

**DYNAMICS OF URBAN TRANSFORMATION  
VIA  
IMPROVEMENT PLANS  
FOR  
ANKARA CITY**

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Approval of the Graduate School of Social Sciences

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# **ABSTRACT**

## **DYNAMICS OF URBAN TRANSFORMATION**

**Via**

## **IMPROVEMENT PLANS**

**For**

## **ANKARA CITY**

Tuçaltan, Gül

M.S., Department of Urban Policy Planning and Local Governments

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In the 1980s, Laws No: 2981 and 3290 were putting forward important amount of development rights creation by improvement plans. This promise of development by party politics provided potential of political rent. This study will not take into account this political rent created but the realization of this development promised.

The development by improvement plans could not be realized. In some areas, transformation from gecekonu to apartment blocks occurred by the hands of market mechanism and construction sector. However in some areas, the intervention of the public sector was necessary for transformation.

The aim of this study is to discuss the planning and development issues under the mixed economies through dynamics of urban transformation and the phenomena of urban non-transformation in areas where development rights by improvement plans were assigned in the case of Ankara city under a comparative approach. The comparative case study puts

forward the existing situation as a concrete problem and analyzing it with reference to direct observation, interviews with various actors, historicity (historical development of Ankara macroform among inter-relations between planning decisions, macroeconomy and legal regulations thus public and capital) and the quantitative data.

Then, improvement planning in Turkish case is evaluated by reference to similar World examples. This evaluation leads us to the inter-relational concepts of public policy and rent concerning gecekondu improvement thus to the evaluation of improvement areas by reference to rent concept and Turkish urban land and housing market covering the urban growth and capital accumulation issues. Then the study is concluded.

Keywords: Improvement Planning, dynamics of urban transformation, phenomena of urban non-transformation, (urban land) rent, urban growth, capital accumulation, Ankara.

## ÖZ

### ANKARA KENTİNDE İMAR ISLAH PLANLARI YOLUYLA KENTSEL DÖNÜŞÜMÜN DİNAMİKLERİ

Tuçaltan, Gül

Yüksek Lisans; Kentsel Politika Planlaması ve Yerel Yönetimler

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1980li yıllarda dönemin iktidarının politik rant arayışı içeren politikaları çerçevesinde; özellikle 2981 ve 3290 sayılı yasalarla gecekonduların çıkarılması. Gecekonduların imar ıslah planları ile oldukça fazla imar hakkı dağıtımı, yani aşırı bir kentsel gelişme daha doğrusu bir kentsel yayılmayı ön görmüştür. Bu çalışma bu politik rant/getirim arayışından çok, bu büyük gelişme vaatlerinin yerine getirilip getirilmediğini inceleyen bir çalışmadır.

İmar ıslah planları ile vaat edilen bu kentsel büyüme bazı alanlarda piyasa mekanizması yani inşaat sektörü tarafından gerçekleştirilirken, bazı alanlar mevcut planlara rağmen dönüşmeden kalmış ve bu alanlarda kentsel dönüşümün gerçekleştirilmesi için kamu müdahalesi şart olmuştur.

Bu bağlamda; bu çalışmanın amacı planlama ve imar konularında kamunun denetçi ve piyasasının uygulayıcı olduğu karma tip ekonomilerdeki planlama ve imar uygulamalarını Ankara kentinde imar haklarıyla donatılmış imar ıslah planlı alanlardaki kentsel dönüşüm dinamiklerini ve kentsel dönüşüm olgusu çerçevesinde tartışmaktır. Çalışmanın ana

yaklaşımı karşılaştırmalı yaklaşım olup; metodu gözlem, fotoğraflama, derinlemesine mülakatlar, tarihsel gelişmenin incelenmesi (plan kararları, makro-ekonomi ve yasal düzenlemeler yani devlet-sermaye ilişkisi çerçevesinde Ankara kent makroformunun gelişimi) ve mevcut sayısal verilerle mevcut durumun somut bir problem olarak ortaya konması ve çözümlenmesidir.

Bunun sonrasında, gecekondu ıslahı alanındaki politikalar farklı kıtalardan örnekler çerçevesinde incelenmiş; Türkiye örneği buna göre değerlendirilmiştir. Ardından; dünya örneklerinin değerlendirilmesiyle, gecekondu örneği bir rant ve kamu politikası olayı olarak ele alınmış ve bu kapsamda da Ankara örneği rant kavramına, Türkiye arazi ve konut piyasası yani kentsel büyüme ve sermaye birikim süreçleri kapsamında değerlendirilmiş ve daha sonra da son bölüm olan sonuç bölümüyle çalışma sonuçlandırılmıştır.

Anahtar kelimeler: İmar Islah Planlaması, kentsel dönüşümün dinamikleri, kentsel dönüşümüne olgusu, (kentsel) rantlar, kentsel büyüme, sermaye birikimi, Ankara.

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**To My Parents...**

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# CHAPTER 1

## INTRODUCTION

*The Transformers,  
More than meets the eye  
(Transformers, animated TV  
series)*

### **1.1 The Definition of the Research Problem and the Aim and Objectives of the Study**

**The reason behind** this study is that the transformation of gecekondu is an important planning problem for Turkey concerning urban and societal integration; however it is not only a problem of integration but also a problem of (urban) politics and capital accumulation.

**The main question** that motivated this research is how the planning and development activities are realized under mixed economies where the urban development is operated by the market and controlled by the public. Therefore the gecekondu (meaning built at one night, the illegal housing type) improvement plans constitutes a very specific and meaningful example in the issue. It is because the development rights for the improvement plan areas are assigned by the public and realized by the construction market. Therefore this thesis aims to put forward the planning and development problematic under a mixed economy by explaining the dynamics of urban transformation and the phenomena of urban non-transformation via improvement plans in the case of Ankara.

Up till the 1980s; prevention, clearance and improvement were subjects to gecekondu transformation. However; since the second half of the 1980s, gecekondu areas have always been the main focus of attention in the urban growth and development issues of Turkish cities under the improvement planning approach of Gecekondu amnesties. The improvement planning approach after the 1980s was basically covering the distribution of large amounts of development rights that would lead to a physical urban expansion rather than a planned urban development concerning the urban and societal integration.

Gecekondu Law No. 775, which covers the prevention, improvement and clearance of gecekondu, was enacted in the year 1966 and it is still in use. Afterwards; Gecekondu Amnesties came on the agenda, between the years 1983 and 1988 under the politically rent seeking politics of the Motherland Party. The Law No: 2805 enacted in the year 1983, Law No: 2981 enacted in the year 1984 and the Law No: 3290 enacted in the year 1986 (Özden, 2002:186 cited in Ataöv and Osmay, 2007:63-66).

Especially the Law No: 2981 and the Law No: 3290 that are in the state of being gecekondu amnesties were putting forward important amount of development rights creation by improvement plans. Definitely; this promise of development by the Motherlands Party (Anavatan Partisi-ANAP) politics, provided a potential of political rent which attracts attention. However this study will not take into account this political rent created but the realization of this promised development.

Basically, the foreseen development by the improvement plans by the Gecekondu Amnesty Laws could not be realized. In some areas a very fast transformation from gecekondu to apartment blocks occurred by the hands of the market mechanism and the construction sector. However in some areas, the intervention of the public sector was necessary for urban transformation as the market mechanism was not interested in the transformation of such gecekondu areas.

When observing the city of Ankara, it can be seen that there are both transformed and non-transformed gecekondu areas which were all subjects to the improvement planning processes between the years 1984-1994. Today; there are massive urban transformations projects announced by the Municipality. This shows that there is a blockage in the process of transformation by improvement plans in some areas. It can be said that due to the uneven

development within the urban transformation process by the improvement plans, there are still non-transformed gecekondu areas that are not in the interest areas of the market.

In this context, **the main hypothesis of this thesis** is that in the mixed economies where the market is the operator and the public is the regulator in the development and planning issues; the development rights given in search of political rent by the public without considering the capital accumulation processes are unsuccessful in the creation of the urban development expected.

Therefore **the main research question** of this thesis is that “Why some gecekondu areas could get transformed by the improvement plans and some remained non-transformed even though an enormous amount of development rights were assigned and whether these processes can be taken independently from the capital accumulation processes?”

**The sub-questions** of this thesis mainly concern the will to seek political rent through the development rights. Was the political rent seeking through the development rights in the liberalization period of 1980s a mistake? Was it a strategical fault concerning the urban land market or was that the strategy of provision of a flexible milieu for the capital by the liberalization politics of the Party in power itself?

Therefore, **the aim of this study** is to discuss planning and development issues under a mixed economy through the dynamics of urban transformation and the phenomena of urban non-transformation in the areas where large amounts of development rights were assigned by the improvement plans in the case of Ankara city.

As **the main objectives**, this study firstly determines the transformed and non-transformed areas via improvement plans in Ankara. Secondly this study disclose the reasons why these areas could or could not get transformed via improvement plans by reference to the inner, **internal dynamics** of these areas and **external dynamics** of Ankara macroform development processes shaped by the changing political approaches, legal regulations, planning decisions thus urban land rent and capital accumulation processes by using the necessary research tools. Thirdly; this study evaluates the process of improvement planning by reference to the World examples of slum upgrading (by means of which the gecekondu is taken as a rent and public policy issue) and the theoretical frame of urban land market and rent thus urban growth and capital accumulation processes.

## 1.2 The Inter-relational Definitions of the Main Concepts Used Throughout This Study

Gecekondu has always been one of the major concerns for Turkish urban planning. Many regulations have been made to prevent, improve or to demolish gecekondu since the 1940s, the years that the gecekondu phenomena first came on the agenda.

In the 1980s; with the Law No: 2805 the definition of the improvement plan was made. According to the Articles of the Law; the improvement plans were the plans that were taking the existing situation as the main settlement condition. Therefore the main aim was to regulate the existing situations (Büyükgöçmen Sat, 1997:38; 2007). According to the Article No: 10, Item C of the Law No: 2981 and 3290; the regulation of share concerning improvement plans is determined by the Article No: 18 of the Development Law No: 3194; that is enacted for regulating the share of the value added when a land or immovable is publicized.

When considering the types of improvement plans; there were two types of improvement plans. “Type-A Improvement Plan”, covers the solution of the property problems whereas the second one “Type-B Improvement Plan” includes the improvement of livability (Büyükgöçmen Sat, 2007:27-36, 1997). While Type-A improvement plans were pursuing the existing urban fabric, Type-B plans were more radical as they allowed the formation of higher building blocks when the property owners left a determined amount of share by Law of the area to public use.

In the 1980s; the amnesties constituted an important tool as they led to the legalization of gecekondu with **deed allotment warrant provision (Law No: 2981), allowance of planning in the vacant lands and gecekondu areas with deed allotment warrant and development rights given to both residential and non-residential uses (Law No: 3290) up to four floors.**

The enactment of this law group is said to be related with the resolution of the ownership pattern problems and provision of housing with necessary services.

However; despite these regulations for **transforming** gecekondular, there are still gecekondular areas remained **non-transformed** despite the fact that there are certain plans made to do so.

**Transformation**, seeming as a simple word, has a much deeper meaning behind. The explanation of the word is; an act, process, or instance of transforming or being transformed, the operation of changing one configuration or expression into another (Merriam Webster's Online Dictionary, 2008).

Transformation can occur at a diversity of different scales that cover a large range from the individual level to societal and global levels (Naismith, 2004:21). Therefore **non-transformation** is not being able to change in another configuration from one another.

Returning back to the urban issues arena, in the light of the above explanations, the urban transformation also occurs in many levels and conditions. Therefore **urban transformation** is the comprehensive, integrated vision and action to achieve the sustainable and continuous improvement of the **economic, physical, social and environmental** conditions of an urban area (Roberts, 2000 cited in Akkar: 2006:29). However; when it comes to the gecekondular transformation via improvement plans; the gecekondular transformation via improvement plans has a more absolute perspective of space which is rather independent from the quality of the urban environment created. Therefore **this thesis defines urban transformation via improvement plans as the realization of the development rights assigned by the improvement plans.**

### **1.3 The Research Methodology**

To be able to disclose the dynamics of urban transformation and the phenomena of urban non-transformation via improvement plans for Ankara city and discuss the planning and development issues, this study case by case analyzes and evaluates Ankara improvement planning zones. Thus this thesis is a **comparative case study.**

As stated before, with reference to the data collected from the Greater Metropolitan Municipality of Ankara 2023 Plan Report (2007)<sup>1</sup> and the empirical study of Büyükgöçmen Sat (1997), many improvement plans were prepared since the year of 1984.

As stated before, with the main question of “Why some gecekondu areas could get transformed by the improvement plans and some remained non-transformed?”, this thesis aims to discuss the planning and development issues and to deduct the dynamics of urban transformation and the phenomena of urban non-transformation in the improvement planning areas of the city of Ankara by **direct observation and interviews with various actors**.

The interviews are held with the Municipal experts, real-estate agents and the constructors. **The interview questions** are asked to understand the investor behavior in the construction market in the case of improvement planning for Ankara city. The questions to open the dynamics of urban transformation and the phenomena of non-transformation into discussion are:

- When did the urban transformation in the gecekondu areas of this zone start?
- How did the urban transformation in the gecekondu areas of this zone start?
- In the improvement planning areas how did the transformed areas achieve this and how did some areas remain non-transformed despite having certain improvement plans and despite having the same development rights?
- (Not for massive non-transformation areas but for small areas of non-transformation taking place in the transformed areas) What are the specific reasons that led to the non-transformation of this area with improvement plans in spite of the fact that transformation by improvement plans could be achieved right beside this area?

The data collected is evaluated with a comparative approach. This study takes the Ankara city gecekondu areas with improvement plans and compares and contrasts the transformed and non-transformed areas shaped under those improvement plans.

A very comprehensive empirical thesis study about the improvement plans prepared for the period between the years of 1984 and 1996 was held by Aydan Büyükgöçmen Sat in the year 1997 for the city of Ankara. The study covered six of the Municipalities of Ankara which are

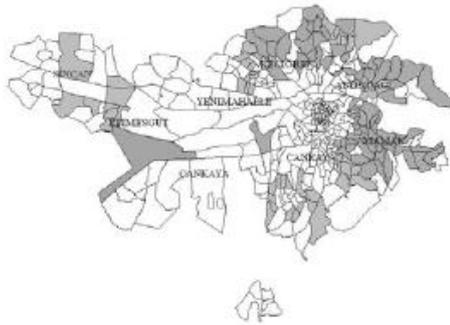
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<sup>1</sup> The 2023 Plan Report was prepared in the year 2006 and then cancelled in the year 2007 and the Plan again came into power in the year 2007 that the date concerning the 2023 Plan is taken as 2007 in this thesis.

Altındağ, Çankaya, Etimesgut, Mamak, Keçiören, Yenimahalle, therefore the Municipalities with the improvement plans. Gölbaşı and Sincan were left out as Sincan is a gecekondu prevention area and in addition both of the districts mentioned did not have improvement plans. In the study 188 gecekondu neighborhoods were examined in two periods 1984-1990 and 1990-1996 to be able to compare the differences in these two processes (Büyükgöçmen Sat , 1997, 2007).

The empirical research of Aydan Büyükgöçmen Sat (1997), *The Effects of Improvement Plans on Squatter Areas: Ankara Case*, discusses the effects of improvement planning in the population density, social and technical infrastructure, land prices, land ownership and the social and demographic characteristics of the improvement planning areas of the Ankara city.

The main findings of Büyükgöçmen Sat 's (1997) study concerning the population density decisions of the improvement plans was that a virtual decentralized (what Büyükgöçmen Sat calls decentralization can said to be much of a dispersal or expansion than a decentralization) two-millions of extra population was created by the density decisions for the city of Ankara for the year 1990. However; the social and technical infrastructure decisions by the plans were so inadequate and so legitimizing the existing urban fabric in the gecekondu areas that the idea of decentralization and population increase could not be realized. When observing the land ownership issue, with the transfer of deeds to the public ownership to private ownership; an important amount of decrease in the lands owned by the State Treasury was observed. Therefore; the plans led to the increase of land prices even in the areas that are far from the city center.



**Figure 1. 1. The Improvement Planning Areas in Ankara**

Source: Büyükgöçmen Sat ; 1997, 2007.

The definite result of Büyükgöçmen Sat 's (1997) thesis was that the improvement plans with the claim of satisfying the housing need of the low-income gecekondu residents could not reach their aims.

In the light of the explanations concerning Büyükgöçmen Sat's study above; this study utilized and interpreted the empirical research of Aydan Büyükgöçmen Sat (1997) as a basis, as a secondary data where the population and density calculations (which were derived from the archival records concerning the improvement plans and the population census results) and the zoning (which can be seen from the Figure 1.1. above) made for improvement planning areas are obtained.

This study differs from Büyükgöçmen Sat's study by taking the improvement planning areas not as a problem of development in only the gecekondu areas but an urban development and planning problem for the entire city of Ankara that is determined by the inter-relation between the public (the State) and capital (the market) and trying to explain the situation created by the improvement plans by in-situ direct observations in addition to the quantitative data.

After the case study research, this study evaluates the findings by reference to the selected literary work. As mentioned already; Turkish example of improvement planning is evaluated with reference to the similar applications concerning slum upgrading in the World.

After the examination of the World examples and coming to the conclusion that the slum upgrading thus gecekondu improvement is an issue of public policy and rent. Therefore this thesis evaluates the improvement plans with reference to the rent concept, urban land and housing market issue so to say the urban growth and capital accumulation processes.

Thus, after having been into the process of definition of a concrete research problem and the examination of this problem and then evaluating the findings with reference to the determined literature; then, this thesis comes to the conclusion.

## 1.4 The Structure of the Thesis

The main structure of the study can be divided in four parts. The first part is the problem definition and research question building with reference to the concrete problem of urban transformation and the phenomena of urban non-transformation via improvement plans in the case of Ankara. The second part is the analysis of the improvement planning areas as a concrete problem with reference to the internal dynamics taking place in the improvement plan areas and the external dynamics that shape the macroform of Ankara. The third part is the evaluation part in which the improvement planning approach of the Turkish case is evaluated by reference to the World examples of slum upgrading. Besides, as being a problem of rent and public policy the improvement plans are evaluated by reference to the urban land and housing market and rent theory thus urban growth and capital accumulation. The last part is the conclusion.

In the light of what has been told so far, firstly, in the 2<sup>nd</sup> Chapter, this study observes the existing situation in Ankara and defines today's conditions of the areas with improvement plans in terms of transformation and non-transformation.

As a section under the 2<sup>nd</sup> Chapter; the empirical study takes part which is mainly shaped by the comparative case study covering the direct observation of the areas, the interviews made with the constructors and the real-estate agents in the area to collect information on the issue of the investor behavior in the construction market and the related departments of the Municipalities to collect information on the issue of the development rights assigned to the improvement planning areas and their relation to the investor behavior. Therefore this is the section to filter dynamics of urban non-transformation and transformation via improvement planning by means of field study.

Secondly, for a deeper analysis, this study introduces the historical conditions that affected the formation of the areas with improvement plans in the city of Ankara in the 3<sup>rd</sup> Chapter. These conditions cover the macroform formation processes that are determined by the macro-economics, planning processes and legal regulations.

The third part, yet the 4<sup>th</sup> Chapter, is the evaluation part. In this section of the study; the improvement planning as a solution to the problem of gecekondu areas in Turkey is evaluated with reference to the similar applications concerning slum upgrading in the World.

This evaluation of World examples leads us to the concepts of public policy and rent; therefore a relationship between the State and capital. So the next step within the 5<sup>th</sup> Chapter is the evaluation of the improvement areas by reference to the rent concept and by reference to the Turkish urban land and housing market issue thus urban growth and capital accumulation processes.

The last part is the 6<sup>th</sup> Chapter and this part is the general conclusion covering the summary of the entire thesis with its main findings and conclusions mainly referring to the interrelations between the public and private sectors in the issue of urban development and planning.

## CHAPTER 2

# THE EXISTING SITUATION OF IMPROVEMENT PLANNING AREAS IN ANKARA AND AN ANALYSIS<sup>2</sup>

*I follow the Moskva  
Down to Gorky Park  
Listening to the wind of change  
(Wind of Change, 1990, Scorpions)*

### 2.1 The Existing Situation of the Planning Areas in Ankara

To explore the internal dynamics of urban transformation and non-transformation by improvement planning in the case of Ankara, what should be done is to start from today's existing physical conditions concerning the transformation and non-transformation and to continue with a deeper analysis of this existing situation including the historical context fed by both the internal and the external dynamics.

Therefore; in this section, it is solely aimed to introduce the level of transformation and non-transformation in the improvement planning areas, to put the existing situation through. Thus today's condition were directly observed and photographed in the improvement planning areas. Starting from Etimesgut; the range of photography is determined in the clockwise direction to be able to see the transition from one zone to another.

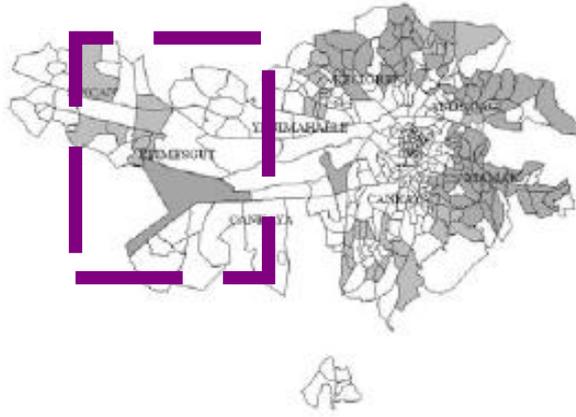
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<sup>2</sup> In this Chapter of the study, the names of the improvement plans and the quantitative data concerning the improvement planning areas were obtained from Büyükgöçmen Sat (1997).

It is again important to note that, this section only aims to introduce the existing situation and to define the concrete problematic of urban transformation and the phenomena of non-transformation in the improvement planning zones. The analysis and the evaluation of the existing situation will be made within the next sections and Chapters.

### 2.1.1 Etimesgut

Becoming a Municipality in the year 1990, Etimesgut has nine improvement planning areas, covering almost all the neighborhood which are Etiler, İstasyon, Kazım Karabekir, Süvari, 30 Ağustos, Piyade, Topçu, Şeker and Eryaman (Büyükgöçmen Sat, 1997:55).



**Figure 2. 1. The Improvement Planning Areas in the Boundaries of Etimesgut**

*Source: Büyükgöçmen Sat 1997; 2007.*

With reference to the direct observations by the author and the interviews done with the Municipal authorities; there is only one mass gecekondu area in Etimesgut, which is at the conjunction point of Alsancak and Süvari neighborhoods, called Şırıncak Tepe. In the rest, the gecekondu are observed to be dispersed among the existing fabric, which is generally consisting of four-storey apartment blocks.



**Figure 2. 2. Şırıncaktepe, the Conjunction Point of Süvari and Alsancak, Etimesgut**  
*Source: Personal Archive.*

However; Şırınca Tepe was not included by any improvement planning area as it was decided to be an afforestation area. Due to this decision, the authority concerning Şırınca Tepe was the Ministry of Finance. After the 2000s, the Ministry of Finance handed this authority to Etimesgut Municipality, as the area became a home for gecekondü owners rather than becoming an afforestation area.



**Figure 2. 3. Etiler, Etimesgut Municipality**  
*Source: Personal Archive.*



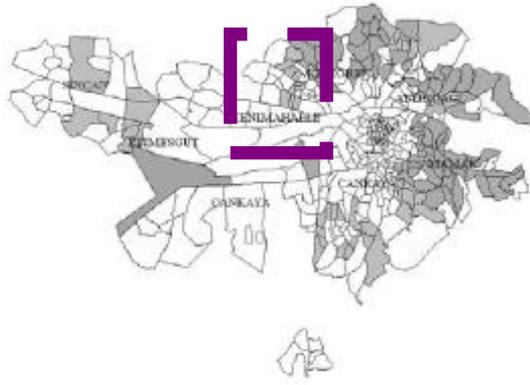
**Figure 2. 4. Piyade and İstasyon, Etimesgut Municipality**  
*Source: Personal Archive.*

The Municipality, in the year 2006, started a prestige project in the area to transform 350 gecekonu into apartment blocks. However, the project has not started yet.

When looking at the rest of Etimesgut, today it can be said that almost all Etimesgut has completed its transformation via improvement planning. However, in some parcels, it is inevitable to observe gecekonu right beside an apartment block that is clearly transformed from gecekonu by improvement planning. The Figures above can confirm a clear example to this kind of situations and the urban environment created by improvement planning.

### 2.1.2 Yenimahalle

Being a much older Municipality, Yenimahalle faced two periods of improvement planning. The first one is the 1984-1989 period and the second one is the 1990-1996 period.



**Figure 2. 5. The Improvement Planning Areas in the Boundaries of Yenimahalle**  
*Source: Büyükgöçmen Sat 1997; 2007.*

The 1984-1989 period improvement plans were Çiğdemtepe 1, Güventepe, Burç, Kayalar, Kaletepe 1-2, Demetevler, G. Yaka 1-2, Karşıyaka, Anadolu, Pamuklar and Avcılar plans. The 1990-1996 period improvement plans were Beştepeler 1-2 (Büyükgöçmen Sat, 1997:53-54).



**Figure 2. 6. Kaletepe, Yenimahalle**  
*Source: Personal Archive.*

When observing Yenimahalle, it can be said that almost all the improvement plans were concerning Beştepeler and the area today called Şentepe. Right beside Şentepe; Kaletepe and Çiğdemtepe are located. Today, the situation in this area is a bit surprising as there is a mass construction activity taking place in the area. It is a very usual thing for Şentepe to have a gecekonu near a 20-storeys high apartment block construction.



**Figure 2. 7. Kaletepe, Yenimahalle**  
*Source: Personal Archive.*



**Figure 2. 8. Yeşiltepe, Yenimahalle**  
*Source: Personal Archive.*

It is true that there is an urban transformation in Yenimahalle, Şentepe area. However; when observing the formation, as stated before, it mainly consists of high-rise apartment blocks most of which are more than 4-storeys. Here; 4-storeys of development rights is a clue for urban transformation by improvement planning as improvement planning does not allow more than 4-storeys high apartment blocks; thus here in Yenimahalle, improvement planning is not the case for today.



**Figure 2. 9. Çiğdemtepe, Yenimahalle**  
*Source: Personal Archive.*

When considering the Beştepelers area, which is the only area to be subject to the improvement planning in 1990-1996 periods, it can be said that there is a similar situation **in terms of physical transformation in this area** to Şentepe. This area has also been covered with gecekondu for a long time, but the transformation processes started today.



The 1984-1989 period improvement plans were Bağlarbaşı, Güçlüyaka, Hasköy, Kanuni, Kuşcağız, Osmangazi 1-2, Sancaktepe, Ufuktepe, Yayla, Şehit Kubilay, Atapark 1-2, 19 Mayıs, İncirli, Ayvalı 1-2-3-4-5 plans. The 1990-1996 period improvement plans were Basınevler, Çubuk 1-2, Esertepe, Kurtini, 23 Nisan, Köşk, Papazderesi, Sermeevler, Uyanış 1-2-3, Yeşilöz, Yeşiltepe, Çaldıran, Yükseltepe, Taşlıtepe, Bademlik 1-2, Aktepe 2-3-4-5, Kardeşler, Şenyuva, Güzelyurt, Kasalar and Şahlar (Büyükgöçmen Sat, 1997:56-57).

When observing the improvement planning areas, Basınevler constitutes an example of urban transformation by improvement plans. However, Papazderesi part in Basınevler is an area that remained non-transformed.



**Figure 2. 12. Basınevler, Keçiören**  
*Source: Personal Archive.*



**Figure 2. 13. Papazderesi, Keçiören**  
*Source: Personal Archive.*

As can be seen from the photos above, a transformation also started to take place in Papazderesi. However, again the heights of the newly constructed buildings show us that this transformation is not related with the improvement plans.

Returning back to the problem of non-transformation, Keçiören has many gecekondu areas that remained non-transformed like Ayvalı gecekondu area.



**Figure 2. 14. A look to Ayvalı Gecekondu Areas from Şehit Kubilay, Keçiören**  
*Source: Personal Archive.*



**Figure 2. 15. Esertepe, Keçiören**  
*Source: Personal Archive.*



**Figure 2. 16. Yayla, Keçiören**  
*Source: Personal Archive.*

However, some areas like Esertepe, Yayla, Atapark, Kuşcağız, Hasköy, Ufuktepe, Osmangazi and Kanuni have an eclectic character in terms of transformation. These areas started transform, but there is a mixed structure consisting of both gecekondu and apartment blocks.



**Figure 2. 17. Hasköy, Altındağ**  
*Source: Personal Archive.*



**Figure 2. 18. Atapark, Keçiören**  
*Source: Personal Archive.*



**Figure 2. 19. Kuşcağız, Keçiören**  
*Source: Personal Archive.*



Today, Hasköy is not a part of Keçiören Municipality but Altındağ Municipality. Therefore it can be said that there is a difficulty in comparison of the planning areas with reference to the Municipal boundaries because of the continuously changing legal boundaries.



**Figure 2. 20. Ufuktepe, Keçiören**  
*Source: Personal Archive.*



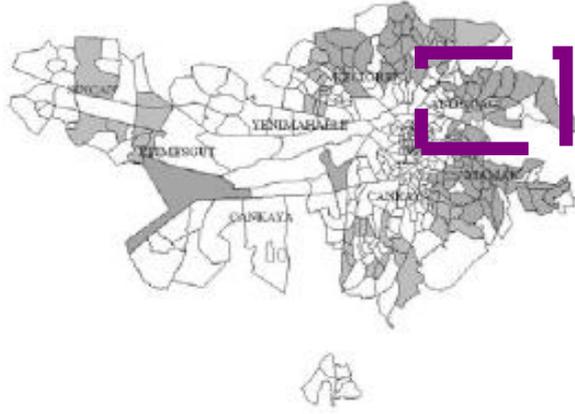
**Figure 2. 21. Osmangazi and Kanuni, Keçiören**  
*Source: Personal Archive.*

Today's conditions in the improvement planning areas in the Keçiören Municipality are more or less the same with the areas observed in the Municipality of Yenimahalle.

What is observed is the development of high-rise apartment blocks. Therefore; the formation of almost all of these blocks have nothing to do with the improvement plans but the new regulations brought after the 2000s.

#### 2.1.4 Altındağ

Altındağ also faced two periods of improvement planning, the 1984-1989 period and the 1990-1996 period.



**Figure 2. 22. The Improvement Planning Areas in the Boundaries of Altındağ**

*Source: Büyükgöçmen Sat 1997; 2007.*

The 1984-1989 period improvement plans were plans Karapürçek, Feridun Çelik, Başpınar, Beşikkaya, Doğanşehir, Çamlık, Plevne, Solfasol, Yıldıztepe, Güneşevler, Gülpınar, Doğu, Yıldıztepe, Ali Ersoy, Yeşilöz, Başpınar plans . The 1990-1996 period improvement plans were Önder, Hacılar, Gültepe, S. Somuncu, Gökçenefe, Doğanşehir, I.S. Murat, Çalışkanlar, Aktaş, Atilla, Cemalbey, Çandarlı, Engürü, Fatih, Fermanlılar, Gültepe, Hayri Akman, Hürriyet, Kartallar, K. Zeytinoğlu, Orhan Gazi, Özgürlük, Sinan Paşa, Sokullu, Yavuz Selim, Yiğitler, Baraj improvement plans (Büyükgöçmen Sat , 1997:50-51).

Looking at Başpınar what can be observed is again the eclectic character of housing. There are both non-transformed, transformed gecekondu areas into apartment blocks and beside there is a mass housing project area of TOKİ. Besides these mixed housing structure, there is also one business center formation.



**Figure 2. 23. Başpınar, Altındağ**  
Source: Büyükgöçmen Sat , 2007.

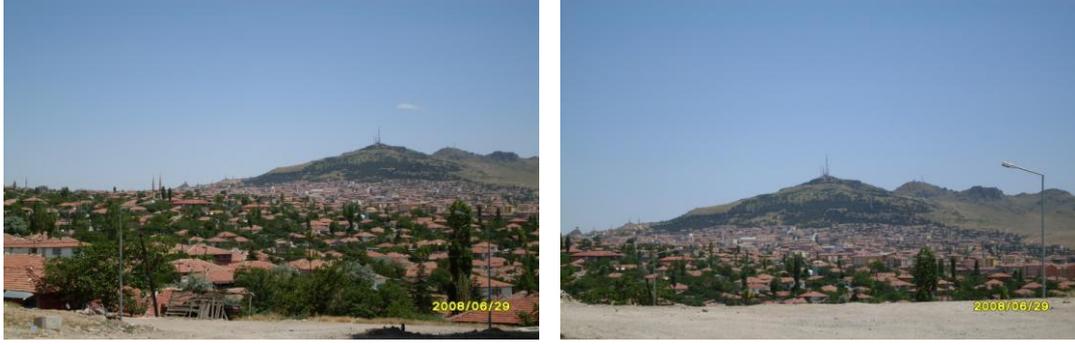


**Figure 2. 24. The Prestige Projects in Başpınar, Apartment Blocks by TOKİ (Mass Housing Fund) and a Business Center; Altındağ**  
Source: *Personal Archive.*

The transformation in Yıldıztepe is very similar to the situation in Başpınar. There are both gecekondu areas and apartment blocks transformed out of gecekondu areas.



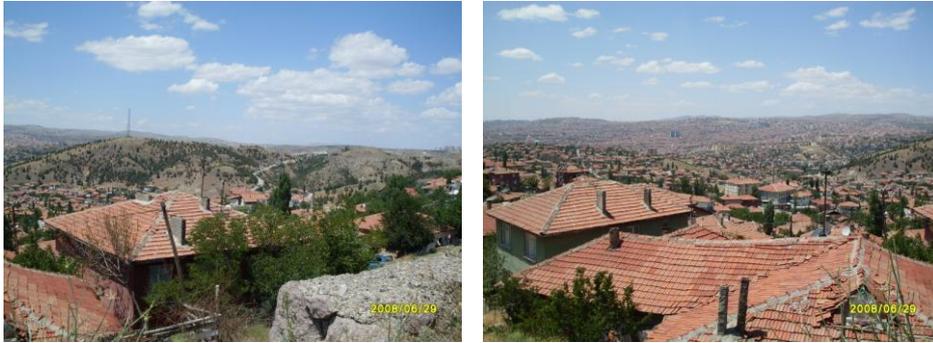
**Figure 2. 25. Yıldıztepe, Altındağ**  
Source: *Personal Archive.*



**Figure 2. 26. Feridun Çelik, Ekin and Hüseyin Gazi Hill, Altındağ**  
*Source: Personal Archive.*



**Figure 2. 27. Doğantepe, Altındağ**  
*Source: Personal Archive.*



**Figure 2. 28. Solfasol from Doğantepe, Altındağ**  
*Source: Personal Archive.*

When it comes to Solfasol, Doğantepe, Feridun Çelik, Ekin and Hüseyin Gazi Hill's Altındağ side cases, it can be said that there is a large amount of non-transformed gecekondu areas. The reality of non-transformation can be truly watched in these areas.

Even though being very close to the non-transformed gecekondu areas, the most proximate neighborhood of Altındağ to the ring road, Karapürçek transformed at a large degree. However this transformation can basically be observed along the main roads that are

connecting the whole area to Mamak sub-center and the ring-road. The type of housing gives the clue that the transformation is occurring through the improvement planning or a similar type of legal regulation. This question will be covered while analyzing the existing situation in the next section.



**Figure 2. 29. Karapürçek, Altındağ**  
*Source: Personal Archive.*

When considering the total transformation and non-transformation issue in Keçiören improvement planning areas, the level of transformation by the improvement planning can be said to be low by reference to the direct observations done.

### **2.1.5 Mamak**

The 1984-1989 period improvement plans in Mamak were Şafaktepe, Gülveren, B. Üstü, Aşık Veysel, Peyami Sefa, Kazım Orbay, Gn. Z. Doğan, Mutlu, NATO Yolu Mamak, Koop.-Samsun, Devlet Yolu Arası, Üreğil, Yeşilbayır, S. Gürler, K. Kayaş, Bayındır, Kusunlar, Tuzluçayır, Çağlayan, Şahintepe, Misket, Derbent, Dostlar, Araplar, D. Alıç, Dutluk, Cengizhan, Fahri Korutürk, Y. Musluk, Gülseren plans. When it comes to the 1990-1996 period plans, they were the plans of Ekin, Cengiz Topel, Türközü, Akdere, Derbent, Y. Kartaltepe, Kartaltepe, Harman, Hürel, Ege, Boğaziçi, Şirintepe, Hüseyingazi, Altağaç, Bahçeleriçi, Karaağaç (Büyükgöçmen Sat , 1997:50-51).



**Figure 2. 30. The Improvement Planning Areas in the Boundaries of Mamak**  
*Source: Büyükgöçmen Sat 1997; 2007.*

When examining Mamak, it can be said that there is a transformation in progress which is taking place in the areas close to the city center. However, there remained many non-transformed gecekondu areas at the vicinity of the East Ring Road like Dostlar, Derbent, Araplar and Boğaziçi.



**Figure 2. 31. A look to Peripheral Mamak Gecekondu Areas From Samsun Road**  
*Source: Personal Archive.*

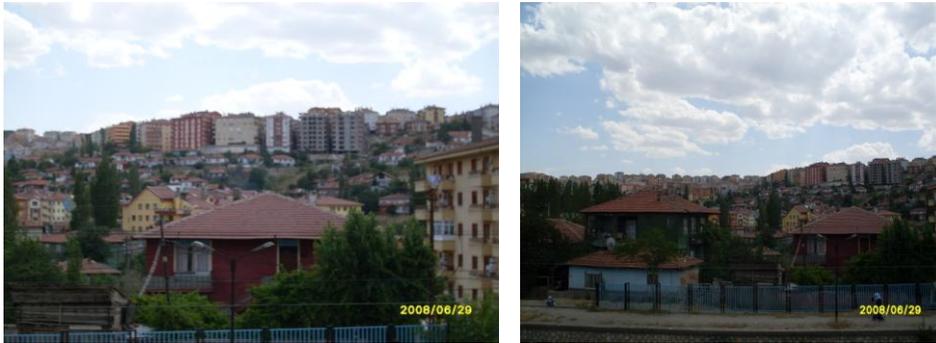
Returning back to the central Mamak, Bahçeleriçi, Aşık Veysel, Çağlayan, Gülveren, Misket, Tuzluçayır, Akdere and Türközü confirm clear examples of what has been going on in central Mamak.



**Figure 2. 32. Bahçeleriçi, Mamak & Aşık Veysel, Mamak**  
*Source: Personal Archive.*

In Bahçeleriçi, Gülveren and Çağlayan; what can be seen is gecekondu and high-rise apartment blocks which is not much of an improvement planning type of mixture.

When coming to Misket, Hüseyin Gazi and Tuzluçayır; it can be said that most parts of the urban fabric consist of gecekondu.



**Figure 2. 33. Misket and Çağlayan from Bahçeleriçi; Mamak**  
*Source: Personal Archive.*



**Figure 2. 34 Hüseyin Gazi Hill, Harman and Tuzluçayır; Mamak**  
*Source: Personal Archive.*



**Figure 2. 35 Akdere, Mamak**  
*Source: Personal Archive.*

Aşık Veysel and Akdere have more of a 4-storeys type apartment blocks structure which seems like an order that is created with the help of improvement plans.



**Figure 2. 36. Gülveren, Housing Project by TOKİ (Mass Housing Fund); Mamak**  
*Source: Personal Archive.*



**Figure 2. 37. Türközü, Mamak**  
*Source: Personal Archive.*

Gülveren is the home for a mass housing project by TOKİ. Right beside the project construction area, many high rise buildings can be seen.

Türközü as being the connection area with Çankaya is an interesting case. The transformation process have been started however not as massive as Bahçeleriçi

All in all, what can be said is that central Mamak started to get transformed. However; this seems as a new fact for the area. Therefore exists no relation between the improvement plans and this transformation in most of the area and in some cases like Akdere and Aşık Veysel; therefore this is questionable.

### **2.1.6 Çankaya**

The improvement planning areas in Çankaya in the 1984 and 1989 period were Karapınar, Ata, Akpınar 1-2, Öveçler, Şehitler, Cevizlidere, Seyran, Balgat, Öveçler, Kırkkonaklar, Yıldız, Hilal, Çukurca 1-2-3, İmrahor 1 (Zafertepe), İmrahor 2-3 (Bağcılar, Boztepe), Sancak 1-2-3, Mustafa Kemal 1-2-3, Huzur, Gökkuşığı. 1990-1996 plans were made for the gecekonu areas of Cevizlidere, Gökkuşığı, Karapınar, Akpınar, Şehitler, Ata, Öveçler, Keklikpınarı 1-2, Mürsel Uluç, İlker, Çiğdemtepe 1-2, Karakusunlar, Malazgirt, Kırkkonaklar, Yıldız, Hilal, Aşıkpaşa, Boztepe, Bağcılar, Bademlidere, Karakusun 1-2-3-4-5 (Büyükgöçmen Sat, 1997:52-55).





**Figure 2. 40. Zafertepe, Çankaya**  
*Source: kenthaber.com.*

Leaping through to Birlik, Sancak and Yıldız; what can be observed is the urban fabric which is the outcome of the realized improvement planning. There are still gecekondu areas in the İmrahor valley area however these areas were not included in the improvement planning process.



**Figure 2. 41. Birlik, Çankaya**  
*Source: Personal Archive.*



**Figure 2. 42. İmrahor Valley and Yakup Abdal Village from Birlik; Çankaya**  
*Source: Personal Archive.*



**Figure 2. 43. Sancak, Çankaya**  
*Source: Personal Archive.*



**Figure 2. 44. Yıldız, Çankaya**  
*Source: Personal Archive.*

Oran, İlker, Mürsel Uluç, Keklik, Cevizlidere, Gökkuşığı, Karapınar, Huzur and Öveçler, when observed; show the same characteristics. There is a very eclectic type of development as there are both high building blocks, 4-5 storey apartment blocks and even though at a very small number, there are gecekondu remained non-transformed. The areas located on the main roads are all transformed.

Dikmen Village that takes place in this zone of improvement planning, is a specific case as it is a part of neither Dikmen Urban Transformation Project nor improvement plans. The village remains non-transformed among all the high buildings, shopping malls and business centers yet prestige projects.



**Figure 2. 45. Dikmen Village and Oran, Çankaya**  
*Source: Personal Archive.*



**Figure 2. 46. Dikmen Village and İlker, Çankaya**  
*Source: Personal Archive.*



**Figure 2. 47. Mürsel Uluç, Çankaya**  
*Source: Personal Archive.*



**Figure 2. 48. Keklik, Çankaya**  
*Source: Personal Archive.*



**Figure 2. 49. Cevizlidere, Çankaya**  
*Source: Personal Archive.*



**Figure 2. 50. Gökkuşığı, Çankaya**  
*Source: Personal Archive.*



**Figure 2. 51. Huzur and Öveçler from Cevizlidere; Çankaya**  
*Source: Personal Archive.*

Examining Balgat, it can be said that has a more homogeneous character when compared to Dikmen area. Almost all Balgat is covered with 4-storeys apartment blocks thus parcel type of development. This may give us the chance to say that this tissue was shaped by improvement plans.



**Figure 2. 52. Balgat, Çankaya**  
*Source: Personal Archive.*



**Figure 2. 53. Karakusun and Çiğdem, Çankaya**  
*Source: Personal Archive.*

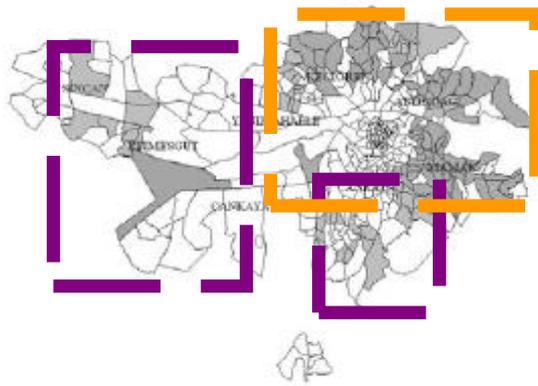
Another area in Çankaya where gecekondü still takes place is Karakusun and Çiğdem. It is usual fact for Karakusun and Çiğdem to have high-rise buildings right beside one single gecekondü.

To come to a close for Çankaya case, it can be said that Çankaya completed its transformation at a very large degree. The effect of improvement plans on this urban transformation will be discussed at the analysis section with reference to the plans prepared, expert ideas and the data collected from Municipalities and previous academic study.

## 2.2 Ankara and the Problematic of Urban Transformation and Non-Transformation via Improvement Planning

Taking into account the issue of urban transformation at the Ankara city scale, it can easily be said that South and West corridors including Çankaya and Etimesgut improvement planning areas succeeded at a very large degree in the issue of transformation. However the East and North corridors including Keçiören, Altındağ and Mamak still have many gecekondü areas remained non-transformed.

In the Figure 2.54. below, the improvement plan areas highlighted with purple represents the gecekondü areas where almost all the gecekondü were transformed into apartment blocks whereas the orange represents the non-transformed areas that are still in the process of transformation. Table 2.1. is the quantitative representation of level of development in the improvement planning zones, thus the districts of Ankara.



**Figure 2. 54. The Improvement Planning Areas in the Boundaries of Çankaya**  
*Source: Büyükgöçmen Sat 1997; 2007.*

When considering zone by zone, Etimesgut and Çankaya are the zones of improvement planning where an extensive transformation have taken place. The non-transformed areas in these zones are basically covered by the areas of natural assets with private projects.

However when considering Yenimahalle, Keçiören, Altındağ and Mamak it can be said that most of the improvement planning areas remained non-transformed in these districts.

Taking into account Yenimahalle case; the only area of non-transformation via improvement plans is the Şentepe region including neighborhoods like Kayatepe and Çiğdemtepe. Keçiören and Mamak cases are very similar to the Yenimahalle-Şentepe case. Most of these areas remained non-transformed till the 2000s and after the 2000s; the urban development was mainly characterized by high-rise blocks that are located in single parcels. However, the urban scene is highly mixed. There are both gecekondü areas spread to large amount of land, 4-5 storey apartment blocks, TOKİ (Mass Housing Foundation) Projects and high-rise buildings.

Illustrating the issue by numbers, it can be said that 46,72% of the population of Altındağ, 5,90% of Çankaya population, 18,73% of Etimesgut population, 18,02% of Keçiören population, 56,39% of Mamak population, 0,62% of Sincan population and 10,86% of Yenimahalle population, thus 21,18% of Ankara population is consisted of gecekondü population. **Detailed information concerning gecekondü areas, one by one can be found in the Appendix section that is located by the end of the study.**

Observing the existing condition of improvement planning areas, what this study aims from now on is to analyze the processes that fostered the formation of these conditions.

**Table 2. 1. The Distribution of Population in the Metropolitan Areas of Ankara by -2008**

Name	District			Built up Area			Vacant Area				
	Area	Population	Household Size	Area	Population	%	Density (p/ha)	Unplanned		Developed	
								Area	Density (p/ha)	Non-residential (Ha)	Residential
Altındağ	6415,5	399,411	3,83	852,4	212,817	53,28	249,67	2196,8	1037,4		
Çankaya	13496,1	758,490	3,37	4834,4	707,459	93,27	146,34	477	3591,4		
Etimesgut	1781,11	88,558	3,67	522,77	80,067	90,41	153,16	386,53	6622,95		147,530
Keçiöğren	5836,1	626,743	4,00	2031,3	513,773	81,98	252,93	0	1899,5	0	0
Mamak	7717	414,477	3,98	1394,3	179,890	43,40	129,02	477	3272,5		
Sincan	2676,12	267,879	3,98	1272,93	266,205	99,38	209,13	396,41	144,46		
Y.Mahalle	10004,4	534,103	3,69	2515,2	473,502	88,65	188,26	0	6262,9	197	29,090
Toplam	47926,3	3,089,662	3,68	13423,3	2,433,715	78,77	181,31	3933,74	22831,11	1426,8	176,620

Name	District			Gecekondü							Total	
	Area	Population	Household Size	Number	Population	%	Area	Existing Density (p/ha)	Improvement Plan Density (p/ha)	Improvement Plan Population		Population
Altındağ	6415,5	399,411	3,83	43265	186596	46,72	1521,6	173,89	246,1	374,496	587,313	
Çankaya	13496,1	758,490	3,37	11,717	44,748	5,90	1216,5	37,66	191,3	232,804	972,265	
Etimesgut	1781,11	88,558	3,67	4,172	16,583	18,73	227,9	72,7	146,3	33,348	156,123	
Keçiören	5836,1	626,743	4,00	26,337	112,970	18,02	1901,2	63,67	175,6	334,026	960,769	
Mamak	7717	414,477	3,98	56,600	233,724	56,39	2573,1	92,94	260,3	669,879	849,769	
Sincan	2676,12	267,879	3,98	412	1,674	0,62	39,75	10,36	173,4	6,896	283,494	
Y.Mahalle	10004,4	534,103	3,69	13,742	57,979	10,86	826	68,23	256,2	211,668	714,261	
Toplam	47926,3	3,089,662	3,68	156245	654274	21,18	8306,1	78,77	184,09	1,529,091	4,523,994	

Source: 2023 Plan Report, Great Metropolitan Municipality of Ankara, 2007.

## **2.3 Analyses of the Improvement Planning Areas**

*The muffin man is seated at the utility muffin research kitchen.  
(Frank Zappa, From the Album Bongo Fury, 1975)*

In this section; the questions of “why transformation and why non-transformation in the improvement planning areas?” will be answered by taking into account the interviews done with the Municipal authorities, the real estate agents and the constructors.

The main aim is to obtain the dynamics of non transformation by finding the common and contrasting ideas about the issue of transformation and non-transformation in the improvement planning areas and joining the outcomes of interviews with the observed spatial situation of the improvement planning areas both to test and to evaluate the compatibility of the interview results with the spatial reality tested through quantitative data.

All these data, direct observation and the inter-relating process of those two will enable us to build a comparative approach for understanding the inner dynamics of urban transformation and non-transformation via improvement planning in the case of Ankara.

### **2.3.1 A Comparative Approach to Improvement Planning Areas**

After documenting the existing situation in the improvement planning, this study will now focus on the improvement planning zones one by one.

#### **2.3.1.1 Etimesgut**

As stated before, Etimesgut became a district at the year 1990. Therefore, the improvement planning activity started since then.

**Table 2.2. 1990-1996 Period Improvement Plans for Etimesgut**

Neighborhood	Existing			Time Improvement Plan				
	Pop (1990)	Area (Ha)	Density (P/Ha)	Date	Pop	Area (Ha)	Density (P/Ha)	Change In Density%
Etiler* <sup>3</sup>	5170	40.5	128	1991	11700	30	390	205
İstasyon*	6058	81	78	1991	10000	49	204	162
K. Karabekir	6776	43.2	157	1991	14000	29	483	208
Süvari	6380	145.7	44	1991	40495	120	338	668
30 Ağustos	12091	61.9	195	1992	52000	117	444	128
Pwade	696 1	112.7	62	1991	68000	140	486	684
Topçu*	4102	20	205	1991	29000	99	293	43
Şeker*	2200	20	110	1991	11700	20	585	431
Ervaman*	8158	60.4	135	1992	10680	37	289	114
<b>Total</b>	<b>57896</b>	<b>584.4</b>	<b>99</b>		<b>267080</b>	<b>641</b>	<b>386</b>	<b>290</b>

Source: *Büyüköçmen Sat 1997, 2007.*

Sources for population: 1985 and 1990 Population Census, SIS (cited in *Büyüköçmen Sat, 1997*)

Source for existing area: *Tekeli et. al., 1987: 251-254 (cited in Büyüköçmen Sat, 1997)*

By the year 1990, the existing population of Etimesgut, as a total sum of the neighborhood populations, was 57.896 in the year 1990. The improvement plan population was 267.080 which proposed a population density increase from 99% to 386% therefore a change of % 290 (*Büyüköçmen Sat, 1997: 55-56*).

**Table 2.3. The Change in the Distribution of Population in Etimesgut**

Years	Ankara Total	Etimesgut
1923	30 000	-
1927	74 533	-
1935	122 720	-
1940	157 242	-
1945	226 712	-
1950	288 536	-
1955	451 241	-
1960	650 067	-
1965	905 660	-
1970	1 236 152	-
1975	1 701 004	-
1980	1 877 755	-
1985	2 235 035	-
1990	2 584 035	69 960
2000	3 203 362	169 615

Source: *2023 Plan Report, Greater Metropolitan Municipality of Ankara, 2007.*

<sup>3</sup> \* stands for the settled neighborhoods, the densities of which are used in the calculation instead of the area in the plan boundaries by *Büyüköçmen Sat (1997)*.

When looking at the data obtained from the Ankara Greater Metropolitan Municipality 2023 Plan Report, the 1990 population of Etimesgut was 69.960 (slightly different from Büyükgöçmen Sat's calculation) and 2000 population was 169.615 which are 97.465 less than the proposed population by the improvement plans. Here it can be said that there is a large amount of population which is created virtually by the improvement plans.

With reference to the interviews done and the existing spatial condition of Etimesgut which is taken independently from the quality of the urban environment, almost all the urban transformation process by the improvement plans were completed. However; the desired population of the plans could not be reached. The improvement plan densities remained as a motivator factor for the constructors.

It is because, in Etimesgut there is a large amount of vacant land provided and this situation decreased the land prices in Etimesgut. This decrease in the land prices fastened the process of urban transformation by improvement planning as it was easier for the small constructor to buy the land. In addition the favorable land prices, the construction costs also decreased, and this led to affordable housing for middle and low income class that it was easier for the constructor to sell and build again.

However, the decrease in the land prices was not the only motivator for the process. Due to the interviews done with the Municipal authorities, the property problems did not crippled the urban transformation process by improvement plans in the boundaries of Etimesgut. For the application of the plans the Municipality decided to get only 3 owners together in the jointly owned parcels thus the process of transformation was eased.

Another corroborative thing in the process was the development rights given. Four-storeys were allowed for all the improvement planning areas. It might arouse a question about why the four-storey of development rights is important.

It is because, when the constructor thus capital enters into area to transform the gecekondu; the Article No: 18 of the Development Law No: 3194 comes into force that the constructor had to share at least %30 of the newly constructed building with the right holders. Therefore when a constructor builds less than four-storey apartment blocks then it means that it is not in his interest in terms of the value-added gained.

Besides, again with reference to the interviews, there are other factors fostering the Etimesgut area as a whole. Etimesgut is located on the Western corridor of Ankara where remains outside the topographical threshold, additionally Etimesgut is on the way to the new urban developments, a node for commuter-local railway and very close to the connecting roads like Eskişehir and İstanbul Roads. For example, Eryaman and Elvankent are attention taking mass housing type of urban developments in Etimesgut which also fostered the urban development in Etimesgut.

As stated before, Alsancak - Şırıncağ Tepe is the only mass non-transformed gecekondu area remained non-transformed in Etimesgut. The other gecekondu are dispersed among the transformed areas. However, this area was not subject to an improvement plan as it was under the authorities of Ministry of Finance and National Real Estate General Bureau till the 2000s. In the year 2005, the deed was transferred to the Etimesgut Municipality and today the area is subject to an urban transformation project.

### **2.3.1.2 Yenimahalle**

Looking at the existing condition which is shown by pictures in the first Chapter, the only massive non-transformed area in Yenimahalle is Şentepe area where the 1984-1989 plans were focusing on. Around Şentepe, there are Kaletepe, Güventepe, Yeşilevler, Avcılar and Çiğdemtepe.

Today when observing these areas, it can be seen that there is a massive construction, transformation from gecekondu to high-rise apartment blocks. However, this is not a development which is the result of improvement planning but what the Yenimahalle Municipality called urban transformation.

**Table 2.4. 1984-1989 Period Improvement Plans for Yenimahalle**

Neighborhood	Existing			Improvement Plan				
	Pop (1985)	Area (Ha)	Density (P/Ha)	Date	Pop	Area (Ha)	Density (P/Ha)	Change In Density%
Ç. Tepe I	13240	64.1	207	1987	8766	24	365	-10
Ç. Tepe I				1988	5958	22	271	
Ç. Tepe I				1989	4410	57	75	
G. Tepe I	7218	40.6	178	1987	7488	22	340	92
G. Tepe II				1988	4482	13	345	
Burç Kayalar	11321	71.9	157	1988	16092	52	310	112
	6023	39.1	154		12690	35	363	
Kaletepe I	7225	43.8	165	1989	8262	27	306	76
Kaletepe II				1989	7974	29	275	
Demetevler	133057	146.9	906	1982	374141	350	1069	18
G. Yaka I	15157	57.8	262	1987	11216	30	374	43
G. Yaka II				1988				
Karşıyaka	13483	40.6	332	1987	20306	29	700	111
Anadolu	7918	53.1	149	1987	11317	31.7	357	140
Pamuklar	9241	59.4	156	1985	25610	62	413	165
Avcılar	6170	343.8	18	1989	9954	54	184	922
<b>Total</b>	<b>215196</b>	<b>961.1</b>	<b>223</b>		<b>528666</b>	<b>837.7</b>	<b>631</b>	<b>183</b>

Source: *Büyükgöçmen Sat 1997, 2007*

Sources for population: 1985 and 1990 Population Census, SIS (cited in *Büyükgöçmen Sat, 1997*)

Source for existing area: Tekeli et. al., 1987: 251-254 (cited in *Büyükgöçmen Sat, 1997*)

When considering the population density changes brought by the improvement plans in Yenimahalle neighborhood, it can be seen that there is an increase of 183% proposed; from 223 people per hectare to 631 peoples per hectare. In the improvement plans large amount of areas in Çiğdemtepe and Avcılar were proposed to be green areas as almost 50% of these areas were decided to be improper for settlement (*Büyükgöçmen Sat, 1997:61-62*).

**Table 2.5. 1990-1996 Period Improvement Plans for Yenimahalle**

Neighborhood	Existing	Improvement Plan		Existing					
	Pop (1985)	Area (Ha)	Pop (1985)	Area (Ha)	Pop (1985)	Area (Ha)	Pop (1985)	Area (Ha)	
Beştepeler I	10502	157.5	67	1989	6550	17.6	16.1	372	327
Beştepeler II				1992	3100			193	
<b>Total</b>	<b>10502</b>	<b>157.5</b>	<b>67</b>		<b>9650</b>	<b>33.7</b>		<b>286</b>	<b>327</b>

Source: *Büyükgöçmen Sat 1997, 2007*

Sources for population: 1985 and 1990 Population Census, SIS (cited in *Büyükgöçmen Sat, 1997*)

Source for existing area: Tekeli et. al., 1987: 251-254 (cited in *Büyükgöçmen Sat, 1997*)

It can be seen from the Tables that the proposed improvement plan population in between the years of 1984 and 1989 was 528.666. In-between the years 1990 and 1996, the only improvement planning area determined for Yenimahalle was Beştepelers; where is today located right behind the Ankara Bus Terminal, AŞTİ. The plan population for this area was 9650. Therefore for Yenimahalle, the overall improvement planning population was 538.316. The 2000 population for Yenimahalle was 534.109.

**Table 2.6. The Change in the Distribution of Population in Yenimahalle**

Years	Ankara Total	Yenimahalle
1923	30 000	-
1927	74 533	-
1935	122 720	-
1940	157 242	-
1945	226 712	-
1950	288 536	-
1955	451 241	-
1960	650 067	67 636
1965	905 660	86 222
1970	1 236 152	133 347
1975	1 701 004	198 643
1980	1 877 755	270 016
1985	2 235 035	360 573
1990	2 584 035	343 951
2000	3 203 362	534 109

*Source: 2023 Plan Report, Greater Metropolitan Municipality of Ankara, 2007.*

As the improvement plans were mostly covering the Şentepe area and the urban transformation via improvement plans could not be achieved in Şentepe area. Thus it can be said that there was again a virtual population creation by means of improvement plans for Yenimahalle just like Etimesgut.

According to Yenimahalle Municipality authorities responsible from planning; the improvement plans were not a solution for the gecekondur problem in the area of Şentepe. As stated before, this area was covered with hills that almost half of the area is not proper for settling.

Again due to the Municipal experts', real-estate agents' and constructors' commendations; the parcels determined by the improvement plans were so small (like 200-300 square meters for a four-storey apartment block) and the green area proposals were meaningless. Besides the property ownership relations in Şentepe area was too complicated for the small constructors to solve. In addition to the complexity of the property relations, the

geomorphologic assets (as being covered by hills with harsh slopes) of the area were compelling. All these were conditions against to the interest of the small constructors that the small constructor to avoid investing in Yenimahalle-Şentepe area.

However, today, when examining the improvement planning areas in Şentepe (the photos of the area are available in the first section of this Chapter which is covering the existing situation in detail), it can be seen that there is an already started transformation activity, characterized by high-rise blocks of twenty-storey and four-five storey apartment blocks. As mentioned previously, this construction activity has nothing to do with the improvement plans but a transformative attempt **what the municipality calls ‘urban transformation’** after the 2000s. Urban transformation here should, and of course expected to, be basically addressing the urban regeneration that is discussed at the Western urban planning literature at a large degree.

Basically regeneration with reference to the dictionary means the act or the process of regenerating, the state of being regenerated, spiritual renewal or revival, renewal or restoration of a body, bodily part, or biological system (as a forest) after injury or as a normal process or the utilization by special devices of heat or other products that would ordinarily be lost (Merriam Webster’s Online Dictionary, 2008).

In the literature of **urban regeneration** there are various numbers of definitions of the concept of urban regeneration that diversify due to the different visions, targets, strategies and methods they emphasize (Akkar, 2006: 29).

To Lichfield (1992, cited in Akkar: 2006:29) urban regeneration is the re-approaching to the declined urban areas which is for achieving a better understanding over the processes of regenerating. To Donnison (1993, cited in Akkar: 2006:29), urban regeneration is the new methods developed to solve the problems of urban areas in decline. A more extensive definition coming from Roberts (2000, cited in Akkar: 2006:29) is that urban regeneration, as a comprehensive, integrated vision and action, the attempt to achieve the sustainable and continuous improvement of the economic, physical, social and environmental conditions of an area. In other words, redevelopment and revitalization of the economic activity that has lost its importance; achievement of the re-operation of the social functions that have not been functioning and provision of the societal integration where social exclusion is a subject and improving the environmental quality where the ecological balance is lost (Akkar: 2006:29).

Urban regeneration is a conscious, systematized and planned action concerning an urban area. Urban regeneration is an urban policy that mainly concerns the urban areas where the urban environment and the community is under decline. Regeneration aims the creation of “more viable” urban fabrics through the mobilization and evaluation of endogenous potentialities gained through location and human resources with the aim of pulling exogenous investment and achieving economic revitalization (Chaline, 1999:3-5 cited in Keleş, 2003:1).

When taking urban regeneration as an umbrella concept to which there are many concepts related; like renewal, renovation, restructuring, rehabilitation, revitalization, conservation, gentrification (Liechfield, 1988:29; Tiesdell, 1996:1 and Dorathı, 2000:17 cited in Keleş, 2003:1) as well as the clearance, redevelopment, improvement, preservation, conservation, restoration, reconstruction, infill development and refurbishment; where the urban social and physical infrastructure is inadequate.

To sum up what has been told so far; in the planning literature, urban regeneration can be defined to be the totality of all the urban policies, methods and actions that are for the creation of livable urban areas with “better” economic, physical, socio-spatial conditions from the declined urban areas where degradation, damage and obsolescence is taking place. Urban regeneration is an urban policy aiming to use the urban land in an effective way that; it is also useful for the prevention of urban sprawl (Roberts, 2000 cited in Akkar: 2006:29).

However; when looking at the urban transformation activity in the boundaries of Yenimahalle, it is clear that it is a space deterministic physical transformation activity from gecekondu to building blocks which has nothing to do with socio-economic viability. Besides the “urban transformation” perspective of the Municipality is highly partial as not mentioning about the urban transformation project areas but the parcel by parcel development.

According to the planning authorities of Yenimahalle Municipality, the urban transformation activity that came on the agenda after 2004 is a far better alternative to the improvement plans which already became a past activity for Yenimahalle Municipality.

With the “urban transformation”, new plans were prepared. These plans, as stated again by the experts, are proposing lower densities when compared to the improvement plans. The minimum apartment size is determined to be 125 square meters therefore the parcel sizes were increased to be able to motivate the small building constructors. It is hard to understand

that how the increase in the parcel sizes motivated the constructors as the increase in the parcel sizes leads to an increase in the rights holders thus complexity in property relations.

However, the planners in the Municipality states that there is another new concept brought which maximizes the interest of the constructors even though the numbers of right holders increase. This new concept is **h-min which is height minimum**. This new concept refers to limitless storey of buildings in large parcels which are 750 square meters at minimum. Therefore height maximum decision is left to the constructors. The building precedents are increased to 1.80 for parcels of 750 square meters, 1.92 for parcels between 750-1000 square meters with an increase of 10%, 2.12 for parcels between 1000-1500 square meters with and increase of 15% and the maximum number for building precedents is 2.12 for 1500-1500 +.

In addition, the roads proposed by the improvement plans were so very much related to the existing urban fabric of gecekondu that unnecessary roads are proposed to be closed with the new plans and larger roads were proposed. In addition to the Municipal experts, the constructors also cannot deny the effect in the construction activity of the 25 meters boulevard construction in Şentepe.

According to the planners in the Municipality of Yenimahalle, this alternative fostered the transformation of Şentepe even in such floating in the construction sector after 2006 and almost 15% of the areas get transformed under the new regulations after 2004.

Besides with the new regulations after the 2000s, the land and the apartment prices started to increase. In addition to this, a new regulation by Municipality led to the use of only 5% of a building as a commercial area whereas in the past it was limitless. This led to a competition among the tradesmen and increase in the prices of trade areas. Therefore a motion started to take place in the neighborhood.

The situation in the arena of construction is more or less the same in Beştepelers. There is a tendency of building high-rise building blocks which started after the 2000s. However, the topographical conditions and the rentability of the area is much more higher when compared to Şentepe as the area have always been closed to both old settlements of Ankara like Emek and Bahçelievler, in addition the central business district of Kızılay. It can be said that the constructors may have been waiting for the most rentable conditions to enter into area.

### **2.3.1.3 Keçiören**

The existing population density before the improvement plans in the year 1985 was 87 people per hectare whereas the proposed population density by the improvement plans for Keçiören Municipality 1984-1989 improvement planning areas was 324 people per hectare. Therefore an increase of 272% was on the agenda (Büyükgöçmen Sat, 1997:56-58).

When it comes to the population densities proposed by 1990-1996 improvement plans, it can be seen that there is an increase of 217% from 112 people per hectare to 355 people per hectare (Büyükgöçmen Sat, 1997:56-58).

By 1984-1989 improvement plans, the population proposed was 403.115 and the population proposed by the 1990-1996 period improvement plans was 360.773. Therefore, in the total sum, the population proposed by the improvement plans in between the years of 1984-1996 was 803.888.

**Table 2.7. 1984-1989 Period Improvement Plans for Keçiören**

Neighborhood	Existing			Improvement Plan				
	Pop (1985)	Area (Ha)	Density (P/Ha)	Date	Pop	Area (Ha)	Density (P/Ha)	Change In Density (%)
Bağlarbaşı	10639	144.1	74	1987	23000	54.9	419	466
Güçlükaya	10985	65.6	167	1987	15000	33	455	173
Hasköy	1854	37.1	50	1987	6130	14.5	423	746
Kanuni	10198	103.7	98	1987	20000	66	303	209
Kuşcağız	16429	187.5	87	1989	38220	98	390	348
Osmangazi I	6531	63.7	103	1988	15750	45	350	250
Osmangazi II				1988	13690	37	370	
Sancaktepe	9362	62.6	150	1988	24462	90.6	270	80
Ufuktepe	4275	150	29	1988	49977	134.5	372	1183
Yayla	12455	193.8	64	1988	38250	155	247	286
Şehit Kubilay	12208	181.3	67	1987	12000	33	364	445
Şehit Kubilay İlave				1989	1436	3.8	378	
Atapark I	13865	118.8	117	1988	65740	80	346	445
Atapark II				1989		110		
19 Mayıs	10630	71.9	148	1988	16980	60	283	57
İncirli	14683	100	147	1989	13500	72.6	186	
Ayvalı I	14120	218.8	65	1988	48980	158	310	377
Ayvalı II				1989				
Ayvalı III				1988				
Ayvalı IV				1989				
Ayvalı V				1989				
Total	148234	1698.9	87		403115	1245.9	324	272

Source: *Büyükgöçmen Sat 1997, 2007*

Sources for population: 1985 and 1990 Population Census, SIS (cited in *Büyükgöçmen Sat, 1997*)

Source for existing area: Tekeli et. al., 1987: 251-254 (cited in *Büyükgöçmen Sat, 1997*)

**Table 2.8. 1990-1996 Period Improvement Plans for Keçiören**

Neighborhood	Existing			Improvement Plan				
	Pop (1990)	Area (Ha)	Density (P/Ha)	Date	Pop	Area (Ha)	Density (P/Ha)	Change In Density (%)
Basınevler	11366	56.3	202	1991	4704	11.5	409	103
Çubuk I	22935	92	249	1990	16550	49.7	333	34
Çubuk II				1990	11655	35	333	
Esertepe	14493	256.3	57	1990	27000	75	360	532
Kurtini	4137	20	207	1990	7020	20	351	70
23 Nisan	3225	37.5	86	1990	18000	48	375	238
Köşk	3509	23.4	150					
Papazderesi	6680	40	167	1991	21201	55.5	382	129
Sermeevler	2500	35	71	1990	9135	35	261	268
Uyanış	9812	71.9	137	1987	5500	10	550	204
Uyanış II				1995	9060	21	431	
Uyanış III				1995	3861	13.2	297	
Yeşilöz	4922	48.4	102	1990	25000	89	281	158
Yeşiltepe	8383	59.4	141					
Çaldıran	3779	48.4	78					
Yüksetepe	12222	210.3	58	1992	17237	100.8	171	185
Taşhtepe	8100	126.6	64					
Bademlik I	8695	109.4	79	1987	42336	6.4	469	494
Bademlik II				1990		63.1		
Bademlik II İlave				1990		20.8		
Aktepe II	5285	29.7	178	1995	14871	41.3	360	162
Aktepe III				1995	8911	16.6	537	
Aktepe IV				1995	12280	25.3	485	
Aktepe V				1995	8420	12	702	
Kardeşler	6098	24.1	253	1995	17226	22	783	209
Şenyuva	6917	45.6	152	1996	58000	198	293	93
Güzelvurt								
Kasalar	5186	38.7	134	1992	11466	26	441	229
Şahlar	6821	54.7	125	1992	11340	20	567	113
<b>Total</b>	<b>155065</b>	<b>1379.3</b>	<b>112</b>		<b>360773</b>	<b>1015.2</b>	<b>355</b>	<b>217</b>

Source: *Büyüköçmen Sat 1997, 2007*

Sources for population: 1985 and 1990 Population Census, SIS (cited in *Büyüköçmen Sat, 1997*)

Source for existing area: Tekeli et. al., 1987: 251-254 (cited in *Büyüköçmen Sat, 1997*)

In the 2000 Population Census, the population of Keçiören was calculated to be 625.167. Thus, the proposed improvement plan population of 803.888 was exceeding the 2000 population of Keçiören by 178.721 people. This again shows us that, there is an unnecessary creation of population by improvement plans for Keçiören like the two previous cases of Etimesgut and Yenimahalle.

**Table 2. 9. The Change in the Distribution of Population in Keçiören**

Years	Ankara Total	Keçiören
1923	30 000	-
1927	74 533	-
1935	122 720	-
1940	157 242	-
1945	226 712	-
1950	288 536	-
1955	451 241	-
1960	650 067	-
1965	905 660	-
1970	1 236 152	-
1975	1 701 004	-
1980	1 877 755	-
1985	2 235 035	433 559
1990	2 584 035	523 891
2000	3 203 362	625 167

*Source: 2023 Plan Report, Greater Metropolitan Municipality of Ankara, 2007.*

When looking at today's existing conditions of the improvement planning areas in the Keçiören district, it is possible to observe an already started transformation. Like Şentepe, this transformation started after the 2000s. Therefore the level of transformation by improvement plans in Keçiören is said to be very low by the interviewed constructors.

The planners in the Municipality evaluate this non-transformation by the improvement plans as a supply and demand issue. Generally, the parcels proposed by the improvement plans are stated to be so small. In addition, in the Keçiören improvement planning areas case, the property relations are evaluated to be so complicated. Especially in the plan areas of Atapark and Kanuni; the property relations cause the constructor not to enter into some parts of the areas.

Plus, the topography caused the entombment of the buildings constructed that the construction costs increased. Therefore, Keçiören improvement planning areas are evaluated by the Municipal experts to be against the interest of the small constructors that the areas could not get transformed by improvement plans.

The Municipal authorities, to solve this problem of non-transformation, prepared new plans or revised the existing improvement plans. The idea behind was to increase the parcel sizes and gaining from the green area that the building heights proposed by the plans were increased. However, due to the crisis in the construction sector taking place since 2006, some of the constructors left the buildings unfinished.

In most of the areas, the improvement plans were cancelled. For example, like the non-transformed areas of Ovacık (which is a new urban development area in Keçiören) and Karakaya, the areas with three-storey heights of development rights by the improvement plans, which is against the interest of the constructors in terms of the gain get from the value added (as mentioned in the Etimesgut case, are given four-storey of development rights so that they can get transformed).

Besides this new regulations in the improvement planning areas, the “urban transformation” mentioned in the Yenimahalle case is also on the agenda for Keçiören Municipality in the areas like Yükseltepe and Papazderesi-Basınevler where the topography and property relations were very problematic.

Today’s conditions of Ovacık, Papazderesi and Yükseltepe can be seen from the photos in the first section of this Chapter.

With reference to the interviews done with the real-estate agents, the transformation process was started by the regulations of the Municipality after the 2000s but especially after 2005, with the construction of the Yozgat Boulevard which is connecting the peripheral areas to the core areas of Keçiören. However, still in the areas, very close to the Yozgat Boulevard, that is located at the connection area of Yenimahalle to Keçiören, remained non-transformed. The real-estate agents claim that there are both property problems and rent-seeking actions by the owners in this area. Because the development rights along the Yozgat Boulevard is four-storeys that the owners want to gain more value added like the interest gained through the “urban transformation” regulations.

Additionally, the real-estate agents claim that when the construction area around the gecekondü exceeds 6000 square meters, the gecekondü area remained non-transformed in that area must get transformed in a year. Therefore, they have the assumption that many gecekondü areas will get transformed in a year or two.

Besides, the real-estate agents claim that the politics of the Municipality concerning development activities motivated the capital in the sector of construction after the 2000s. As there are many mega projects like Water World, Estergon Castle, business and trade tower construction and the teleferic.

The interviews with the real estate agents show that the development rights given by the improvement plans in the area are various. It is four-storey high along the main roads, and then it is gradually decreasing to three and two storey with reference to the relative distance to the main roads. Therefore the areas along the roads could get transformed but the others could not. There are still some areas waiting for extra development rights to be able to get transformed by the constructors.

According to the interviews done, the plans prepared for Keçiören can sometimes be rejected by the Greater Metropolitan Municipality even though similar plans of the other Municipalities are admitted. Due to this reason, as mentioned before, some areas are still waiting for the new regulations for the development rights. The Municipal authorities claim that this may be a political issue affecting the urban process of Keçiören.

#### **2.3.1.4 Altındağ**

The improvement plans prepared in between the years 1984 and 1989 proposed an increase in the population density from 97 people per hectare to 255 people per hectare which is %163 whereas 1990-1996 period improvement plans propose an increase of 113% that is from 173 people per hectare to 368 people per hectare (Büyükgöçmen Sat, 1997:50-52).

Therefore a population of 297.430 was proposed till 1990 and after 1990, a population of 202.000 was determined with the improvement plan decisions. The total sum proposed by the improvement planning areas of the Altındağ Municipality is 499.430.

**Table 2.10. 1984-1989 Period Improvement Plans for Altındağ**

Neighborhood	Existing			Improvement Plan				
	Pop (1985)	Area (Ha)	Density (P/Ha)	Date	Pop	Area (Ha)	Density (P/Ha)	Change In Density%
Karapürçek	1677	85	20	1989	7500	85	88	340
F.Çelik	38725	386.3	100	1989	68500	283	241	161
Başpınar	19207	164	117					
Beşikkaya	9835	267.3	38					
Doğantepe	13230	67.5	196					
Çamlık	6650	35.9	185	1989	99900	370	270	400
Beşikkaya	9835	267.3	38					
Plevne	2245	18.7	120	1989	7500	17	441	267
Solfasol	2627	111.8	24	1987	38000	158	241	569
Yıldıztepe	9930	58.1	171					
Güneşevler	11161	51.6	216					
Güneşevler	11161	51.6	216	1987	52380	193	271	75
Gülpınar	8283	71.9	115					
Doğu	4155	34.4	121					
Yıldıztepe	9930	58.1	171					
Güneşevler	11161	51.6	216	1987	11800	40.5	291	36
Ali Ersoy	8073	38.3	211					
Yeşilöz	5064	48.4	105	1987	3450	6.1	566	474
Yeşilöz					3900	6.1	637	
Başpınar	19207	164	117	1989	4500	10	450	285
<b>Total</b>	<b>140862</b>	<b>1439.7</b>	<b>97</b>		<b>297430</b>	<b>1168.7</b>	<b>255</b>	<b>163</b>

Source: *Büyükgöçmen Sat* 1997, 2007

Sources for population: 1985 and 1990 Population Census, SIS (cited in *Büyükgöçmen Sat*, 1997)

Source for existing area: Tekeli et. al., 1987: 251-254 (cited in *Büyükgöçmen Sat*, 1997)

**Table 2.11. 1990-1996 Period Improvement Plans for Altındağ**

Neighborhood	Existing			Improvement Plan				
	Pop (1990)	Area (Ha)	Density	Date	Pop	Area	Density	Change In Density%
<b>Önder</b>	12738	117.2	109	1993	5000	93	54	-70
<b>Hacılar</b>	12824	43.8	293					
<b>Ulubey</b>	11478	47.1	244					
<b>Alemdağ</b>	9232	57.2	161	1991	95000	210	452	184
<b>Battalgazi</b>	9639	87.5	110					
<b>Hacılar</b>	12824	43.8	293					
<b>Önder</b>	12738	117.2	109					
<b>Ulubey</b>	11478	47.1	244					
<b>Gültepe</b>	5223	71.9	73	1990	35000	92.5	378	223
<b>S. Somuncu.</b>	6062	25.0	243					
<b>Gökçende</b>	1938	6.2	313					
<b>Doğanşehir</b>	2638	5.0	528					
<b>I. S. Murat</b>	4297	87.6	49					
<b>Çalışkanlar</b>	8262	46.9	176					
<b>Aktaş</b>	2243	10.9	206	1991	55000	103	534	123
<b>Atılla</b>	3347	18.8	178					
<b>Ccmalbey</b>	4311	15.6	276					
<b>Çandarlı</b>	1530	3.1	494					
<b>Engürü</b>	1838	3.1	593					
<b>Fatih</b>	2952	3.7	798					
<b>Fermanlılar</b>	1446	3.1	466					
<b>Gültepe</b>	5223	71.9	73					
<b>Hayri Akman.</b>	2486	3.7	672					
<b>Hürriyet</b>	2431	4.6	528					
<b>Kartallar</b>	3388	3.8	892					
<b>K. Zeytinöglü</b>	1913	6.2	309					
<b>Orhan Gazi</b>	2823	9.3	304					
<b>Özgürlük</b>	1876	6.2	303					
<b>Sinan Paşa</b>	1418	4.3	330					
<b>Sokuilu</b>	1635	6.2	264					
<b>Yavuz Selim</b>	937	3.7	253					
<b>Yiğitler</b>	2204	5.0	441					
<b>Baraj</b>	14283	90	159					
<b>Total</b>	137392	796.7	173		202000	548.5	368	113

Source: *Büyükgöçmen Sat 1997, 2007*

Sources for population: 1985 and 1990 Population Census, SIS (cited in *Büyükgöçmen Sat, 1997*)

Source for existing area: Tekeli et. al., 1987: 251-254 (cited in *Büyükgöçmen Sat, 1997*)

When comparing a population of 499.430 people proposed by the 2000 population of Altındağ which is 400.023; it can be said that the outcome is the same with the previously discussed districts; thus creation of a virtual, unnecessary population by improvement planning decisions.

**Table 2. 12. The Change in the Distribution of Population in Altındağ**

Years	Ankara Total	Altındağ
1923	30 000	-
1927	74 533	-
1935	122 720	-
1940	157 242	-
1945	226 712	-
1950	288 536	-
1955	451 241	180 189
1960	650 067	148 420
1965	905 660	218 464
1970	1 236 152	335 096
1975	1 701 004	512 392
1980	1 877 755	608 689
1985	2 235 035	403 871
1990	2 584 035	417 616
2000	3 203 362	400 023

*Source: 2023 Plan Report, Greater Metropolitan Municipality of Ankara, 2007.*

When looking at Altındağ, with reference to the direct observations explained in the first section of this Chapter, there can be said to be many non-transformed gecekondu in the neighborhoods like Doğantepe, Başpınar, Feridun Çelik, Hüseyin Gazi and Ekin. These are the gecekondu areas formed mainly after the 1940s and dispersed from the core areas to the periphery. They remain in between Altınpark and the ring road built in the 1990s and surrounding Ankara.

According to the data obtained from the case study research; the road constructions and the development activities caused an increase in the land prices that it is very hard for the constructors to enter into areas where the Regulation Share determined by the Article No:18 varies in between %40 and %30.

The transformation processes in the area, even not as extensive as Mamak and Keçiören, started after the 2000s. According to the Municipal experts, it is because the mentioned Municipalities started their new intervention types earlier than Altındağ. Besides, the construction activity in this zone was affected by the economic crisis at a large degree.

According to the Municipal authorities, improvement planning did not work in Altındağ because of the size of the parcels and the development rights of two-three storey buildings that are not in favor of the small building constructor, as stated before.

The narrow roads, small parcels, unequal development right distribution (four storey on the main roads and two-three storey in the inner areas), small and the cumbersome green areas are the main assets of the improvement plans according to the Municipal authorities. Therefore the improvement plans were started to be revised by the end of the 1990s and all the development rights were increased to four storey of development and extra and wider roads were proposed.

An example given by the real-estate agents given in the interviews made was the example of Karapürçek where the urban transformation started at a large degree after the 2000s, after the construction of new inner roads and a boulevard connecting the area to both the Ankara core areas, Doğantepe, Samsun Yolu, Siteler and the ring road.

As mentioned in the website of the Municipality (2008), the Municipality cancelled the improvement plans and started a new development planning project for all the improvement plan areas which is expected to be finished by the end of 2008. Gülpınar, Yıldıztepe, Doğantepe and a part of Başpınar, Çamlık, Beşikkaya, Battal Gazi, Hacılar, S. Somuncuoğlu and Sultan Murat neighborhood plans were finished and 38.140 deeds were given to the right holders whereas the entire Başpınar, Yunus Emre, Ali Ersoy, Yıldıztepe and Feridun Çelik improvement plans are on their ways to get finished.

Today Bentderesi is subject to an urban transformation project which is already started along the main road and in addition Gültepe (Çin Çin), Aktaş, Doğantepe, Karacaören are subjects to mass housing projects by the Mass Housing Fund.

By the end of 2007 the construction permit number was increased from 68 which is the total number of construction permits given before 2004 to 703. In addition the development plan area covers 83% of Altındağ, while it was 32% before.

However, there are still areas where the development rights are not announced by the Municipality. The real-estate agents relate this issue with the political conflicts between Altındağ Municipality and the Greater Metropolitan Municipality.

To sum up the Altındağ case, the faith of the improvement plans have been more or less the same with Keçiören and Yenimahalle improvement planning areas. The improvement plans could not work due to the improper development rights for the capital.

### 2.3.1.5 Mamak

**Table 2.13. 1984-1989 Period Improvement Plans for Mamak**

Neighborhood	Existing			Improvement Plan				
	Pop (1985)	Area (Ha)	Density (P/Ha)	Date	Pop	Area (Ha)	Density (P/Ha)	Change In Density%
Şafaktepe	7914	53.1	149	1989	816	4	204	37
Gülveren	13263	50.0	265	1989	17750	71	250	10
B. Üstü	7296	40.6	180					
Aşık Veysel	10787	53.1	203	1989	27368	88	311	185
Peyami Sefa	7871	47.5	166		17105	55	311	
Kazım Orbay	6246	56.8	110		11010	36	311	
Gn. Z. Doğan	7060	106.9	66		38253	123	311	
Mutlu	18319	198.8	92		59090	190	311	
Nato Yolu Mamak Koop - Samsun Dev. Yolu Arası	4897	83	59	1989	13280	83	160	171
Üreğil	19613	1006.2	20	1989	64645	119	160	700
Yeşilbayır						125		
S. Gürler						63		
K. Kayaş						125		
Bayındır						169		
Kusunlar						543		
Tuzlucaıyır	8766	53.1	165	1989	52000	31	267	105
Çağlayan	4081	28.1	145			96		
Şahintepe	7725	68.7	113			25		
Misket	6612	59.3	112			60		
Derbent	10921	143.7	76	1989	47250	135	350	373
Dostlar	7687	79.6	97					
Araplar	2524	62.5	40					
D. Alıç	32735	372.6	88	1989	64200	312	200	127
Dutluk								
Cengizhan								
F. Korutürk								
Y. Musluk	6934	56.3	123	1989	42600	123	346	151
Gülseren	12102	81.3	149					
<b>Total</b>	<b>203353</b>	<b>2701.2</b>	<b>75</b>		<b>455553</b>	<b>2576</b>	<b>177</b>	<b>136</b>

Source: *Büyüköçmen Sat 1997, 2007*

Sources for population: 1985 and 1990 Population Census, SIS (cited in *Büyüköçmen Sat, 1997*)

Source for existing area: *Tekeli et. al., 1987: 251-254 (cited in Büyüköçmen Sat, 1997)*

The improvement plans prepared in between 1984 and 1989 decided for an increase of 136% in the population density, the existing condition of which is 75 people per hectare and the proposed amount is 177 people per hectare. When taking into account the 1990-1996 plans, the existing average population density in Mamak at this period was 70 people per hectare and it was increased to 266 people per hectare by the improvement plans which are a 280% of change (Büyükgöçmen Sat, 1997:59-61).

**Table 2.14. 1990-1996 Period Improvement Plans for Mamak**

Neighborhood	Existing			Improvement Plan				
	Pop (1990)	Area (Ha)	Density (P/Ha)	Date	Pop	Area (Ha)	Density (P/Ha)	Change In Density%
Ekin	15753	573.4	27	1990	20000	88.0	227	741
Ş. Cengiz Topel	6762	38.7	175	1990	57484	92.6	621	320
Türközü	10154	90.6	112					
Akdere	6874	31.8	216					
Derbent	11950	143.7	83	1995	10000	21.0	476	474
Y. Kartaltepe	4951	28.1	176	1990	10856	30.6	355	188
Kartaltepe	5911	21.9	270		11049	23.0	481	
Harman	6019	87.5	69		12520	36.9	340	
Hürel	3700	21.8	170		5077	15.8	320	
Ege	7366	206.2	36	1990	50325	305	165	210
Boğaziçi	12079	84.3	143		17500	50	200	
Şirintepe	6612	84.3	78		24500	70	200	
Hüseyingazi	4485	106.3	42	1990	10955	41.7	176	121
Alpağaç	7097	68.7	103		11957	42.9	159	
Bahçeleriçi	4361	53.1	82		6346	81.2	155	
Karaağaç	3576	40.6	88		8483	68.0	96	
<b>Total</b>	<b>118050</b>	<b>1681</b>	<b>70</b>		<b>257052</b>	<b>966.7</b>	<b>266</b>	<b>280</b>

Source: *Büyükgöçmen Sat 1997, 2007*

Sources for population: 1985 and 1990 Population Census, SIS (cited in *Büyükgöçmen Sat, 1997*)

Source for existing area: Tekeli et. al., 1987: 251-254 (cited in *Büyükgöçmen Sat, 1997*)

The 2000 population of the district is 412.771 people. The population proposed at the interval of 1984-1989 by the improvement plans was 455.553 and 1990-1996 was 257.052; therefore a total sum of 712.605 which is 299.834 people more than the 2000 population of whole Mamak Municipality. This means; the improvement plans, like the previously mentioned districts, was a tool for producing extra amount of development rights and population as a speculative act.

**Table 2.15. The Change in the Distribution of Population in Mamak**

Years	Ankara Total	Mamak
1923	30 000	-
1927	74 533	-
1935	122 720	-
1940	157 242	-
1945	226 712	-
1950	288 536	-
1955	451 241	-
1960	650 067	-
1965	905 660	-
1970	1 236 152	-
1975	1 701 004	-
1980	1 877 755	-
1985	2 235 035	371 904
1990	2 584 035	400 733
2000	3 203 362	412 771

*Source: 2023 Plan Report, Greater Metropolitan Municipality of Ankara, 2007.*

Mamak have always been known as the least advantaged area in terms of transformation however today the scene is different when examining the existing situation. There is a construction activity started at the neighborhoods that are closer to the city center due to the expansion of the city in this direction.

This huge construction owns itself to the “urban transformation” regulations which were explained before while analyzing the situations in Yenimahalle and Keçiören. Today; according to the Municipality records, 71.000 gecekondü were demolished and 128.766 apartments were developed in the Mamak Municipality.

The real-estate agents interviewed, claim that all the transformation activity starting from the central Mamak to Türközü neighbourhood (which is very close to Çankaya) have been started in the last five years. Therefore the inner areas, rather than the transformed ones on the main roads in the last five years, are expected to get transformed by the capital gained from the already transformed areas.

The main reason why this transformation has started after the 2000s is thought to be the strengthened connection road with Çankaya and the changing municipal boundaries. Before the 2000s, both sides of the connecting road mentioned was Mamak; however the municipal boundaries changed and one side became Mamak and the other one became Çankaya. Therefore, as the real estate agents think, being a neighbor to very rentable areas of the city brought vitality.

Tepecik, Köstence, Derbent, Dostlar, Boğaziçi and Araplar neighborhoods that are at the peripheral areas of Ankara and located on the Samsun Road which could not get transformed up till today in spite of the fact that they have improvement plans are today subjects of New Mamak urban transformation project which is claimed to be largest urban transformation project in the World by the Mamak Municipality (2008). However this project is subject to a case.

In addition to this urban transformation project there are other transformation projects which are Ege, Kartaltepe, Kazım Orbay, Kıbrıs Köyü, Durali Alıç, Gaz Maske, Araplar, Ekin, Doğukent, Hüseyin Gazi, İmrahor, Yatık Musluk urban transformation projects. Some of these projects take place in the parts of Mamak that are not developed yet. Therefore these projects are located on the vacant lands.

The authorities who are responsible from planning in the Mamak Municipality claim that the improvement plans do not have urban regeneration as logic of urban transformation but they are just a tool for legalizing gecekondu. Besides; these plans have always been very open to political pressures that partial changes have always been made.

The reasons why the improvement plans for Mamak could not get realized according to the Municipality authorities and the real-estate agents are the same; the partial type of property relations (two-three storeys), the inefficiency of development rights for the constructors and the topography.

### **2.3.1.6 Çankaya**

The 1984-1989 improvement plans were proposing an average increase of 189% for Çankaya from the existing condition of 83 people per hectare to proposed amount of 240 people per hectare. Looking at the, 1990-1996 period improvement plans, it can be seen that an increase from 108 people per hectare to 272 people per hectare is proposed. Therefore a change of 152% was foreseen by the improvement plans for Çankaya in between the years of 1984 and 1996 (Büyükgöçmen Sat, 1997:53-55).

**Table 2.16. 1984-1989 Period Improvement Plans for Çankaya**

Neighborhood	Existing			Improvement Plan				
	Pop (1985)	Area (Ha)	Density (P/Ha)	Date	Pop	Area (Ha)	Density (P/Ha)	Change In Density (%)
Karapınar	3475	42.5	82	1987	12375	45	275	235
Ala	5533	70.0	79	1987	9900	36	275	248
Akpınar I Akpınar II	4715	70.0	67	1987 1987	19800	66	300	348
Öveçler	15589	297.5	52	1987	13000	52	250	381
Şehitler	7910	97.5	81	1987	13000	41	317	291
Cevizlidere	9905	50	198	1987	13500	54	250	26
Seyran	10574	36.3	291	1988	7200	36	200	-31
Balgat	10254	201.3	51	1987	10500	42	250	390
Balgat Öveçler	10254 15589	201.3 297.5	51 52	1987	3200	16	200	285
Kırkkonaklar	6514	135	48	1987	12182	40.6	300	525
Yıldız Hilal	12702 4695	118.7 63.1	107 74	1988	12159	41.6	292	204
Çukurca I Çukurca II Çukurca III	9128	217.2	42	1988 1988 1988	49750	86 62 51	250	495
İmrahor I (Zafertepe)	13007	31.8	409	1988	7860	64	120	-71
İmrahor II (Bağcılar- Boztepe) İmrahor III	12700	127	100	1987 1987	20800	72 32	200	100
Sancak I Sancak II Sancak III	10595	120	89	1988 1988 1990	18000	81	222	149
M Kemal I M Kemal II M Kemal III	1789	18.1	99	1988 1988 1988	22750	21 47 23	250	153
Huzur	5538	70.1	79	1987	10500	76	250	217
Gökkuşığı	5052	49.4	102	1987	16250	50	325	219
<b>Total</b>	<b>149945</b>	<b>1815.4</b>	<b>83</b>		<b>272726</b>	<b>1135.2</b>	<b>240</b>	<b>189</b>

Source: *Büyükgöçmen Sat 1997, 2007*

Sources for population: 1985 and 1990 Population Census, SIS (cited in *Büyükgöçmen Sat, 1997*)

Source for existing area: Tekeli et. al., 1987: 251-254 (cited in *Büyükgöçmen Sat, 1997*)

**Table 2.17. 1990-1996 Period Improvement Plans for Çankaya**

Neighborhood	Existing			Improvement Plan				
	Pop (1990)	Area (Ha)	Density (P/Ha)	Date	Pop	Area (Ha)	Density (P/Ha)	Change In Density%
<b>Cevizlidere</b>	14331	50.0	287	1995	71200	224	318	127
<b>Gökkuşığı</b>	5694	49.4	115					
<b>Karapınar</b>	4097	42.5	96					
<b>Akpınar</b>	5330	70.0	76					
<b>Şehitler</b>	9115	97.5	94	1995	39480	38.8	350	317
<b>Ata</b>	6055	70.0	87			36		
<b>Öveçler</b>	23694	297.5	80			38		
<b>Keklikpınar II</b>	9518	190.6	50	1995	4662	31.7	147	322
<b>Keklikpınar I</b>				1991	13194	53	249	
<b>Mürsel Uluç</b>	7587	65	117	1991	16600	85	171	38
<b>İlker</b>	4479	32.5	138			11.9		
<b>Çiğdemtepe</b>	13213	64.1	206	1992	1161	7	166	55
<b>Karakusunlar</b>	24152	285	85					
<b>Malazgirt</b>	4454	50.6	88	1991	5500	20	275	213
<b>Kınkkonaklar</b>	8119	135.0	60	1994	28250	113	250	317
<b>Yıldız</b>	12702	118.7	107	1994	12916	41.5	311	224
<b>Hilal</b>	4695	63.1	74					
<b>Aşıkpasha</b>	56881	235	242	1990	19710	65.8	300	224
<b>Boztcepe</b>								
<b>Bağcılar</b>								
<b>Bademlidere</b>								
<b>Çiğdemtepe I</b>	13213	64.1	206	1991	1400	7	200	-11
<b>Çiğdemtepe II</b>				1992	1161	7	166	
<b>Karakusun. I</b>	24152	285	85	1991	8282	33	251	209
<b>Karakusun. II</b>				1991	5891	38	157	
<b>Karakusun. III</b>				1991	37482	136	276	
<b>Karakusun. IV</b>				1991	5600	22	250	
<b>Karakusun. V</b>				1991	16800	56	300	
<b>Total</b>	238268	2201.5	108		301003	1064.7	272	152

Source: *Büyükgöçmen Sat 1997, 2007*

Sources for population: 1985 and 1990 Population Census, SIS (cited in *Büyükgöçmen Sat, 1997*)

Source for existing area: Tekeli et. al., 1987: 251-254 (cited in *Büyükgöçmen Sat, 1997*)

This change in the population density refers to a population of 272.726 people proposed in 1984-1989 interval and 301.003 people proposed in 1990-1996 interval, the total sum of which is 573.729. The 2000 population of Çankaya is 758.490 while it was 665.005 in the year 1985 and 712.304 in the year 1995. Therefore; this numbers of population may give us a clue about the success of improvement planning in Çankaya. As the population proposed

by increasing the development rights by improvement plans have always been less than the actual population of Ankara that, it can be said that Çankaya can said to be the only district in Ankara where the virtual population creation by improvement planning is not the case.

**Table 2. 18. The Change in the Distribution of Population in Çankaya**

Years	Ankara Total	Çankaya
1923	30 000	-
1927	74 533	-
1935	122 720	-
1940	157 242	-
1945	226 712	-
1950	288 536	103 127
1955	451 241	180 989
1960	650 067	304 077
1965	905 660	470 454
1970	1 236 152	653 290
1975	1 701 004	895 005
1980	1 877 755	921 882
1985	2 235 035	665 128
1990	2 584 035	712 304
2000	3 203 362	758 490

*Source: 2023 Plan Report, Greater Metropolitan Municipality of Ankara, 2007.*

When interviewing with the planners at the Çankaya Municipality; it is understood that, after the establishment of Çankaya Municipality in the year 1985, eighteen gecekondü areas were announced to be improvement planning areas in the year 1986 and after the 1990s again eleven gecekondü areas were announced to be improvement planning areas. The application of these plans were started by the beginning of the 1990s and completed by the first half of the 1990s. The reason why most of the plans succeeded in Çankaya is said to be the four-storey of development rights given in almost all the area which is covered all by gecekondü by the end of the 1980s.

Returning back to the issue of non-transformation; there were and are some areas remained non-transformed such as Mustafa Kemal (the area located at the North of Middle East Technical University; today Tevfik Fikret High School is located there) and Zafertepe in Çankaya despite having improvement plans. The Municipal authorities explain this situation through the development rights given.

By the end of the first half of the 1990s, again with reference to the interview done with the planners working at the Municipality, the improvement plans were revised for Mustafa Kemal and the development rights were increased from two storeys high to four storeys high. This increase in the development rights led to the transformation of Mustafa Kemal via improvement plans even though the number of share holders concerning one apartment block was increased. The reason why is that the development rights were in favor of the small constructors in a very rentable area (on the way to the new urban development areas).

When examining Zafertepe, it can be seen that even today the area is non-transformed. It is explained by the experts through the two storeys high, split-level houses proposed in the improvement plans. Due to the harsh topography of the areas this decision of split-level houses were taken by the planners. They add that if four storey of development right were to be given by the improvement plans, the area would transform immediately get realized. Today Zafertepe is subject to the 5.3 hectares Zafertepe Urban Transformation project announced by the Çankaya Municipality and approved by the Greater Metropolitan Municipality of Ankara.

Today, another non-transformed gecekondü area takes place in inner Karakusunlar and Çiğdem. The Municipal experts mention that there is a very partial type of property ownership in this area whereas the real-estate agents claim that the gecekondü owners have been keeping their gecekondü to get a larger share from the rent that will be obtained and finally they have come to an agreement on the transformation issue with the Greater Metropolitan Municipality.

In addition to the massive gecekondü area in Karakusunlar and Çiğdem, it is possible to see gecekondü standing one by one. The constructors talked at the field claim that these type of gecekondü areas are located on the National Treasury areas or green area or road decisions of the plan that, they do not belong to real persons.

Another case for Çankaya is that there can be seen high-rise developments within the improvement planning areas in the places like Karakusunlar, Çiğdem, Cevizlidere, Çukurambar, Keklik, Huzur, Sancak and etc. . This means that in these areas there are developments remaining out of the improvement plans, as the developments realized through improvement plans are not more than four-storey of height. Therefore the situations in these areas were again asked to the Municipal experts.

According to the information got from the Municipal experts, as stated before, these areas had two types of improvement plans. The A-type covers the changing height regulations in the existing fabric and the B-type covers the formation of higher building blocks when the property owners agree on leaving the 50% of the area in the hand of public.

However, both types did not work in the areas mentioned above as the first type is, as explained many times, was not as rentable as building higher blocks and the second type was not rentable as it was hard to bring the property owners together and besides leaving the 50% of the land to the hands of public was not rentable.

Therefore these areas remained non-transformed for some time and soon after the Municipality prepared new development plans that are more than four-storeys high and that are not a revised version of the existing development conditions. Then these areas started to get transformed and almost all the areas are covered with building blocks today.

According to the data obtained from the Çankaya Municipality website (2008); at present, there are 11.906 (58%) hectares of non-constructable area in the boundaries of Çankaya Municipality. 6800 hectares of this amount is under the authority of Greater Metropolitan Municipality as the Greater Metropolitan Municipality announced urban transformation project areas in those lands. This causes the Çankaya Municipality's not being able to decide on these areas. Here it can again be seen that again the political issues affecting the urban issues.

The remaining 5106 (%25) hectares are the areas having the development plans with the scale 1/5000, however lacking 1/1000 scale action area plans. Some of these types of areas are subject to urban transformation projects announced by the Municipality like Büyükesat Valley and Zafertepe, and the remaining amount is consisting of Middle East Technical University and Atatürk Orman Çiftliği.

To conclude the Çankaya case; it can be said that even if Çankaya is a very rentable district, when the plan proposals do not meet the interests of the constructors, then they cannot be realized.

### **2.3.2 A Comparative Analysis of the Improvement Planning Areas**

As explained case by case there are still gecekondur areas with improvement plans remained non-transformed even in today in the districts of mainly Yenimahalle, Keçiören, Mamak and Altındağ, Çankaya and Etimesgut. However; Çankaya and Etimesgut completed almost all their transformation by improvement plans at a large degree while Yenimahalle, Keçiören, Mamak and Altındağ improvement planning areas were unsuccessful attempts of transformation via improvement plans.

In overall, when looking at the districts that are unsuccessful in transformation by the improvement planning process, it can be seen that they are located at the North and East Ankara.

As stated before; 46,72% of the population of Altındağ, 5,90% of Çankaya population, 18,73% of Etimesgut population, 18,02% of Keçiören population, 56,39% of Mamak population, 0,62% of Sincan population and 10,86% of Yenimahalle population, thus 21,18% of Ankara population is consisted of gecekondur population. With the light of the information obtained by the field study such an evaluation concerning the improvement plans and the urban transformation and the phenomena of non-transformation is as shown in Table 2.19 by reference to the data obtained from the Greater Metropolitan Municipality 2023 Plan Report and Table 2.20 by reference to the case study.

The 2000 population of Etimesgut was 169.615 which is 97.465 less than the proposed population by the improvement plans.

Yenimahalle, the improvement planning population was 538.316. The 2000 population for Yenimahalle was 534.109.

In the 2000 Population Census, the population of Keçiören was 625.167. The improvement plan population of 803.888 was exceeding the 2000 population of Keçiören by 178.721 people.

The proposed population by improvement plans for Altındağ was 499.430 people. The 2000 population of Altındağ was 400.023 people.

The 2000 population of Mamak district was 412.771 people. The improvement plans population proposed was 712.605 which are 299.834 people more than the 2000 population of the entire Municipality.

The total population proposed by the improvement plans for Çankaya district was 573.729. The 2000 population of Çankaya is 758.490 while it was 665.005 in the year 1985 and 712.304 in the year 1995.

What can be understood from above explanations is that almost 2 millions of extra population was created by the improvement planning activity of Ankara in between the years of 1984 and 1996 (Büyükgöçmen Sat; 1997, 2007; 2023 Plan Report, 2007). This virtual population created can be related to a perspective of populist politically rent seeking attitude of the Motherland Party politics in 1980s. However these proposals by the improvement plans never came true.

Table 2.20. below is the summary of the inner dynamics case by case concerning urban transformation via improvement plans.

As Şengül (2001:62) states what is important to be able to comprehend the urban processes is to internalize the “the politics of scale”. It is because the urban processes cannot be understood without the concern of macro transformations that are determined by the larger scale societal relations.

Therefore; to be able achieve what has been told so far, now, this thesis will firstly examine the macroform formation processes in Ankara. Therefore these processes are examined under periods that are mainly determined by planning decisions, legal regulations and macro-economic policies. After perceiving and conceiving the macroform formation processes that affected the historical structuration of the improvement planning areas, this study will focus on the evaluation through the literature.

In Chapter 4 and 5, the deeper evaluation of this analysis will be done, after covering the macro processes have been affecting the development of Ankara. After the evaluation with reference to the World examples in Chapter 4; the determined inner dynamics of the improvement planning areas by the case study research will be related to the topographical assets, service and workplace distribution and demographic changes to Ankara to be able to evaluate all the transformation and non-transformation processes with reference to the urban land market and rent issue in Chapter 5.

**Table 2. 19. The Distribution of Gecekondu Population in the Metropolitan Areas of Ankara by 2008**

Name	District						Gecekondu				Total
	Area	Population	Household Size	Number	Population	%	Area	Existing Density (p/ha)	Improvement Plan Density (p/ha)	Improvement Plan Population	
Altındağ	6415,5	399,411	3,83	43265	186596	46,72	1521,6	173,89	246,1	374,496	587,313
Çankaya	13496,1	758,490	3,37	11,717	44,748	5,90	1216,5	37,66	191,3	232,804	972,265
Etimesgut	1781,11	88,558	3,67	4,172	16,583	18,73	227,9	72,7	146,3	33,348	156,123
Keçiören	5836,1	626,743	4,00	26,337	112,970	18,02	1901,2	63,67	175,6	334,026	960,769
Mamak	7717	414,477	3,98	56,600	233,724	56,39	2573,1	92,94	260,3	669,879	849,769
Sincan	2676,12	267,879	3,98	412	1,674	0,62	39,75	10,36	173,4	6,896	283,494
Y.Mahalle	10004,4	534,103	3,69	13,742	57,979	10,86	826	68,23	256,2	211,668	714,261
<b>Total</b>	<b>47926,3</b>	<b>3,089,662</b>	<b>3,68</b>	<b>156245</b>	<b>654274</b>	<b>21,18</b>	<b>8306,1</b>	<b>78,77</b>	<b>184,09</b>	<b>1,529,091</b>	<b>4,523,994</b>

Source: 2023 Plan Report, Greater Metropolitan Municipality of Ankara, 2007.

**Table 2. 20. A Comparative Evaluation of the Improvement Planning Areas  
The Motivators of Urban Transformation by Improvement Plans<sup>6</sup>**

The Name of the Improvement Plan Zone	The Development Rights Given <sup>4</sup> (How many storeys were allowed for construction?)	The Level of Transformation <sup>5</sup> 1. Preserving the existing urban fabric 2. Preserving the existing urban fabric; however proposing public areas by expropriation 3. Changing the Existing Urban Fabric	The Motivators of Urban Transformation by Improvement Plans <sup>6</sup>
Etimesgut	4	2	<p>*Large amount of vacant land created; inexpensive land prices (favorable construction costs)</p> <p>*Municipality's decision to get only 3 owners together in the jointly owned parcels (eased ownership relations)</p> <p>*Four-storey of development rights</p> <p>*Being located on the Western corridor of Ankara</p>

<sup>4</sup> This information concerning the development rights was gained through the interviews made at the Planning and Development Departments of the Municipalities.

<sup>5</sup> This information concerning the level of transformation was gained through direct observation in the improvement planning areas.

<sup>6</sup> This information concerning the motivators of urban transformation was gained through the interviews with various actors and direct observation.

<b>Yenimahalle</b>	4-3-2	2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>*The parcels determined by the improvement plans were so small</li> <li>*Complexity of the property relations</li> <li>*The geomorphologic assets (as being covered by hills with harsh slopes)</li> <li>*The areas on the main road connections transformed, other remained non-transformed</li> <li>*Today, urban transformation projects</li> <li>*The idea of urban transformation by the Municipality (height minimum rather than height maximum)</li> <li>*Today, preparation of new development plans</li> </ul>
<b>Keçiören</b>	4-3-2	2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>*The parcels determined by the improvement plans were so small</li> <li>*Complexity of the property relations</li> <li>*The geomorphologic assets (as being covered by hills with harsh slopes)</li> <li>*The uneven distribution of development rights</li> <li>*Not being a focus of development for the city</li> <li>*The areas on the main road connections transformed, other remained non-transformed</li> <li>*Today, urban transformation projects</li> <li>*The idea of urban transformation by the Municipality (height minimum rather than height maximum)</li> <li>*Today, preparation of new development plans</li> </ul>
<b>Altındag</b>	4-3-2	2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>*The parcels determined by the improvement plans were so small</li> <li>*Complexity of the property relations</li> <li>*The geomorphologic assets (as being covered by hills with harsh slopes)</li> <li>*The uneven distribution of development rights</li> <li>*The areas on the main road connections transformed, other remained non-transformed</li> <li>*Today, urban transformation projects</li> <li>*The idea of urban transformation by the Municipality (height minimum rather than height maximum)</li> <li>*Today, revision of the improvement plans (four-storey of development rights)</li> </ul>

Table 2.20. continued

<b>Mamak</b>	4-3-2	2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>*The parcels determined by the improvement plans were so small</li> <li>*Complexity of the property relations</li> <li>*The geomorphologic assets (as being covered by hills with harsh slopes)</li> <li>*The uneven distribution of development rights</li> <li>*Not being located on the axis of development for the city till the 2000s</li> <li>*Today, urban transformation projects</li> <li>*The idea of urban transformation by the Municipality (height minimum rather than height maximum)</li> <li>*Today, preparation of new development plans</li> </ul>
<b>Çankaya</b>	4-2	2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>*The application of these plans were started by the beginning of the 1990s and completed by the first half of the 1990s.</li> <li>*Four-storey of development rights given in almost all the area which is covered all by gecekondü by the end of the 1980s.</li> <li>*The areas without four-storey of development rights could not get transformed even in such a rentable area of the city (examples of Zafertepe, Mustafa Kemal)</li> <li>*Partial type of property ownership</li> <li>*Gecekondü owners have been keeping their gecekondü to get a larger share from the rent</li> <li>*Shift from improvement plans to development plans in some areas (more than four-storey of development rights) so that they could get transformed</li> <li>*Today, urban transformation projects</li> </ul>

Table 2.20. continued

## CHAPTER 3

### THE DEVELOPMENT PROCESS OF ANKARA MACROFORM IN RELATION TO THE IMPROVEMENT PLANNING AREAS

*Towns are like electric transformers.*

*They increase tension,  
accelerate the rhythm of exchange  
and constantly recharge human life.*

*(Fernand Braudel, Civilization and Capitalism, 1981:479)*

As known, even though looking very similar to very many (so called) developing country case, gecekondü is a unique residential type for Turkey and gecekondü formation and transformations affects the development of most of the large cities in Turkey. Thus more than any other thing, gecekondü transformations symbolize the Turkish urban regeneration and transformation literature. Especially in the 1980-1990 periods, under the Motherland's Party politics, development rights were distributed over than much.

However; not all the areas with the great development rights were able to be subject to transformation till the 2000s, the mass urban transformation projects' era. Therefore cases after 1980 are very didactic in the case of comprehending the dynamics of urban non-transformation under such circumstances.

As known, the aim of this study is to define the dynamics of urban transformation and the phenomena of urban non-transformation in the case of Ankara. However; what should not be forgotten while studying a period of a whole urban process is that a part of the whole process cannot solely constitute a holistic understanding of an urban issue as it is meaningful in its historical context.

Thus this section will deeply cover the external dynamics affecting the improvement planning areas thus the development process of Ankara macroform in relation to the improvement planning areas under the periods<sup>7</sup> defined with respect to the macroeconomic processes, legal regulations and planning studies:

- Period of Non-Dispersal (1923-1950)
- The Period of the Socio-Spatial Integration Attempts for the Migrated Population (1950-1980)
- Period of Dispersal and Integration Attempts (1980-1994)
  - Upper Scale Planning Studies (1982-1994)
  - Intense Improvement Planning (1980-1989)
  - Urban Transformation concerning Public Interest (1990-1994)
- Period of Re-dispersal – Incremental Approaches of Municipalities Period (1994-2003)
- Marketing the Dispersed City Period – Massive Urban Transformation Period (2004- +)
- How about the Future? Ankara 2023 Plan

As stated before, main focus of interest will be on the post-1980 era.

### **3.1 Formation of Peripheral Areas in Ankara under the Planning Processes**

The core and periphery formation of Ankara has always been basically affected by the geomorphologic assets of the city, throughout the history. The city was basically located in a bowl shaped cavity. Thus all the planning activity takes this cave shape as the most important asset and aims to overcome this threshold (Günay, 2005:66).

#### **3.1.1 Period of Non-Dispersal (1923-1950)**

Since the establishment of the Republic, there are there have been many laws enacted concerning the urban transformation issues. The laws enacted in-between the years of establishment of the Republic and the rapid urbanization period are mainly for the

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<sup>7</sup> The interview made at the Planning Department of the Greater Metropolitan Municipality constituted a basis thus a reference for the periodization of Ankara macroform development process.

structuration a basis for the development issues of the new republic like the Development Law and the Expropriation Law.

In the year 1923, a very economically and physically deprived city, Ankara became the capital city of the newly established Republic, Turkey. Therefore this great regional planning decision affected the historical development of this small Middle Anatolian town, with a population of 20-25 thousands, deeply (Bademli, 1986:105; Bademli, 1985:10).

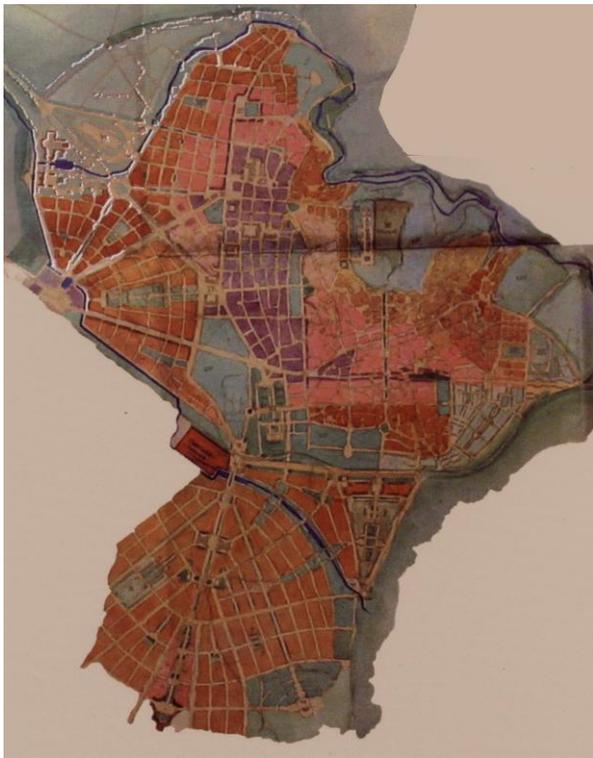
Çankaya, Dikmen, Keçiören and Etlik were the hills of Ankara that are higher than 1100 meters of height (Şenyapılı, 1985:5 cited in Büyüköçmen Sat, 1997:7). These hills were creating a topographical threshold around the city and that has always been the major problem for the future planning activity.

Besides these hills, there were agricultural villages, some of which are today's improvement planning areas, around the city. These were Solfasol, Pursaklar, Bağlum, Yakup Abdal, Kıbrıs, Yakacık, Yuva, Susuz, Kayaş, Nenek, Yalıncağ, Ludumlu, Alacaathı, Karapürçek, Tatlar, Gıcık, Dodurga, Etlik, Kalaba, Aktepe and İmrahor (Büyüköçmen Sat, 1997:7).

In the name of forming the urban space in Ankara where the existing population density was 248 people per hectare (Altaban, 1986: 126). The first plan was made by **Lörcher** in the year 1925. What is crucial in this plan is that it is the first time that the cadastral parcel planning approach of the Ottoman Empire, which is based on the ownership, was replaced with the development parcels which are based on the structures. This plan can be said to confirm a basis for the development of the center facilities that were to be constructed both in Kızılay and Ulus (Günay, 2005:67).

The Lörcher Plan proposed a dense and compact city form for Ankara. The aim was to centralize the railway station and integrate Ulus to this centralized structure. The other important proposal of the plan is the connection of this center to the Yenışehir (the new city) with the Atatürk Boulevard. Here it can be said that the plan introduced a new and old city distinction. However; besides this connection of the old and the new cities, the plan does not define new development areas to the city; yet it remains at the level of center introduction. However what was crucial in that period was the urgent determination of the new residential areas, working places and green areas (Bademli, 1986:105; Günay, 2005:68-69).

Thus, including the Lörcher Plan, till 1932; what happened in Ankara were incremental interventions, which were not parts of a larger scale development plan. Thus, in need of a larger scale plan to organize the urban space that characterized the Republic, Ankara Development Plan Competition was completed in the year 1928 and **Hermann Jansen** was the winner. What should not be forgotten about the competition is that it were concerning a population projection of 300.000 in the next 50 years, for Ankara with a population of 75.000 at those times (Bademli, 1986:105; Günay, 2005: 71). But it should not be forgotten that these were the years, the entire World was facing the 1929 economic crisis.

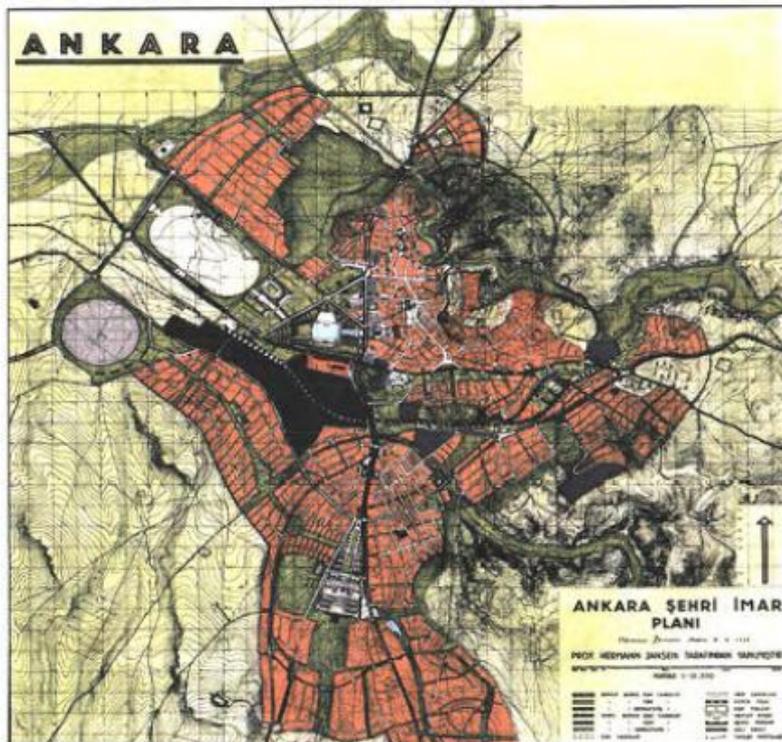


**Figure 3.1. Lörcher Plan, 1924**  
*Source: Günay, 2005.*

In the year 1932, the Jansen plan; that was aiming the form the development of the city with a comprehensive planning approach that covers both analyzing the general structure of the city and deciding on the land use and transportation, was approved and came into force. Thus this document, prepared by Jansen was the second determiner in the urban space creation in Ankara (Günay, 2005:69-70).

Jansen Plan was aiming an achievement of public health through the physical transformation with a disurbanist and anti-compactness approach. Thus the plan included urban green areas which are mainly the valleys and ridges (Jansen, 1929: 139-140 cited in Çalıřkan, 2004). Jansen plan can said to be a decentralization from the center, thus from the Castle that foresees the new development areas.

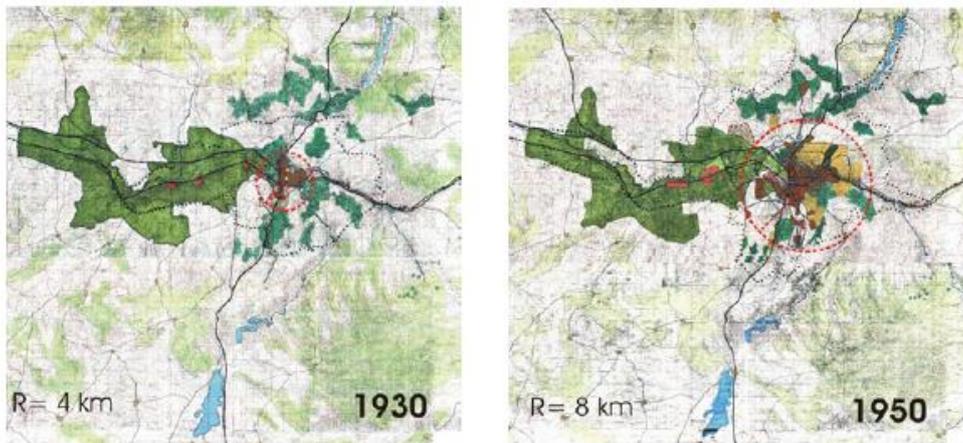
Examining the planning decisions, the North West areas of the Castle were planned as the residential areas of the labors, whereas the North and the North East parts were planned as the new residential areas that were to be developed. Besides, today's whole Maltepe was planned as an industrial area. In addition Yeniřehir, Cebeci and İskitler were new urban development areas , Aydınlıkevler were decided to be the residential area for laborers and were low-dense village development pattern was proposed in Çankaya and Kavaklıdere. Besides, like Lörcher plan, Atatürk Boulevard was again the only connection between the old and the new city. The other developments concerned had no direct connection with the center but a ring road between the newly proposed areas (Günay, 2005:71-73).



**Figure 3.2. Jansen Plan, 1924**  
*Source: Günay, 2005.*

However; the application was not going hand in hand with the plan. By the year 1938, Jansen had the claim that the signature of his would be deleted from the plan. It was because there were certain changes in the plan while application because of the speculative tendencies. What was done was the elimination of the commercial area at the vicinity of the Railway Station. The industrial area that were started to be built up with even the effects of Lörcher Plan was moved lengthwise the railway and Maltepe where was planned to be an industrial area became a residential district. The Eastern part of Yenışehir was transformed into an educational area whereas Çankaya was planned as a garden city. However the most important change concerning the urban macroform was the circular form that was replaced with the West-East axis linear form. Therefore this change increased the importance of **Kızılay in the city as a central business district**. Besides; not including the Northern part of the Castle, the vicinity of Hacı Bayram Mosque and Castle itself, Ulus was re-constructed and renewed. This led to a **decline in the inner areas of Ulus** (Bademli, 1986:106; Günay, 2005:72-75).

The reason why the plan was not able to be applicationed properly is the development pressure. By the year 1935, the plan was revised as the increase in population was much more than the estimated population by the planning decisions and as the decided planning boundaries were not able to meet the needs of the population. Besides the rapid increase of the population, what was on the agenda was the increase in the land prices (land rent) in the planned area where the gross density levels decreased to 115 p/ha in 1944 (Altaban, 1998: 46-53; Altaban, 1986: 130 cited in Çalışkan, 2004). Thus it can be said that the plan itself constituted a barrier for its own application.



**Figure 3.3. Comparison of 1930 Macroform and 1950 Macroform**  
*Source: Çalışkan, 2004.*

To Günay (2005: 79); a brief overview of the Jansen and Lörcher Plans is that they caused the city to tighten in the geo-morphological cavity by developing the city in the North-South axis. This decision led to, even today's, urban problems such as; transportation, pollution and etc. .

### **3.1.2 The Period of the Socio-Spatial Integration Attempts for the Migrated Population (1950-1980)**

Returning back to the 1950s, under the effect of the Marshall aids that were provided by the USA government after the Second World War, the rail-roadization project of Turkish government belonging to the urbanization of the nation-state period had lost importance. It is because the aids were only available to be used in the highway construction projects and the agricultural mechanization projects. Therefore what happened under the mechanization of agriculture and tens of high-way construction projects was the loss of jobs in the agricultural sector in the rural parts of the country. This was followed by migration movements from rural to urban areas.

Defined by Şengül as the 'urbanization of labor power', a rapid urbanization process marks the period between 1950 and 1980, especially in metropolitan areas. The consequences of which was the unemployment of the unskilled labor power (coming from the un-mechanized agricultural sector), what Şengül (2001: 76) called "surplus in labor power". Besides the lack of provision of residential space by the state was led to the formation of *gecekondu* (*the house built at one night*) as a residential settlement type which is unique to Turkish case. Şengül interprets the reaction of the state - prohibition and demolition- as an effort to protect the principal of private property and the primacy of exchange value over use value in the production of space (Şengül, 2003:160).

Not knowing the city they migrated, the immigrants were geographically distributed in the city according to where they come from. Besides the provision of formal jobs was ended with the born of informal sector and clientalist relations. Thus this brought a new sense of urban development as Şengül (2001:77) explained. **The urban development started to take the local communities as a base but not the state or the middle class.**

Under these circumstances the rural-urban migration movement, which basically started in the 1950s, have still been continuing with a remarkable decrease in the rates and the largest cities were the last stop for the migrants.

In spite of the fact that the post-war period in Turkey is mainly taken as ‘planned’ period, according to Boratav (1983), it is a period of populism and ‘non-planned’ growth when considering the redistribution policies in macro level and/or the speculative land development patterns in metropolitan areas. The State Planning Organization (SPO) was established in 1960 and has been preparing Five Year National Plans since then; however Turkey does not have a national spatial strategic plan still.

The 1970s were the years of import-substitution model in economy and self sufficiency of the country was the issue. Under the municipal act, social democrat municipalities began criticizing the existing structure of relations between the center and local governments. They emphasized the importance of public participation in local processes. They argued that the real owners of the local governments, local problems and solutions were the elected municipalities and the local people rather than the central government (Özcan 2000:224). This municipal act was mainly supported by the second generation *gecekondü* youth who are the educated kids of the uneducated and unskilled labor power that confirm the first generation (Şengül, 2003). But this left wing societal act was stopped with the famous coup d’état of 1980.

Up till the 1950s the plan that was in force was Jansen Plan. However observing the 1950’s Ankara; what is observed is the planning boundaries of the Jansen Plan was already reached and passed. In addition; by the end of the 1940s **gecekondü** came on the urban scene of Ankara. At first, *gecekondü* was not an issue that was subject to intervention or prevention (Günay, 2005:80).

However, by the end of the 1940s, *gecekondü* started to take place in the Government’s agenda. The first legal regulation was the Law for the Resident Builders on Land that is owned by The State or the Municipality with Law No: 5218. This Law was firstly enacted for Ankara and soon after it was re-regulated for all the country. The Law was important as it gives the Municipalities the authority to distribute the developed land without a defined function. Besides it concerned housing loans for the people who were getting land subsidy (Turan, 2007:391; Ataöv and Osmay, 2007). The second regulation was the Law No: 5228

which was to foster development. All two Laws, even not covering the word gecekondu, were legalizing the gecekondu formation within the Municipal Boundaries (Büyükgöçmen Sat, 1997:15).

Even though the Law was aiming the prevention of the gecekondu settlements; as it was like an amnesty that supported the gecekondu area formation. Thus in the year 1950, 34% of Ankara population were living in the gecekondu areas; especially in Altındağ, Yenihayat, Aktaş and Yenidoğan (Yavuz, 1952: 72-73 cited in Ataöv and Osmay, 2007). This led to the Law for Fostering Building Construction and Unauthorized Housing with Law No: 6188 was enacted and the two other previous Laws were eliminated from the legal system (Turan, 2007:392).

It can be said that under the change in the accumulation and production type the organization of the space was socially re-produced and gecekondu was part of this new organization. A dual structure in the space was created. Therefore what was necessary under such circumstances was a new development plan. However; the plan that came on the agenda was z-axis-space-deterministic; rather than being sensitive to the socio-space.

Between 1950 and 1980, what happened was the main actor in planning was the state. However with the New Municipal Act which took place in between the years of 1973 and 1977, the local governments became more sensitive to the urban issues. In the period 1950-1980 gecekondu was basically seen as a self-supply method that was meeting the housing need of the rural to urban migrants. Thus what was tried to be done was to transform the gecekondu areas to regular residential areas while legalizing them. Thus this period's urban transformation interventions were mainly characterized by the main aim of **“improvement and legalization of gecekondu” by the Gecekondu Law No. 775.** (Ataöv and Osmay, 2007:63).

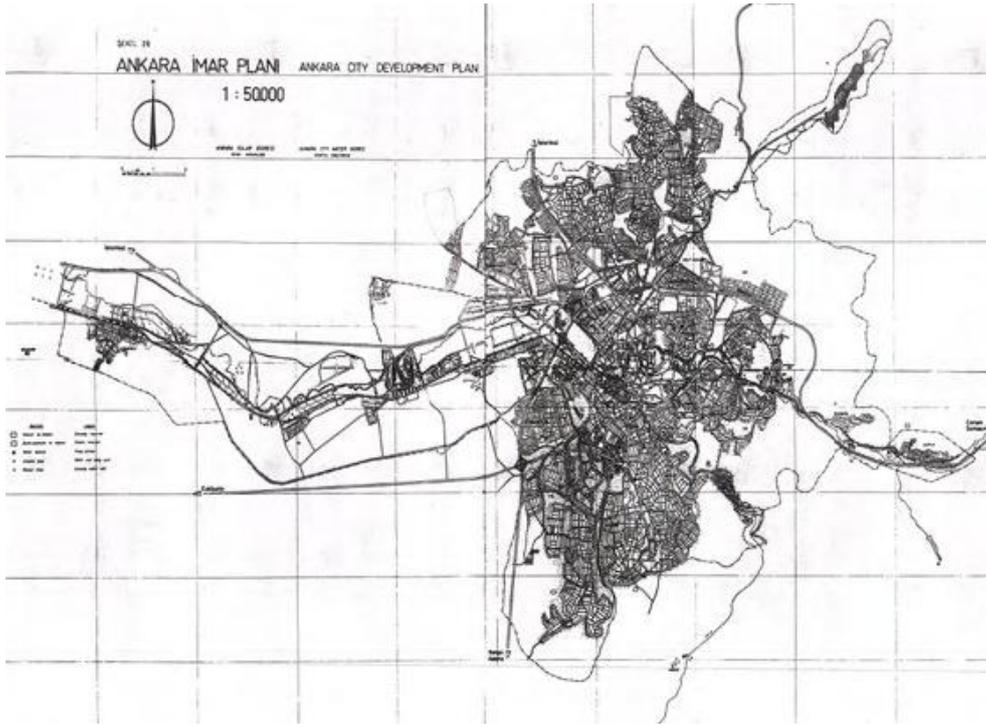
Besides Law of Flat Ownership with Law No. 634 that enabled the transformation of low-rise authorized buildings in the center to high-rise apartment blocks (Turkish National Report and Action Plan, 1965:65 cited in Ataöv and Osmay, 2007:66) and that supports the individual rights (Balamir, 1975 cited in Ataöv and Osmay, 2007:69) was enacted. While this transformation process from the authorized low-rise housing to the high rise housing was taking place, another issue in the cities was the provision of unauthorized housing with low

quality of life and services by the building constructors (Şenyapılı, 1998:311 cited in Ataöv and Osmay, 2007: 64).

As mentioned before, the Municipal Law that contains the direct election of the municipal by the major was enacted. As stated before; the interventions to gecekondu zones in this period were basically about the improvement. Thus under the New Municipal Act of the 1970s, the enactment of the Municipal Law and the improvement of the gecekondu areas created a support and this led to the emergence of a political power handed by the gecekondu residents in between 1950 and 1980 (Acar and Adam, 1978 cited in Ataöv and Osmay, 2007:63-64).

The plan approved in the year 1957 was the Yücel-Uybadin Plan; the winner of the 1955 international competition opened by the Ankara Development Directorate. The plan proposes a mono-centered; “gecekondu “less, dense and homogeneous Ankara city of 750.000 in the Municipal borders for the year 2000. However the city population was 455.000 in the year 1955 and the projected population was surpassed even before 1965 (Bademli, 1986:107; Günay, 2005:80-81).

The proposal of Yücel-Uybadin was based on the low-storey buildings located in the rectangular building plots. The plan is important as it finalizes the composition process of the city core area with the formation of Etlik, Keçiören, Aydınlıkevler, Bahçelievler, Balgat-Dikmen, Çankaya, Gaziosmanpaşa, Seyranbağları, Abidinpaşa and Kazıkiçi Bostanları. Looking at the general structure of the plan, it can be seen that there is no policy concerning the central area. Besides, again like the two previous plans, the only connection between Kızılay and Ulus that is proposed by the plan is Atatürk Boulevard (Bademli, 1986:107; Günay, 2005:80-81). Also there were also the decisions of railroad connecting the Konya and Samsun road and development of Ankara along the north-south axis (Büyükgöçmen Sat, 1997:16).



**Figure 3.4. Yücel – Uybadin Plan, 1957**  
 Source: Günay, 2005.



**Figure 3.5. District Height Regulation Plan, 1959**  
 Source: Çalışkan, 2004.

As stated before, the projected population for the year 2000 was already surpassed at the year 1965 that a new regulation was needed and this regulation was the District Height Regulation Plan. Thus the two-dimensional aspects of the plan were kept and the buildings heights were increased to be able to increase to population density. With the effect of the Law of Flat Ownership with Law No. 634 that brought back the cadastral parcel approach, the District Height Regulation Plan came into force in the year 1968. In addition many incremental development plan revisions came on the agenda (Turan, 2007: 393; Ataöv and Osmay, 2007; Bademli, 1986: 109; Günay, 2005:81).

Because of the Height Regulation Plan, a very unhealthy, high-rise settlement pattern emerged in Demetevler. Also the green area decisions of the plan were not taking into account the goodwill of the entire city that the emergence of unauthorized housing in the valleys and ridges occurred. Therefore; all these process created a conflict between the proposed infrastructure decisions and the population densities. Besides; this led to a massive clearance and building-up process, especially in the central business district of Kızılay (Bademli, 1986: 109; Günay, 2005:81). To Günay (2005) this constituted a basis for the urban transformation projects of the 1990s.

As previously mentioned, gecekondular was a very important subject in this period. However when examining the Yücel Uybadin Plan decisions with reference to the gecekondular issue, it can be claimed that the plan was highly insensitive. The gecekondular areas in Altındağ, Yenidoğan, and Kayaş were planned as developed-zoned areas. To Günay (2005) this ignorance constituted a basis for the improvement plans in the 1980s (Günay, 2005:81).

The main gecekondular areas formed in this period was Altındağ, Atıfbey and Yenidoğan, Telsiz, Cebeci, Yeni Mezarlık, Saime Kadın, Üreğil, Kayaş, Abidinpaşa, Topraklık, Bahkelriz, Balgat, Dikmen, Öveçler, Gülveren, Gülseren, Mamak, Balkehriz, Türközü, İncesu, Yıldızevler, Çukurambar, Çubuk, Hüseyingazi and Karapürçek (Büyükgöçmen Sat , 1997:15-18).

As stated before, the most important legal regulation concerning gecekondular is the Gecekondular Law No: 775 enacted in the year 1966 which were including **the prevention, improvement and clearance of gecekondular**.

Despite the fact there was an upper scale plan for the entire city, the legal regulations concerning gecekondu was not in accordance with this upper scale plan. Thus this can be said to be the legalization of the duality in the development system that was created in the rapid urbanization period and is still on the agenda of Turkish urban issues (Turan, 2007:392; Ataöv and Osmay, 2007).

By the end of the 1960s, Ankara was mainly consisted of the middle and high-income districts mainly shaped by the Yücel-Uybadin Plan and low-middle and low income groups that confirm the gecekondu areas (Günay, 2005:100).

### **3.2 The Main Focus Periods of the Study**

#### **3.2.1 Period of Both Dispersal and Integration Attempts (1980-1994)**

The 1980s were mostly remembered with the coup d'état in the year 1980. The new constitution of 1982 adapted with reference to the referendum (the conditions under which the referendum was held is questionable). Then in the year of 1983 the elections took place and the Motherland Party gained the majority of the votes. However the elections didn't take place under a free political scene because of the fact that most of the former political parties were banned from the elections.

The 1980s, like Thatcher in the UK and Reagan in the USA; as an offset of the new-right ideology (which is economically liberal but socially conservative), Özal's strategy in Turkey was to replace the state centered import-substitution models with the export-oriented; export and market based economic policies to perform export-led growth in the long term. Like a Western advanced capitalist country the neo-liberal policies came on the agenda but with the specific difference of not being an advanced capitalist country and of course this ideology was not concerning the vicious circle that the developing countries are in.

The economy of Turkey, before this era, was composed of state based import-substitution. In the neo-liberal era, the main economic policy changed into the export-oriented market based policies to perform export-led growth in the long run. The implications and applications of first generation reforms of Özal was the beginning of the liberalization program with the reduction of public expenditures and a very friendly relationship with the international debt

institutions within the frame idea of change in the public interest. But the bureaucratic structure was an obstacle on the way that it was intervened and changed.

The effectivity of the bureaucratic structure was lost drastically as a dual structure was created to fasten the transformation and re-structuring process. What was done was the injection of educated, liberal but conservative young professionals who have a western type of life but still keeping their traditional and religious values to the bureaucratic system.

The new regulations were nothing but a populist and speculative rent creation instead of development of necessary infrastructure for the technologies and industries. Therefore state became kind of a tool for the pressure groups and it lost its ideological, bureaucratic, administrative and legal position within its relation to the social classes (Özkazanç, 1995:1218-1224).

The most remarkable changes were the abolishment of barriers to the foreign products, investment and multinational companies. What was unavoidable was the interest of capital owners to the urban land. As stated before, the urban land was commodified for the sake of the sustainability of the capitalistic relations. Yet; under such circumstances the capital itself found a very comfortable arena to fit; but this occurred only for the sake of the capital owners, not for the goodwill of the other classes forming the society.

In between the years of 1980 and 2000, Turkey experienced serious macroeconomic changes. The relations with the international debt and fund institutions were strengthened. The privatization issue took its place in the constitution. The 1990s and the 2000s, with the start of the EU journey, have been the years of ‘second generation structural reforms’ to ‘harmonize’.

Returning back to the urban issues, the city after the 1980s was not anymore a complementary unit with the other cities of the nation state it belongs; however a competitive unit trying to become a gateway in the world. Besides under ‘the urbanization of capital’ (Şengül, 2001) what was also unavoidable was the dual structure in the urban space in which, the middle class is abolishing, the capital owner remains rich and the urban poor will become poorer.

In the light of what has been told so far the social organization also deeply changed. The socio-space have become fragmented and stratified. What are now on the agenda in terms of the urban space in Turkey are gecekondü transformation projects, gated communities, historical centers and new centers including high rise office buildings.

The developments after the 1980s have been parallel with administrative and legal system, the most attention taking of which is the” decentralization” in local governments. When considering the context and the legal background of the urban issues, it can be said that they all are ambiguous.

The urban transformation before the 1980s was mainly based on the residential sector whereas after the 1980s it is based much more on the economic sectors such as tourism, industry and trade (Ataöv and Osmay, 2007:67). As stated before in the 1980s and the 1990s, with the adoption of the open economy and with the entrance to the international markets, the production and consumption patterns changed.

The need for skilled labor power and new type of factories producing for the international markets, which were large-scale, organized industrial units, emerged. The organized units were located out of the cities and the residential units for the new labor class that were mostly consisting of unauthorized buildings, allocated at the vicinity of the factories. While the urban space was being formed as such at the peripheral areas, the city center was the address for traditional type of production that was mainly excluded from the economy. Therefore what happened was the decline of the core areas that consist of the centers where the small-scale economic activity took place and the residential places related to the centers (Uzun, 2006:50; Ataöv and Osmay, 2007: 64-65).

To repeat; the gecekondü issue which is a crucial determiner in the issue of urban transformation in Turkey it can be said that, in accordance with what has been explained above, gecekondü was the residence for the economically declined areas of the core. However with the influence of the open economy, it is important to note again that gecekondü lost its **use value** and what gained importance was its **exchange value**. The legalization and marketisation of gecekondü affected the socio-economic structure as well and prepared the proper milieu for massive production and exchange of gecekondü. The exchange process can said to have been happening in two main titles the first of which is the

new type of clientalist relations and an informal sector based on selling and renting gecekondu and the second one is the clearance gecekondu and building up apartment blocks instead (Şengül, 2001:87-94; Ataöv and Osmay, 2007:65).

In this period, there are many legal regulations that shaped the gecekondu transformation processes in the city. However three of them which had crucial importance are: Metropolitan Municipality Law No: 3300 enacted in the year 1984, The Development Law No: 3194 enacted in the year 1985 and the Article No.18 of the Development Law that is basically about the expropriation and the third one is the Expropriation Law No: 2942 enacted in the year 1983. Besides these laws, Mass Housing Law No: 2985 enacted in the year 1984, The Gecekondu Amnesties between the years 1983 and 1988 with the Law No: 2805 enacted in the year 1983, Law No: 2981 enacted in the year 1984 and the Law No: 3290 enacted in the year 1986 were on the agenda (Özden, 2002:186 cited in Ataöv and Osmay, 2007:65-66).

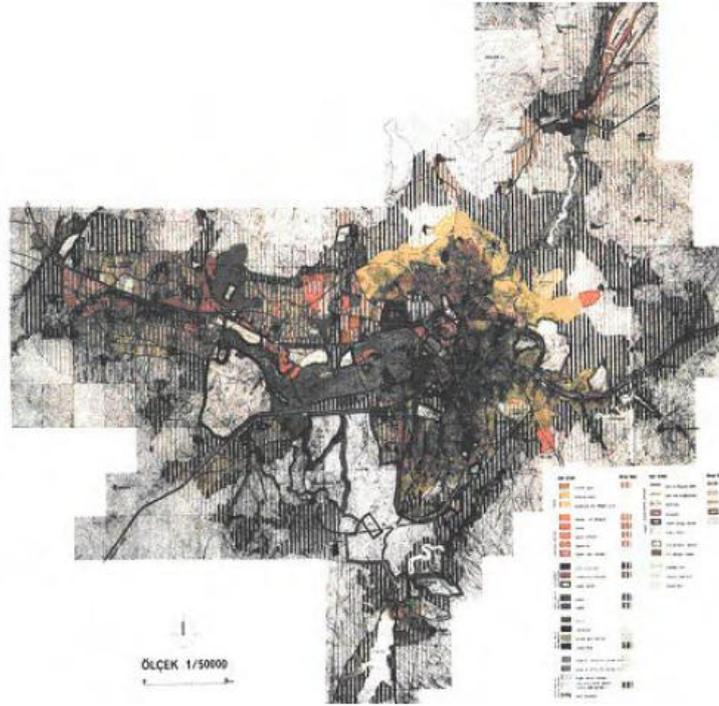
After the 1980s, with the effects of all these laws and legal regulations what happened was the formation of new residential areas at the peripheries of the cities by mass housing projects especially with the land provided by the clearance of gecekondu areas. The amnesties constituted an important tool in that sense as they led to the legalization of gecekondu by **deed allotment warrant provision, allowance of planning in the vacant lands and gecekondu areas with deed allotment warrant and development rights given to both residential and non-residential uses up to four floors**. The enactment of this law group is said to be connected to the resolution of the ownership pattern problems and provision of housing with necessary services (Özden, 2002:186; Şenyapılı, 1998:312; Tekeli, 2003:5; Şahin, 2003 and Osmay, 1999, 153 cited in Ataöv and Osmay, 2007:65-66). However what was done was just a populist move that was exploiting the economic needs and public land for the sake of the sustainability of the capitalist market in Turkey by using the land and gecekondu as a commodity. Yet; all these regulations caused the built environment to become a mass.

In the rapid urbanization period, what happened was the emergence of many gecekondu areas in Balgat, Dikmen, Etlik and Keçiören thus in the places that remained out of the Yücel-Uybadin Plan. Besides the Eastern part of the city was solely consisting of the gecekondu areas. Thus in this period Ankara became a city that was surrounded by gecekondu areas. In addition to the gecekondu areas, the planned residential structure of the city was endured to the geographical thresholds (Günay, 2005: 87-90).

Therefore what was needed was a master plan to pull the cities pieces up together. To be able to get this plan a very crucial thing happened in the name of planning. It was the establishment of the Ankara Metropolitan Area Master Plan Bureau in the year 1969. However at the same time in the year 1983, as mentioned before, the Motherlands Party came into power and with a speculative perspective and large amount of development rights were distributed in the city. Therefore what happened in Ankara is both a dense populist development act of improvement planning and upper scale planning studies that aims integration in the name of public interest at the same time.

### **3.2.1.1 Period of Upper Scale Planning:**

Metropolitan Planning Bureau, **with an authority higher than the Municipality**, consisting of experienced planners of course started its work with the vision of upper scale planning. With the idea of combining the **comprehensive and structural planning** (Günay, 2005: 90-94), the Ankara Metropolitan Area Master Plan Bureau first prepared a plan in which the urban development principles and strategies for Ankara for the next decade were defined. However the need of intervention was so urgent that the planners decided to plan and apply the planning decisions simultaneously. Especially policies that were proposing the decentralization to the peripheral areas to surpass the threshold that Ankara was stuck in came on the agenda (Altaban, 1998: 57-61; Günay, 2005: 90-94).



**Figure 3.6. 1990 Plan**

*Source: Günay, 2005.*

The plan is the outcome of deep analysis and planning studies held in between the years of 1970 and 1975. With the scale 1/50.000; 1990 Ankara Plan was approved in the year 1982. However the plan was started to be applied by means of development plans by the end of the 1970s. Therefore 74% of the residential area formation was occurred in accordance with the 1990 Development Plan and 26% occurred in accordance with the development plans (Altaban, 1998: 57-61; Akın, 2007:180).

Knowing that the previous planning studies were covering the long term decisions and the population projections were inaccurate that the Ankara Metropolitan Area Master Plan Bureau used technical methods for population projection. According to these techniques, the population of 1990 was estimated to be in between the numbers of 2.8 million and 3.6 million. Reaching to 1990; it was seen that the demographic decisions were accurate even though it was slightly under the real population. It is because of the effect of globalization. The capital investment distributions concentrated in the larger cities like İstanbul and Ankara and naturally the distribution of capital affected the demography directly (Günay, 2005: 96-97; METU Study Group, 1986: 187).

Therefore the development policies to distribute this population and the transport policy and plan decisions were determined in accordance with the geo-morphology of the city. The idea of creation of the Western Corridor that covers both residential and industrial nodes came on the agenda. Today's Etimesgut, Sincan and the local transportation line that was to connect them to the city; Batıkent and the metro line and industrial nodes of Ostim, Şaşmaz and Osmaniye were all planning decisions of 1990 Plan (Günay, 2005: 97-98; METU Study Group, 1986: 182-204).

Considering the peripheral formation that is shaped by the 1990 Plan, Batıkent, Elvankent, Eryaman and Çayyolu are the main residential nodes that were characterized by the plan. Within the plan; Batıkent was proposed as a residential area for low and middle income groups as an alternative to gecekondu for a population of 300.000 that was to work with the OSTİM and İvedik industrial areas. Taking into account Eryaman and Elvankent; which are both thought to be alternatives to gecekondu, it can be said that Eryaman has been a success with its residential pattern whereas Elvankent has been a failure occurred due to the abeyance of the planning decisions concerning the urban fabric. In contrast to those three that are mentioned; Çayyolu was designed to be developed by the market system as residential area to meet the decentralization need of the middle and upper income groups living in the core (Günay, 2005: 97-105, METU Study Group, 1986: 182-204).

As can be understood, 1990 Plan has developed decisions that consider the periphery. However the **decisions concerning the core and the gecekondu issues cannot be claimed to be as sensitive** as the decisions concerning the population and the growth direction.

However when considering the relation between the improvement plans and the 1990 Plan; it can be said that the plan was prepared in the 1970s and improvement plans were started to be prepared in the first half of the 1980s. Therefore is a relational breakdown in between the 1990 Plan and the improvement plans.

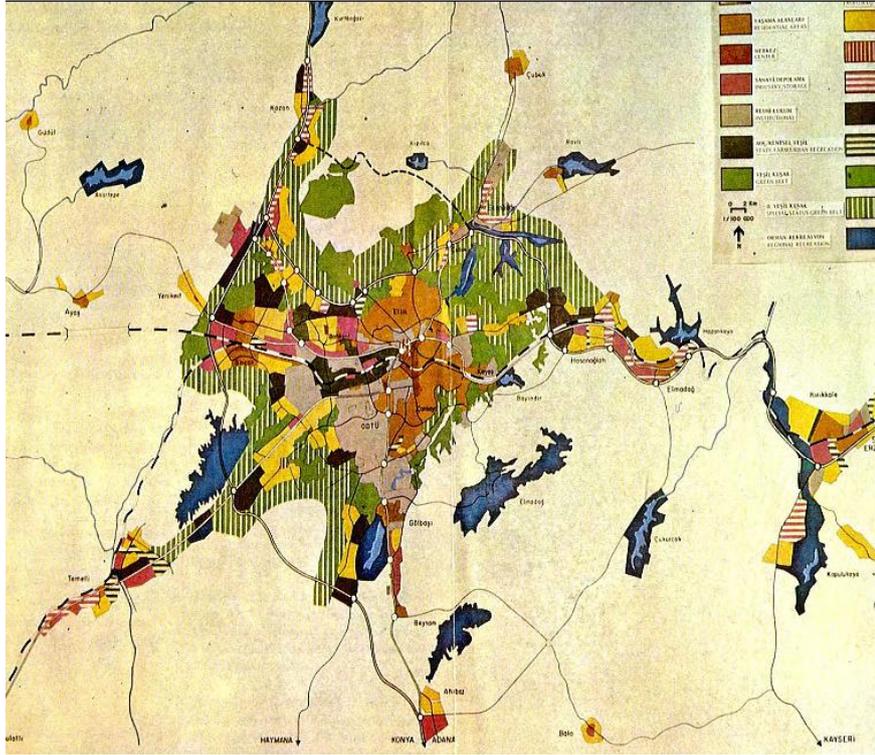
When considering the central business district issue, it can be said that rather than Kazıkıçı there was no other central business district decisions. Taking into account the gecekondu issue; because the Law No: 775 concerns improvement, prevention and adjustment for the gecekondu areas. The 1990 Plan; remains the gecekondu areas just as a clause; irregular housing, at the legend. In addition; the decisions concerning the core were accepting the Yücel-Uybadin Plan and the District Height Regulation Plan decisions. Even though, the

Plan bring new zoning decisions and new transportation axis connecting the core and the periphery; the zoning decisions were not accurately applied by the Municipality and the transportation decisions were not a very innovative type of system (Günay, 2005: 98-99).

In actual fact, indeed, the Ankara Metropolitan Area Master Plan Bureau was closed in the year 1983. The basic contribution of the Bureau is the peripheral formations in Ankara (Günay, 2005: 106). In the year 1983, unlike the autonomous position of The Master Plan Bureau, the Metropolitan Planning Bureau was established under the authority of the Municipality. Then in the year 1984, with the enactment of the Municipal Law No: 3030, the development plan making authority was given to the Greater Metropolitan Municipalities (Günay, 2005: 108-110).

However; the new plan for Ankara was not prepared by the Municipality but the EGO General Directorate. As being the authors of the previous plan, again the METU Study Group was asked to prepare a new upper scale plan. Therefore, the outcome was the 2015 Structural Plan; prepared with the “systems view”. The population projection for the year 2015 was 5 million and the main principle of the plan was decentralization among the corridors (Günay, 2005: 108-110; METU Study Group, 1986: 182-204).

The plan was foreseeing a transformation in the urban structure in accordance with the new approaches to planning. Thus alternative scenarios of planning, mathematical models were used to analyze the transportation systems and demographic assumptions and information technologies were taken into account. However, the systems view is a highly technical type of planning that it reduces the importance of politics in the planning processes. Therefore 2015 plan was stuck to the barrier of politics that it just remained at the level of being a very didactic document for planners and the planning students (Günay, 2005: 108-110; METU Study Group, 1986: 182-204).



**Figure 3.7. Ankara 2015 Plan**  
 Source: Çalışkan, 2004.

The foremost deficiency caused by the mis-application of the planning decisions of 2015 Structural Plan was the application of the highway proposal as a ring road that surrounds Ankara (Günay, 2005: 108-110). Even today the ring road constitutes a very important planning problem as it acts like a man-made threshold to be surpassed.

The last upper scale planning attempt in this period was the Ankara 2025 Plan prepared by the Ankara Greater Metropolitan Municipality Development Bureau, which started during the years of 1989-1994 in which Raci Bademli who was both a professor at METU and a member of the METU Study Group who prepared the previous plans (Günay, 2005:110).

In the year 1995, with a partial and highly market-friendly approach The Development Schema of Ankara Province and Metropolitan Area was prepared by the Ministry of Development and Settlement. This planning attempt cannot even be close to be the continuance of the 1990 and 2015 Plans (Gökçe, 2003: 18-19 cited in Çalışkan, 2004:175; Günay, 2005:110-114).





**Figure 3.9. Improvement plans, produced after 1984 in the land-use of map of Ankara 1993.**

*Source: Çalışkan, 2004.*

The 1980s were, the urban planning, characterized by the improvement planning rather than any other thing. The improvement planning issue even affected the larger scale plans of Ankara mentioned in the previous section.

With reference to what has been told above, what has happened in urban space in Turkey in the 1980s was pure commodification. The use value of *gecekondu* is replaced by the exchange value and this process is mainly supported by the Motherland Party government by the Laws enacted and the development rights distributed by that government. With the legal regulations explained in the Table below; the definition of unauthorized, illegal housing was enlarged to commercial areas and development rights up-till four floor was distributed. This attempt was the creation of population, thus rent and thus political power by using the planning as a tool. As Büyükgöçmen Sat (2007) summarizes; **from forbid to legitimization of *gecekondu***. However was this populist attempt able to achieve the goal targeted?

**Table 3.1. Legal Regulations Concerning Improvement Planning**

Law No:	Date Of Enaction	Context	Outcome
2805	03.16.1983	Preservation, Improvement And Clearance Of Gecekondu	22 Improvement Planning Areas Were Determined For Ankara By The Municipality
2981	02.24.1984	Preservation, Improvement of Gecekondu	Deed Allotment Warrant Were Given To Gecekondu Owners
3290	22.05.1986	Enlargement Of Illegal Housing Concept	Offices And Residential Uses In Gecekondu Areas Were Included In The Illegal Housing Definition

Source: Derived From *Büyükgöçmen Sat, 1997*.

As mentioned in the introductory Chapter of this study; a very comprehensive empirical thesis study about the improvement plans prepared for the period in-between the years of 1984 and 1996 was held by Aydan Büyükgöçmen Sat in the year 1997 for the city of Ankara. The study covered six of the Municipalities of Ankara which are Altındağ, Çankaya, Etimesgut, Mamak, Keçiören, Yenimahalle, therefore the Municipalities with the improvement plans. Gölbaşı (without improvement plans) and Sincan were left out as Sincan is a gecekondu prevention area without improvement plans. In the study 188 gecekondu neighborhoods were examined in two periods 1984-1990 and 1990-1996 to be able to compare the differences in these two processes (Büyükgöçmen Sat, 1997, 2007).

The percentage of gecekondu housing population with improvement plans in the selected districts for the years 1985 and 1990 by the empirical study held by Büyükgöçmen Sat, in comparison with the total population of Ankara is shown on the Table 3.2. . The selection of this period is a rational decision as 1984-1989 years are the intensive improvement planning period for Ankara (Büyükgöçmen Sat, 2007:27-36, 1997).

**Table 3.2. The Percentage of Gecekondu Population with Approved Improvement Plans in Total Urban Population**

Name Of District	Total Urban Population		Existing Gecekondu Population With Improvement Plan		% Of Squatter Pop. in Total Urban Pop.	
	1985	1990	1985	1990	1985	1990
Altındağ	403781	417616	140862	137392	34.9	32.9
Çankaya	665128	712304	149945	238268	22.5	33.5
Etimesgut	-	69960	-	57896	-	82.8
Keçiören	433559	523891	148234	155065	34.2	29.6
Mamak	371904	400733	203353	118050	54.7	29.5
Yenimahalle	360573	343951	215196	10502	59.7	3.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>2234945</b>	<b>2468455</b>	<b>859575</b>	<b>719163</b>	<b>38.4</b>	<b>29.1</b>

Source: *Büyükgöçmen Sat, 1997; 2007.*

With reference to the Table 3.2., the percentage of gecekondu population of Yenimahalle in the total Ankara population is 59.7 % and it is the highest when compared to the other districts. The lowest value belongs to Çankaya with the value of 22.5 % for the year 1985. Observing the 1990s, the district with the highest percentage of existing gecekondu population is Etimesgut with a value of 82.8 % whereas Yenimahalle has lowest value with 3.1 %. Büyükgöçmen Sat explains this striking decrease in the gecekondu population of Yenimahalle with the application of the improvement plans prepared in between the years 1984-1989. On the other hand, the lack of preparation of these plans is the explanation to the condition of Etimesgut as Etimesgut was not a Municipality up till 1990 (Büyükgöçmen Sat, 2007:27-36, 1997).

Another outcome of the study shows that the gecekondu population **decreased in the five districts** in Ankara **but Çankaya**. According to Büyükgöçmen Sat, this increase of gecekondu population in Çankaya is because of the two-step improvement planning approach. The first type, “Type-A Improvement Plan”, covers the solution of the property problems whereas the second one “Type-B Improvement Plan” includes the improvement of livability (Büyükgöçmen Sat, 2007:27-36, 1997).

The proposed populations and densities for Ankara with the improvement plans for the periods of 1984-1989 and 1990-1996 is shown on the Table 3.3. . As it can be followed from the proposed densities thus populations are very high when compared to the existing situation (Büyükgöçmen Sat, 2007:27-36, 1997).

Thus; with reference to the outcomes of the empirical study if this massive transformative action with improvement plans was to reach its aim the population of Ankara **by the 1990s would be nearly 5 million if the population proposals of the improvement planning works however it remained at nearly 3 millions** (Büyükgöçmen Sat 2007: 31, 1997).

In search of a deeper knowledge on the effect of improvement planning as a tool for transformation, the study also examines the data of demographic changes, social and technical infrastructure and land prices before and after the application of the plans. Besides, the author of the study also seeks the knowledge of the effects of improvement planning on the urban macroform (Büyükgöçmen Sat, 1997, 2007).

Gecekondu as a self-built type of residence; lack the necessary social and technical facilities have always been the major problem. The improvement plans are taking the Article No: 18 of the Development Law No: 3194; that is enacted for regulating the share of the value added. As can be seen from the Table 3.4.; the area proposed for the facilities of social infrastructure such as education and health services, socio-cultural and green areas is very limited. Also the provision of technical infrastructure facilities like water, electricity, drainage, roads and car parks is very insufficient (Büyükgöçmen Sat, 2007:27-36, 1997). Therefore, the proposed social and technical infrastructure by the improvement plans are remained limited as the new urban fabric suggested basically preserves the gecekondu settlement fabric but just increases the building heights.

Büyükgöçmen Sat also analyzed the effects of improvement planning on the land prices to be able to comprehend the influence of the improvement plans on the urban macroform. Even though it is limited an increase in the service supply occurred with the improvement plans. Besides, the massive distribution of the building rights occurred. Thus with these changes the land prices increased, as can be seen below, from the Table 3.5. . The increase in the land prices was even higher in the peripheral areas than the core areas.

In general, there is an inverse proportion between the distance from the city center and land prices. However, with the influence of improvement plans, this proportion could not be found in the study of Büyükgöçmen Sat. Land prices can increase at highest degrees even in the peripheral areas that are very far from the city center. The changes in land prices with reference to the distance from the center within the selected districts is shown on the Table 3.5. . The outcome of the analysis is very influential: ***“Areas that are not close to the city center have higher land price increases in comparison to the inner-city districts, since central areas had already been improved and transformed”*** (Büyükgöçmen Sat, 2007:27-36, 1997).

Table 3.3. Existing and Proposed Populations and Densities for Gecekondu Areas in Ankara

Name Of District	Squatter Population				Squatter Area				Density (Person/ Ha)				Changes in Density			
	Existing-Proposed		Ex. Prop.		Ex. Prop.		Ex. Prop.		Ex. Prop.		Ex. Prop.		%			
	1984	1989	1990	1996	1984	1989	1990	1996	1984	1989	1990	1996	1990	1996	A	B
Altındağ	140862	297430	137392	202000	1439.7	1168.7	796.7	548	5.97	255	173	368	163	113		
Çankaya	149945	272726	238268	301003	1815.4	1135.2	2201.5	1064.7	83	240	108	272	189	152		
Etimesgut	-	-	57896	267080	-	-	584.4	641	-	-	99	386	-	290		
Keçiören		148234	403115	155065	360773	1689.9	1245.9	1379.3	1015.2	87	112	355	272	217		
Mamak	203353	455553	118050	257052	2701.2	2576	1681	966.7	75	177	70	266	136	280		
Yenimahalle	215196	528666	10502	9650	961.1	837.7	157.5	33.7	223	631	67	286	183	327		
Total	857590	1957490	717173	1397558	8607.3	6963.5	6800.4	4269.8	100	281	106	327	181	209		

Source: Field Survey by Büyükşehirmen Sat, 1997; Büyükşehirmen Sat, 2007.

Table 3.4. Social and Technical Infrastructure Services to Be Added According To the Law No: 3194

Name Of District	Education			Health			Socio-Cultural			Green Area			Commercial		
	Existing-Proposed	Added	Ex. Prop. Added	Ex. Prop. Added	Ex. Prop. Added	Ex. Prop. Added	Ex. Prop. Added	Ex. Prop. Added	Ex. Prop. Added	Ex. Prop. Added	Ex. Prop. Added	Ex. Prop. Added	Ex. Prop. Added		
Altındağ	1.1	45.0	160.4	140.8	4.1	47.2	4.2	149.9	-	-	218.6	-	7.2	69.8	
Çankaya	15	56.4	178.3	-	8.2	50.4	-	5.4	170.6	-	205.6	-	10.7	77.3	
Etimesgut	-	17.3	89.5	-	3.9	22.8	-	7.4	72.7	-	124.8	10.4	29.7	-	
Keçiören	7	66.4	239.2	-	11.7	64.7	-	19.2	210.0	-	175.7	-	14.2	100.4	
Mamak	24	93.5	191.6	1.2	10.8	60.5	-	5.0	208.8	-	73.8	-	63.6	43.3	
Yenimahalle	0.6	25.0	199.8	-	3.4	52.8	-	3.7	165.0	-	71.1	-	11.3	73.1	
Total	47.7	303.6	1058.8	-	42.2	298.4	-	44.8	977.0	-	791.8	-	117.4	393.5	

Source: Field Survey by Büyükşehirmen Sat, 1997; Büyükşehirmen Sat, 2007.

Table 3. 5 Land Prices of Districts with Improvement Plans in 1986-1989 Land Prices of Districts with Improvement Plans in 1990-1994

Name Of District	Land Price In 1986			Land Price In 1990			Land Price In 1994			Land Price In 1986			Land Price In 1990			Land Price In 1994			Distance From City Center (Km)		
	Land Price In 1986	Land Price In 1990	Land Price In 1994	Change 1986-1990 (%)	Change 1990-1994 (%)	Change 1986-1994 (%)	Price In 1986	Price In 1990	Price In 1994	Change 1986-1990 (%)	Change 1990-1994 (%)	Change 1986-1994 (%)	Price In 1986	Price In 1990	Price In 1994	Change 1986-1990 (%)	Change 1990-1994 (%)	Change 1986-1994 (%)	Distance From City Center (Km)	Distance From City Center (Km)	Distance From City Center (Km)
Altındağ	99658	88181	399918	-12	354	301	122408	161933	644442	32	298	426	644442	644442	644442	32	298	426	18	18	18
Çankaya	527024	699682	400183	33	-43	-24	95488	210599	18480	121	-91	-81	18480	18480	18480	121	-91	-81	17	17	17
Etimesgut	-	-	-	-	-	-	162235	177077	N.A.	9.5	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	9.5	N.A.	N.A.	85	85	85
Keçiören	99686	151950	1341025	52	783	1245	78210	86530	867660	11	903	1009	867660	867660	867660	11	903	1009	19	19	19
Mamak	131880	302847	442308	130	46	235	314215	324890	412138	3	27	31	412138	412138	412138	3	27	31	22	22	22
Yenimahalle	88398	227710	366198	156	61	314	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.
<b>Total</b>	189329	294074	589926	55	101	212	154511	192206	485680	24	153	214	485680	485680	485680	24	153	214	32	32	32

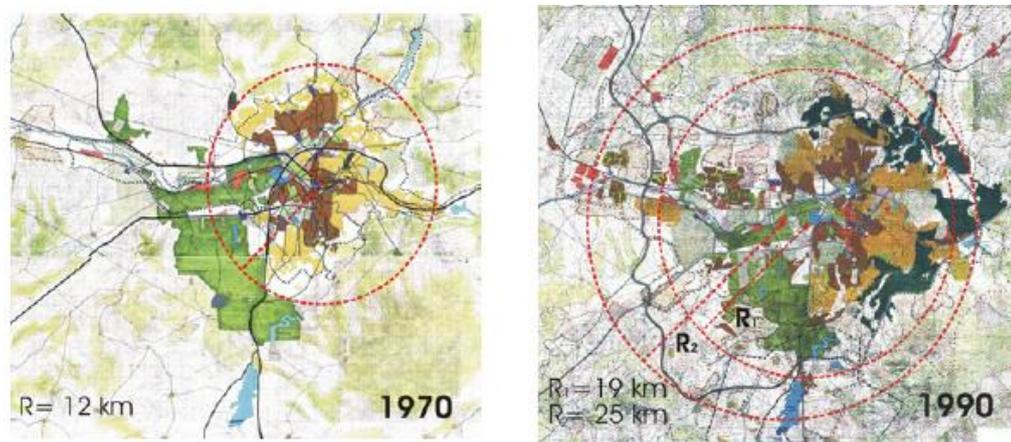
Source: Field Survey by Büyükşehir Belediyesi, 1997; Büyükşehir Belediyesi, 2007.

Analyzing the **effects of improvement plans on space** it can be claimed that the plans led to a duality in spatial structure of the city. Improvement plans, not in accordance with the name, have been a project to legalize gecekondu, only by distributing deed allotment warrant. Therefore there were legal spaces created out of gecekondu areas with high rise apartment blocks and low spatial standards (Büyükgöçmen Sat, 2007:27-36, 1997).

In addition, there was an **authority conflict created in the issue of planning** as there were both macroform plans and the improvement plans. The improvement plans affected the upper scale plan decisions (as stated in the previous section) that the upper scale plans could not decide comprehensively for the inner cities. To Büyükgöçmen Sat (2007:27-36, 1997); despite the decentralization decision of the upper scale plans, the incremental interventions with the improvement plans caused density increases in the core areas.

**Looking from a socio-cultural aspect;** it is obvious that high-storey building blocks are not proper for the gecekondu residents who are used living in one-storey structures with gardens (Büyükgöçmen Sat, 2007:27-36, 1997).

Therefore under the commodification of urban land and rapid improvement planning period the macroform of Ankara was shaped as below:



**Figure 3.10. Comparison of 1970 Macroform and 1990 Macroform**  
*Source: Çalışkan, 2004.*

With the words of Aydan Büyükgöçmen Sat (1997: 35): *“All in all, it can be concluded that “improvement plans” that aimed to meet the housing needs of low income groups could not reach up to their goals but created a tool of investment both for squatter owners and building contractors. The only success of these plans is to legalize all squatter housing*

*areas in Ankara. Two important reasons for this failure are: the first, there is no consistency between proposed population densities and social and technical infrastructure proposals in these plans. Secondly, improvement plans propose high population densities and land prices at the city center and this contradicts with the urban decentralization policy. Improvement plans bring important problems affecting the livability and sustainability standards of Ankara.”* Today almost all the gecekondu areas in Ankara are legalized by Law (Büyükgöçmen Sat, 2007:27-36, 1997).

In the light of what has been told so far; it can be understood that improvement planning affected the urban macroform of Ankara and is still affecting. As some of the areas were not able to transform even though there are improvement plans prepared. Today those areas are subject to massive urban transformation projects and are tried to be transformed. The reason why they could not transform will be deeply covered in the conclusion section after over viewing the urban processes after the 1990s.

### **3.2.1.3 Period of Urban Transformation Concerning Public Interest (1990-1994)**

According to the Ankara Program (1993:23-37) prepared by the Ankara Greater Metropolitan Municipality from Social Democratic People’s Party (Sosyal Demokrat Halk Partisi-SHP); the Development Bureau planned eight new settlement area projects. Elvankent, Eryaman, Batıkent, Çayyolu residential areas and İvedik Industrial zone was mentioned before. However; there are three more projects concerning the urban transformation in Dikmen, Portakal Çiçeği and Bentderesi. Besides these projects the GEÇAK (Transformation from Gecekondu to Modern Housing) Project for urban transformation came on the agenda in this period.

The transformation projects in this period are very important for the Turkish planning history as they have a very progressive vision when compared to their period (Interview at the Department of Planning at Ankara Greater Metropolitan Municipality, 2008). Even though the outcomes are discussable; these projects can said to be the combination of planner’s technical eye and participatory approach as all along the projects participatory meeting were held for the optimum distribution of rights. However it is attention taking that all the projects took place in the Southern Part of Ankara.

Dikmen Valley Project<sup>8</sup>, Portakal Çiçeği Valley Project<sup>9</sup> and GEÇAK<sup>10</sup> Project are the examples for the planning studies done in the Southern Ankara. In addition, there were

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<sup>8</sup> In the 1950s, Dikmen Valley was one of the most important green areas. However; along with the expansion of Ankara to the Southern parts, Dikmen Valley became an attraction area for the gecekondu constructors. Therefore 4.000 gecekondu (a population of almost 10.000) were built in the area before the project (Günay, 2004 cited in Uzun, 2005: 206; Akın, 2007:212).

In the year 1989; the Greater Metropolitan Municipality of Ankara in cooperation with the Çankaya Municipality accomplished the Dikmen Valley Project for an area of 290 hectares. For the preparation of the project the Metropolitan Joint Stock Company (Metropol A.Ş.) was established as the administrative institution of the Greater Metropolitan Municipality. The main target of the project was to conserve the natural structure of the Valley while creating a large scale recreational area for the entire city. In addition, the project was aiming a participatory and self-financing model that would also foster the development of the necessary housing supply for the gecekondu owners (Akın, 2007:212; Çiftçi ve Karakayacı, 2002, Dündar 1997, Kuntasal, 1994 cited in Uzun, 2005: 206).

With the approval of the plan in the year 1989; five stages of application was determined for the 1.800 right owners who were specified with reference to Gecekondu Law. However; the Law was not taking into account the renters; either the project (Günay, 2004 cited in Uzun, 2005: 206).

The first and the second stages of the project were applied under the Greater Metropolitan Municipality. But; with the local elections of 1994, the Municipality changed hands. Therefore the Project was re-considered as an income-creator for the Municipality that it can be said that the notion of public interest was replaced with the sensitivity to the market mechanism. The last three stages of the project are still under construction today (Uzun, 2005:207).

The project involves the construction of both social and luxury housing in the area. However, the new life style created was not proper for the socio-cultural background of the gecekondu owners that in the year 2002; only the 38% of the residents are the right-owners (Türker Devcegil, 2003 cited in Uzun, 2005:207). However, the model created was a first for the Turkish planning.

<sup>9</sup> Another Valley located in the Southern Ankara is the Portakal Çiçeği Valley; that attracted the gecekondu builders by the end of the 1950s. Most of the Valley was first publicly owned, the rest was green area and areas for non-residential area. However, the latter planning decisions opened the area to settlement with the decisions taken in the years 1952, 1957, 1963, 1967, 1968 and 1985 (Uzun, 2005: 208; Akın, 2007:210).

The latest decision was proposing the Valley as an urban green area. However; due to the high expropriation values, the gecekondu clearance and thus this planning decision was not able to be achieved. Therefore in the year 1991, just like the Dikmen Valley Project, the Municipality established a company called PORTAŞ for the preparation and the application of a new project. This new project was proposing a participatory process that was designed for producing the sufficient housing supply while the Valley was preserved as an urban green for Ankara. The project was expected to confirm an example for healthy urban development urban policy of Greater Metropolitan Municipality concerning participatory, democratic, well-designed and applicable projects. The project is an example to the public and private cooperation in urban transformation (Göksu, 1995 cited Uzun, 2005:208-209).

The Valley was surrounded by housing for high-income group that the project area was also designed to be a residential area for the high-income level as well. As the project expected to get a large gain from the selling of the apartments to the high-incomes; there was no distinction between the gecekondu owners and the renter while distributing the rights. The existing population of gecekondu was directed to Karapürçek where is 20 kilometres away from Portakal Çiçeği Valley which is a debatable issue (Uzun, 2005:209-210).

To evaluate the project, it can be said that the project is a success in creation of a better urban environment. On the other hand it should not be forgotten that the green area provision aim have never been achieved (Uzun, 2005:209-210).

<sup>10</sup> GEÇAK project area, with the motto from gecekondu to modern type of housing, is located also at the Southern part of the city; close to the center and the important valleys mentioned before. There were not many gecekondu settlements located on the project area due to the topographical threshold. However; the Municipality chosed the areas, like the Portakal Çiçeği and Dikmen Valley Projects, as an example to introduce its urban

attempts to improve the conditions of Ankara core that would never been achieved like the Bentderesi Valley Project<sup>11</sup>.

Leaving the Bentderesi project that is not applied, the other three projects were held in the Southern part of Ankara where the gecekondu areas and luxury housing areas were vicinal (Uzun, 2005:212-213).

The common thing for all the projects was the creation of a dual social structure. This dual structure led to a social conflict. Therefore the low-income group chose to move to the other parts of the city which means a population movement in the city. Secondly, the projects are not very well related to the ongoing processes in the city. Lastly; although participatory mechanisms were tried to be used in the projects; it is obvious that the gecekondu owner's interest was left behind the market's to be able to implement the projects (Uzun, 2005:212-213).

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policy. The project was completed in the year 1995 by the Municipality with the main targets of keeping the existing population on the area in more liveable conditions by means of participation and cooperation. Today the GEÇAK II Project, using the same method with the first one is on the agenda (Uzun, 2004 cited in Uzun, 2005:210-212).

Observing the first project; the project area of 1.56 hectares with 47 gecekondu was rather small when compared to the other projects. The project model was a bit different than the two other projects as it involves a building cooperative confirmed by the right holders to solve the property problems; however not including the renters (Kuzu, 1997 and Uzun, 2004 cited in Uzun, 2005:210).

While applying the project the Çankaya Municipality enlarged the project area with the provision of extra land and gave the responsibility of the project to a private company then took the role of negotiator between the sides. The private company became the finance provider under the circumstance that it 50% of the project area and profitable building privileges in exchange. This led to a dual structure of high-rise apartment blocks for the high income groups and payless four-story apartment blocks for the gecekondu owners. The rest of the project area was kept for public use (Uzun, 2004 cited in Uzun, 2005:210-212).

The GEÇAK Project was completed in the year 1996 and the gecekondu owners moved to their own apartments. However; some right holders who were given building plots in other neighbourhoods in the southern part of the project area were not able to be agreed on the transformation process (Uzun, 2004 cited in Uzun, 2005:210-211).

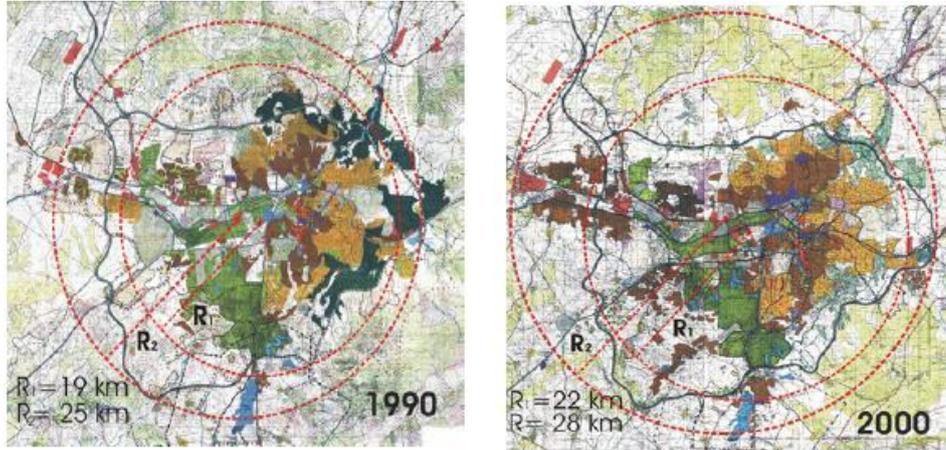
When examining the outcomes of the GEÇAK Project, it is clear that the liveability of the area when concerning the social and technical infrastructure, was increased. On the other hand; a duality in the social structure was created. In the year 1998, it was found that only eight right holders kept on living in the project area (Görk, 2002 and Uzun, 2004 cited in Uzun, 2005:210-211).

<sup>11</sup> According to the Ankara Program (1993:37); the Bentderesi Valley project was aiming the clearance of the gecekondu fabric at the vicinity of the Ankara Castle. In the year 1992; the geological etudes and the property rights distribution analysis were completed for 180 hectares of 23 neighbourhoods; population of 45.000 and 300 work places. The project was expected to be started in cooperation with the Altındağ Municipality and private sector after the completion of the feasibility report in the year 1993. However; the project was never started. It can be said that the socio-cultural structure and the topography of the determined zone did not attract the private sector and the power of the Municipality remained insufficient for shouldering the whole burden.

Even though there are many constraints in the outcomes; it is undeniable that those planning actions were made in the name of public interest and the models applied were the frontiers in their field.

### 3.2.2 Period of Re-dispersal – Incremental Approaches of Municipalities Period (1994-2003)

In the year 1994, as stated before, the Local Elections took place. As a result of the elections the Greater Metropolitan Municipality changed hands and the new administration came with new policies that were basically conservative in every policy sector. Besides the macro economic conditions in Turkey were not in a good condition under the April 5 economic decisions that the buffer sector of construction came on the agenda.



**Figure 3.11. Comparison of 1990 Macroform and 2000 Macroform**  
*Source: Çalışkan, 2004.*

Under such circumstances, the urban policy became construction based. Development Plans for South West Ankara, Elvan-Saraycık-Yeniçimşit Second Stage, Ballıkuyumcu Mass Housing Area, Gölbaşı-Güneykent, İncek-Kızılcaşar-Taşpınar were made. Additionally; especially after the year 2000; mass housing production projects by the Mass Housing Administration (TOKİ) as a public authority and large construction companies like MESA, Promim, Aktürk, Age and etc. (Akin, 2007:199-200). In ten years; the macroform growth can be followed from Figure 3.11 illustrating the 1990 macroform and 2000 macroform comparison and the increase in the number of construction permits given in 1990s when compared to the amount given in 1985-2003 can be followed from Table 3.6.

**Table 3.6. The Change in the Number of Construction Permits Given in Ankara between 1985 and 2003**

Years	Number of Residential	Number of Buildings	Number of Apartments	Change (%)
1981	568	479	7514	-15,18
1982	986	901	16313	117,1
1983	1597	984	14425	-13,09
1984	1580	906	14354	-0,49
1985	1971	1263	19126	33,25
1986	4132	3304	47007	145,78
1987	1410	2204	32239	-45,8
1988	660	1655	22001	-46,53
1989	2792	1600	24471	11,23
1990	1768	1994	27215	11,21
1991	287	1644	22807	-19,32
1992	1754	2906	42063	84,43
1993	536	3497	45921	9,17
1994	645	3156	41254	-11,31
1995	498	2652	32616	-26,48
1996	1514	2037	24942	-30,76
1997	1284	2546	30491	22,24
1998	1432	2639	33456	9,72
1999	2269	3310	44999	34,5
2000	1741	3043	45017	0,04
2001	1531	3741	52259	22,75
2002	707	2132	28812	-81,37
2003	1077	2733	38175	32,5

Source: SIS cited in Akin, 2007.

Observing the improvement planning process started in the 1980s, fastened in this era. New concentrations surrounded the core areas which basically take place in Çankaya-Dikmen in the Southern part of the Ankara and in Etlik in the Northern part of the Ankara. However this process was rather slow in the Eastern parts (Günay, 2005:111).

For the case of Ankara; this period can said to be a period in which the realization of improvement planning mostly occurred in areas where **the constructors found effective in terms of topography, social and technical infrastructure and transportation connections**. Keçiören was the district where most of the improvement plans were realized in this period. On the other hand; Şentepe in the district of Yenimahalle and the gecekondu areas at the vicinity of Ankara Castle in the district of Altındağ were not able to be transformed whereas the gecekondu areas in Mamak were transformed to a very limited degree. Besides no other new gecekondu areas were confirmed in this and since this period

rather than the eaves of the existing gecekondu areas as the acceleration of population increase in Ankara negative (Interview at the Ankara Greater Metropolitan Municipality Development Bureau, 2008).

This transformation and non-transformation processes in Ankara gives us a clue about the **relationship between the political, economical and social capitals and urban transformation** issue which will be discussed in advance in the conclusion section.

### **3.2.3 Marketing the Dispersed City Period–Massive Urban Transformation Period (2004- +)**

In the 2000s the determining socio-economic class in the urban issue is not anymore the unskilled, migrant workers but the skilled ones but the new-middle class. This new production and worker type need increased the importance of the urban areas where the transaction is taking place thus the due to the job loss and political disorder Eastern to Western migration is still on the agenda of Turkey (Ataöv and Osmay, 2007: 68-72).

In 1980-2000 periods, looking at the settlement and work place pattern; it can be said that still the fordist type of production with its residential areas are developing at the peripheries and the small production and its residential areas that take place in the core area. Therefore it can be said that the settlement and working patterns have not been transformed in the last two decades. The thing that changed is what shapes the Turkish policies in every sector. At the beginning of the 2000s the entrance to the European Union issue has become almost the most important issue in every policy sector. Thus decentralization, liberalization, marketization and privatization issues in the public sector gained speed when compared to the 1980s and the 1990s. Thus what symbolize the urban transformation in the 2000s are the large-scale transformation projects going hand in hand with especially the privatization policies. The urban macroform is shaped in accordance with the mass infrastructure and transport projects that are characterized by the national and international capital (Tekeli, 2005 and Güvenç, 1992 cited in Ataöv and Osmay, 2007:68-72).

With the deficiencies in the economy, as a buffer sector, the sector of construction gained importance in the 2000s. Municipal mass housing provision projects, disaster housing, luxury housing provision by the private sector, the usage of the historical residential areas as areas of trade have become subjects to urban transformation. Therefore, over-supply of

housing has been taking place in this period. When adding the number of unregistered housing to the registered supply it can be said that %30-50 percent of the provision is unnecessary (Balamir 2004 cited in Ataöv and Osmay, 2007:68-72).

Thus all this mobility in the urban sector brought the new legal regulations. In the period of the 2000s, the strategic planning and the communicative paradigm gained much more importance than before as the distribution politics gave its way to identity politics. This led to a fragmentation both in society and space that what is discussed the most is the issue of democracy and participation. This change in paradigm in the hegemonic literature of the West almost affected the Turkish law and order and planning. Thus the concepts of strategic planning, participation and urban transformation took their place in the law system.

2004 is again the year of Local Elections for Turkey. The existing administration of Ankara remained the same and pursued its power. However the reason why this period has chosen to be started from the year 2004 is not the Local Elections but the **crucial legal regulations concerning urban transformation and the urban policy affecting the Turkish cities**. The legal regulations that will be overviewed later in this section were deeply covered before.

It can be claimed that 2004 is a turning point in the Turkish urban transformation history. It is because of the North Ankara Urban Transformation Project Law No: 5104 was enacted in this year. For the first time in Turkish planning history, a specific Law was enacted for a project area to make a dent, to facilitate a Municipal transformation project. After this attempt; in the year 2004 the Greater Metropolitan Municipality Law No: 3030 was replaced with the new Law No: 5216 which gives the urban transformation project preparation and implementation authority to the Greater Metropolitan Municipalities. Soon after the Law No: 5216; in 2005, the Municipal Law No: 5393 came into action that gives again project preparation and application responsibility to the Municipalities. Today the Urban Transformation Law Draft, which is also fostering the massive transformation, is on its way to be enacted<sup>12</sup>.

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<sup>12</sup> The legal regulations that took place in the Turkish law system concerning urban transformation are the laws of the Great Metropolitan Municipality Law No: 5216 enacted in the year 2004; the Municipal Law No: 5393 enacted in the year 2005 and concerning Local Agenda21 applications that includes strategic processes, the Special Provincial Administration Law No: 5301 enacted in the year 2005, the North Ankara Urban Transformation Project Law No: 5104 enacted in the year 2004 and the Law for Renewing the Deprived Urban Fabric by Revitalization with Law No: 5366 enacted in the year 2005 (Uzun, 2006: 51; Ataöv and Osmay, 2007:68-72).

The legal regulations that have been arranged during the last decade can said to be partial and ambiguous in defining certain rules and principles about the urban transformation. The North Ankara Urban Transformation

The most important asset of these regulations is that they give power to the local authorities in the name of urban transformation at a very large degree.

Returning back to 2003; the year was the year of General Elections for Turkey. With the elections; Justice and Development Party (Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi-AK Parti) came into power by getting the devastating majority of the votes. This situation was repeated in the 2007 General Elections also.

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Project Law is a clear evidence for the partiality as it is a Law concerning a special transformation project. What should have been done is to take a transformation project as a part of a whole planning project for the city; however the Law remained at the level of **incremental** intervention.

Examining the Municipal Law, even though the perspective of urban transformation seems comprehensive; the regulations that have been brought with this Law can also be claimed to be incremental as the size of the transformation zones are limited to determined numbers; but again not according to the needs and specialties of the project zone. With the enactment of the Municipal Law and the Special Provincial Administration Law, institutional and spatial strategic plan making with the participation of the local actors including the Municipalities entered the Law. Local Agenda21 which is an important asset of European Union Planning policy and which foresees the establishment of the City councils as a participatory mechanism also became a part of the Law (Ataöv and Osmay, 2007:70). When considering The Great Metropolitan Municipality Law in the issue of urban transformation, what is just brought is the transfer of planning authority to the Metropolitan Municipalities (Uzun, 2006: 50-51).

Another Law relating to urban transformation is the Law for Renewing the Deprived Urban Fabric by Revitalization. The aim of this Law is to reconstruction and restoration of the deprived urban fabric in the “protected areas” due to the cultural and natural assets they have. Although the aim of the Law seems sensitive to the urban issues, the principles for urban transformation projects are not drawn that the ambiguity of the law is open to misuse (Uzun, 2006: 50-51).

Besides these legal regulations explained above, there is another Law in the position of being Draft which is on its way to be enacted and the process of being a draft since January 2004. This is the **Law Draft for the Urban Transformation** areas. With reference to the draft; the urban or rural areas with or without a development plan, any public or charity foundation building located on the area or not; transfers the planning authority to the Municipalities in the name of **renewal, improvement, development or purification** where the physical, social or technical infrastructure is analyzed to be insufficient by the Municipalities (The Law Draft for the Urban Transformation Areas; Ataöv and Osmay, 2007:70; Uzun, 2006: 51-52).

The Law Draft also concerns the integration of transformation zones with the Parliament decision in the cases where the transformation area is less than five hectares and in the cases that the transformation zones cannot attract capital solely. Besides; the Law Draft foresees the revision of the upper scale plans with reference to the projects defined by the Draft in three months. The Law Draft can also be claimed to be in the position of another Amnesty as it covers independent apartment provision for the gecekondu or unauthorized housing owners on installments up till twenty years within the case that they prove they built their residence before the specific date of 10.12.2004 (Twelfth of October) (The Law Draft for the Urban Transformation Areas; Uzun, 2006: 51-52).

As can be understood from the explanations, the Law Draft has partial and incremental claims and lacks the concern of upper scale planning. Thus the Law Draft itself is a planning authority conflict as the project areas may include or may be included by other plans made by other authorities with the concern of Laws (Uzun, 2006: 51).

When looking at the Party Program of the Justice and Development Party the urban policy defined under the title of “Urbanization and Housing”<sup>13</sup> and the macro economical pre-assumptions<sup>14</sup>; Justice and Development Party policy includes the very popular and common

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<sup>13</sup> The quality of Government in a country and the place of it in the international community is often measured the quality of cities they construct. For this reason, the issue of urbanization and housing has a meaning further than its technical content.

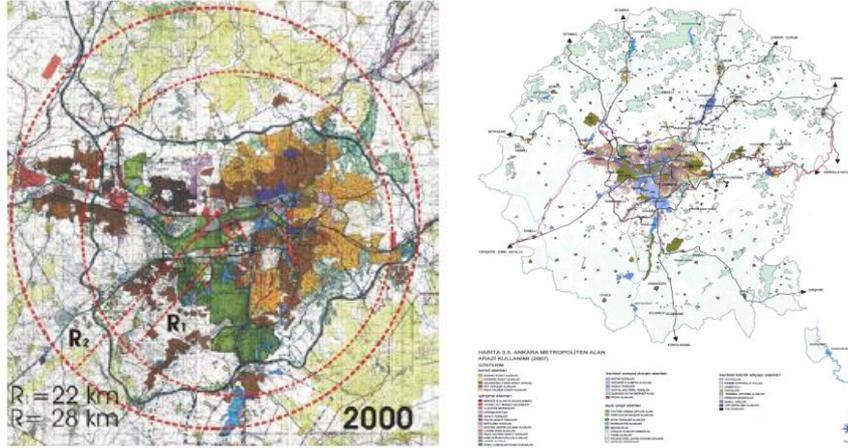
The major obstacle facing the issue of urbanization and housing in reaching contemporary standards is the internal migration. The migration issue located at the root of many problems in our nation is the crucial precondition for the creation of proper solutions.

- Radical reforms to be made in local administrations shall solve the infrastructure problems of cities. Urbanization in violation of city plans shall not be allowed.
- Improving urban planning in the slum areas at the towns will ease the problem, **rather than increasing the concentration by revising the building codes in established urban areas and planning in areas adjacent to municipal boundaries shall be accelerated.**
- Improper and **ugly urbanization shall be prevented.** Cities shall be livable spaces. Inexpensive housing shall be provided for those living in shantytown areas.
- Cities will be made into **livable, healthy, environmentally attractive** locations with long-term programs, acting on our traditions; the "**garden-town**" concept shall be taken up again.
- Necessary regulations shall be passed to **prevent the construction of buildings which ruins the natural and historical texture of the city.** The historical site policy implemented to protect the ancient city textures shall be revised.
- **Cooperation with non-governmental organizations** shall be developed for the solution of urban problems; the establishment of district organizations shall be promoted.
- The concept of "**Rights of City Dwellers and Crimes against Cities**" shall be developed for the protection of urban values. In order to secure the historical heritage, cultural values and the right to live in a healthy and balanced environment, social awareness shall be developed, the public shall be empowered to participate in decisions regarding the city and a separate chapter shall be added to the Turkish Penal Code with the title of "Crimes Against Cities".
- **Construction of public agency buildings, hospitals, universities and schools of public character within urban areas, shall be based on certain principles and rules.**
- **Arrangement of squares within the city for people to rest, exercises, demonstrate and explain their views shall be emphasized. City fairs and festivals shall be supported.**
- **Underground transportation projects will be supported for the solution of transportation problems of major cities.** Furthermore, sea and rail systems shall be expanded. Measures raising the quality of life in cities shall be made more widespread beginning with the priority regions.

<sup>14</sup> The macro economical pre-assumptions defined in the Party Program of the Justice and Development Party are:

- It regards human beings as the resource and objective of economic development.
- It favors **market economy operating with all its institutions and rules.**
- It recognizes that the **State should remain, in principle outside all types of economic activities,**
- It defines **the function of the State in the economy as a regulator and controller.** Therefore, it believes that a healthy system of the flow of information and documents is important.
- It regards the **privatization as an important vehicle for the formation of a more rational economic structure.**
- It favors that the structural transformations brought about by globalization be carried out with the least cost, and believes that the healthiest way to do this is to **increase the international competitive strength.** Thus, it accepts that the increasing of our nation's competitive strength carries strategic importance in terms of our political and economic future.
- It believes that **foreign capital** playing an important role in the transfer of international know-how and experience, will contribute to the development of the Turkish economy.
- It regards the quality, productivity, effectiveness and citizens' Büyüköçmen Sat isfaction as the main criteria in the public services.
- It regards, the realization of the **ethical values appearing with the mixture of international norms with our cultural values,** in every area of economic activities as a precondition of continuous and sustainable growth.

terms of urban and economic policy that are accepted by the entire world. However; besides these acceptable popular concepts, it can be said that the economic policy is based on privatization, deregulation and liberalization and the urban policy is simply based on construction.



**Figure 3.12. Comparison of 2000 and 2005 Macroform**

*Source: Çalışkan, 2004; Greater Metropolitan Municipality of Ankara, 2007.*

Returning back to the issue by which this section is started; 2004 was the year that the massive transformation attempts were started with the support of the necessary legal background<sup>15</sup>. The North Ankara Urban Transformation Project, Eastern Konya Road

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- It believes that our relations with the **European Union, World Bank, IMF and other international institutions** must be maintained along the lines of the requirements of our economy and our national interests.

<sup>15</sup> The first massive urban transformation project is the **North Ankara Urban Transformation Project**. The reason why the project came on the agenda is the negative image caused by the irregular residential fabric located in the Northern City gate. The project coordinators are the Greater Metropolitan Municipality of Ankara, Mass Housing Administration and a private company TOBAŞ (Akin, 2007: 215).

The project area is the gecekondu settlements located on the way to Esenboğa Airport. Consisting of the 365 hectares in the Karacaören-Pursaklar and 761 hectares in the Altındağ-Keçiören; the project area is a sum total of 1396 hectares. The project covers the construction of necessary social and technical infrastructure for two hotels with cultural conventional centers, 18.000 apartments for a population of 70.000. 6760 apartments are decided to be given to the right holders in the area. 65 hectares of this area was decided to be used for residential purposes in which 18 hectares is divided for a small lake (Akin, 2007: 215-216).

This project can said to be a pioneer attempt that fosters the other urban transformation projects that have been on the agenda since 2004. It is because all the immovables that are in the project area were under the regulation of other approved development plans before the enactment of the specific Law No: 5104 for this project. According to the Law, the urban land except the land with immovables concerning public use in actual, was transferred to Greater Metropolitan Municipality use. The project area covers nearly 931 hectares of private use and 157 hectares of public use (Akin, 2007: 215-216).

The project also has originality in terms of distributing the rights to the right holders. In contrast to the Gecekondu Law No: 775 concerning that the renters only get the capital in return of the wreck; the project distributes rights to both the gecekondu owners and the renters. A residential area is provided in cooperation with TOKİ in Karaören for the gecekondu population and before the provision, the gecekondu population was

Prestige Project, İmrahor Valley Urban Transformation Project and Ulus Historical Center Urban Transformation Project can be said to be the most important projects that will not only affect the transformation project areas themselves but also the macroform of Ankara.

With reference to what has been told so far; today the non-transformed gecekondu areas of Ankara can be claimed to be great rent providers. This reduced the meaning of urban transformation to large-scale gecekondu transformation (Akin, 2007: 224-225). With such an approach the Greater Metropolitan Municipality announced more than forty gecekondu transformation projects; that will be taken into account under the new Municipal Law, in its website.

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accommodated in the Municipal housing (Interview at the Ankara Greater Metropolitan Municipality Development Bureau, 2008). **Therefore this project is the declaration of urban transformation projects' liberation from other plans prepared.**

Other than the North Ankara Urban Transformation Project; in many other transformation attempts, other large scale transformation projects are attention taking. **Eastern Konya Road Prestige Project**, İmrahor Valley Urban Transformation Project, Dikmen Valley Stages 3-4-5 Transformation Project, Mamak Doğukent Urban Transformation Project, Mamak Hatip Çayı Valley Urban Transformation Project, Ulus Historical Center Urban Transformation Project and etc. . Some of the most attention taking projects is as below:

**Eastern Konya Road Prestige Project** is a 320 hectares urban transformation project aiming the clearance of the housing stock lacking quality with a development plan approved in 1995, located in the Eskişehir Road and OR-AN junction. The project involves the clustering of the houses in "aesthetic" high-storey apartment blocks to enable the creation of more green and open spaces (Weekly News Letter of Greater Metropolitan Municipality of Ankara, 2004; Akin, 2007: 219-220).

**İmrahor Valley Urban Transformation Project** is a 3560 hectares project that includes the rehabilitation of the dumping ground and its vicinity. However the project area is due to its natural assets (being a valley and being in connection with the Lakes of Mogan and Eymir) is a very important green area for the entire city. Therefore in the 1990 Plan, the area is decided to be an urban green. Therefore this caused the Chamber of City Planners to take project to the legal ground and sew the Greater Metropolitan Municipality in the year 2003. The result of the case was in favour of the Greater Metropolitan Municipality of Ankara (Akin, 2007: 220-221).

**Ulus Historical Center Urban Transformation Project** is a very sensitive issue as it covers an archaeological and urban conservation area. A conservation plan was approved for the area in the beginning of 1990s. However; the plan was cancelled in the year 2005 by the Greater Metropolitan Municipality of Ankara for the reason that a comprehensive transformation has not been able to be achieved in the area. The new plan covers the construction of hotels and business centers that are to replace the historically and architecturally crucial urban fabric. Therefore the project is sewed by The Chamber of City Planners, The Chamber of Architects in the name of Ulus Initiative (Günay, 2005; Akin, 2007: 223-224).

**Table 3.7. Urban Transformation Projects; Announced by 2007**

No.	Municipality	Project Name	Neighborhood, Plot, Parcel	Municipal Council Decision No.	Area (Ha)
1	Keçiören	Kuzey Ankara	Şenyuva	18,02,2005/509	11.0
2	Çankaya	Çaldağ	Dikmen	13,04,2005/883	320.0
3	Mamak	Yeni Mamak	Kayaş,Araplar, Derbent	07,10,2007/641	940.0
4	Mamak	50. Yıl	Siyasal	16,12,2005/3281	116.0
	Çankaya				
5	Çankaya	Lodumlu (Kamu)	Lodumlu	18,02,2005/542	600.0
6	Çankaya	İmrahor Vadisi	Mühye,İmrahor	18,02,2005/536	3560.0
	Mamak				
7	Çankaya	Mühye Güneypark	Tp.820,902,903	18,02,2005/524	177.0
8	Çankaya	Yakubabdal	Yakupabdal Karataş	17,06,2005/1642	3600.0
	Gölbaşı	Karataş			
		Yaylabağ			
9	Çankaya	Dikmen Vadisi 3	Dikmen	14,01,2005/218	29.0
10	Çankaya	Dikmen Vadisi 4,5	Dikmen	14,01,2005/215	177.0
11	Çankaya	Nasreddin Hoca	9014/1	15,07,2005/1963	7.3
12	Çankaya	Güneytepe	Mühye	17,06,2005/1648	60.0
13	Altındağ	Merkezi İş Alanı	İskitler	15,07,2005/1964	130.0
	Y.Mahalle	(Mia)			
14	Keçiören	Aliminyumcular	Ovacık	12,08,2005/2229	80.0
15	Y.Mahalle	Kasalar	Kasalar	16,09,2005/2533	230.0
	Keçiören				
16	Etimesgut	Göksu	Susuz	16,09,2005/2532	550.0
17	Mamak	Doğukent	Kusunlar	12,08,2005/2238	758.0
18	Çankaya	Şirindere	Karakusunlar	11,10,2005/2669	13.7
19	Altındağ	İsmetpaşa	Ulus	17,02,2006/484	13.0
20	Gölbaşı	İncek,Taşpınar	K.Şar,T.Pınar	16,12,2005/3279	2235.0
		Kızılcaşar	İncek		
21	Çankaya	Tobb Lodumlu	5502/1	16,12,2005/3283	14.3
22	Yenimahalle	Tobb Söğütözü	7638,9958,2096/20	16,12,2005/3280	43.7
23	Altındağ	Atıfbey-Hıdırlıktepe	Ulus	17,02,2006/484	116.0
24	Yenimahalle	Bha-Hipodrum	Fen İşleri	16,06,2006/	20.0
25	Karaali	Beynam	Beynam	16,06,2006/	633.2

26	Çankaya	Çankaya Ahlatlıbel (Anayasa Mhk.)	Yalınca	16,06,2006/1457	6.3
27	Keçiören	Yükseltepe Taşlıtepe	- Yükseltepe	12,07,2006/1613	108.0
28	Yenimahalle	Saklıkent	Karacakaya	15,08,2006/	125.0
			Susuz		
29	Gölbaşı	Mevlana Kapı	Karaoğlan	18,08,2006/2022	300.0
30	Altındağ	Şükriye Mah.	Ulucanlar	18,08,2006/	19.7
31	Çankaya	Tanyeli Kavşağı	Konya Yolu	12,09,2006/	9.6
32	Çankaya	Semazen Kdga	Karakusunlar	15,09,2006/2316	6.4
33	Gölbaşı	Güneykent	Tulumtaş	15,11,2006/	3000.0
34	Ankara	Tcdd Güzergahı	Sincan-Mamak	30,11,2006/	5935.0
35	Çankaya	Dikmen Vadisi I,II	Dikmen	30,11,2006/	259.0
36	Çankaya	Anadolu Bulvarı	Esk.Yolu (Odtü)	30,11,2006/	5.0
37	Keçiören	Kuzey Ankara Girişi	Keçiören Etabı	18,02,2005/509	11.0
39	Çankaya	Çukuranbar	Balgat	16,02,2007/495	235.0
40	Gölbaşı	Bilkent	Karagedik	16,02,2007/	1669.0
41	Yenimahalle	Temakent	Ballıkuyumcu	16,02,2007/	2860.0
42	Yenimahalle	İstanbul Yolu	Susuz	13,04,2007/1103	365.0
43	Yenimahalle	Tilkiler Çiftliği	Macun	16,03,2007/802	25.63
44	Yenimahalle	Batıkent	Kent Merkezi	15,06,2007/1621	107.9
45	Sincan	Fatih	Ayaş Yolu	16,03,2007/799	220.0
				Total :	29911.73 Ha

Table 3.7. continued

Source: Greater Metropolitan Municipality of Ankara, 2007.

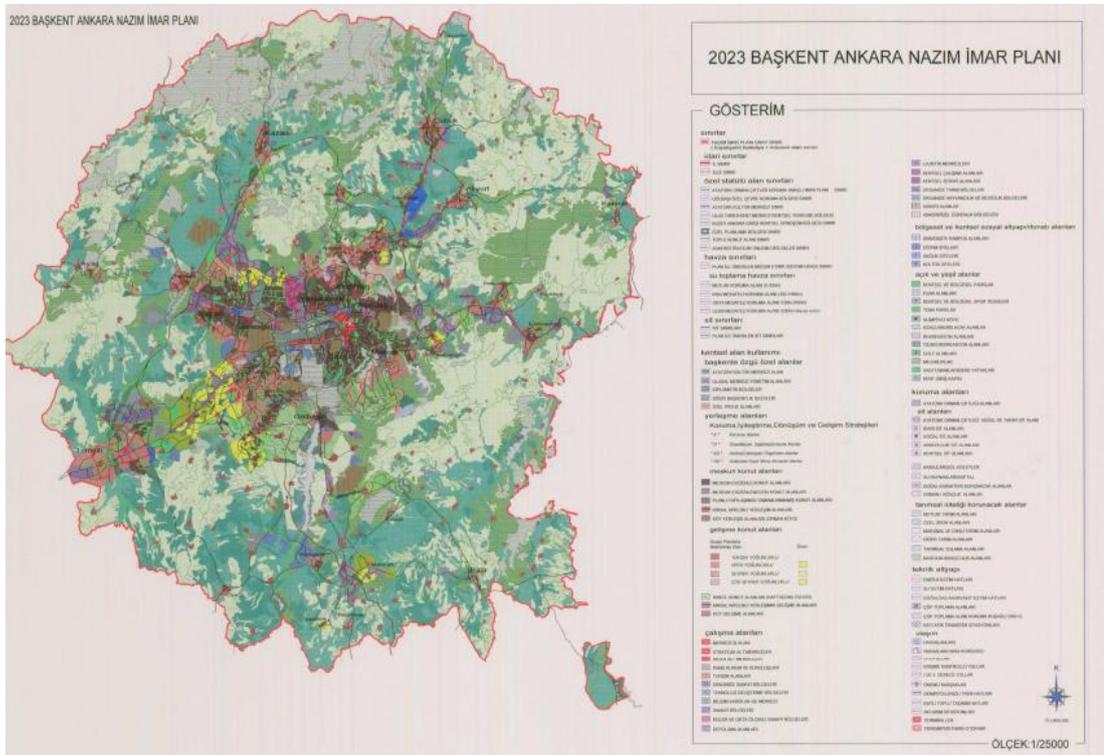
When examining the urban transformation projects announced by the Municipality, it is observed that the urban transformation projects at the peripheral areas located on very much larger areas when compared to the urban transformation project areas that are located at the central areas.

What is also important about the large scale gecekondu transformation projects is that these projects are also covering the areas with improvement plans. Thus this shows us that the public intervention is on the agenda for the non-transformed improvement plan areas.

Besides, there is an interesting occasion. Some of the project areas are located in vacant lands where there are no gecekondum areas. This may be claimed to be a speculative rent creation by the Greater Metropolitan Municipality itself. Especially the scale of the projects at the peripheral areas justifies the fact that today urban transformation is becoming an alternative to urban planning in the city of Ankara (Şahin, 2006:117).

### 3.3. How About the Future?

The latest plan prepared for Ankara is 2023 Plan prepared by the Greater Metropolitan Municipality Planning Bureau and completed in the year 2007.



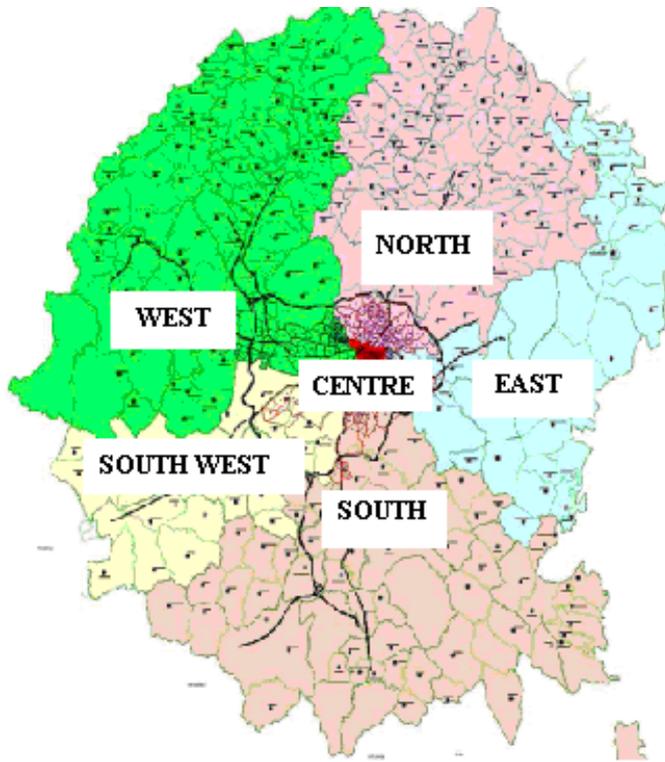
**Figure 3.13. 2023 Plan by Greater Metropolitan Municipality of Ankara**  
*Source: Greater Metropolitan Municipality of Ankara, 2007.*

The plan has five sub-planning zones which are the Central, West, South West, South, East and North zones. The areas that constitute the planning zones that are defined in the report of the 2023 Plan are as below (2023 Plan Report, 2007:512-513):

The Central Zone consists of the central business district area, most of Altındağ and Çankaya and small area belonging to Yenimahalle district.

The Western Planning Zone covers the districts of Yenimahalle, Etimesgut and Çankaya which forms the Western corridor of Ankara. In addition these areas that are mentioned Batıkent, Eryaman, Sincan and the Kazan Corridor and Ayaş that are connected to Batıkent, Eryaman, and Sincan are parts of this planning zone.

The South West Planning Zone takes the Eskişehir Road as the main axis and it covers parts of Çankaya and Yenimahalle Districts and Gölbaşı. This corridor, with reference to the 2023 Plan Report is the most speculated area in Ankara since the 1980s where the most important urban development activities have been taking place.



**Figure 3.14. 2023 Plan, Planning Zones; Greater Metropolitan Municipality of Ankara**

*Source: Derived from 2023 Plan Report, Greater Metropolitan Municipality of Ankara, 2007.*

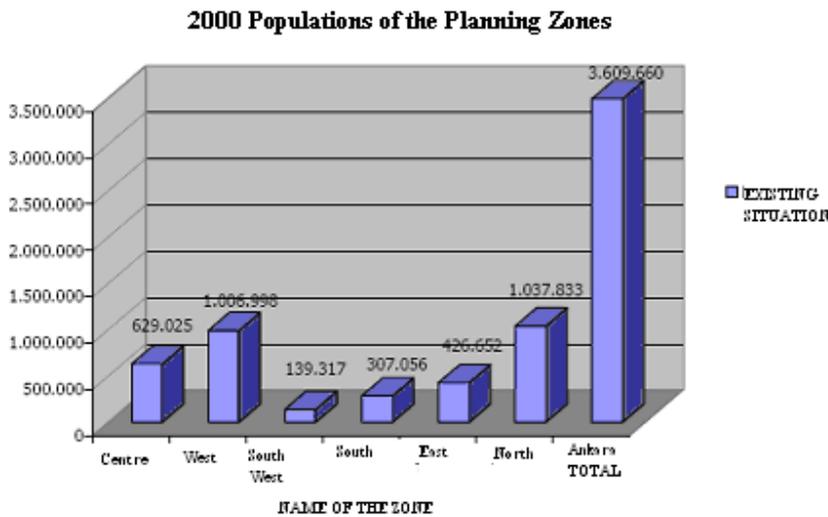
The South Planning Zone consists of parts of Çankaya district, Gölbaşı, Bala and in addition Gölbaşı Private Environmental Preservation Area. The spine of this zone is the Konya Road.

The East Planning Zone includes Mamak, Elmadağ and Kalecik districts which form the East corridor of the city with the main axis of Samsun Road. This zone, when compared to the other zones is the most disadvantaged zone in terms of socio-economy.

The last Planning Zone of the 2023 Plan is the Northern Planning Zone. The spine of this zone is the Esenboğa-Çankırı Road. Çubuk, Altındağ, Keçiören and Akyurt districts that are parts of Çubuk Basin form this zone.

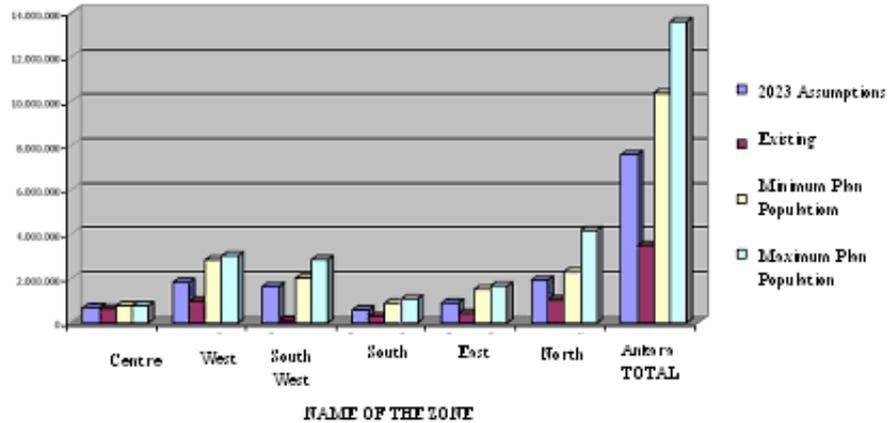
The Law No: 5216, The Greater Metropolitan Municipality Law, the Greater Metropolitan Municipalities were forced to prepare their upper scale plans in two years of time. Due to this handicap of time, it can be said that there was not enough time to analyze planning areas step by step. Thus it is a bit vague that whether the plan is a new plan or a composition of the existing plans the demographic decisions of which are re-considered.

The planning decisions of 2023 proves us that the plan has an eclectic nature rather than a holistic one as the improvement planning areas and urban transformation project areas are assumed to be realized in any way. Therefore the populations are calculated and added to the plan prepared. Besides TOKİ (Mass Housing Fund) projects most of which are located on the South West corridor were added to the plan (Interview at Ankara Greater Metropolitan Municipality Development Bureau, 2008). Even if the populations are re-considered, these areas are taken as if they are independent from the entire city and the developments occurring in the entire city. The 2000 populations, the approved plan populations and the 2023 assumptions of the planning zones by 2023 can be seen in the Figure 3.15. , 3.16. and Table 3.18. :



**Figure 3.15. 2023 Plan, Populations of the Planning Zones by the Year 2000; Greater Metropolitan Municipality of Ankara**  
*Source: Derived from 2023 Plan Report, Greater Metropolitan Municipality of Ankara, 2007.*

**The Approved Plan Populations and 2023 Assumptions**



**Figure 3.16. Demographic Assumptions For 2023**

*Source: Derived from 2023 Plan Report, Greater Metropolitan Municipality of Ankara, 2007.*

When taking into account the 2023 Plan, what is clear is that it is a plan proposing de-centralization. It can be said that 2023 Plan foresees an increase of almost 4 millions of population for Ankara. However; these assumptions of population show us that the Plan has the greatest emphasis on the South West corridor than any other corridor as the 2000 population of the area is 139.317 people while the 2023 assumption is 1.652.000 (2023 Plan Report).

Returning back to the planning strategies and decisions (2023 Plan Report, 2007:692-699), what is interesting is that the Plan is foreseeing a population decrease of 900.000 in the improvement planning areas as the plans were proposing an extra population of 2 millions of people (2023 Plan Report). However, the plan does not have a holistic and comprehensive policy concerning the urban fabric and settlement type in these areas but the decisions are left to the Municipalities. Therefore the regulations and interventions concerning urban transformation differ from Municipality to Municipality.

Due to the analysis made for the plan, the Central Planning Zone is assumed to be saturated in terms of demography. Therefore the planning strategy in this zone is mainly to increase the capacity of business and livability, thus renewal and revitalization. Yıldız, Öveçler, Balgat, Çukurambar and Mebuseveleri are the neighborhoods where the central functions are started to be seen are additional focus of attention in this planning zone (2023 Plan Report).

**Table 3.8. The populations in the approved planning regions and 2023 forecast**

The name of the planning region	Area (ha)	Population in 2000	The average density (gross)	The Population with approved plans	2023
Center	5640	629,025	111,53	775,500	698,000
West	232,800	1,006,998	4,26	3,027,000	1,839,000
Southwest	90,800	139,317	1,53	2,860,150	1,652,000
South	225,000	307,056	1,26	1,083,500	582,000
East	133,000	426,652	3,21	1,670,000	902,000
North	163,500	1,037,833	6,35	4,186,000	1,930,000
Total*	850,740	3,609,660*	4,12	13,602,150	7,603,000

\* The population of the agricultural land settlements that are shown in totals column are not included in the population of the planning regions.

Source: Derived from 2023 Plan Report, Greater Metropolitan Municipality of Ankara, 2007.

West Planning Zone was analyzed to be insufficient in terms of sub-centers among the planned mass housing areas that development of sub-centers was decided. Besides, Demetevler is decided to be renewed and transformed due to the quality of soil and the urban environment created. Besides the non-transformed areas, despite having improvement plans, like Hıdırlıktepe and Yenidoğan are decided to be intervened by radical urban transformation projects (2023 Plan Report).

The focus of attention in the North Planning Zone is on Keçiören where many improvement plans were made to transform gecekondu. The plan assumes that many areas in Keçiören completed most of its transformation by improvement plans however there is a doubt about the quality of the urban environment created. Therefore the plan aims to affect especially the higher parts in Keçiören where urban environment is analyzed to be problematic (2023 Plan Report).

East Planning Zone, as analyzed to be socio-economically disadvantaged, was decided to be fostered in terms of urban and societal integration like increasing the job opportunities. Besides like Hıdırlıktepe and Yenidoğan, the non-transformed improvement planning areas are decided to be transformed by private approaches. Especially in Mamak, the renewal processes were decided to be related with the use-value of urban space (2023 Plan Report).

South and South West Planning Zone are analyzed to be the areas of dispersal. The unnecessary use of land and public resources in this corridor were decided to be controlled with a compact settlement form. However it can be said that the population decisions for this corridor are contradictory with this decision (2023 Plan Report).

The plan seems to use the popular concepts of sustainability, livability, urban and societal integration and so on and so forth. However, the spatial distributions of the **economical** and housing strategies that are brought by this plan as stated before, are concentrating on the South-West Corridor.

### **3.4. The Summary: the Development Process Of Ankara Macroform and The Improvement Planning Areas**

The effect of the development process of the Ankara is summarized in the Table 3.9. below in the Table 3.9. The deeper evaluation concerning the development process of Ankara will be made in the 5<sup>th</sup> Chapter by reference to the theoretical frame of rent, urban land rent, urban land and housing market.

Table 3.9. The Development of Ankara Macroform in Relation with the Improvement Planning Areas

The Period	Macro Economic Policy	Urban Growth	Urban Planning and Transformation Policy	Main Actors Sharing the Rent
Specialization of the newly established Republic (1923-1950)	Mixed	*Controlled and planned growth	*Development and redevelopment	*Bureaucrats, the *Capital holders *Mediators between the public sector and the private capital holders
Rapid Urbanization Period (1950-1980)	State based import-substitution (The 1970s faced the increase of leftem wing social acts but by the coup at the 1980s, this act stopped)	*The 1970s were the years of the emergence of the satellite towns *Uncontrolled growth and physical expansion (North-South direction)	* The gecekondu areas in Altundag, Yenidogan, Kayaş were planned as developed-zoned areas. To constituted a basis for the improvement plans in the 1980s *In the rapid urbanization period, what happened was the emergence of many gecekondu areas in Balgat, Dikmen, Etilik and Keçioren thus in the places that remained out of the Yücel-Uybadin Plan. *Renewal *Improvement *Prevention	*Middle-class, constructors *Gecekondu owners

	<b>Upper Scale Planning Studies (1982-1994)</b>	Export-oriented market based Neo-liberal and neo-conservatives (privatization, deregulation, liberalization)	*Decentralization *Industrial areas show tendency of moving out of town *Uncontrolled growth and physical expansion *Mass housing projects in the Western Ankara (With the emphasis on West and South West corridor)  *Decrease in the increase rate of population *Physical expansion by improvement plans (For the gecekondu areas all over Ankara) *Transformations in the gecekondu areas and core areas have been taking place	* Etimesgut, Sincan and the local transportation line that was to connect them to the city; Bataktent and the metro line and industrial nodes of Ostim, Şaşmaz and Osmaniye were all planning decisions of 1990 Plan and Elvankent, Eryaman and Çayyolu are the main residential nodes that were characterized by the plan *Development *Decentralization	*Large construction companies *Small building constructors *Gecekondu owners
<b>Period of Dispersal and Integration Attempts (1980-1994)</b>	<b>Intense Improvement Planning (1980-1989)</b>	Export-oriented market based Neo-liberal and neo-conservatives (privatization, deregulation, liberalization)		*Renewal *Improvement *Prevention *The decentralization decision of the upper scale plans, the incremental interventions with the improvement plans caused density increases in the core areas.	*Small building constructors *Gecekondu owners (*Political party in power in search of political rent)
	<b>Urban Transformation concerning Public Interest (1990-1994)</b>	Export-oriented market based Neo-liberal and neo-conservatives (privatization, deregulation, liberalization)	*Urban transformation projects with the collaboration of public and private (in the Southern Ankara) (confirming a model)	* The transformation projects in this period are very important for the Turkish planning history as they have a very progressive vision when compared to their period. *Renewal *Improvement *Prevention	*Large construction companies *Gecekondu owners
<b>Period of Re-dispersal – Incremental Approaches of Municipalities Period (1994-2003)</b>		Export-oriented market based Neo-liberal and neo-conservatives (privatization, deregulation, liberalization) With the deficiencies in the	*Uncontrolled growth and physical expansion *The increasing effect of political capital in the urban issues * Development Plans for South West Ankara, Elvan-Saraycık- Yeniçimşit Second Stage, Ballıkuyuncu Mass	* The improvement planning process started in the 1980s, fastened in this era. New concentrations surrounded the core areas which basically take place in Çankaya-Dikmen in the Southern part of the Ankara and in Etilik in the Northern part of the Ankara. However this process	*Large construction companies *Small building constructors *Gecekondu owners

Table 3.9. continued

	<p>economy, as a buffer sector, the sector of construction gained importance in the 2000s.</p> <p>Export-oriented market based</p> <p>Neo-liberal and neo-conservatives (privatization, deregulation, liberalization)</p> <p>With the deficiencies in the economy, as a buffer sector, the sector of construction gained importance in the 2000s.</p>	<p>Housing Area, Göbbaşı-Güneykent, İncek-Kızılcaşar-Taşpınar were made</p> <p>*Ring-road construction</p> <p>*Uncontrolled growth and physical expansion</p> <p>*The increasing effect of political capital in the urban issues</p> <p>*Urban transformation projects leading to urban expansion</p> <p>*The perspective urban transformation by the district Municipalities and low urban quality</p>	<p>was rather slow in the Eastern parts</p> <p>*Renewal</p> <p>*Improvement</p> <p>*Prevention</p> <p>* Urban transformation is becoming an alternative to urban planning in the city of Ankara</p> <p>*Idea of urban transformation replacing the improvement planning</p> <p>*Renewal</p> <p>*Improvement</p> <p>*Prevention</p>	<p>*Large construction companies</p> <p>*Small building constructors</p> <p>*Municipality</p> <p>*Gecekondu owners</p> <p>*Mass Housing Fund</p>
<p><b>Marketing the City Period – Massive Urban Transformation Period (2004- +)</b></p>			<p>*Expansion in the name of decentralization</p> <p>* Plan is foreseeing a population decrease of 900,000 in the improvement planning areas as the plans were proposing an extra population of 2 millions of people. However, the plan does not have a holistic and comprehensive policy concerning the urban fabric and settlement type in these areas but the decisions are left to the Municipalities. Therefore the regulations and interventions differ from Municipality to Municipality.</p>	<p>*Large construction companies</p> <p>*Small building constructors</p> <p>*Municipality</p> <p>*Gecekondu owners</p> <p>*Mass Housing Fund</p>
<p><b>How about the Future? Ankara 2023 Plan</b></p>	<p>Export-oriented market based</p> <p>Neo-liberal and neo-conservatives (privatization, deregulation, liberalization)</p>	<p>*Expansion rather than decentralization is expected</p> <p>*Urban transformation projects with incremental approach (With the emphasis on the South West corridor)</p>		

Table 3.9. continued

## **CHAPTER 4**

### **EVALUATION OF TURKISH IMPROVEMENT PLANNING WITH RESPECT TO THE URBAN REGENERATION LITERATURE AND WORLD EXAMPLES FOR SLUM UPGRADING**

In this Chapter, it is aimed to evaluate the improvement plans that are developed as a solution for the problem of gecekondu areas in Turkey in the 1980s with regard to the similar applications in the World concerning slum upgrading.

#### **4.1 World Examples for Slum Upgrading**

According to the first global assessment of slums by the United Nations Human Settlements Program (UN-HABITAT), *The Challenge of Slums: Global Report on Human Settlements* (2003); by the year 2001, 31.6% of the World's urban population thus 924 millions of people lived in slum which is defined to be the physical and spatial manifestation of poverty. The slum population intensifies in the developing regions with 43% of the urban population when compared to the developed ones with 6% of slum population (UN-HABITAT, 2003).

For the next thirty years, the slum population of the World is projected to be two billions if not intervened. When considering the developing regions with respect to the 2001 data, Sub-Saharan Africa as the largest slum population proportion in the urban population with 71.9%. The followers are South-Central Asia with 58%, Eastern Asia with 36.4%, Western Asia with 33.1%, Latin America and Caribbean with 31.9%, with Northern Africa with 28.2%, Southeast Asia with 28% and lastly Oceania with the lowest proportion with 24.1% (UN-HABITAT, 2003). Here; it is needed to note that Turkey is taken under the Asia title for the calculations of the UN-HABITAT book.

When looking at Asia, according to UN-HABITAT (2003) the average urban housing standards were improved during the 1990s until the economic crisis of 1997. The main problem of the Asian cities is that urban population growth is not going hand in hand with the necessary urban growth that slums come on the agenda. This is especially true for South Asia. However, in some countries like Thailand and India, even though being specific to some cities the urban conditions continued to get better (UN-HABITAT, 2003).

Coming to the cases of the Sub-Saharan and Northern Africa and Western Asia, what is on the agenda is the housing stress caused by the economic fluctuations. The incomes are decreasing while the rents and prices are rising. This provokes a vicious circle in the supply-demand relations. Therefore, the number of slum areas increased in most of the cities, and the slum improvement was very slow or not the case in many cities (UN-HABITAT, 2003).

In contrast to the situation in of the Sub-Saharan and Northern Africa and Western Asia; South Africa with a very effective and large scale housing program, achieved to decrease the informal settlement numbers at a large degree (UN-HABITAT, 2003).

Considering Latin America, there has been a massive act of tenure regularization that led to an important decrease in the numbers of gecekondu households. Even though the slum definitions change according to the countries, tenure regularization policies have been decreasing the slum number in most of the cases. In addition to this the urbanization is at the level of 80% that it reached almost the level of saturation and it led to a slowing down in the formation slums. But it does not change the reality that slums are crucial problems in most Latin American cases (UN-HABITAT, 2003).

As stated before, the slum definition and name changes from country to country like gecekondu for Turkish case, umjondolo for Zulu and durban of Africa, bairros da lata for Portugese, tanake for Beirut and etc. . However the main characteristics of the slum areas are in common which are the **lack of basic services, substandard housing or illegal and inadequate building structures, over-crowding and high density, unhealthy living conditions and hazardous locations, insecure tenure; irregular or informal settlements, poverty and social exclusion and minimum settlement size** (UN-HABITAT, 2003).

The idea of intervening slum areas also changed as the macro perspectives to regeneration changed gradually. The slum areas started to be seen as areas of “hope” than “despair”. The national policies concerning slums started to change from clearance, resettlement and discharging or not caring replaced by rights-based, self-help upgrading policies concerning the security of settlers and local economic development (UN-HABITAT, 2003).

Despite the change in the intervention policies from negative to positive; the stories of success that have not been systematically documented are insufficient in proportion when compared to the scale of the slum problem (UN-HABITAT, 2003).

From now on, this study will cover the chosen World examples from different continents, which are explained in the UN-HABITAT book, *The Challenge of Slums: Global Report on Human Settlements* (2003:200-228).

#### **4.1.1.1 An Asian Example: Ahmedabad, India**

The example chosen from the Asia continent is the Indian, Ahmedabad example which has been a city of trading since the beginning. For Ahmedabad case, the definition the slum area is the crowded, compact area composed of dwellings with poor, unhealthy living conditions with the residents who are socially and economically excluded from the society (UN-HABITAT, 2003:201).

Since the 1950s; policies concerning the improvement of the social and spatial conditions have come on the agenda. **The policies started with the slum clearance and more recently shifted to the slum upgrading and community-based slum networking concerning the environment** (UN-HABITAT, 2003:201).

Up till the early the 1990s, Ahmedabad Municipal Corporation, with a soft international loan, developed policies concerning the slum areas and even worked as a small welfare state. With **rare discharges**, the Municipal Corporation tolerated the settlements with poor living conditions on both the public and private land; **created and improved basic services and city-level service-delivery standards** the and even allowed the public space to be used for informal income generation (UN-HABITAT, 2003:201).

However, the Ahmedabad Municipal Corporation **did not manage to make the slum areas a part of the upper scale urban planning activity which is not supporting the urban poor and slum areas**. Therefore it was not possible for the Municipal Corporation to solve the problem of **security of tenure** (UN-HABITAT, 2003:201).

#### **4.1.1.2 A European Example: Barcelona, Spain**

In spite of the fact that there was an economic growth in the 1960s the slum areas developed at a very small degree after the transition to democratic administration by the half of the 1970s due to the policies developed, concerning the spatial and social problems of the city. Thus, the period after the 1980s involved crucial improvements in many areas of the city, especially the old town (UN-HABITAT, 2003:202-203).

The Municipality of Barcelona has been the main actor in the **physical and socio-economic improvement of the conditions the latter slum areas**. The main tool of the Municipality is the **massive urban renewal programs combined with the** social policies concerning poverty (UN-HABITAT, 2003:202-203).

The other actors in this urban process were the public institutions at central, regional and local levels are responsible for the **urban redevelopments**, non-governmental organizations working at the individual household or the community levels (UN-HABITAT, 2003:202-203).

Today, it is believed that there are no slum areas remained in Barcelona; however there are areas where marginalized people are concentrated. The entire old city, except few gentrified areas and large sections of the peripheral areas are in this situation. However; the policies concerning improvement are still in power for the future (UN-HABITAT, 2003:202-203).

#### **4.1.1.3 An Arabic Example: Cairo, Egypt**

Cairo is an interesting example as the urban poor is not geographically concentrated. The income heterogeneity in space is caused by the lack of residential mobility, rent control and imperfect real estate markets (UN-HABITAT, 2003:205-206).

In the year 1956 the Master Plan of Cairo was approved and the in 1958 the Ministry of Housing prepared the Nasr City scheme. A public housing program was established; and in as a result of the scheme, in the year 1965 the Cairo Governorate had **constructed nearly 15,000 units at the fringe area of Cairo for low-income groups** (UN-HABITAT, 2003:205-206).

However; this action was addressing the social group of low-incomes but not the slum area. Therefore between the years of 1974 to 1985 the Egyptian government left the attitude of neglecting the informal housing areas by the laws that are **to preserve state and agricultural lands from misuse**. After the official recognition of the crucial problem of informal settlements by the Government, new urban policies started to be developed. 1992 was the year in which the **program to improve aashwa'i**, the informal settlement areas in Egypt **covering the modern planned settlements thus renewal** (UN-HABITAT, 2003:205-206).

Even though the policy has been successful in slowing down the expansion of the slum areas, the expansion to the valuable agricultural land is still on the agenda (UN-HABITAT, 2003:205-206).

#### **4.1.1.4 A Latin Example: Havana, Cuba**

Tugurio, however seldom used in Cuba, is the Cuban word for slum. In Cuba; unlike the market based economies, the slum areas socially heterogenic (UN-HABITAT, 2003:209-211).

It is because; with the 1959 revolution, all **discharge activities were ended, the rents were reduced by 30 to 50 per cent that the urban land speculation was prevented**. The Urban Reform Law was enacted with the concept of housing as a public service. Slum residents became long-term renters but, by the second half of the 1960s, they started paying no rent. Starting from 1961, the government constructed housing that are available for the residents with lifetime leases at rents of about 10% of family income (UN-HABITAT, 2003:209-211).

The 1960s were the years, when the most engrossing interventions to slum areas were started in Cuba. The largest shantytowns were **demolished and the settlers constructed housing through self-help by mutual aid**. By the end of the 1960s and at the beginning of the 1970s,

an act of **clearance and replacement** came on the agenda for Havana Green Belt creation (UN-HABITAT, 2003:209-211).

However; the main idea concerning poor housing areas in Havana was **neglecting as there was a common idea that they can be replaced by renewal**. Under such a perspective new areas were continued to be formed with a gradual increase (UN-HABITAT, 2003:209-211).

#### **4.1.1.5 An American Example: Los Angeles, US**

Los Angeles is a city famous for ethnic diversity and segregation. The housing is the spatial presentation of the ongoing issue of ethnic segregation. Even if there is no official use of the word slum for the city of Los Angeles, there are both individual and massive slum areas manifesting the ethnic segregation. The common features of the slum areas of the city are poor physical conditions, low income residents (UN-HABITAT, 2003:214-215).

The policy intervention and application types to improve slums and decrease the level of urban poverty are based on the **clearance or upgrading of slums and decreasing the level of poverty by national, regional and urban level policies and programs and non-governmental actions** (UN-HABITAT, 2003:214-215).

Because of the income differences and the economic segregation caused by the income differences, both the physical and social policy interventions target the same groups by **tax benefits, low-interest loans, grants and revitalization actions**. When considering the non-governmental support by policies; they involve the tenants' organizations and advocacy groups, thus the residents and the housing constructors, thus the non-profit developers and the community development organizations (UN-HABITAT, 2003:214-215).

By these policy implications a remarkable result has been obtained. As a result of the public policies and non-governmental pressures an estimated US\$450 million of private funding has been invested in the sector of disadvantaged housing areas in terms of investment was achieved (UN-HABITAT, 2003:214-215).

#### **4.1.1.6 An Australian Example: Sydney, Australia**

After the World War II, the immigration wave increased Sydney's population at a large degree, three times more than the increase of previous 50 years. By the 1980s and the 1990s, the income difference between the rich and the poor increased in spite of the fact that everyone was claimed to be reached relative to the World average income levels (UN-HABITAT, 2003:227-228).

Therefore, even though there exists no official slum definition; areas with poorer living conditions started to be observed in the inner-city areas (today's former slums as most of them are gentrified) and areas with cheap housing, concentrated at a distance of twenty kilometers from the central business district in which the immigrants and economically disadvantaged people are settled (UN-HABITAT, 2003:227-228).

The Government developed various housing programs which are the **public housing** that came on the agenda after 1945 and **rent assistance** that is considered by the end of the 1980s. The rent assistance was taken into account as the Government became aware of the fact that public housing construction was insufficient in meeting the demand of the disadvantaged income groups. By the second half of the 1970s, public housing was shifted into the **welfare housing** that the low and middle income groups have been **subsidized**. In addition; housing loans started to be given to the economically disadvantaged groups from 1945 to 1990 despite to **low interest rates and secondary mortgage markets** (UN-HABITAT, 2003:227-228).

The cooperation between occupants and a housing association concerning the solving of the social and physical improvement in the housing areas with poor conditions led to the remarkable decrease of the social problems. However; the marginalization of public housing remained an important problem which is creating various social problems. Because of this marginalization, the low and middle class people lacking the ability of rent-paying caused operational funds to decrease below the required sustainable level. Therefore it can be said that the construction of new public housing is almost stopped in the city as the funds are used for the **upgrading of the existing estates** (UN-HABITAT, 2003:227-228).

#### **4.1.1.7 An African Example: Nairobi, Kenya**

The formation of the slums in Nairobi can be explained by returning back to the pre-independence period, as the population was geographically distributed to separate enclaves by the government with reference to the nationalities of Africans, Asians and Europeans. In those times, the formation of the slums occurred because of uneven distribution of public technical and social infrastructure facilities. Despite having no official definition, the slums of Nairobi is characterized by illegal subdivisions of neither government nor private land (UN-HABITAT, 2003:219-220).

In Kenya case; what is **lacking is the clear urban policy** that the interventions are mostly **incremental**. Generally the slum areas are located on the unplanned lands that are improper for housing. **As an intervention; housing and infrastructure programs came on the agenda in some slum areas for fostering the collaboration between the government, volunteers and non-governmental organizations** (UN-HABITAT, 2003:219-220).

In addition; policy-sensitive initiatives were developed concerning upgrading, community participation and improved access to services. However; these could not prevent the expanding number of slum areas, social exclusion, top-down approaches, gentrification, failing partnerships and other negative outcomes (UN-HABITAT, 2003:219-220).

The reason why the policy interventions fail can be the lack of efforts in defining the slum areas legally (still there exists no definition apart from the illegal housing) and besides the lack of upper scale urban plans and policies (UN-HABITAT, 2003:219-220).

#### **4.1.2 The Evaluation of Turkish Improvement Planning With Reference to World Examples**

When considering the change in the general urban transformation policies, a shift from the idea of renewal which is based on clearance and building-up again to regeneration which is user friendly, self help type of transformation concerning the socio-economic transformation as well as the physical one. Therefore the policies concerning the slum areas in the world also changed from top-down renewal policies to bottom-up regeneration policies (Roberts and Sykes, 1999).

Taking into account the examples of the developed countries like Spain and Australia and estatist countries like Cuba; it can be said that the transformation was supported by other public, social and economic policies within a wider institutional context that covers both governmental and non-governmental institutions. Therefore the main concern is socio-economic transformation as well as the physical one.

When looking at developing countries like India, Egypt and underdeveloped countries like Kenya; the issue on the agenda is the renewal by incremental interventions. In these cases, the slum upgrading projects were not supported by the upper scale planning activities and other institutional or public policy. Therefore the level of success is rather low when compared to the developed country examples.

**Table 4.1. The Evolution Legal Background Concerning Gecekondu in Turkey**

<b>Act No. / Date of Approval</b>	<b>Target</b>	<b>Result</b>
<b>5218</b> 06.14.1948	*empower the municipality to undertake improvements in gecekondu areas *allot parcels of land to potential gecekondu builders	*dense GECEKONDU areas were reserved for housing development *areas where gecekondu were not exist were transferred to the municipality
<b>5228</b> 06. 28. 1948	*extend the act 5218 throughout the country *supply financial credits for housing	*financial credit provisions helped middle income groups instead of low income groups
<b>5431</b> 06.06. 1949	*avoid illegal housing problem *demolish the houses which had been constructed up to that time	*could not be achieved perfectly
<b>6188</b> 07. 24. 1953	*produce land for housing *legalize the illegal houses built up to that time	*state owned land was transferred to the municipality to be used as housing sites *demolition of gecekondu houses was never carried out fully
<b>775</b> 07. 20. 1966	*improvement, clearance and prevention of gecekondu houses	*although 1.3% of gecekondu housing areas had been cleaned, this aim could not be achieved perfectly
<b>2805</b> 03. 16. 1983	*preservation, improvement and clearance of gecekondu houses	*Ankara municipality determined 22 improvement plan areas
<b>2981</b> 02. 24. 1984	* preservation and improvement of gecekondu houses	*deed allotment warrants were given to gecekondu owner
<b>3290</b> 05. 22. 1986	*enlargement of illegal housing concept	*offices and residential areas transformed from gecekondu were included in the definition of unauthorized housing

*Source: Derived from Büyükgöçmen Sat, 2007.*

Thus, the Turkish case of gecekondu transformation is much more like the developing country cases. The legal background changed from clearance, improvement and prevention to legalization.

As known; with the born of the gecekondu phenomenon in the 1950s and after its commodification in the 1980s; what has been characterizing the Turkish urban transformation literature is “gecekondu transformation”. Even the phrase “urban transformation” refers just to gecekondu transformation and Gecekondu Law refers to the only law concerning urban transformation issues in most of the minds. However; it is not so. What is undeniable is that improvement planning gave the main character to the gecekondu transformation in the after 1980 period.

Turkish urban transformation perspectives that are affecting the gecekondu transformation processes can be examined in two main periods of before and after 1980. However, in search of a deeper examination Ataöv and Osmay (2007:60) took the issue in three main periods which are 1950-1980, 1980-2000 and 2000 - + (Ataöv and Osmay, 2007:59).

**When integrating the approach of Ataöv and Osmay with the periodization approach of this thesis,** it can be said that ‘the before 1980’ period of gecekondu transformation is characterized by the Gecekondu Law No: 775 and ‘after 1980’ period of gecekondu transformation can be divided into the sub-periods of the intense improvement planning period (1980-1989), urban transformation concerning public interest (1990-1994), period of re-dispersal under the incremental approaches of Municipalities (1994-2003) and the period marketing of the dispersed city period under the massive urban transformation projects (2004- +).

**Gecekondu Law No: 775** was explained in the Chapter 3 before; however, it is important to note again that this Law was the first legal regulation to Express the existence of gecekondu legally. In addition this law has a policy categorization concerning the gecekondu areas which are the prevention, clearance and improvement (Özkan, 1998:71-72 cited in Mühürdaroğlu, 2005:67).

When considering the Gecekondu Law No: 775, this Law has a funding system with the Article No: 12 and defines fort he sake of what the financial incomes gained with the purposes of gecekondu prevention, clearance and improvement can be used by the Article No: 13. According to the Article No: 13, the income gained via gecekondu prevention,

clearance and improvement can be used for the purposes of social housing and guest housing production defined by reference to the projects approved by the Ministry of Settlement and Housing and for infrastructure building for the renewal areas and lastly for the Project preparation purposes. Thus the **public interest** is the essence of the Law when it was enacted in 1960s.

However; reaching to 1980s, with the new regulations concerning Gecekondu Amnesties (Laws No 2981 and 3190), the policies concerning the prevention and clearance gave the priority to the policy of improvement.

The improvement plans of the 1980s were not prepared hand in hand with the upper scale planning activities but they were remained at the level of incremental solutions to the problem. The development rights given were more of a political rent seeking rather than urban transformation. The existing urban fabric covered by gecekondu areas were legalized without taking into account the effects of this action for the entire city macroform. Therefore the result of such an act of excluding the urban dynamics that have been on the agenda, was a total failure.

While the improvement planning process was taking place for Ankara, starting from 1990 and took place till the end of the first half of the 1990s, the urban transformation projects concerning the public interest under public-private collaboration started to take place. However; these projects were limited to Southern Ankara where the most rentable is in the entire city. Despite being limited to a specific part of Ankara, this urban transformation projects were intensive to the entire Ankara and besides they had a holistic and public interest based view.

In between the years 1994 and 2003, the implementation of the improvement plans was kept on wherever rentable regardless of the entire Ankara under a dis-integrated approach.

Reaching to 2004 and returning back to the issue of creating a virtual population by plans, the mistake made by the improvement plans have again started to be repeated in the urban transformation projects with the legal regulations concerning the Municipalities and their authorities (explained in detail in Chapter 3) and urban transformation after 2004. The capital chooses best areas to fit in terms of land and housing rent and construct. Therefore

the application and realization of these projects in some of the areas chosen are rather problematic.

Therefore the partiality in planning approach and the dominance of the market extended to a larger degree in the 2000s, especially after 2004. As can be observed in the 2023 Plan, the partial transformation projects and Mass Housing Foundation housing provision (by Law the Mass Housing Foundation can provide land and construct with its own decision to anywhere) affect the upper scale macroform decisions.

Therefore, observing the 1980-2004 periods, as mentioned above, there was a flow of urban transformation projects in the 1990s which were foreseeing the public and capital cooperation. After the 1980s and especially after the 2000s, the transformation interventions are determined with reference to both the local context and global flows. The diversification in the types of interventions is the consequences of the changes in the planning paradigms and their reflections in Turkey. However the urban transformation in Turkey is a market-based, partial and incremental approach independent from the macro to micro scale based approach of planning and decision making that is shaped as a momentary intervention rather than a planned process that is taking the public interest to foreground (Ataöv and Osmay, 2007:59). Even today the Law for Urban Transformation Areas is still in the position of being a Draft. In addition, as explained above, even the Draft has a partial and incremental when taking the urban planning issue into account.

Therefore, taking into account the Laws concerning the urban transformation and the Draft as the latest regulation, it can easily be said that Turkish legal system is highly insensitive to the urban issues and urban planning. In other words, there is no standard approach in the case of urban transformation in Turkey. Thus in Turkey what is understood by urban transformation is a tool for building up luxury high-rise buildings, shopping malls, gated communities and etc. in the name of gecekondü clearance or improvement rather than the change itself and rather than an umbrella concept for urban regeneration projects ending in both positive or negative ways.

It can be said that the Laws and regulations concerning gecekondü transformation are inconsistent as not every gecekondü areas was intervened with the same tools and policies. The main reason why is the politically rent seeking attitude of Turkish politics. Gecekondü

have never been seen as a socio-economic phenomena but a physical deficiency. Therefore Turkish gecekondu upgrading is based on renewal rather than regeneration.

To summarize, slums and gecekondu areas are **basically the results of the population growth due to urban expansion**. However, then they become the problem of **rent and public policy**(UN, 2003). Therefore; the literal explanation of urban transformation and the phenomena of non-transformation are directly related with the urban land and housing market and the rent issues.

## CHAPTER 5

### LAND RENT, URBAN LAND AND HOUSING MARKET THEORY AND TURKISH PRACTICE: EVALUATION OF THE IMPROVEMENT PLANNING FOR ANKARA

With reference to the World examples examined, gecekondu is a rent and public policy issue. To be able to evaluate the case of improvement planning for Ankara deeply, this study will now cover the main approaches concerning the rent theory; urban land and housing market by reference to Turkish case and urban growth and capital accumulation processes thus the relation between public and capital as being the main determiners in the housing and urban land market.

Therefore now, this study will cover the approaches and main concepts concerning the urban issues.

#### **5.1 Approaches concerning the Urban Issues Thus Rent Theory and Urban Land and Housing Market**

When considering **the radical approach**; in the works of Marx and Engels, the urban space has a dual structure as the city is blessed because of the potentials it carries and the city is cursed because of the poverty and problems it brings. This duality seems as a conflict but it is not. As every societal relation and process, the urban space also has a dialectic nature in which the progressive and the reactionary are together. What is taken into account by Marx but especially Engels in terms of urban space is its relation to historical formation of the class and class conflict processes. (Şengül, 2001:10). Considering the radicals and mainly

Marxists, the historical relationship between Marxism and the urban space is very complex and problematic. Even though there are certain ascriptions in the works of Marx concerning urban issues, it cannot be said that there is a comprehensive systematization or theorization. On the other hand, it can be said that Engels has sensitivity to the subject of space in his works (Şengül, 2001:9).

Leaving the works of Marx and Engels aside, till the 1960s the Marxist studies had a remarkable insensitivity about considering the space. However after rapid urbanization period of the 1960s, the increasing effects of capitalism on the urban space, canalized the theorists to this issue. Lefebvre, Harvey and Castells were the leading thinkers of this flow (Şengül, 2001:9). These thinkers discussed the urban issues with respect to the class formation, conflict, capital accumulation processes that take place under the capitalistic type of production, urban infrastructure investments, distribution of the value added and urban land rent gap.

Coming to the 1960s of the Western literature of the urban issues, the French Marxist sociologist **Henri Lefebvre** broke nearly a hundred years silence after Engels. Engels (1969) believes that the proletariat would become aware of self-spatiality and annihilate the capitalism; however it did not happen so. However; what Lefebvre stated was a breaking point for the Marxist studies' literature (Şengül, 2001:14).

To Lefebvre, the urban space had been used efficiently by the bourgeoisie and this efficient use turned out to be the successful survival of the capitalism. What he was mainly referring was the commodification of urban space (Lefebvre, 1979: 285; 1991) just like any other commodity. The commodification of the urban space also changed its economic value from the concrete **“use value”** to the abstract **“exchange value”**. Thus the historical **“social production of the urban space”** and the **“social values represented by space”** was reduced to the exchange value of the urban space. Two very different urban spaces with very different historicity are just two commodities in the capitalist market relations (Gottdiener, 1988; Şengül, 2001:15).

Thus Lefebvre stands for the space of casual, daily life that emphasizes the **“use value”** instead of the space produced by the state and capital in terms of **“exchange value”** (Şengül, 2001:15). However it is questionable that the daily life emphasizes the **“use value”**.

What Lefebvre brought as a breaking point is that the conflicts in the field of production are not the only conflicts in capitalistic relations, but also there are conflicts concerning the everyday life. What he suggested was the production of the “**socialist urban space**”, **the space of the differences** where use value matters (Şengül, 2001:16).

In the 1970s Manuel Castells, a Spanish sociologist who were affected by the works of Lefebvre, came on the agenda. What was his main focus giving shape to his theory of urban space is the “**reproduction of labor power**”. With an Althusserian frame Castells systematized the societal formations with reference to **economics, ideology and politics**. To Castells, the unity of the city comes from its **collective consumption**. It is because the production and circulation of capital is not organized at the level of the cities but the consumption is. To him the planned structure of the urban space is controlled by the state while the monumental structures, monuments, street names and the squares are ideological carriers (Castells, 1968, 1977, 1983 cited in Şengül, 2001:17).

In his definition of conflict, Castells states that the **conflict is between the state and the users of the services and goods provided by the state**. According to Castells, under the monopolistic capitalism dominating in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century; a gradual increase in the state’s provision of the re-production of labor power occurred. This happened because the re-productive services such as education, health, housing and transportation were not profitable for the capital (Şengül, 2001:17-18).

The provision of these services by the state seemed to solve many problems for the sake of capitalism while it was also creating even worse problems. This is for the reason that the state gradually started to get strained in the provision of these services. Thus this situation itself is a conflict creator which **re-produces both the capitalism and its conflicts** (Şengül, 2001:17-18).

In such a complicated milieu there are, of course, certain organizations against the actual situation which Castells calls the “**urban social movements**”. He relates the urban social movements with the class movements and he believes that an urban social movement can be successful in a radical way only if it can be a part of a comprehensive class movement (Şengül, 2001:17-18).

Castells, in his early works, did not take into account the relation between the capital accumulation processes and the urban space (Şengül, 2001:18); yet what Lefebvre introduced. Castells' latter work at the beginning of the 21st century is mainly based on the politics of identity rather than the politics of distribution.

What Castells did not take into account was considered by another theorist, a British anthropologist and geographer David Harvey. In the 1970s, Harvey came on the scene with the idea that in the capitalist societies, the urbanization processes cannot be understood without understanding the **capital accumulation processes** (Saunders, 1981; Şengül, 2001:20).

To Harvey (1982, 1985, and 2006) there are **three circuits of capital**. Harvey's abstraction of the capital accumulation processes can be summarized as below:

In the first circle, which is called the industrial circuit, the production and the consumption of the commodity takes place; however in this section it is not possible to transform the already accumulated capital into investment to continue the capitalistic relations and this creates a tension, thus crisis. So, to be able to solve this problem, what should be done is to transfer the accumulated capital to the built environment, **urban infrastructure investments**. Thus this is the transfer to the secondary circuit which is called the urban circuit. Those infrastructure investments, as temporary solutions, are both tools to end the crisis and to create new demands to stimulate the consumption. Thus what Harvey states is the clear evidence of commodification of urban space as in the secondary circuit the urban land and space becomes an indispensable part of the capitalistic economic relations. At the tertiary circuit, the state provides the necessary goods and services to sustain the consumption, and a re-produced labor power.

The process explained above is called as the **urbanization of capital**. But to Harvey what is urbanizing is not only the capital but consciousness at various levels. These levels are the individual, the family, the community, the state and the supra-state levels. Thus to Harvey, urbanization of capital and consciousness cannot be considered interdependently from each other. It is because the urbanization of consciousness occurring with the orientation of the capital which is shaping the production and consumption patterns is blind, thus cannot see the vicious circle it is in. According to Harvey, class is the main level of consciousness in the

capitalist societies. But due to the conflicts and contradictions caused by the urbanization, this important character of the class is not working. For example, it is not taken into account that the high crime rates at the ghettos are the results of urbanization processes under capitalism but taken as the fault of the residents' tendency for crime (Harvey, 1985: 251; Şengül, 2001:20).

Leaving the radicals aside and taking into account the **evolutionary tradition**; under the evolutionary tradition, the very well known ecolo of the 1920s, the Chicago School sees the city as an organism. This approach of 'urban ecology' defines four basic urban processes that produce the city. The first one is the **centralization** and **decentralization** processes. In this first phase the core of the city is formed then decentralized and when facing the thresholds, the densities in the core area increase again. The second process is the phase of **invasion** and **succession**. In this phase; due to the changing circumstances, some functions or groups leave an area and then some other groups start to dominate in that area. Especially when the decentralization occurs, the pre-prestigious areas become the areas of decline and the functions or groups that are defined to be low-level groups invade those areas. The third process that is determined by the high income groups is the process of **dominance** and **gradience**. In this process of dominance and gradience, the investments thus the infrastructure and the superstructure is mainly take place in the areas where the hegemonic groups are located. The last process to be mentioned is the process of **segregation** and **integration** in which is covering the inter-relations between the social groups (Günay, 2005:61-21; Park, Burgess, Wirth, Simmel; the 1920s).

These processes introduced by the Chicago School, even though being socially Darwinist and taking the space as an absolute entity are very useful in explaining the urban process when looking more sociologically. Therefore the formation of the city can basically be understood with the conception of Chicago School. However, what is lacking is the deep consideration of the **economy**, the **social production of space** that the **radicals** have.

Therefore this study will adopt the radical principles while evaluating the dynamics of urban transformation and phenomena of urban non-transformation by the improvement plans in the city of Ankara. In the urban land rent studies; the rent categories in the works of Marx and their relation to urban context are taken as the basis for the studies. Therefore with a radical approach the transformation processes can be explained with reference to the distribution of

urban land and housing rent under capitalism with respect to the concept of value and the role of public and capital in regulation of the urban land rent's valuation processes.

## **5.2 Land Rent Theory and Urban Land and Housing Market with Reference to the Turkish Example**

Assuming that the urban land is commodified under capitalistic relations; the (exchange) value of the urban land is continuously changing with reference to its location in the entire city with regardless of the control of the land owner by the externalities like the decisions taken concerning the development rights, infrastructure and government (Kartal, 1994:25-28 cited in Akin, 2007: 25-28).

### **5.2.1 The Concepts of Rent and Land Rent**

Here, it is important to note that, in this section of the study, the academic article called Urban Land Rent Theory: A Regulationist Perspective by Jager (2003)<sup>16</sup> constituted a basis for the review of the theoretical foundation concerning the rent and urban land rent.

In the urban land rent studies; the rent categories in the works of Marx and their relation to urban context is the basis (Akin, 2007:37). The theory of land rent, in spite of the fact that taking Marxist conceptualizations as a basis covers diverse conceptualizations (Raila, 1990 cited in Jager, 2003). Thus it can be said that the theory of land rent does not have a well-determined theoretical frame (Jager, 2003).

In the theory of land rent; the urban land is considered to be a commodity. For both Classical and Marxist explanations; the price of the commodity depends on the cost of production. However; in there is no defined process of urban land production under capitalism. **Therefore the factors that determine the urban land prices differ from any other commodity as it is related to the socio-economic relations.** This situation is both the cause of the development and the explanation of the complexity concerning the land rent theory (Jager, 2003).

Therefore the urban land rent issue and the issues such as payments, transfers and price are all **fictious** referring that the commodity mentioned is not produced under the capitalistic

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<sup>16</sup> The approaches of other writers referred in this section are cited in Jager (2003) except Cepeda and Akin.

production processes. Therefore the capital related to the urban land rent is also fictitious. Fictitious capital, in contrast to the productive capital, does not produce surplus value through capitalist production relations. The urban land produces a surplus value through rents and interest (Jager, 2003).

Thus the urban space is not productive itself as a commodity but it is used for **both productive (by capitalists) and reproductive (by households)** purposes under different socio-economic conditions. Additionally; the main feature of urban land and housing as commodities is being long-lasting that this creates an **inter-relation between the existing built environment and the newly construction areas** (Ball et al., 1985: 11 cited in Jager, 2003).

When considering what has been told so far, it is clear that land rent theory includes a very complex network of relations; therefore; in both modernist (for the explanation of socio-economic relations with reference to the built environment) and post-modernist (for the analyses of urban political-economy with reference to urban issues) traditions. Even though, standing on such a inter-relational point; not many theoretical contributions have been made to land rent theory in a political-economic tradition (Raila, 1988; Kraitke, 1992; Emsley, 1998; Evans, 1999) from the end of the 1980s up till today after the enthusiastic debate milieu of the 1970s to the mid-1980s (Jager, 2003).

The cult works concerning rent belong to Marx (1889, 1953) and Ricardo (1994); and the land rent cults belong to Engels (1981) and Marx (1989) with the main focus on the agricultural land. According to these works, rent is the regular payment made for the use of land and the types of rent are **differential rent, monopoly rent and absolute rent**. May be the most important characteristic of rent determined by the Classics is that **the rent is the regulatory mechanism between landowner and capitalist thus the producer under the capitalist system**. Therefore, the land rent is calculated according to the specific rate of interest concerning a certain urban space. Even though the land rents remain stable for a certain period, the speculative movements under the crisis affect prices (Marx, 1953 cited in Jager, 2003) and this leads to the cyclical fluctuations in fictitious commodity's thus prices of land (Jager, 2003).

Political economy offers a differentiated typology of land rent, traditionally distinguishing between absolute rent, monopoly rent, extensive differential rent and the intensive differential rent (Jager, 2003). In addition to these; scarcity rent can be useful to explain the urban issues. The rent types can be explained as below:

**Absolute rent concept** was developed by Marx (1953; 1989) and refers to the land (Marx was of course referring to the agricultural land) where the **organic composition of capital was low**. After Marx, the concept was developed by Harvey (1973), Dechervois and Theret (1979) and Evans (1999). This tradition added the **limitation of supply relations**, rather than the effect of the demand, thus related the issue with the **class monopoly rent**. For example; a space far from the city center could be more valuable in price due to the privileged status of the households. Therefore this conceptualization of absolute rent gives **active role to the landowners** (Jager, 2003).

In the concept of **monopoly rent**; the rent is seen as **a section of the surplus value**; thus the rent is limited to the landlords and capitalists' distributional actions concerning it. To Topalov (1984); the monopoly rent can be used for understanding the residential differentiation as social stratification leads to the spatial one (Jager, 2003).

**The extensive differential rent (DR1)** is important for the explanation of the formation of the **economic division in the urban space**. In this conceptualization of rent, the landed property has a passive role as the rent is determined by the regulations concerning it. Thus, in this type of rent the institutional context gains importance (Jager, 2003). As a concrete example, in the period of Fordist type of economic development in Vienna the petty bourgeoisie offered inexpensive land prices for the land owned by them that the small-scale capitalists could afford (Becker et al., 2001; Novy et al., 2001 cited in Jager, 2003).

**Intensive differential rent (DR2)** is important as it is concerning the spatial formation of the urban areas as referring to the high-rise building blocks with intensive occupation rates. To Ball (1977) and Fine (1979), the DR2 is based on DR1. In addition, DR2 is also affected from the **institutional context** concerning the urban areas. For example; under a liberal urban land regulation, with a neglected or unrestrictive zoning different areas of a city may develop (Jager, 2003).

*“These processes are due to the developers' aim to find cheap land and improve its (intensive) rent by investing more than the 'normal' quantity of capital into the spot. The innovating developer, and not the original landowner, may thus gather a large part (or all) of the intensive differential rent. This type of rent, due to the activity of the landowner (or developer) proper, was also called 'endogenous differential tribute' by Lipietz (1974). Gentrification, as well as the establishment of new commercial or office complexes in relatively run-down areas, may be interpreted as resulting from the real estate developers' search for cheap urban space in order to capture DR2 (Jager, 2003). ”*

In addition to these **scarcity rent** which is the type of rent that changes according to the owner of the resource and is determined due to the scarcity of the resource; can be added (Cepeda, 2005).

In between the 1970s to the mid-1980s, the studies done concerning urban land rent there was a common thought that urban land rent was a social relation. In that period what was on the agenda was the use of the **absolute rent** concept for the explanation of the urban questions. The political-economic tradition had the tendency to explain the issue by reference to the class conflicts. Harvey and Chatterjee (1974) and Massey and Catalano (1978) also covered the role of the institutional context of land rent. However; a systematic explanation covering the capital accumulation and institutional context could not be achieved. In addition, in the early the 1980s there was a tendency of explaining the urban issues with the help of **intensive differential rent and focusing on role of the landlords**. The writer leading in this tradition were Ball (1977, 1980), Fine (1979); who can said to be the starters of an **ideographic and nomothetic tradition**. As mentioned earlier, after the 1990s, the theoretical contributions to the issue decreased (Raila, 1990; Edel, 1992 cited in Jager, 2003 and Jager, 2003).

**The ideographic tradition** refers to the opposition of the existence of general laws concerning rent. One of the leading writers in ideographic tradition is Balls who is criticized to reduce the rent to the money flow. In contrast to the ideographic tradition, **the nomothetic tradition** is characterized by universal laws. David Harvey is one of the leading writers in this tradition with the emphasis on the land's financial role. To Harvey (1982) land and rent were having a coordinating function in the capital accumulation processes on which the urban rent is dependent (not the productive sector). **Both the traditional and the nomothetic explanation and evaluations concerning urban land rent are criticized as considering only the one side of the urban process**. Therefore what is proposed by Jager is the systematized synthesis of the two traditions to be able to explain the urban processes within deeper relations (Jager, 2003).

As the last words of this section; it can be said that land rent is determined by both the institutional regulations and the productive and reproductive relations (Harvey's secondary circuit of capital accumulation). Therefore, **land rent is standing right in the middle of the inter-relations between politics, urban space and capital accumulation.**

### **5.2.2 Urban Land and Housing Market with Reference to the Turkish Example**

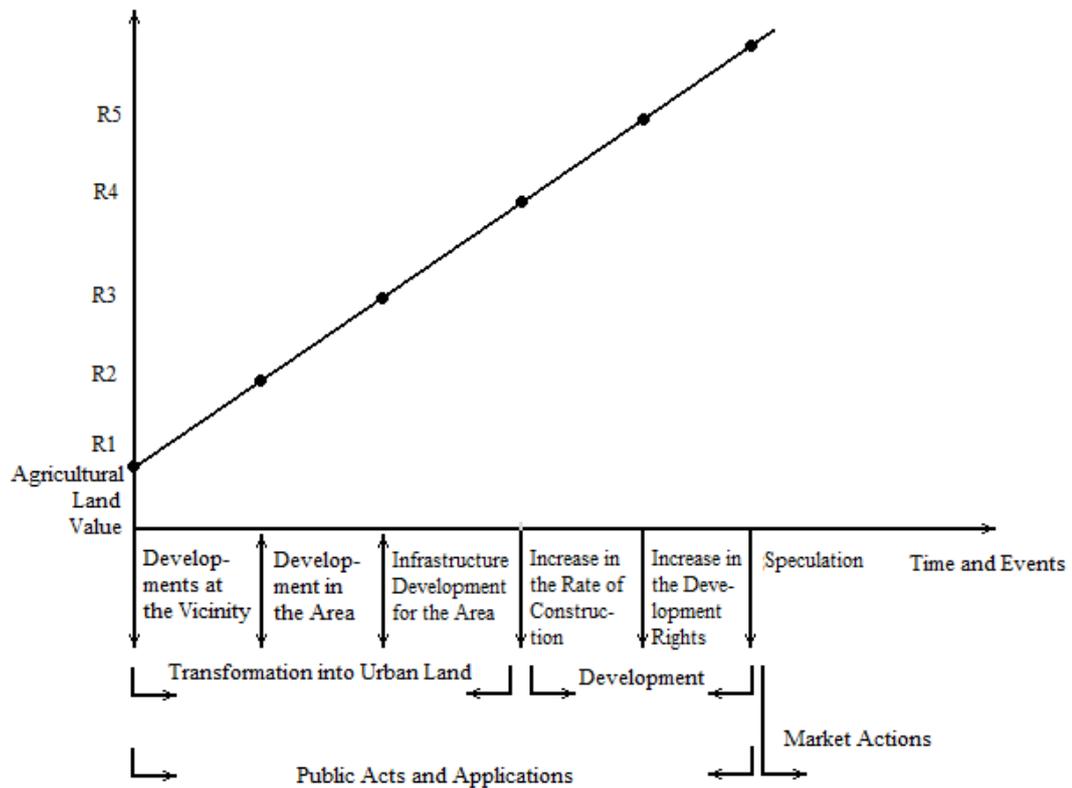
As Tekeli, Gülöksüz, Okyay (1976:303-318) explains; in a society where the private land ownership is the hegemonic ownership type, owning urban land serves to more than one function. Having more than one function causes the urban land ownership's being a complicated issue and makes it a public policy problem as well as being a planning problem.

Urban land is not just a piece of land but a part of an entire city thus an entire social and infrastructure and superstructure network, development rights order and planning decisions. **Therefore, as being affected by the externalities, the changes and transformations in the urban land require the necessary investment decisions.** The decisions concerning development rights are shaped by the administrative decisions and these decisions are related with the infrastructure decisions by urban planning. However it is a very common issue that the development rights are easily changed under the political pressures regardless of the holistic decisions (Tekeli, Gülöksüz and Okyay, 1976:303-318).

Another feature belongs to the urban land is about the **change in the value**. The urban land's value changes even if the infrastructure and development rights do not because the relative location of the land in the entire city is continuously changing. Thus this value is also owned by the owner because of the nature of the commodity (Tekeli, Gülöksüz and Okyay, 1976:303-318).

On the other hand, the urban land is, as stated before, meaningful with its **functions**. All the activities in the city and of the society take place in an area. Therefore owning a land in the city provides an activity area for the owner and when this activity is realized it bring **rent** (Tekeli, Gülöksüz and Okyay, 1976:303-318). To Ricardo; land rent is the economic gain obtained through the productive use of land.

To Harvey (1985:90), “*Rent is that theoretical concept through which political economy (of whatever stripe) traditionally confronts the problem of spatial organization and the value to users of naturally occurring or humanly created differentials in fertility. Under the private property arrangements of capitalism, the actual appropriation of land rent by owners forms the basis for various forms of social control over the spatial organization and geographical development of capitalism.*”



**Figure 5.1. The Indicators of Valuating the Urban Land Rent**  
*Source: Derived from Ertürk, 1997.*

Therefore owning urban land means that owning a relative position to the other activities and social groups in the city and a social status. In addition, the land rent of urban land is characterized by this relative position. To summaries, owning urban land is a way to make a fortune which is not affected by the inflation (Tekeli, Gülöksüz and Okyay, 1976:303-318).

Especially in the developing countries like Turkey, as the rapid urbanization periods take place, the relative position of the urban land is continuously gets more centralized. Thus without doing a thing, the owner of the urban land also owns the land rent created by the externalities and this leads to the formation of **an urban land market** in which different

actors have different interests and therefore effects. These groups are the **owners, users and the regulators and controllers of the urban development in the name of the public** (Tekeli, Gülöksüz and Okyay, 1976:306).

**The land owners** can be summarized under four main groups which are the rural land owners at the peripheral areas of the city that are to get a share of the rent that will be created with the expansion of the city to the peripheral areas, the real estate agents who increases the land rents to get better commissions from the buying-selling activity thus act as land speculators, the land sellers who sell the rural land by transforming the rural land to urban land and the middle class speculators who holds one or more urban lands to save their future (Tekeli, Gülöksüz and Okyay, 1976: 306-309).

**The users** are the building constructors, the owners, the renters or the urban land users in the name of public (Tekeli, Gülöksüz and Okyay, 1976: 310-315).

**The building constructors** are the most important title in this group as they are the capital holders. There are both **small and large scale** building constructors. The large scale ones try to construct in the large urban areas at the periphery whereas the small ones work under demolish and built up style generally in the inner cities. Therefore there is an interest conflict among the sub-groups of the building constructors (Tekeli, Gülöksüz and Okyay, 1976: 310-312).

When looking at the **real estate owners and renters**; it can be said that they are not very active in the urban land market. However they are under the pressure of the transformation processes concerning the real-estates such as clearance (Tekeli, Gülöksüz and Okyay, 1976: 310-312).

Another important group in the urban land market is the **control right users of the urban land rent in the name of public**. The role of this group in the urban land market can be summarized under three titles. The first role is the urban land provision. Even though the public sector owned large amount of land since the establishment of the Republic, under the pressures from the interest groups in the urban land market and with the enthusiasm of implementing the desired projects in short terms under insufficient planning of the processes, the public sector transferred or sold most of the resources. The second role is **the provision of development rights**. In Turkey this process can called to be the **speculative provision**

**of development rights** that supported the expensive and speculative gains of the capital holders as a result of the political power (in) equilibrium of the system. The last role of this group is the user role. The interesting thing about these public land users in Turkey is that they sell the public land at very reasonable prices and then buy it back for expensive amounts. Besides the land use patterns are not planned and they are as problematic as the privately provided land uses (Tekeli, Gülöksüz and Okyay, 1976: 313-315).

The **gecekondü** issue has always been the first issue to come to mind in Turkish urban issues. In addition to having such a reputation, **gecekondü** is also a very important actor in the urban land market. There are sub-groups of **gecekondü** taking action the urban land market. The first one is the **single gecekondu owners**, the second one is the **gecekondü owners with more than one gecekondu** and the last one is the **gecekondü renters**. The development right for **gecekondü** is different than the other actors in the market as the development right is determined by the **gecekondü** builders own decision (Tekeli, Gülöksüz and Okyay, 1976: 316-317). However with the amnesties provided (and will be provided today by the Urban Transformation Law if it is enacted) the development rights determined by the **gecekondü** owner as one-storey were enlarged by the state itself.

In the land market, just like the other urban lands, the lands that **gecekondü** occupies also change in value. The reason why is the Laws and regulations that legalized the **gecekondü** (as stated before) and the change in the relative position of the **gecekondü** land (Tekeli, Gülöksüz and Okyay, 1976:317). The most important consequence is the conflict between the two land markets, the formal and the informal ones. **This conflict is the improvement plans and urban transformation projects.**

### **5.3 Evaluating the City of Ankara with Regard to the Urban Growth and Capital Accumulation Processes**

The consequence of all the conflicts told so far is the duality created in the land market. This duality was created under the rapid urbanization period of 1950-1980. In this period the urban land market was based on the small-scale speculative constructors that the necessary urban land was not able to be provided to meet the housing demand of the population. This led to the creation of the informal urban land market in which the main actor was and still is **gecekondü**. Therefore there is the formal and informal urban land and housing market (Tekeli, Gülöksüz and Okyay, 1976: 316-317).

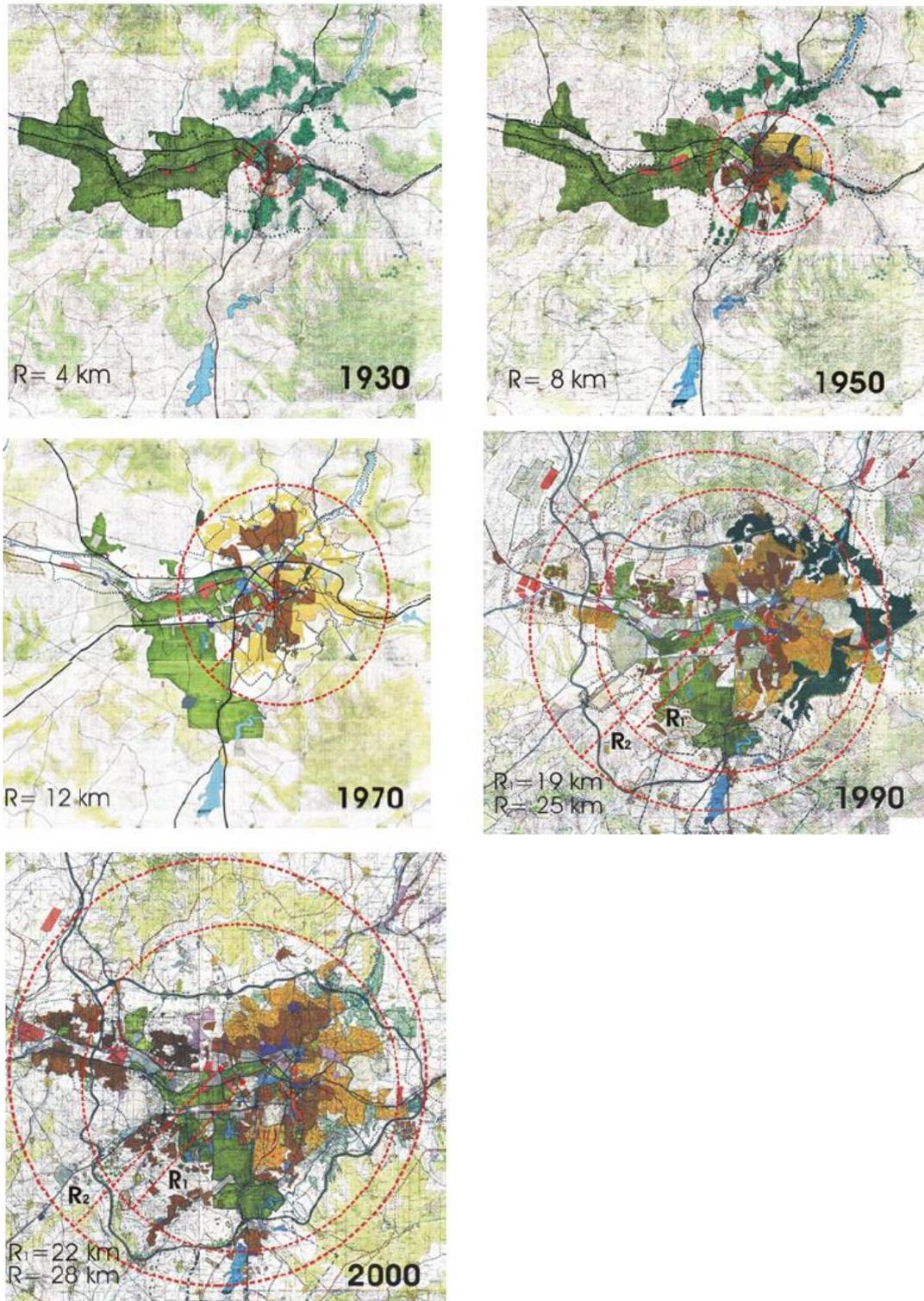
Besides there was no state urban policy thus housing policy that the urban land market was left to its own dynamics. After the 1980s, with the fluctuations in the economy, urban land market became a popular sector among the capital holders that many construction companies aiming large-scale urban land (large-scale gecekondü areas) were emerged. Besides, there emerged an urban policy of supporting the construction sector for development. However; it should not be forgotten that there is a saturation point in every market that, over-supply of any commodity leads to crisis of over-accumulation.

In the light of the theoretical foundations concerning the rent, urban land rent and the Turkish urban land and housing market; it is important to highlight that the **improvement plans and the development thus urban transformation and non-transformation created by these plans cannot be considered as an excluded entity from the land rent creators of urban growth (with the main determiners of socio-politics, economy) and capital accumulation.**

### **5.3.1 The Urban Growth Processes Concerning Ankara City and Improvement Planning Areas**

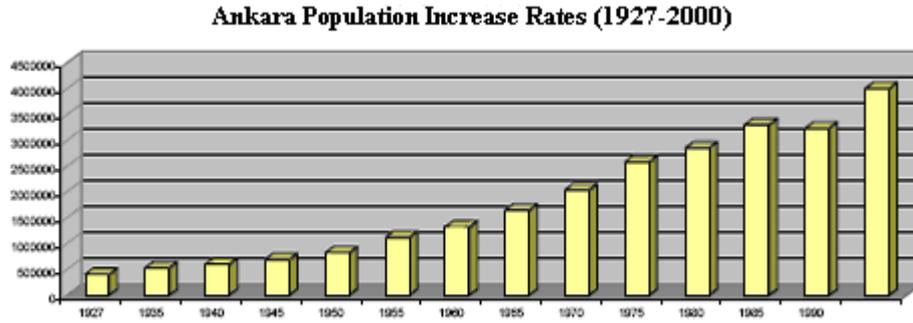
As stated before the city of Ankara, geographically, surrounded by hill formations which are changing from 850 to 1200 meters in height (Altaban, 1986b:7 cited in Çalışkan, 2004:187). In addition rural settlements surrounding the city did not have an intensive character that the urban development thus the urban growth could not be determined by means of such rural settlements. Therefore what happened was the unionization of such rural settlements with the existing urban pattern. Yet; this can said to be an expansion rather than a growth or a development. Therefore the geomorphologic conditions and settlement pattern of Ankara put the Western corridor forward and prevented the city from developing in other alternative directions (Çalışkan, 2004:187-188).

Looking at the population changes that can determine the faith of urban growth of the city; 1927 population of the city was nearly 75 000 with the population density of 248 per/ha. The city can said to be stuck in the boundaries of historical developments. However; in five years time, with the impact of Jansen plan the population increased by nearly 35 000 people and reached to 110 000 and this brought a total development or expansion of about 710 hectares (Çalışkan, 2004:188).



**Figure 5.2. The Evaluation of Macroform of the City of Ankara**  
*Source: Çalışkan, 2004: 190.*

In the 1940s population of the city was 220,000 and the city expanded 1900 hectares with a density of 154 people per hectare. Then by the end of the first half of the 1950s, the gecekondu came on the agenda, especially at the peripheral areas of the city that by 1956, 3,650 hectares of land were settled with an average density of 124 people per hectare (Çalışkan, 2004:188).



**Figure 5.3. 1927-2000 Population Increase Rates, Ankara and Turkey**  
*Source: Greater Metropolitan Municipality of Ankara, 2007.*

In the rapid urbanization period of 1950-1980, the population of Ankara and the urban expansion in the city increased drastically. The 1970 population of the city was 1 150 000 covering 14,000 hectares with a density of 88 people per hectare (Altaban, 1986a and Altaban, 1998: 47-52 cited in Çalışkan, 2004:188).

After the rapid urbanization period the population increase rates of the city of Ankara started to decrease. In 1985, the population growth and the urban growth were going hand in hand with each other as the population density did not change at all. Reaching the 1990s, it can be said that with the great expansion to the Western and South Western corridors, the (gross) density decreased drastically to 46 people per hectare. Therefore; after the 1990s, with the emphasis of development on the Western Corridor, the built-up core area did not change at all. **Coming to the 2000s, the macroform area of Ankara became 66,000 hectares with a population of 3.2 millions and the built-up area was 21,300 hectares** (Çalışkan, 2004:188-190).

When considering the development pattern of Ankara it can be said that till the second half of the 1970s, Ankara shows the features of underdeveloped country type of urban growth. Under the influence of Yücel Uybadin plan; the existing urban fabric at the core was

reproduced and an unauthorized type of development took place at the periphery. There occurred an **oil-drop** shaped growth (Çalışkan, 2004: 194).

Besides; urban infill has never been a public policy in Ankara (Çalışkan, 2004). The issue on the agenda after the 1980s up till today; was the legalization of the oil-drop type of development and the expansion to the Western and South Western Ankara. Eskişehir Road and İncek-Taşpınar Axis gained much more importance since then, than the any other part of Ankara (Çalışkan, 2004: 194).

In between the years 1970 and 1985; 5500 hectares of urban land were developed and in addition amount 11,385 hectares **were developed for residential purposes between 1985 and 1993. Nearly the 90% of this urban land developed was the result of the improvement planning, an extra population of 2 millions** (Altaban, 1998: 64 cited in Çalışkan, 2004: 194).

After the ending of intensive improvement plan preparation period; after the 2000s, the urban transformation projects came on the agenda. Today, most of the investments concerning Ankara are focused on the South-West corridor; however most of the non-transformed gecekondu areas remaining in the North and East Ankara are subjects to urban transformation projects covering also prestige projects with high populations. Therefore the city is again subject to urban expansion like the 1980s.

### **5.3.2 The Capital Accumulation Processes concerning Ankara City and Improvement Planning Areas: an issue of State, Capital and the Built Environment**

Summarizing **the spatialization of capitalism, thus the macro-scale transformation in the physical space** in Turkey very briefly; when considering the change and transformation that have been taking place in the Turkish cities since the rapid urbanization period of the 1950s, it can be said that the urban processes have been like the European and American cities. However; in Turkey, dissimilar processes can take place at the same time. The 1950s brought the uncontrolled growth and physical expansion in the cities like Ankara, İstanbul, İzmir under the industrialization and the migration movements that came on the agenda in accordance with the industrialization process. The 1970s were the years of the emergence of the satellite towns while the physical expansion and growth was still taking place. Coming to

the 1980s and onwards the decrease in the rate of urbanization have been occurring during the time that the industrial areas show tendency of moving out of town; the transformations in the gecekondu areas and core areas have been taking place (Uzun, 2006:50).

With the establishment of the new Republic in the year **1923**, the city of Ankara was the focus of the development activity because of being the capital city. The development activity was basically covering the construction of public buildings, the residential areas and the necessary infrastructure. The lack of private investments caused the public to be main actor in the development process (Akin, 2007: 255).

**The 1930s** was the years in which the public showed an ineffective afford in solving the problem of housing. In these years, the support for the private investment by the public was so high that the biddings were done with the hands of public and led to capital accumulation in the hands of the constructors. This led to the increasing share of private investments in the housing sector. The construction of apartment blocks was the main characterizer in the housing sector (Akin, 2007: 255).

In this period, the state has the main role by means of (planned) development acts in the capital accumulation and the creation of the built environment. However, **the land speculation** (the Laws had no Articles concerning the prevention of land speculation) **came on the agenda for the newly urbanized city of Ankara that the increasing land prices constituted a basis for the small constructors**, apartmentization and private ownership. **The actors sharing the rent** in this period were the bureaucrats, the capital holders and the mediators between the public sector and the private capital holders (Akin, 2007: 255-256).

**By the end of the 1940s**, the legal basis concerning development (explained in the 3<sup>rd</sup> Chapter of this study) supported land speculation rather than building construction that the public lands were transferred to private use under the speculative urban land market. In addition in the housing market, the Laws led to the increase in the density of construction. **Therefore what was on the agenda was the speculative value creation for the immovable in the capitalistic relations.** Yet the banks started to lend credits for housing in the name of supporting the middle class. However the upper class was the user of these credits. In addition to these two Amnesties for Gecekondu came on the agenda in these years to legalize the gecekondu that could not be prevented. As stated before, under the influence

of the upper scale plans, the city started to develop in the North-South axis (Akin, 2007: 257).

**Reaching the 1970s**, what came on the agenda was the control of speculation that cannot be stopped by urban plans. Cooperatives and mass housing (at the peripheral areas of the city) were the main tools to do so. However, **under the influence of industrialization and inflation; the urban land and housing thus the immovable became one of the most profitable area investments**. In addition, **gecekondu was commodified** in this period because of its function as a worker producer for the industry. Thus what happened were the expansion and the unionization of the expanded peripheral gecekondu areas with the core areas. By the end of the 1970s, in contrast to the North-South axis; the city started to develop along the East-West Axis with the orientation of the upper scale planning studies. The district height regulations led to the increase in the building heights. In addition the gecekondu areas and mass housing areas developed as sub-centers at the peripheries in this period. **The actors who shared the rent gained in these processes were the middle-class, constructors and the gecekondu owners** (Akin, 2007: 257-258).

**After the 1980s**, as well as the **small constructors** as the applicators of the improvement plans, and **the large construction companies**, with the effect of globalization, came on the agenda as the main holders of the rent. The keywords for this period have been expansion, change and transformation. The apartment blocks at the peripheral areas, prestige projects, gecekondu transformation, urban transformation projects, and shopping malls marked the city (Akin, 2007: 258-261).

The large construction companies have been gaining the rent from large scale projects at the peripheral areas and the small ones are basically getting the rent from the parcel by parcel gecekondu transformation processes since the 1980s.

Returning back to the main focus of the 1980s urban issues in Ankara, the improvement plans, as stated many times before, were foreseeing a large amount of development rights given in the gecekondu areas in spite of the fact that the population increase rates of Ankara was decreasing.

Therefore the applications of these plans were not realistic from the beginning. However, **they removed the concept of scarcity rent for the city of Ankara. Despite the removal of scarcity rent for all the city, the plans created a real rent only in the already rentable areas, Etimesgut and Çankaya while they remained at the level of creating virtual rents in some parts of Yenimahalle and most of Keçiören, Altındağ and Mamak.**

Coming to the **2000s**, in the name of Europeanization, many acts concerning the empowerment of local government thus so-called reforms came on the agenda. Therefore, the planning authority was largely transferred to the Municipalities. Thus Municipalities came on the urban arena as powerful actors with not very well defined and unlimited authorities. Therefore after the 2000s, the Greater Metropolitan Municipality of Ankara and the district Municipalities has also become an important actor in the share of rent and the creation of the urban environment.

**Table 5.1. Number of All Buildings and Dwellings within Municipal Boundaries**

	Amount Of Buildings			Amount Of Dwellings		
	Census Year		Percentage	Census Year		Percentage
Provinces	1984	2000	Of Change	1984	2000	Of Change
Ankara	291,529	384,489	31.9	625,962	1,128,625	80.3
Antalya	82,578	233,802	183.1	120,581	456,371	278.5
Bursa	147,334	270,023	83.3	236,628	640,197	170.5
İçel	92,028	206,089	123.9	140,678	440,184	212.9
Denizli	89,905	143,737	59.9	114,020	234,168	105.4
Istanbul	510,798	869,444	72.1	1,378,115	3,393,077	146.2
Izmir	325,092	522,243	60.0	536,988	1,140,731	112.4
Kocaeli	62,906	140,613	123.5	128,411	325,079	174.2
Turkey	4,387,971	7,838,675	78.6	7,096,277	16,235,830	128.8

Source: TUIK, 2001 cited in Balaban, 2007.

**Table 5.2. Residential and Commercial Buildings within Municipal Boundaries**

Provinces	Amount Of Residential Buildings			Amount Of Commercial Buildings		
	Census Year		Percentage	Census Year		Percentage
	1984	2000	Of Change	1984	2000	Of Change
Ankara	263,626	330,753	25.5%	23,521	39,138	66.4%
Antalya	72,265	195,511	170.5%	8,802	29,877	239.4%
Bursa	127,532	235,605	84.7%	18,430	28,148	52.7%
İçel	83,244	184,417	121.5%	7,916	18,112	128.8%
Denizli	80,267	124,800	55.5%	8,285	15,236	83.9%
Istanbul	455,276	777,416	70.8%	51,127	77,152	50.9%
Izmir	290,730	461,970	58.9%	31,376	50,374	60.5%
Kocaeli	57,969	126,373	118.0%	4,233	11,909	181.3%
Turkey	3,841,609	6,735,813	75.3%	483,375	889,588	84.0%

Source: TUIK, 2001 cited in Balaban, 2007.

As the last words of this section; to be able to explain the amount of rent shared by the urban land rent holders who are mentioned above; after the 1980s, the growth rates of the construction sector in Turkey by reference to the construction permits given (shown in the Tables 5.1., 5.2. and 5.3.) is useful. Between the years 1982 and 1988, the construction sector grew rapidly and step by step reached the construction level of 1993. Then after 1994 and 2003 there exists a clear decline. However, after 2003 ‘a new construction boom’ came on the agenda (Balaban, 2008). Here it can be said that it is too very much related with the times that the macroform development periods shift from one to another.

**Table 5.3. The Change in the Number of Construction Permits Given in Ankara between 1981 and 2003**

Years	Number of Residential Buildings	Number of Buildings	Number of Apartments	Change (%)
1981	568	479	7514	-15,18
1982	986	901	16313	117,1
1983	1597	984	14425	-13,09
1984	1580	906	14354	-0,49
1985	1971	1263	19126	33,25
1986	4132	3304	47007	145,78
1987	1410	2204	32239	-45,8
1988	660	1655	22001	-46,53
1989	2792	1600	24471	11,23
1990	1768	1994	27215	11,21
1991	287	1644	22807	-19,32
1992	1754	2906	42063	84,43
1993	536	3497	45921	9,17
1994	645	3156	41254	-11,31
1995	498	2652	32616	-26,48
1996	1514	2037	24942	-30,76
1997	1284	2546	30491	22,24
1998	1432	2639	33456	9,72
1999	2269	3310	44999	34,5
2000	1741	3043	45017	0,04
2001	1531	3741	52259	22,75
2002	707	2132	28812	-81,37
2003	1077	2733	38175	32,5

Source: SIS cited in Akın, 2007.

### **5.3.3 An Overall Evaluation Concerning Improvement Planning for the City of Ankara With Regard to Urban Growth and Capital Accumulation**

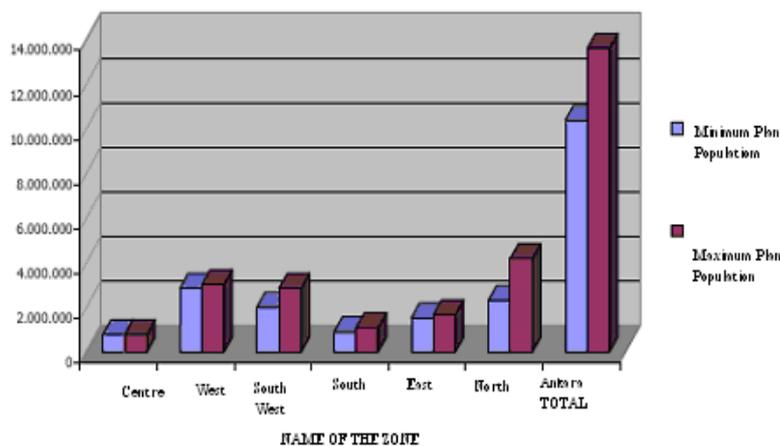
The demographic decisions for the entire Ankara before the enactment of Law No: 5216 in the year 2004 that can be seen on the Figure 5.4. , the distribution of the public services is shown on Figure 5.5. and the distribution of non-public services is shown on Figure 5.6. favor the West and South Ankara generally.

Even though Southern part of Ankara is also covered with geomorphologic thresholds, it can be said that, being the first growth direction of Ankara (with the establishment of Atatürk Boulevard and as being very close to the central business districts) the Southern Ankara where Çankaya is located has always been the most advantageous part of Ankara.

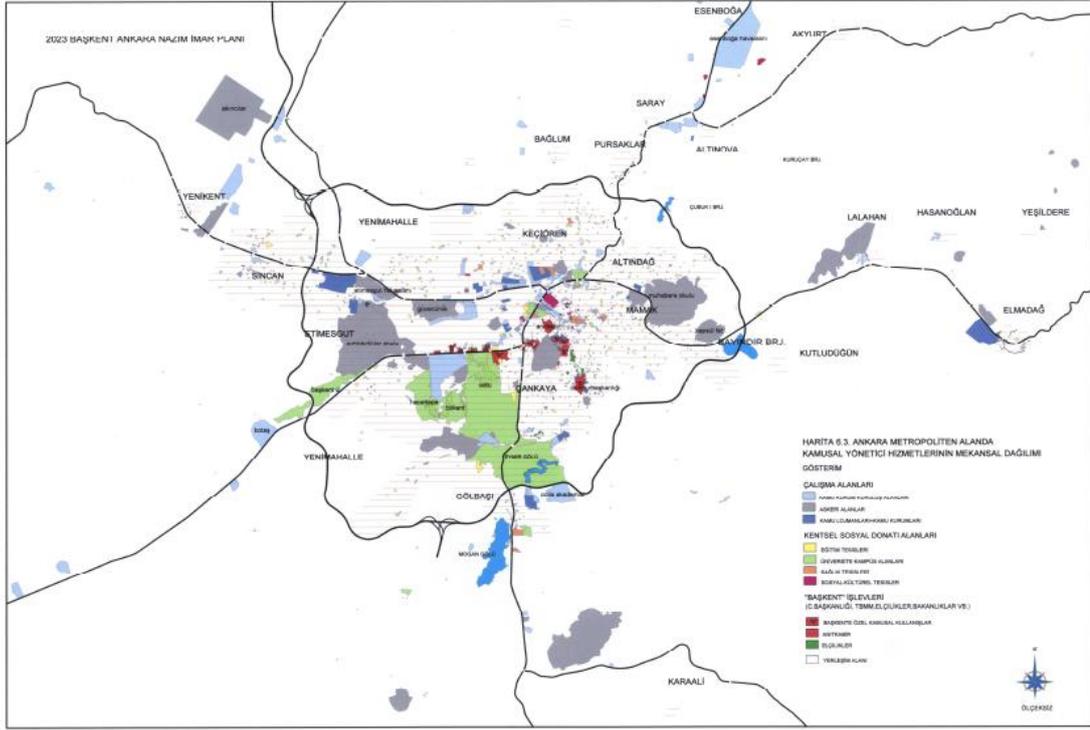
Therefore the areas remaining at the Northern and especially in the Eastern parts have started the match in an already beaten position due to their natural geographic location. However the Northern parts are more advantageous when compared to the Eastern parts as the Esenboğa Airport, thus the connection of Ankara to the entire World, is located at the North of Ankara.

The upper scale planning studies for Ankara; as explained in the previous chapter have always been focusing on the issue of decentralization to overcome the geomorphologic threshold surrounding Ankara. However the plans were focusing on new nodes such as Çayyolu, Batıkent, Eryaman and etc. The upper scale planning decisions for the gecekondü areas were limited to the claim of urban transformation. However; the tools and the methods were not clear.

**Approved Plan Population Before the Enaction of the Law No: 5216**

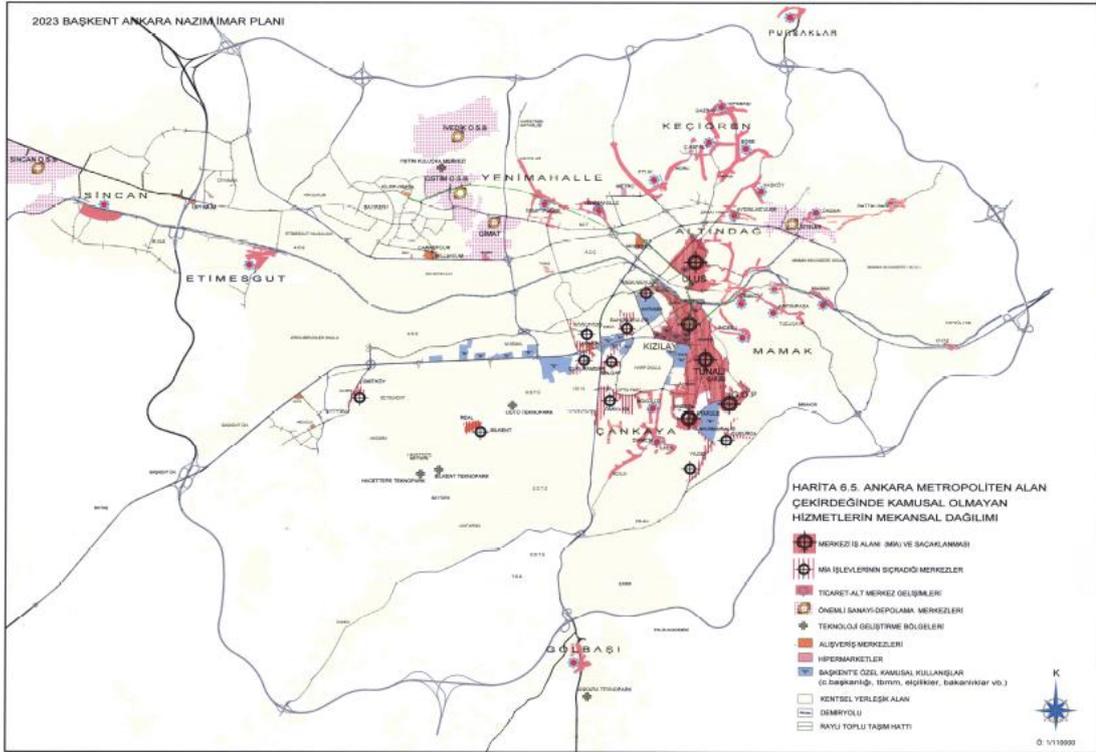


**Figure 5.4. Approved Plan Populations before the Enaction of Law No: 5216 (2004)**  
*Source: 2023 Plan Report, Greater Metropolitan Municipality of Ankara, 2007.*



**Figure 5.5. Distribution Public Services**

*Source: 2023 Plan Report, Greater Metropolitan Municipality of Ankara, 2007.*



**Figure 5.6. Distribution of Non-Public Services**

*Source: 2023 Plan Report, Greater Metropolitan Municipality of Ankara, 2007.*

When looking at the planning experience of Ankara, the first plan prepared after the impact of the gecekondu was felt was the Yücel Uybadin Plan. The plan was approved in the year 1957. Even though the plan had an emphasis of the East-West and North-South corridors, the plan was limited to the existing legal boundaries of its period that many gecekondu areas were excluded from the planning process (Büyükgöçmen Sat, 1997:27).

Considering the 1990 Plan; when the plan was being prepared in the 1970s the issue of improvement planning was not on the agenda; however the plan does not have an extra focus on the gecekondu areas. As regarded before, the focus of development was the West and the South West corridors (Büyükgöçmen Sat, 1997:30).

In the 2015 and 2025 plans, decentralization was again the main focus of action and the gecekondu areas, thus the improvement planning areas were marked as residential or built-up areas by the plan (Büyükgöçmen Sat, 1997:32).

When considering the 2023 plan, it can be said that the issue of transformation is a bit disconnected to the other planning decisions. The transformation of the non-transformed gecekondu areas were assigned to the projects or regulations done by the Municipalities and the perspective of improvement planning is highly criticized in the Plan Report because of the extra population proposed. The Plan aims to lower down the densities proposed by the improvement plans. However; they were so high that the 2023 Plan densities can also be claimed to be high.

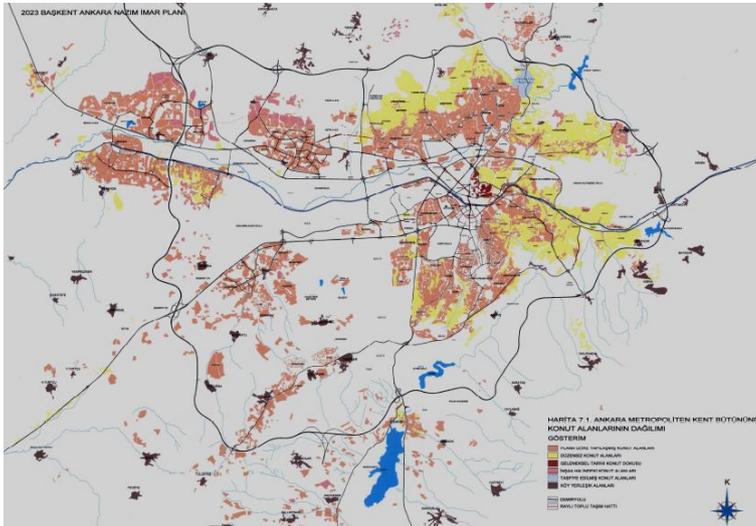
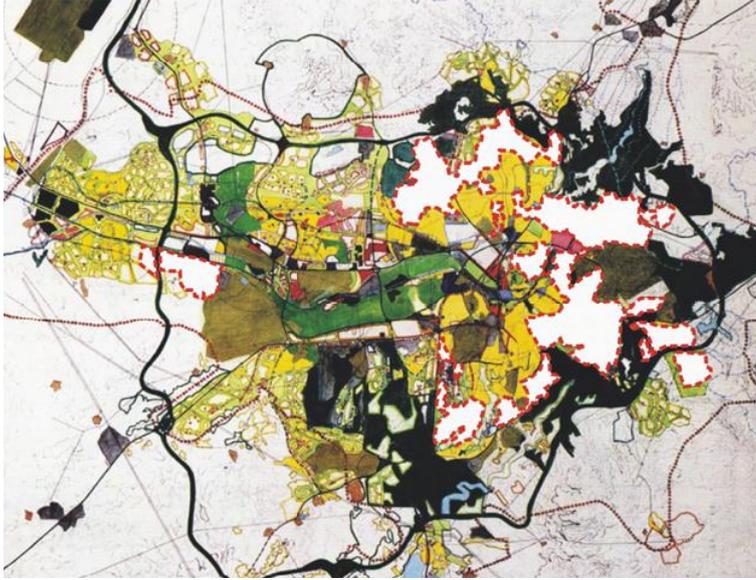
Returning back to the **Ankara case** in the light of the knowledge obtained from the urban land and rent issue and focusing on the post-1980 urban transformation processes of Ankara and mainly the improvement planning process; it is important to note that **all the improvement planning areas are advantaged in terms of development rights but North and East Ankara improvement planning areas are disadvantaged in terms of rent due to the social and technical infrastructure provision by the public as the urban growth and planning decisions mainly cover the South and West Ankara.** Besides, as known the gecekondu areas were mostly located at the periphery of the city. The urban land rent was much higher in the core areas and the areas that are subject to the urban growth.

As known starting from the beginning of the 1980s up till 1993 the investments in construction sector gradually increased and then a period of decline came on the agenda till 2003 and afterwards the viability of the sector again increased. In addition to these changes in the construction sector that are mentioned before, by the first half of the 1990s, the implemented improvement plans affected the urban land prices as explained before.

This change in the land prices thus urban land rent, stimulated the urban transformation by the improvement plans in the **rentable** areas up till the 2000s and urban transformation projects and the perspective of urban transformation by the Municipalities (explained in detail before) after the 2000s that are mainly shaped under the macro-economic policies.

In the 1990-1994 periods, the areas of improvement plans were not subjects to the urban transformation projects that are characterized by the public and private cooperation. However, the organized urban transformation processes took place in the Southern part of Ankara only.

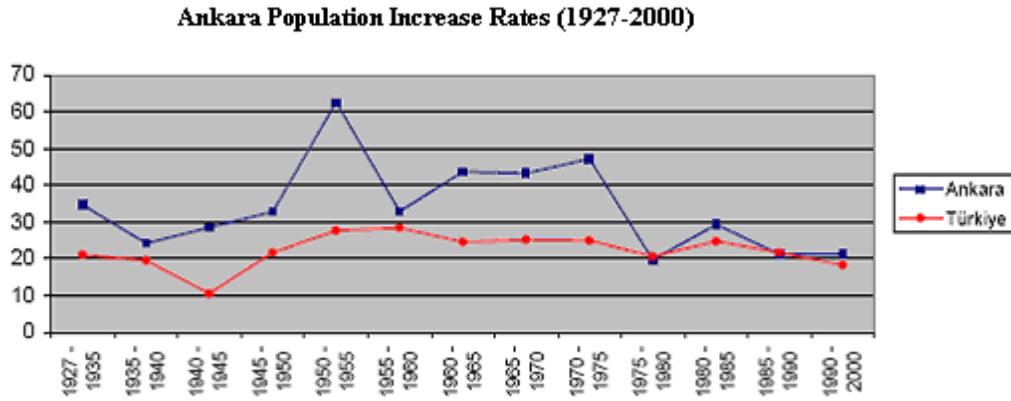
Therefore, taking into account the improvement planning areas, Etimesgut and Çankaya improvement planning areas; when considering the topographical assets and the macroform determining decisions concerning Ankara have always been much more advantageous when compared to the improvement planning areas located in the districts of Yenimahalle, Keçiören, Altındağ and Mamak. When comparing the disadvantageous districts among themselves, it can be said that Mamak is the most disadvantageous as Altındağ and Yenimahalle are very close to the business district areas and Keçiören is located on the way to the Airport.



**Figure 5.7. Improvement plans produced after 1984 in the land-use of map of Ankara 1993.**  
 Source: Çalışkan, 2004 & derived and developed by the author from Greater Metropolitan Municipality of Ankara, 2007.

When the improvement plans came on the agenda by the second half of the 1980s. It was when the acceleration rate of the population increase was decreasing; right after the rapid urbanization period. However; the improvement plans was proposing large amounts of population increases in addition to the upper scale plan demographic decisions by increasing the population densities.

It was such an interesting decision to assign many development rights after the second half of the 1980s, it is because the population increase rates of Ankara, as stated before, decreased drastically in this period. This, even solely, can show us that the act of improvement planning was a rent seeking activity rather than an act aiming urban transformation.



**Figure 5.8. 1927-2000 Population Increase Rates, Ankara and Turkey**

*Source: 2023 Plan Report, Greater Metropolitan Municipality of Ankara, 2007.*

With reference to Table 5.4., 2 millions of population which was clearly virtual was foreseen by the improvement plans in the case of Ankara. As stated before in each improvement plan area, excluding Çankaya, an extra unnecessary amount of population was created via improvement plans.

Table 5.4. The Change in the Population of Ankara and Its Districts According To Years

Years	Ankara Total	Center	Çankaya	Altındağ	Yenimahalle	Keçiören	Mamak	Sincan	Etimesgut	Gölbaşı
1923	30 000	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1927	74 533	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1935	122 720	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1940	157 242	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1945	226 712	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1950	288 536	185 408	103 127	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1955	451 241	171 281	180 989	180 189	-	-	-	-	-	-
1960	650 067	129 934	304 077	148 420	67 636	-	-	-	-	-
1965	905 660	130 520	470 454	218 464	86 222	-	-	-	-	-
1970	1 236 152	114 419	653 290	335 096	133 347	-	-	-	-	-
1975	1 701 004	94 964	895 005	512 392	198 643	-	-	-	-	-
1980	1 877 755	77 168	921 882	608 689	270 016	-	-	-	-	-
1985	2 235 035	-	665 128	403 871	360 573	433 559	371 904	-	-	-
1990	2 584 035	-	712 304	417 616	343 951	523 891	400 733	91 016	69 960	25 123
2000	3 203 362	-	758 490	400 023	534 109	625 167	412 771	267 879	169 615	35 308

Source: 2023 Plan Report, Greater Metropolitan Municipality of Ankara, 2007.

As an overall evaluation for each case of the whole process, the **physical** urban transformation via improvement plans occurs where the improvement plans met the needs of the **small constructor both in macro and micro scales** as the small constructors are the main actors in the urban transformation process by improvement plans. **The internal and external dynamics that prepared a rentable milieu for the small constructor case by case, and explained in detail in Chapter 2 before, can be summarized as below:**

Etimesgut and Çankaya cases were successful cases in terms of improvement planning as stated before. It is obvious that both cases are advantageous in terms of being close to the important roads. Etimesgut is close to both İstanbul and Eskişehir Roads. Çankaya is connected to the city by the most important Boulevard of the city, the Atatürk Boulevard. Besides there is Nato-Yolu connecting Çankaya to Mamak and in addition there is the connection to the Ring Road.

The issue of the assigned four-storey development rights was the main motivator for transformation in each case. However there are differing factors in terms of the land prices. As mentioned before while explaining the Etimesgut case specifically, in Etimesgut, there was production of large amounts of vacant land that the land prices decreased and this led to the decrease in the construction prices and the price of the buildings sold. So this brought viability in the urban land and housing market that the construction activity could continue.

When looking at the Çankaya case, the land prices have always been high because of the location of the district as being located on the primary growth direction of the city. However, the price of housing was going hand in hand with the land prices and there was the demand of the middle and higher income groups for housing that the construction activity continued. In both Municipalities, the experts evaluate the improvement plans as a fast way of transformation regardless of the quality of the urban environment created.

Focusing on the cheaper land prices issue, it is a relative concept as the land price determines the apartment prices; and sometimes it is more profitable for the constructor to build on the land of the rentable areas (like the Çankaya case) that the value added obtained from the building constructed would be more profitable. In contrast to Çankaya; cheaper land prices led to effective transformation via improvement planning in Etimesgut.

In contrast to Etimesgut and Çankaya; Yenimahalle, Keçiören, Altındağ and Mamak were not the successful examples of improvement planning. For all these four case the Municipal experts criticized the improvement plans because of having small size parcels, small useless green areas dispersed all around the plan area (which is hard to handle in terms of service) and the narrow roads planned according to the existing urban fabric. Therefore according to the planners working at the Municipalities, the improvement plans were not but a legalization of gecekondu.

When considering Yenimahalle case; the main reason why the Şentepe could not get transformed by the improvement plans, explained by the experts, was mainly the unevenly distributed development rights complicated property relations. Even though the land prices were low, because of the uneven distribution of the development rights (four-storey along the roads and three-two storey else where), harsh topography and the complicated property relations and the insufficient demand; the small building constructors did not find it profitable to enter this area. However, as claimed by the planners of the Municipality; the areas along the main axis, connecting Yenimahalle to the city center, the transformation occurred.

For Mamak, Keçiören and Altındağ; the situation is more or less the same. However; in the cases of Keçiören and Altındağ what were mentioned in the interviews about the non-transformation beside the reasons mentioned above are the **political conflicts among the Municipalities**. For Keçiören, being on the Road to Esenboğa Airport and for Altındağ, being close to the city center and having Altınpark in the boundaries are advantageous as mentioned in the interviews.

In the 2000s, new regulations concerning the improvement planning areas (height minimum regulation and the newly prepared plans by the district Municipalities) and massive urban transformation projects, again including some of the improvement planning areas, have come on the agenda especially on the main connection areas of the inner roads and the ring road that is surrounding the city (where the urban land rent was increased with the effect of the improvement plans) **for getting a share from the rent that will emerge or already emerged in those areas**. The role of the public sector including the Greater Metropolitan Municipality is, as again defined in the Justice and Development Party Program, being the negotiator and controller of the process. Therefore the role of the public sector is to draw a frame for the capital to act in.

Today; when looking at the non-transformed gecekondu areas; it can be said that there is a motion in almost all the areas except some parts of Mamak like Boğaziçi, Derbent and etc. as mentioned earlier. As told, most of the improvement plans were cancelled and the others were revised. The Municipalities of Yenimahalle, Keçiören, Altındağ and Mamak have started new regulations which they call urban transformation in addition to the urban transformation projects announced by the Municipalities themselves and the Greater Metropolitan Municipality of Ankara. In this urban transformation perspective, the height maximum is almost unlimited when the parcel size is adjusted according to the height of the building.

According to the data obtained from the interviews, in spite of the fact that the increase in the parcel size increases the number of share holders; as it is too very much profitable for the small constructors to build twenty-storey building block instead of three-four gecekondu in the inexpensive land; the construction activity started even in the areas where the degree of the slope is very high. In addition, it is dispersing gradually. As stated in the interviews, the construction activity slowed down after the 2006 crisis. Nevertheless; it is expected to be continued when the macro economic floating ends.

Just like the political conflicts that are mentioned in the interviews to keep some parts of Keçiören and Altındağ from transforming (like not giving the development rights desired by the small constructors even though similar rights were given in other districts); the transformation in Mamak today is related to the political capital by the real estate agents who are interviewed with.

As stated before, there is a tendency of the small constructors to build parcel by parcel and there is a tendency of large-scale building constructors to construct in the large areas in the new development areas at the peripheries of the city. So the small constructors work within the regulations brought with the development new plans and the large constructors work under the urban transformation projects announced.

Therefore it can be said that after the 2000s, with the macro- urban policy of fostering the construction of the Justice and Development Party, the urban transformation regulations under the development plans by the Municipalities and the transformation projects supported under this policy is going very much hand in hand with the both small and large-scale capital holders tendency in construction issues.

It is not a coincidence when looking at the, previously mentioned, market friendly politics of the Justice and Development Party. Thus the non-transformed areas in the inner city is expected to remain non-transformed if this tendency stays on the agenda as the urban land rent is moved to the peripheral areas from the inner cities.

In addition, the realization of the development plans with new height regulations (like hmin) and urban transformation projects that have come on the agenda especially after 2004 is also debatable. It is because the speed of construction sector activities slowed down as provision of housing by state with the hands of Mass Housing Administration and private sector was far more than demanded that an over-accumulation has been occurring, when the need and demand for housing are compared. When thought, it is impossible to continue the economic producing activity without getting the necessary gain from it to be able to invest back.

When looking at Ankara, the economy is mainly based on the consumption sector rather than production. Many shopping malls are being opened and many housing facilities are produced. However, there is no attempt concerning production. For example; the largest amount of industrial parcels are located in Ankara but the gain from this sector is rather low (Interview at the Ankara Greater Metropolitan Municipality Development Bureau, 2008).

Therefore like the improvement plans of the Motherland party, the faith of urban transformation projects and transformative regulations of the Municipalities to transform the non-transformed gecekondü areas is a question.

## CHAPTER 6

### CONCLUSION: DYNAMICS OF URBAN TRANSFORMATION AND THE PHENOMENA OF NON-TRANSFORMATION BY IMPROVEMENT PLANNING

*“Whether man recovers from it,  
whether he becomes master of this crisis,  
is a question of his strength!”  
Friedrich Nietzsche, Complete Works Vol.13*

This study aimed, as stated at the introductory section, to discuss the planning and development issues under mixed economies through the dynamics of urban transformation and the phenomena of urban non-transformation in the areas where an enormous amount of development rights are assigned by the improvement plans in the case of Ankara city in relation with the dynamics of the urban development and growth dynamics and capital accumulation processes.

The first thing done was the examination of the today’s existing situation of the improvement planning areas for the determination of the level of transformation and non-transformation so that the problematic of the study would be strengthened and supported by the concrete problematic of the real scene. The method for doing this was direct observation, interviews and the evaluation of the existing quantitative data.

After understanding the today’s existing situation, this study focused on the improvement planning areas one by one to understand the inner dynamics of the improvement planning areas with a comparative approach. The idea was to filter the dynamics of urban transformation and phenomena of non-transformation by the improvement plans by comparing and contrasting the assets of the improvement planning zones. The method was interviewing with the experts of the Municipalities, the real-estate agents and the constructors and again the evaluation of the existing quantitative data.

Thirdly; the macroform development processes of the city of Ankara that were shaped under the macro-economy of the country, the legal regulations and the planning studies were taken into account in relation to the changing approaches to the improvement planning areas.

The fourth step was the evaluation of the data collected by the interviews, the quantitative data obtained in the previous studies and the effects of the macroform formation processes with reference to the World examples of slum upgrading.

As can be understood from the World examples, the slum/gecekondu issue emerged as a problem of urban expansion due to migration but became a problem of rent and public policy. Therefore as the fifth step the improvement planning areas are evaluated with reference to the concept of rent, urban land and housing market in Turkey, thus the urban growth and capital accumulation processes concerning the city of Ankara.

Therefore this section is the last step of this study; the conclusion.

As known the gecekondu was born for its use value in the case of residential need of the immigrants. However in the 1980s, its use value was replaced by its exchange value. Yet; with the entrance of global and national capital to the urban space and the political capital, the improvement plans and mega projects of urban transformation have been taking place since 1980s. Gecekondu as a commodity is foreground with its exchange value, have become subject to these projects.

Having been examined the World examples concerning slum upgrading; it can be said that the forced evictions should give way to the urban policies that are the combination of strong institutional perspective covering the laws and regulations by public institutions and the support of the non-governmental organizations and an urban policy covering the inter-relation between the upper and lower-scale urban plans and social policy covering the well being of the society (UN, 2003:198).

When looking at Turkish example of gecekondu transformation by the improvement plans starting from the 1980s, it can be said that the institutional context is limited to the Gecekondu Amnesties by Laws, covering only the physical transformation by the hands of building constructors by means of the development rights given (2 millions of virtual population).

Therefore the improvement plans were the legalization of the existing urban fabric of gecekondu, thus expansion. This process of improvement planning did not have any relation to the upper scale planning activities and did not supported by any other public or social policy or governmental or non-governmental work.

Considering the intense improvement planning period, what is obvious is that the improvement plans with large amounts of development rights and with no time limitations for the implementation left the application process in the hands of the small-scale building constructors. This led to the dominance of capital in the urban land market. Therefore the capital fit into the areas that are more profitable in terms of urban economics and urban land rent. In addition to the flexibility created for the construction market, the idea of improving rather than clearing and preventing gecekondu under the promise of development also brought political rent for the political party of Motherland's Party that was in power. Therefore the idea of public interest by the Law No: 775 gave way to liberal policies of the Government. In the dynamics of the construction market, some areas could transform while some could not.

In the light of what has been explained so far; this thesis; by reference to the World examples examined, comes to the end that gecekondu transformation by improvement plans with the development rights given and the large amount of population decisions in Turkey is **a rent and (a lack of) public policy issue.**

Rent can said to be a regulation mechanism between the landlords/gecekondu owners and the capital holders. However, in the case of improvement plans where the public is the regulator and the private sector is the applicator; this regulation mechanism acts as a mechanism of irregularity as the the application processes are determined by the market.

It is because, the improvement plans were a way of abolishing the scarcity rent, leaving the monopoly class rent aside, in terms of urban land creation for the city of Ankara. In spite of the fact that scarcity rent was removed almost for all the city, the plans created a real rent only in Etimesgut and Çankaya (when considering zone by zone and leaving the micro scale aside) while they remained at the level of creating virtual rents in some parts of Yenimahalle and most of Keçiören, Altındağ and Mamak.

As known, rent is determined by the urban macroform development processes (macro economics, legal regulations and urban planning decisions) thus urban growth and capital accumulation processes (a balance between the state and capital). The case of urban

transformation and the phenomena of urban non-transformation for the city of Ankara also shows us that even almost the entire city is opened to development (referring to the development rights given) and even the scarcity rent of urban land is removed from the agenda; not all the development rights given could be achieved. **As can be followed from the urban transformation by improvement planning for Ankara case; what is necessary is the urban growth in that direction and the necessary capital accumulation.**

In the case of Ankara; one of the most **external dynamics** of the urban growth was in the direction of South-North axis in the 1970s with the emphasis on the South and West-East axis after 1980s with the emphasis on the West. In addition, the South-West axis has been the main focus of attention of the plans prepared after the 1970s. Therefore it is not a coincidence that Çankaya and Etimesgut could get transformed and most of the most of the other districts of Yenimahalle and Keçiören, Altındağ and Mamak could not get transformed.

After the 2000s, a viability in terms of urban transformation also started to take place in the non-transformed improvement planning areas of Yenimahalle, Keçiören, Altındağ and Mamak (by reference to the comparative case study). It is because the city became “an area of construction and embellished with the new under and over passes” (Weekly Bulletin of the Greater Metropolitan Municipality of Ankara, 16-22 July 2008:4-5).

In addition to these new technical infrastructure investments, the city of Ankara also became the arena for mega projects of recreation and the urban transformation projects announced by both the district Municipalities and the Greater Metropolitan Municipality of Ankara.

Besides, most of the district Municipalities, started to act under a perspective which they call urban transformation. In this perspective, there is the concept of height minimum, replacing the known old development concept of height maximum. According to the new regulations, widely accepted by the Municipalities, the height of the building blocks can get higher in the cases where the parcel sizes get larger in accordance with the building height. This is highly discussable that whether this is urban regeneration/transformation or not but it is obvious that it is physical urban transformation independent from the quality of the environment created.

These investments of technical, especially new road connections from the non-transformed gecekondu areas to the city center and the ring road and social infrastructure and the prestige projects lead to an extra rent created **by the public** in the non-transformed gecekondu are. This is highly related with the macro politics of construction and prestige of the party in power. But, these are also development rights and promises by the political power just like

the situation in the 1980s. Besides, this also shows that the public (referring to the Municipalities) became a rent holder. As the outcome, again a very important amount of virtual population is created for Ankara where the rate of population increase is rather low. Therefore it is also questionable whether they can be achieved or not.

However, it would be a reductionist view to limit the dynamics of urban transformation and the phenomena of urban non-transformation to the macro scale dynamics. As well as the macro dynamics, the micro dynamics of the improvement planning zones played a crucial role in the process.

In each case; improvement planning zones examined, **the small building constructors** firstly looking for reasonable development rights; which means not being less than four-storey. It is because as explained before when transforming a gecekondu to an apartment block, the Article No: 18 of the Development Law No: 3194 forces to share at least the %30 of the newly constructed building with the right holders. So, as stated before, building less than four-storey apartment blocks means no profit for the constructor. This was the main reason why most of the improvement plan areas in the districts of Yenimahalle, Keçiören, Altınpark and Mamak could not get transformed.

**Internal dynamics** such as cheaper land prices, formidable topography, being close to prestige projects or on the main arteries that are connecting the neighborhood to the centers or sub-centers or the ring-road. Therefore the areas that attract the small capital are the areas with a reasonable topography, where necessary urban social and technical infrastructure investments (by the public investments) are brought or are planned to be brought and that are proximate to the main transportation arteries, centers (central business districts, working places, sub-centers and shopping centers) and the prestigious areas.

Therefore the improvement plans could not be realized where these desires; the most important of which is the development rights issue, of the main actor of improvement plans the small building constructors, were met. But who distributes the development rights?

In addition; the demand of the socio-economic classes as being one of the determiners in the issue of the price of housing, the level of complexity in the ownership pattern are also important internal dynamics affecting the level of transformation via improvement plans. However, it should not be forgotten that the political struggles among the Municipalities affect the gecekondu improvement as well as the socio-spatial inner dynamics. Therefore;

another thing that should not be forgotten is the effect of politics in the urban processes. The distribution of development rights can be said to be a tool for politicians.

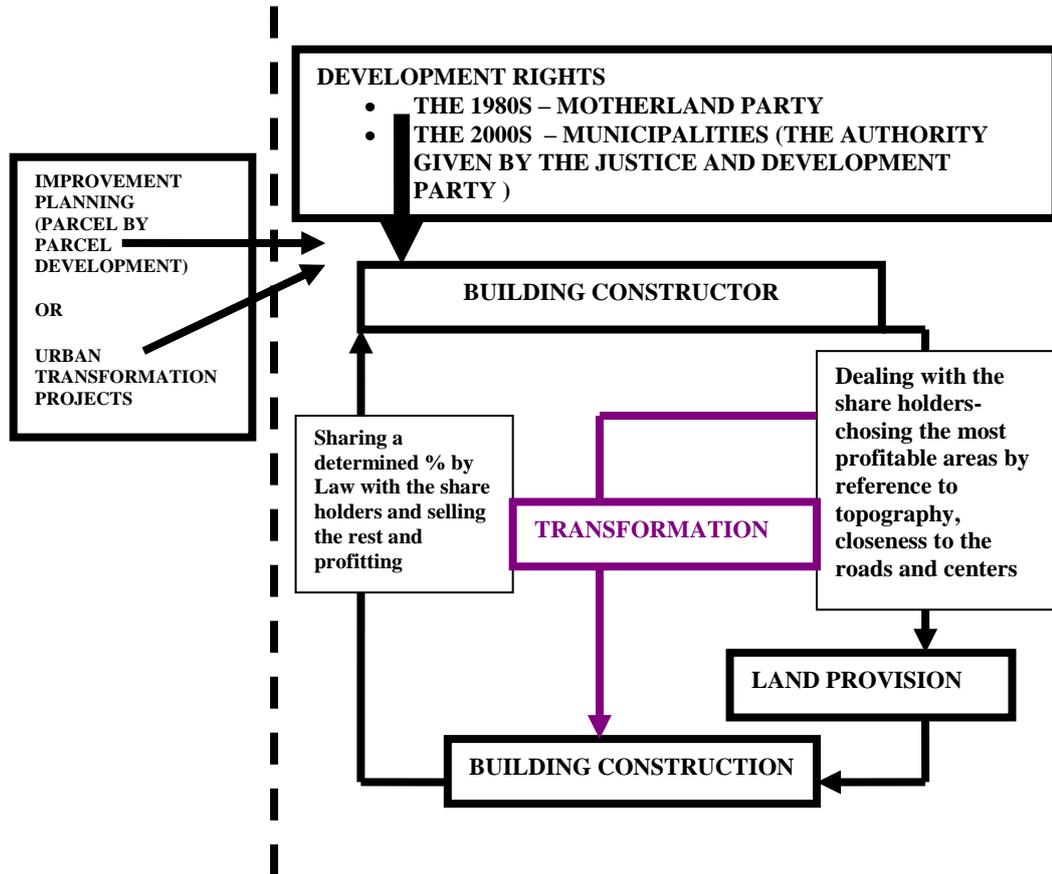
The development rights are used to seek for political and economic rent. In addition; the development rights as being the main determiner affecting the capital holders in the construction sector, can be used for both positive and negative outcomes. As one of the planners in the Etimesgut Municipality claimed; if you do not want somewhere to get transformed, you can easily do it by using the development rights as a negative factor in the urban plans. For example; according to the interviews done, the Greater Metropolitan Municipality sometimes uses its power by not approving the development rights given by the district Municipalities by the development plans, to limit the power of the district Municipalities in the issue. So the development rights mean power.

As both development rights (therefore the public) and the small building constructors (thus the capital); both mean power. The transformation process occurred by the improvement plans can be called as a collaboration, balance of these two powers and the non-transformation via improvement planning can be claimed to be the conflict between these two powers. Thus urban transformation by means of improvement planning is an issue of share of rent on which the productive relations in Turkey is mainly based on due to the fluctuating economy.

Here, it is important to note that the gecekondü owners and renters are also actors in the process of transformation. They get involved in the transformation processes with either negative or positive attitudes. However; the regulations put forward by public and the desires of capital limit the role of gecekondü owners and renters at a large degree. Their role in the transformation process is strictly limited to being share holders and rent holders by keeping their gecekondü non-transformed for some time to increase the rent gained by the transformation process. However, this role is reduced to being commodities like the urban land in the urban transformation process by the Laws and regulations concerning urban transformation in the Turkish example as what is on the agenda is the physical transformation of gecekondü rather than a spatial and societal integration.

The urban politics since the 1980s do not have a real social aspect but a political and economic rent seeking perspective (the improvement plans, social and technical infrastructure provision, the perspective of urban transformation and the urban transformation projects).

Thus this emphasis of the physical transformation is not the reductionist view of this thesis but the Turkish Law and order concerning this issue. Therefore this commodification of the gecekondu residents thus social and societal relations due to the urban land rent to be gained by means of gecekondu can be subject to further research.



**Figure 6.1. The Cycle for Dynamics of Urban Transformation in the case of Improvement Planning**

Reaching the end, it is important to returning back to the very beginning of the study, to the Chapter 1; underline the questioning that concerns the problematic of planning and development issues under a mixed economy and the relationship between the improvement plans and political rent seeking.

Evaluating the process of improvement planning for Ankara in terms of **political will of using land rent through political rent seeking**, it can be said that the improvement plans were an act of political rent seeking with the promise of urban development. The failure in the application process of the plans may give the idea that the intention of the Motherland

Party also failed. However, the intention of the Motherland Party by the development rights assigned was not only political but also economic. With a liberal approach, by providing the development rights at the peripheral Ankara, the scarcity of the urban land was ended. Therefore this gives flexibility to the market to choose where to act even though the infrastructure investments that have been brought are enormous.

It should not be forgotten that Ankara is a city where the capital accumulation processes have always differed from any other city in Turkey. As being the capital city, Ankara has always been a continuously developing city. Therefore the provision of the development rights via improvement plans may differ in any other city that the provision of the development rights may attract the capital and may lead to population increase in a city where the urban development and capital accumulation is limited. In the Ankara case, the development rights were not effective in the provision of urban development. In short; in a case where the capital accumulation and urban growth is limited, the reverse may be the case. Thus this issue can be subject to further research and would lead to another case comparative study.

The last words of this thesis will be about the relationship between the capital accumulation processes and the development rights given. All the field study shows us that, the improvement planning areas that meet the desires of the capital could transform and it other remained non-transformed. Despite the fact that the development rights are given by the improvement plans, even more than the necessary amount, they do not lead to physical transformation of gecekondü. Therefore, **determining the development rights for the urban development could not produced the expected outcomes when considered independently from the capital accumulation processes in the mixed economies where the market is the operator and the public is the regulator in the development and planning issues.**

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- \* The interviewers allowed for the usage of their names.
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- Mehmet Çifçi (real-estate agent), Hüseyingazi, Mamak.
- Yurdağül Cevatemre, Basınevler, Mamak.
- Mustafa Akyürek, Esertepe, Keçiören.

## APPENDIX A

### FURTHER QUANTITATIVE DATA CONCERNING TODAY'S EXISTING GECEKONDU AREAS

The source for the Further Information Concerning Today's Existing Gecekondu Areas is 2023 Plan Report, Great Metropolitan Municipality of Ankara, prepared in the year 2006 and came into force in a certain way in the year 2007<sup>17</sup>. The first two Tables can be used as a legend to be able to read the other Tables that are in Turkish. The concepts that are not available in the first two Tables are:

**Bölgeler:** Referring to the sub-zones in the Planning Zones, standing for the closest central development for the neighborhoods mentioned

**Dönüşümü tamamlanmış:** The transformation process is completed.

**Gecekondu yok:** There exist no Gecekondu areas

**MİA :** Central Business District

**Askeri Lojman:** Military Housing

The Tables on pages 186 includes general data, 187- 190 includes data concerning Central Planning Zone of 2023 Plan, 191-192 includes data concerning the West Planning Zone, 193 includes data concerning the South West Planning Zone, 194 includes data concerning the South Planning Zone, 195-196 includes data concerning the East Planning Zone and 197-98 includes data concerning the North Planning Zone. Here are the Tables<sup>1819</sup>:

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<sup>17</sup> The document can be reached from the website:

[http://ankara.bel.tr/AbbSayfalari/ABB\\_Nazim\\_Planı/ABB\\_nazim\\_plani.aspx](http://ankara.bel.tr/AbbSayfalari/ABB_Nazim_Planı/ABB_nazim_plani.aspx)

<sup>18</sup> The Tables below are retrieved from Ankara Greater Metropolitan Municipality 2023 Plan Report, Chapter 9: The Planning Zones (pdf version, retrieved from the website above).

<sup>19</sup> The quality of the Tables, starting from page 186 of this study, is low due to the picture quality in the pdf mentioned above. Especially the eligibility of the 'total sum' sections is low. It is possible to sum up the number upon to obtain the total sum. However it is not wanted to intervene the original Tables by the author that no extra calculations made and marked on the Tables.

Name	District				Built up Area				Vacant Area				
	Area	Population	Household Size	Density (p/ha)	Population		Density (p/ha)	Unplanned		Developed		Density (p/ha)	Population
					Area	%		Area	Non-residential (Ha)	Residential	Non-residential (Ha)		
Altındağ	6415,5	399,411	3,83	249,67	852,4	212,817	53,28	2196,8	1037,4				
Çankaya	13496,1	758,490	3,37	146,34	4834,4	707,459	93,27	477	3591,4				
Etimesgut	1781,11	88,558	3,67	153,16	522,77	80,067	90,41	386,53	6622,95			147,530	
Keçiören	5836,1	626,743	4,00	81,98	2031,3	513,773	81,98	0	1899,5	0	0	0	0
Mamak	7717	414,477	3,98	43,40	1394,3	179,890	43,40	477	3272,5				
Sincan	2676,12	267,879	3,98	99,38	1272,93	266,205	99,38	396,41	144,46				
Y.Mahalle	10004,4	534,103	3,69	88,65	2515,2	473,502	88,65	0	6262,9	197	650	29,090	
Toplam	47926,3	3,089,662	3,68	78,77	13423,3	2,433,715	78,77	3933,74	22831,11	1426,8		176,620	

Name	District				Gecekondu				Total				
	Area	Population	Household Size	Density (p/ha)	Number	Population	%	Area (p/ha)	Existing Density (p/ha)	Improvement Plan Density (p/ha)	Improvement Plan Population	Improvement Plan Density (p/ha)	Population
Altındağ	6415,5	399,411	3,83	46,72	43265	186596	46,72	1521,6	173,89	246,1	374,496	587,313	
Çankaya	13496,1	758,490	3,37	5,90	11,717	44,748	5,90	1216,5	37,66	191,3	232,804	972,265	
Etimesgut	1781,11	88,558	3,67	18,73	4,172	16,583	18,73	227,9	72,7	146,3	33,348	156,123	
Keçiören	5836,1	626,743	4,00	18,02	26,337	112,970	18,02	1901,2	63,67	175,6	334,026	960,769	
Mamak	7717	414,477	3,98	56,39	56,600	233,724	56,39	2573,1	92,94	260,3	669,879	849,769	
Sincan	2676,12	267,879	3,98	0,62	412	1,674	0,62	39,75	10,36	173,4	6,896	283,494	
Y.Mahalle	10004,4	534,103	3,69	10,86	13,742	57,979	10,86	826	68,23	256,2	211,668	714,261	
Toplam	47926,3	3,089,662	3,68	21,18	156245	654274	21,18	8306,1	78,77	184,09	1,529,091	4,523,994	

Years	Ankara Total	Center	Çankaya	Altındağ	Yenimahalle	Keçiören	Mamak	Sincan	Etimesgut	Gölbaşı
1923	30 000	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1927	74 533	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1935	122 720	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1940	157 242	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1945	226 712	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1950	288 536	185 408	103 127	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1955	451 241	171 281	180 989	180 189	-	-	-	-	-	-
1960	650 067	129 934	304 077	148 420	67 636	-	-	-	-	-
1965	905 660	130 520	470 454	218 464	86 222	-	-	-	-	-
1970	1 236 152	114 419	653 290	335 096	133 347	-	-	-	-	-
1975	1 701 004	94 964	895 005	512 392	198 643	-	-	-	-	-
1980	1 877 755	77 168	921 882	608 689	270 016	-	-	-	-	-
1985	2 235 035	-	665 128	403 871	360 573	433 559	371 904	-	-	-
1990	2 584 035	-	712 304	417 616	343 951	523 891	400 733	91 016	69 960	25 123
2000	3 203 362	-	758 490	400 023	534 109	625 167	412 771	267 879	169 615	35 308



BÖLGE LER	MAHALLE				YAPILAMIS				BOS ALAN				GECEKÖNDÜ				TOPLAM PLAN NÜFUSU	FARK			
	AD	ALAN	NÜFUSU	HANEHAYATI	ALELİ	NÜFUSU	YOL NÜFUSU	FLANSSIZ ALAN	KONUTSIZ ALAN (Aba)	IMAR PLANLI ALAN (Aba)	KİSİLE	AÇEDİ	NÜFUSU	ALAN	YÖNLEMLİK (Aba)	KONUTSIZ (Aba)			KİSİLE		
																				ALAN	ALAN (Aba)
KARADİRE	BARBAROS	35,9	2805	2,86	35,9	2805	206	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2305	0		
	ESATOGLU	12,9	4553	2,09	12,9	4553	393	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4553	0		
	KAVARCIDEFE	51,8	3099	2,03	51,8	3099	178	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3099	0		
	HEMZİ OĞUZ	58,1	6583	2,09	58,1	6583	112	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6583	0		
	KAVARCIDEFE TOPLAM	158,5	27495	2,62	158,5	27495	213	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	27495	0	
ÇANKAYA	AZİZİYE	81,9	12771	2,86	81,9	12771	156	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	12771	0	
	ÇANKAYA	180,9	10692	2,79	180,9	10692	60	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	10692	0	
	GÜVEN	44,3	11363	2,71	44,3	11363	257	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	11363	0	
ÇANKAYA TOPLAM	307,1	35026	2,78	307,1	35026	199	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	35026	0	
AYRANCI	AYRANCI	80	20529	2,84	80	20529	256	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	20529	0	
	GÜZELTEPE	45	10462	2,94	45	10462	241	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	10462	0	
	ILKADIMI	98	12931	3,07	98	12931	210	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	12931	0	
	AYRANCI TOPLAM	221	39472	3,05	221	39472	236	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	39472	0
	AYRANCI TOPLAM	307,1	35026	2,78	307,1	35026	199	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	35026	0
ÖVEÇLER	ASAĞI ÖVEÇLER	58	9723	3,47	58	9723	244	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	9723	0	
	HARİPTE	105	24346	3,31	105	24346	232	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	24346	0	
	ÖVEÇLER	43	9194	3,97	43	9194	238	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	9194	0	
	SOKULLU MEHMET PAŞA	42	10790	3,44	42	10790	309	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	10790	0	
	YUKARI ÖVEÇLER	42	3045	4,05	42	3045	124	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3045	0	
ÖVEÇLER TOPLAM	291	58107	3,66	291	58107	228	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	58107	0	
BALIĞAT	BALIĞAT	51	8080	3,55	51	8080	26	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	8080	0	
	DEVİZİDİRE	67	2097	4,24	67	2097	303	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2097	0	
	EHLİBEYİT	32	3385	3,98	32	3385	106	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3385	0	
	İNANCIH AVANR	49	4715	3,41	49	4715	178	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4715	0	
	ÖZLÜZAR	69	9489	3,69	69	9489	154	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	9489	0	
BALIĞAT TOPLAM	257	37183	3,70	257	37183	195	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	37183	0	
ÇUKURAMBAR	ÇUKURAMBAR	203	5272	3,83	27	4793	178	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5272	0	
	KÖZLİRMAK	98	4037	3,90	33	3319	101	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4037	0	
	ÇUKURAMBAR TOPLAM	301	9309	3,87	60	8112	148	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	9309	0	
ÖÇÜ	BÜYÜKESAT	80	9259	3,06	80	9259	116	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	9259	0	
	GAZİOSMANPAŞA	42	5059	2,74	42	5059	129	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5059	0	
	KAZIM ÖZALP	57	6289	3,10	57	6289	111	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6289	0	
	MURAT	13	4483	3,47	13	4483	346	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4483	0	
	100 YIL	41	7111	2,94	41	7111	173	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7111	0	
ÖÇÜ TOPLAM	232	32161	3,06	232	32161	179	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	32161	0	
DÜĞÜS	DÜĞÜS	11	3614	2,89	11	3614	300	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3614	0	
	KÜÇÜKESAT	11	3711	2,76	11	3711	344	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3711	0	
	MALHİN ERTÜRKÜL	12	4213	2,94	12	4213	363	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4213	0	
	SEYRAN	36	6040	3,06	36	6040	303	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6040	0	
	ZAFERTEPE	27	3860	3,22	5	2508	255	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3860	0	
SEYRAN TOPLAM	97	24731	3,06	98	23937	362	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	24731	0	
SÖĞÜTÖZÜ	SÖĞÜTÖZÜ	184	5080	3,93	16	4845	290	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5080	0	
	BEŞTEPELER	274	10409	3,45	50	9294	175	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	10409	0	
	SÖĞÜTÖZÜ TOPLAM	458	15519	3,49	69	13940	233	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	15519	0
İNCEŞU	İNCEŞU TOPLAMLIK	11	3184	3,41	11	3184	303	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3184	0
	İLERİ	14	5970	3,09	14	5970	429	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5970	0
	İNCEŞU	12	4523	3,11	12	4523	387	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4523	0
	İNCEŞU	20	6119	2,88	20	6119	300	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6119	0
	İNCEŞU TOPLAM	57	19796	3,12	57	19796	358	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	19796

BÖLGE LER	MAHALLE				YAPILMASI				BOS ALAN				GEÇEKÖNDÜ				TOPLAM		FARK						
	AD	ALAN	NÜFUS	NÜFUS/KM <sup>2</sup>	ALAN	NÜFUS	NÜFUS/KM <sup>2</sup>	ALAN	NÜFUS	NÜFUS/KM <sup>2</sup>	ALAN	NÜFUS	NÜFUS/KM <sup>2</sup>	ALAN	NÜFUS	NÜFUS/KM <sup>2</sup>	ALAN	NÜFUS							
																				YENİ	TOPLAM	YENİ	TOPLAM	YENİ	TOPLAM
GEBELİ	CEBEÇİ	28	2438	86	30.6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0						
	ÇARLITEPE	20	7855	392.75	196.37	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0						
	ÇİLEKLER	13	2130	163.85	125.96	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0						
	50. YIL	33	2095	63.48	192.39	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0						
	ERTUĞRULGAZ	25	8334	333.36	133.34	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0						
	FAKÜLTELER	28	6755	241.25	86.16	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0						
	TOPRAKLIK	6	1867	311.17	52.78	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0						
	<b>GEÇECİ TOPLAM</b>	<b>160</b>	<b>30534</b>	<b>322.07</b>	<b>35.388</b>	<b>318</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>312</b>	<b>1140</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>263</b>	<b>7720</b>	<b>43114</b>	<b>9380</b>		
	DEMİRLİBAHÇE	DEMİRLİBAHÇE	55	13016	236.65	42.7	13016	314	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
		SAFAKTEPE	54	8538	158.13	21.1	6844	316	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<b>DEMİRLİBAHÇE TOPLAM</b>		<b>109</b>	<b>21554</b>	<b>340.69</b>	<b>196.60</b>	<b>315</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	
HAMAŞI	DEMİRTAS	32	547	17.1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
	GUANDÖĞÜ	8	2192	273.5	34.65	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
	MEYDAN	4	707	176.75	44.18	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
	SUNER	9	377	41.89	46.44	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
	ERZURUM	18	3342	185.67	45.64	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
	<b>HAMAŞI TOPLAM</b>	<b>65</b>	<b>7199</b>	<b>342.24</b>	<b>52.78</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>
	AKALAR	AKALAR	5	1003	200.6	40.12	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
		AKBAŞ	4	396	99	24.9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
		ALPBAŞI	3	303	90.9	23.6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
		BASIR	3	1953	488.25	161.75	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
CEŞME		4	512	128	32	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
ÇİMENTEPE		3	161	40.25	13.38	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
DEMİRFIRKA		4	578	144.5	36.13	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
ÇOKALE		10	1552	388	97.6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
KILICASLAN		2	320	80	20	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
MAZIMBEY		4	710	177.5	44.38	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
ÖĞÜZ	2	235	58.75	14.69	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
ÖZBEKLER	4	298	74.5	18.63	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
PAZAR	2	579	144.75	36.19	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
SAKARYA	6	2140	535	133.75	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
SİĞİNGİLER	5	1356	339	84.9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
SUKRİME	24	3826	956.5	232.83	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
TARAKÇANE	6	177	44.25	11.06	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
TURAN	7	1438	359.5	89.88	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
YAKINCAYA	6	1767	441.75	110.44	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
YENİHAÇ	6	1954	488.5	122.13	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
<b>HİSAR TOPLAM</b>	<b>115</b>	<b>21033</b>	<b>5247.25</b>	<b>1913.3</b>	<b>240</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	
YENİDOĞAN	AKTAŞ	11	1823	450.75	113.69	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
	ATILMA	16	2895	723.75	180.94	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
	ÇEMALBEY	13	3871	1007.75	249.39	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
	GÜLTEPE	59	4311	1105.25	272.11	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
	HURRIYET	7	1507	376.75	91.69	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
	SULTAN MURAT	21	3234	838.25	204.45	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
	KEMAL ZEYTİNOĞLU	8	1317	329.25	82.31	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
	ÖZSURLUK	6	1479	369.75	92.44	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
	PELİNE	14	2401	600.25	150.06	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
	SEVER SAMUNCUOĞLU	26	4385	1076.25	262.66	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
SOKULLU	6	1502	375.5	93.88	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
<b>YENİDOĞAN TOPLAM</b>	<b>230</b>	<b>28885</b>	<b>7222.25</b>	<b>1843.16</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	

BÖLGE LER	MAHALLE			YAPILASMIS			BOS ALAN			GECEKONDU					TOPLAM PLAN NÜFUSU	FARK						
	AD	ALANI	NÜFUSU	MÜHÜRLENMİŞ BÖLÜMÜ	ALANI	NÜFUSU	YOĞUNLUK (K/HA)	PLANSIZ ALANI	KONUT DİŞİ ALANI (M <sup>2</sup> )	KONUT İÇİ ALANI (M <sup>2</sup> )	KONUT DİŞİ ALANI (M <sup>2</sup> )	KONUT İÇİ ALANI (M <sup>2</sup> )	KONUT DİŞİ ALANI (M <sup>2</sup> )	ALANI			NÜFUSU	YOĞUNLUK (K/HA)	NÜFUSU (BİRLİK PLAN)			
																				YOĞUNLUK (K/HA)	YOĞUNLUK (K/HA)	YOĞUNLUK (K/HA)
ATINDAĞ	ATIFSEY	4	3,77	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	232	375	4	236	1077	202		
	CANDARLI	4	1076	4,31	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	250	1978	4	254	1210	134		
	DOĞANSEHIR	7	2116	4,12	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	514	2116	7	302	2230	230		
	ENGÜRÜ	7	1904	3,90	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	488	1904	7	219	2230	2230		
	EVLERPASA	5	800	3,74	2	474	263	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	87	325	3	116	263	238		
	FATİH	8	2161	4,23	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	511	2161	8	281	2453	2453		
	FAZIL AHMET PASA	5	857	3,96	1	227	328	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	121	431	5	90	378	1812		
	FERMANILAR	5	966	3,86	1	154	256	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	214	813	4	194	256	1079		
	GÖKÇENEFE	6	1432	3,75	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	231	1432	6	259	378	2265		
	HAYRİ ARTMANLAR	7	1950	4,41	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	442	1950	7	271	423	3043		
	İZZETTİN	8	542	3,44	3	542	197	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
KARTALLAR	7	1334	4,66	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	185	1334	6	215	378	2341			
ÖRNEK	8	1953	4,31	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	360	1953	7	222	342	2394			
ÖZBİLİR	6	933	3,62	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	230	933	5	183	376	1692			
SINANPASA	2	371	4,25	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	205	371	4	218	355	1420			
ULUBENTLİHANCI	4	1030	4,13	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	249	1030	6	166	243	1540			
YAMAÇ	5	345	4,94	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	186	345	5	192	248	1168			
YAVUZ SELİM	2	449	4,88	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	92	449	2	204	402	895			
YILDIRIM BEYAZIT	4	970	4,02	2	622	351	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	84	338	2	159	351	597			
YILMAZLAR	5	938	4,01	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	234	938	5	168	351	1756			
YIGİTLER	6	1408	4,18	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	337	1408	6	251	351	1967			
<b>ALTINDAĞ TOPLAM</b>	<b>117</b>	<b>24709</b>	<b>4,08</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>2029</b>	<b>297</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>5252</b>	<b>22863</b>	<b>101</b>	<b>216</b>	<b>333</b>	<b>33892</b>	<b>35920</b>	<b>11211</b>	
KÖYLER	EMİLYACELEBİ	32	2908	3,98	7	2908	404	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
	HENİTLÜK	21	0	0,00	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
	ZUBAYDEHANIM	115	11841	3,91	23	11841	519	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
	GÜMÜRDERE	72	2430	4,02	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	604	2430	68	36	200	19600	19600	
<b>İSKİLER TOPLAM</b>	<b>240</b>	<b>17179</b>	<b>3,95</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>14749</b>	<b>492</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>119</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>604</b>	<b>2430</b>	<b>68</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>200</b>	<b>19600</b>	<b>23349</b>	<b>13600</b>	
İPOZRA	AKKÖPRÜ	127	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
	HİPÖDROM TOPLAM	127	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
VAREL	VARELİK	264	4369	3,21	42	4369	104	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
	VARELİK TOPLAM	264	4369	3,21	42	4369	104	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
KARAKÖY	ÇALIŞKANLAR	45	6908	4,19	12	3224	260	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	880	3684	23	159	260	6031	9555	2347
	ÖRNEK	162	17622	3,30	75	17622	268	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	<b>KARAKÖY TOPLAM</b>	<b>147</b>	<b>24830</b>	<b>3,74</b>	<b>88</b>	<b>31145</b>	<b>249</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>880</b>	<b>3684</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>159</b>	<b>260</b>	<b>6031</b>	<b>27177</b>	<b>2347</b>
DEŞKAR	ALTINBAS	23	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
	BOZKURT	25	1131	4,14	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
	FAZİLET	17	2496	3,56	8	2496	262	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	87	238	2	132	282	508	2765	269
	KÖPRÜBAŞI	17	1621	3,30	4	1621	438	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	TURKULTEİS	11	3417	3,88	7	3417	489	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	ZİRAAT	65	8927	3,28	13	8927	676	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<b>DEŞKAR TOPLAM</b>	<b>148</b>	<b>17552</b>	<b>3,65</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>17554</b>	<b>471</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>111</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>67</b>	<b>238</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>132</b>	<b>282</b>	<b>508</b>	<b>17862</b>	<b>209</b>	
<b>MERKEZ TOPLAM</b>	<b>5655</b>	<b>629025</b>	<b>3,32</b>	<b>3134</b>	<b>560414</b>	<b>247,15</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>1590</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>16715</b>	<b>68014</b>	<b>701</b>	<b>54</b>	<b>162</b>	<b>162684</b>	<b>743098</b>	<b>116503</b>	

Bölge Adı	MAHALLE				YAPILASMIS				FLANSIZ				BOS ALAN				GECEKONDU				TOPLAM PLAN NUFUSU	FARK	
	ADI	ALANI	NUFUSU	YERLENEK BÖLÜMÜ	ALANI	NUFUSU	YÖNÜNDEN KİMLİK	ALANI	FLANSIZ ALANI	KONUT ALANI (m <sup>2</sup> )	İNAR ALANI (m <sup>2</sup> )	YÖNÜNDEN KİMLİK (m <sup>2</sup> )	MÜPUS	ALANI	NUFUSU	ALANI	YÖNÜNDEN KİMLİK (m <sup>2</sup> )	NUFUSU	ALANI	YÖNÜNDEN KİMLİK (m <sup>2</sup> )			NUFUSU
Etiler (7)	S. OSMAN AVCI	421	2055	4.15	95	9365	99	0	155	171	100	17100	0	298	59	124	590	28468	17100	0	0	0	
	ALFAY	333	11726	3.13	92	11428	124	0	64	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
	EMRYAMAN	842	17011	3.27	170	17011	100	0	376	300	125	37500	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
	SEYHİ SAMİL	84	5700	3.21	58	5700	119	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
	TUNAHAN	158	8823	3.55	77	8823	115	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
	<b>Toplam Toplam</b>	<b>1892</b>	<b>51026</b>	<b>3.26</b>	<b>492</b>	<b>51026</b>	<b>111</b>	<b>172</b>	<b>595</b>	<b>926</b>	<b>114</b>	<b>77475</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>
	ETILER	499	4345	3.79	22	4117	187	0	474	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	STASYON	441	8668	3.53	69	8668	126	46	325	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	K. KARABEKİR	63	12159	3.20	44	12159	279	19	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	ÖZÜZ AGUSTOS	78	9489	4.32	53	8140	153	9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	PRYADE	171	8436	3.95	54	6968	128	0	114	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	SUVARI	223	5721	4.21	18	2597	141	0	146	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	ELVAN	290	8026	3.83	40	7884	199	72	0	176	195	34320	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	SEKER	177	1275	2.80	4	666	183	107	0	56	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	ALSAHCAK	348	7395	4.55	15	2712	154	0	252	75	18995	1624	7395	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
TOPÇU	143	25841	2.80	120	24729	206	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
YESILOVA	263	6308	2.67	0	0	0	0	251	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
<b>Emisyonlu Toplam</b>	<b>2666</b>	<b>69133</b>	<b>3.69</b>	<b>438</b>	<b>70160</b>	<b>175</b>	<b>594</b>	<b>970</b>	<b>504</b>	<b>132</b>	<b>73955</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	
Söğüt (6)	BAHÇEKAPI	2098	8439	3.77	0	8439	0	0	2098	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
	ERLER	3025	16377	3.44	65	16377	253	0	2960	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
	<b>Söğüt Toplam</b>	<b>5123</b>	<b>24816</b>	<b>3.61</b>	<b>65</b>	<b>24816</b>	<b>253</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>5058</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	
Sincan (7)	ATATURK	82	25124	3.93	77	25124	327	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
	STASYON	812	15963	3.52	79	15963	202	0	728	12	202	2424	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
	M. DANIŞIK	524	78559	9.27	395	78559	199	138	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
	PINARBAŞI	383	13184	4.14	82	12543	155	213	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
	PLEYNE	180	44753	3.95	142	44753	316	0	45	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
	TANDOĞAN	135	12764	4.92	66	11732	179	0	37	179	6601	6601	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
	<b>Sincan Toplam</b>	<b>2052</b>	<b>190317</b>	<b>3.99</b>	<b>841</b>	<b>188607</b>	<b>229</b>	<b>357</b>	<b>765</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>190</b>	<b>9005</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	
	FATİH	65	17568	3.95	85	17568	207	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	GAZİOSMANPAŞA	237	31879	4.01	150	31879	168	39	0	8	168	1307	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	ULUBATLI HASAN	129	19345	4.07	112	19345	173	0	18	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	YUNUS EMRE	172	8740	3.93	45	8740	192	0	127	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	<b>Fatih Toplam</b>	<b>624</b>	<b>77532</b>	<b>3.97</b>	<b>432</b>	<b>77532</b>	<b>189</b>	<b>390</b>	<b>144</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>169</b>	<b>1307</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>
Yenişehir (5)	ANADOLU	24	8330	3.69	26	8330	922	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
	BAHİR	27	3161	3.95	10	3161	390	0	18	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
	CARSI	15	4185	3.78	14	4185	393	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
	ERGENEKON	61	16138	3.89	50	16220	299	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
	ESKİTEPE	27	6803	3.45	27	6803	259	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	GAYRET	161	8806	3.10	25	8806	118	0	105	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
	SINILAS	72	8818	3.29	40	8818	213	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
	PAZIR TUZUN	17	4145	3.00	17	4145	244	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
	TEPEBAĞI	21	5239	3.99	18	5239	286	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
	YENİCAM	19	3976	3.27	19	3976	188	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
	YUNUS EMRE	40	8644	3.37	40	8644	218	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
	<b>Yenişehir Toplam</b>	<b>506</b>	<b>77399</b>	<b>3.34</b>	<b>337</b>	<b>77399</b>	<b>253</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>119</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	
	<b>Emisyonlu Toplam</b>	<b>2666</b>	<b>69133</b>	<b>3.69</b>	<b>438</b>	<b>70160</b>	<b>175</b>	<b>594</b>	<b>970</b>	<b>504</b>	<b>132</b>	<b>73955</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>

BATI PLANLAMA BÖLGESİ (Devamı...)

YERİNEKİLİ	MAHALLE				YAPILMIŞ				BOS ALAN				GEÇEKONU				TOPLAM FARK						
	ADI	ALAN	NÜFUS	HESAPLI MÜHÜRÜ ALAN	YÜZLÜK ALAN	NÜFUS	YÜZLÜK KİŞİ	FLANSIZ ALAN	KONUT ALANI (m <sup>2</sup> )	KONUT ALANI (m <sup>2</sup> )	YÜZLÜK ALAN (m <sup>2</sup> )	KONUT ALANI (m <sup>2</sup> )	YÜZLÜK ALAN (m <sup>2</sup> )	ADEDI	NÜFUS	ALAN	YÜZLÜK ALAN (m <sup>2</sup> )	NÜFUS	YÜZLÜK ALAN (m <sup>2</sup> )	NÜFUS	FARK		
																						YÜZLÜK ALAN (m <sup>2</sup> )	NÜFUS
Kırsal (3)	ÇİĞDEMTEPE	449	5109	4,41	2	545	227	0	242	0	0	0	0	1943	8564	205	42	227	4672	47017	37008		
	GÜVENTEPE	43	6543	3,94	13	4732	338	0	0	0	0	0	0	460	1811	30	61	358	19882	15414	8871		
	GÜZELYAKA	24	5227	4,06	24	5227	218	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
	KALETEPE	53	7078	4,29	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
	KARŞIVAKA (*)	30	13244	3,63	30	13244	447	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
	KAYALAR	42	5377	4,18	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
	PAMUKLAR	84	8041	4,10	5	3094	333	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
	YESİLELER	30	12340	4,00	25	16536	495	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
	YUKARI YAHTALAR	41	4901	4,31	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
	BARİSTEPE	42	5841	4,22	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
<b>Toplam</b>	<b>879</b>	<b>77301</b>	<b>4,11</b>	<b>103</b>	<b>37379</b>	<b>331</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>242</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>9426</b>	<b>39920</b>	<b>532</b>	<b>89</b>	<b>246</b>	<b>44664</b>	<b>184023</b>	<b>106722</b>		
Çiftlik (5)	İVEDİK	84	1577	4,92	12	1210	109	0	841	0	0	0	0	75	365	11	33	103	1149	2359	782		
	MAZUN	236	2624	4,46	0	0	0	0	267	25	250	6550	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
	OSTIM	547	7807	4,15	35	7132	203	0	862	45	200	9000	0	42	174	5	36	250	1200	17332	10026		
	<b>Çiftlik Toplam</b>	<b>2107</b>	<b>11507</b>	<b>4,48</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>8342</b>	<b>152</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>1970</b>	<b>70</b>	<b>225</b>	<b>15250</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>118</b>	<b>541</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>176</b>	<b>2399</b>	<b>25841</b>	<b>25841</b>	<b>14434</b>	
Çiftlik (5)	ASAĞI YAHTALAR	84	1795	4,18	0	0	0	0	41	0	0	0	0	432	1765	37	49	300	2400	2400	5605		
	CAMLIÇA	232	9431	3,80	79	8811	112	0	141	0	0	0	0	163	628	13	48	112	1433	10244	314		
	DEMET (*)	78	34954	3,81	78	34954	448	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
	DEMET GÜL (*)	42	21034	3,66	42	21034	501	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
	DEMET LİLE (*)	37	26478	3,70	37	26478	770	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
	MEHMET AKIF ERSOY	232	7430	3,97	18	4059	222	0	127	0	0	0	0	849	3371	86	39	222	19074	23132	45703		
	ÖZELER	35	9138	4,03	21	8892	433	0	0	0	0	0	0	61	246	14	18	225	3150	12042	2904		
	YIRNIBES MARI	51	7685	3,21	24	2685	320	0	18	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
	<b>Çiftlik Toplam</b>	<b>790</b>	<b>119943</b>	<b>3,79</b>	<b>209</b>	<b>11391</b>	<b>399</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>332</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>1505</b>	<b>6032</b>	<b>120</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>190</b>	<b>31052</b>	<b>144971</b>	<b>21025</b>	<b>21025</b>	
	Etkin (5)	BATI SİTESİ	172	14000	3,21	61	14000	230	0	111	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
ERBAZI		192	17541	3,82	73	17056	232	0	99	0	0	0	0	127	485	16	31	232	3825	20481	3140		
ILK YERLESİM		241	16516	3,60	181	16516	102	0	60	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
İNÖNÜ		243	20609	3,58	114	20609	178	0	125	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
KARİGİLEN		600	22370	3,68	352	22370	64	0	220	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
KENTROOP		247	38335	3,56	146	38335	208	0	78	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
UGUR MURCU		378	22807	3,96	131	22807	173	0	238	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
YENİ BATI		1102	17401	3,54	218	17401	90	0	845	35	90	2800	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
<b>Etkin Toplam</b>		<b>3103</b>	<b>163469</b>	<b>3,65</b>	<b>1278</b>	<b>163469</b>	<b>150</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>1772</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>90</b>	<b>7800</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>127</b>	<b>485</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>232</b>	<b>3025</b>	<b>169409</b>	<b>169409</b>	<b>3940</b>	
Özellik (5)		EMNİYET	432	7206	3,24	25	7206	288	0	428	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
	GAZİ	781	6625	3,19	39	6625	171	0	743	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
	<b>Özellik Toplam</b>	<b>1213</b>	<b>13831</b>	<b>3,21</b>	<b>64</b>	<b>13831</b>	<b>228</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>1171</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>		
	<b>YERLESİM ALANLAR TOPLAMI</b>	<b>21009</b>	<b>902296</b>	<b>3,77</b>	<b>4398</b>	<b>836228</b>	<b>725</b>	<b>1073</b>	<b>13138</b>	<b>1392</b>	<b>908</b>	<b>175973</b>	<b>989</b>	<b>15891</b>	<b>65754</b>	<b>989</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>149</b>	<b>276403</b>	<b>1238614</b>	<b>1238614</b>	<b>336318</b>	





TÜRÜ	MAHALLE				YAPILMIŞ				BOŞ ALAN				GEÇEKONDÜ				TOPLAM		FARK
	ADI	ALANI	NÜFUS	BİNA YERİNE KULLANILAN ALAN	NÜFUS	KİMLİK NO	ALAN	FLANZİZ	KONUT ALANI (m <sup>2</sup> )	KONUT ALANI (m <sup>2</sup> )	ALAN	NÜFUS	ALAN	NÜFUS	ALAN	NÜFUS	NÜFUS (Başka Yerde)	NÜFUS	
TÜRKÜZÜ	AKDEBE	37	9152	3,97	18	7604	435	0	0	0	300	1548	20	79	435	8473	16077	6025	
	S. GENÇİZ T.ÖREL	32	8406	3,76	9	2636	206	0	0	0	786	2960	23	786	2960	6718	9354	3858	
AÇIKRAĞA	TURKOKUZU	84	8468	4,07	12	3278	273	0	0	0	1523	6193	72	97	273	19539	22817	13580	
	TURKOKUZU TOPLAM	153	24114	3,94	30	13518	333	0	0	0	4368	10586	114	97	333	54236	49247	24133	
AÇIKRAĞA	ARIDIRPAŞA	40	15050	3,42	40	10080	405	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
	AKIK VEYSSEL	44	12327	3,63	44	12327	200	0	0	0	607	2449	24	101	371	9015	12202	6568	
AÇIKRAĞA	KAZIM ORĞAY	33	5716	4,00	9	3267	371	0	0	0	532	3480	37	99	238	8889	13897	5009	
	PEYAMI ŞEFA	58	8688	3,95	21	5007	238	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
AÇIKRAĞA	BELENBAŞI TOPLAM	172	42761	3,72	113	30624	334	0	0	0	1139	6138	63	100	309	17904	14923	11722	
	TOPLAM																		
MUTLU	G. ZEKİ DOĞAN	114	11720	3,89	56	8236	147	0	0	0	896	3485	49	71	147	7247	15483	3763	
	KUTLU	61	7787	4,12	10	2578	258	0	0	0	1265	5200	51	100	258	13065	15624	2936	
MUTLU	MUTLU	135	17837	4,36	28	2438	86	0	0	0	3553	13439	107	143	238	27400	28918	11981	
	MUTLU TOPLAM	310	37445	4,13	94	13251	144	0	0	0	5714	24153	306	314	683	47773	51029	23388	
TULUÇAYIR	ÇAKILAYAN	53	3116	4,30	4	618	163	0	0	0	579	2492	42	60	163	6776	7393	4283	
	EGE	252	8647	4,21	0	0	0	0	0	0	2056	8647	103	84	286	29355	20708	7647	
TULUÇAYIR	MİŞKİT	60	6142	3,91	5	1147	221	0	0	0	1278	4994	55	91	221	12125	13272	7131	
	SAHİNTEPE	78	8489	3,89	18	3900	216	0	0	0	1208	4868	60	78	216	13042	16842	3853	
TULUÇAYIR	SİRİNTEPE	44	5579	3,99	3	937	382	0	0	0	1162	4541	41	114	382	12294	13231	7652	
	TUZLUCA YIR	48	9488	3,71	23	7351	337	0	0	0	489	1738	23	24	337	7883	15654	6165	
TULUÇAYIR	TUZLUCA YIR TOPLAM	333	41453	4,03	53	14253	248	0	0	0	6752	27201	324	354	254	31499	37448	5429	
	TOPLAM																		
MAMAK	AKŞEMİREDDİN	166	8049	4,29	2	830	346	0	0	0	1884	7219	84	86	346	29115	29945	21896	
	BOĞAZICI	47	5097	4,21	2	553	263	0	0	0	1080	4545	45	100	263	11906	12438	7391	
MAMAK	DURRALI ALIÇ	141	11121	4,46	5	1267	287	0	0	0	2900	6854	110	89	287	31106	32374	21253	
	DUTLUK	47	5660	4,09	8	2460	296	0	0	0	782	3201	39	82	296	11586	14046	8388	
MAMAK	MAMAK TOPLAM	401	29927	4,26	17	5109	297	0	0	0	5755	24818	279	89	297	83743	88953	58926	
	TOPLAM																		
SARIBÖRNE	BANKIRAZ	53	12486	3,30	36	12426	347	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
	KARTALTEPE	29	5479	3,65	8	2930	354	0	0	0	695	2539	21	122	354	7384	10323	4844	
SARIBÖRNE	MEHTAN	42	5032	3,68	13	3127	237	0	0	0	599	2204	29	77	237	6812	9940	4690	
	SANİERADIN	29	9962	3,49	23	9962	441	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
SARIBÖRNE	SANİERADIN TOPLAM	153	30507	3,59	60	21064	945	0	0	0	1394	4743	58	99	399	14199	42719	9408	
	TOPLAM																		
KAYŞ	ARAPLAR	526	2612	4,11	2	554	346	0	0	0	301	2063	25	82	346	6671	9225	6613	
	DERBENT	162	11245	4,05	9	2949	335	0	0	0	2950	8299	103	81	335	34314	37260	26015	
KAYŞ	DOĞRULAR	122	11250	4,27	0	0	0	0	0	0	2634	11250	122	92	340	41536	30295	30295	
	KAYŞ	285	4702	3,90	12	3141	257	0	0	0	400	1561	20	76	257	5130	6291	3589	
KAYŞ	KOŞTANDE	62	5769	4,30	2	636	383	0	0	0	1194	5183	60	86	383	18083	18719	12959	
	TEPEBEK	221	6946	3,94	3	751	247	0	0	0	1561	6195	70	88	247	13357	18148	11202	
KAYŞ	URİĞÖL	315	2383	4,20	0	0	0	0	0	0	333	1419	17	84	163	3747	2747	464	
	KAYŞ TOPLAM	1693	44807	4,11	28	8683	238	0	0	0	8678	35975	416	284	238	127958	139226	9113	
KIBRIS	KÜÇÜK KAYŞ	123	8713	4,22	0	0	0	0	0	0	2063	8713	113	77	250	28366	28366	19693	
	SANAP GÜLER	272	10171	4,57	2	473	236	0	0	0	2121	8698	138	71	236	32076	32549	23278	
KIBRIS	YEŞİLBAVIR	236	12655	4,34	0	0	0	0	0	0	90	0	0	0	0	2917	12655	34494	
	YENİ BAYINDIR	947	3954	4,29	12	1924	160	0	0	0	473	2030	24	86	160	3793	5717	1763	
KIBRIS	KIBRIS TOPLAM	1578	35903	4,36	14	2397	198	0	0	0	2774	31106	419	80	221	87700	101097	65904	

DOĞU PLANLAMA BÖLGESİ (Devamı...)																					
MAHALLE	YAPILASMIS			BOŞ ALAN			GEÇEKONDÜ						TOPLAM PLAN NÜFUSU	FARK							
	ALAN	NÜFUS	HİSSE	ALAN	NÜFUS	HİSSE	PLANSIZ ALAN	KONUT ALANI	KONUT ALANI	ALAN	NÜFUS	HİSSE			ALAN	NÜFUS	HİSSE				
ADİ	ALAN	NÜFUS	HİSSE	ALAN	NÜFUS	HİSSE	ALAN	ALAN	NÜFUS	HİSSE	ALAN	NÜFUS	HİSSE	ALAN	NÜFUS	HİSSE					
MAHALLE TOPLAM	477	403	4,08	477	403	4,08	477	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0					
ALTIĞAÇ	42	7449	3,99	0	3171	460	0	0	0	0	0	0	1070	4278	32	133	460	14795	17866	10517	
BANÇELERİÇİ	42	4810	3,91	0	2165	271	0	0	0	0	0	0	677	2845	34	78	271	9159	11323	6513	
HÜSEYİNGAZİ	143	4583	3,88	0	2000	328	0	104	0	0	0	0	655	2583	33	78	328	10903	12904	8821	
KARSAĞAÇ	35	3739	4,11	0	2043	227	0	5	0	0	0	0	413	1692	21	32	227	4688	5731	2992	
PTT EVLERİ	744	700	3,81	744	700	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	700	700	0
MÜLK.İN.642 TOPLAM	1808	21391	3,94	274	10072	331	0	113	0	0	0	0	3808	14302	120	93	321	30543	40624	28842	
BANÇELERÜSTÜ	39	4231	3,74	0	1704	208	0	0	0	0	0	0	676	2527	30	83	208	6321	8025	3794	
GÜLVEREN	47	6948	3,81	0	2107	227	0	0	0	0	0	0	1272	4841	38	127	227	3644	10751	3803	
HARMAN	71	5047	3,84	10	1896	195	0	37	0	0	0	0	820	3151	25	128	195	4800	6705	1658	
HÜREL	40	4421	3,74	0	1782	212	0	3	0	0	0	0	705	2639	28	34	212	5982	7764	3342	
GÜLVEREN TOPLAM	197	20648	3,78	36	7499	210	0	40	0	0	0	0	3473	13159	121	108	216	25756	33245	12597	
GÜLŞEREN	34	3664	3,85	0	825	275	0	0	0	0	0	0	737	2839	22	128	275	5082	6908	3244	
YATIKMUSLUK	50	6442	4,06	2	409	294	0	0	0	0	0	0	1455	5943	48	123	294	14203	14702	8280	
ANAYURT	85	7005	3,99	11	4956	450	0	33	0	0	0	0	714	2845	21	133	453	9920	14876	7071	
GÜLŞEREN TOPLAM	149	17911	3,97	15	6380	394	0	42	0	0	0	0	2910	11630	92	128	344	30209	36488	18979	
YERLEŞİK ALANLAR TOPLAMI	6825	349542	3,99	1269	146024	257	0	2882	0	0	0	0	49191	202654	2203	107	294	601904	747925	398367	



KUZAY PLANLAMIA BÖLGESİ (Devamı...)																							
MAHALLE	YAPILAMIS				BOS ALAN				GEÇEKONDU				TOPLAM PLAN NURUSU	FARIK									
	ADI	ALAN	NURUSU	MİMARİNE BÖLGEDEKİ ALAN	ALAN	NURUSU	YÖRÜKLÜK (%)	PLANSIZ ALAN	KONUT DİŞİ ALAN (m²)	DİŞİ ALAN (m²)	NURUSU	YÖRÜKLÜK (%)			ALAN	NURUSU	ADEDI	NURUSU	ALAN	YÖRÜKLÜK (%)	NURUSU	ALAN	NURUSU
BAĞLARBAŞI	123	21499	3,96	123	175	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	649	2594	30	89	200	8000	6000	5000	21499	0
GÜZELYURT	30	2594	4,00	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
KÖRİK	29	7250	3,94	25	7250	250	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
YIRMI ÜÇ NISAN	31	5625	4,11	16	3949	255	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
ARTEPE TOPLAM	213	36379	2,27	168	32708	136	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
ÇİÇEKLI	47	11731	3,74	47	11731	250	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
GÜZLÜKAYA	32	18827	3,83	74	18327	251	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
KALABA	74	15178	3,66	47	15178	340	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
KARACIĞAMTEPE	82	13469	3,55	62	13469	217	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
TEPEBAŞI	85	27883	3,66	85	27883	319	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
ŞEKİLİK	73	31679	4,54	73	31679	434	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
YAKACIK	43	17677	3,66	43	17677	437	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
KEÇİÖREN	493	135449	3,81	428	135446	320	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
ATAPARK	172	13689	4,41	6	1881	250	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
BANDEMİR	99	8710	4,56	12	3051	255	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
KANUN	391	10620	4,71	6	1214	262	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
KULSOĞUZ	100	15933	4,05	67	9717	145	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
FINARBAŞI	120	33139	3,95	120	33139	278	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
OSMANGAZI	76	7676	4,17	15	3278	219	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
LIFLIKTEPE	55	5118	4,45	6	1798	235	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
LYHANIS	61	10433	3,99	32	8063	252	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
SANATÇIYIM TOPLAM	1064	105628	4,26	266	61652	226	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
BASINÇLILAR	67	15118	3,72	67	15118	227	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
EMRAH	145	15486	3,63	44	15486	354	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
BASINÇLILAR TOPLAM	212	30704	3,66	111	30704	201	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
A. EĞLENCE	93	30220	3,49	93	30220	325	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
AYVALI	201	30220	3,82	151	30220	200	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
ETLİK	131	37044	3,71	131	37044	293	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
ÖZGÜR	893	2900	4,48	25	1994	255	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
YAKACIK	112	8511	4,55	3	948	316	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
SANCAKTEPE	153	13600	3,72	9	3592	410	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
ŞEHİT KUBILAY	259	14363	4,24	25	4804	192	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
YAYLA	527	12920	4,69	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
YUNUSKÖY	2354	151486	4,07	437	108831	257	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
ESERTİPE	195	17927	3,84	53	12599	239	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
İNGİRLİ	112	27619	3,75	94	26566	294	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
ÖZKÖKÜZ MAYS	88	27406	3,82	68	27406	311	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
İNŞA	395	72952	3,81	234	66571	278	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
YERLEŞİK ALANLAR TOPLAMI	11370	895092	4,00	2568	633865	247	2169	2529	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
YERLEŞİK ALANLAR TOPLAMI	11370	895092	4,00	2568	633865	247	2169	2529	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0