Adapting a Reference to Different Narratives

The Garden City, Ankara, and Contemporaneity

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Introduction

The first half of the twentieth century marked a historical threshold of critical transformations in both architectural and Turkish history, particularly regarding the construction of a new society and its citizens. The garden city movement, first introduced by Ebenezer Howard in his 1898 book *Tomorrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform*, advanced theoretical and spatial explorations aimed at uniting city and countryside and reorganizing European society according to new settlement patterns in architecture and urbanism. Thirty years after these discussions began in England and spread across Europe, the garden city concept emerged in Turkey as an important reference when German architects were invited to plan Ankara, which became the focal point of the Republic of Turkey's ideological and spatial modernization initiatives. However, the use of this reference as a tool for modernization created significant challenges for Ankara and Turkey, which had not undergone the same social and urban processes as England and Germany.

This study examines the transformation of the garden city concept as it was employed in the ideological, social, and spatial construction of the Republic of Turkey and Ankara. This article extends the discussion initiated by Esra Akcan's Architecture in Translation by focusing on the ideological and spatial reinterpretations of the Garden City model in Ankara. It reveals the

tension between reference[1] and contemporaneity by analyzing the problems encountered owing to social, cultural, and political differences when transforming a universal reference into a regional one. In this study, the term reference denotes a framework of reinterpretation through which a model or idea is recontextualized within distinct ideological and spatial settings. I focus on three key examples that aimed to create a contemporary society in Ankara: the city's early urban planning strategies, the Bahçelievler housing settlement, and the Atatürk Forest Farm projects, each developed within the framework of the garden city concept. These examples, designed by German architects interpreting Ebenezer Howard's ideas, evolved into new locally-specific versions that retained traces of the original concept while developing under the influence of their own historical conditions. By contrasting each project's social aims, processes, components, and methods with the core ideas of the garden city concept, I hope to understand the conceptual shifts experienced by the idea of the garden city when brought to Ankara.

This study is organized into three sections. First, it explores the origins and development of the garden city concept in England and Germany. Second, it examines the socio-spatial factors that accelerated Ankara's rise to capital status after the Republic of Turkey was established. Third, it analyzes the examples in Ankara within the garden city framework through three different perspectives: urban planning, residential area, and recreational farming area.

The Garden City (England and Germany)

Despite having no professional experience or formal training in the field, Ebenezer Howard left an indelible mark on urban planning. Howard left school at fifteen and began working as a clerk. At twenty-one, he traveled to Nebraska, where he initially attempted farming.[2] However, his experiences working as a court reporter and newspaper stenographer in Chicago provi-

1 In this study, the term 'reference' denotes a framework of reinterpretation through which a model or idea is recontextualized within distinct ideological and spatial settings.

2 See Robert Beevers, The Garden City Utopia: A Critical Biography of Ebenezer Howard (London: Macmillan, 1988), 5.

ded new insights that inspired him to return to England in 1876 and pursue a different career path. These diverse experiences, and his unconventional background, provided the foundation for his work in urban planning and architecture, culminating in his groundbreaking garden city concept. Howard's seminal work *Tomorrow: The Peaceful Path to Real Land Reform* was first published in 1898 and revised in 1902 under the title *Garden Cities of Tomorrow*, preserving the essential elements of his proposal. In this text, Howard addressed social and economic issues such as the "land question"—including rural depopulation and urban overcrowding in the late nineteenth century—and outlined his vision for a perfect society.[3]

A diverse array of thinkers and concepts influenced Ebenezer Howard's innovative vision of garden cities.[4] Among these, Edward Bellamy's novel *Looking Backward* (1888) offered a compelling portrayal of a society that had evolved into a socialist utopia, focusing on ideals of equality, nationalized industry, and reduced working hours. Howard was also influenced by utopian socialists like Charles Fourier and Robert Owen, who promoted collective ownership and cooperation as an alternative to prevailing socioeconomic systems. Howard's idea of shared land use in garden cities aligned with Thomas Spence's call for nationalizing land under collective municipal ownership, first expressed in a 1775 lecture to the Philosophical Society of Newcastle-on-Tyne and later published as *Property in Land Every One's Right*. Furthermore, Edward Gibbon Wakefield's identification of urban overpopulation as the primary cause of socioeconomic problems—such as proletarian poverty and unhealthy living conditions—and his proposal for establishing overseas colonies reinforced Howard's concerns about urban congestion and the need for alternate settlement patterns. Finally, James Silk Buckingham's idea of the "model town," introduced in *National Evils and Practical Remedies* (1849), provided Howard with insights into planned settlements.[5] The concentric circular arrangement of Howard's garden city is very similar to the concentric square layout of the model town. While all these ideas were refe-

3 Jean-Yves Tizot, "Ebenezer Howard's Garden City Idea and the Ideology of Industrialism," in Cahiers victoriens et édouardiens, no. 87 (Spring 2018), https://journals.openedition.org/cve/3605.

4 Lewis Mumford, "The Garden City Idea and Modern Planning," introductory essay to Ebenezer Howard, Garden Cities of To-Morrow (London: Routledge, 2007), 29–30.

5 Tizot, "Ebenezer Howard's Garden City Idea."

rences for Howard's garden city concept, his work itself became a perennial reference for the garden city movement, which sought solutions to contemporary problems in England.

The Garden City in England

Howard developed his ideas in response to the challenges that nineteenth-century urbanization had created in London and other urban centers, where growing industrialization placed tremendous strain on labor markets. Large-scale rural-to-urban migration, particularly to London, had exacerbated these problems and created an unsustainable situation. Howard suggested a straightforward solution: reintegrating people into the countryside. His vision included a balanced population distribution between rural and urban areas—creating an ideal living environment that harmoniously combined the benefits of both—and addressing the economic and social issues resulting from excessive urbanization.[6] Howard's garden cities were ultimately intended to bridge the divide between rural and urban areas.

Howard explained his ideas with the visual aid of the "Three Magnets" diagram (Fig. 73). The diagram illustrated a third option beyond the limitations of town and country alone—one that combined the benefits of active urban life with the beauty and pleasure of the countryside.[7] Comparing a city to a magnet and its citizens to pins, he argued that planner should identify the elements that make urban areas alluring and build places that create stronger magnets to attract people back to rural areas. Howard's carefully planned and illustrated garden city scheme, described in *Garden Cities of To-morrow*, began with purchasing a large parcel of land measuring 24,000 acres. This circular project area was divided into six zones by boulevards radiating outward from the center (Fig. 74). Notable public buildings surrounded the central circular garden, including the municipal building, concert and conference hall, theater, library, museum, gallery, and hospital. The "Crystal Palace," described as a circular glass structure for diverse commercial activities, also served as a winter garden. Along the outer ring, factories, warehouses, dairy farms, and markets were arranged alongside the circular

6 Ruşen Keleş, "Sunuş," in Yarının Bahçe Kentleri (Istanbul: Daimon Yayınları, 2019), 8–9.

7 Howard, Garden Cities of To-morrow, 45–47.

railway that encircled the entire city. Through this railway system, residents could sell their goods within or beyond the city limits, creating new market opportunities for various professions and farmers while fostering a community with enhanced purchasing power and regular employment in healthier environments.[8] In his book, Howard suggested a comprehensive model encompassing every aspect from functional distribution and spatial utilization to economic planning to development process.

Five years after the book's publication, in 1903, the Garden City Pioneer Company was established to realize the first Garden City. After thoroughly analyzing several locations, the company bought 3,818 acres of land near Letchworth to begin its mission. The firm assigned Raymond Unwin and Barry Parker, architects and urban planners, the task of developing Letchworth's town center. The project's primary objectives were to establish a development area featuring improved and affordable housing, industrial zones to increase job opportunities, and parks and green open areas for recreational purposes. Thus, the first garden city was created.

The Garden City in Germany

The discourse and initiatives stemming from Ebenezer Howard's work transcended both his efforts and England's borders. Tenements in Germany, known as *Mietskaserne*—collective accommodation with units arranged on either side of a central corridor—became the subject of criticism towards the end of the nineteenth century for their uncontrolled urban sprawl, narrow courtyards without light and air, lack of privacy, and unhealthy living conditions. In this context, Howard's garden city model became a significant source of inspiration for German housing complexes. The German Garden City Association (DGG; *Deutsche Gartenstadt-Gesellschaft*), founded in Berlin in 1902, emerged in response to Germany's unhealthy and high-density living conditions. Its primary goals were to reestablish inhabitants' connection with nature, promote social reform and land-use policies through garden city principles, and decentralize industry to distribute economic activity

8 Ibid.

across the region.[9] Consequently, garden city concepts and ideas to the garden city were quickly adopted in Germany.

The *Deutsche Gartenstadt-Gesellschaft* expressed ideas that closely resembled those of Howard. Like Howard's concept, the garden city was portrayed in DGG publications as a settlement constructed on low-cost, communally owned land that provided advantageous production conditions for industry and crafts, with a substantial portion of the land reserved for green spaces and agriculture. Like Howard, the DGG's primary objective was establishing independent, self-sufficient small towns that were not economically dependent on the city. Nevertheless, with the exception of Dresden Hellerau, German garden cities developed more as settlements addressing the housing needs of larger cities than as autonomous communities. Some garden city experiments in Germany failed to meet all the requirements for agricultural and industrial components owing to local financial and infrastructural conditions.

Aware of the challenges inherent in these experiments, Hans and Bernhard Kampffmeyer developed different approaches and definitions that catered to varying needs. First of all, Bernhard Kampffmeyer outlined six requirements for a settlement to be classified as a garden city: the land must be owned by the public; the focus should be on garden-related activities; the settlement must be planned and controlled; the production area must be sufficiently developed to support urban self-sufficiency; industry must be distributed throughout the country; and the city must be encircled by agricultural areas.[10] Subsequently, he clarified the differences between German garden cities and Howard's concept of the garden city, sparking discussions within the DGG regarding the definition of various new terms such as *Gartenvorstad*t (garden suburb), *Gartensiedlung* (garden settlement), and *Gartendorf* (garden village). Hans Kampffmeyer, in distinguishing the garden city from the *Gartenvorstadt*, emphasized the importance of political and economic self-sufficiency as well as agricultural land on the periphery. *Gartenvorstadt* was defined by Emil Behnisch, writing in the journal *Gartenstadt* in 1913,

9 J. Bosch Abarca, "The Periphery of the German City: From the Garden City to the Modern Siedlung," in VLC arquitectura: Research Journal 7, no. 1 (2020), 1–32, 16.

10 Teresa Harris, The German Garden City Movement: Architecture, Politics and Urban Transformation, 1902–1931 (PhD diss., Columbia University, 2012), 119.

as a settlement supporting a city of moderate size, and the *Gartendorf* as a miniature garden city.[11]

The appearance of these examples in Germany, which respond to different requirements from those in England, has allowed new interpretations of garden cities to arise that diverge from Howard's original idea. The emergence of new terminologies and interpretations has also paved the way for reconsidering the garden city in terms of the social and economic conditions within Ankara's urban context.

Ankara

Social and Spatial Construction of the Republic of Turkey

After the proclamation of the Republic in Turkey, the gap between existing conditions and the society people desired was enormous. For this reason, building a nation on the remnants of the Ottoman Empire really did mean pursuing a utopian vision.[12] Ankara, designated as the new capital, became the focal point for creating new social spaces and constructing new ideologies. The Republic pursued two spatial strategies: transforming the country into a nation-state and positioning cities as bastions of modernity.[13] Besides declaring Ankara the capital, the first strategy also involved developing railway networks, establishing industries in small cities, and disseminating modern values throughout Anatolia via community centers (*halk evleri*—people's houses).

Ankara, planned by Hermann Jansen and influenced by Ebenezer Howard's garden city and Camillo Sitte's "picturesque" approach, was considered a model for all cities seeking to become contemporary living spaces. In addition, rural areas and villages across a large part of the country gained

11 Esra Akcan, Çeviride Modern olan: Şehir ve Konutta Türk-Alman İlişkileri (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2009), 59.

12 Joel S. Migdal, "Finding the Meeting Ground of Fact and Fiction: Some Reflections on Turkish Modernization," in Rethinking Modernity and National Identity in Turkey, ed. Sibel Bozdoğan and Reşat Kasaba (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1997), 252–59, 258.

13 İlhan Tekeli, Tasarım Mimarlık ve Mimarlar (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2011), 221.

importance as part of modernization strategies to ensure national integration and disseminate the ideals of the Republic. Raising awareness and educating the people through the *halk evleri* was an important part of the country's development plans. The endeavor to establish a social and spatial balance between rural and urban areas also brought ideal village projects and plans to the forefront. A notable example among these projects is the "Ideal Republic Village" (1937), the idea for which is attributed to Kazım Dirik, despite the architect remaining unidentified (Fig. 75). Not only did it feature a circular plan, but its spatial organization also bore similarities to Howard's garden city.[14] The plan, which comprised of circular zones, featured a square in its center, public buildings like schools, village halls, cooperatives, and hotels in the first circle, residences in the second circle, and expansive facilities like nurseries, guilds, sports fields, and factories in the outermost circle. References to the garden city were certainly not confined to this project. Throughout Ankara's transformation into the capital, the garden city concept remained relevant across various spaces and scales.

The Construction of Ankara and the Realization of an Urban Utopia

The Republican leadership pursued an ambitious modernization agenda: catching up with the West through Enlightenment ideals, joining capitalist development and industrialization, building a nation-state with democratic institutions, and creating an educated citizenry.[15] Ankara's transformation into a modern capital became the key vehicle for achieving these cultural, economic, and political goals. As soon as it was declared the capital, Ankara quickly began rapid urban development aimed at making it the Republic's showcase city. According to Sibel Bozdoğan, the founders of the Republic saw Ankara as a *tabula rasa* where they could realize their grand ideals—and endeavored to reshape it accordingly.[16] Unlike Istanbul, which symbolized

14 Zeynep Eres, Türkiye'de Planlı Kırsal Yerleşmelerin Tarihsel Gelişimi ve Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Planlı Kırsal Mimarisinin Korunması Sorunu (PhD diss., İstanbul Teknik Üniversitesi, 2008), 143.

15 İlhan Tekeli, "Türkiye'de Cumhuriyet Döneminde Kentsel Gelişme ve Kent Planlaması," in 75 Yılda Değişen Kent ve Mimarlık, ed. Yıldız Sey (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, 1998), 1–24, 1

16 Sibel Bozdoğan, Modernism and Nation Building: Turkish Architectural Culture in the Early Republic (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2001), 68.

the Ottoman past, Ankara would represent the future—modern, progressive, and thoroughly national. This new capital would demonstrate the possibilities of Republican reform and serve as a reference city for the entire nation. Furthermore, the construction of Ankara would serve as an ideological tool for social transformation, with its social spaces becoming vehicles for these changes. Thus, the first phase of a modernization project initially focused on the capital but intended to encompass the entire nation was launched through nation-building and a modern city in Ankara.

Specific projects undertaken in Ankara—such as the Bahçelievler housing settlement and the Atatürk Forest Farm—were all part of this broader transformation, aimed at the construction not just of a modern city, but of modern citizens. Like the Ankara plan itself, these projects also bore traces of Enlightenment ideals, the ideas of their own era, and the garden city model.

Examples

The Garden City and the Planning of Ankara

The first planning efforts to create Ankara as an ideal city began in late 1923 after it was declared the capital. Carl Christoph Lörcher's report was delivered to the Şehremaneti (municipal administration) in May 1924. Lörcher was also the first to reference the garden city in these documents: He tried to combine modern urban planning principles with symbolic meaning and introduced elements of the garden city concept that would later be implemented in both Ankara and the Bahçelievler plans prepared by Hermann Jansen.[17] The planning process for Ankara, initiated by Lörcher and continued by Jansen, spanned several years owing to social, political, and economic pressures (Fig. 76 and Fig. 77). Despite numerous revisions during this period, the garden city concept endured and influenced the design of various areas throughout the overall plan.

According to Lörcher's initial plan, Ankara was to feature two-story, low-density row houses, with each home having a large backyard adorned with

17 Ali Cengizkan, "Ankara 1924 Lörcher Planı Raporu," in Belleten 67, no. 248 (2003), 153–92, https://doi.org/10.37879/belleten.2003.153, 157.

ample greenery, emphasizing harmonious living alongside nature. However, Lörcher's most controversial decision was planning Ankara for a population of only 150,000 to 200,000 people. This density proved far too low for the rapidly growing population. In combination with demands for more green spaces and the high cost of restoring Ankara Castle, this led to the plan's abandonment before its full implementation. The impact of Lörcher's plan on Ankara was thus fleeting, prompting the search for a new approach.

Three experienced urban planners—Hermann Jansen, Leon Jausseley, and Josef Brix—were invited to Ankara by the municipality to prepare preliminary reports for the city's new planning competition. Hermann Jansen won the competition in 1928 and began the planning process. He maintained the garden city characteristics that Lörcher had introduced, emphasizing green spaces and garden houses. Like his fellow German Lörcher, Jansen was familiar with the garden city concept and how it had been developed in Germany. Although Jansen redesigned the city for a denser population, he remained as faithful as possible to Lörcher's plan. Defending his design, Jansen stated that it reconciled two fundamental needs of modern life: proximity to nature and the benefits of urban living— the "rural" and "urban". For Jansen, Ankara represented the third magnet in Howard's theory.[18] Like the Republic's ideological goal of uniting the countryside and the city, the new capital would act as a magnet, combing the best features of both.

Nonetheless, Howard's garden city model and Ankara diverged in fundamental ways. First of all, Ankara symbolized an escape from Istanbul, while Howard's garden city represented an escape from industrial cities generally. The aim was to relocate the new administrative and symbolic center of the Republic away from Istanbul, not to solve the problems of industrialization and urban crowding that had motivated Howard. The decision to embody the new nation-state's revolution in a new city stemmed from political rather than social reform motives—unlike Howard's response to the crowded and unhealthy living conditions caused by unplanned urbanization and industrialization. Unlike Howard's residents, who organized cooperatively, Ankara's development was government-funded and directed.[19] Also un-

18 Esra Akcan, Architecture in Translation: Germany, Turkey, and the Modern House (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2012), 35.

19 Esra Akcan, Çeviride Modern olan: Şehir ve Konutta Türk-Alman İlişkileri (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2009), 70.

like Howard, Jansen planned agricultural zones on the periphery of the city as recreational rather than productive areas, and he organized housing by social class, following German examples. This was, therefore, an ideal city plan designed to eliminate future problems for a society still completing its industrialization and urbanization, rather than one responding to existing urban crisis, as in Howard's case.

Ankara thus represents the second transformation of the garden city concept, whose meaning had already changed during the transition from England to Germany, and then again from Germany to Turkey. Despite deviating significantly from the original concept, Turkey's founding leaders were eager to incorporate it into their designs to serve the ideology and goals of the new republic. The concept was embraced insofar as it supported the Republic's founding aims: promoting social development, providing a model for other cities in Anatolia, fostering both rural and urban development, and creating educated citizens who would become agents of social change. The main goal was to shape social life through the planned development of the capital and the construction of a modern physical environment, thereby achieving the social transformation needed to establish the Republic's reforms.[20] In this way, the concept of the garden city was transformed into a locally-specific version, shaped by its own time and conditions and serving as a reference for modernization in Ankara's ideological, social, and spatial construction.

The Garden City as a Residential Area

The Bahçelievler Housing Cooperative was an exemplary implementation of garden city principles, distinguished from other housing projects of its time by its focus on providing mass housing for Ankara's bureaucratic class away from the city center. Housing became an urgent need after the declaration of Ankara as the capital, owing to the city's rapid population growth, which affected all citizens, but especially civil servants. Following the economic crisis of the 1930s, this situation became even more concerning. As urban land speculation emerged, the state encouraged cooperatives as a rapid and

20 H. Çağatay Keskinok, Irmak Yavuz Özgür, and H. Eren Efeoğlu, Jansen ve Ankara: Planlar-Yazışmalar (Ankara: Koç Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2023), 2.

economical solution. Just as the garden city concept had influenced various German housing projects, it continued to shape the Bahçelievler project through both the cooperative model and Hermann Jansen's influence as designer of Ankara's master plan.

Nevertheless, implementing the garden city idea in the housing sector required new justifications within a society that had not completed its industrialization process.[21] One justification concerned scale: The urban scale has been reduced to the neighborhood scale, following German examples. Given Ankara's size, creating a new garden city connected to the city center was nearly impossible. Another issue involved differences in social life. Various publications recommended detached homes with gardens over apartments, citing the loss of privacy in apartments and the disruption of the traditional lifestyles. The cooperative concept, chosen as a solution, was itself an institution emerging within industrial society, similar to the garden city. While cooperatives typically served as organizational forms where weaker segments of society (the low- and middle-income working class) attempted to overcome difficulties with their own resources, Bahçelievler was an initiative organized by the relatively well-situated upper classes. However, all these justifications, not based on reactions developed through lived experience or a strong desire for a new lifestyle, hindered the adoption of this housing and settlement typology, leading to significant future problems for the settlement.

Before encountering these issues, the construction process of Bahçelievler began in 1935 with Jansen's initial sketch of 300 houses (Fig. 78). The land plan was subsequently modified in two stages—first by Jansen, then by a local architect—to accommodate participants' demands. Following these revisions, the project reached its final form in 1936, with single and twin houses positioned on the land's periphery and row houses in the inner sections (Fig. 79 and Fig. 80). Communal facilities including schools, markets, tennis courts, swimming pools, playgrounds, and a casino were integrated in the central area to serve all residents.

Examination of the process reveals that homeowners' demands were unusually luxurious compared to cooperative housing designs in Europe. These demands were closely associated with the participants' strong societal

21 İlhan Tekeli and Selim İlkin, Bahçeli Evlerin Öyküsü: Bir Batı Kurumunun Yeniden Yorumlanması (Ankara: Kent-Koop Yayınları, 1984), 127–135.

position and upper-class sensibilities. These factors generated demands exceeding the cooperative's fundamental needs. The cooperative organization in Ankara, originally intended to produce social housing for the low-income population following European practices, thus transformed into a civil servant cooperative featuring luxury housing and facilitating investment property acquisition.[22] When population growth in the 1950s prompted authorities to raise the regional height limit to five stories, homeowners seeking profit from rising property values accelerated the process of converting their houses into apartments. Bahçelievler homeowners' willingness to abandon the social and practical features of their homes for financial gain reflected their failure to embrace the significance of these aspects. Consequently, the Bahçelievler project reached the end of its lifespan after three decades. Owing to these socio-political challenges, the idea of creating residential areas based on the garden city concept—where each house has its own garden and common areas serve the entire community, as Jansen had exemplified in Germany—faced difficulties establishing a local manifestation. Although this process ultimately replaced the area with high-rise residential buildings, it provided valuable lessons about the obstacles encountered when adapting a supposedly universal reference to local contexts.

The Garden City as a Recreational or Farming Area

As part of Ankara's significant urban development initiatives, Atatürk established the Atatürk Forest Farm (originally named *Gazi Orman Çiftliği*) on May 5, 1925, spanning approximately 20,000 acres. The primary aim of the project was to foster collective intelligence by educating agricultural laborers and cooperatives according to Republican ideology while enhancing productivity through science and technology. Planned development of the farm began in 1934 with Swiss architect Ernst Egli, a central figure in shaping Ankara's architectural identity in the early days of the Republic through the design and realization of significant public buildings. This was followed by Hermann Jansen's more comprehensive planning from 1936. Modern ar-

22 Ömür Mumcu Uçar, Sınır Kavramına Mekansal Bir Yaklaşım: Ankara Bahçelievler Yerleşiminde Sınırlara Bağlı Bir Analiz (PhD diss., İstanbul Teknik Üniversitesi, 2005), 80.

rangements in housing, agriculture, and production were introduced to the Atatürk Forest Farm primarily through Egli and Jansen's plans.

Examining the settlement plan reveals that the southern end of the settlement axis featured the *Kuleli Köşk*, a towered pavilion built in 1926 that was described in the publication *Mustafa Kemal Paşa Hazretleri'nin Ankara Çiftlikleri* as a farm administration building flanked by two residences for senior staff.[23] It was demolished shortly thereafter, while the northern end housed the Gazi Train Station, which connected the area to the city. Employee and worker dwellings were positioned on both sides of the east–west axis, delineated by the elementary school's main gate in the east and the planned main gate of the Weekend Hotel in the west. This planning reflected Jansen's focus on two main objectives: first, reorganizing social activities in and around the Beer Factory to align with vehicular and pedestrian pathways and create public spaces (Fig. 81);[24] and second, enhancing existing worker and employee dwellings in quantity and quality to create communal living areas (Fig. 82). The positioning of the two main axes and the arrangement of their units were shaped by these two fundamental objectives.

The first axis, extending from north to south, accommodated public spaces including terraces, restaurants, cafes, a plaza for winter ice skating, an amusement park, a concert hall, and an open-air cinema. The second axis, extending from east to west, featured housing for workers, employees, and their families. This residential area was intended as more than mere housing—it was designed as a commune for agricultural laborers and their families who united behind shared goals and worked together to meet social responsibilities. Consequently, facilities supporting social life, including schools for workers' children and training spaces, were integarted into this area.

Jansen approached the Atatürk Forest Farm Project as a complex addressing residential, production, and recreational needs. Given Jansen's conception of his Ankara plan as a modern garden city, Atatürk Forest Farm represented a small-scale embodiment of this ideal, with its comprehensive functions, planning, and built environment. The principles Jansen arti-

23 Leyla Alpagut, "Marmara Köşkü: Atatürk için Modern Çiftlik Evi," in ODTÜ Mimarlık Fakültesi Dergisi 29, no. 1 (2012), 69-94, 72.

24 Leyla Alpagut, "Hermann Jansen için Ankara'da yeni bir görev: 'Gazi Orman Çiftliği' planlaması," in Ankara Araştırmaları Dergisi 5, no. 1 (2017), 1–26, 18–19.

culated in his 1936 notes on Ankara—including aspirations for modernity, responsibility for youth and public welfare, and the implementation of contemporary technology—also characterized Atatürk Forest Farm.[25] The farm evolved into a symbolic complex where the Republic's progressive ideals became visible and practical, extending beyond merely creating an integrated rural-urban social space for Ankara residents. Atatürk Forest Farm aimed to transform existing feudal structures through several mechanisms: integrating production with consumption, linking education with employment opportunities, developing agricultural production, and continuing research to support agricultural enhancement.[26] It thus functioned as a collective production and recreation space for the dissemination and transformation of ideology, embodying social change and new public life. The farm became a significant example of how new production methods and urban practices converged to create a new societal narrative. Consequently, Atatürk Forest Farm maintained value both as an innovative application of garden city principles and as a component of the nation's modernization movement.

Conclusion

The construction of Ankara served as the focal point of the Republic of Turkey's ideological and spatial modernization initiatives. However, using the garden city as a modernization tool revealed significant distinctions between Turkey and the pioneering garden city examples in Germany and England. I examined this via the examples of Ankara's urban planning process, the Bahçelievler Housing Settlement, and the Atatürk Forest Farm projects—reference spaces developed within the garden city framework.

Let us consider two significant points at the conclusion of this study. Firstly, it is imperative to clarify the reasons for selecting the garden city as a modernization tool. These include: the quest for an approach that would unite and advance society by combining rural and urban areas in response to modernization demands; the desire to choose a relatively recent urban plan-

25 Ibid.

26 H. Çağatay Keskinok, "Bir Özgürleşme Tasarısı Olarak AOÇ," in Bir Çağdaşlaşma Öyküsü: Cumhuriyet Devriminin Büyük Eseri Atatürk Orman Çiftliği (Ankara: Koleksiyoncular Derneği, 2005), 70–90.

ning concept appropriate to the historical period; the aspiration to create Ankara as a spatial magnet that would attract people by embodying garden city principles; and the concern, especially among German architects, given their extensive experience, with preventing potential problems that a non-industrialized country might face during industrialization.

The second crucial point concerns why Ankara's garden city examples differ from others. These projects transformed into new local versions of the garden city that bear traces of the original concept but developed under their own historical conditions. They hence diverged from European garden city examples and acquired new meanings. This divergence stems from Turkey's incomplete industrialization and lack of clearly defined social classes—the newly established republic had not yet confronted the social and spatial problems present in Europe. Unlike its predecessors, the primary aim in the construction of Ankara was to design a capital city that would serve as a reference for other cities in a country requiring social, cultural, and economic development across all regions and segments. While England's Letchworth addressed industrial overcrowding and Germany's garden cities provided worker housing, Turkey's applications—Ankara's master plan, the Bahçelievler settlement, and Atatürk Forest Farm—served primarily as symbols of Republican modernization and national development. The garden city concept necessarily evolved into different forms, concepts, and scales when confronted with Ankara's specific situation and realities. The projects examined here ultimately reveal the inevitable tension between borrowed references and locally-defined contemporaneity.

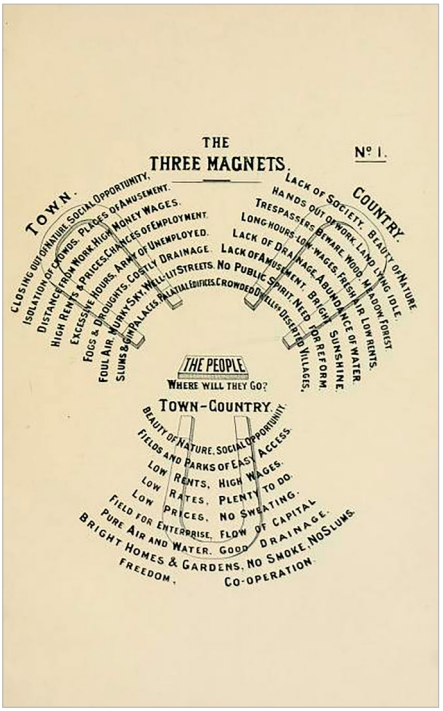
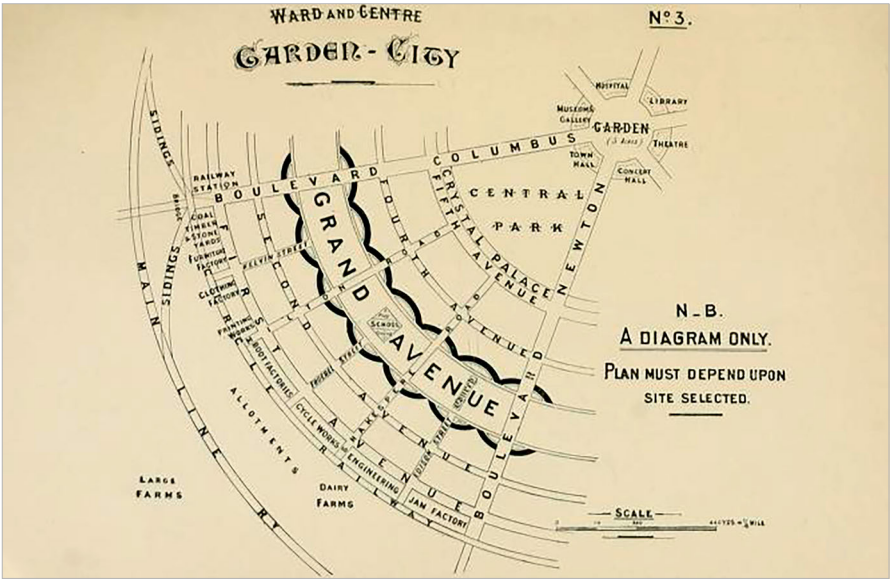


Fig. 73. – Fig. 74.
Ebenezer Howard's three magnets diagram and garden city plan from Garden Cities of To-morrow (1902). Source: Archive.org, public domain.
Ebenezer Howard's three magnets diagram and garden city plan from Garden Cities of To-morrow (1902). Source: https://archive.org/details/gardencitiesoft000howa/page/n10/mode/1up, Archive.org, public domain.



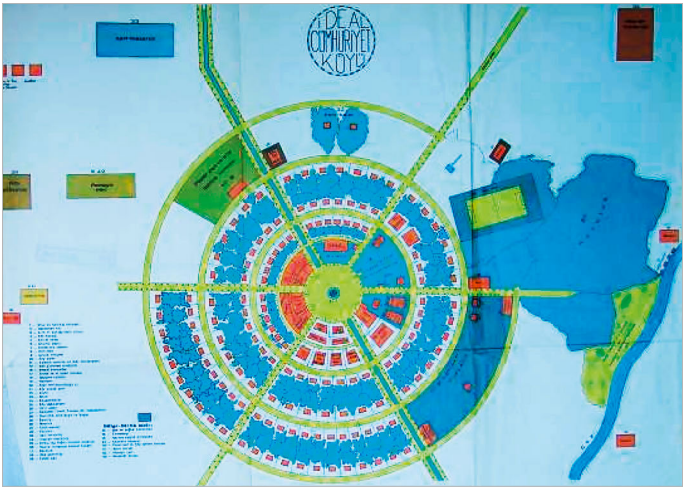


Fig. 75.
Plan of the Ideal Republic Village. Originally published in Afet İnan, Devletçilik İlkesi ve Türkiye Cumhuriyetinin Birinci Sanayi Planı 1933 (1972), as cited in Zeynep Eres, "Türkiye'de Planlı Kırsal Yerleşmelerin Tarihsel Gelişimi ve Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Planlı Kırsal Mimarisinin Korunması Sorunu" (PhD diss., İstanbul Teknik Üniversitesi, 2008).

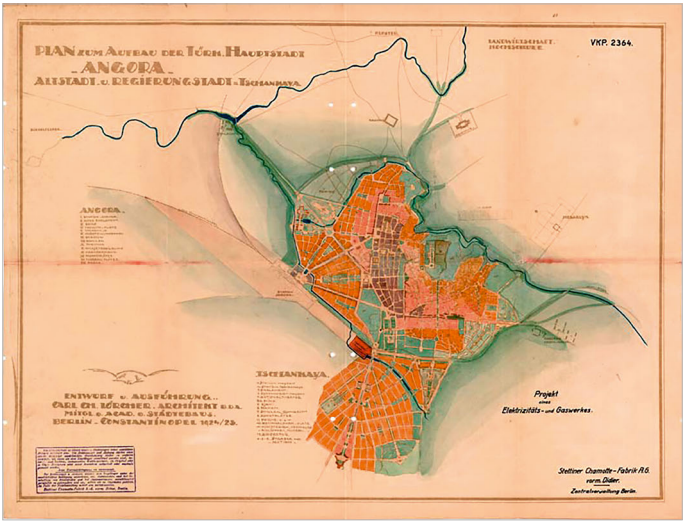


Fig. 76.
The 1924–1925 Ankara Master Plan, by Carl Christoph Lörcher. Image sourced from Ali Cengizkan, Ankara'nın İlk Planı: 1924–1925 Lörcher Planı: Kentsel Mekân Özellikleri, 1932 Jansen Planı'na ve Bugüne Katkıları, Etki ve Kalıntıları (Ankara: Arkadaş Yayınları, 2004).

Fig. 77.
Ankara Master Plan, by Hermann Jansen.
Source: Technische Universität Berlin, Architekturmuseum, Inv. No. 22598. Public domain.

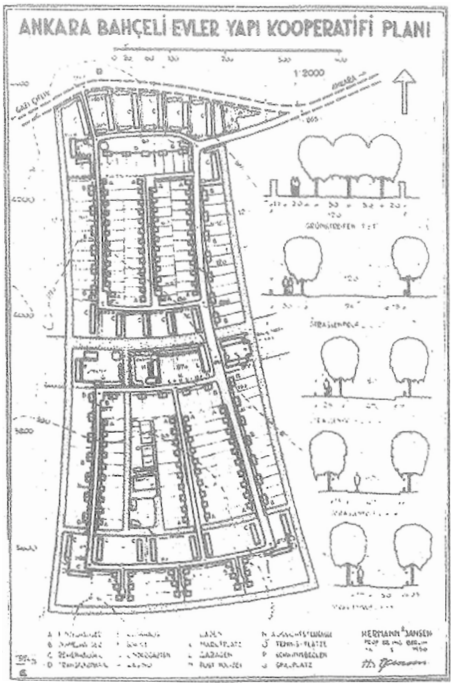


Fig. 78.
The plan of Bahçelievler, designed by Hermann Jansen. Image sourced from İlhan Tekeli and Selim İlkin, Bahçeli Evlerin Öyküsü: Bir Batı Kurumunun Yeniden Yorumlanması (Ankara: Kent-Koop Yayınları, 1984).

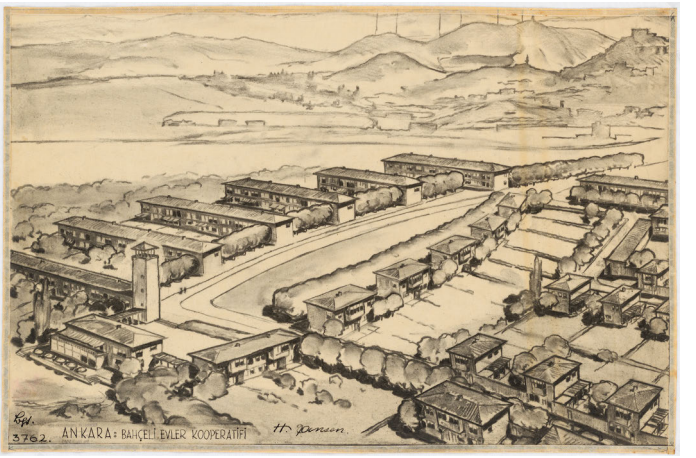


Fig. 79. – Fig. 80.
Sketches of Bahçelievler Housing Cooperative, designed by Hermann Jansen (1936). Source: Technische Universität Berlin, Architekturmuseum, Inv. Nr. 23083 and Inv. Nr. 23090, https://architekturmuseum.ub.tu-berlin.de.

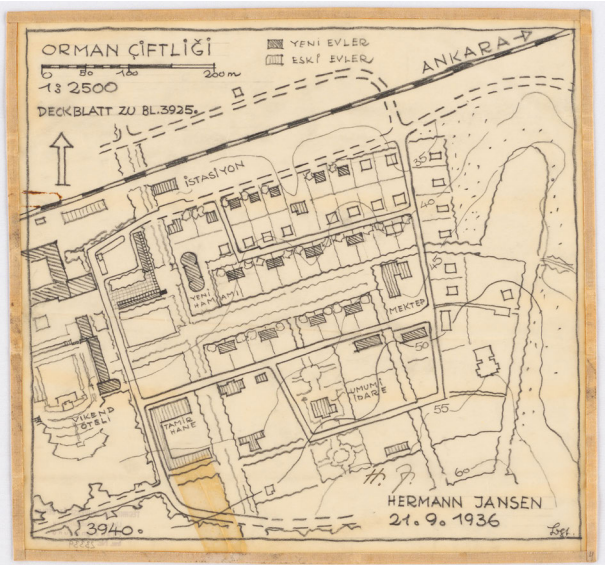


Fig. 81.
Atatürk Forest Farm around the Beer Factory, designed by Hermann Jansen (1936).
Source: Technische Universität Berlin, Architekturmuseum, Inv. No. 23341, https://architekturmuseum.ub.tu-berlin.de.

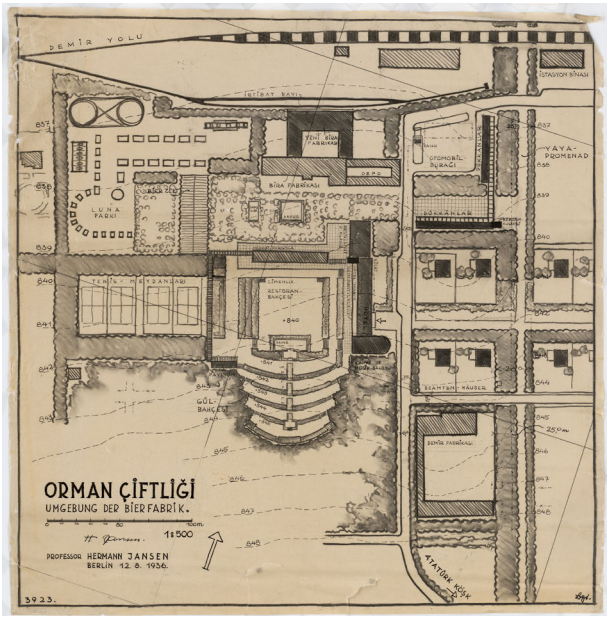


Fig. 82.
Atatürk Forest Farm workers and officer residences, designed by Hermann Jansen (1936).
Source: Technische Universität Berlin, Architekturmuseum, Inv. No. 23339, https://architekturmuseum.ub.tu-berlin.de.