankara was chosen as the capital and built as a modern city, the role of the farm was significant. The farm as an unprecedented practice in the country, served the purposes of the early Republic by intersecting with the practice of planning and creating a new city. Although the farm was not yet physically established on the Lörcher plan, the first plan of the city of Ankara, the similarity between the general decisions of the plan and the establishment principles of the farm is remarkable. In the city's next plan by Jansen, the farm now had its presence so it could not be overlooked. However, the farm, which was not planned in detail in the Jansen proposal, did not develop in a planned manner over a period of time.

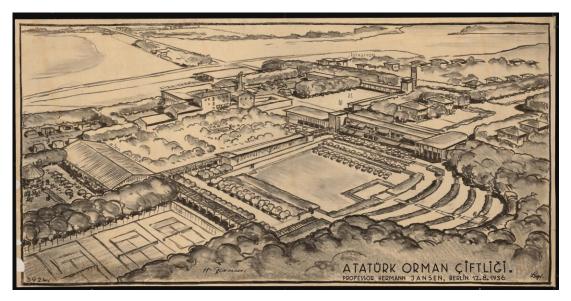


Figure 13. Jansen's sketch for Brewery Site, 1936.

Source: Leyla Alpagut, Hermann Jansen için Ankara'da yeni bir görev: 'Gazi Orman Çiftliği' Planlaması, 2017.

The farm, which started to develop with the initiatives of Egli, was then planned in detail with the cooperation of Jansen and Egli. If Jansen's Ankara plan is considered as a modern garden city proposal, the Atatürk Forest Farm looks like a small-scale example of this "garden city" effort with all its functions, planning and built environment. Jansen's notes on the planning of Ankara such as the desire to be contemporary, being responsible for well-being of people and the consideration and application of contemporary technology formed the characteristics of the Atatürk Forest Farm (Alpagut, 2017, p. 25).

2.1.2. The Founding Functions

The development of Ankara as the modern capital after the proclamation of the Republic was the beginning of the production of a model city for the whole country and social transformation targeted in the modernization project. The initiative to establish this modern city carried out in the middle of Anatolia, where rural life was dominant, was also a challenge to establish a new cultural and social relationship between the urban and the rural. In this direction, the Atatürk Forest Farm established

in the capital Ankara was the first agricultural model to interpret the collaboration between the urban and the rural in the early Republican period. The farm, which introduced modern agricultural and industrial production techniques to the public, was emphasizing the importance of agricultural production for the economic organization of the city and providing a unique recreation experience for the people (Akyürek, 2000, p. 19). Thus, in this section, the Atatürk Forest Farm, whose planning development has already been emphasized, will be examined in terms of the principles for its functions. These principles will be basically explained as development in agricultural and industrial production and social development.

2.1.2.1. Development of Agricultural and Industrial Production

Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, the founder and the first president of the Republic, explained the importance of agriculture with the following words: "The national economy is based on agriculture. Because of this, we attach great importance to development in agriculture." (Mumcu, 2002, p. 93)

The modernization project following the founding of the Republic in 1923 indicated that the country had to be reorganized socially and spatially. Parallel to this, the economy was an important issue to be addressed in order to establish and maintain the modern society understanding. In this respect, Atatürk defined the economic independence as the most basic requirement of national sovereignty in the opening speech of Economic Congress of Turkey held in İzmir in February 17, 1923 even before the proclamation of Republic and he thus started the planning process of the first national economic policy. For this policy, the initial aim was to improve mechanization in agriculture and industry networks. The agrarian reform that started to be defined by this congress was very important for the development of national economy. Because, at that time, 80% of the country's population worked in agriculture and 80-85% of export revenues were based on agricultural products (Akyürek, 2000, p. 19).

Referring to the importance of modern agriculture for the country's economy at every opportunity, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk was aware of the fact that traditional, introverted production relations in agriculture and livestock could not be effective any more. For generating a powerful economic structure, it was very important for Atatürk to remove the backwardness in agriculture and animal husbandry by using contemporary techniques and to be a pioneer for society by selling products to be obtained with modern methods in domestic and foreign markets (Öztoprak, 2006, p. 29-30). Thus, the farm is the most impressive example of the progress from despair to trust, from fatalism to rationality and from traditional to science and technique (Keskinok, 2000, p. 43).



Figure 14. Modern farming techniques

Source: Atatürk Çiftlikleri, 1939.

According to the researches, the Atatürk Forest Farm was an experimental field especially for the transformation of agricultural labor. After the establishment of the farm on particularly selected infertile lands, agricultural activities accelerated. These agricultural activities were far beyond simple production. In the direction of the establishment purposes of the farm, a detailed study, which would guide the

transformation of the society, started. The establishment purposes of the farm set out the principles for functions of this detailed agricultural production. The most important aim of agricultural production was to initiate modern cultivation methods and to introduce these methods to farmers for developed agricultural production. After that, agricultural activities would proceed in more detail.

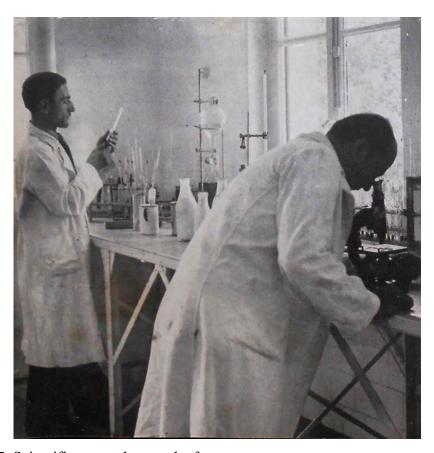


Figure 15. Scientific researchers at the farm

Source: Atatürk Çiftlikleri, 1939.

The main agricultural innovations of the farm were to investigate new species for breeding cereal types and to promote and distribute them to the public, to produce domestic and foreign fruit species suitable for climate conditions, to show them to the public and to spread them to the region, to develop viticulture and to introduce it to the public, to afforest with scientific methods, to encourage afforestation throughout the country and to plant nurseries for the purpose of planting fruit and vineyard saplings necessary for the farm and the region (Keskinok, 2000, p. 43). While agricultural

production took place in a large part of the farm, facilities for animal husbandry, beekeeping, dairy products and beer and wine production were also established.

Moreover, with 'Gazi Farm Products Sample Sales Stores' opened in Ankara and Istanbul, cheap and high-quality vegetables, fruits, milk, fruit juice and food sales were provided to the public (Bilsel, 2013, p. 2). Thus, it was aimed that the industrial production would be developed by processing and utilizing the agricultural production of the farm in these facilities. The farm was a product of a comprehensive design that tried to achieve the goals such as the conversion of the productive power, the development of the relation of industrial production and agriculture, the provision of the needs of the people and clean and healthy food production (Keskinok, 2000, p. 43).



Figure 16. Beer Factory (An example of industrial production)

Source: The Atatürk Forest Farm archive

In summary, the farm as an economic enterprise was a private company established for the benefit of the public and it was an example of agriculture-industry-commerce integration envisaged in first 5-year industry plan of the Turkish Republic. Technological development and the relationship between industrialization and agricultural production were gathered within its context (Bilsel, 2013, p. 2). By this

means, while the farm administration took a role in the economic organization of the city, the modern concepts of production were included in the daily life of the people.

2.1.2.2. Social Development: Transformation in Living Patterns

In addition to being an important part of the modernization project in the sense of production in the early Republican period, the Atatürk Forest Farm was also an example in the spatial sense with its contemporary public recreation areas. In this period, the farm housing the places of rural and recreational life of the modern capital city construction came forward with its recreational public spaces. Despite being physically away from the city, the public spaces of the farm were connected to the city by a strong public transport network at this time. In this period, while the farm was related to the city as a modernist project area with its modern production aimed at the modernization project of the Republic, it had a value of being a pragmatic representation space for citizens with its contemporary recreation areas. This representation was made through the farm's new spaces of modern life (Aycı, 2017, p. 186). For example, the Marmara and İzmir Mansions, pools and recreation areas in the farm were places publicized through the use of urban space where the equality of women and men was provided on the social ground. In this sense, the farm became a place where modernity was experienced and adopted with the practices of daily life. A new social development was targeted in which the people would not only live in neighborhood scale and would not be afraid of meeting other individuals and opposite sex in city scale. As a space organization where this social transformation was promoted and encouraged, the farm took its place in time as an area where the transforming side of fun was discovered (Kimyon & Serter, 2015, p. 27).



Figure 17. New social life experiences at the farm

Source: http://aocarastirmalari.arch.metu.edu.tr/gorunumler-ve-yapilar/ Last accessed August 2018

According to Gönül Tankut (as cited in Yıldırım, 2004), creating such living spaces and urban environment would be an important pioneer for the social transformation in which people would shift from an eastern-oriented daily life to a western-oriented lifestyle. With the help of these urban social spaces, the notion of civilization that was aimed for the capital Ankara with the Republic was incorporated in lives of people. Thus, people embraced the farm, which represented contemporary civilization. On the other hand, these social spaces revealed the cultural differences of society. Citizens who wanted to feel themselves as part of the new social understanding brought by the Republic should be involved in these social spaces of the new regime, such as the Atatürk Forest Farm (Kaçar, 2010, pp. 41-42). These new spatial practices offered new lifestyle alternatives for the people of Ankara. By 1935, with the Black Sea Pool, the Marmara Pool and the zoo, the farm became a favorite recreation area for citizens (Yıldırım, 2004, p. 76). Especially the swimming pools were important actors in transforming the living patterns of inhabitants by providing swimming opportunity in Ankara in summer time. Apart from recreational opportunities, these pools were open-

air schools where courses were provided for people to learn swimming and sports activities took place. Moreover, by the help of the zoo, restaurants, beer parks and other recreational activities, it was aimed that people could achieve whatever they needed within this social transformation period (Kaçar, 2010, pp. 44-47).



Figure 18. Transformation of living patterns at the farm

Source: Atatürk Çiftlikleri, 1939.

At the Marmara Pavilion, which housed recreational areas and parks around it, the presidential orchestra began to offer alternative music to Turkish music. This music made in the western style could be reached not only at concert times but also in daily life via radio. It is obvious that the program of the radio was related to the desired social development of the people and their education in this direction. It was intended to adapt gradually the principles and pleasures of the western lifestyle to everyday life to create radical transformation (Kaçar, 2010, pp. 48-49). On the other hand, the Public Houses were very important in terms of social development. They were opened in 1932 with the aim of strengthening the awareness of nationality, increasing the interaction between people and creating an ideal society, and hosting different activities such as literature, sports, library, history, music and art (Yıldırım, 2004, p. 76). From another point of view, this intended social development was not done only by transforming people's living patterns. Even if a large part of it was in the field of

agricultural production activities, increasing the education level of the people was also an important aim in terms of the development of the society. As Çağatay Keskinok states, besides being a model farm, the Atatürk Forest Farm was also a school and carried the value of being an educational-research institution. At that time, peasant children were educated at the farm for the dissemination of modern farming techniques (Keskinok, 2000, p. 43). The intention of Mustafa Kemal to establish this farm was also to provide employment for the young population and to spread the agricultural activities that started in Ankara to the entire Anatolia. These young agriculturists would spread the new technologies and scientific developments to the whole country. They would be educated by gaining experience on their own land and then would become the teachers to educate peasants. More than producing science, it was aimed to create new generations who believed in science, knowledge and well-being of young Turkey. In line with this aim, high schools of agriculture were opened in particular cities of the country including Ankara in 1930. It was compulsory for the high school students to do internship at the farm in order to attend the higher Agricultural Institute. Thus, these students doing internship on the farm for two semesters gained experience in every respect (Kaçar, 2010, pp. 25-26).



Figure 19. A female student training at the farm

Source: Atatürk Çiftlikleri, 1939.

As a result, this social development and modernization project, which was initiated at the Atatürk Forest Farm, is not only a superficial effort. This project was in fact a detailed and multi-layered system of thinking that aimed to intervene in every aspect of people's daily life.

2.2. The Farm from the Mid-20th Century to the Early 21st Century

The Atatürk Forest Farm is an urban space organized during the early Republican period for achieving the goals such as developed agricultural production, rural and urban integration, development of rural life and production, promotion of agriculture and agriculture-based industry, carrying out agricultural researches, continuity of

production and consumption union and creation of education and employment opportunities. In this context, the farm with its assets, values, culture and production capacity is an important public area that needs to be protected (Kimyon & Serter, 2015, p. 49). However, despite the articles of law for its protection, the farmland has attracted the attention of many public and private establishments over the years to be used for different functions (Atak & Şahin, 2004, p. 83). On the other hand, the movement created by the immigration to the city resulted in the rapid growth of Ankara towards the west in the period following the Second World War. With the growth of Ankara, the city's intense infrastructure needs and rent pressures have affected the farm area negatively. As the farm started to be part of the city center geographically, the relationship between the farm and the city has been limited to the search for solutions to spatial problems and the farm has been tried to provide space for additional uses such as industrial enterprise. Thus, in the period from the mid-20th Century onwards, the farm has become a fragmented area for Ankara due to the city's macro-scale growth (Aycı, 2017, p.187).

As a result, many transformations have occurred in the farm due to the change of location of the farm in the urban macroform. The farm, which has still an important role in the urban development of Ankara, has transformed by neglecting its planning and functional purposes due to different reasons. In this section, the transformation process of the farm starting from the mid-20th century until the beginning of the 21th century will be examined. The transformation that the farm has been experiencing will be explained in terms of the deviation from its planning approaches and from its principles of function.

2.2.1. Deviation from the Planning Purposes

Because of its important position in the modernization project, the Atatürk Forest Farm was included in the plans prepared by Hermann Jansen for Ankara. From the mid-20th Century onwards, the farm, which was established in line with its planning principles, has not shown the same development in terms of planning for years. For this reason, it is possible to divide the historical development of the farm into two parts in terms of

its planning processes: the early republican period and the post-1950 period. During the period beginning from 1950, the Atatürk Forest Farm was governed by laws and temporary policies. In this process, the farm was faced with the problem of rapid urban growth of Ankara (Aycı, 2017, p.3). With the rapid growth of the city, the search for a new plan became a current issue. In 1955, a new competition was organized for the urban development of Ankara and the winner of this competition was the Nihat Yücel - Raşit Uybadin team. The plan, approved in 1957, was prepared for a population of 750,000 and covered a period of 20 years (Yıldırım, 2004, p. 63). The Uybadin-Yücel plan, which coincided with the post-1950 period, aimed at finding solutions to the problems that the population increase caused in the city. However, despite its size, the Atatürk Forest Farm land was ignored in the planning process (Aycı, 2017, p.187). According to Yıldırım (2004, p. 64), the decisions of the plan related to open green areas were against the proposal of Jansen. For this reason, the city's open green area system was damaged and there were no strict decisions to ensure the integrity of the farmland. In the plan, the farm area was considered as an area where the municipality's proposed olympics project could be realized. In this period, the farm was the area for the projects planned and decided by the local government. On the other hand, in order to meet the housing needs of the increasing population of the city, Gazi Mahallesi, where the workers would live predominantly, was founded on the lands taken from the farm in this period. Therefore, in the period between 1950-1960, the needs of urban housing and industrial structures for the city were met by using the farm area. The meaning of the farm for the city became limited to the recreational areas that were used in everyday life (Aycı, 2017, p.188). To conclude, the plan proposed by Yücel -Uybadin suggested proposals for the solution of the problems of city; however, it can be said that it did not make a clear decision about the farm and perceived it as an empty area in the city. One of the direct consequences of this was the increase in settlement pressures on the farm, which was in the direction of the city's growth, and the division of the farmland with infrastructure needs (Atak & Şahin, 2004, p. 87).

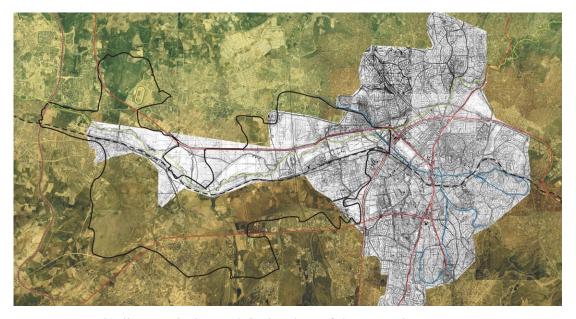


Figure 20. Uybadin Yücel Plan and the borders of the Atatürk Forest Farm

Source: METU Urban Design Studio, 1997-1998

Shortly after the plan was approved, a necessity of a new plan for Ankara emerged because of exceeding the projected population. In this direction, the Ankara Metropolitan Area Master Plan Bureau was established in 1969 in order to control urban development and to prepare a new plan. This Bureau prepared a master development plan of Ankara for 1990 and this plan was approved in 1982. This plan was prepared with the assumption that Ankara would have a population of 3.6 million people in 1990 (Yıldırım, 2004, p. 64). The most important feature of this planning experience was that the 1990 master plan was the first plan to conduct a comprehensive planning approach about the farm area. Firstly, the bureau and some voluntary organizations prepared 1/5000 and 1/25000 plans of the farmland. Especially the 1/5000 plan offered proposals for regulating pedestrian and vehicle transportation for the historic center of the farm. Moreover, the plan suggested new functions such as an enlarged zoo, new recreation areas, parking lots, agricultural fairgrounds, and touristic uses. It also conserved architectural values such as the Wine Factory, existing zoo, Beer Factory, Turkish bath house, Marmara Mansion, Karadeniz Pool and Marmara Hotel. Although decisions taken by the plan were not implemented completely, certain decisions could be realized (Çavdar Sert, 2017a, pp. 282-283). In addition, it was emphasized in the plan that green areas should be protected and prevented from the

urban development of the city. In reference to the researches of the Bureau, unsuitable areas of the farm for agricultural production should be used for recreation purposes. In this direction, according to the plan, while the city developed to the west, also the open green corridors must be extended in the same direction. All these reports of the Bureau proposed that the farm area was identified as an important recreation area and taken as a potential for future recreation projects. These areas were identified as open green areas and any institution would not be allowed to settle in these lands (Yıldırım, 2004, p. 64). Thus, with the master plan, even if they were not directly related to the conservation of the farm, a number of decisions were taken perhaps for the first time. Some planning decisions were made for the farm, which was in the green belt that is thought to be necessary to overcome air pollution in the city. However, decisions taken within this macroscale approach did not keep the farm away from the pressure of settlement (Atak & Şahin, 2004, pp. 87-88). These decisions still resulted in the loss of land in the farm. First, the bureau approved the transfer of land from the farm for the Balgat neighborhood. In addition, areas for the State Cemetery and wholesale markets were provided. Therefore, the plan still regarded the farmland as a void where new functions could be injected (Cavdar Sert, 2017a, p. 282). As a result, with these decisions taken in the master plan, Ankara, which was developing in the western direction, surrounded the farm.

The Ankara 2015 Structure Plan, which was formulated in 1985 and planned for a 30-year perspective, was made by scholars from Middle East Technical University and specialists from local administrations. The plan focused on the transport system and offered a new system in addition to the existing roads. However, as the focus of the plan was the transportation system and macroform development, there were no strategies for the farm in the plan (Çavdar Sert, 2017a, pp. 257-261).

Thus, the lands of the farm have been exposed to the pressure of urban growth of the city on a macro scale. Because of this pressure, the farm was listed as a "natural and historical site" in 1992 and its conservation borders were determined by the Conservation Council in 1993. In addition, in 1998, the farm was declared as a First Degree Conservation site. However, until 2006, urban uses continued to surround the

farmland, as there was no new conservation master plan for the farm. Despite the determined boundary for its conservation site area, the farm could not preserve itself from land losses (Çavdar Sert, 2017a, pp. 261-262). According to Aycı (2017, p.188), the reason behind the declaration of the farm as a registered conservation site was to create a barrier from the lands of the farm to protect it against the pressure caused by the growth of the city. Thus, the conservation approach for the farm by declaring it as a registered conservation site reduced its spatial and production potentials. This attitude weakened the farm's relation to the city and reduced the farm to an ordinary recreational space with its former public spaces.

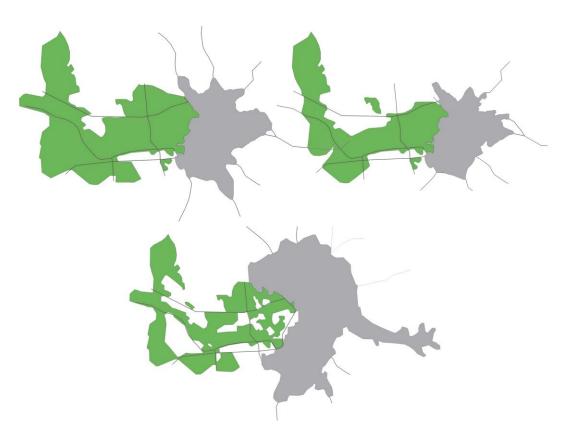


Figure 21. Development of Ankara and the transformation of the Atatürk Forest Farm Source: http://aocarastirmalari.arch.metu.edu.tr/portfolio/aoc-sinirlarinin-degisimi/Last accessed August 2018

Subsequently, the local government prepared the AOÇ 2023 Plan in 2006. In the plan, the farm area was mentioned as the most important part of the urban green system of the city. In this direction, the farm had to be strengthened with other green belts extending in the east-west direction of the city. The plan report also recommended the removal of the polluting uses in the west-planning region where the farm coexisted with industrial facilities. In addition, the farm and the military areas in the city were protected as western ventilation corridors and as the heritage of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. Although the plan offered new proposals, the problems of the existing land were not analyzed in detail and the planning principles are not comprehensive. Following the 2023 plan, the 2006 and 2010 AOC Conservation Master Plans were prepared by the Greater Municipality of Ankara. The 2006 plan was aimed at transformation rather than the conservation of the farm. Uses such as an enlarged zoo area and the International Olympic Games area were problematic with their sizes and contents. On the other hand, the transportation proposals concerning the historical center of the farm and the preservation of buildings such as the Turkish bath, Wine Factory and administration buildings were positive aspects of the plan. However, besides this, the Brewery site was designated as a special project area. As a result, the 2006 plan did not represent the concept of conservation in its name. Fortunately, it was not implemented due to a number of civil actions. On the other hand, the 2010 AOÇ Conservation Master Plan was 'literally' based on the conservation basis and transportation structure on the urban scale. In fact, according to the plan report, the aim of the plan was to reveal a new farm in the direction of Atatürk's Donation Letter, with which he left the ownership of the farm to the State Treasury. The aim was a new farm unified with the macro plan of Ankara, in which modern farming techniques would be applied and recreational uses would be created. In addition, the problematic proposals in the previous conservation plan were cancelled. Only the enlarged zoo proposal coincided with the previous plan; however, the extension area of the zoo was also changed toward the west. The transportation decisions, on the other hand, were completely contrary to the conservation of the farm area. The proposed boulevards would attract new functions along the farm and would threaten the conservation of the farm. As a result, the 2010 plan was not actually based on a conservation basis. Particularly, transportation decisions ignored the territorial integrity of the farm.

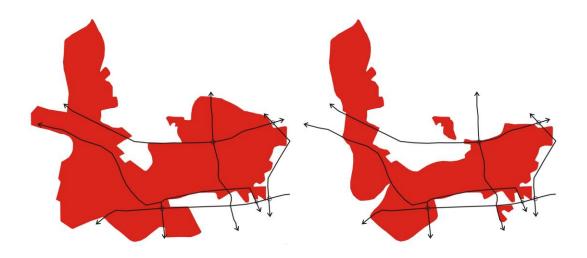


Figure 22. Transformation of the Atatürk Forest Farm

Source: http://aocarastirmalari.arch.metu.edu.tr/portfolio/aoc-sinirlarinin-degisimi/Last accessed August 2018

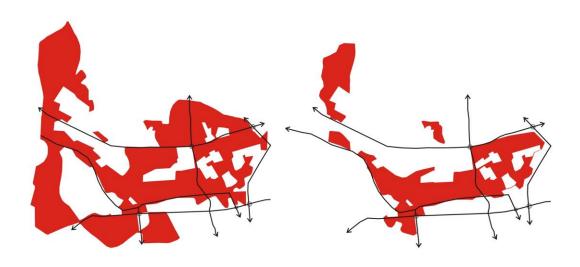


Figure 23. Transformation of the Atatürk Forest Farm

Source: http://aocarastirmalari.arch.metu.edu.tr/portfolio/aoc-sinirlarinin-degisimi/Last accessed August 2018

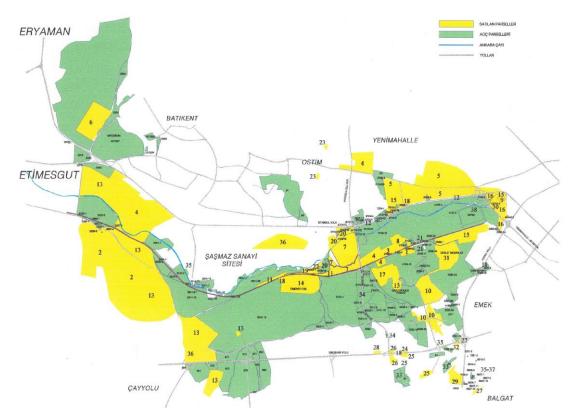


Figure 24. Existing and sold lands of the farm by 2002

Source: METU Urban Design Studio, 1997-1998.

Consequently, the existence of the Atatürk Forest Farm has been a very important issue in the planning processes in Ankara after 1950. However, the effects of the decisions during these planning processes taken for the Atatürk Forest Farm should be questioned. It is a mistake that the farm, which determines the development direction of the city, has only been indicated as an open area or as a place provider for some institutions in planning decisions. Contrary to all these, more bold decisions have to be taken for the planning of the farm in the growing city because it is the worst way of preserving it by specifying it as an area to be protected and not making a decision on its development. Hilal Aycı (2017, p.191) also emphasizes that, although the relation between the farm and the city has been spatially closer on macroscale within the historical process, it has weakened in terms of public spaces. The most important reason for this was the understanding of conservation, which did not do anything to design the changing relationship of the farm and Ankara. Furthermore, Atak & Şahin (2004, p.86) state that, since the days when the Republic was established, it seems that

the planning approaches of the farm have presented a fundamental error. In general, the farmland was perceived not as an urban area having a certain function in the city, but as a restrictive open space, that is a barrier to construction. The relationship between the farm and the city of Ankara is not much emphasized. However, the farmland like every area in the city is not an empty piece of land that can be evaluated independently of the whole city and its relations with its surroundings. For the development and livability of the city, it is an iconic space that accommodates historical, environmental and aesthetic possibilities and it is necessary to consider these characteristics in planning. In this sense, the claim that the Atatürk Forest Farm can be maintained by making a master plan should not be evaluated independently from the upper scale plan of the city. In other words, the problem of the protection of the farm is the problem of planning Ankara at the same time.

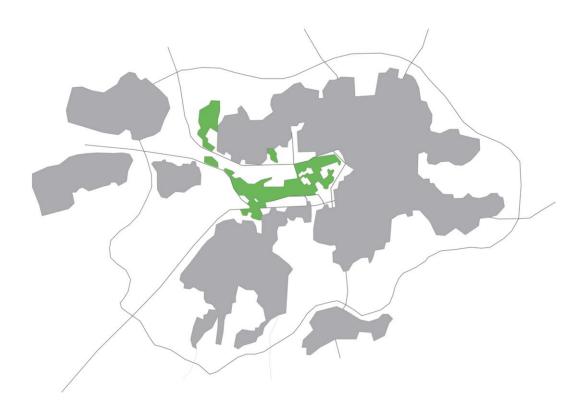


Figure 25. The position of the Atatürk Forest Farm in the city

Source: http://aocarastirmalari.arch.metu.edu.tr/portfolio/aoc-sinirlarinin-degisimi/Last accessed August 2018

2.2.2. Deviation from the Founding Functions

As discussed in the previous chapters, the Atatürk Forest Farm has played a pioneering role in the developments in agriculture and industrial production and in the transformation of social life. However, the farm began to deviate from its principles of functions in the second period examined in this section. According to Hilal Aycı (2017, p.183), in the period starting from 1950, the most effective factor in the transformation of the farm's geography in spatial sense was ignoring researches related to agriculture at the same time with the whole world. In the same period, due to the fact that the integrated decisions about the physical environment of the city could not be taken, the farm turned into an area surrounded by Ankara, which grew in the western direction. Thus, agriculture and animal husbandry of the farm's production has been on the decline. The area allocated to cereals and livestock has been getting smaller day by day. Due to the fact that the farm is surrounded by main transportation routes, water and natural gas pipelines, sewerage and energy transmission lines that the infrastructure of the city requires, the fields where production can be done have been torn down and the agricultural function has been lost. Moreover, with the closure of many factories, industrial production has begun to decrease (Atak & Şahin, 2004, p. 84).

On the other hand, along with the decisions made by the administrators of the period, the farm also began to lose its public spaces. Thus, the public usage habits coming from the previous periods have continued to diminish in everyday life and restrictions in public places have limited the meaning of the farm for the city (Aycı, 2017, p.179). Therefore, the Atatürk Forest Farm, where agricultural and industrial production have been decreased, has begun to find use by citizens with limited recreational activity opportunities. In this section, the deviation of the functional principles of the Atatürk Forest Farm from the mid-20th century to the early 21st century will be examined in detail. This process will be revealed by the negligence of agricultural and industrial production and the effacement of social values and meanings.

2.2.2.1. Negligence of Agricultural and Industrial Production

In order to elaborate the deviation of the Atatürk Forest Farm from its principles of function in this period, it is necessary to look at a slightly earlier period because, one of the most important reasons of this deviation is the land losses of the farm. Mustafa Kemal Atatürk donated all the farms he founded and the Atatürk Forest Farm to the treasury as stated in the two documents dated 11.06.1937 and 13.06.1937, hoping that they would be managed within the framework of their principles of function. Following the donation, State Agriculture Enterprises Authority was established with the law No. 3308 on 01.01.1938 for the management of these farms and all immovable properties were transferred to this institution (Atak & Şahin, 2004, pp. 81-82). While donating the farms to the state, Atatürk had determined his wishes in the donation letter. According to the letter, the Atatürk Forest Farm should develop in line with its establishment objectives and principles of function. However, the farm, of which the most important principles of function were to provide agricultural and industrial production, has not been well managed by this institution and its establishment objectives have been lost day by day (Yıldırım, 2004, p. 2). In 1937, after the transfer to the treasury, the public institutions started to settle in the farmlands and the process of the disintegration of the farm started. In 1950, legal regulations were made with the aim of protecting the integrity of the farm's territory. With the Establishment Law No. 5659, the farm started to be managed as a separate directorate from Atatürk's other farms. Even though there were attempts to prevent land losses with this law, land transfers continued in various forms. In Article 10 of Law No. 5659, it is stated that a special law requires for the transfer of farmland. With the laws numbered 6000, 6238, 6947, and 7310 in accordance with this article, the farm area was opened to nonagriculture uses and land transfers to public institutions started. Thus, the continuity of agricultural production with these interventions was destroyed (Kimyon & Serter, 2015, p. 53). With this law, which was valid until 2006, the authority of selling land from the farm was granted to the Turkish Grand National Assembly. With the law numbered 5524 issued in 2006, the authority to make plans in the farm was left to the local governments (Aycı, 2017). However, in 2007, controversial decisions were put forward in the Conservation Development Plan prepared by the Ankara Metropolitan

Municipality. According to the plan decisions, it is seen that very large areas were divided into uses such as Zoo, Olympic Village and Sports Park. As a result of this, it is recommended in the plan that these lands with high agricultural quality be used contrary to the establishment purposes of the farm. In addition, these uses required the construction of open and closed facilities on a large scale and the large amount of agricultural land to be destroyed (Aydoğan, 2012, pp. 126-127).

According to Turkish Court of Accounts Report on the Atatürk Forest Farm (Anon., 2011, p. 79) although the production that took place during the foundation years of the farm had an important role in meeting the needs of the people of Ankara, in the 2000s these productions seem to be very marginal to meet the needs. On the other hand, it is not possible for the farm to lead farmers around it in terms of the agricultural technique being applied. According to the report, the reason for the negligence of agricultural and industrial activities is that, with the development of transportation facilities, foodstuff needs of Ankara can be obtained easily from the other regions of Turkey. Moreover, these food products are cheaper and more abundant than those produced in the farm. On the other hand, production activities at the farm did not decrease only in view of economic damage. The other reason is that the need for green space in Ankara becomes more important than the need for food produced in the farm. Parallel to this, afforestation studies have increased and areas where agricultural production has been done have decreased.

As a result, agriculture and industrial production of the Atatürk Forest Farm has been following a decreasing trend. The rate of agricultural production has decreased due to the fact that the farm remains in the city and the cost of agricultural production is high. The production variety in the 1930s has gradually moved away (Atak, 2008, p.220). Actually, in the period when the farm was surrounded by the city (1950-2006), despite the increase in sales of vegetables and fruits, the rented areas also increased. However, the numerical increase in production was achieved as a result of mechanization and managerial success. In the period when the farm was the site of the modernization project (1925-1950), although the production was numerically small, the farm had strong public relations with the city. From this point of view, the Atatürk Forest Farm

example shows that it is not the numerical values that establish spatial relationship with the city on macro and micro scale (Aycı, 2017, p.190). Following the donation of the farm to the treasury, especially in the period from 1950 to the present day, the farm has become unable to carry out its principles of establishment due to the significant changes in terms of its physical structure and function (Aydoğan, 2012, p. 136). On the other hand, one of the greatest characteristics of Atatürk farms is that their products are processed in factories and workshops in their own institutions. The beer, malt, soda, ice, milk, yoghurt, wine, leather and iron furniture factories located in the farm are established with the aim of processing the farm products. However, agricultural production has not developed due to the decrease in the importance given to this type of production in later periods. In fact, many of these factories have been shut down (Açıksöz, 2001, p. 176). As a result of all these developments, the Atatürk Forest Farm has become an area where consumption is encouraged, as opposed to the founding era that emphasized production. While production functions are being removed from the farm, the city has become a venue where events are organized to increase consumption. In other words, the factor that makes the continuation of agricultural production together with industrial production meaningless in the farm is the contemporary ideology of consumption (Kimyon & Serter, 2015, p. 62).

2.2.2.2. Effacement of Social Values and Meanings

Established in 1925, the Atatürk Forest Farm is not only an integration of the urban and the rural, but also an expression of social change, an ideology, a new understanding of publicity and a field of liberation (Kimyon & Serter, 2015, p. 62). Besides its agricultural functions, the farm was a project that created public spaces for society in an environment shaped by a modern life style and gave importance to the development of these spaces. Especially after the development stages between 1925 and 1933, it became a place that provided many active and passive recreation opportunities for the people of Ankara for a long time (Açıksöz, 2001, p. 190). In 1937, Atatürk, donating the farm to the public, also mentioned the importance of recreation areas in the testament letter that he sent to the prime minister and he clearly stated that this was one of the most important purposes of establishing the farm. However, as the

other activities included in the establishment purposes of the farm, activities based on recreation also followed a declining trend after the death of Atatürk (Aydoğan, 2012, pp. 91-92). Especially after the early Republican period, the area has been disintegrated in different ways. To summarize, while the farm was an area where the large public could freely enjoy and benefit from green spaces, such features have been destroyed and the area has become almost closed to the public.

As mentioned earlier, the destruction of the publicness of the Atatürk Forest Farm and the destruction of its role in transforming the society during its founding years has been the result of multi-layered interventions. Firstly, the farm was seized in pieces by public institutions and was made an unusable area for the public. This deprivation of publicness reached another dimension in the military government eras. In addition to the changing ownership of the land, the mansions and pools that the people used in the farm area in the most intensive and qualified way were prohibited by these administrations (Kimyon & Serter, 2015, p. 62). Moreover, during these military periods, internal conflicts in the local geography and bans on the use of streets negatively affected social peace and economy, and also reduced the public use of the farm. Problems faced by the society during these periods left the spatial politics for public interest out of the agenda and limited the farm's relationship with the city. The restrictions in the public sector led to transform the farm into an area that has lost its meaning for the city (Aycı, 2017, p.188). In short, the farm has physically transformed into an area that has been destroyed in use and content in the post-1937 period. With all this loss of meaning, it has turned from an area used by the people into an idle space in the middle of the city (Kimyon & Serter, 2015, p. 62).

2014 Birebir Yapılan Anket Sonuçları			2014 İnternet Anket Sonuçları		
AOÇ'yi ne sıklıkta kullanıyorsunuz?	Sayı	Yüzde(%)	AOÇ'yi ne sıklıkta kullanıyorsunuz?	Sayı	Yüzde(%)
Hiç	42	22,9	Hiç	42	22,9
Ayda Bir	39	21,3	Ayda Bir	39	21,3
Ayda Birkaç Kez	21	11,4	Ayda Birkaç Kez	21	11,4
Üç Ayda Bir	18	9,8	Üç Ayda Bir	18	9,8
İki / Üç Yılda Bir	9	4,9	İki / Üç Yılda Bir	9	4,9
Yılda Bir	42	22,9	Yılda Bir	42	22,9
Yılda Birden Fazla	12	6,55	Yılda Birden Fazla	12	6,55

Figure 26. Survey about the public use of the farm by 2014

Source: Melek Pınar Uz, Damla Tekin, The Meaning of the Atatürk Forest Farm for the Citizens of Ankara: Outcome of a Questionnaire and a Series of Interviews-http://aocarastirmalari.arch.metu.edu.tr/, 2014

In addition, undoubtedly the most important factor in the destruction of the social development and habits achieved during the foundation years is again the land losses that the farm has suffered. The lands of the farm have been taken away by public and private institutions. In fact, according to the researches, besides the land losses that have been legalized by laws, there are also losses that cannot be documented. Thus, the farm, which was physically surrounded by Ankara that grew in the western direction, has become an available land for the city's growth. The integrity of the area was already damaged by land losses, and the deterioration of this integrity affected the publicness negatively. The policymakers of the period also accelerated the process of collapse of publicness with serious interventions. The construction of the state graveyard after an architectural project competition resulted in the closure of the Black Sea Pool that had been an important public space transforming the society (Aycı, 2017, p.188). Moreover, in the 1980s, the Marmara Pool and the pavilion were given to the use of the National Intelligence Organization and their activities were finished. The first industrial facility, the Beer Factory and its park, which also played the most important public role in the planning history of the farm, was also inexplicably closed (Aydoğan, 2012, p. 93). Thus, the relationship between the farm and the city has become limited to recreational uses coming from the past and continuing to decrease day by day.

Finally, the other reason for the weakening of the public use of the Atatürk Forest Farm in the historical process is that the public transport relationship has not been developed according to the growing urban conditions (Aycı, 2017, p.192). The disintegration process of the area has continued based on the planning of transportation needs. Even if the incident was taken to the court, the construction of roads defined in the project could not be prevented due to the slow progress of the judicial process. In line with plans, the farm area has been divided in north-south and east-west directions and the daily access to the farm center has become difficult because the traffic is flowing too fast in these roads. Thus, the public use of the farm has been weakened (Çavdar, n.d.).



Figure 27. Transportation lines restricting accessibility of the Atatürk Forest Farm Source: Photograph taken by the author

The Atatürk Forest Farm, the project area of the early Republican aim of creating a new society and new people, was later exposed to economy-oriented interventions, which operated against the ideology of publicness mainly due to the farm's position in the city. Thus, the farmland, which used to be wholly owned by the public, has mostly lost its publicness due to ongoing interventions from the mid-20th Century onwards (Kimyon & Serter, 2015, p. 62).

CHAPTER 3

THE FUTURE OF THE ATATÜRK FOREST FARM

In the previous sections, the development process of the Atatürk Forest Farm from its foundation period to the beginning of the 21st Century has been examined in two different historical periods in terms of planning and principles of function. In this historical review, firstly, the positive contributions of the farm on the society and the city were mentioned within the scope of the early Republican modernization project, in which the farm pioneered during its foundation period. Then the process started with the transfer of the farms to the treasury was discussed. In this period, which showed its effect particularly after the 1950's, illegal land losses of the farm and the deviations from its planning purposes and principles of function were discussed. Despite all the negativities, the Atatürk Forest Farm, located in the geometric center of contemporary Ankara, is still a huge area that has many potentials for the city. However, in order to use this potential to increase the quality of the area, it is necessary to stop the recent interventions and allocate the Atatürk Forest Farm to the use of the people again (Bilsel, 2013, p. 10). The farm is the place of production, contemporary life culture, social transformation, education and practice, creating a public value and national unity. In this sense, the importance given to the farm as a public enterprise should continue and its establishment purposes, goals and visions should regain their importance.

In this respect, there are many studies for the future of the Atatürk Forest Farm in the literature, also proving the comprehensiveness of this modernization project. Besides these studies, the problems of the farm area are also tried to be solved in legal terms by civil and professional organizations. Especially the Ankara Branch of the Chamber

of Architects has shown a strong legal position, trying to defend the farm with lawsuits against the negative decisions of local authorities. It also tries to raise awareness of the public on the issue by organizing activities like the symposium on the Atatürk Forest Farm and the future of Ankara, and the panel and its publication on the farm and the newly built presidential complex in the area (Dosya, 34, 2015). The chamber also opened a web site to share the details of its struggle against the changing conditions in the area (www.aocmucadelesi.org). Another contribution of the chamber to the future of the area was to organize the 'Kent Düşleri 9' competition to create a ground for thinking and discussing about the farm (http://www.mimarlarodasiankara.org/aoc/). On the other hand, METU Faculty of Architecture AOÇ Research Group has undertaken studies in order to raise awareness about the farm. These studies, which are carried out under the name of 'AOC Araştırmaları', provide comprehensive documentation starting from the establishment of the farm, including historical documents about and analyses of the current situation of the farmland historically, which are accessible to whole researches its website (aocarastirmalari.arch.metu.edu.tr). Other related educational activities like the summer school at Gazi University and the studies carried out at METU Urban Design Studio, on the other hand, presented various solutions for the problems of the area with the participation of students and academicians.

In line with these considerations, in this chapter, a contemporary evaluation will be made regarding the current situation of the Atatürk Forest Farm in order to discuss its future development. This evaluation will be done through planning and functioning principles in accordance with the structure of analysis applied throughout the thesis. At the beginning of each section, overviews of recent studies on the topic will be examined, and then development strategies for the future of the farm with respect to its planning and functioning will be discussed. Strategies derived from current studies will be synthesized in determining development strategies. Then, this synthesis will be combined with historical examination and design principles will be determined.

3.1. Planning Strategies for the Farm

The Atatürk Forest Farm area has suffered a great deal of land loss due to the aforementioned approaches in the planning processes it has experienced from the mid-20th Century onwards. The planning processes of the period applied in the farm have not provided its conservation and developed in opposition to its establishment objectives. Besides, the planning of the city has always approached the farm in macro scale. Detailed studies are rarely encountered in the planning of the farm area. On the other hand, besides the physical planning of the farm within the urban scale, another important point is its management planning. The fact that the decision mechanisms of the farm have been constantly changing since its establishment is one of the causes of the problems the farm faces. The increase of the land losses and the fact that the area has become dysfunctional at the urban scale has been the subject of many recent studies. Today the farm area lost its two third of land property and it is no longer an agricultural area on the periphery of Ankara as it was in the foundation years. However, with its current location and potentials it has, the farm still has a strategic value in terms of urban planning. For this reason, the planning principles of the farm should be rearranged with the current conditions and the farm should strengthen its relationship with the urban fabric surrounding it. Thus, this section of the study will try to determine the future planning strategies of the farm. In order to discuss these strategies, the planning proposals will initially be compiled from selected educational and professional studies by universities and organizations on the topic. Later, in the following sub-headings, by also referring to the recently completed academic literature on the farm, the principles on management planning and land-use planning of the farm will tried to be determined for its future development.

3.1.1. An Overview of Recent Studies on Planning

The Atatürk Forest Farm, which is one of the most important landscapes of the Turkish Republic, has been subject of several researches and projects due to its educational and production potentials for today's city and its scientific potentials such as being a natural asset and public space (Çavdar Sert, 2017b, p. 226). Despite its great potential

for Ankara, the farm, considered as an important problem due to the pressure of urbanization, has been examined in line with its establishment principles in various dimensions with the studies carried out. A great majority of these studies has aimed at protecting and re-evaluating the farm as a contribution to the liberation and enrichment of the daily lives of citizens. These studies, carried out with groups formed by both international and interdisciplinary participants, have enabled the creation of creative ideas for the farm and the creation of a productive discussion environment. In this section, the selected educational and professional studies by universities and organizations on the planning of the Atatürk Forest Farm will be analyzed in order to present different ideas, interpretations, and analyzes developed for its current situation and its future in recent times.

One of the educational studies and research on the Atatürk Forest Farm was carried out in METU Urban Design Studio. The farm, which constituted one of the most controversial topics of the city of Ankara during the late 1990s, was dealt with in 1997-98 education period within this studio of METU Architecture Faculty, Department of City and Regional Planning, Urban Design Master Program. The aim was to investigate the main problems encountered by the farm, and depending on this objective, studies were carried out to collect and evaluate the information, reconsider the objectives and develop the scenarios for its future. According to the study, the planning problems of the farm were discussed, re-planning goals and models were determined, and the features of the farmlands and their location in the city were evaluated. Accordingly, the problems of each land were identified and proposals were developed for functions that these lands could undertake in the future. The decisions taken by the research for re-planning of the farm are as follows:

The idea of the reorganization of farm in line with the aims of Atatürk's letter of donation should be reexamined. The remaining farm areas should be arranged as open area functions of the green belt extending along the Ankara Stream. The farm area within the green belt, which is part of the Ankara Metropolitan Area, has to be examined in this context. For this reason, it should be handled in coordination with the planning works of the Municipality.

- While this green belt was designed by combining the farm area with the Youth Park and the Old Hippodrome Area, it has been severely damaged today. On the other hand, it is considered to protect the Güvercinlik and Etimesgut airports for their open use principles.
- The farm area extends in the east west direction in the city. METU, Bilkent and Hacettepe universities, and Balgat, and Çayyolu residential areas are located to the south of these lands. In the north, Yenimahalle and Demetevler residential areas of the Batıkent district are located. The farm serves as a bridge between the northern and southern parts of the city. Considering the development of the city through the western corridor, there should be a similar development axis involving social, cultural and scientific uses to bridge the green belt.
- In the green spaces and city parks located in the spatial arrangements of the western countries, there are possibilities to stand alone with nature with such uses as walking, and cycling, and wild life takes place in this texture. If the farm site is to be reorganized for the city's open space requirements, it should be arranged to allow such activities.
- The part of the farm extending to the north parallel to the İstanbul Road constitutes a green belt between Batıkent and Eryaman districts. It is suggested that this area should be arranged as a zoo garden and nature park in the long term (Canaran, 2004, pp.24-25).

After the planning decisions listed above had been identified, ideas for an appropriate planning model were developed. According to the study, achieving these goals undoubtedly would require a new understanding of planning and organization. The farm needed a dynamic planning-implementation process, not a static master plan. For this purpose, either it had to establish a self-supporting planning team or this should be done by specialized agencies. In line with these ideas, institutions and the relationships needed to be established with these institutions were defined in the study.

Table 1. The institutions and the relations to be established

Local Administrations: Metropolitan	Plan approval
Municipality and District	Transportation
Municipalities	Infrastructure
1	Green area production
Central Government: Ministries, other	Project production
public institutions, Ministry of	Financial resource creation
Finance	
Private Institutions: Investors,	Financial resource creation
Voluntary Organizations, Chambers	Joint investment
	Green area production
International Organizations: Other	Project generation and financial resource
Country Representatives, United	creation
Nations and other institutions	Sample projects: Animal Park, Nature
	Park, Golf Course, etc.

Source: Cansu Canaran, Bülten, 2004, translated by the author

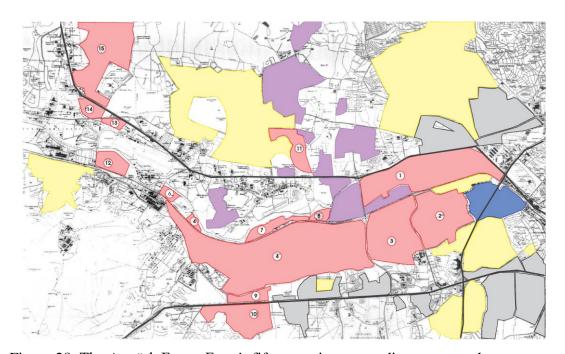


Figure 28. The Atatürk Forest Farm's fifteen regions according to research

Source: METU Urban Design Studio, 1997-1998

In the last phase of the study, 15 sub-regions of the farm were defined; the problems encountered by these regions and the opportunities offered by the regions were identified and basic policies and proposals were developed for these sub-regions.

These basic policies are aimed at producing solutions to the problems seen in the designated places with protection, improvement, publicizing, development and production themes as seen in the table below. At the last stage, the institutions that would cooperate for the 15 identified regions and how to cooperate with these institutions were specified (Canaran, 2004, p. 25).

Table 2. Basic policies for the fifteen regions identified in the study

Region	Basic Policy
1	Conservation
2	Recovery
3	Increasing Publicity
4a	Development
4 b	Development
4c	Recovery and Development
5	Conservation and Production
6	Conservation and Production
7	Conservation and Production
8	Conservation and Production
9	Conservation and Production
10	Conservation and Production
11	Conservation and Production
12	Development
13	Development
14	Development
15	Conservation and Development

Source: Cansu Canaran, Bülten, 2004, translated by the author

Another educational study on the farm was the summer school conducted in 2005 by Gazi University Urban and regional Planning Department. The main purpose of this study was to create a multidisciplinary environment for developing ideas as solutions to the problems and assessing potentials of the farm (Tekel, Varol, Ercoşkun, & Gürer, 2005, p.33). The study was carried out by five different groups including students and experts. The groups focused on five different themes. The final reports of the working

groups show that, although they did not present definite planning proposals on the urban scale, general planning decisions, which were not in detail, were still taken for a number of specific regions of the farm area. These decisions can be grouped under two headings as planning decisions regarding green areas and transportation. The study suggested that a green axis was needed in the middle of the city and that the farm area must be planned by combining with the Castle, Anıtkabir and Youth Park to provide that. Another planning thought about green areas was the decision to create a new green area of 1,500 hectares with new planning in the middle and west of the area. On the other hand, the most important of the decisions taken on transportation issues was to plan a bicycle network that would work to increase access inside the farmland and connect it to the other parts of the city. It was proposed that this bicycle network should be connected with the university campuses neighboring the farm and important stops for Ankara such as Ankara Cultural Center, and Youth Park. It was also thought to increase access by connecting this route to all the entrances within the farm. In planning, it was aimed to use some parts of the existing traffic roads instead of recreating this network (Tekel, Varol, Ercoşkun, & Gürer, 2005, pp. 32-33). However, as already mentioned, all these decisions regarding planning in the study remained only in the idea phase and no mapping is done.

The Atatürk Forest Farm has been the topic of interest for not only the universities but also other professional organizations in recent times. One significant occasion in that was the competition, organized in 2015 by the Ankara Branch of the Chamber of Architects as part of its 'Kent Düşleri' competition series. The competition is important to be examined as the most recent occasion to provide a ground for the evaluation of the planning of the Atatürk Forest Farm lands, and a great number of proposals were developed for the future of the farm in the professional and student categories. As a result of this competition, award-winning and non-awarding groups developed important ideas for its re-planning by taking into consideration the current situation of the farm. While some participants put these ideas in the form of manifestos, others produced detailed mapping studies and supported these maps with verbal explanations. The jury did not choose any of the projects to be awarded the first prize

for the professional category, but gave two second prizes and two third prizes. (http://www.mimarlarodasiankara.org/aoc/9)

One of the projects in the professional category that received the second prize was by Fulya Selçuk (2015). Firstly, the main axis of its planning ideas is to restore the integrity of the remaining lands of the farm. According to the urban scale decisions related to the farm stated in the report, Ankara Stream must be reformed and the Etimesgut military areas need to be demilitarized for their inclusion to the farmland. Along with this planning decision, a fertile land route is established in this project on both sides of the river and the continuity of the farmland is ensured. In addition, physical and functional continuity is ensured with the "green belt" that integrates the green areas such as Kale, Anıtkabir, Youth Park and Hippodrome, and it is protected as a "breathing corridor" in the urban ecosystem. Lastly, unlike the boulevards parallel to the railway and the high-speed roads, public transportation, light rail system, pedestrian and bicycle priority transportation boats are proposed, which will feed the farm from the existing metro network that surrounds the production band.

On the other hand, the proposal that received the other second prize presented by Serdar Malkoç, Alpaslan Nizamoğlu, Atagül Nizamoğlu, Ayhan Erdoğan, Bilge Bektaş, Burak Özgür, Cansu Demir, Ceren İlter, Gözde Güldal and Şelale Balambar (2015) also analyzes the present situation of the farm in a comprehensive way. Approaching the farm from many perspectives on the urban scale, the project develops social, environmental and economic policies in line with its vision and objectives. While developing these policies, the proposal presents the problems in detail by analyzing the current situation of the farm under the heading of each topic. Then, as a result of these analysis, a detailed proposal is presented from the reorganization of the management structure of the farm to the functioning of the smallest piece of land. Thus, in this study, it is seen that the re-planning decisions are predominant in the final product, and every piece of land is labeled and mapped for producing conversion recommendations.

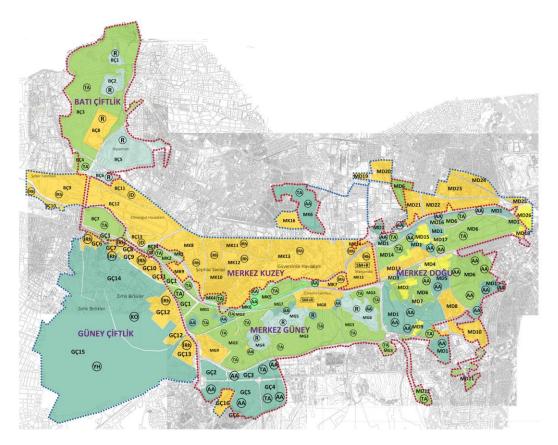


Figure 29. Farm's sub-regions determined in the study

Source: The Ankara Branch of the Chamber of Architects Archive-Second Prize in 'Kent Düşleri 9' Competition by Serdar Malkoç, Alpaslan Nizamoğlu, Atagül Nizamoğlu, Ayhan Erdoğan, Bilge Bektaş, Burak Özgür, Cansu Demir, Ceren İlter, Gözde Güldal and Şelale Balambar, 2015

According to the vision of the study stated in the presentation, the farm should be replanned as a field aiming to share the information obtained from the researches and studies carried out on the field in the direction of public interest. In addition, while the farm is being re-planned, it is designed as a fairly managed area that is production-oriented, providing solutions to the urban poverty problem and preserving historical, ecological, natural and cultural values. When it is examined from the urban scale, the farm is planned in such a way that it includes functions such as recreation area, agriculture area, rehabilitation area, afforestation area, regulation area, activity center, wildlife development area and urban forest area. In terms of territorial integrity, the farmland was studied in five parts: the western farm, the central north farm, the central eastern farm, the central southern farm, and the southern farm. Each farm section was

studied in detail and the pieces of land were marked and named with codes. Thus, in the last part, the present uses of each piece of land and the proposals of re-use are mentioned.

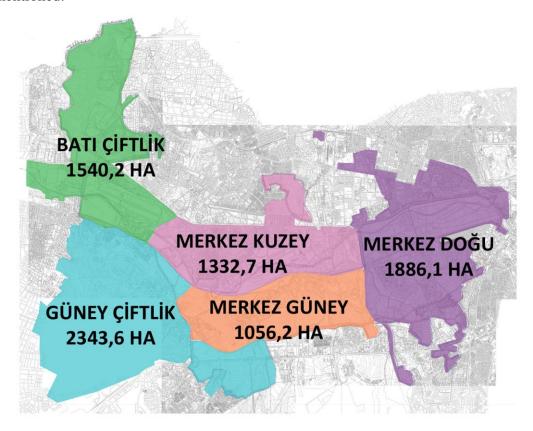


Figure 30. Five main regions of the farm in the proposal

Source: The Ankara Branch of the Chamber of Architects archive-Second Prize in 'Kent Düşleri 9' Competition by Serdar Malkoç, Alpaslan Nizamoğlu, Atagül Nizamoğlu, Ayhan Erdoğan, Bilge Bektaş, Burak Özgür, Cansu Demir, Ceren İlter, Gözde Güldal and Şelale Balambar, 2015

In general, the project does not receive a concrete planning decision on the area, but rather suggests changes in the function of existing planning. Firstly, it suggests the functioning of empty areas on the land. It is suggested that most of the dysfunctional areas should be converted into agricultural land by improving soil conditions. At the same time, it has been considered to increase the soil fertility of the land that still functions as agricultural land. Secondly, it proposes that the institutions and lands located on the area, which have lost their functions for some reason, will be allocated to the farm and used for public benefit. Finally, it is intended to move the uses that

occupied the farm in illegal ways in the past and continue to function today. The places of relocation of these establishments are indicated by maps and their areas and buildings are allocated to the farm and reserved for public use. Thus, the territorial integrity of the farmland will be protected in accordance with its planning in its foundation years.

In addition, a planning strategy has been developed in this group for the management of the farm. The proposed organizational structure consists of two main components: the Farm Field Management Council and the Farm Management Collective. The Field Management Council is composed of the board of directors and commissions, and provides the implementation and supervision of the policy decisions taken in the area management plan. In addition, the council has a structure that decides on social, economic and spatial interventions to be implemented in the field, charges relevant commissions for these interventions, oversees all public committees and administrative collectives for the public interest and budgets the agreed interventions. In short, the council is responsible for the management of the whole area. The Management Collective, which is envisaged as an autonomous structure, is an organization that supervises the industrial production areas in the farm, determines the activities in agriculture and animal husbandry areas and aims to solve urban poverty. In the proposal, all members of the advisory committee and commissions under the Farm Field Management Council and all members of the Farm Management Collective are identified and the tasks they are responsible for are listed.

Yönetim Örgütlenmesi		Asli Sorumluluklar
	Üniversiteler	Ar-Ge çalışmalarında, AOÇ'deki ilgili birimlere teknik bilgi paylaşımında bulunma, AR-GE çalışmalarına aktif olarak katılma
		Modern tarım teknikleri, tohum ve hayvan ıslahı, ticari etkinliklerin sağlanması, pazarlama, flora ve faunanın tespiti ve korunması, Ankara Çayı Islahı, Tarihi dokunun korunması, restorasyon ve işlevlendirme, araştırma, raporlama gibi konularda destekler sunmak
		Öğrenim gören öğrencilerin üretim süreçlerinde görev alması, doğa ile bütünleşmesi hususunda etkinlikler düzenleme
		Üretilen teknik bilginin AOÇ'de uygulanması hususunda görev ve sorumluluk alma
		Meclis toplantılarına temsilci göndererek, alanın yönetimi sürecinde destek sunmak
	Sivil Toplum Örgütleri	AOÇ'nin kamusal amaçlarla kullanımı konusunda etkinlikler düzenleme, farkındalık yaratıcı destekler sunmak
		AOÇ gönüllüleri ağını oluşturmak
		AOÇ alan yönetim planı izlenebilir göstergelerini izlemek, değerlendirmek ve denetlemek
		AOÇ yönetim planının da belirlenen kullanım kararına bağlı olarak ilgili alanların yönetiminde, işlev yüklenmesinde destek sunmak
		AOÇ dayanışma platformunda görev alarak, Çiftliğin yönetim sürecinde destek sunmak
		Ulusal ve Uluslararası işbirliği ağları yaratmak
	Belediyeler	Kendi yetki alanlarına giren, geçmişte tahsis edilen alanların geri kazanım sürecinde AOÇ Alan Yönetim Meclisiyle işbirliği içinde olmak
		Vatandaşların Çiftlik alanını kullanması konusunda sosyal projeler düzenlemek
를		Ankara Çayının ıslahı konusunda etkin projeler geliştirmek, Ankara Çayı su kalitesini düzenli izlemek ve kamuoyu ile paylaşmak
a Ku		AOÇ Alan Yönetim Planı ile uyumlu koruma amaçlı imar planını hazırlamak ve alan yönetim planı sürecini
Danışma Kurulu		katılımcı bir biçimde yönetmek AOÇ alanının UNESCO miras listesine girmesi yönünde Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı ile işbirlikleri geliştirmek
۵		AOÇ miras alanlarının envanterini çıkarmak ve restorasyon uygulama projelerini hazırlamak
		AOÇ kentsel tasarım rehberini hazırlamak ve uygulamak
		AOÇ alanında ruhsatsız bir biçimde kaçak olarak inşa edilmiş bütün uygulamaları ivedilikle durdurmak ve kaçak
		inşa edilmiş yapıları ve uygulamaları yıkmak, sorumluları hakkında cezai işlemlere başlamak AOÇ arazilerini parçalayan ulaşım arterlerini ve kavşakları içeren Nazım plan ve uygulama imar planlarını alan
		yönetim planına uygun hale getirmek ve AOÇ alanını bölen ulaşım düzenlemelerini kaldırmak
	AOÇ Alt Bölge Temsilcilikleri	AOÇ genişleme planı doğrultusunda Merkez Kuzey, Merkez Güney, Merkez Doğu, Batı ve Güney Çiftlik alanlarında kurulması öngörülen Alt Bölge temsilciliklerinden oluşan temsilciler
		Alan yönetim planında belirtilen müdahaleler konusunda meclise bilgi vermek
		AOÇ'de uygulanacak müdahaleleri izleme, sorumlu oldukları alt bölgelere ilişkin talepleri veya kararları meclise iletme
	Meslek Odaları	Sahip oldukları mesleki bilgiyi kamu yararı adına, Çiftlik alanında kullanma
		Mecliste alınan müdahale kararlarını denetleme ve karar alma sürecinde aktif rol alma
		Meslek alanlarında eğitim gören öğrencilerin doğa ile bütünleşmesi, üretim süreçlerinde görev alması
		hususunda etkinlikler düzenleme
	Sendikalar	AOÇ alanında, Meclis toplantılarında örgütlü işçi kesiminin temsilcileri olarak yer almak
		İşçilerin çalışma koşullarının iyileştirilmesi ve modern üretim tekniklerini öğrenmelerine yönelik eğitimlerin desteklenmesi
		İşçilerin yaşayabileceği olası sorunların çözümü için çözümler geliştirme, işçilerin taleplerini ilgili organlara iletme
		Toplu iş sözleşmesinin hazırlanmasında, yeni işçi alımı konularında meclise danışmanlık yapma

Figure 31. New administration organization for the farm and responsibilities of each participant

Source: The Ankara Branch of the Chamber of Architects Archive-Second Prize in 'Kent Düşleri 9' Competition by Serdar Malkoç, Alpaslan Nizamoğlu, Atagül Nizamoğlu, Ayhan Erdoğan, Bilge Bektaş, Burak Özgür, Cansu Demir, Ceren İlter, Gözde Güldal and Şelale Balambar, 2015

Yönetim Örgütlenmesi		Asli Sorumluluklar
Komisyonlar	Sosyal Dayanışma Komisyonu	AOÇ işletmelerinde üretilen ürünlerin ücretsiz olarak yoksul mahallere dağıtılması sürecinde rol almak
	303yar Dayanışına Komisyonu	Faaliyet yürüten çevre dernekleri, yoksullukla mücadele platformları gibi yapılarla ilişki kurarak, AOÇ yönetim planı dahilinde çalışmalar yapmak
	Mekansal Planlama Komisyonu	İlgili meslek odaları ile işbirliği içerisinde, yönetim planı çerçevesinde alınan mekansal müdahale kararlarının uygulanması sürecinde aktif rol almak
	, , ,	AOÇ genişleme politikalarının gereği olan kamulaştırma, tahsis işlemlerini takip etmek, fizibilite raporları hazırlamak
		Çiftlikteki ilgili tüm müdahalelerin alanın ekolojik bütünlüğüne etkilerini değerlendirmek ve görüş bildirmek
		Ekolojik yaşam, ekolojik yapı, ekolojik çiftlik, perma kültür, karbon salınımının azaltılması, karbon ayak izinin düşürülmesi konularında çalışan bir merkez kurulmasına ve kurulan merkezin ulusal ve uluslararası ağlara katılımını sağlamak ve tanınırlığını arttırıcı katkı geliştirmek
	Ekolojik Yaşam Komisyonu	Ekolojik kentleşme konusunda Belediyeler ile işbirlikleri geliştirmek ve Ankara kentinin ekolojik ayak izini takip etmek
		Çiftlik alanının flora ve faunasına uygun yeni türleri ve bitki cinslerini araştırmak
		Ekolojik kirlilik konusunda önlem politikaları belirlemek
		Alanda mevcut durumda kirlilik sorunu yaşanan ekolojik öğelerin temizlenme sürecinde politika kararları üretmek, ilgili uzmanlar ve meslek odaları ile koordinasyon kurmak
		Örgün eğitim veren devlet okulları ve üniversiteler ile iletişime geçerek; farklı yaş ve gruplardan öğrencilerin çiftlik alanında, tarımsal üretim süreçlerine eklemlenmesi ve doğa ile buluşmasını sağlama konusunda çalışmalar yapmak
	Eğitim Komisyonu	İlgili meslek odaları ve üniversitelerin ilgili bölümleri ile birlikte alanda çalışacak işçilerin mesleki açıdan eğitilmesi, nitelikli iş gücünün oluşturulması konusunda görev almak
		Ankara yoksul köylüsünün modern tarım tekniklerini öğrenmeleri konusunda çalışmalar yapmak ve işbirliği ağları geliştirmek
		Kadınların, çiftlik alanında belirli bir kota konularak istihdam edilmesi konusunda çalışmalar yapmak
	Vada Vandana	Alanda, cinsiyet temelli eşitsizliklerin her düzlemde giderilmesi konusunda çalışmalar yapmak
	Kadın Komisyonu	Kentsel yoksullukla karşı karşıya olan veya yoksullaşma riski altında bulunan kadınların AOÇ işletmelerinde ve tarımsal uygulamalarında istihdam edilebilirliklerini arttırmak, evinin balkonunda, bahçesinde ve çatısında kentsel tarım uygulamaları yapılması konusunda destek vermek ve üretilen ürünü satın alabilecek ağların oluşumuna katkı sağlamak
		Yoksulluk riski ile karşı karşıya olan veya yoksullaşma riski altında bulunan hanelerde yaşayan gençlerin için AOÇ işletmelerinde istihdam edilmesini teşvik edecek kota uygulamaları konusunda çalışmalar yapmak
	Gençlik Komisyonu	Gençlerin, tarımsal üretim bölgelerine önerilen rekreatif kullanım amaçlı alanlarda, doğa ile bütünleşmesini sağlamak
		Üniversiteler ile koordine bir şekilde, etkinlikler düzenlemek
	Kurumsal İlişkiler Komisyonu	Tahsisler ve diğer kurumlar ile birlikte yürütülecek tüm konularda gerekli prosedürleri yürütmek
		AOÇ kurumsal kimliğinin ve etik değerlerinin oluşmasını sağlamak
	Ulaşım Komisyonu	Alana dair toplu ulaşım kararlarının revize edilmesi, işçilerin çalışma alanlarına erişimi, alan içerisinde dolaşım kararlarının belirlenmesi gibi konularda görev almak
	Miras Alanları Koruma	Çiftlik alanında bulunan tarihi, kültürel, doğal miras öğelerinin tespit edilmesi, envanterinin çıkarılması, karşı karşıya kaldıkları risklerin belirlenmesi ve belirlenen riskleri azaltıcı önlemlerin tespit edilmesi
	Komisyonu	Miras öğelerini tanıtıcı belge, bilgi ve dokümanın hazırlanması ve kamuoyu ile paylaşılması Çiftlik alanında bulunan miras alanlarının korunması, yeniden işlevlendirilmesi sürecinde karar alınması, kullanma dengesinin sağlanması konusunda önleyici politika kararlarını hazırlamak ve denetlemek

Figure 32. Commissions and their responsibilities in the new administration

Source: The Ankara Branch of the Chamber of Architects Archive-Second Prize in 'Kent Düşleri 9' Competition by Serdar Malkoç, Alpaslan Nizamoğlu, Atagül Nizamoğlu, Ayhan Erdoğan, Bilge Bektaş, Burak Özgür, Cansu Demir, Ceren İlter, Gözde Güldal and Şelale Balambar, 2015

The proposal of Başak Eren and Buse Özçelik (2015), one of the third-prize winners, designs the farm considering the present conditions, and no physical planning intervention is done. It is proposed that the current structures be loaded with various functions to create a focus around them and it is anticipated that the area will be transformed spontaneously over time. For this purpose, initial focuses and functions were determined first. Functions that will increase with the participation of the public and gain meaning, and which do not have commercial concern and need capital support are identified. These functions, which are defined under the titles of research center, production areas, social areas and cultural areas, are located at the focal points. However, the places where these focal points will be located are indicated on the map as points and have not been studied in detail.

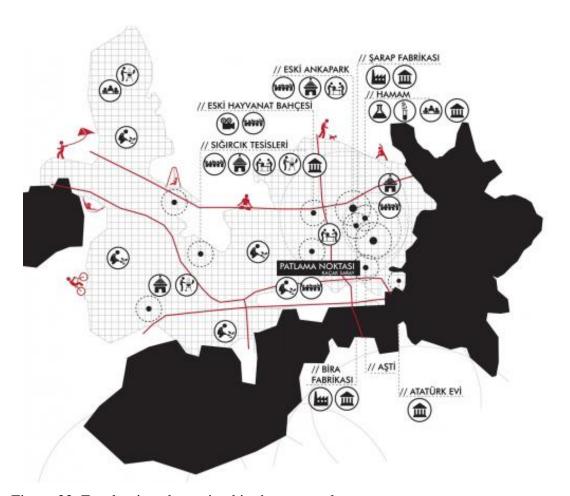


Figure 33. Focal points determined in the proposal

Source: Source: The Ankara Branch of the Chamber of Architects Archive-Third Prize in 'Kent Düşleri 9' Competition by Başak Eren and Buse Özçelik, 2015

Lastly, a team consisting of Sevgi Arıöz, Eren Çağdaş Bilgiç, Ece Tümer, İrem Şanlı, Gökçe Kırmacı and Yunus Taş (2015) got the second third-prize proposing a study on the whole of the land to make the area suitable for its establishment purposes. This proposal does not present a detailed study in the sense of planning. However, it reveals its targets by making a method of zoning on the map and focuses on certain areas. According to the proposal, a number of critical areas in the farmland are identified and design strategies developed on the transformation of these areas. Designated areas and planning decisions are as follows:

- Due to its strategic location in the city, the central bus station (AŞTİ) location will be kept in its place and only its name will be changed as 'AOÇ Logistics Center'.
- The function of the State Railways (TCDD) Warehouse Directorate will be changed and the area will be opened to the public as transformed into the theme park entitled 'ecology against machine'.
- The National Botanic Garden, which is under construction at the junction of Beytepe, will continue its activity and will spread around the northern green axis extending to the railway.
- The current position of the historic farm core will be preserved. With the newly designed pedestrian and bicycle axes, the potential density in the area will be directed to the surrounding parks and squares.
- It is aimed that the military territories in the farm area will be evacuated and moved to the farther western part of the city, Yaşamkent.
- The area, which is used as a military zone today in the northeast of Bağlıca and south-west of Etimesgut, will be used for livestock and pasture purposes with increasing soil fertility.
- Ankara Boulevard will be removed. Within the area, a pedestrian circulation axis that includes many activities and bicycle paths designed according to topography is projected. Green bridges will be built on the boulevard so that pedestrian paths will not be interrupted.



Figure 34. Design strategies for the farm area

Source: The Ankara Branch of the Chamber of Architects Archive-Third Prize in 'Kent Düşleri 9' Competition by Sevgi Arıöz, Eren Çağdaş Bilgiç, Ece Tümer, İrem Şanlı, Gökçe Kırmacı and Yunus Taş, 2015

When we generally look at the ideas produced in the competition, it seems that most of the suggestions do not take an integrative and strict planning decision regarding the relation of the land with the city. This may be because it is a very challenging approach to plan the farm from the very beginning when we consider the location and the borders of the farm within the urban context today. Instead, more local planning decisions are taken and the land is designed to be re-functioned over its current situation. Although only four proposals that received awards in the professional category are examined above, exemplifying the contemporary professional approach to the farm, the proposals of almost every group are similar in general frame and concentrates on

making the area open to public in accordance with its establishment purposes by taking into account the current conditions of the land.

3.1.2. Strategies for Management Planning

The doctoral dissertation of Hilal Ayeı titled 'Atatürk Orman Çiftliği'nin Yönetim ve Üretim Yapısındaki Değişimin Mekansal Dönüşümüne Etkisi: "Coğrafi-Tarihsel" Bir Bakış (1925-2017)' is one of the important recent academic studies on the management structure of the farm. According to Aycı (2017, p.178), in the first period (1925-1938) of the management of the farm, Atatürk became dominant alone as the founding leader, managing the Atatürk Forest Farm and the other farms that he owned as an integrative project with the aim of establishing a modern country. He was personally involved in the administration of the Atatürk Forest Farm and managed it as part of the state's economic policy and as the site of modern production. Atatürk transferred the farm's ownership to the Treasury on July 11, 1937 and State Agricultural Enterprises (Devlet Ziraat İşletmeleri) were established to operate Atatürk's farms with the law numbered 3308, which was enacted on January 1, 1938. Until 1948, the management of the farm was carried out with an integrative policy within the body of the State Agricultural Enterprises. This system, established by Atatürk before his death in 1938, provided the farm to be governed by the state with an integrative policy during the following presidency of İnönü. After the Second World War, in 1950, Turkey began to be governed by a multi-party system. On April 1950, with the Law No. 5659 the farm started to be managed as a separate directorate under the Ministry of Agriculture and the Turkish Grand National Assembly. The election of the Democratic Party as the ruling party and the changing production policy of the country were decisive in the administration of the farm at the time. According to Yıldırım (2004, p.10), in the second article of the law no. 5659, the organization scheme of the directorate was determined. According to the scheme, the directorate was composed of a director, a director assistant and six administrative centers specialized in different issues. However, Çavdar Sert (2017a, p.296), in her doctoral dissertation titled 'Atatürk Forest Farm as a Heritage Asset within the Context of Turkish Planning Experience, 1937-2017', which is another important recent academic study on the planning history of the

farm, claims that the farm was not a self-organizing establishment at the time and its authorities were limited. Local authorities had much more rights on the farm. In other words, the management rights of the farm were shared between local and central administrations. Along with these, the establishment law was not sufficient to protect the establishment purposes of the farm.

Between the years 1960-1980, the effect of the 1960 military coup caused military influence on farm management decisions. Between 1980 and 2006, the Ministry of Agriculture and the Turkish Grand National Assembly were again influential in its management. After the law numbered 5524 issued in 2006, the influence of both local administration and central government was observed in the management of the farm, and this influence was the determinant of the change in its production and spatial structure. To summarize, the Atatürk Forest Farm's management approach in the historical process had three main characteristics: In the first period (1925-1950), the integrative management approach reflected the production and spatial structure of the farm and provided it to establish a strong spatial relationship with the city. Between 1950 and 2006, the variable structure of management led to the farm's not being able to resist the changing conditions of the city. In the last period (2006-2017), the mixed administrative (local administration / central government) character has caused the disintegration of the spatial structure of the farm in the urban macroform (Aycı, 2017, p.180).

As understood from the historical process, the management of the Atatürk Forest Farm with an integrative approach was the most effective. The future management planning of the farm should be done with this understanding. It is impossible to manage such a comprehensive modernity project with only one manager and several offices attached to it. The management of the farm should be considered as a complex and multifaceted task. Kraus and Curtis (1982) indicated that administrations of public parks are influenced by five key element:

- Legal requirements that limit or lead functioning of recreation and parking areas.
- The political framework of service.
- The demands of citizens representing different age, ethnic and socio-economic groups.
- The practical realities submit by human and material resources.
- The philosophical, academic and experiential background of the department head.

The number of these components should be much higher for the Atatürk Forest Farm; and it will thus be very wrong to approach it like a simple park or recreation area. However, the inclusion of the demands of the people in the management plan, the level of the vision developed by managers, and the fact that the laws are not restrictive are the most important factors. It should be ensured that especially the people would have a say in the management of the farm area that Atatürk donated to his people. In addition to this, an organizational scheme in which many participants are involved should be established. According to Hilal Aycı (2017, p.180), an integrative understanding is required in the administration of the farm. However, within this understanding there is a need for reflection of the demands of different actors. In other words, a form of governance that brings different actors together must be developed. This form of governance should consist of different actors such as universities, non-governmental organizations, agricultural producers, and industrial producers.

At the Central Park, for example, the management scheme is made up of experts from different professions. In particular, a management system has been established in which architects, city planners and landscape architects are involved. As mentioned before, the management scheme of the Atatürk Forest Farm, which is much more than a simple park, should similarly have experienced experts from related branches of profession. In addition to professional people, actors such as universities, non-governmental organizations, municipalities, professional chambers, and unions should actively take part in the management. The relevant commissions should be established in the categories specified and their duties should be determined. Every decision taken

by the farm, which is governed and decided transparently and fairly, should go through a filter where public approval can be obtained.

3.1.3. Strategies for Land-Use Planning

In her doctoral dissertation, Cavdar Sert (2017a, pp. 282-288), explains that the planning decisions for the Atatürk Forest Farm and its historical center were successfully implemented in the years when the farm was established. The main transportation connections between the city and the farm were provided by 1937 Jansen Plan. The historical center of the farm, the buildings and the site plan were shaped by the European planner-architects Ernst Egli and Hermann Jansen. In the Jansen Plan, the connection between the farm and the city center and residential areas was successfully provided by green strips and roads. In these early years, the farm became one of the important elements of Ankara's urban macroform and modern landscape. Later, the Atatürk Forest Farm Law in 1955 allowed the land transfers from the farm, but did not set criteria for its conservation and development. In fact, Ankara and the farm went into an unplanned period with Jansen's resignation in 1939. The lack of a vision resulted in the fragmentation of spatial integrity by transferring land to public institutions and the army. The next planning experience, namely 1957 Master Plan, could not again develop strategies against the problems faced by the farm. This plan described the farm as a buffer zone between industrial areas and the city center. Moreover, the farm was defined as a reserve area and a void where open space activities could be developed. As a result, the lack of a strategy of the plan for the farm deeply affected the spatial unity of the area.

In the later period, the Bureau of Ankara Metropolitan Area Planning played an active role in the farm's planning. According to the archives, the existence of the farm resulted in the development of the city to the west in the 1970s. 1974 AFF Technical Report and the 1990 Master Plan were the first planning examples, which analyzed the various assets of the farm in detail. Therefore, these plans presented extensive decisions on the planning of the farm. In the 1980s, 1/5000 and 1/25000 scale plans

were prepared voluntarily for the development of the farm by BAMAP and other actors. Especially with the 1/5000 plan, many new functions and conservation proposals were developed. However, the bureau also allowed the transfer of fragmented land portions for many projects and land losses of the farm could not be prevented. The next planning experience was the 1984 AOC Cultural Park Master Plan of 1/2000 scale made by a group of academicians. The plan defined the farm area as a park and suggested new cultural activities alongside the use of the park. The problem with this plan was that it was design oriented rather than emphasizing conservation. According to the plan, most of the agricultural lands of the farm would be spent for a large-scale zoo. The plan, which was made in 1990 and targeted for 2015, focused on the transportation system of the city. However, the plan ignored the accessibility of the farm area. In 2014, along with Ankara Boulevard, the accessibility problems of the farm grew. Lastly, in 2006, the municipality prepared the AOÇ Conservation Master Plan as a sub-scale plan of the 2023 Plan. However, this plan was not again a conservation plan in its essence and it still described the farm as a void in the middle of the city (Çavdar Sert, 2017a, pp. 282-288).

It is seen that none of the master plans for the farm has drawn a comprehensive framework for the conservation of the farm. For this reason, the farm area has long been perceived as a void, a big empty space and a valuable commercial estate for many groups and institutions. Even master plans and legal regulations have contributed to the creation of this perception (Çavdar Sert, 2017a, p. 288). The planning experiences of Ankara and the Atatürk Forest Farm prove that there is no comprehensive study of the future to fulfill the potential of the farm. In fact, with the inadequacy of planning content, the farm area has been the subject of many studies. In the case studies mentioned earlier, the planning decisions regarding the future of the farm are also mentioned. Perhaps the most important common feature of these studies is the replanning of the farm in accordance with its foundation purposes. However, it is difficult to accept today exactly the same planning principles applied about a hundred years ago. The farm is now in the middle of the Ankara city macroform. In contemporary conditions, it is not enough just to plan the future of the farm. The

relationships that the farm establishes with the city, especially on the periphery, must be described in perfect detail. According to some researches, it is perceived as a disadvantage that the farm area remains in the center of the city. However, this situation has also a significant potential and it can be turned into an advantage for the farmland. In fact, as the city grows around the farm, the farm area becomes more important. The farm is the subject of this study because it is still a potential space in the middle of the city. At this point, the most important potential for the farm is that it can be reached from many points of the city. By its position in the city, it serves as a bridge between the north-south and east-west axes of the city. However, today, the farm is a structure that is disrupted by transportation axes. The viaduct project defined on the north-south axis connects the farm center towards the İstanbul Road and Besevler direction. Anadolu Boulevard, which extends through the north-south axis, has been transformed into a road where cars travel at higher speeds, following the expansion work done up to the ODTÜ Crossroad. On the other hand, the construction of the roads dividing the area on the east-west axis started in 2013. With the change of direction of Güvercinlik Road (Ankara Boulevard with its new name), the farm landscape in the city has been disintegrated clearly. The eight-lane road, which is closed to pedestrians, makes daily access to the farm center difficult as well as disintegrates the farmland on the east-west axis (Çavdar, n.d.). Hence, one of the most important principles that the farm can be planned in line with its establishment purposes is regulating its accessibility because an area that cannot be reached will become useless even if it is successfully planned. In this direction, according to the speech of Hülagü Kaplan in the conference named 'AOÇ'nin Geleceğini Tartışıyoruz (We are Discussing the Future of Aoc)' organized by 'Ankara Barosu' (2009, p.15), these roads should be passing around the farm. The railway line should also be excluded from this situation because it has a historical context. However, the city's transport network should not enter the farm. Otherwise, the farm will be perceived as a corridor that is only quickly passed through by vehicles.

The concept of planning should have a multi-layered structure that needs to be interrelated with many inputs and disciplines. According to Çiğdem Varol, who presented at the same conference (2009, p.19), participation is very important in planning. It is especially important to be able to get the opinions of the different actors in Ankara's urban-related problems. It is also very important to be able to create a certain vision and to be able to produce different alternatives from different ideas throughout the whole planning process because, as the Atatürk Forest Farm's planning history shows, all of the decisions taken are the products of subjective approaches. Each planner and designer prepared plans within the limits of their own design culture and intellectual capacity (Çavdar Sert, 2017a, p. 299). In this direction, a system should be established to eliminate the lack of communication between the technical staff and the local administrators. Unless local administration has legal authority and the rights of technical elements are defended, it is very difficult to achieve success in planning (Kaplan, 2009, p.15).

Until today, different disciplines in universities have produced various studies about the planning of the farm. Not only educational institutions but also other actors such as non-governmental organizations and occupational chambers have produced similar studies. In this direction, in order to provide the influence of the results of all these studies, a comprehensive AOÇ Conservation Contract must initially be created and signed, and then a planning process involving multiple participants is to be put into action. Indeed, the lack of a sufficient legal framework and conservation policy has been effective in the problems witnessed through the planned or unplanned development of the Atatürk Forest Farm. In this respect, the actors involved in the previous planning experiences did not predict the value of the area (Çavdar Sert, 2017a, p.299). Instead, the plan has to be produced in a comprehensive way by multiple participants, should be repeatedly revised, and most importantly consider the objectives of the establishment of the farm. It is important that the decisions to be taken should be mutually beneficial when considering the present situation of the farm. This benefit should be provided for the people, the state, and most importantly for the city.

As mentioned earlier, planning is a concept associated with many disciplines. The case studies mentioned at the beginning of the chapter mainly carry out the planning of the farm through its functions. A large majority of these studies suggest that the farm be re-planned in accordance with its functions defined during its establishment. According to Bilsel (2013, p. 10), the Atatürk Forest Farm also needs to be re-planned to be allocated for the use of the people. In this respect, some of the proposals in the studies are utopian. The farm extends in the direction of the development of the city and it is the most important factor of the city's development in this direction. Although it has had significant land loss in time, projects for its future should be done by evaluating its contemporary conditions. First, it is impossible to increase the territorial integrity of the farm. Although land transfers have also been made by illegal means, its land ownership is now of these institutions. At this point, interventions made by the state will be effective in planning. However, it will not be possible to reverse all of these interventions. In this respect, the conversion of these entities to public use will be a more efficient way.

The Atatürk Forest Farm was established as a modernization project by realizing the targets it set in its founding years. In this context, it is necessary to re-plan the farm considering its purposes of the establishment. The farm still has the potential to be a center that produces healthy food for people by combining agricultural production and industrial production together with urban leisure activities because it is the place where the urban culture and the culture of agricultural production internalizes each other. For this purpose, agricultural production areas of the farm should be determined by detailed analysis. When its production capacity is increased, the farm will also contribute to the city and the country in economic sense. This planning principle is crucial for an urban life that is non-alienated to the production culture. In addition, the Atatürk Forest Farm is a green corridor for Ankara since its foundation. It is quite possible to maintain this green axis in today's conditions. An uninterrupted and fully accessible open space should be planned to allow for the use of the public. All these planning practices are very important for a healthy urban life and the conditions necessary for a healthy urban life can be obtained by transforming the Atatürk Forest Farm.

The biggest problem of the farm was planning initiatives, which are not based on any analytical structure. Such an urban transformation in the middle of the city of Ankara requires great efforts. During the planning processes, it is wrong to designate the farm area as an empty land even if it is decided to conserve area as it is. Because one of the important problems faced by the farm is illegal land ownership. Hence, unless the planning principles for the farm are determined in detail, illegal land losses and improper land use will continue to be experienced.

In this direction, the people's consciousness about the identity of the farm should be strengthened by the planning principles to be determined. At the Middle East Technical University in the 2013-2014 education year, it was tried to create such consciousness for the Atatürk Forest Farm by the studies undertaken in Arch 713 research and design studio course of the Department of Architecture conducted by Ali Cengizkan. The groups consisting of City and Regional Planning and Architecture students focused on different issues about the farm. According to the questionnaires made by Melek Pınar Uz and Damla Tekin and conducted with the people of Ankara (2014), the use of the farm was determined as diminished, and the majority of people using the farm only for eating and drinking activities. The answers showed that the people thought that the farm area consisted of only the central region. In order to change this thinking, a detailed mapping study was carried out showing the wide landscape of the farmlands. In the mapping study carried out by Özlem Özdener, Cenk Çeşmeli, Murat Aydınoğlu, Ali Cengizkan and Selin Çavdar (2014), it was revealed which road, junction and area belonged to the farmland. With these studies, the aim was to inform the society about the public space belonging to the farm.

The Atatürk Forest Farm as an entity since its establishment is important and the entity character of the farm should be protected. Besides, the integrity of the farm that has been destroyed for various reasons should be recovered. Future planning studies should take into account these two characteristics of the farm. Today, functions on the Atatürk Forest Farm are designed on randomness. The farm, which is very far from

the city in the years it was founded, is now intertwined with the urban fabric. Planning a farm outside the city and planning a farm according to urban conditions require different analytical thinking. In other words, the Atatürk Forest Farm is an area that has its own identity but is now a part of the city. At this point, it is necessary to design the adjacency condition. Due to the lack of comprehensive analysis in planning, irrelevant neighbourhoods have emerged spontaneously. For example, a social facility, a sports complex, a training structure, and a memorial tomb are built side by side in one area of the farm. The fact that this planned adjacency condition of different functions does not show that the farm has developed in a planned manner. On the contrary, it disrupts the integrity of the farm. After a comprehensive and multi-layered analysis, a zoning study will be useful. At this point, a lot of data should be used for zoning. The climatic characteristics of the land, soil analyses, morphological features and environmental factors should be considered. Adjacency conditions can be designed successfully with the planning to be made considering these data. Thus, the entity character of the farm will express itself clearly.

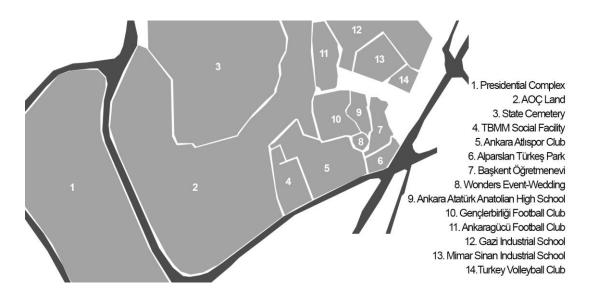


Figure 35. Irrelevant adjacency relations of the farmland- The map focuses on a specific area of the farm area. As a result of planning practices without comprehensive analyses, irrelevant neighbourhoods occur. These areas with very different functions behave like foreigners in the same piece of land.

Source: Rendered by the author

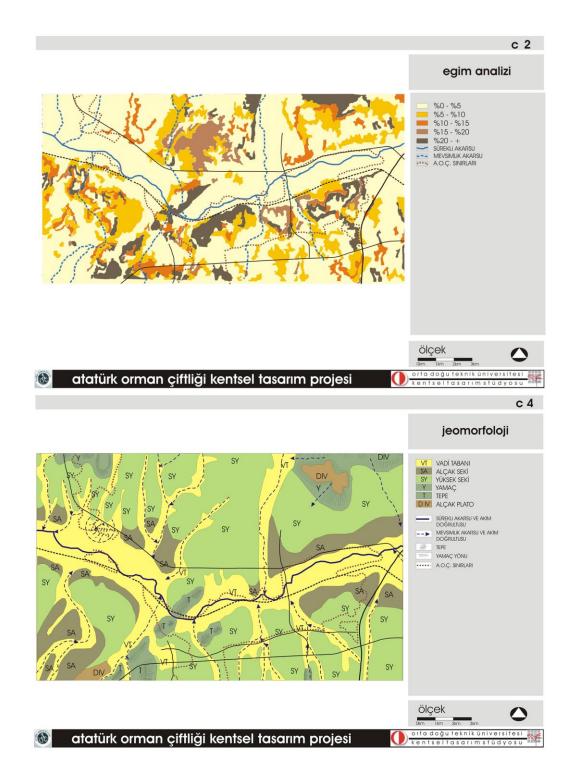


Figure 36. Examples of field analysis produced at METU Urban Design Studio, 1997-1998- Many analyzes have been produced in the Urban Design Studio in 1997-1998. In contemporary conditions, similar field studies should be done before planning. By superposing these studies, zoning should be done and the planning steps should be taken.

Source: METU Urban Design Studio, 1997-1998

The other major problem of the Atatürk Forest Farm land today is the limitation of its accessibility. Especially in recent years, the highways have been constructed without considering the integrity of the farmland. However, it is important to consider the identity of the farmland and to pass these roads through the underground. In addition, the planning of these transportation roads should be carried out according to the zoning studies which are formed after comprehensive analyses. METU Urban Design Studio, one of the aforementioned studies, was able to carry out these analyses in 1997-1998 with its limited possibilities. The study, which produced many maps such as geomorphology, topography, daylight, geology, hydrology etc., based its own proposal on these analyses. It is unacceptable not to make these rational studies with contemporary technological opportunities. Planning transportation axes by calculating shortest distance between two points does not require any intellectual background. Therefore, instead of seeking simple solutions in the planning of transportation lines, comprehensive and rational studies should be considered.

What is important here is to change the unattended and prohibited condition of the farm. According to the Berivan Polat's comparison between the Atatürk Forest Farm, Central Park, Hyde Park and Gross Tiergarten carried out in Arch 713 course, although the farm is an average of 10 times larger than all other parks, there are 40 entries for the other parks while only 11 for the farm.

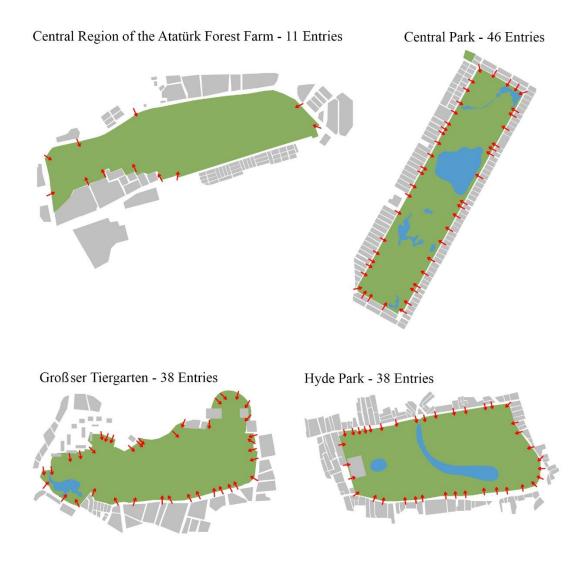


Figure 37. Accessibility comparison of the Atatürk Forest Farm

Source: Berivan Polat, Comparing Atatürk Forest Farm with Other Global Urban Parks: Case of Central Park NY; Tiergarten Berlin; Hyde Park, London-http://aocarastirmalari.arch.metu.edu.tr/ogrenci-projelerinde-aoc/, 2014

Here, it seems that the farm has a problem of recognition. In order to provide this, benefitting from the location of the farm within the city, its local accessibility should initially be ensured. By local accessibility, it is tried to be described that the farm should be accessible from every part of its landscape where it gets into contact with the city and it should offer the same possibilities for all the people. In this direction, as suggested in the examined examples, a zoning study can be carried out. However, these zoned areas should still be planned to accommodate more than one function, rather

than planned for only specific functions. Thus, people in different parts of the city will be able to access the facilities offered by the farm equally and in the area closest to them. In this zoning management, activities such as agricultural and industrial production, education, research and development, recreation and social and cultural development should be planned in coordination with one another. With this new planning model, the farm will have a wide range of users with the help of multiple functions it offers and its facilities will be equally and locally accessible for the people from all parts of the city.

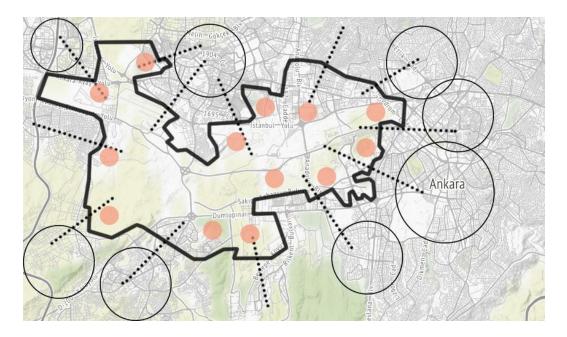


Figure 38. Potential of the farm's central position in the city-The Atatürk Forest Farm should be an area, which is 'locally accessible' from the periphery due to its location in the city. Furthermore, the units, which are including the same facilities for the people must be placed on the periphery. In this way, people should be able to get the same opportunities from the areas close to their residence.

Source: Rendered by author

In addition, the Atatürk Forest Farm land, which extended in the east-west direction, is located in the center of the city in the following years. The farm, which has the potential to connect the city in four directions, cannot even achieve this in its natural extension axis after wrong planning decisions. In the 1997-98 study of the METU

Urban Design Studio, three axes were proposed to connect the city in the north-south direction. These were the axes of technology, recreation and culture. Regardless of the number and function of these routes, it is important that the farm serve as a bridge in the north-south direction.

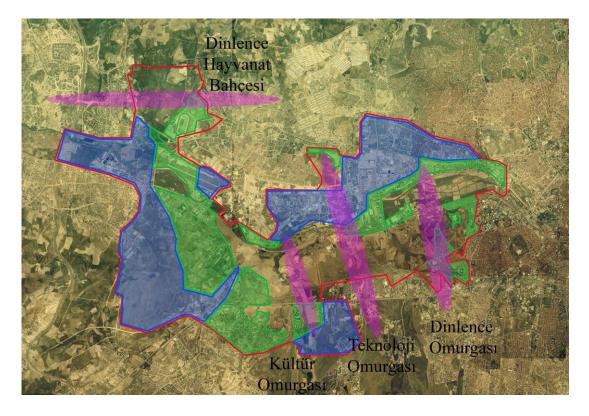


Figure 39. Three axes in the north-south direction proposed at METU Urban Design Studio

Source: METU Urban Design Studio, 1997-1998

As a result, the Atatürk Forest Farm is not a place to worry about the lands that it has lost. On the contrary, it still has an important position with the size of its untouched areas in the city today. From now on, considering its establishment principles, the farm should be reconsidered with comprehensive and multi-layered planning by the participation of multiple actors.

3.2. Design Principles for Future Functions of the Farm

While the Atatürk Forest Farm was originally established with functions and modern structures for the construction of modern life, it has become a colonized area today. Especially after 1937, the Farm has become an area that is worn down and destroyed physically, in use and in content. Along with the loss of this density of meaning, the farmland that has been transformed from an area used by the public into an idle space in the middle of the city is an empty urban area open for attacks by the capitalist sector (Kimyon & Serter, 2015, p. 62). However, the farmland is still a huge area which continues to develop in the geometric center of the metropolitan city today. With this feature, the Atatürk Forest Farm, which is still perceived as a potential area for the city of Ankara, has been subject of a lot of studies to re-function it and design its future. According to a considerable number of these studies, the continuity of the role of the farm for its establishment purposes should be ensured. However, these activities included in the establishment purposes should be developed, interpreted and renewed in a manner appropriate to the necessities of the time. According to Çağatay Keskinok (2000, p.45), it is not a problem that the farmlands are protected as only a green and open area. The real problem is that it is not maintained and developed in line with its initial aims.

In the previous section, ideas were given about the re-planning of the farm through selected studies. In fact, since planning and function are the concepts that develop depending on each other, there are clues of re-functioning the farm through planning in that section. In this section, firstly, as it has been examined up to now, the refunctioning of the farm will also be examined under the titles of re-functioning in the sense of the development of production and re-functioning in the sense of social development. These examinations will be done through the case studies determined at the beginning of the chapter. After the selected studies are mentioned, proposals for the future of the farm will be presented. These proposals are based on the argument of this study that agricultural and industrial production should be revitalized and living patterns reformed in designing the future of the farm. These processes, which mainly

focus on production and social development, will be elaborated in detail with subheadings within each part.

3.2.1. An Overview of Recent Studies

Before defining the principles suggested for the re-functioning of the Atatürk Forest Farm, the ideas of the selected studies will be examined. As in the first part of this chapter, studies carried out in METU Urban Design Studio and Gazi University summer school, and proposals developed for 'Kent Düşleri 9' competition organized by the Ankara Branch of the Chamber of Architects will also be the exemplary cases to be examined in this part. In accordance with the layout of the thesis, principles from the studies concerning agricultural and industrial production and social development issues will be compiled and explained.

3.2.1.1. Studies on the Development of Agricultural and Industrial Production

Today, nothing new has been added to the idea and initiative of the transformation of agricultural labor, which were introduced during the foundation years of the Republic. The agricultural land of the country has been decreasing, being condemned to destruction. Thus, the agriculture of the country has been destroyed and the producers pushed to poverty. However, it is possible to regulate productivity without raising doubts such as in the duality accepted between agriculture and industry, and production without inducing human alienation to nature. Turkey will require significant public initiatives such as the Atatürk Forest Farm to solve these problems and the principles of the farm in its establishment are still valid today (Keskinok, 2000, p. 45). When all these are taken into consideration, the farm still has the potential to carry out its production activities aimed at during the foundation years. In fact, studies on the farm have also given importance to the revitalization of agricultural and industrial production in order to use this potential of the farm.

In the field of education, the first study to be mentioned for proposals about the refunctioning of the farm in terms of production is chronologically the work of METU Urban Design Studio undertaken in the late 1990s. According to the research, the Atatürk Forest Farm should be reorganized according to the purposes of establishment. However, it is known that especially the continuation of agricultural activity has significant difficulties within metropolitan areas. For this reason, the study suggests different agricultural production methods, dividing the farmland into seventeen different regions, and developing ideas under the headings of basic policy, problems, possibilities, and proposals for each region. The most important problem identified in terms of production is that today's dry farming practices are contradictory to urban uses and are inefficient. In regions where this problem has been identified, the proposal of the work has been the development of agricultural activities for three-dimensional plants. On the other hand, it is thought that most of the regions have high soil quality and are suitable for agriculture. It is determined that the existing nurseries use the land efficiently in these regions, which are mostly located within the green belt extending along the Ankara Stream. The decision taken for these regions is the continuation of the production activity and these areas should not be allocated to other uses or institutions for construction. As a result, two main decisions on agricultural production are the promotion of nursery type production and the introduction of agricultural production with three-dimensional plants (Canaran, 2004, pp.24-25).

The study seems to be more intense for the physical planning of the area. In the continuation of planning decisions, functional principles are found in the proposals made for each region. However, as can be seen from the general opinion of the working group, the type of agricultural production made in the establishment years of the farm is not suitable today. In this direction, it was proposed to change the mode of agricultural production. However, it can be said that this proposal ignores the potential and capacity of the Atatürk Forest Farm because, even if land integrity is deteriorated, the farm still has the size and land structure that can provide diversity in agriculture and industrial production. At a time when urban agriculture practices are on the agenda, agricultural production in the farmland should be kept wide and its borders must be strained. Thus, an integrated model can be established in which agricultural production and industrial production based on agriculture can work together.

According to the results of the summer school carried out by Gazi University (2005, p. 33), the other case chosen to be examined among the educational studies on the farm, one of the problems of the area is that the agricultural areas are polluted by urban use and accordingly the products obtained after the production are inefficient. Another important problem is, as mentioned before, the deviation in the functions of the farmland from its establishment principles and accordingly the disintegration of the farmland. One of the proposals to solve these problems is that the Atatürk Forest Farm as a cultural and information technology center must attain an independent structure that combines the planning, production and management branches. The farm should be restructured according to its establishment principles as a field of agricultural technology development. On the other hand, it is proposed that the existing agricultural, industrial and service sectors of the farm and their economic contribution in the metropolitan area should be identified. As a result, it was suggested that 10,000 hectares of agricultural land in the area should be preserved to produce high value added products in these lands (Tekel, Varol, Ercoşkun, & Gürer, 2005, pp.28-32). Although there are suggestions for agricultural production in the study, there is not much information and suggestion in terms of industrial production. Proposals made by only one group involve transforming industrial areas into cultural and commercial activities. There is, however, no proposal addressing the potential for co-operation of agricultural and industrial production.

As mentioned before, the summer school was run with five different groups and each group focused on different themes. The problems and suggestions mentioned above belong to certain groups and also may not be covered in some other groups. When all proposals are considered, it is understood that agricultural and industrial production issues are approached in general terms. Rather than providing a detailed analysis and solution proposal, comments were made mostly on the mechanism of farm management. Due to the fact that it was carried out during a summer school, the study with limited time still yielded many valuable analyzes about production issues. The study revealed problems related to the agricultural production and created a debate on the potentials of the farm. As a result, despite the inability to go into details, many solution proposals were obtained.

In "Kent Düşleri 9" competition of 2015, chosen to be examined among the works of professional organization on the farm, the participants had a common opinion about the re-functioning of the farm in terms of production. Almost all of the proposals submitted to the competition contemplated on the revival of the establishment principles of the farm and presented studies in this direction.

For example, the main idea of the proposal of Fulya Selçuk (2015) that received one of the second prizes, was identified as a production-oriented urban farm. The concept of production for the farm area was approached through agricultural production. The reason for this is that the establishment purpose of the farm was based on agricultural production, and the agricultural production still continues in the field even though there is a decrease. However, the concept of production was divided into tangible and intangible production and its scope was expanded in the proposal. While the production of information was included in the intangible production part, the agricultural production was examined in the tangible production part and it is detailed with subheadings. In this context, the main idea of the project is to provide urban agriculture and production oriented land use along the two coasts that leave the railway line and the Ankara Stream in the center. In addition, the continuation of activities in the sense of industrial production was proposed. Nonetheless, the old production facilities and factories would be preserved historically, not functionally, and these functions would be transferred to the illegal constructions and buildings within the farm area. The transformation of existing production facilities into social and cultural spaces was thus recommended.

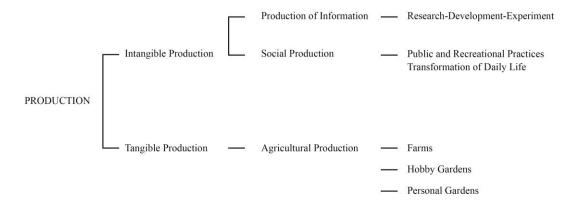


Figure 40. Production scheme of the farm

Source: The Ankara Branch of the Chamber of Architects Archive-Second Prize in 'Kent Düşleri 9' Competition by Fulya Selçuk, 2015

As a result, this proposal, which is based entirely on the concept of production, offers valuable ideas about the current situation of the farm. Despite the successful analysis of the concept of production and the presentation of valuable ideas after these analyzes, a comprehensive design principle about the whole of the farm was not established. Detailed decisions were made only in specific areas and structures within the farm area.

The proposal, presented by Serdar Malkoç, Alpaslan Nizamoğlu, Atagül Nizamoğlu, Ayhan Erdoğan, Bilge Bektaş, Burak Özgür, Cansu Demir, Ceren İlter, Gözde Güldal and Şelale Balambar (2015), that received the other second prize, provides a detailed review under specific topics on the whole of the farm area. In the project, the main objective of which is to re-plan the farm as a production-oriented area, the agricultural production values of the Atatürk Forest Farm were revealed and proposals made about urban agriculture applications. According to the project group, the Atatürk Forest Farm is a valuable part of Ankara by being an important part of the city's open and green space system, as well by its potential for agricultural production and the ecological diversity. For this reason, it was seen as necessary to develop areas for the application of alternative farming techniques and to define the basic principles of ecological values in order to reveal the potentials and maintain the biological diversity of the area. This is because, considering the agricultural activities carried out in the present situation in

the farm, the agricultural production had been maintained even though the size of the agricultural production area decreased since its foundation. In the current condition, nearly half of the farmland is still used as agricultural land. On the other hand, in the branches of agricultural industry, products such as pasteurized milk, ice cream, wine, tomato juice, barley, honey, and fruit juice are produced. As a result, in order to restore the agricultural production function that the farm undertook during the establishment period, it was firstly seen as necessary to protect ecologically valued areas and agricultural areas of the farm.

According to the proposal, problems such as increasing urbanization and population, and water and soil pollution are the main factors that harm agricultural ecological values and it is essential to develop holistic policies in order to overcome these disadvantages. In this direction, the following decisions were taken under the heading of urban agriculture practices:

- The quality of the product obtained in agricultural production should be increased by preventing and eliminating soil pollution.
- The aims of urban agriculture practices should be determined in a clear line.
 Healthy food production and food safety must be ensured. Equal access to these products should be provided for all segments of society.
- It is necessary to protect urban arable lands and expand new application areas by detecting new areas.
- Product diversity and productivity should be increased.
- Applications to enable urban agriculture in upper scale planning should be introduced and the framework of urban agriculture should be expanded by law.
- Training programs for urban agriculture should be supported and developed.
- In the stages of production and logistics in urban agriculture, producers, professional chambers, non-governmental organizations and related AOÇ commissions must be coordinated.
- Researches and applications about permaculture and ecological farming methods must be done by establishing ecological farming areas. It is proposed to expand training facilities and to provide technical support for ecological agriculture.

- The legal framework supporting urban agriculture needs to be expanded.
- Certification of the products and increase of brand value should be ensured.
- The possible negative effects of the industry based on agriculture should be minimized.

	AOÇ Alanı	Kent Çeperi	Kentsel Alanlar
Gıda üretimi ve tekniği	Kentsel tarım Permakültür İyi tarım uygulamalan Bitkisel üretim Yem bitkileri üretimi Meyve ve sebze üretimi Bal üretimi	Permakültür İyi tarım uygulamaları Organik tarım Büyük ölçekli tarım uygulamaları	Dikey tanm uygulamaları Gerilla bahçecilik uygulamaları ile kentsel boşluklarda üretim Bahçe, teras, balkon vb. yerlerde yapılan üretim

Figure 41. Agricultural production proposals

Source: The Ankara Branch of the Chamber of Architects Archive-Second Prize in 'Kent Düşleri 9' Competition by Serdar Malkoç, Alpaslan Nizamoğlu, Atagül Nizamoğlu, Ayhan Erdoğan, Bilge Bektaş, Burak Özgür, Cansu Demir, Ceren İlter, Gözde Güldal and Şelale Balambar, 2015

In addition to these framing decisions, in the proposed project, the farm area is divided into sub-groups and individual decisions are made for each piece of land in each group. In this comprehensive study, it was proposed to preserve the existing agricultural areas and to maintain their functions. In addition to the existing agricultural land, new areas were also proposed to increase agricultural production capacity. However, there is no comprehensive policy on industrial production based on agriculture in the proposal. Indeed, agricultural production as well as industrial production played an active role in the mission of the farm during its establishment. Nevertheless, the proposed study offers a comprehensive and versatile documentation, and makes a great contribution to the discussion about the future of the farm with the ideas it presented.

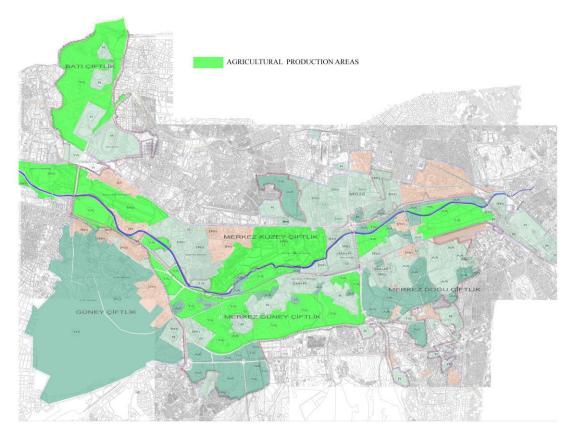


Figure 42. Determined agricultural lands of the farm

Source: The Ankara Branch of the Chamber of Architects Archive-Second Prize in 'Kent Düşleri 9' Competition by Serdar Malkoç, Alpaslan Nizamoğlu, Atagül Nizamoğlu, Ayhan Erdoğan, Bilge Bektaş, Burak Özgür, Cansu Demir, Ceren İlter, Gözde Güldal and Şelale Balambar, 2015

According to the proposal of Başak Eren and Buse Özçelik (2015), one of the third-prize winners, all of the farmland should be used as an agricultural research and production, social and cultural area. In this direction, farming areas for agriculture, agricultural laboratories, experimental gardens, industrial buildings were proposed to be formed in the farm area. The proposal, which aims to transform the functions of existing structures, defines these as focal points. Assuming that the community will be organized starting from these points, it is foreseen that the people will make the transformation with the whole area in time. The focal points are wine factory, bathhouse, Sığırcık facilities, old zoo area, beer factory, central bus station (AŞTİ), Atatürk house and Ankapark. Functional transformations were defined for these fields. However, the study, which does not offer a detailed and specific proposal for the

development of the whole land, leaves this process to time and to the use of people. In some parts, it approaches the subject with a utopian point of view and aims to produce a manifesto about the area.

Lastly, one of the main aims of the proposal by Sevgi Arıöz, Eren Çağdaş Bilgiç, Ece Tümer, İrem Şanlı, Gökçe Kırmacı and Yunus Taş (2015), which received the other third prize, is to develop the Atatürk Forest Farm land on agricultural and livestock production and education as it was aimed for in the foundation years. As mentioned in the section about the re-planning of the farm, the proposal presented decisions on the areas it chose within the farmland. These decisions related to production are as follows:

- Presidency Palace will be changed and opened to the public. The area will be transformed into the International Institute of Agriculture, Livestock and Ecology.
- Agriculture, animal husbandry, beekeeping zones that are located in the north and west of the Institute of Agriculture, Animal Husbandry and Ecology will be education, production and development areas. The eco-village to the north and east of the Institute will serve as an outdoor garden for the use of the city.
- The Ankara Stream will be filtered by cleaning systems for hygienic access to
 the farm borders and for agricultural use. Thus, the stream will accompany the
 walking and cycling routes, which vary along the site, with some function
 changes.
- Milk and dairy products, fruit juices, wine and wheat-barley productions, which began to be produced by orders of Atatürk, are about to disappear today. These activities will become Turkey's leading agricultural and animal production with new areas provided for this function.

The proposal does not develop a discourse about the production activity in the current situation of the land. Specifying the design principles with the method of zoning on the map work, it does not suggest a detailed land study. While determining the general principles about the whole farmland related to production, it makes special decisions only about areas that it finds problematic.

3.2.1.2. Studies on Social Development

After the First World War, mastering nature seemed to be the most important factor for the modernization of societal life. The importance given to green spaces in city planning was one of the main strategies of providing social and cultural development. This strategy was also successfully implemented in the capital Ankara. The most important factor in achieving this success was the Atatürk Forest Farm established with the leadership of Mustafa Kemal. The farm was named as a 'modern urban farm' by the national and international media. With this modern farm, citizens would have the opportunity to meet with modern forms of recreation (Cavdar Sert, 2017a, pp.85-86). In 1937, the farm had a number of recreational activities such as afforestation work, zoological garden, Beer Park, Marmara and Black Sea Pools. According to the donation letter of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, one of the main reasons for the establishment of the farm was to create recreational activities to provide sanitary places for the public and he hoped that the farm would be developed in accordance with this purpose. (Mumcu, 2002, pp.117-118). However, while the farm is still an area where people can enjoy themselves freely and can benefit from green areas, the public use of the farm is restricted. Only recreational areas such as restaurants and picnic areas are used by the public. On the other hand, the farm did not lead with only recreational facilities in the sense of social development. It was a multi-layered system that transformed society and developed social life by providing opportunities in fields such as technology, science, art and education. However, today, we can say that these values have been lost and the farm is only an idle area that remains within the boundaries of the city. From these findings, many studies have been done recently in order to revive this mission of the farm. In this section, proposals for re-functioning of the farm in terms of social development will be explained through previously determined studies. Among the educational studies, social development proposals of the study carried out in the METU Urban Design Studio (1997-1998) will initially be mentioned. The Atatürk Forest Farm today has lost its ideology of creating a new society and its ability to produce new ways of life. It is suggested in this study that the green axis, which is used intensively by the people, should continue without interruption. In addition, two corridors with social, cultural and scientific uses are proposed in addition to this corridor. It is aimed to re-plan the farm area to allow for public use by means of the fifteen sub-regions determined in the study and according to the decisions made about these regions. In two different regions, focus areas consisting of commercial and cultural activities and technology and scientific activities are proposed. These areas are supported by fairgrounds, museums and recreational areas (Canaran, 2004, pp.24)

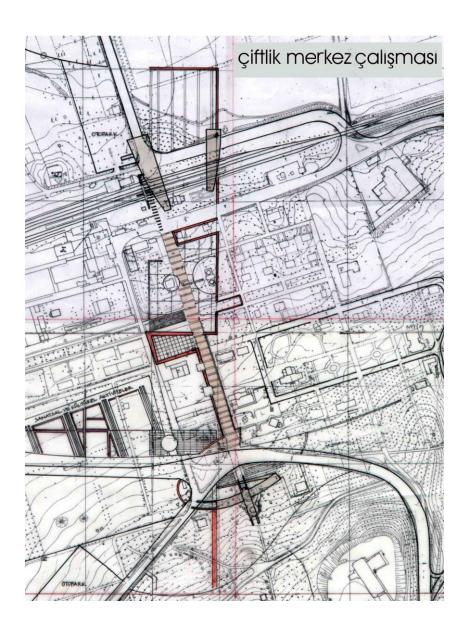


Figure 43. Replanning proposal for the farm's central region

Source: METU Urban Design Studio, 1997-1998

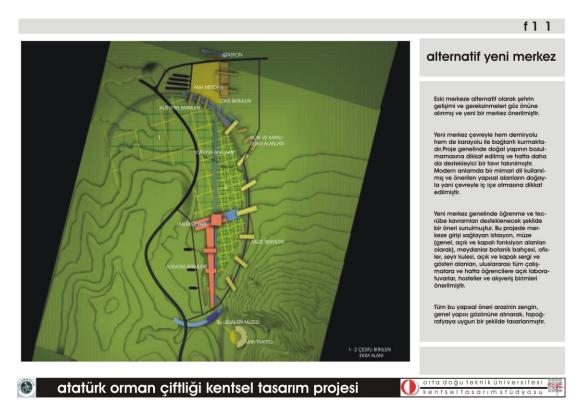


Figure 44. Alternative central region for the farm

Source: METU Urban Design Studio, 1997-1998

According to one of the results obtained at the summer school at Gazi University examined as the other educational study, the weakest point of the area is that 90 percent of the area is closed to public use. On the other hand, the area still has the potential to meet green space need of Ankara. Moreover, the farm has the power to be a pilot field for research, development, and information technology. In terms of transportation, it also has significant advantages with its being in the city center and being located at the intersection of many transportation networks. In this respect, the farmland, which is proposed to be turned into an area open to the public, will form an uninterrupted green corridor in Ankara city center. According to the vision aimed at by another working group, the farm area must be restructured according to the changing social needs. The policies determined according to this vision are in line with the principles of the previous group. Another group provides social development opportunities by changing the functions of certain areas in the farm area and by suggesting new functions to these areas. According to the group's proposal:

- Industrial areas should be transformed into areas for cultural activities.
- Cement factory, textile factory and coal storage areas should be turned into scientific research centers.
- Beer, wine and weapon factories should be transformed into industrial museums and training centers.
- Besides these, 1,500 hectares of new green area should be created in the middle and west of the area (Tekel, Varol, Ercoşkun, & Gürer, 2005, pp.28-32).

When the results of this comprehensive survey are examined, there is no specific social development heading within the themes of the research groups. The proposals are not elaborated because they are not examined in terms of social transformation theme specifically. However, many design principles compiled among the proposals will actually provide indirect or direct social transformation and development. Therefore, proposed ideas are valuable considering the short duration of the study.

According to the second-prize winner proposal of Fulya Selçuk (2015) in the competition of 'Kent Düşleri 9', the farm is taken as a production-oriented urban land. After examining the concept of production in detail, the competitor divided it into tangible and intangible production. Intangible production involves the production of knowledge and social production. While social production involves public practice and recreational activities, knowledge production involves research, development, and experimental learning. Selçuk claims that the Atatürk Forest Farm is the place where:

- Information will be produced by researches.
- Science will be produced with university partnerships.
- Sociality will be produced by social and cultural uses.

Thus, the social benefits of the place are the development of the education level of public and the changing of the living patterns through social activities to be created. On the other hand, the farm should also be a green corridor for Ankara and a recreation area for the citizens by combining fragmented green spaces of the city. The functions of some existing areas and buildings will be changed and serve the public by converting into social and cultural spaces.

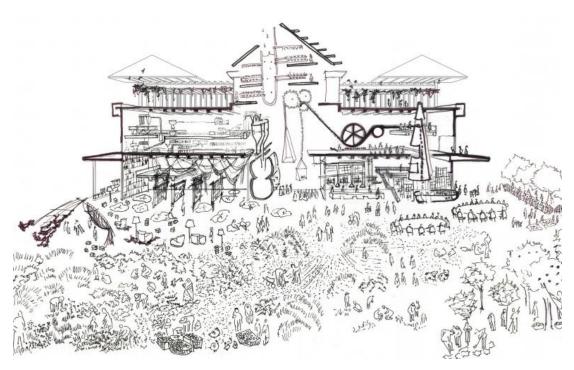


Figure 45. Transformation of social life through production

Source: The Ankara Branch of the Chamber of Architects Archive-Second Prize in 'Kent Düşleri 9' Competition by Fulya Selçuk, 2015

The proposal examined the transformation of the farm in accordance with its organizational purposes and defined the concept of production as the main theme of the project. Even though it is not included in the farm's purpose of establishment, the farm provided a great contribution to the social transformation and development in the period when it was established. Although the project does not specifically examine the social development, it has indirectly contributed to this issue with the principles it identified under the title of intangible production. It is very important to not only interpret this topic through recreation, but also include education, knowledge and cultural issues into the research.

The other second-prize winner project in the competition proposed by Serdar Malkoç, Alpaslan Nizamoğlu, Atagül Nizamoğlu, Ayhan Erdoğan, Bilge Bektaş, Burak Özgür, Cansu Demir, Ceren İlter, Gözde Güldal and Şelale Balambar (2015), also includes very important principles in terms of social development. In this study, as already mentioned before, a new form of organization for the farm was proposed and a Field

Management Council would be established under this organization. The administrative organization of this council consists of advisory boards and commissions. Members of each board and commission and responsibilities of these members were identified. The main responsibilities of the advisory board members regarding social development are as follows:

- Universities have an important role in terms of education. They will cooperate
 with the relevant departments of the farm in research and development studies
 carried out at the farm. Moreover, they will provide support for teaching
 modern farming techniques to farmers. Lastly, they will organize events for
 students to receive hands-on training.
- Non-governmental organizations will organize activities to increase public use of the farm.
- Municipalities will organize social projects for citizens to use the farm area. In addition, they will deal with land losses of the farm and will create ideal recreational areas for the public.
- Professional associations will use their professional knowledge in the farm for public interest. On the other hand, they will ensure that students are involved in these studies carried out in the Farm.
- Industrial unions will make studies to improve working conditions of workers and provide support for them to learn modern production techniques.

On the other hand, the main responsibilities of the commissions regarding social development are as follows:

- The social solidarity commission will ensure that the products produced on the farm are distributed to the poor neighborhoods.
- The spatial planning commission will take part in projects intended for public use of the farm.
- The ecological life commission will conduct ecological studies so that the public can live in a healthier environment.
- The training commission will co-operate with universities and professional associations. It will ensure that students are involved in production processes in the farm. On the other hand, it will take part in the professional training of workers and peasants.

- The women's commission will play a role in eliminating gender-based inequalities. It will work on the employment of women in the farm. Thus, every individual will exist in society equally.
- The youth commission will help young people to be employed in the farm. On the other hand, it will organize activities in coordination with universities.
- Finally, the transportation commission will work to facilitate the access of citizens and employees to the farm area.

In addition to these policies, proposals for the economic development of the people of Ankara through the farm area were presented under the heading of social policies. In line with these proposals, the poor neighborhoods in Ankara will be identified. Individuals living there will be employed in the work areas established in the farm area. This will enable the people to develop economically and achieve better living conditions. As mentioned in previous chapters, the group did a very extensive field study. In this field study, the proposals for the functions and the areas where these functions would take place were determined. In this part, complementary to field studies, the partners and the areas in which they would be responsible were identified. Thus, the group's proposal operates in a systematic manner with its scope and content.

According to the third-prize winner proposal of Başak Eren and Buse Özçelik (2015), while the Atatürk Forest Farm is the place to produce memories in line with its establishment functions, people's use of the area has gradually decreased in time. Instead of producing memories in the city, the area is now an urban empty space in collective memory. The growth of the city has extended to the farm and the land has been surrounded by settlement areas. The farmland was defeated by elements of capitalism and made inaccessible by various transport networks. Finally, it has also been tried to remove the traces of people's experiences of life and memories through regional planning decisions (Batuman, 2014, p.104). The farm, which developed as a modernization project of the Republic and started social transformation, was taken from the people and disintegrated. As mentioned earlier, the proposal presents a utopian approach in a dystopic reality. According to the team, the only power in the

transformation of the field is the desire of the society. The people will initiate the whole transformation process and in time, the people will have their own farm back. The farmland will thus become a social and cultural area again. With the refunctionalization of existing buildings, focuses will be created around these structures. By choosing new functions, which do not have commercial concerns, the entire area will be a place where people spend their time and breathe. Thus, the people begin to change, to transform and to develop by creating new memories by introducing new meanings to existing areas. The study produces a manifesto about the area as a whole. Some specific decisions were also made regarding the areas they identified within the Farm. Since there are no specific themes about the farm in the research, and although the group does not examine the farm's effects on social development specifically, it is understood that they consider the social transformation with proposed design principles.

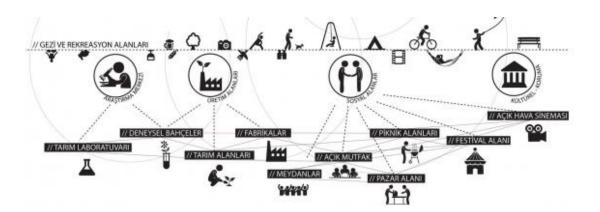


Figure 46. Relation scheme of the proposed new functions

Source: The Ankara Branch of the Chamber of Architects Archive-Third Prize in 'Kent Düşleri 9' Competition by Başak Eren and Buse Özçelik, 2015

In the proposal of the last group consisting of Sevgi Ariöz, Eren Çağdaş Bilgiç, Ece Tümer, İrem Şanlı, Gökçe Kırmacı and Yunus Taş (2015) that won the other third prize, design principles were identified for designated areas of the farmland and their functions were changed. From these functions, it is the educational areas and the recreational areas that are important in terms of social development. The proposal generally aims to provide a better living condition for the people of Ankara. However,

the suggestions made are not broadly framed and detailed in the sense of social development because the social transformation and development require a much more layered system.

In the two parts of this chapter above, an evaluation was made on the transformation and future of the Atatürk Forest Farm through the examination of chosen studies. The re-planning of the farm and its re-functioning in terms of production and social development were examined through these studies. The proposals for the re-planning of the farm always consider the establishment principles of the farm. Study groups confronts the unplanned development of the farm and claim that the farm needs a new plan at first stage. Apart from that, proposals were made on the current situation of the farm. New planning strategies have thus been developed for empty areas, while planning decisions have been made in the direction of function change for land sold and transferred. The common attitude about re-functioning in the sense of production is for the development of agricultural production involved in the establishment purposes of the farm. The proposals, which agreed on the revitalization of agricultural production, produced various scenarios and conducted fieldwork on this issue. However, although agricultural production is of importance, proposals for the development of industrial production based on agriculture are rare. Finally, there is no research that focuses directly on social development and no direct proposal for the farm to revitalize its foundation principles such as providing a modern social life and developing society towards this direction. However, even if it is not the main purpose of social development, many of the principles in the studies serve this purpose. As a result, these three studies undertaken in the last two decades proposed that people should regain the awareness about the Atatürk Forest Farm. These studies tried to shed light on the future of the farm, like many of the ones not mentioned here. These studies, in which students and professionals worked and provided the basis of debate about the farm, produce many valuable ideas for the area. They have established effective ideas for possible concrete steps to be taken in the future.

3.2.2. Revitalizing Agriculture, Industry and Social Transformation

The Atatürk Forest farm was a model for the entire country with agricultural and industrial production activities together with the new economic foundation. It was one of the most important steps in developing a self-sufficient national economy. In this direction, scientific researches in agricultural production were very important. According to Aycı (2017, p.181), the positivist/scientific understanding of the Republic provided the dominance of rational thinking also in the agricultural field. Indeed, under the administration of the farm, the involvement of an agriculturist who had been trained abroad was a sign of the scientific quest in the agricultural policy of the state and a sign of the importance given to the farm. On the other hand, the purpose of the industrial enterprises in the field of the farm during the early Republican period was for providing self-sufficient production required by the national economy, which became widespread between the two world wars. In addition, the yogurt and milk factories built during the Atatürk period at the farm were the investments to meet the basic food needs of the society. As a result of this production policy, the farm functioned in this period as a modern agricultural and industrial area, which is one of the most important requirements of establishing a modern country.

The determining conditions between the years 1938-1950 were created by the Second World War in Turkey. In this period, the model of agriculture and industry in the earlier period was replaced by the necessity of production in war conditions. During the war, the total grain production of the state production farms including the Atatürk Forest Farm was half of the total production in Turkey. In other words, as a precaution against the adverse conditions of war, the farm turned into a field of defensive production as part of the state farm system that developed production policies to meet the food needs of its people on the periphery of the city (Aycı, 2017, p.182).

During the years between 1950 and 1960, the content of the production concept also changed in Turkey. This period, in which the management concept of the farm also changed, can be considered as a breaking point in terms of the agriculture policy of the country. The developing capitalist order changed the content of production and

especially agricultural production was affected by this change. The contemporary government, notable for its rural policies, did not take any specific initiative in the agricultural policy at the farm. The mechanization of agriculture at the time increased migration to cities and caused their populations to increase. There was also an increase in agricultural production in this process. As a result, the production surplus obtained by the influence of the mechanization in agriculture necessitated constructions for storage. For this reason, during the period between 1950 and 1960, silos started to be built in the farm area to store agricultural product surplus. Thus, in this period, the farm became an area for fulfilling the land needs of production. In the following decades, the production policy of the farm has continued to be neglected and it has lost its power in the historical process with global and local influences (Aycı, 2017, p.182).

Because of the transformations in the concept of production, the production potential of the farm has been underestimated. At this point, management's approach to the farm's production habits coming from its history could be influential. The Atatürk Forest Farm, which has existed for almost 100 years, has brought many habits to its people until today. The farm, which is established with the initiative of one person, is able to carry forward its objectives in the establishment years with a more conscious population today. According to Aycı (2017, p.185), in order to solve the food, health and social crises created by ecological problems (climate change), which is one of the most important global problems in the 21st century, it is necessary to rearrange the production policy of the farm. The Atatürk Forest Farm has the potential to be a solution to today's crises also in terms of production with policies that used to be the solution of the similar crisis in the foundation period. For this, agricultural production areas should be reconsidered. In the area of the farm, factories without harm to the city (milk, yoghurt factory, etc.) should be encouraged by the government and harmful factories (cement factory, etc.) should be removed with the initiatives of the state again. Grain production does not seem possible due to fragmentation of land today in the farm. However, urban agriculture areas should be organized by actors from different fields that will take place in governance of the farm. The Atatürk Forest Farm, which could be the center of 21st century research in production, is an area that will

contribute to production with research and development studies especially in a city where universities are concentrated.

On the other hand, the other important task undertaken by the farm in the years it was founded was to lead the social transformation. In addition to production activities, the farm, which produces a new way of life and new alternatives for the society, has been the leading model of the early Republican period in the modernization movement. However, with the transformation process, many founding functions of the farm has been destroyed and it has become closed to public use. In addition, accessibility of the farm, which is surrounded by unplanned transportation corridors, is restricted. Thus, the Atatürk Forest Farm is known as a small limited to only a few activities today. However, the farm still has a strong location in the city and it is likely to serve as a bridge between the north-south and east-west parts of the city. The farm, which aims to create a production-oriented society in its foundation years and combines its production activities with the social activity opportunities, should be revitalized today in line with these objectives. People in Ankara spend their free time in shopping malls and need open green areas. They are alienated from each other because they cannot find social sharing opportunities. More importantly, a society in which consumption was encouraged was created. Today, this identity of the public should be transformed through the Atatürk Forest Farm by making an effort like in establishment years.

In the following part, the principles for revitalizing the agricultural and industrial production and social transformation will be elaborated. In this respect, it is necessary to discuss the importance of promoting urban agriculture, protecting urban ecological values, conserving the industrial heritage and reforming the living patterns for revitalizing the founding functions.

3.2.2.1. Promoting Urban Agriculture and Protecting Urban Ecological Values

Urban agriculture is a relatively new concept popularized in Turkey at the United Nations Habitat Conference in İstanbul in 1996. This concept describes intensive plant cultivation and animal husbandry for production, processing and distribution of food

in and around the cities (Akyol, 2011, p.8). According to Viljoen (2005), on the other hand, the concept of urban agriculture is originally the description of agricultural production that occurs in different shapes and sizes, and even different dimensions within the city. Besides these descriptions, urban agriculture also means fresher and cheaper food and more green space for the cities. With these aspects, it is the most important part of urban development.

Urban agriculture has played an important role in sustainable development as well as in the development of cities and in the development of the landscape and agriculture society. The establishment of urban-rural relations in urban areas is of critical importance in increasing the quality of life (Akyol, 2011, p.8). According to Açıksöz (2001, pp. 4-5), the reasons for the gaining importance of urban agriculture are as follows:

- Rapid urbanization in developing countries.
- Decreasing quality of environmental conditions in urban environment.
- Lowering income level of society.
- The necessity of self-sustaining systems becomes important again.
- Recognition of horticultural work that is not for market purposes but is made for pleasure.
- Problems such as health and environmental pollution arising from food production.

On the other hand, urban agriculture has many advantages for cities and citizens. According to Nugent (1997), the benefits of urban agriculture are as follows:

- Offering producers the opportunity to meet their own food needs and to earn income by sales of foods.
- Creating employment opportunities for citizens.
- Improvement of environmental properties such as air quality, water resources.
- Developing the aesthetic value of the city.
- Reducing the use of infrastructure.
- Decrease in waste disposal costs.

There are various concepts related to urban agriculture. One of the most important of these is the concept of city farms. City farms increase the city's food production and contribute to environmental and public health. Moreover, the purpose of these farms is to strengthen community relationships by creating awareness of agricultural production for the citizens (Akyol, 2011, p.57). However, urban agriculture lost its importance in the cities of the western countries that became industrial centers with the industrial revolution. Today, the major cities of the world are exposed to significant environmental problems. In this sense, developing urban agriculture and establishing urban farms is very important in terms of eliminating these problems. The importance of this model was noticed in the 1920s in Turkey under the leadership of Atatürk. Although traditional urban agriculture activities are being continued in the country, there are no examples in the framework of a plan or a program. The Atatürk Forest Farm, which provides food, education, work and recreation facilities to people since the day of its foundation, is still the best urban agriculture example in Turkey today with its city farm feature. In fact, there is no example of a city farm in the world like this case that has production, employment, education, and recreational opportunities, and that produces, processes and markets products directly to the public (Açıksöz, 2001, pp.8-10).

The Atatürk Forest Farm area has a significant potential for urban agriculture for the city of Ankara, despite the declining land availability and the loss of establishment activities. With the urban agriculture activities, production can be revitalized and the transformation process of the city can be started in many ways. The farm, once revitalized as a production area again, will raise the quality of life, create a healthy environment, and link rural life to urban life. The adoption of production as a way of life begins with raising awareness of the people. In this direction, it is necessary to create the areas where people can participate directly in production, and adapt to the production-based lifestyle. Allotment gardens are the most effective way of achieving this. The choice of the starting point is also very important. The people of Ankara became familiar mostly with the central region of the farm. For this reason, production activities in this region should begin to be encouraged and spread to a wider scale later. In addition, according to Açıksöz (2001, p. 265), an area where people can eat fresh

fruit and vegetables directly from the trees must be created. In this way, the people involved as a consumer should be encouraged to become producers later. An agricultural production policy should be targeted from the country beyond conventional urban agriculture, which will only be done with the participation of the people. Urban agriculture together with its assistant policies such as sustainable agriculture, organic agriculture and ecological agriculture should be encouraged throughout the country through the model of the farm. In this direction, firstly, a wide product range as in the years of its establishment should be obtained. Under the initiatives of the government, the production capacity of the city should be increased. Apart from all the benefits mentioned above, the production capacity of the farm is economically important for the development of the city and the country.

In addition to policies for promoting urban agriculture, it is also necessary to consider the urban ecological values of the Atatürk Forest Farm. Until today, many studies have carried out research that reveals the richness of flora and fauna of the farm. According to Cavdar Sert (2017, p. 149), there are 124 species in the flora system of the farm and these species are formed by natural expansion or plantation. On the other hand, the farm is also a very important immigration stop for many bird species. The flora and fauna structure of the farm is very important in terms of air, soil and water pollution problems. The ecological values of the farm must be maintained to clean up the underground water, to prevent air pollution and to obtain fertile soils. Ecological policies of the farm should be established in order to protect the environmental and social values and ensure the sustainability of the ecosystems. In this direction, the farm should be a pioneer in providing the diversity and health of the non-human beings. For this, the society needs to be conscious of contributing to the diversity of natural life. The farm should be planned in an integrative manner in terms of its natural, agricultural and green areas. In this respect, it will protect and diversify the ecological values it possesses. The pollution of water resources should be prevented and recovered as public values, and food safety must be ensured in agricultural products by preventing soil contamination.

As a result, Ankara has been losing its green texture in recent years. The city is deviating from the targets of sustainable urban development due to widespread environmental problems. These problems affecting the urban space such as air, water and soil pollution, the diminishing or disappearing of green areas and the deterioration of historical and cultural urban texture shows that urban development in Ankara is lacking an ecological basis. The Atatürk Forest Farm has an important role for the whole city of Ankara with its ecological values. The solution of many environmental problems can be solved by a systematic ecology policy applied through the potential of the farmland.

3.2.2.2. Conserving Industrial Heritage

Industrial areas and structures are important indicators of the socio-economic history of a country. Industrial heritage, on the other hand, is a general concept that encompasses all physical elements ranging from simple mechanical devices to large industrial areas (Cengizkan, 2006, p.5). The concept of industrial heritage, which emerged in the second half of the 20th Century and has received special attention since the end of the 1970s, especially in those countries that experienced the industrial revolution, has recently gained importance in countries where industrialization is later and limitedly experienced. One of these countries is Turkey. Turkey was introduced with the concept of the protection of old industrial buildings in the 1990s. In Turkey, the movement of conserving the factories within the scope of industrial heritage gained speed recently, as most of the factories that were established during the industrialization movement in the early Republican period have begun to lose their function (Saner, 2012, p. 53).

This concept is new to Turkey, and therefore its application possibilities are limited. For this reason, the theoretical knowledge about industrial heritage has improved more compared to the practice of protection. At this stage, referring to the examples of conserving the industrial heritage in the world, it must be determined what needs to be done in Turkey (Saner, 2012, p. 64). In this respect, the International Committee for the conservation of Industrial Heritage (TICCIH) is the first international organization

established with a focus on industrial heritage. TICCIH brings the significance of the concept of industrial heritage to the international level with meetings held every three years. It has also expanded its scope of international cooperation with the agreement with the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) in 2000. With the agreement, TICCIH has been appointed as the ICOMOS expert committee on the study and protection of industrial heritage (http://ticcih.org/). The European Route of Industrial Heritage (ERIH) and the European Federation of Associations of Industrial and Technical Heritage (E-FAITH) are other organizations that also work to protect industrial heritage in Europe. The Documentation and Conservation of Modern Movement (DOCOMOMO) is another international organization for which the industrial heritage is not a primary focus but is still of concern for the related buildings of the focus period (Saner, 2012, pp. 55-59).

The Atatürk Forest Farm was a project that pioneered in the sense of agricultural and industrial production in the early Republican period. One of the greatest features of the farm is the processing of its products in factories and ateliers in its own organization. The beer, malt, soda, soda, milk, yoghurt, wine, leather, and iron factories located in the farm were established with the purpose of processing farm products and these factories constituted the industrial character of the farm (Açıksöz, 2001, p. 176). However, over time, these structures, which constitute important examples of industrial heritage, have undergone a series of transformations. For example, the brewery site in the farm historical center was transferred to the ministry and the state monopolies (TEKEL) several times in its history. Finally, the area was transferred to Sümer Holding A.Ş. in 2016 and is currently being used as the general directorate of the company. On the other hand, the wine factory, where many other products were also produced such as honey and fruit juice, etc., became abandoned after its production stopped. When the restoration of the factory was completed in 2010, the building was opened as the AOÇ Museum and Gallery Hall. Even though the factory was not given the necessary importance during the years when the production was over, it is a promising example with respect to the re-functioning of the industrial heritage today. The milk factory, on the other hand, continues to produce milk, yogurt

and ice cream today. Dairy products produced in the plant are one of the brands that the people of Ankara mostly prefer (Çavdar Sert, 2017, pp. 100-117).

The most important aspect of protecting industrial heritage is that information should be translated into practice and the number of practices should be increased. However, the concept of protecting industrial heritage should initially be adopted by decision-making bodies of local and central administrations. For this, it is necessary to constitute a committee. Creating this committee of experts from different disciplines related to the subject will be consistent with the interdisciplinary character of protecting industrial heritage. Later, this institutional structure should be an active organization linked to international organizations. Therefore, while working on a local scale, the opportunities of attaching to international organizations should also be used because the collaborations with the above-mentioned organizations would be effective at the point of decision-making (Saner, 2010, p. 64).

Müge Cengizkan (2006, p.5) claims that the protection of industrial structures creates a paradoxical situation because these structures are usually built for pragmatic reasons - for practical and functional use. However, in the collective memory of industrial societies, they stand as proofs of industrial developments. On the other hand, one of the important reasons why industrial heritage is regarded as a cultural heritage is the recognition of their "artistic value". In addition, although Riegl's "value of use" concept is not the fundamental reason for conserving industrial structures, the concept plays the most important role in recovering these buildings for the city by refunctioning them. In re-functioning, what buildings represent is more important than what they serve. Since protecting an object means moving the message and image of the protected object to the future, every protection action and the method of protection will affect the message of the object. According to Saner (2010, p. 61), the fact that some industrial structures in our country have been made reusable with different functions is evidence to the existence and skill level of a certain crafting knowledge. However, when there are monumental scale constructions in question, reuse projects are limited to a few examples. As a result, the industrial heritage of the Atatürk Forest Farm has historical and symbolic values and it should be preserved. In this direction, it is necessary to identify the examples of industrial heritage, and then to produce alternatives for the protection and re-use of these assets.

3.2.2.3. Reforming Living Patterns

During the years when the Republic was founded, the urbanization practices were aimed at the creation, emphasis and development of public spaces in an environment shaped by a modern life style. The transformation process into a modern society and the creation of spaces of socialization revealed the important objectives of urbanization activities. In this direction, the Atatürk Forest Farm played an important role in providing public services in Ankara (Aydoğan, 2012, p.90). The farm offered a completely different social experience for the people of Ankara during the years it was founded. The necessary relation between the new regime and the citizens was provided by the transformation of the social life that the farm pioneered in realizing. The lifestyles of the citizens were modernized while their positions against the new character of their country were shaped through the Atatürk Forest Farm. Çavdar Sert (2017a, p.90) claims that the Atatürk Forest Farm, with its recreational facilities such as Marmara Restaurant, Beer Park, picnic areas, etc., offered experiences that could not be found in the city center for the citizens. The distinguishing feature of the Atatürk Forest Farm was the opportunity to experience the modern and natural life at the same time. The open green area of the farm was designed in harmony with the urban landscape of the city while offering open space activities that the city did not provide. The Karadeniz and Marmara Pools offered alternative social habits that the inhabitants had no chance to experience before. These pools turned into beaches in summer for Ankara, and helped to change people's living patterns by increasing social interaction.

Besides its recreational opportunities, the farm had a multilayered structure that transformed living patterns in different meanings. The most important of these were the developments in the sense of production. The farms where new and modern production techniques were taught and practiced, improved the living conditions of farmers and peasants in terms of production and education. That is, the farm was a model where recreational facilities were combined with production, and where

individuals could be active in educational and instructive activities. According to Kimyon and Serter (2015, p.50), it was not only an integration of the urban and the rural, but also an expression of social change, an ideology, and a place of modernization. Moreover, the farm has become the manifestation of the new society as a place of struggle, a new understanding of publicity and a place of common production. However, nowadays only picnic and sightseeing areas, restaurants and places of sale find recreational use in a small area of the farm. While the farm was an area where people could enjoy freely and benefit from green spaces, it has been destroyed in time in a number of ways. The farm has turned into an area closed to public use today. In addition, due to improper transportation policies, it has become impossible to access the farm surrounded by highway routes.

The Atatürk Forest Farm was an area belonging to the people, which was freely accessible for the public while suggesting new living patterns in its founding years. From here, the most important priority for the area to be able to reform the living patterns is its accessibility. In fact, all suggestions in earlier chapters for planning and re-functioning of the farm will begin to define a new way of life automatically. In order for the farm to create a living habit, it is necessary to organize a conservationist, and sustainable organization, which needs the direct participation of universities, professional chambers, civil society organizations, governments and the public. Later, by enhancing the limited recreation activities at the farm, it should be reunited with the Ankara people. In this respect, pools that have proved their effectiveness in terms of social development during the founding years of the farm can be re-activated. On the other hand, the zoo garden can be re-functioned in a way that it will strengthen the green system of the area and the city. The production and education activities, which created a social transformation environment during the founding years, should also be re-activated. On this basis, the society should shift from a consumption-based to a production-based lifestyle. Furthermore, employment should be created through the field of agricultural and industrial production, the public should be trained in these business areas, and students should benefit from university connections and farming again. Moreover, the farm should provide solutions to the problem of unemployment through agricultural and industrial production and the public should take trainings in

these business fields. By the cooperation between the universities and the farm, students should also benefit from the facilities of the farm for their education. Finally, the green belt property of the farm must be protected, constructions on this belt must be prevented, and a healthy natural environment for the public should be provided. However, in order for all these ideas to be realized, the public must actively take part in the farm again.

3.3. Forming a Citizen Inclusive Social Structure

Ankara and the Atatürk Forest Farm became a symbol of awareness, effort and success of the citizens during the early Republican era. In this period, the farm served as an agent of social and cultural transformation. Kaçar (2011, p. 176) expresses the role of the farm as follows:

With all the properties of the cultivation of barren lands, the education of young generations, the transformation of peasants to farmers, the transformation of inhabitants to citizens, and the demonstration of modern urban culture, the Forest Farm represented civilization, enlightenment, development, production and the rejection of colonial relationship since the beginning.

Nowadays, although the farm and Ankara are spatially close to each other, the possibilities for public use are reduced. According to Aycı (2017, p.191), the most important reason for this was the concept of conservation that was practiced without designing the changing relationship of the farm and Ankara. Another reason for the weakening of the farm's relationship with the city is that the public transport relationship has not been developed in accordance with the growing urban conditions, and as a result, the public use of the farm has weakened. The farm example shows that the way to establish a spatial relationship with the city on macro and micro scales is to bring the project together with the society because the farm is the collective memory space for Ankara in the 21st Century. The meaning and memories of the farm, which have left a mark in the cognitive maps of the society, are the main quality for it to acquire the sense of place. Relph (2006, p.120) expresses that "Places are not abstractions or concepts, but are directly experienced phenomena of the lived world and hence are full of meanings, with real objects, and with ongoing activities." As a

result, a citizen inclusive social structure needs to be formed in order for the farm to be able to create living patterns again.

According to Keskinok (2000, p.46), creating activities that bring people together at the farm will be more instructive. In the farm, environmental values need to be recreated with human effort and the resting and enjoyment need of the people must be ensured without destroying the nature. In this direction, a recreational area planning that does not encourage individuals to become consumers and does not alienate them from nature and production should be followed. Public spaces to be included in the daily life of the citizens must be allocated to public use within the farm again. The areas of the farm that are closed to the use of the public should be regained to the city, and new public spatial potentials should be involved in everyday life by being associated with the city. The introduction of new public spaces (walking areas, bicycle paths, etc.) apart from the collective memory areas that the farm has, will strengthen the public relation with the city. In addition, the farm also has the potential to become a mega form connecting the city's pedestrian movement to the city again with green areas. For this reason, the farm should invite the citizens in certain areas because it is insufficient to connect this large area to the city with only one or two train stops. (Aycı, 2017, p.192).

First, the farm should become an accessible area after the mentioned physical conditions have been improved. After this point, alternatives to be offered for the city and citizens in the farm are gaining importance. Incorporating the people into the farm again will be a challenging process because the people today perceive the farm only with its central region. Beginning with the reorganization of collective memory areas in this direction will at least attract the attention of a certain group of people. In addition to the areas in collective memory, the creation of new public spaces is also necessary. Since its founding period, the farm has become a common area of production, consumption and recreation. For this reason, a wide range of alternatives should be offered for different types of populations in order to include the public again in daily life at the farm. The most important thing here is that the people can actively take part in productive activities, not only in the consumption of the place.

Apart from the job opportunities to be established in the farm, the provision of areas where the people can do their own production will increase their participation because it will trigger the sense of ownership. On the other hand, the farm should be planned for mutual benefit with the city. For example, people working in the business sectors that are created in the field of production can also be accommodated in the farm area. Thus, the farm will not only live outside working hours and on weekends, but will also be an area where active life is constantly maintained. As a result, the farm can regain its activity in the years of its establishment with the increasing use of the public and the creation of a system in which the public is involved. The role of a management system in which the public is also involved is important in the creation and planning of this social structure. Thus, the public will regain their own property by playing an active role at the area, and the farm will become a place that produces new memories instead of being an urban void.

CHAPTER 4

CONCLUSION

The process of modernization in Turkey started with the proclamation of the Republic and the election of Ankara as the capital city. The consequent planning of Ankara as the capital of modern Turkey meant to produce a model city for the whole country. The construction of Ankara was an initiative to experience the social transformation, which was the aim of the modernization process. This initiative to build this modern city in the center of Anatolia also helped to establish a new cultural and social relationship between the urban and the rural. The Atatürk Forest Farm, one of the important modernization efforts of the new Republic, also developed in parallel to the construction of the capital in a modern way. The farm, which was founded in 1925 by Atatürk's individual initiative, is one of the most important examples of public entrepreneurship in the light of science and technology. Functioning as a school where new agricultural techniques were applied and taught, it defined the role of agricultural production in the economic organization of the city and suggested a new recreational area for the city. Thus, the Atatürk Forest Farm represented the spread of new practices offered by modernization to all fields of social life, and with the spatial practices it offered, it was also an important recreational model of urban living for individuals of the modern society.

In order to evaluate the future of the Atatürk Forest Farm, it is necessary to consider the position of the farm in its historical process. In this respect, the founding principles of the farm and the achievements of the farm in line with these principles are considerably important for its future development. For these reasons, this study aims to make an assessment depending on the establishment and later history of the farm, studying the farm in two main periods. The first is the early Republican period in which

the farm was planned and functioned in line with its founding principles, pioneered in agricultural and industrial production and reached the aims of creating a new society. The second is the period that begins with the transfer of the farm to the treasury. However, the significant effects of this period began after the 1950s. In this period, the farm has developed outside its establishment purposes of planning and function, has suffered land losses, and has become an idle space in the middle of the city where publicness has been destroyed.

Aiming to get a more consistent view about the future of the farm by evaluating its history, the fact that the farm was an important planning experience for Ankara should initially be taken into consideration. For this reason, planning as the most important factor in the development of the farm constitutes one line of examination for this study. On the other hand, this study also depends on the functional objectives of the farm during its foundation years. Although the establishment of the farm had many purposes, this study explains these aims around two main philosophies. The first of these was an agricultural production philosophy that applied modern agricultural techniques, and an industrial production philosophy based on agriculture. The second was to provide a modern living space for Ankara and thus to affect social transformation by producing new living patterns for its citizens. As a result, the analysis of this study is structured according to the evaluation of the farm's planning experiences and principles of function, examining their establishment in the early Republican years and the deviations from them in later decades. In the last part of the thesis, depending on the results of the historical analyses and surveying the exemplary contemporary professional and academic studies about the farm, the thesis defines the planning strategies and determine the design principles for its future.

In order to set the strategies for management and land-use planning of the farm, the clues could be found in its establishment that was initially affected by the first plan of Ankara, i.e. the Lörcher Plan, and mainly based on the Jansen Plan and Jansen-Egli cooperation. In later planning experiences, the farm was not given the required attention and described as only a protected area within the city. With the development of the city of Ankara towards the direction of the farm in the west, it was perceived as

an empty area where the land needs of the city could be met. In addition to the lack of a comprehensive planning policy for the use of the farmland, the variability of management planning also negatively influenced the development of the farm. The continuous change of the policymakers of the farm and the weakness of the farm's own management mechanism hindered the development of the area. Especially after 2006, interventions have been accelerated in the farm, which is under the control of the Metropolitan Municipality. The farm is an asset that Atatürk donated to the people with the purpose of public use. However, the farm today is used for projects that are not accessible and not allowed for public use. In fact, with the recent interventions, some parts of the farm have transformed into areas where people can use only by paying for it.

Despite these negative developments, the Atatürk Forest Farm still has an important potential for the city. The important factor for the re-planning of the farm for the benefit of the city is a comprehensive administration organization. A multidisciplinary approach of administration should be established with a number of different participants. At this point, the farm should not be transformed into a battleground between the state and the citizens. Instead, it should turn into an area to be used according to governmental policies in the direction of the city's needs, as well as into a field for public use in the direction of its establishment objectives. This management system should be composed of representatives from local and central administrations, universities, professional chambers, non-governmental organizations and citizens. After that, the Atatürk Forest Farm Conservation Contract should be signed with the aim of mutual benefit between the city, the people and the state because the lack of a comprehensive protection plan has always made the farm an unattended area. It is impossible to ignore the interventions that have been made on the farm so far and to regain the lost areas as farmlands. Instead, illegally owned farmland must initially be identified and allocated for urban uses in accordance with the Contract. Then, other interventions should be evaluated considering a mutually beneficial way and, if necessary, transformations for functions of existing structures should be provided.

The most important problem of the area is that it has become inaccessible with the application of wrong planning principles. The public use of the area, which is surrounded by boulevards, has been destroyed. The construction of transportation lines under the ground would be a very simple solution for increasing the public use. However, the field conditions should be considered when planning these transportation lines. Instead of constructing the shortest route between two points, the most appropriate routes should be determined after detailed field analysis. In the simplest form, these studies can be started by examining the topographical properties of the area. The most important requirement in terms of planning is to make the area accessible. While solving transportation problems, on the other hand, the planning of the area should be done in such a way that people from all parts of the city will have the same possibilities of access. Today, the farm is located in the center of Ankara. It is neighboring to many parts of the city with this potential. The farm should be divided into zones and each zone should offer the same possibilities for the people within itself. However, zoning processes without comprehensive analyses will disrupt the integrity of the site. Today, irrelevant adjacency conditions have been created as a result of wrong planning decisions within the farm area. In the same parcel, a monumental tomb and a wedding organization building can be found next to each other. Thus, the integrity of the land is disrupted by functions. For this reason, a successful zoning and subsequent planning can be made by overlapping the data to be obtained as a result of rational analyzes.

In addition, the people should be able to obtain the same possibilities in the farm area close to them, rather than having to reach the other side of the city. In this direction, it is necessary to increase the number of entry points of the farm's periphery to ensure that it is 'locally accessible'. On the other hand, the farm has the air corridor feature for Ankara with its position in the city. The protection of this area as a green corridor in the planning initiative is essential for a healthy urban life. This area should not be allowed to constructions, and recreational use should be allowed around the Ankara Stream. Finally, lands should be provided for research and development units of universities on the farm, residential areas should be designed for the people working

on the farm, and planning strategies should thus be determined to create a farm where an active life continues every day.

The design principles for future functions of the farm, on the other hand, should be determined with reference to its establishment purposes. The Atatürk Forest Farm achieved great success in agriculture and played a pioneering role both in meeting the healthy and natural food needs of the people of Ankara and contributing to the social life of the city. The farm, which combined agricultural and industrial production with science and technology, played an active role in the modernization of the society with the recreational activities that it offered. Following the donation of the farm to the treasury, especially starting from the 1950s to today, the farm has undergone significant changes and witnessed losses in terms of not only its physical structure but also its functions. It is now unable to carry out the activities identified within the scope of its establishment purposes. In particular, with the changing agriculture policies in the country and the land losses of the farm, agricultural production has been abandoned in the farmland.

Nonetheless, the Atatürk Forest Farm still has the potential to be active again in the context of urban agriculture. In this respect, the farm should restart agricultural and industrial production activities. The concept of production has to become a basic policy of the country and the people should be conscious and encouraged in this matter. The capacity of the Atatürk Forest Farm in terms of agricultural and industrial production was very important in its times of establishment. This capacity should be increased again in contemporary conditions to contribute to the development of national economy. The industrial activities in the farm should be re-activated, and the products obtained by agricultural production should be processed in the farm's own enterprises again. In this direction, an agricultural and industrial policy should be established in which the participation of the people is ensured. Agricultural areas where people can participate in production at urban scale should be created. In order to provide this, the society's consumption-oriented lifestyle should be re-focused on production. In this direction, a multidisciplinary management approach is needed. With the participation of related departments of universities, the farmland should be

made suitable again for agricultural production. The people should be encouraged to work in the business lines to be created there, and the areas where workers are to be accommodated should be provided to them under appropriate conditions. In addition, investors should especially be encouraged to invest in agricultural production by the state's provision of economic convenience to them. With the help of universities, the public should be educated about agricultural production. Suitable lands should be provided at affordable prices for the people who will participate in agricultural production as leisure time activity. The income from this can also be used for agricultural and industrial activities. In this way, an integrative production policy in which the citizens take active role will be achieved.

On the other hand, while the farm becomes active again in agricultural and industrial production, the destroyed urban ecological values of the farm must also be restored. For this, planting studies should be started, plant species suitable for growing on the farm should be researched, zoo garden function should be restored, and flora and fauna value of the farm should be recovered. These values need to be recovered for a healthy urban life. A botanical garden should be created where the population can see new species. These species in this garden should be provided to the people upon request. Thus, this ecology movement, which is started through the farm, can be spread to the city through the people even if it is in the garden scale.

While revitalizing industrial and agricultural production at the farm by promoting urban agriculture and protecting urban ecological values, the existing historical industrial structures in the farm must be conserved as they form significant examples of the country's industrial heritage. These buildings, which witnessed the early period of the industrial activity of the Republic, can be transformed with educational purposes to serve the citizens again.

Besides the site of agricultural and industrial production, the Atatürk Forest Farm was also a place where modern life was experienced with the social facilities provided. It became an area where social transformation was achieved with the alternative living patterns that people had not experienced before. In addition, the farm, which allowed

the people to share both production and leisure time activities, provided a strong cohesion. Social activities offered by the farm that allowed individuals to confront in their daily lives were a strong public initiative against social discrimination. However, with the interventions made in its history, the farm's social facilities are now restricted and it is damaged in terms of public use. Today, the Atatürk Forest Farm is known as a small area where only a few restaurants are located. The collective memory of the society has been erased, and the social possibilities have been destroyed.

In order to reform the living patterns in the direction of its founding purposes, the consciousness about the Atatürk Forest Farm must initially be strengthened in people's minds. The public should know the area completely, and they should make demands on this area. In order to regain the farm area, a citizen inclusive social structure is needed to be formed. It is necessary to make the farm area easily accessible in order to increase public participation. Today, the people live in a disconnected situation and the awareness of being a society is gradually weakening. In order to regain this awareness, it is necessary to increase social sharing possibilities of the society. In order to achieve this goal, the physical obstacles must initially be removed and the public should be able to access the farm easily. Then, the uses should be created to improve the sense of ownership of the people on the farm. The public should be actively involved in the farm rather than becoming passive consumers. On the other hand, a new recreation plan should be made in line with the social activities provided by the farm during its establishment, because during the establishment of the farm, these social activities proved to be successful in affecting the life of the society. Finally, the farm should not turn into a city park that is only visited on weekends. An active life should continue in the farm every day. In this context, the working and housing units should be considered together. Accommodation needs of people working on the farm can also be provided from the farmlands. These people who contribute to the farm in daily production will provide the continuation of the life on the farm in their time after work. In addition, with research and development units of universities, the farm will become an area where students are constantly looking for courses and internships. The Atatürk Forest Farm has successfully achieved the goals of creating the space for a

new society in the years when it was founded. It should thus be re-planned in line with these founding principles and initiate a new social transformation process.

The Atatürk Forest Farm was a public initiative, which is one of the important cases in Turkey in terms of the development of production and social development. Despite the deviations in later periods from its founding purposes, the farm still has an unprecedented land size and has a great potential to be better used in the future. In this direction, this study proposes the design principles for the future of the farm by synthesizing the strategies from the historical process and the strategies proposed in the current studies. Depending on the examination of the farm's history and the contemporary studies about it, this thesis argues that people could actively be involved in the Atatürk Forest Farm again if it is re-planned and re-functioned according to its founding purposes for the mutual benefit of the state, and the city and its citizens.

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