

**PRODUCTION OF URBAN SPACE  
IN THE SOUTHWESTERN PERIPHERY OF ANKARA**

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IN THE SOUTHWESTERN PERIPHERY OF ANKARA**

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## **ABSTRACT**

### **PRODUCTION OF URBAN SPACE IN THE SOUTHWESTERN PERIPHERY OF ANKARA**

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The aim of this thesis is to explain the production of urban space at the southwestern periphery of Ankara between 1985 and 2007. It has been argued that urban development is not a self-regulatory process; on contrary it is a process produced by urban planning practice. In this respect this thesis asks how and what extent urban planning produces particular urban pattern at the peripheral areas.

The southwestern periphery is taken into account as a field of case study due to the peculiar development dynamics. Historical development in this area reveals a contrast between planned development directed by master plans and problematic development that has been produced by fragmented and incoherent planning processes.

The difficulties of urban plans and urban planning are intimately related with the legal and administrative structures of the planning system. A methodology offered in this thesis is devised to analyze the incremental and piecemeal nature of planning process with reference to these structures. The results of the research has shown that when confronted with legal and administrative conflicts and struggles, fragmented planning

decisions manipulating the existing master plan intensify and become the root cause of dispersed, awkward and haphazard spatial patterns of urban expansion.

**Keywords:** production of urban space, urban periphery, fragmented and incoherent planning, legal and administrative structures of planning, Ankara

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## ÖZ

### ANKARA GÜNEYBATI ÇEPERİNDE KENT MEKÂNININ ÜRETİMİ

**Acar Özler, Özgül**

**Doktora, Şehir ve Bölge Planlama**

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Bu tezin amacı kent mekânının üretimini güneybatı Ankara çeperi örneğinde 1985 ve 2007 yılları arasında açıklamaktır. Kentsel gelişmenin öz-düzenleyici bir süreç olmadığı aksine kentsel planlama pratiği tarafından üretilen bir süreç olduğu savlanmıştır. Bu bakımdan tez, kentsel planlamanın nasıl ve ne ölçüde çeper bölgelerinde özgül bir kent örüntüsü ürettiğini sorgulamaktadır.

Güneybatı Ankara çeper bölgesi kendine özgü gelişme dinamikleri bakımından alan çalışması olarak seçilmiştir. Alanın tarihsel gelişimi, master planlarla yönlendirilen planlı ve daha sonrasında kısa erimli, parça parça ve tutarsız planlarla üretilen problemli bir gelişim farklılığına işaret etmektedir.

Kent planlarının ve kentsel planlamanın sorunları, planlama sisteminin yasal ve yönetsel yapısı ile çok yakından ilişkilidir. Tez kapsamında önerilen yöntem planlama süreçlerinin aşamalı ve parçacı yapısını bu yapılarla referans ile incelemektedir. Araştırmanın sonuçları, yasal ve yönetsel mücadele ve anlaşmazlıklarla karşılaşıldığında, var olan master planları manipüle eden parçacı planlama kararlarının şiddetini arttığını ve yaygın,

biçimsiz ve gelişigüzel bir mekânsal yayılma örüntüsünün temel sebebi olduğunu göstermiştir.

**Anahtar kelimeler:** kent mekânının üretimi, kent çeperi, parçacı ve tutarsız planlama, planlamanın yasal ve yönetsel yapısı, Ankara

**To**  
**My mother Zekiye ACAR**

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## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

#### 1.1. PROBLEM DEFINITION AND THE AIM OF THE STUDY

Disorganized, dispersed, scattered, inefficient, awkward, leapfrog, uninterrupted, monotonous, discontinuous, haphazard etc. urban growth that extends out from the core is one of the main challenges in urban development practices of Ankara since the second half of 1980s. It is also main critique of the city's detractors, who may ask: "what and/or who produce such an urban development?" The answer is **urban planning process** itself. This arises a paradox that urban planning as a main containment tool and control process to protect cities from the problematic urban development has been the source of it. This study, in general, deals with this question and seeks to understand how this development in the peripheral area has been produced gradually by planning process.

Urban planning system in Turkey confronts many challenges giving rise to the formation of urban sprawl. The main difficulties are related with the problems of ***administrative and legal frameworks of the planning system***. The stationary planning approach of administrations, the tension and contradictions among them result in urban development problem. The legal framework of planning system is on the other hand perceived and performed as a technical tool and does not create atmosphere to solve the dynamic problems of urban development.

Within the context of these administrative and legal issues, urban plans remain insufficient for adopting the changing circumstances and demands. Planning system is practiced by detailed end-state blueprint plans that define just one stage of

development in the future. This creates a significant handicap especially for circumstances of rapid urbanization. When there is a need to revise or modify existing development plans, **fragmented and incoherent plans are made**. These plans are assumed to be the primary tools to adopt plans to socio-spatial requirements of the city, however, they mostly take incremental and nonintegrated decisions and cause problematic urban development.

In the case of Ankara, after the 1980s fragmented and incoherent plans have intensified. In that period Turkey intended to integrate into process of economic liberalization and fundamental transformations were introduced in the legislative and administrative conditions of urban planning. Ironically, ongoing changes have brought about conflicts and struggle in planning system and they have become the main motive of incremental and nonintegrated planning decisions. South-western corridor of Ankara as the most speculative part of the city has experienced the these the dramatic nature of the events more drastically .

Urban development has been produced through local short-sighted decisions, instead of long-range comprehensive ones. Fragmented and incoherent plans have manipulated the existing master plans in a way that where they have been made, population has increased drastically and some parts of the former green belt has transformed into high-income housing settlements. Thus it is widely mentioned today that rather than adopting existing plans to socio-spatial requirements of the city, the plan modifications in the periphery of Ankara have produced new requirements by legitimizing the ongoing developments.

In this context, the basic aim of this thesis is to seek how and to what extent the fragmented and incoherent plans in Ankara produce urban sprawl. This requires a critical approach to the legal and administrative structure of the planning system in Turkey. Hence this thesis also aims to explore what kind of *legal policies and procedures* and *actions of local and central government* about plan modifications encourage problematic urban development.

## **1.2. THE CASE OF SOUTH-WESTERN CORRIDOR OF ANKARA: SPATIAL AND TEMPORAL FRAMES**

In the earlier phases of urban development, Ankara showed a relatively compact urban form. But since 1980s uncontrolled urban growth problems have enhanced. The compact form of the city has shifted to expansion on particular corridors. Because of its geographical and socio-economic characteristics, South-Western corridor between the Eskisehir Highway and Konya Highway has been the most speculative part of the city where so many fragmented and incoherent plans take place. This area is favored by the new housing developments for upper income classes. New legal regulations made to articulate the country to neo-liberal politics have intensified the activities of administrations to make plan modifications on this corridor. New laws related with urban planning and the arrangements in the role of central and local government have caused confusions about planning process. Manipulations on the urban master plans about this area have increased. %70 of urban plans made in this area have been manipulated the existing master plan and triggered problematic urban development. Hence within the context of this study the plan modification process are analyzed at South-western corridor of Ankara.

The study is temporally held within the period between years 1983 and 2008. The selection of the period is based on two important justifications. First, the official upper scale master plan was initiated in 1982, from that time on any upper scale plan were ratified for the city until 2007. Between these years the master plan was manipulated and changed through fragmented and incoherent plans in an incremental way. Secondly, the legal and administrative issues of planning changed totally in the first half of 1980s. This system was changed in the second half of 2000s with new regulations and administrative arrangements. The study therefore provides an opportunity to examine the effects of different legislations and administrations on the production of urban sprawl.

### 1.3. THE RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The main argument of this thesis is “**problematic urban development is not a self-regulative process, on contrary, something produced by fragmented and incoherent plans**” and research questions are grouped to prove this argument.

The argument of this study at first refers to comprehend the widespread *nature of problematic urban development (what) and to realize an explanation on problematic urban development (How)*.

- What is the unique nature of problematic urban development that is distinguishable from other forms of urban growth? What is the nature (definitions, characteristics) of it? What are the dynamics that produce problematic urban developments in the peripheral areas? These descriptive “**what**” questions define the main (*ontological*) *phenomenon* of this study.
- How do we better explain the how and why problematic urban development is produced? How we respond to the nature of it? These interpretative “**how**” questions on the other hand define the *theoretical (epistemological) approach to phenomenon*.

Secondly the main argument of this thesis refers to dealing with the endogenous dynamics (fragmented and incoherent plans form them) and exogenous dynamics (fragmented and incoherent plans are formed by them).

- What are the attributes of fragmented and incoherent plans? How can they be interpreted with reference to problematic urban development? What are the particular manifestations that are facilitated by fragmented and incoherent plans? What kinds of fragmented and incoherent plans produce problematic urban development ? How do they produce urban space at the periphery? These questions indicate the **endogenous dynamics of fragmented and incoherent plans**.

- What kinds of legal and administrative dynamics encourage the fragmented and incoherent plans and help to produce problematic urban space at the periphery? What are the necessity and contingent relationships between them? How these relationships encourage problematic urban development? These questions on the one hand indicate **exogenous dynamics of fragmented and incoherent plans** and interpret them with endogenous ones.

#### 1.4. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK OF THE THESIS

Although many studies have examined the problematic urban development, there is still not a precise term that lends itself easily to operate and conceptualize (Audirac et al 1990). It is used synonymously with urban sprawl. *Therefore within the context of this thesis, the conceptualization of problematic urban development has been made with reference to urban sprawl phenomenon and **problematic urban development and urban sprawl are used synonymously or interchangeably**.* Urban sprawl is interpreted as unplanned, uncontrolled, unintended, low density, dispersed and monotonous development that extends out from the cities (Harvey and Clark 1965; Ewing, 1994, Downs, 1998, Pendall 1999).. It has been often used to describe disproportionate growth of urban areas and excessive leapfrog development (Flores et al, 2004). And it has oftentimes been referred to the main cause of urban problems.

Not surprisingly, due to the ambiguity and wide variations of researches, there is also no consensus regarding the approaches to define the justifications of urban sprawl. A whole range of reasons and motives related with sprawl are brought forward in literature. These include population increase (Torrens, 2006, Fulton et al., 2001), urban growth (Chin 2002), technological advances (Ewing, 19999777), households preferences and consumption habits (Danielsen et al., 1999, Audirac et al., 1990, Meredith, 2003), land market and speculation (Clawson 1962, Harvey and Clark 1965, Torrens, 2006, Pendall, 1999), Governmental policies and administration issues (Couch, 2005, Ewing, 1992, Jackson, 1985, Chin, 2002, Fisher 1996, Knaap et al, 2000). Although there are dozens of such studies, no consensus exists defining a universal justification sample – fitting for all cities.

Sprawl is a complex and multi-faced; thus its justifications have varied greatly in the literature. It operates within the distinctive space-time dynamics of the cities. It is not independent from the socio-economic, spatial, cultural, political, governmental and legal structure etc. of the cities. In the past it was regarded as a US phenomenon associated with the low-density outward growth because of the expanding economy, increasing automobile ownership, transportation investments etc. Today, urban sprawl is a common development pattern throughout the world and it is considered within the framework of the peculiar features of cities. Since World War II, urban geographers and planners have been strongly studied the rapid growth of settlements on the peripheries that is initiated by expanding economy, increasing automobile ownership etc.

However, the literature has either ignored the role of urban planning in problematic urban development, or has been restricted to descriptive assessments. To date, there is no quantitative or qualitative approach that address to production of problematic urban development by the planning processes. This thesis dealing with how urban planning process produces the problematic urban spaces makes a contribution to literature by analyzing the *production of urban space in the periphery of the cities by fragmented and incoherent plans*. This enables the research to examine beyond the level of events and to explore the *structure in* which fragmented and incoherent plans are carried out.

#### **1.4.1. Theorization of Problematic Urban Development in the Periphery**

The difficulty of conceptualizing and operationalizing of problematic urban development in the periphery arises from deep-seated ideologies regarding the nature of urban sprawl. Economic determinism influences the majority of analyses of urban growth and development under the mainstream of neoclassical paradigm and Marxian political economy.

The early concerns for sprawl start with the Morphological studies of urban ecologist theorists. Sprawl is interpreted as a stage of transition through the expansion of the residential and industrial area (Nagy, 1996:221). The areas where sprawl occurs are seen as a container and sprawl is defined just the land uses contained.

Neoclassical studies relying on a positivist epistemology often deal only with the superficial level of events rather than investigating the generative mechanisms of urban growth (Gottdiener 1994; Healey and Barrett 1990; Sayer 1979). Sprawl reflects an economically rational way of allocating land uses. Their paradigm states that the cumulative actions (demand) of individual households and firms create the overall land use pattern. Neo-classic ideology insists that allocation of particular land-uses in periphery is formed according to profit maximization for firms or satisfaction maximization for residents (Cadwallader 1996; Gottdiener 1994). However, the belief on perfects market and economic man is criticized by the scholars. Actually, the land market rife with externalities because of speculative actions of administration and regulatory and imperfections of legal regulations. Neo-classic paradigms also fail to account for social and political factors on urban form.

The functionalist studies of Marxian political theories attempt to address the interaction between the state and the market. For Harvey, capitalism creates new built environments in order to address the crises of accumulation. Lefebvre see space as an intrinsic part of capitalism that it was not only a product and but also a producer. As Gottdiener (1994:129) noted space was “simultaneously material object or product, the medium of social relations, and the reproducer of material objects and social relations”. Therefore, sprawl is interpreted as an environmental change that is product of capitalism and also a producer that produces and maintains social relations and contradistinctions of capitalisms. However the contingencies in the production of the built environment are rarely acknowledged in these studies.

This thesis considers *the insights of Marxian political economy through a broader lens of the contemporary social theorists such as Sayer, Giddens, Gottdiener, etc. to avoid the problems noted above.* It intends to go beyond the descriptive approaches of the ecologists and limited analyses of neoclassical and functionalist ones.

#### 1.4.2. Offering a New Conceptualization

The conceptual framework is based upon structuration theory of Giddens and a social production of urban space model of Gottdiener. These theoretical frameworks provide a better way of conceptualizing the internalities and externalities of the **production of urban space** and specifically the **production of urban space in the periphery**

The main presumption of this thesis appear at this point; “**problematic urban development in the periphery is produced by fragmented and incoherent plans**”. This brings a crucial question “*How these kinds of planning process produce urban sprawl?*” The answer of this question is based on the endogenous aspects that are formed within the planning process “**content**” and the exogenous aspects that form the planning process “**context**”. The approach of this thesis, at first, is to *describe* these two interrelated concepts and then to *interpret* them with reference to production of urban space in the periphery.

Urban sprawl as a product of fragmented and incremental plans, to a great extent, relies on the divergent attributes of these plans. The **content** of plans refers these attributes. In order to reveal the content of these plans, the main attributes of them are classified. This classification is consisted by two groups of stage. First stage is the **simple attributes** of fragmented and incremental plans that are the statistically descriptive attributes. The second one, on the other hand, is an **interpretative attributes** according to basic indicators of urban sprawl.

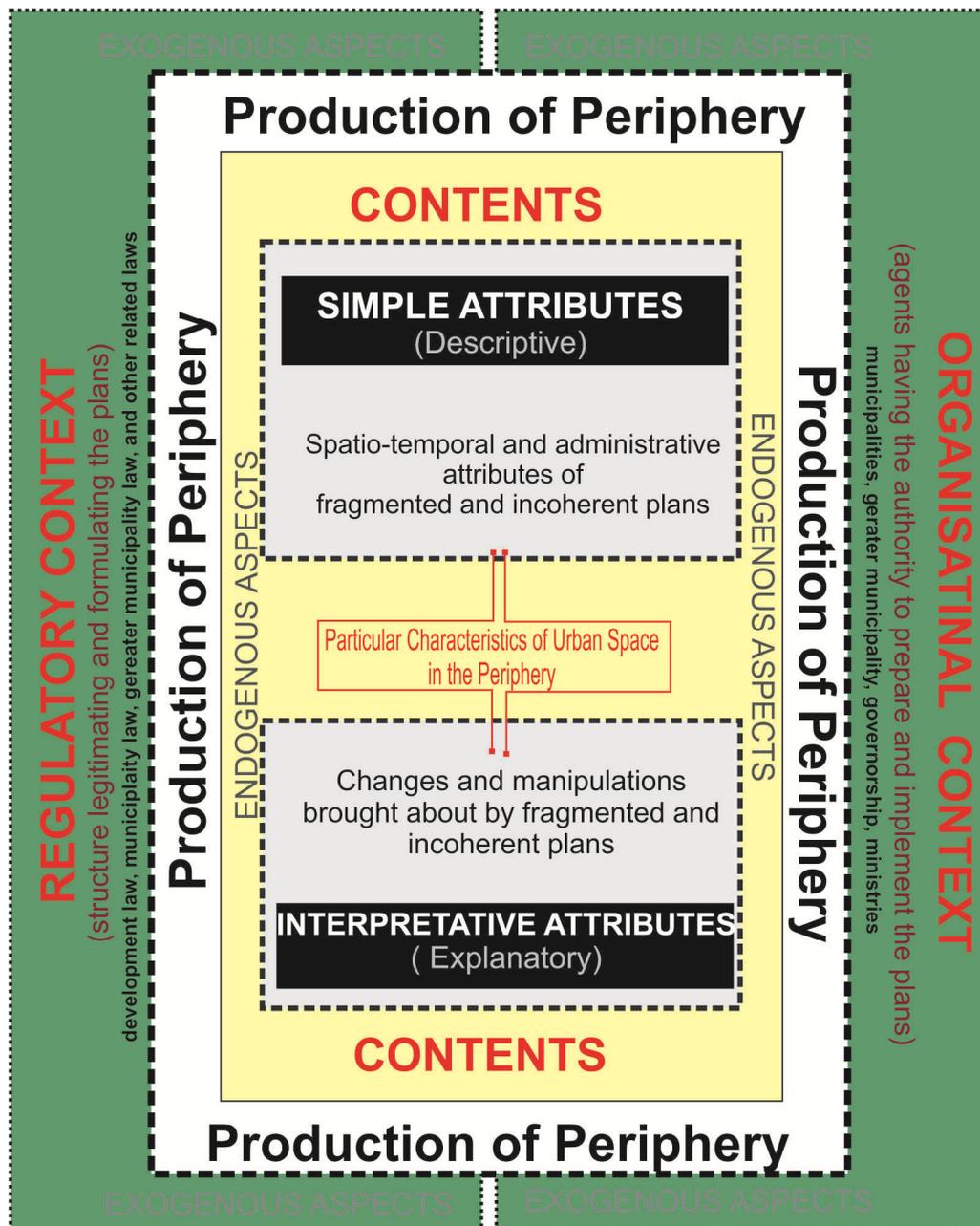


Figure 1.1: Conceptual diagram of the production of urban sprawl by plan modifications.

Simple attributes of the fragmented and incremental plans are; *the year of enactment, the scale of the plans, the type of the plan, administrative boundaries of the plan, the authority that approved plan, etc.*

Interpretative attributes are based on interpretation of *particular sprawl indicators* with reference to simple attributes of fragmented and incremental plans. These sprawl

indicators are *land-use and density changes* that bring more built-up areas and population *and developing new areas* (previously unplanned)

One should keep in mind that these are the basic interpretative attributes and some other sub- categories can be proposed. In another word, there can be some overlapping attributes like the coexisting of both changing land-use decisions and increasing density.

We should also add that every production could not be seen as the monolithic products of producers but should be evaluated with reference other external dynamics. The **context** of planning process defines these externalities. This thesis defines the context of fragmented and incremental planning process through two interrelated dynamics.

- First one is **the organizational context** of the urban planning. The local and central administrations who have the authority to prepare and implement the plans constitute the operational context of the planning process.
- The second one is **the regulatory context** that establishes and formulates the actions of agents. The legal regulations such as the laws, bylaws and circulars that control the operational context appear in a central position of planning process. We should also keep in mind that regulatory context is on the other hand set by the administrations.

This theoretical framework helps to comprehend contingent and necessity relationships between *legal and administrative process* and *attributes of fragmented and incremental planning process*. It gives the background information (context) and also substance dynamics (contents) of urban sprawl.

## 1.5. METHODOLOGY

As mentioned before because of the static situation of urban planning system in Turkey, Fragmented and incremental plans became the basic producer of urban space specifically urban space in the periphery. This thesis studies the effects of main

attributes of fragmented and incremental plans called “*content*” on production of urban space within the broader framework of “*organizational context and regulatory context*”.

**Within this thesis, all planning efforts that manipulate and change the decisions of existing master plan are appreciated as fragmented and incremental plans.** Urban plans consisted by development plans and implementation plans; their revision and modification, additional plans and other types of plans are evaluated as plan fragmented and incremental plans. Why all these plans have to be sent to greater municipalities, the data collected from the planning archive of Greater Municipality of Ankara. The intensive archive study took five months. After searching all plans in detail, a fundamental dataset was conducted with various attributes of each plans enacted in the South-Western Corridor of Ankara between 1985 and 2008. 932 separate plans are collected but, because of the limited or insignificant information 110 of them are eliminated. The data are recorded digitally and also spatialized on maps.

This study proposes a methodology in which a number of analyses are made on the dataset. In the first phase, “*customary statistical analyses*” of all fragmented and incremental plans are realized. Then “*sprawl-specific analyses*” are made with reference to basic indicators of urban sprawl. These detailed micro level analyses unfold the particular characteristics of urban space in specific time period.

The first “ **customary statistical analyses**” of the plans are descriptive and diagnostic explanations that provide a general tendency of the temporal, spatial, functional and administrative features of fragmented and incremental plans. These analyses are made according to simple attributes of plans;

- The year of enactment
- The spatial and functional characteristics of the plan
  - The location of the plans
  - Plan area
  - Planned population
  - Planned density
  - General construction area ratio of the plan

- Number of floors that plan propose
- The scale of the plans
- The type of the plan
- Property ownership of the plan areas
- Built-up or vacant situation of the planned area
- The authority that approved plan
- Boundaries of the plan area

***Sprawl-specific analyses*** are the interpretative ones; they are based on the scope of “*Changes brought about by the plan*”. Once change indicates the source of urban sprawl, it is taken into consideration and classified according the basic indicators of sprawl that are mentioned in former section. First specific analyses are made for changes that opened agricultural and forest lands to urban development. Second ones are the changes that increase population density and/or construction density. Third ones are the most speculative because they open new development areas. These analysis are based on in-depth analyses of interpretative attributes with respect to simple attributes of plans. The attributes subjected to sprawl-specific analyses are;

- The existing master plan decision
- Plan modification decision
- Changes brought about by the plan
  - **Land use changes** (*the main land use changes directing the sprawl are taken to consideration such as; transformation of agricultural and forest areas to housing areas, etc..*)
  - **Density changes** (*increasing population and/or construction density etc..*)
  - **Changes made in unplanned area**

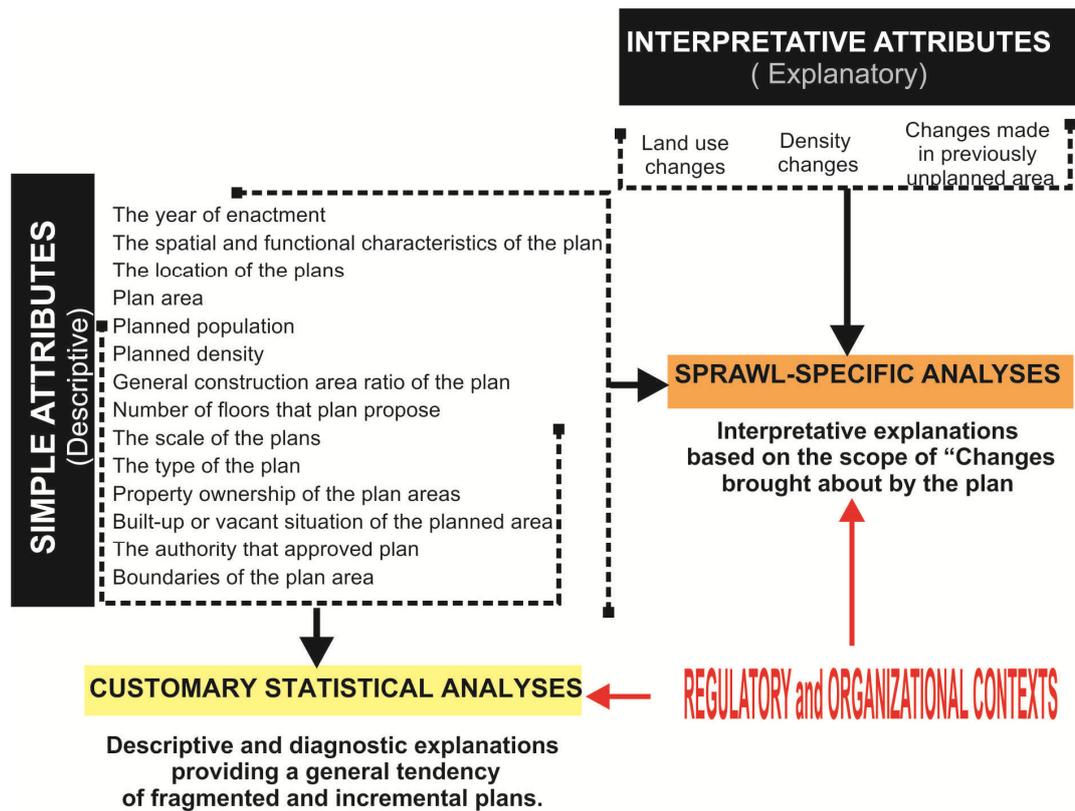


Figure 1.2: Methodological concerns of the thesis.

Throughout these analyses, not only the content relations of fragmented and incoherent plans but also the context relations will be revealed. Problematic urban development as a production process has to be considered within a temporal dimension. To make these analyses within specific time periods gives crucial information about the process-oriented characteristics of the planning in which it is possible to explore the effects of **"organizational and regulatory contexts"** and reveal their complex pattern of interactions. Necessary and contingent relationships to **organizational and regulatory contexts** will also be investigated through intensified analyses for each time periods.

## 1.6. STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS

The main body of this thesis is twofold. In the first stage, it will establish a theoretical foundation of urban sprawl-problematic urban development and then it will put forward a conceptual method to analyze the production of urban space in the periphery by planning process. First stage consisted by chapter 2 and chapter 3 will elucidate the

urban sprawl phenomenon. These chapters will explain the main characteristics of urban sprawl and will make an evaluation on the particular dynamics of Turkey. Then a conceptual research model will be introduced with respect to particular characteristics of Turkey. This discussion will enlighten the way to explanations the how and why urban sprawl is produced. They will answer the first group of thesis questions that refers the ***widespread nature of urban sprawl and explanation on urban sprawl***. Second stage consisted by chapter 4. This stage will draw attention to fragmented and incoherent planning as main process producing the problematic urban space in the periphery. The main attributes them will be discussed. This chapter will concentrate to the second group of questions dealing with the ***endogenous dynamics and exogenous dynamics of urban sprawl*** with reference to south western periphery of Ankara.

In this framework, this thesis is divided into five chapters starting with the introduction part. **Chapter 2** will give general overview of urban sprawl with an emphasis on unique features of Turkey. This discussion will contribute to understand the special dynamics of Turkey that is distinguishable from other countries. Then, it will discuss the theories on urban growth. This discussion will make critical evaluations about the relevance of theories to discuss the production of urban space in the periphery. The epistemological background given by this chapter will be used in the methodology chapter.

**Chapter 3** will outline the methodology for carrying out the case study. The underlying epistemology for research will be described in this chapter. Then a conceptual research model will be introduced. Finally the methodology based on the model will be described.

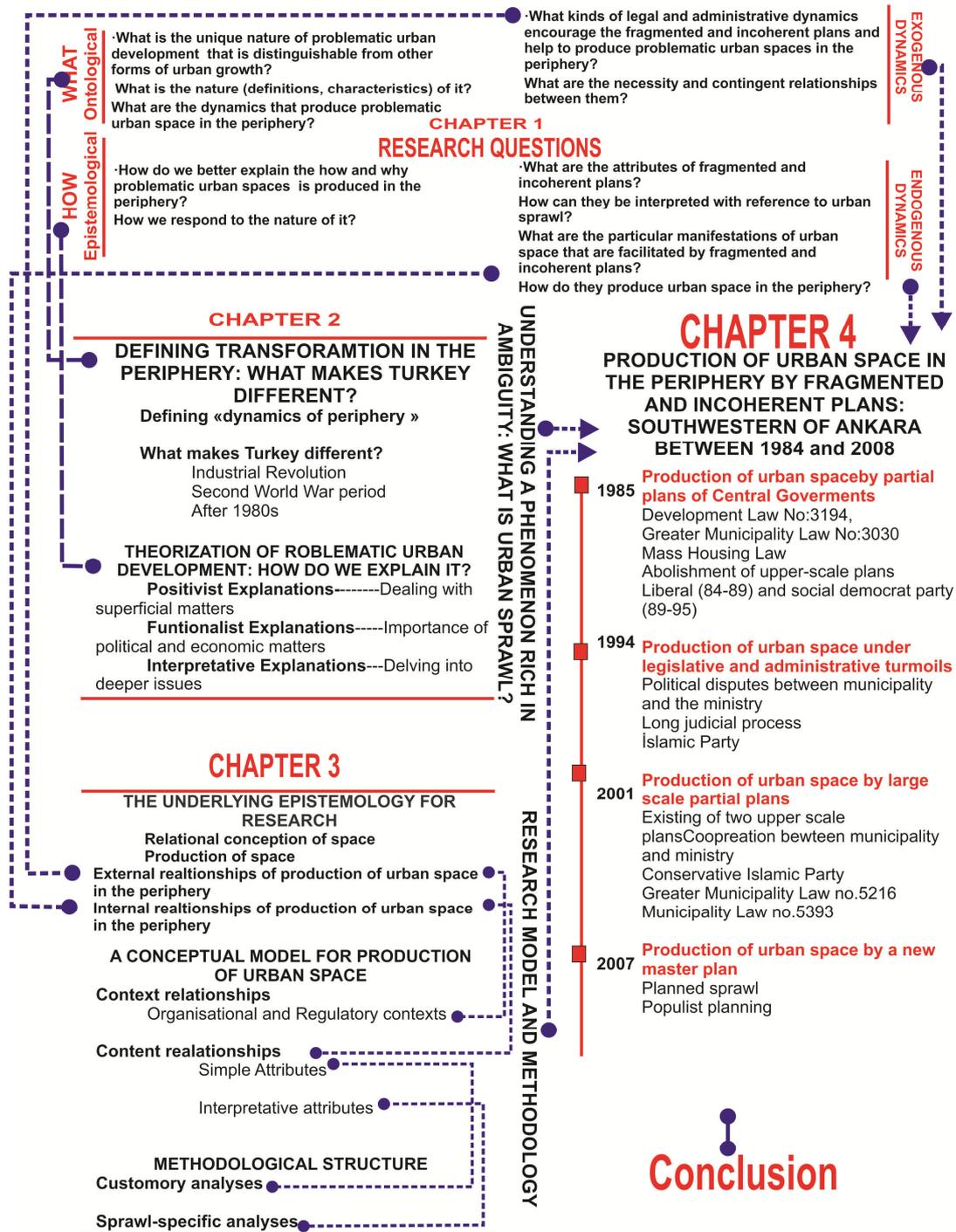


Figure 1.3: Structure of the thesis

All the results and findings of the case study will be presented in **Chapter 4**. Fragmented and incoherent plans approved since 1985 will be evaluated through descriptive statistical and interpreted sprawl-specific analyses. The changes that the plans brought

about will be analyzed with reference to their manipulation on the containment decisions of existing master plan.

In the conclusion, an overall evaluation will be made with reference to theoretical assumptions and the findings of the study. Moreover, recommendations for further studies will be put at the end.

## CHAPTER 2

### UNDERSTANDING PRODUCTION OF URBAN SPACE IN THE PERIPHERY: WHAT IS PROBLEMATIC ABOUT IT?

*Problematic urban development in the periphery (used synonymously and interchangeably with the term of urban sprawl) as a worldwide issue is complex and multi-faced.* It is one of the most avidly followed urban issues that have received growing attention in recent decades. Although the first analysis was introduced in the 1930s (Buttenheim and Cornick, 1938), the development problems in the peripheral areas became more common in the 1950s and 1960s, coincident with the post war economic boom and urban laissez- faire expansion in Western countries.

Initially urban sprawl was associated with expanding economy and population and referred to an uneconomic form of urban development. More specifically it was described as *unplanned, scattered and inefficient* development that caused gluttonous consumption of land and conversion of farmland and natural areas to urban uses. (Harvey, Clark, 1965). After the 1980s, due to the rapid urban expansion of cities towards the peripheral areas related with the changing economic, social and political structure of the countries, the concerns of urban sprawl have arisen and diversified . However, while a variety of researches with a particular attention about the characteristics, causes and impacts of urban sprawl have been made, there is *no consensus on a precise description or method that lends itself to analysis*. The most widely agreed definition is that sprawl is an **unplanned, uncontrolled, unintended, low density, dispersed and monotonous developments that take place at the peripheries of cities** (Harvey and Clark 1965; Ewing, 1994, Downs, 1999, Pendall 1999). It has been often used to describe disproportionate growth of urban areas and excessive leapfrog development (Flores et all, 2004). And it has oftentimes been referred to the main cause of urban problems.

The difficulty of conceptualizing and operationalizing urban sprawl stems from the fact *that each of research has their own justifications* in dealing with the issue. Researches associate urban sprawl with population increase (Torrens, 2006, Fulton et al., 2001), urban growth (Chin, 2002), technological advances (Ewing, 1994), households preferences and consumption habits (Audirac et al., 1990; Danielsen et al., 1999; Meredith, 2003), land market and speculation (Clawson 1962, Harvey and Clark 1965; Pendall, 1999; Torrens, 2006,), Governmental policies and administration issues (Knaap et al, 2000; Chin, 2002). Depending on these explanations and justifications, various explanations with various indicators such as population density, spatial concentration and closeness to central city, diversity of land uses, land prices and the degree of governmental subsidies etc, have been used to discuss and to measure urban sprawl.

Such perspectives can be quiet valid for all cities around the world. However, urban sprawl as a complex and multi-faced should be discussed according to particular dynamics of each city. Urban sprawl is not independent of socio-economic, spatial, cultural situation and governmental and legal structure in countries and cities; on the contrary it is subject to all these space-time dynamics. Every city has its own context that defines the framework within which urban sprawl is produced.

Therefore this chapter first aims to give general overview of urban sprawl with an emphasis on unique features of Turkey. This part of the study will explain the main characteristics of urban sprawl that can be common for all cities and Turkish ones and will make an evaluation on the particular dynamics of turkey that make Turkish cities different from the western ones. This portrayal will demonstrate that although some similarities exist, urban sprawl in Turkey arises from other particular issues.

## **2.1. DEFINING TRANSFORMATION IN THE PERIPHERY: WHAT MAKES TURKEY DIFFERENT?**

Since urban civilization first emerged, settlements gradually expand to the surrounding areas (Thomas 1974:17; Mumford, 1961:550-551). Although historical evidences of peripheral settlements can be presumed as the antecedent of urban sprawl, transformations created by industrial revolution reflects distinctive pattern. The dynamics of today date back to the economic, social and technological transformations of industrialization period.

**Industrial revolution** at the end of 18th century rearranged and changed the development dynamics of cities. New job opportunities provided by manufacturing created an urban pull and caused mass migration from rural areas to city centers. The dramatic population growth and declining living conditions of downtowns created a need to build new accommodation away from industrial environment. Thanks to the development of transportation system, middle and upper income residential areas routinely moved to peripheral lands. These new developments were not so far from the city center. They were close to public transport routes. In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, commercial and industrial activities followed the residential spread-out. Peripheral areas began to lose their bedroom characteristic with the decentralization of working place. This displacement also led to movement of working class to near the workplaces.

The repercussion of industrialization spread first to England and the North America. Even though economic and technological similarities were seen, the consequences of the industrialization took different shapes between the cities of Europe and North America continents. This discrepancy arose firstly from the different planning systems of the countries and secondly from the social and cultural differences of the societies. That is because neither residential areas nor industrial and commercial areas around the cities had the same intensity or widespread impact as experienced in America. The movement to periphery in Britain was controlled and directed by the strict planning practices.

In those years except the study of Buttenheim and Cornick (1938), the researches made on urban sprawl were very limited. Urban sprawl was used to describe disorder urban expansion and the negative outcomes of this expansion were not yet defined.

Turkish cities *as late industrializing country* depicted a different pattern of peripheral transformation. Until the mid of 20th century, Turkish cities showed a compact macroform arranged around urban core. While early industrialized countries were struggling with the negative outcomes of post-industrial urbanization, Turkey encouraged the national industrialization for foundation of modern nation (Baratov, 1999). The prior objective was to generate a modern state. Industrialization and restructuring throughout the country dominated the political agenda until the 1950s. In order to achieve a comprehensive social and spatial transformation and to create modern state, urban planning was perceived as an important instrument. Several legislative and intuitional arrangements were made in urban planning concerning the land provision and subsidies for urban development. In spite of these attempts, urban planning didn't manage the intended urban development. Due to the increasing birth rates and migration to the cities, urban population raised gradually. Planning processes could not provide adequate lands especially for low income classes. The peripheral areas around the cities developed illegally by *squatter houses*. Governments perceived these developments as natural consequences of modern urbanization and at the former stage they did not take measures to prevent cities from unauthorized development. However after the post-war era these neglected areas became the main sources of urban problems. There were not enough study explaining or criticizing the development at the peripheral lands. Urban sprawl was a trivial issue to be addressed.

**During the Second World War** period, urban pattern of the cities throughout the world experienced a remarkable change as a result of economic boom. This, as Fishman described, was the end of traditional urbanization and the beginning of new decentralized city form (Fishman, 1987). The increasing housing demands resulted from demographic changes (Marriage and baby boom) created a necessity to converting empty and cheap lands at the peripheral land to development. The motivation of central and local governments and low interested housing credits intensified the development at the urban fringe. Development of communication technologies, transportation

systems and automobile ownership played an important role in this situation in a way that they strengthened the peripheral movement. Retailing, industry and offices relocation also gained a significant speed, nearly all central facilities moved to peripheral land (Fishman, 1987). The main stimulus of this movement was nearly the same as the residential and commercial development: cheaper and more available land. Unlike the rapid and limitless expansion of American cities, urban growth was limited in Britain by the planning controls of British authority. The Green Belt restrictions of the 1950s restrained the urban sprawl and “new town” approach created controlled development. At the peripheral lands new houses for working classes were constructed by governments and they were denser than the American counterparts. The cheap public transportation opportunities heightened the construction of these kinds of low cost houses.

In those years urban sprawl was regarded as a US phenomenon associated with the low-density outward growth because of the expanding economy, population increase, increasing automobile ownership, transportation. In 1954, Blumenfeld’s study of metropolitan expansion drew the attention of urban scholars to urban sprawl. Blumenfeld principally examined the urban growth at the periphery of the city. He named this growth a “*tidal wave*”. By using a wave metaphor he tried to define the different processes of urban expansion. Harvey and Clark (1964) defined sprawl as *scattered and inefficient development* that converted farmland to urban uses and consumed the lands with a gluttonous action. Urban sprawl was mostly equated to the suburbs and defined as dispersed, decentralized residential development.

Second World War was also a breaking point for Turkish cities. It was the period of significant economic, social and political transformations that paved the way for rapid urbanization. Turkey like many other developing countries implemented a mixed economy. Policies abolished the supremacy of the public sector in industrial production and industrial activities were increasingly privatized. The major cities of the country became the attraction point for capital. Technological advances and the mechanization of agriculture strengthened the rural migration to the cities. Urban population increased in a significant way within very limited time. This growth was unexpected so central and local government did not meet the housing requirements and the necessary social and

technical infrastructure. The inner cities became dense by the construction activities of private developers. Low income groups could not afford to live in inner parts areas and this crisis was solved by informal developments of squatter settlements. Cities were encircled by these settlements. To overcome the problems of rapid urbanization, new legal arrangements were made. Each arrangement did not cope with the problem, but on the contrary accelerated the further development while providing convenience condition for private contractors and legalizing the existing squatter settlements.

Because of these different circumstances urban sprawl in Turkish cities were evaluated from different point of view. While urban sprawl indicated a middle and upper income suburban development in developed countries, in turkey it referred unauthorized housing development of low income groups. Therefore urban sprawl was assumed as *unplanned, unauthorized illegal residential development with poor structural attributes and inadequate infrastructures.*

**After the 1980s**, globalization in terms of economic and spatial dimension brought about a distinctive urban sprawl pattern. While the restructuring of inner city occurred by gentrification, regeneration and revitalization projects, urban sprawl continued without a cessation. Along with the decentralization of retailing, industry and business, central city-dependent characteristics of peripheral areas changed. The obvious distinction between the urban core and the periphery became indefinite. It turned to be difficult to limit the urban periphery. Improving telecommunication, transportation, and housing technologies together with the developing social and economic opportunities intensified the expansion to the periphery and urban sprawl appeared as an important problem for the cities.

A variety of definitions have been made after 1980s. specific attributes of urban development were used to describe urban sprawl such as; low-density, disperse, auto-dependent and environmentally and socially problematic development patterns(Ewing, 1997, Downs, 1998 and Burchell and Shad, 1999).

Researches made after 1980s can be clustered under some specific titles. Most of researchers used **urban form** to identify the urban sprawl. By using the terms of strip

development, leapfrog and scattered development they examined urban sprawl against the ideal of the compact city (Lessinger 1962, Harvey & Clark 1965, Ewing 1994, Pendall 1999, Peiser 2001)..Those using urban form defined urban sprawl as “the gluttonous use of land, uninterrupted monotonous development, *leapfrog or isolated development* discontinuous development and *unplanned, uncontrolled and uncoordinated single-use development* (Peiser, 2001, pp:278; Nelson and Duncan, 1995, pp:1)

Definitions based on **land use** interpreted urban sprawl with its land use characteristics. The spatial distributions of land uses including single-family residential development, shopping malls and industrial or office parks were assumed the typical characteristics of urban periphery (Chin, 2002). Conceptual definition of Galster et al (2001:685) based on eight distinct dimensions of land use patterns. They defined urban sprawl as “a pattern of land use in an urbanized area that exhibits low levels of some combination of eight distinct dimensions: density, continuity, concentration, clustering, centrality, nuclearity, mixed uses and proximity.” (2001, pp:685)

Some researchers have used particular issues that are the **causes or consequences of urban sprawl**. These kinds of definitions basically describe what sprawl does and/or what brings sprawl rather what it is. Burchell and Shad (1999) identified six issues to explain urban sprawl; low relative density expansion, unlimited and noncontiguous development, segregation of land uses, consumption of exurban agricultural lands, automobile dependent development, outcome and reason of fragmented and nonintegrated land use planning outcomes. Richmond (1995) related urban sprawl with decentralize land ownership and fragmentation of governmental land use authority.

Some researchers have defined urban sprawl according to **specific development patterns** and used urban form, land uses, reason or consequences concomitantly. Ewing (1997) made widely cited scholarly definition and he defined sprawl as a combination of three characteristics: leapfrog or scattered development, commercial strip development and large expanses of low density or single-use developments. He noted two important indicators of sprawl; poor accessibility and lack of functional open space.. Downs (1999) fell into line with Ewing and he added that fragmentation of powers over land use among many small localities is the main characteristic of sprawl.

He also emphasized on the social and spatial side of urban sprawl and stressed upon the great fiscal disparities among localities, and segregation of land uses in different zones. Malpazzi (1999) defined “lack of continuity” as a significant dimension of sprawl. Torrens and Alberti (2000) explain sprawl as a relatively wasteful method of urbanization that is characterized by uniform low densities. To interpret the sprawl, they offered some measures for periphery such as density, scatter, leapfrogging, and interspersion.

The most recent researcher defined urban sprawl as a **process of urban development**. Ewing, Pendall, and Chen (2002) identified sprawl as the process in which the spread of development across the landscape far outpaces population growth. They developed a composite “sprawl index” based on four dimensions: residential density; neighborhood mix of homes, jobs, and services; strength of activity centers and downtowns; and accessibility of the street network. According to this index; Residential density, the strict segregation of different land uses, absence of centers and busy arterials and inaccessibility via transit, walking and biking are the most recognized dimensions of urban sprawl. Aguiar and Ward (2003: 8) also defined urban expansion as a process of population redistribution and a restructuring of the metropolitan space. They emphasized the two distinctive features of urban sprawl. Firstly, they defined urban corridors as linear developments of different activities such as corporate developments, industrial parks, residential areas. Second, they stressed upon the urban sub-centers in the periphery that are predominantly working class, and have “poor standards of housing, poor quality service provision, and a low standard of living. In 2006, as the latest study, Torrens defined sprawl as a process of urbanization- urban growth by suburbanization. According to him the urban morphology of this process shows scattered and fragmented pattern and it is characterized as low-density in development.

Under the impact of globalization, Turkish cities also lived dramatic changes. Turkey intended to integrate into process of *economic liberalization and privatization* became dominant. The entrance of foreign capital into domestic market and the capital accumulation of private sector accelerated the investments in urban land and the development in favor of urban sprawl. Peripheral lands became the arena of manipulation and speculation of capital. New legal and administrative arrangements related with urban planning system created a convenience atmosphere for rent and

speculation. As the density in the inner parts of the cities increased thanks to the transformation activities, the areas around the cities witnessed a boom in housing commercial and industrial investments. While squatter settlements were legalized and began to be restructured through urban redevelopment projects, new mass housing areas and cooperatives for middle and upper incomes groups introduced a new sprawl pattern. Without considering the macro-scale policies, the partial planning processes of central and local governments encouraged the development of mass housings and cooperatives. The difficulties of illegal houses are replaced with the difficulties of legal housing areas of upper and middle-upper income classes. Where these residential areas developed, population increased rapidly, new transportation and infrastructure were planned and the agricultural were destroyed. Subsequently, uncontrolled urban growth problems intensified.

In these years studies examining urban sprawl have intensified in Turkey. Most of studies have analyzed the consequences of urban sprawl. The effects of urban sprawl on agricultural lands, forest areas and water resources are the main concerns (Küçükmehtetoğlu, 2009; Doygun 2009; Kurucu, 2008). Some researches tried to measure Urban sprawl. However these kinds of studies utilize the indicators that have been identified for mostly western cities. Majority of them use GIS and remote sensing (Çoskun et al 2008; Terzi, Bölen, 2009, Onur et al, 2009. Just a few studies dwell upon the particular dynamics of Turkey. Legal and administrative issues have been partly touched and discussed as a main stimulator of urban sprawl (Balta, Eke, 2011). However neither these studies nor the other can build an ontological framework that is peculiar to Turkey. All they employ the literature from other countries and apply them for the Turkish cities. Still there is no precise definition on the production process of urban space in the periphery.

### **2.1.1. Criticisms of Developments in the Periphery: The Problems of Urban Sprawl**

The concept of “urban sprawl” has been widely criticized in countries all over the world and it is argued to be the source of many problems. In the post war period, it was evaluated to be positive developments as means to provide housing for the burgeoning population of the cities (Self 1961, Clawson & Hall 1973 in Chen 2002 13). In turkey the

illegal and unplanned development of scattered houses were also evaluated as natural and necessary consequence of modern urbanization. In recent years sprawl has still defenders; some scholars argue that urban sprawl is positive; it results in reduced traffic congestion, less environmental impact and more efficient urban form in the long run due to urban infill (Audirac and Zifou 1989; Gordon and Wong 1985; Peiser 1989). In Turkey, on the other hand, these defenders are not academicians as those in western countries, they are politicians and the mayor of local governments. They see urban expansion as a fundamental component of economic, social and spatial development. The populist aspires of them to raise their revenues underline the basis for urban sprawl.

However in general broad arguments brought up by western and Turkish scholars insist that urban sprawl is one of the most harmful issue that dramatically effect the cities, city life and surrounding natural areas.

The most prominent criticism of urban sprawl can be divided into three main groups; economic burdens, environmental costs, social problems, speculation and planning aspects.

Economic burdens can be summarized as follows;

- Urban sprawl creates economic problems by increasing the cost of providing urban services such as transportation, social and technical infrastructure, etc.
- Sprawl causes a longer trips and longer travel times and concurrently multiplies transportation costs (Ewing et al 2002).. It also contributes more unnecessary energy consumption.
- Due to the low density, leapfrog urban sprawl, the costs of infrastructure expansions of schools, roads, water and sewage lines and electrical utilities etc., governments raise the taxes (William, 2000).

The expansion of urban areas towards the periphery exhibits the most obvious results on environment aspects by destroying natural areas. These criticisms are noted below;

- Sprawl creates inefficient use of land resources, and large-scale encroachment on agricultural land (Gar-On Yeh et al 2001). It also brings environmental harms and disperses the air and water pollutants (Burchell et al., 1998, Bae and Richardson 1994). Johnson (2001:721-722) summarized the environmental impacts as: “loss of environmentally fragile lands, reduced regional open space, greater air pollution, decreased aesthetic appeal of landscape, loss of farmland, reduced diversity of species, increased runoff of storm water, increased risk of flooding, excessive removal of native vegetation, monotonous residential visual environment, ecosystem fragmentation”.

Beside the environmental ones urban sprawl cause social problems. As Putnam (2000) argued, the s lifestyle associated with sprawl reduces social capital and leads to a less-healthy society. These problems can be explained as;

- Sprawl wakens sense of community between people (Frug, 1996; Ewing, 1997). Unlike the compact and continuous development that fosters the greater interaction between people with public space and pedestrian connections, the pattern of urban periphery which is low density and dispersed reduces the interaction among the residents. (Frumkin, Frank and Jackson, 2004).
- The heterogenous structure of city where different income and ethnic groups live together is diminished in the peripheral areas because suburban housing segregate residents by income and ethnicity (Squires and Kubin, 2005). This homogeneity reduces the tolerance for social and cultural diversity and it prevents people to come together and foster social segregation (Frug, 1996)
- Sprawl to periphery worsens inner city deterioration. The movement of relatively wealthy groups to the periphery causes stagnation in urban cores (Burchell et al., 1998). Urban cores become home to problems such as concentrated poverty, homelessness, high rate crime, and crumbling infrastructure (Meredith, 2003; Jargowsky 2001).

Speculation and planning aspects are not only the cause of urban sprawl, they also consequences of urban sprawl. These results can be explicated as indicated below;

- In market condition the price of land is determined according to price of surrounding areas. Once construction activities begin, the demand for new lands increase and the land prices of the vacant areas are driven up by expectation of price appreciation and hopes of speculative gains (Clawson 1962).
- Urban sprawl also weakened the authority of governments. Governments could not control and cope with the urban expansion. In some cases to cope with the urban sprawl annexations come into account and governments enlarge their control areas. In some others planning authority is divided between local and central governments. Even if these decisions are the results of urban sprawl, in subsequent process they become the main source further outward expansion as mention in the previous part.

Consequently, it is clear that urban sprawl and the problems associated with it have growing concerns. To control and mitigate the effects of urban sprawl countries offer various growth management policies. Although the problems created by urban sprawl have similar characteristics in countries all over world. The driving forces for urban sprawl can be diverse and shed the light different issues. Without understanding these divergent issues specific to socio-economic and political facet of the countries and cities, it is quiet impossible to offer efficient strategies to control urban sprawl. Therefore in the following part of the dynamics of urban sprawl will be examined and they will be discussed through the experiences of Turkey.

### **2.1.2. The Particular Dynamics in The Periphery: The Reasons Behind Problematic Development**

There is no consensus on the reasons for problematic urban growth and the debates also continue regarding the costs of sprawl (Bourne 1996; Burchell, 1997).

There are several factors are believed to be related to urban several. Nechyba (2004) divided these factors into two broad categories; **pull factors** that pull people to the periphery because of attractiveness of periphery and **push factors** that push people to

the periphery because of inner city problems. Mieszkowski and Mills (1993) emphasized on causes of sprawl from the perspective of “*natural evolution*” and “*flight from blight*” theories. the “Natural evolution” insists that the movement towards the periphery is a natural process as a result of population growth, increase in income, transportation improvements, changing consumer preferences. The “flight from blight” implies that negative externalities generated in the city cores such as higher crime rates, poverty, low-performing public schools, racial tension, taxes etc push people to move peripheral lands.

**Population increase and urban growth** are one of the most accentuated topics. They have been widely cited when they have not been controlled and directed adequately.. This issue is much more relevant for the developing countries. Turkish cities, during the post-war urbanization period, experienced rapid population increase that was not planned. Urban planning remained insufficient to control development and therefore illegal and unplanned development emerged at the peripheries. These areas were lack of transformation facilities and technical infrastructures. In developed countries on the other these kinds of **technological investments** have been the basic reason of urban sprawl. Coupled with the increase in personal vehicle ownership, the contraction of new highways has allowed for outward movement of the population and facilitates dispersion of activities. While these kinds of development have been effective for American cities, due to the extension of public transport such as the rail networks and motor bus, the European cities have showed a different pattern. While development in American cities are dispersed and scattered, public transportation system produce developments along the lines of transport in the UK. In Turkish cities for instance the tendency to construct circumferential belt highway around the cities makes more attractive those peripheral lands. While the illegal squatter areas located in cheaper lands around the industrial areas people who could afford the travel costs move there.

The consumer preference is another important catalyst of problems. The perception regarding the inner city as a chaotic, complex, polluted has created a desire to feel safer in purified environment. The demand for better and more appropriate physical environment of peripheral areas and the demand to live in socially and economically homogenous areas by being far from the inner city direct urban development to areas

outside the city (Meredith, 2003, Audirac, Shermeyen, and Smith 1990, Danielsen, Lang, and Fulton 1999, Neuman, 1991). In turkey people who seek wider life-space and lifestyle having a spatial and social dimension beyond the urban core have been also effective for further developments. Like many other countries, specifically after 1980s with rise of a consumer culture, da lifestyle that is cleansed from poverty, immigrants, crowds, dirt and traffic become the focus of affluent people. The middle and upper class of the cities has begun to leave Istanbul with desire of healthy, security, clear neighborhood. New housing areas locate in the peripheral areas of metropolitan areas becomes the major preference.

Developers Land market and speculation are other important components that encourage scattered development in urban periphery. The fluctuations in the price and the uncertainty of the rate of land appreciation make peripheral land as the most speculative parts. The expectation of the developers regarding the future price increase investments and creates land-wasting at fringe areas. When speculative invest in particular area, many other developers concentrate around and makes price higher that also brings discontinues and leapfrog developments. In developing countries like Turkey, land speculations are the most important dynamics for outward expansion . this is because the increasing inflationist pressures and inefficient financial instruments make Urban lands more secure investment. The absence of efficient containment policies preventing developers to capture the value from those lands cause a development shaped by market condition.

Consumer preference technological innovations and land market abounded in explanation of urban sprawl are the common issues that are directed and somehow conducted by the decisions or local and central governments. Through direct subsidies and tax deductions for the land at the fringes, mortgage guarantees and depreciation formulas governments encourage both developers and the costumers (Ewing, 1992,, Jackson, 1985, chin 2002, OTA, 1995). The investments in highway system, water, sewer, pave the way for more demands and at some point governments could not manage the increased demands and excessive growth. Their planning decisions could not cover the annexation of areas (Chin, 2002:11) and this expedite the speculation and land consumption and concomitantly urban development.

On account of population and urban growth, new local governments are established at the peripheries of the city. to raise revenues through property taxation, sales taxation, income taxation, and user fees local government support urban development in their boundaries and try to expand their annexation (Fisher 1996, Knaap et al, 2000). However, the existence of numerous autonomous local governments and their fragmented administrative issues and planning decisions accelerate the development at periphery (Downs 1994, 1998; Razin 1998, Norris, 2001). A collective action problem among local governments that is incompetence of central government and the restricted capacity of local governments to control the development cause an incongruence pattern at periphery. This inter-jurisdictional and uncoordinated diversity of autonomy encourages the developers to invest on the peripheral areas where new development is less expensive and more open land is available (Peterson, 1981; Briffault, 2000; Meredith, 2003).

Subsequently, the inability of governments to plan future growth triggers the unintended development. As Zhang (2001, 221) stated, "urban sprawl results from poorly planned, new residential, commercial and industrial areas". This planning inability creates less-controlled areas at the periphery (Harvey and Clark 1965; Pendall 1999, Torrens, 2006). For the developers these less-controlled areas become the most preferable areas in terms of land speculation that can be achieved easily.

In our country, production process of periphery that is mainly directed by the urban planning has been intensified after 1980s. This is because, urban planning has just dealt with in physical concerns, social and economic solutions have not been regarded. When planning newly development areas, to find quick solutions, governments have made partial and independent interventions without any research. The populist tendencies in the allocation of urban uses and the restricted capacities of administrations have been curial factors affecting the failure of planning.

Another problem in planning practice is the conflicts and confusions between central and local authorities and even between different local authorities. The lack of legal arrangements that define the responsibilities of different governments has brought difficulties and uncertainties and therefore caused conflicts. Under these circumstances new areas that are different from each-other in terms of land-use, density, building

conditions. The development of these areas in urban periphery where no residential function had been projected, manipulate the existing plans and effect the forthcoming developments and plans.

Consequently, although similar processes have been effective for urban sprawl in all over the world, the transformation and sprawling phenomenon in our country have been much more related with planning practice itself. Unlike the rapid urbanization period experienced in 1950s the problem of urban sprawl today is not illegal and unauthorized development. Contrary the problem of today arises from the legal and planned developments at the peripheral areas of the cities.

Planning process of those areas has based on the inadequacies of legal and administrative structures. The partial decisions of governments and uncoordinated regulations pave the way for inefficient planning practices. By changing the land use decisions, increasing population and/or proposing new development in unplanned areas, these plans change the decisions of upper scale plans and manipulate them. Their decisions on the one hand provoke the demands and on the other promote developers for investments and bring about dispersed and leapfrog urban development.

For all these reasons, this thesis suggests that **production of urban space is not a self-regulative process, on contrary, in Turkish cases it is a process produced by urban planning.** Within this perspective the common characteristics and the Turkish-specific characteristics are defined as;

- uncontrolled monotonous and piecemeal form of development,
- Leapfrog discontinuous development,
- Low-density development that is fragmented and scattered
  
- Undesirable planned areas at the periphery
- Product of inefficient urban planning practice
- Related with inadequacies in administrative and legal mechanisms

## **2.2. THEORIZATION OF PRODUCTION OF URBAN SPACE: HOW DO WE EXPLAIN PROBLEMATIC URBAN DEVELOPMENT?**

Part of difficulty of explaining urban development stems from deep-stated theoretical approaches and paradigms regarding the nature of urban growth. It is well known fact that each of these approaches and paradigm are based on the different epistemological debates about the basis of knowledge. That's way theories are specialized and the methodology of the researches change. Though each theory sheds some light on the concern of urban sprawl, it could not explain it entirely. It is essential to select the one or more which fits the aim of the research best.

Therefore this chapter sets the stage for empirical part by discussing the theories on urban growth. This discussion makes critical evaluations about the relevance of theories to discuss the production of urban space in the peripheral areas.

### **2.2.1. Positivist Explanations: Dealing With Superficial Matters**

The changing epistemology in urban studies has been characterized by a series of shifts in social, cultural, economic and political behaviors. The main concern of pre-twentieth century philosophers was the rapid change from pre-industrial to industrial capitalism and its new social order. they used cities as a component of their extensive theories therefore they evaluated cities as a secondary contingent factor in influencing social change (Saunders in Greory&Urry, 1985, Flanagan 1993). They emphasized the distinctiveness of the tradition rural life and modern city life and described the change by contrasts explanations. They introduced all inclusive abstract typologies of societies and ideal type cities by making contrast classification such as Dukheim's mechanical and organic solidarity, Weber's traditional and rational relationship or Törnnes' Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft terms.

1920s and 1930s were the years that saw the rise of new theoretical approaches of urban ecologist. Urban ecologists of Chicago School (Robert E. Park, R.D. McKenzie, Ernest W. Burges, H. Hoyt, C. Harris and E. Ullman) applied scientific techniques of ecology to explain territorial distribution of individuals, groups and intuitions. The main

argument was that the locational distribution within the city is patterned through the serious of natural forces of environment. In their studies they insisted that the biological terms of adaptation, competition and natural selection are experienced by individuals and institutions through spatial and temporal. They questioned the role of space in the formation of social, cultural and economic organizations. urban ecologists evaluated cities as a land use map so the spatial analysis become their starting point.

After the World War II urban ecologists had cast new light on the theories. While the earlier focused on behavioral factors that are the initial characteristics of human beings, later urban ecologists emphasized the social and cultural existences such as economic competition. (Gottdiener, 1988, 1994; Flanagan,1993 ).The reasons behind that were the distinct and rapid growth of cities and explosive expansion of suburban areas on account of the changing technology of communication and technology. Thus post-1950 urban ecology exposed new directions in research and theory that two new lines of thought appeared. The first one was the empirical approaches which detailed empirical studies of urban areas and population; the second a theoretical one which sought to unify principles of societal and spatial arrangements. Contrary to early Chicago School approach which was interested in expressing city's social organization spatially, researcher of this approach (E. Shevky, W. Bell and M. Williams, Hawley) intended to describe and measure the social differences in cities.

Although Chicago school made great contribution to urban studies, it started to loose its explanotary powver after 1960s. several criticisms were raised against the theory. The most essential problem attributed to theory is related to its conceptualization. In the urban ecological perspective, the main interest was the distribution of people and institutions in a space. Cities were conceptualized as a space autonomous from social, cultural, political and economic relations. These essential forces became reified into spatial attributes of cities and urban rearrangements such as urban sprawl, urban agglomerations etc were accepted and argued as external manifestations of community (Keskinok, 1997:14).

Along with the ecological approach of Chicago School, the neo-classical economic approaches were also very influential for the studies of urban growth and change till

1970s. This approach interested in the consumer preferences of individual households and firms. The cumulative actions (demand) of individual and firms were conceived as the most important determining factor of urban rearmaments. The creation of particular Land use decisions at the specific locations were explained by profit making potential of each locations relative to other locations. Individual and firms were supposed to make rational economic decisions to maximize their profit. In this sense the advocates of neoclassical economic thought evaluated the overall urban dynamics such as urban sprawl and transformation etc. as self-regulatory processes. It is believed that self-regulatory and equilibrium-seeking processes of urban dynamics will adopt and solve the inefficiencies and costs of urban dynamics. At this point this approach has been criticized by geographers and sociologists as being unrealistic. Critics insisted that urban dynamics are not isolated and autonomous realms having their own regulative and adaptive mechanism. Neoclassical economic theory failed to account for social and political factors. The overall spatial phenomena are conceived as if they were products of individual preferences. Although the demand side activities are over emphasized, the state interventions and other supply-side factors controlling the use of space are often ignored or discounted (Gottdiener, 1994). Local and central governments having authority to direct development, and regulations formulating the activities of individuals come to be conceived as secondary and insignificant issues. There is a little effort to examine these contextual realms. In light of this discussion it is appropriate to conclude that neo classical economic approaches investigate the superficial events and appearances without going deeper to explore the actual objects and mechanisms that produce urban sprawl (Sayer 1979).

In response to deterministic framework of classical urban thought, in late 1960s and 1970s two radically different approaches emerged and attempted to relate political concepts to urban studies; that is, Weberian approaches (urban managerialism) and Marxian political economy. These two approaches explain urban processes in very different manner. While Neo Weberian paradigm merely focused on the political sides, Neo Marxist paradigm combined political and economic sides of urban realm. Neo Weberian approaches neglected the determinant role of economic base. Therefore explanations of urban processes could not go beyond the juxtaposition of political realm.

There were two important studies on Weberian approach. The first is Rex and Moore's (1967) works on allocative structure in housing market and Pahl's (1975) work on urban managerialism. These studies dwelled on new class categories based on consumption pattern and new power relations and inequalities. These issues were also related with bureaucratic domination and political management of access to urban services etc. (Keskinok, 1997:15). In these studies urban area was conceived of being as political entity. The economic sphere was excluded thus Weberian approach was criticized for being autonomous generating in its own right (Pickvance, 1984). Therefore to explain particular urban process related with political and economic dynamics like urban sprawl by this approach seems irrelevant.

### **2.2.2. Functionalist Explanations: Importance of Political and Economic Matters**

By 1970s, as the cities had witnessed several global development and crises, several authors extending Marx's analyses of capitalism stressed the interconnection between urban and political-and-economic phenomena. They explained the restructuration process of cities within capitalist industrialization process.

Political economists saw the earlier work of ecologists and managerialists as at best descriptive and, at worst, ideological obscuring. According to them, the work of earlier did not illuminate the economic and social forces shaping the city and urban social life. Therefore they focused the changes occurring in the economic and political system of the country/society as a whole (Zukin, 1980, Castells, 1977, Thorns, 2002). In their approach there was a stress to class struggle, capital accumulation, uneven development and the state (Keskin ok, 1997:17). Because of the holistic character, political economic paradigm was composed of variety of approaches. the most influential approaches were the studies of Lefebvre, Castells and Harvey.

Lefebvre offered an operational way for linking the basic concerns of Marx to our understanding of development of cities. He re-conceptualized spatial issues as an intrinsic part of capitalism. That is, the production of space was a necessary requirement for the re-production of capitalism (Lefebvre, 1974). He also conceptualized urban space not only as physical area in which activities happened but also a social production which

ensured the human activities. Thus space was both a product and a producer. although the works of Lefebvre was very theoretical and abstract, his works was widely-used by the other neo-Marist researchers.

Castell as another influential neo-Marxist author conceptualized urban issues with class conflicts and social stratification. He associated these struggles with the reproduction process of labor power that was realized through the means of “collective consumption” (Flanagan, 1993).. In order to avoid the class straggles, state intervention was necessary in “collective consumption” items. For Castells production of urban space was an expression of social, economic and political system. And class conflicts, collective consumption and the state intervention were the key elements that determined the urban space (Castells,1977).

David Harvey, for this research, made the most influential arguments on urban development process. He saw urban space as the temporary and unstable resolution of crises of over accumulation in the capitalist city (Savage and Warde, 2003: 48-53). In another word that capital created a built environment where consumption were increased and crises of accumulation was overcome. According to Harvey when built environment no longer provided sufficient production, it was depreciated. And capital set new spatial fixes that is often enabled by the state. Urban sprawl in this sense was a usual way to maximize capitalistic accumulation and to create spatial fix for further capitalist production. However

Although Neo-Marxist explanations provide important insights into the production urban form, they are also criticized for being deterministic and functionalistic. However within the context of this thesis the arguments developed by Neo-Marxist provide crucial insights into the conceptualization of the production of urban sprawl.

### **2.2.3. Interpretative Explanations: Delving Into Deeper Issues**

In the 1980s, the explanation of urban change had a new direction with intensification of global activities and globalization. The growth machine theory of Logon and Molotch,

the structuration theory of Giddens, the socio-spatial approach of Gottdiener were the most impressive ones that provide important perspective for analyzing urban sprawl.

The theory of the “city as growth machine” was developed in the mid 1980s. Logan and Molotch (1987) modified the Marxist view of the city that he highly influenced by Lefebvre and Castells and he combined Neo-Marxism with the elements of human ecology (Gottdiener 1994; Schwab, 1992, Orum, Chen, 2003). The main objective of them was to show human activism or agency as a force of the change in cities.

According to them the urban change was fostered by the activities of a number of different key groups in the city. These actors called urban elite worked together in a coalition to enhance the profitability of local markets for investment and to promote the growth of the city. Hence each participant acquired the profit from the exchange value of the place. This system of work and actors was called growth machine. Logan and Molotch (2002:468) assigned a special importance to local states for growth machine. Involvement of state was seen as key function for the expansion of the city.

The empirical basis of the theory were the American cities, therefore theory was criticized for being limited just for American cities (Orum and Chen 2003:46). Nevertheless for analyzing the role of local actors theory can be adopted to other cities. So it seems to be relevant, when the purposes of this this are considered.

In their works, Logan and Molotch adopted the principles of structuration theory of Giddens. The primary concepts of the theory based on the structure and agency duality that could not be conceived of apart from one another. According to Giddens the term structure referred to “rules and resources” that enabled and constrained for human activities. And for him agents-groups or individuals- draw upon these structures to achieve social actions and they also reproduced the rules and resources. In other words structure is both the medium and the outcome of agents. The production process of urban space therefore was the result of the duality (Giddens, 1984).

Giddens made critical contribution to the researches focusing on production and reproduction of social and spatial practices. The theory did not prescribe a methodology,

so it remained abstract and theoretical that informed the hermeneutic aspects of research rather than guiding practice. For the aspect of this thesis, the work of Giddens gives important theoretical inputs and it is appropriate for starting point of methodology.

Gottdiener (1994) also theorized the social production of space that were built upon the structuration theory and particular assumption of Marxian political economy. According to his production of space perspective, urban space was not simple an epiphenomenal outcome of economic forces, it was a contingent product of activities of agents and structure. Urban space was also a main mediator of social processes. The production of urban space was also a process which mediated social processes.

### **2.3. CONCLUSION**

It is apparent that there is not a "single dominant theory or paradigm of urban growth and development to which we might adhere and there is little agreement or information on the nature and origins of the broader problem of inefficient urban forms, and even less about what to do about them" (Bourne. 1996: 691, 708).

Each of these approaches is essential to explain certain dynamics of urban processes. However as this thesis aims to analyze the production of urban space in the periphery and to explore the role of legal and administrative structure of urban planning, Neo-Marxist, growth machine, structuration and social-spatial arguments seem more relevant. Especially arguments developed by Giddens and Gottdiener provide a deeper level of theoretical contracts to examine problematic urban development and how it is produced by legal policies and procedures and actions of local and central government.

In the flowing part, theoretical argument will be examined in detail. Based on the theoretical assumptions of related studies, a research model used in carrying out the thesis will be described.

## CHAPTER 3

### RESEARCH MODEL AND METHODOLOGY

Within the context of this thesis, it has been suggested that “development in the periphery is a product; mainly determined by particular planning processes”. And we have posited our primary assumption as such “***fragmented and incoherent plans are the main process that produce urban space in the periphery of Ankara***”. This part of the study aims to provide a foundation for the analysis method for the production of urban space by fragmented and incoherent plans. The method offered in this part investigates the relationship between plans and urban space by focusing on the role of the administrative and legal structures of the country.

The theoretical framework of the method is based upon the structuration theory of Giddens and a social production of urban space theorization of Lefebvre and Gottdiener. It re-conceptualized these theories by introducing a synthesized theory. This synthesized theory is applied to concept of urban sprawl and it provides a better way of understanding and exploring the **production process of urban periphery in Ankara**.

In the following parts first the underlying epistemology of the theory will be described, and then a conceptual research model based on the theory will be introduced. To practice this model, in the subsequent section the case area will be described. Finally the methodology used in the case study will be explained.

#### 3.1. THE UNDERLYING EPISTEMOLOGY FOR RESEARCH

***“How do we better explain the how and why urban space is produced by fragmented and incoherent planning processes?”*** The answer to this question is a complex one that

first requires to conceptualize the “production of urban space”. And then it requires to consider the nexus of “production of urban space by fragmented and incoherent plans”.

“*Production of urban space*” is a particular philosophy that is characterized by different ontologies which conceptualize the questions what a space is and how it exists. As discussed before the positivist approaches of ecological and neo-classical theories conduct their researches on the **absolute conception of space**. In this ontology space is seen as an empty container in which objects merely happen to be placed. In its narrowest sense urban sprawl refers a “*physical shape of urban space*” which has a strictly geometrical meaning. The researches based on these theories are generally limited within the description of spatial issues of urban sprawl and they are far from enough to fully understand the relationship between spatial and social, political issues.

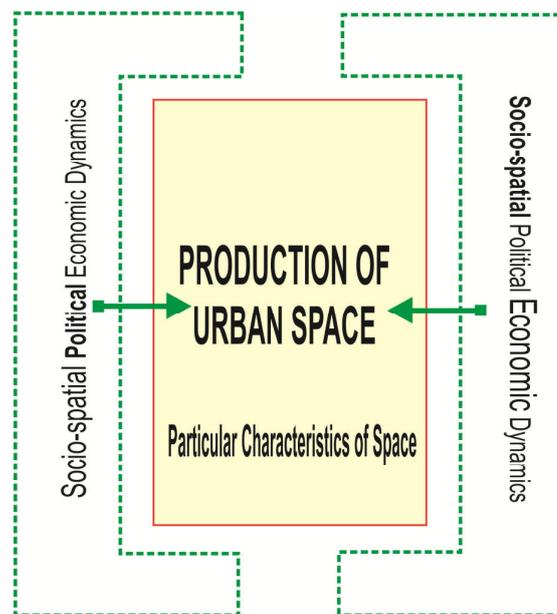


Figure 3.1: Relational conceptualization of production of urban space

To conceive urban space not only as a physical matter but also as the coexistence of social and political relations, this thesis utilizes the basic assumptions of political economy and structuration theory. The ontology behind these theories emphasizes dialectical relations between space and other social-political facts. This **relational conception of space** goes beyond the neutral and passive explanations and enables to

determine those relations that produce urban sprawl. Within this framework this thesis conceptualizes the “production of urban space in the periphery” with reference to dynamics that constitute it. Although many similarities exist, each country and in some cases even each city has its own particular dynamics. Relational conceptualization considers indigenous characteristics of the spatial and social, political dynamics. This point of view enables to look beyond the epiphenomena of events and delve into deeper factors that produce urban sprawl.

*In this thesis we argue that the “Production of urban space in the periphery is mediated and structured by fragmented and incoherent plans”. The explanations of how and why urban space in periphery is produced by fragmented and incoherent plans first require the recognition of the dynamics that bring the fragmented process. In Turkish cases the main issue giving rise to the formation of these plans is related with the problems of **administrative and legal frameworks of the planning system**. Therefore the model introduced here is conducted to explore what kind of *legal policies and procedures* and *actions of local and central government* about planning process that encourage problematic urban development .*

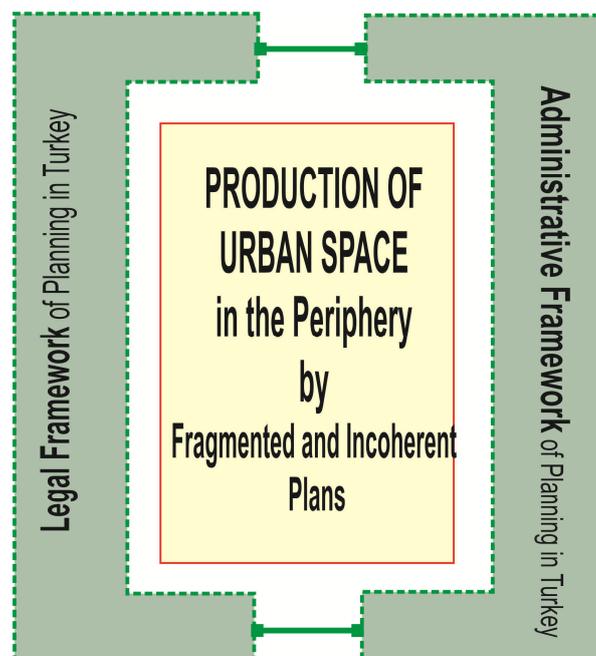


Figure 3.2: Relational conceptualization of production of urban sprawl by plans

Urban space in the periphery as a product of planning process, to a great extent, relies on the divergent attributes of fragmented and incoherent plans. To comprehend the particular characteristics of urban space in the periphery require to analysis of these attributes. Therefore in order to define and measure production of space, this thesis also deals with specific attributes of fragmented and incoherent plans.

Consequently, the relational recognition of urban space brings two main considerations about production of urban space in the periphery. The first concern is the legal and administrative frameworks of plans- defined as context, the second one is the particular attributes of plans-defined as content. To examine the production of urban space, the methodology used in this thesis addresses the dichotomy of context and the content of planning .

### **3.2. A CONCEPTUAL MODEL FOR PRODUCTION OF PRODUCTION OF URBAN SPACE IN THE PERIPHERY**

To explain the how urban space in the periphery is produced by planning process, this part of the study outlines a new conceptual model. This model is constituted by two interrelated and overlapping concepts; context and content.

#### **3.2.1. Organizational and Regulatory Contexts**

The **context** is the system of interaction in which production of urban space is embedded. The primary concepts of this system are based on the duality of **organizations** that are the main institutions of decision-making and implementation processes of plans and **regulations** that are the written rules formulating the planning process.

The organizational and regulatory contexts of the planning process are simultaneously occurred in the system and both complement each other. They are outcomes and mediums of each other and represent the “duality” which frames, enable and constrain the planning processes.

The production of urban space in the periphery first needs a full consideration of the political side of the land development process. The **organizational context** forms the actors of political institutions. This context involves the institutions having authority to establish and to implement fragmented plans. It includes the different scales of the state: local e.g. governorship, municipalities; central, e.g. ministries of central administrations. These actors might have different motives, interests and therefore they may interact with each other in both competitive and cooperative ways. This brings about a dynamic and complex nature about planning processes and sometimes brings confusion about plan production and implementation.

The procedural context of planning is legitimized by **regulatory context**. The written rules in regulatory context sanctions and provides an acceptable rationale for the processes. They are like a milestone in the politics of space that they formulate and establish the actions of diverse political institutions. They are also enacted by them. The legal regulations such as the laws, bylaws and circulars of planning constitute the regulatory context. Many laws may be vague and may have multiple interpretations depending on contingent conditions. So they are used institutions through interpretation. This sometimes brings a challenge in formulating and implementation of planning processes and causes the delinquency in planning.

In Turkish case the confusion and conflict in organizational context is probably one of the main difficulty in urban planning. There has been a delegacy conflict between central and local governments and within different institutions of central government and even between the different local governments. This problem is tightly bound to regulatory context. In legal arrangements, the definition of responsibilities and delegacies of institutions remain uncertain and sometimes they conflict with each other. Harmonization could not be reached among the intuitions and nonintegrated decisions have been made by different institutions. This brings about struggle in planning system and intensified the piecemeal planning processes. Institutions prepare and implement fragmented plan as a main instrument to adjust existing urban plans to changing socio-economic circumstances and demands. The partial and independent interventions of plans manipulate the existing macro-scale plans and become the main source of problematic urban development.

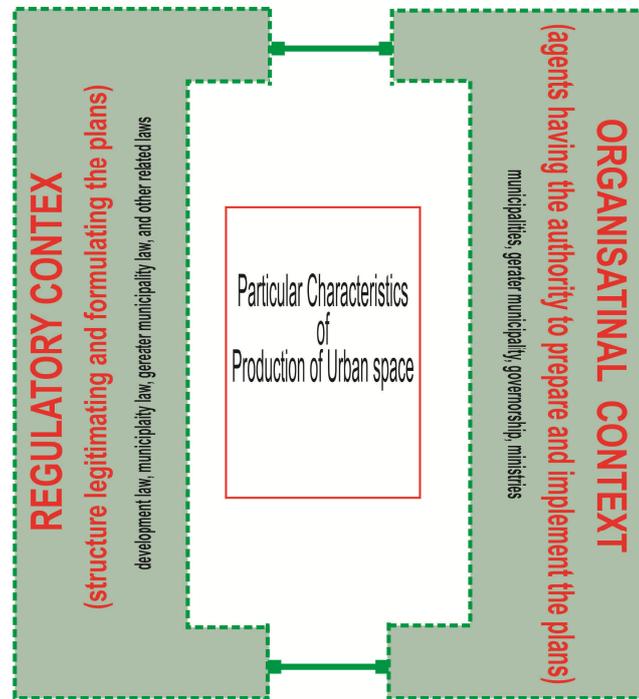


Figure 3.3: Organizational and Regulatory Contexts of production of urban sprawl by fragmented plans

Consequently the production of urban space in the periphery is an inherently institutionalized practice and strongly linked to legal regulations. As in the case of Turkey it is shaped by struggles in these contexts. This thesis do not separate context from the content of planning. It looks these contextual issues in relation and reference to internal variables of planning.

### 3.2.2. Content Relationship: Simple And Interpretative Attributes

The content relationship indicates the internal aspects that are formed within the planning processes. In another word the content refers particular attributes of fragmented and incoherent plans which give crucial information about the characteristics and the formation of urban prodction. These attributes are defined with respect to spatial, temporal characteristics of the plans. According to their main

concern they are classified into two main groups. Simple attributes introduce the statistically descriptive characteristics of plans. The interpretative ones reveal the basic indicators of urban sprawl.

In urban planning literature, there had been numerous attempts to sketch out the production of urban sprawl. Yet, they often lack comprehensive knowledge to attest the role of urban planning in production of urban sprawl. Urban sprawl is mostly assumed as only a “spatial phenomenon” and attributes to describe its overall pattern mostly concern the spatial, social and economic attributes of the urban areas (Table 3.). Since this thesis consider urban space as a “production of fragmented and incoherent plans”, these attributes need to be re-identified to provide a better understanding about role of urban planning.

<b>Population</b>	Low density population Increase in population
<b>Location</b>	Just outside the corporate limits of the city Areal extension beyond the political boundary of the city
<b>Administration</b>	Existing of many local governments and numerous autonomous intuitions A collective action problem among governments Fragmentation of authority
<b>Land use</b>	Unruly and often apparently chaotic land use pattern Increase in private space Lack of functional open space Transformation of open spaces to other uses. Fragmented and nonintegrated land use
<b>Transportation</b>	Poor accessibility

Table 3.1: Key indicators of urban sprawl and their main characteristics (Source: Burchell and Shad ,1999; Richmond, 1995; Ewing, 1997; Downs, 1999; Malpazzi (1999; Torrens and Alberti (2000; Galster et al, 2001; Chin, 2002)

To provide a better understanding what the particular manifestation of production of urban space in the periphery (phases of development, land use characteristics, density changes) and what and how administrative and legal issues help to produce problematic urban development, the attributes of fragmented and incoherent plans are grouped in two main domains. The first is **simple attributes** of plans that are based on the standard attributes of any urban plan (the year of enactment, the scale of the plans, the type of the plan, administrative boundaries of the plan, the authority that approved plan, etc.). The second one is an **interpretative attributes defined** according to basic indicators of urban sprawl.

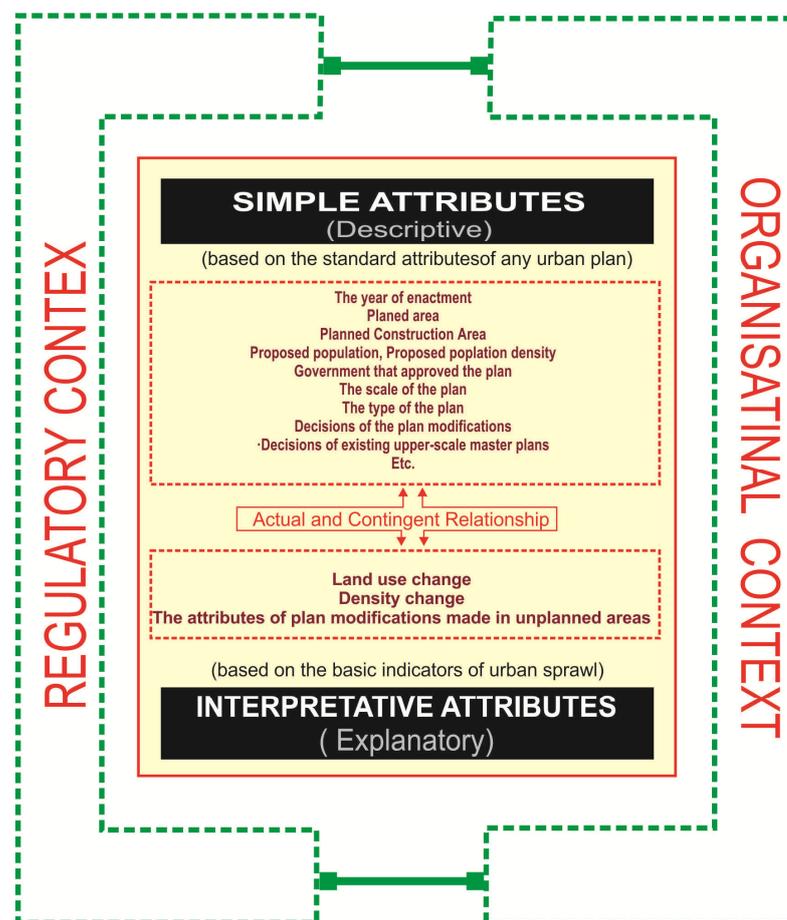


Figure 3.4: Content relationship in production of urban sprawl by planning

**Simple attributes** are based on the customary characteristics of the plans. While they may seem over-simplistic, the information gathered from them give crucial insights about the production process of urban space, policies and encouraging problematic

urban development. Conventional cross sectional analyses of these attributes provide important means to understand the outlets of organizational and regulatory context of the production of urban space in the periphery. These attributes can be as follows;

- The year of enactment
- Planned area
- Planned Construction ratio (average FAR)
- Proposed population, Proposed population density
- Government that approved the plan
- The scale of the plan
- The type of the plan
- Decisions of the plans
- Decisions of existing upper-scale master plans
- Etc.

**Interpretative attributes** are based on the differences between the decisions of upper scale master plan and the decisions of plans. The changes brought about by the plan are grouped with respect to urban sprawl indicators. And these changes are interpreted with reference to simple attributes. They can be grouped as below;

- **Land use change:** The simple attributes of plans that change the land use decisions of master plan are evaluated.
- **Density change:** The simple attributes of plans changing (increasing) density .
- **The attributes of plans made in unplanned areas:** The simple attributes of plans that propose new development areas.

### **3.3 SOUTH-WESTERN PERIPHERY OF ANKARA AS A FIELD OF CASE STUDY**

Production of urban space by fragmented and incoherent plans is analyzed throughout a case study in South-western periphery of Ankara between 1985-2007. The South-western periphery is taken into account as a field of case study due to the peculiar development characteristics. Historical development in this area reveals a contrast

between hierarchically planned development and development based on incremental, piecemeal and fragmented plans.

Since the proclamation of capital city Ankara was considered as the idealized model for other cities. Urban development has predominantly tried to be controlled and directed through comprehensive, hierarchically planning tradition. Starting with 1980, under the impact of globalization, Turkey intended to integrate into process of economic liberalization many arrangements and initiations were made in planning process. These attempts introduced fundamental transformation in planning process and undermined the hierarchical planning tradition.

Until the beginning of 1980, to control the urban growth, upper scale master plans of Ankara directed developments towards the south-western periphery of the city. However after passing the last master plan called “Ankara 1990 Master Plan”, urban development started to spread to south-west without an overall urban planning hierarchy. Development activities have been legitimized through incremental planning process involving various administrations. Existing master plans were changed and manipulated by partial modifications and these incremental interventions increase the speculation on urban land for further developments. As it is widely mentioned today, instead of adopting existing plan to socio-spatial requirements of the city and these plans produce more lands by generating new requirements. And urban sprawl is produced by these modifications in an incremental way. To sum up, the selection of the case and the period are essentially based on these partial, incremental and fragmented planning and development processes.

These particular urban processes are not self-regulative, contrary, they are continues and historically contingent process. They are not independent of socio-economic conditions and legal and administrative structures of the city. Therefore the following part of the thesis will examine the social-economic and spatial transformation of the city with reference to legal and administrative structure of the city. This provides a deeper understanding why production process of periphery by fragmented and incoherent plans is analyzed within the case study of south-western periphery.

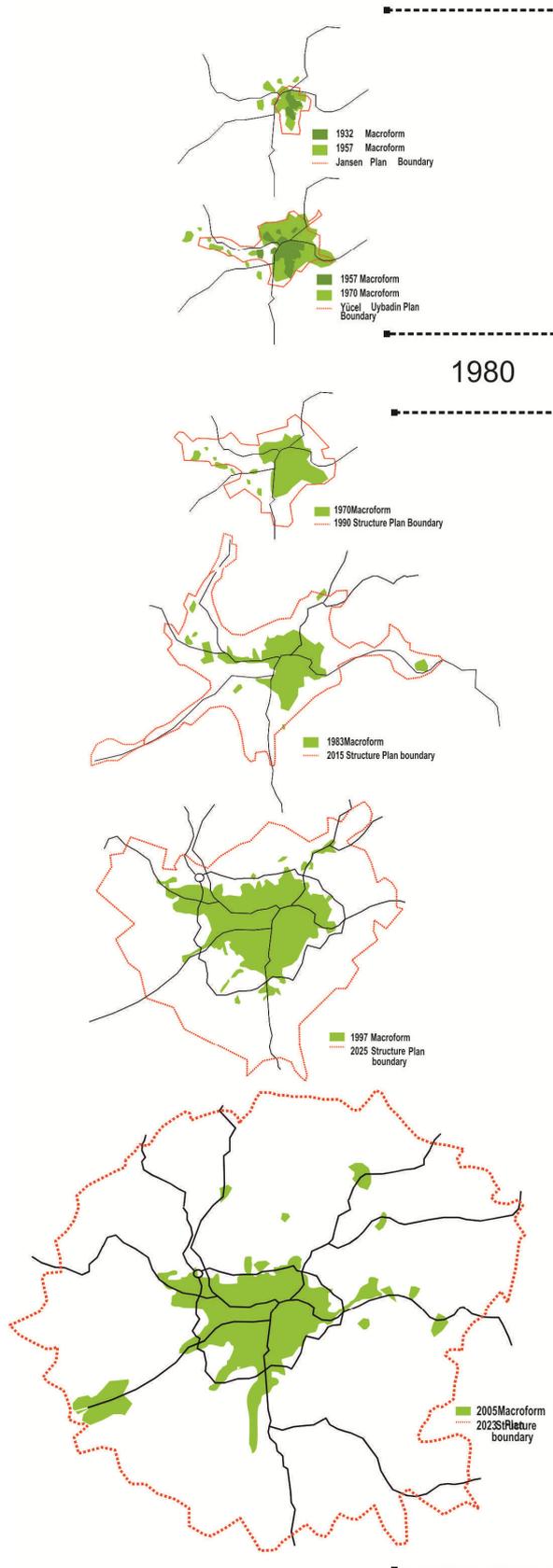
## The Period before 1980s

### Formation of the Core

The aftermath of the Second World War was a period of significant economic, social and political transformation for Turkey

Cities became the primary focus for people from rural areas.

The existing housing stock became inadequate and new legislations were made to cope with this problem



## The Period after 1980s

### Formation of the Periphery in the New Urban Contexts

After the mid-70s, Turkey intended to integrate into process of economic liberalization.

It went through the restructuring of political and economic domains. Lots of new legal arrangement and initiations were made.

All these legislation provided a special public provision in planning practices and caused a rapid urbanisation.

Figure 3.5: Urban growth pattern and upper-scale master plans

### **3.3.1. The Rationale behind the Selection of the Case and the Period**

The urbanization of Ankara can be divided into two periods: formation of the core and formation of periphery (Günay, 2006). The formation of the core areas has been started with the deceleration of Ankara in 1923 and directed by means of three upper-scale master plans. Formation of periphery has initiated with the “Ankara 1990 Master plan” at the beginning of 1980s. After this plan, in subsequent years South-Western periphery between the Eskisehir Highway and Konya Highway has been the most speculative part of the city where so many fragmented plans take place.

#### **3.3.1.1 The Period before 1980s: Formation of the Core**

By being the capital city of new republic, special care was given to planning of Ankara. Concomitant to rapid increase in population, planning activities were started by rearranging the administrative and legal structures. First Ankara Şehremanati was established in 1924 and later in 1925 Lörcher prepared a plan for new settlement area called Yenışehir (New Town) in Sıhhiye . In same year the enactment of Law no 583 enabled the large scale expropriation in Sıhhiye and construction activities gained a speed. Although this plan directed the development of the Sıhhiye for a period of time, plan could not deal with the rapid population increase. The city expanded in the direction of south and north.

The partial and fragmented planning practices for new development areas created a need for new master plan. Hence a competition was arranged for a comprehensive plan. The plan of H.Jansen was accepted in 1928 and then approved in 1932. The Jansen plan tried to control urban government and regulated the partial planning attempted made before him (Bademli 1994). He proposed a relatively compact urban form based on two arteries of north-south and east-west. The north-south axis as a main spine of the city connected the new governmental areas in the south of the city with the old town in the north.

The plan of Jansen failed to project rapid population and urban growth. And between 1932-1950 many implementation comprising density increase and opening up new land for urban development were made in the plan (Günay, 1988, 32). At the periphery

between the planned area and municipal boundary, speculation pressures and illegal settlement began to rise.

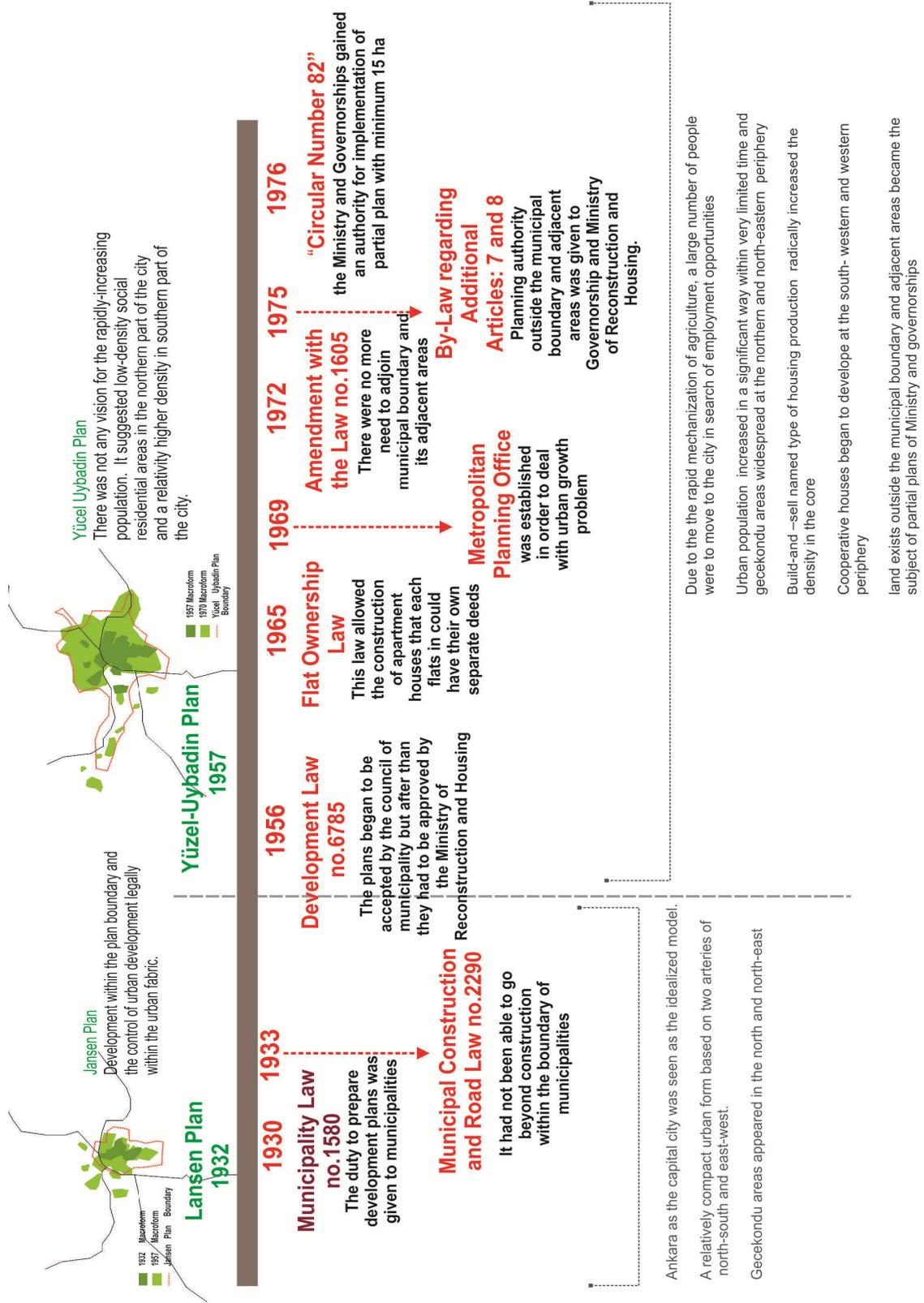
To overcome the planning problems new regulations were passed. In 1930 the "Municipality Law no.1580" was enacted and the duty to prepare development plans was given to municipalities and every municipality was forced to prepare development plans. But the coordination between municipalities and central government could not be managed and every municipality acted as if independent in terms of planning decisions. "Municipal Construction and Road Law no.2290", was brought into force in 1933 and it had been force up to the year 1956, but it had not been able to go beyond construction within the boundary of municipalities.

In 1955 a new national competition was arranged for Ankara and winning plan Yücel-Uybadin Plan was approved in 1957. It suggested low-density social residential areas in the northern part of the city and a relativity higher density in southern part of the city. However plan could not sufficient in dealing with the speculative pressures that started in the previous periods. Because of post-war rapid population increase, It was subjected to many modifications in the flowing years.

In subsequent years ratification of new laws gave way for new urban form. In 1956, with the enactment of "Development Law no.6785" the plans began to be accepted by the council of municipality but after than they had to be approved by the Ministry of Reconstruction and Housing. Out of the boundary of municipality and adjacent area, the responsibility for approving plans was given again to the Ministry. In another word every kind and scale of plan was subject to the approval of Ministry of Reconstruction and Housing. But there were no clear decrees about the planning standards and planning implementation especially out of the municipal boundary. This caused an increase in planning activities at the periphery where the regulatory creations were limited.

# URBAN DEVELOPMENT LEGAL and ADMINISTRATIVE ISSUES MASTER PLANS

Figure 3.6: Formation of the core before 1980s



The periphery of city was transformed not only by the ad-hoc developments but also squatter settlements. Due to the rapid migration from rural areas to the city and the lack of vacant land stock in planned areas, squatter areas became a common solution for low-incomes. Government perceived squatter settlements as negligible and did not take measures to prevent their expansion. Contrary government legalized squatter settlement by Amnesty Laws and the development of squatter neighborhoods was accelerated.

In the inner parts of the city the enactment of "Flat Ownership Law" in 1965 allowed the build-and –sell named as "yap-sat" type of housing production that radically increased the density in the inner parts of the city. In 1968 the building densities within the Yücel-Uybadin Plan were increased by the Ministry by means of Law titled "Sectorial Building Height Regulation". The number of flats was increased two more times with by plan modifications dated 1970 and 1973. Flat ownership Law made also possible to build cooperative houses and these type of development generally preferred the peripheral areas where land was cheaper and bigger than the inner city.

To sum up, urban development pattern before 1980 had three major types of characteristics: **build-and sell activities and illegal squatter houses cooperatives**. The outcome of these issues indicates important consequences about fragmented and incoherent planning:

- Plans in the inner parts were for additional development rights. They were based on small parcels of land.
- Plans in the peripheral areas were either for legalization of squatter houses or for cooperatives houses of middle and upper-middle income groups. Instead of small scale interventions, these plans were made for large pieces of land.

Due to increasing problem of the city and the disability of the municipality to manage it in 1969 "Metropolitan Planning Offices" were founded as a department of Ministry of Reconstruction and Housing. The office immediately started long analysis to prepare a new plan for the city. To facilitate planning activities of the offices and to obstruct

unwanted urban expansion new definitions and rules were determined by the "Amendment with the Law no.1605" in 1972. Municipalities gain a power to use adjacent areas which are not continuous to them. This enhanced the planning activities of municipalities in the fringe areas. In 1975 "By-Law regarding Additional Articles: 7 and 8" was decelerated to help Law No.1605. This By-Law pointed to development activities outside the municipal boundary and adjacent areas and gave the authority to control this untouched area to Governorship and Ministry of Reconstruction and Housing. In 1976 partial plan concept firstly emerged with "Circular Number 82" that was enacted to facilitate the By-Law Regarding Additional Articles: 7 and 8. To create regular urban settlements on the significant areas for regional planning, industrial, residential development and transportation, the Ministry and governorship gained an authority for implementation of partial plan. All land exists outside the municipal boundary and adjacent areas became the subject of partial plans of Ministry and governorships. The minimum area of partial plans was 15 ha which would provide adequate area for a neighborhood with common facilities of center and school. But later this size was increased expect for residential areas (Gök, 1973). Base on this decisions, the metropolitan Planning Office allowed partial developments with minimum 15 ha.

In the period after 1980s Turkey experienced economic crisis and it intended to integrate into process of economic liberalization. Under the impact of liberal economy Turkey went through the restructuring of political and economic domains. In this period lots of new legal arrangement and initiations were made. All these legislation provided a special public provision in planning practices and caused a rapid urbanization. Following part of the thesis will explain these developments with an emphasis on the formation process of south-western periphery.

### **3.3.1.2. The Period after 1980s: Formation of the Periphery in the New Urban Contexts**

The formation of periphery started with the plan of Metropolitan Planning Office named "1990 Master Plan". Different from the previous plans, the plan offered a new urban-macroform and for the first time it formulated many of problems that had been neglected before (Günay, 1988:39). Plan proposed development towards the west and defined two major corridor; İstanbul Road in the north, and Eskişehir road in the south.

While development along İstanbul Road was developed by public initiative, plan proposed private initiatives for development along Eskişehir Road. This was supported by new Laws. The deceleration of “Mass Housing Law” in 1984 provided a housing credit and economic aid for construction companies and cooperatives.

Through the neo-liberal policies of central government (ANAP-Motherland Party) many other important transformations were introduced in the legal and administrative system of urban planning. In line with these arrangements, local government supported by central government made big infrastructure and transportation projects and amendment plans to legalize the squatter settlements.

After the abolishment of Metropolitan Planning Office in 1983, Greater Municipality Laws was ratified in 1984, according to which Ankara Greater Municipality was established. Later with the enactment of Development Law No.3194 in 1985, the responsibilities and delegacies of greater and district municipalities were defined. This law introduced new regulations that did not exist in the previous law. It categorized plans into three major types:

- Regional Plans (State Planning Organization is authorized)
- Environmental Physical Plans (Ministry of Public Works and Settlement is authorized)
- Development Plans (Municipalities are authorized inside the municipal boundaries; outside the boundary governorships are authorized).  
Development plans are divided into two groups:
  - Master Plan
  - Implementation Plan



Besides these main types, within the context of development law, the supplementary types of plans were defined. These are “Revision Plan”, “Additional Plan”, “Partial Plan” and “Plan Modification”.

These legal arrangements changed the fate of the city. Together with the abolishment of Metropolitan Planning Office, three different authorities became responsible for the development; greater municipality, district municipality and governorships. Laws also referred to different laws and intuitions such as Ministry of Public Works and Settlements, Ministry of Tourism, Ministry of Environment, Special Environment Protection Association, Administration of Privatization etc.. Many institutions had power of planning and approval authorization without a holistic and integrated manner and this brought about confusions and conflicts between authorities.

The over-fragmented legal and administrative contexts which contain 56 plan types and 18 authorized planning administrations caused a structural deficiencies in planning system (Duyguluer, 2006:28). Planning itself paradoxically became the foundation of the fragmented urban developments.

After 1985 Middle East Technical University, Department of City and Regional Planning was assigned to prepare a base map for public transportation investment between 1985-1990. This plan was called with its projection year “2015 Ankara Plan”. Different from 1990 Master Plan this plan proposed decentralization in a star-shape, however, it was not approved.

In 1989 Social democratic People’s Party came to power in greater municipality. In those years a belt highway Project was realized by General Directorate of Highway Administration and created unexpected effects on urban macroform. Against these circumstances, Greater Municipality started to prepare a new plan called Ankara 2025 Master Plan. Yet, this plan could only be completed by different municipality more than five years.

In 1994, Greater municipality determined a new adjacent areas same as the 2025 plan boundary. This adjacent area was approved by the ministry. However 8 months later the

ministry re-changed and rejected the boundary of adjacent areas. Because in 1994 local election the social democratic People's Party lost and Islamic the Welfare Party came to power. This rejection arose from the disputes between coalition government and Islamic greater municipality. This situation caused a long judicial process between greater municipality and the ministry. In that time the ministry prepared and approved extensive large scale partial plans incompatible with previous plans to direct development towards south-western corridor. In 1997 all juridical processes between greater municipality and the ministry finished in favor of Greater municipality and the 1994 boundary was accepted again. And all master plans and implementation plans prepared within adjacent areas and approved by governorships were cancelled. But in 1998 Ankara 2025 plan was not approved. All these problems, confusions, discussions among the ministry, greater municipality and district municipality caused ambiguity and uncertainty about the authority and planning and urban pattern was shaped by partial plans of various institutions.

In 2001 a co-operation was made between the municipality and the ministry and "1990 Master Plan Partial Revision" dealing with south-western corridor was prepared and approved by the ministry. By this plan the green wedge inside the circumference of belt-highway was opened to development. In 2004 "South-western Ankara Metropolitan Development Plan" was prepared with same co-operation. This also brought in a fragmented urban space and indicated independent constituent of urban macro-form outside the belt-highway. In 2006 this plan was halted by the council of state. Until this day many plans were made for this area and they were subsequently halted.

In 2002 a conservative Islamic party came to power, the mayor of greater municipality also became a member of this party. Beginning with the years of 2004 new laws and regulations were established and concomitantly central and local governments realized these laws in their favor. Greater Municipality Law no.5216 was put into force in 2004 and the boundary of the greater municipality was determined with radius of 50 km. This law connected the district municipalities to the greater municipality and increased the authority area. The planning authority for making large scale plans for cities was also given to Greater Municipality. With the enactment of Municipality Law no.5393, greater municipalities gained an extra power. They were allowed to buy, to rent, to exchange or

to sell land and to make collaboration with related administrative institutions and banks to develop projects. Under these circumstances Greater Municipality approved a new plan called “2023 Structure Plan”. It is the first plan approved since 1990 plan. The main aim is to control the urban expansion and restrict the partial plans. This plan follows the decisions of Ankara 2015 plan and persists on the star-shaped macro-form.

However together with the conservative central government’s neo-liberal program, the greater municipality (they are of the same political party) developed more land than needed. The legal arrangements were manipulated in favor of greater municipality and while inner city came to be transformed and regenerated, the peripheral area became an area where development accelerated, speculation multiplied, green and open spaces lost etc.

*In conclusion, Ankara has undergone a fast change with rapid and unintended urban growth after 1980s and the south-western periphery of the city has become the most speculative part of the city. The fundamental transformations introduced in the legislative and administrative structures have, ironically, triggered this development. The conflicts and struggles in these contexts have become the main motive of incremental and nonintegrated plans and set the framework of fragmented and incoherent plans. These plans have manipulated the existing master plans and where they have been made population has increased drastically, some parts of the former green belt has transformed into high-income housing settlements, and subsequently problematic urban developments are produced. **Therefore this thesis studies the case of south-western periphery (the corridor between the Eskisehir Highway and Konya Highway<sup>1</sup>) within the period between years 1984 and 2008.***

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<sup>1</sup> Due to the existence of Mogan Lake, the areas neighboring the lake were established as Special protection area and special planning regulations and processes were determined to prevent the natural resources being contaminated and damaged. With regard to this, in 1992 a Physical Environment Plan at 1/25000 scale was made and in 2004 this plan was revised. Because of its special situation area inside the boundary of Special Protection area is excluded from the case area.

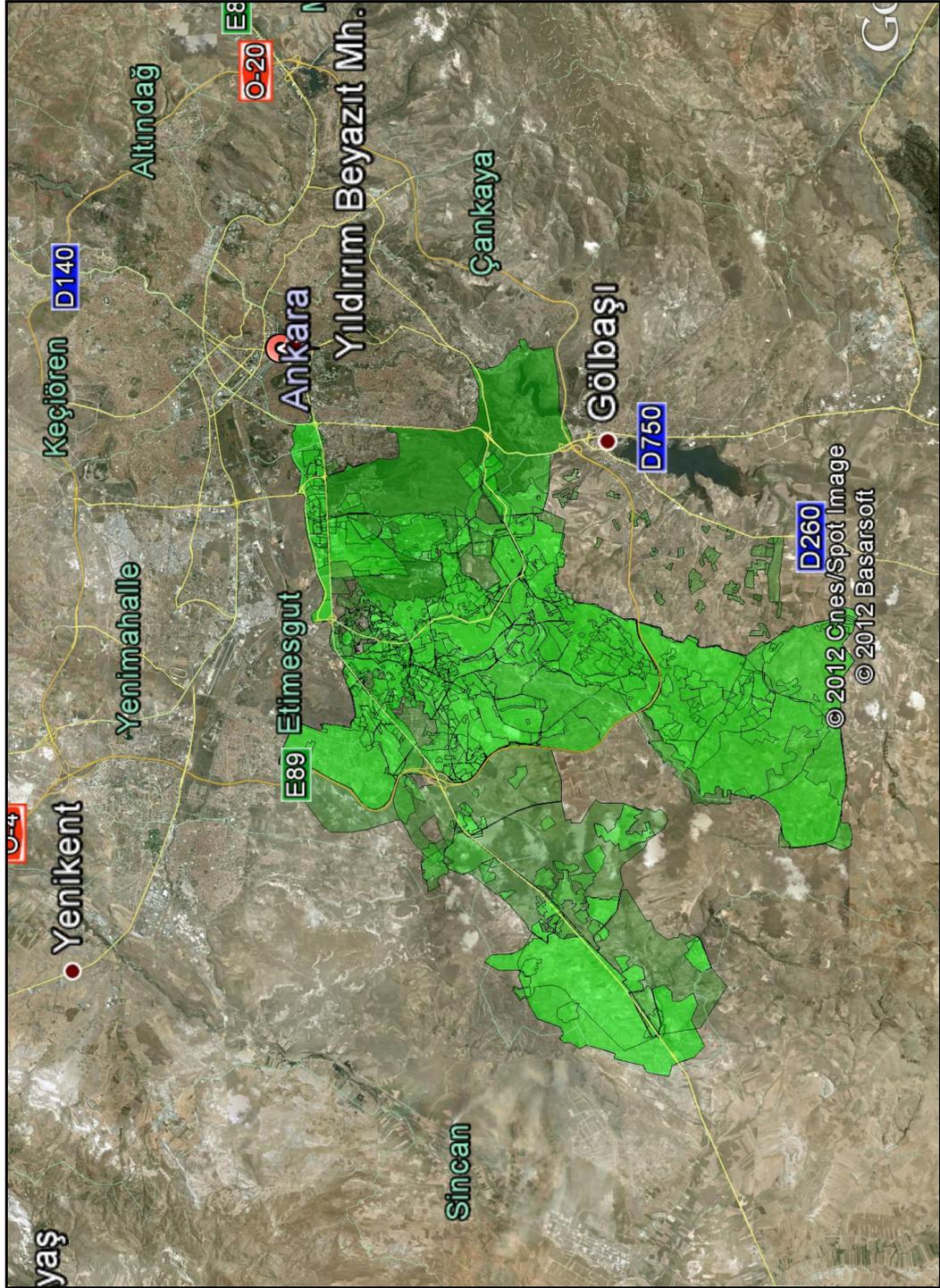


Figure 4.8: The case area

### 3.4. METHODOLOGICAL STRUCTURE

As mentioned before, a conceptual research model of the thesis aims to reveal the production process of urban space through the analysis of fragmented and incoherent plans. For this purpose data were collected mostly from planning archive of the Ankara Greater Municipality, the archive study to five months began in 2008 May and finished in 2008 September. All plans and plan notes enacted in the South-Western Periphery of the city between 1985-2008 were collected and used as the source for database. The processing of data took approximately a year and finished at the end of 2009. 932 separate plans are collected but because of the limited or insignificant information 110 of them are eliminated. All data are recorded digitally on computer and spatialized on maps by using Mapinfo GIS Program.

Later on, urban development pattern, land use changes are put with the comparison of aerial photos from 1978, 1988 and 199 which were received from General Command of Mapping.

After gathering information from the archives, a fundamental dataset were formed according to attributes of each plan and a distinctive method is constructed on this dataset. The method is grounded on epistemology of relational production of space and employs the conceptual model of context and content relationships. Based on the assumptions of the model, two integrated and consecutive analyses are conducted. The first group of analysis, *“the customary analyses”*, starts with descriptive and diagnostic analyses that give a general tendency of the production process. This group of analysis is based on the “simple attributes of plans”.

The other one is *“sprawl-specific analyses”* which are conducted in accordance with the “interpretative attributes of plans” and made with reference to basic indicators of urban sprawl. The customary analyses and sprawl specific analyses are not independent of each other. To reveal particular characteristics of production process of urban periphery both analyses will be made concomitantly. And they will be conducted according to particular time periods and they will be detailed with separate statistical analyses according to peculiarities of periods to reveal the unique pattern of development.

Rather than the superficial manifestation, making these analyses within a historical manner will provide to comprehend how innermost mechanisms of planning produce specific pattern of urban space in the periphery. Necessary and contingent relationships to **organizational and regulatory contexts** will also be investigated through intensified analyses for each time periods.

In the following part, first the attributes of fragmented and incoherent plans will be presented in general regarding the case area. Subsequently, to unfolds the regulatory and organizational frames, the sequential characteristics of plans will be examined within a historical manner. This examination will help to define the specific time periods for customary analyses and sprawl-specific analyses in the next chapter.

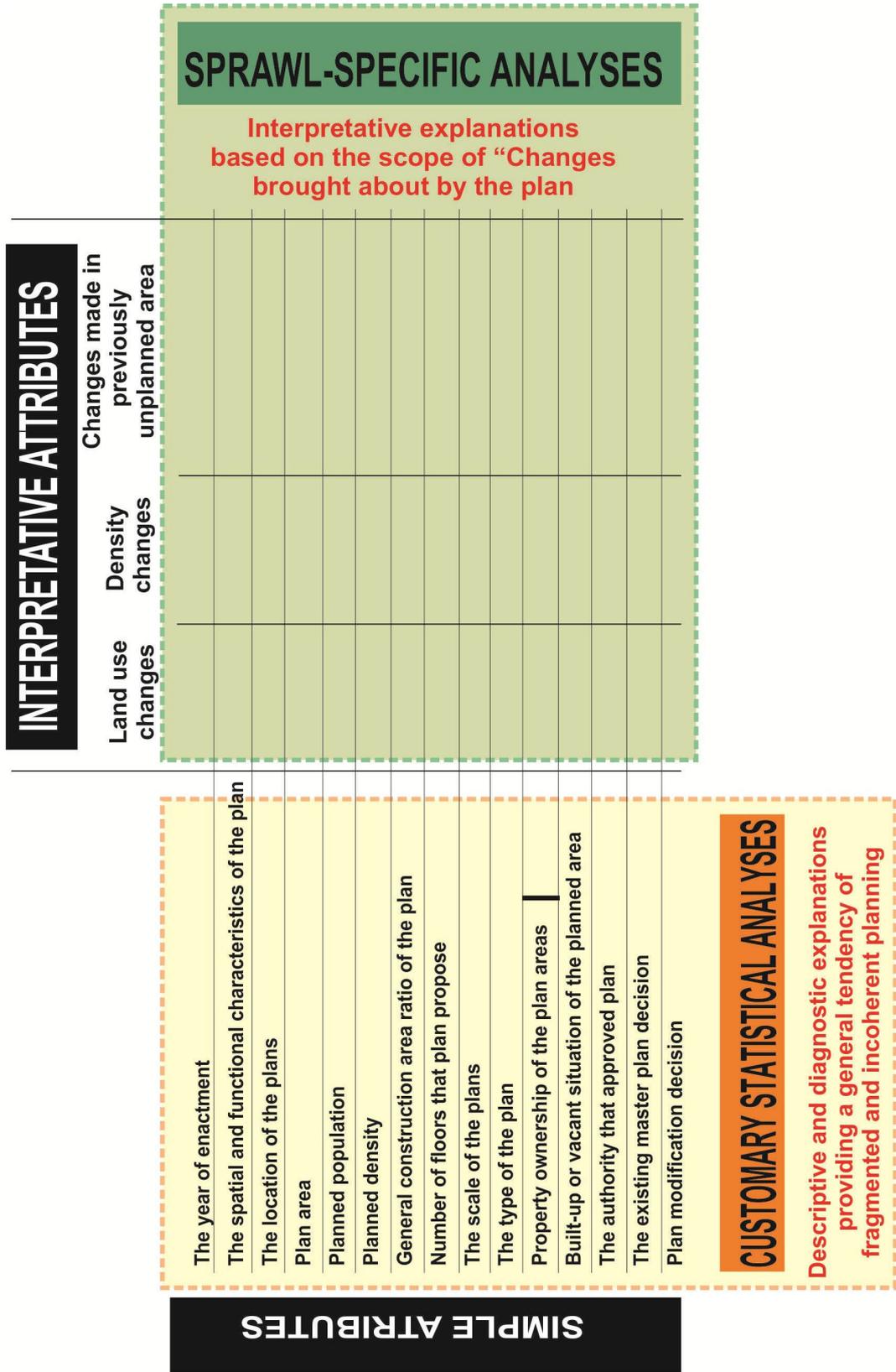


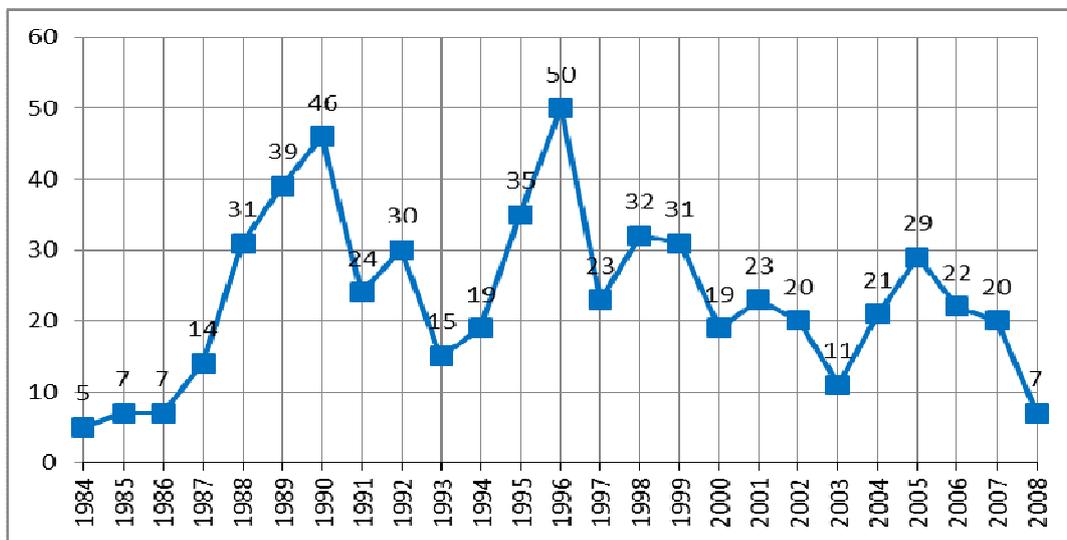
Figure 3.9: Methodological Structure

### 3.4.1. Planning Process in the South-Western Periphery of Ankara

As mentioned above, certain attributes were set in order to examine the production process of urban periphery in Ankara between 1985 and 2008. In the case study, it has been revealed that 580 plans of 822 plans have been manipulated and changes the decisions of existing master plans and they have been the source of problematic urban development. The attributes of these 580 plans are listed below with a brief description.

- **Subject:** this attributes define the legal name of plans
- **The year of enactment:** the production process of urban space can be inquired. Cross analysis of the approval time of plan with another attributes are suitable to inquire other attributes.

*Enactment years of the plans in the case are area showed in graphic below.*



Graphic 3.1: The distribution of the number of fragmented and incoherent plans between 1984-2008

- **Planned area:** It is an important criterion for spatial analyses. It indicates size of manipulation and gives the information about the state of being partial. *In case study, the planned area of plans is changed between 249m<sup>2</sup> to 5795ha. The average planned area is 217ha. Also 262 (%45) plans are smaller than 15 ha that*

is defined for minimum planning area in 1990 Master Plan. The table below shows the distribution of planned areas based on natural breaks (calculated by Mapinfo);

	Number of incoherent plans
0-20 ha	281 (%48) 262 (%45) of the is smaller than 150000m <sup>2</sup>
20- 90 ha	172 (%30)
90- 380 ha	53 (%9 )
380- 1390 ha	41 (%7)
1390- 5800 ha	33 (%6)

Table 3.2: Distribution of fragmented and incoherent plans with respect to plan area

- **Planned Construction ratio (average FAR):** it gives information about the built up area of the plans. *In case study the Far is changed between 0,1 to 3,4. The median FAR in 580 incoherent plans is 0,4.*
- **Average floor number:** it gives evidence about the characteristics of development. *The average floor number in case area changes from 1 to 10. The median floor number is 5.*
- **Proposed population, Proposed population Density:** Development characteristics like compactness, and concentration nodes can be appraised according to these criteria. *The highest population is proposed for 350000 persons. And the highest population density is 325 person/ha. The distribution of proposed population based on natural breaks (calculated by Mapinfo) is shown below;*

	Number of incoherent plans
0- 1000	329 (%57)
1000- 6000	152 (%26)
6000- 33000	48 (%8)
33000- 124000	40 (%7)
124000- 350000	11 (%2)

Table 3.3: Distribution of fragmented and incoherent plans with respect to proposed population

- Government that approved the plan:** This is the one of the most critical attributes of the plans. It gives fruitful results about the policies of different authorities. The cross sectional analyses with other attributes give crucial information about the role of central and local governments. *In case study, the planning authority is divided into five municipality and three central governmental authorities;*

	Number of Incoherent plans
<b>Local Governments</b> The Greater Municipality, Çankaya District Municipality, Yenimahalle District Municipality, Etimesgut district Municipality and Gölbaşı District Municipality	<b>359 (%62)</b>
<b>Central Government</b> The Ministry of Public Works and Settlement, The Ministry of Industry and Mass Housing Administration	<b>221 (%38)</b>

Table 3.4: Distribution of fragmented and incoherent plans with respect to planning authority

- District and Neighborhood:** The location of neighborhoods may denote preferences of the authority. The widespread and unfavoured areas can be indicated by this attributes. *The case area is consisted of 4 districts and 35 neighborhoods;*

District	Neighbourhood	Number of Plans
Yenimahalle	Ümit, Koru, Konutkent, Çayyolu, Buketkent, Yaşamkent, Alacaatlı, Dodurga, Ballıkuyumcu, A.Yurtçu, Y.Yurtçu, Şehitali	258 (%44)
Çankaya	Mutlukent, Mutlukent (Angora), Beytepe, Mustafa Kemal, Üniversiteler, Ahlatlıbel, Söğütözü, Çukurambar, Kızılırmak	137 (%24)
Gölbasi	Hacılar, İncek, Tuluntaş, Kızılcaşar, Taşpınar, Ballıkpınar, Koparan, Yavrucak, GOP, Veliahmetli, Halaçlı	118 (%20)
Etimesgut	Erler, Yapracık, Bağlıca	52 (%9)
Plans located in more than one district		15 (%3)

Table3.5: Distribution of fragmented and incoherent plans with respect to districts and neighborhoods

- **Boundaries of realization for plans:** It is a crucial attribute to interpret the partial and incremental characteristics of plans. *The boundaries of realization of plans in case area are listed below;*

Boundaries	Number of Plans
Road	7 (%1)
Single Parcel	22 (%4)
Several Parcels in a block	9 (%2)
Several Parcels in several blocks	1 (%0)
Single Block	60 (%10)
Several Blocks	375 (%65)
Neighborhood	58 (%10)
More than a neighborhood	48 (%8)

Table 3. 6: Distribution of fragmented and incoherent plans with respect to boundaries of realization

- **The scale of the plan:** It is an important indicator to interpret the fragmented of decisions of governments. Like the planned area it also informs the partial

development characteristic of urban sprawl. *The distribution of the scale of plans in the case is designated below;*

Boundaries	Number of Plans
1/1000	353 (%61)
1/5000	137 (%24)
1/1000 and 1/5000	73 (%13)
1/50 000	6 (%1)
1/5000 and 1/50 000	5 (%1)
1/2000	3 (%0)
1/25 000	1 (%0)
1/25 000 and 1/5000	2(%0)

Table 3.7: Distribution of fragmented and incoherent plans with respect to scale

- **The type of the plan:** Plans as general term include lots of plan types (that all defined in planning system in turkey). This attributes describe how different plans produce different urban space and indicates procedural issues of the plans. It may designate the hierarchical situation of plans. *The plan types in the case study are categorized below;*

Plan type	Master and Impl. Etc	Partial	Urban Transformation and Growth	Improvement	Other
Regular	159	160	1	1	4
Modification	152	26	7	1	2
Revision	21				
Additional	7				
Plan Note modification	13	2			
Plan and Plan Note Mod.	2				
Additional and Revision	5				
Revision Plan Note Mod.	1				
Urban Design	3				
Urban Design Revision	2				
Boundary/Project Area			6		3
Additional Plan Mod.	2				

Table 3.8 : Distribution of fragmented and incoherent plans with respect to plan type

- **Land use decisions of the plans:** They give the general development characteristics (housing, commercial, education etc) of planned area. What kinds of land use pattern develop at the periphery can be obtained from this attributes the balance among housing and green areas, the presence of social and cultural infrastructure can be evaluated with respect to quality of environment.

Overall classification	Number of Plans
Housing	30 (%5)
Housing Settlement And Other Land Uses	393 (%68)
Housing And Other Land Uses	8
Commercial	2
Commercial And Other Land Uses	21 (%21)
Large Commercial Area and Other Land-Uses	5
Social Infrastructure	19 (%3)
Large Social Infrastructure Area	2
Social Infrastructure and Other Land Uses	13 (%2)
Large Social Infrastructure and Other Land Uses	2
Public Institution	4
Large Public Intuition	7
Public Institution and Other Land Uses	3
Large Public Intuition and Other Land Uses	7
Green Area	4
Larger Green Area ( Forest, Regional Park, AOÇ, Urban Recreation	5
Large Green Areas With Other Land Uses	4
Urban Service	9
Urban Service and Other Land Uses	1
Larger Urban Service With Other Land Uses	1
University	4
University And Other Land Uses	10 (%2)
Village	3
Road	5
Road And Other Land Uses	2
Technical Infrastructure	1
Technology Development Region	1
Boundary (Urban Growth, Urban Transformation, City Gate Etc.)	7
Military	2
Military With Other Land Uses	5

Table 3.9: Distribution of fragmented and incoherent plans with respect to land-use decision

- **Land use decision of existing master plan:** The land use decisions of previous master plan show the transformation pattern of particular land uses. *There are three upper scale master plans made for the case area. The distribution of fragmented and incoherent plans with respect to land use decisions of master plans is shown below;*

Overall classification	1990 Master Plan (made between 85-01)	1990 Master Plan Partial Revision (made between 01-07)	2023 Structure Plan (made between 07-08)
Housing Settlement And Other Land Uses	58	47	14 (6 of the are Mass Housing Areas)
Large Social Infrastructure Area	3	2	1
Large Public Intuition	33	6	2 (one of them is made for Tech.Dev.Area.
Larger Green Area ( Forest, Regional Park, AOÇ, Urban Recreation	54	7	3
Large Green Areas With Other Land Uses	21	4	
Urban Service	9	1	
University	26	2	
Military	5	2	
Village	2	2	
Road	1	1	2
Unplanned area	138	45	
Agriculture	87		2
	<b>437</b>	<b>119</b>	<b>24</b>

Table3.10: Distribution of fragmented and incoherent plans with respect to existing land-use decisions of upper-scale master plans

- **Changes brought about by plans (Interpretative attribute):** This one of the most critical attributes that gives information directly about the production pattern of urban space. Transformation of unique land uses, density increase or plans made in unplanned areas can be gathered from this indicator. *822 plans have been made within the case area. Just 242 (%29) of them have made in accordance with the existing plan decisions. The other 580 (%71) plans have modified and manipulated the upper-scale master plans of the city. The*

*distribution of plans that change the density, land use etc. with respect to existing master plan is revealed as follow;*

Overall classification	1990 Master Plan (made between 85-01)	1990 Master Plan Partial Revision (made between 01-07)	2023 Structure Plan (made between 07-08)
Land Use change	280	61	22
Road change		1	2
Density Change	25	4	
Land use change and density change		8	
Plans that change density and made in unplanned area	6		
Plans made in unplanned area	170	45 (Made in 1990 Master Plan Area)	
Total	437	119	24

Table 3.11: Distribution of fragmented and incoherent plans with respect to existing land-use decisions of upper-scale master plans.

### 3.4.2. Temporal Frame of Analyses

Development in the periphery as a production process evolves in a time pattern. Therefore to analyze the attributes mentioned above within specific time periods, gives crucial information about the process-oriented characteristics of the production of urban space. It makes possible to explore the effects of “**organizational and regulatory contexts**” and reveal their complex pattern of interactions.

As we assumed that *fragmented and incoherent plans are the plans that change and manipulate the decisions of upper-scale master plans*, it can be seen practical to define time periods according to approval date of master plan. However considering the regulatory and organizational contexts of plans brings other breakpoints. The changes in regulatory and organizational contexts may promote or restrict the planning process. The substantial alterations in at particular time effect the development pattern of plans and therefore affect the production process of urban space at a later time period.

Because of these reasons although time periods are defined according to approval dates of master plans, the dates that the other important events occur and change fashion of urban sprawl are taken into consideration.

The Figure 3. superposes the sequential development of fragmented and incoherent plans with reference legal and administrative issues. The breakpoints such as the day when important law is ratified, the day when the local government is changed, and the day indicates a crucial dispute between governments etc that are pointing a change in the plans are considered. Also to delineate the role of central and local governments in production of urban space Table 3. distributes plans by years regarding the approval authority. Determination time period is based on these basic consecutive frames.

The first historical analysis is made for the period between 1984 and 1994. “1990 Ankara Master Plan” was approved in 1982 and began to lose its validity in this period. This period contained threshold matters for the history of Turkey’s planning system. New laws such as Development Law No:3194, Greater Municipality Law No:3030 were ratified in this period and they introduced new arrangements in planning procedure. In this period, *fragmented and incoherent plans were mostly under the control of central government*. However In 1989 after the Social Democratic People’s Party (SHP) came to power in greater municipality, planning process gained a different formation (in Table 3.) Therefore the period between 1984 and 1989 and the period between 1989 and 1994 will be evaluated as a sub-period.

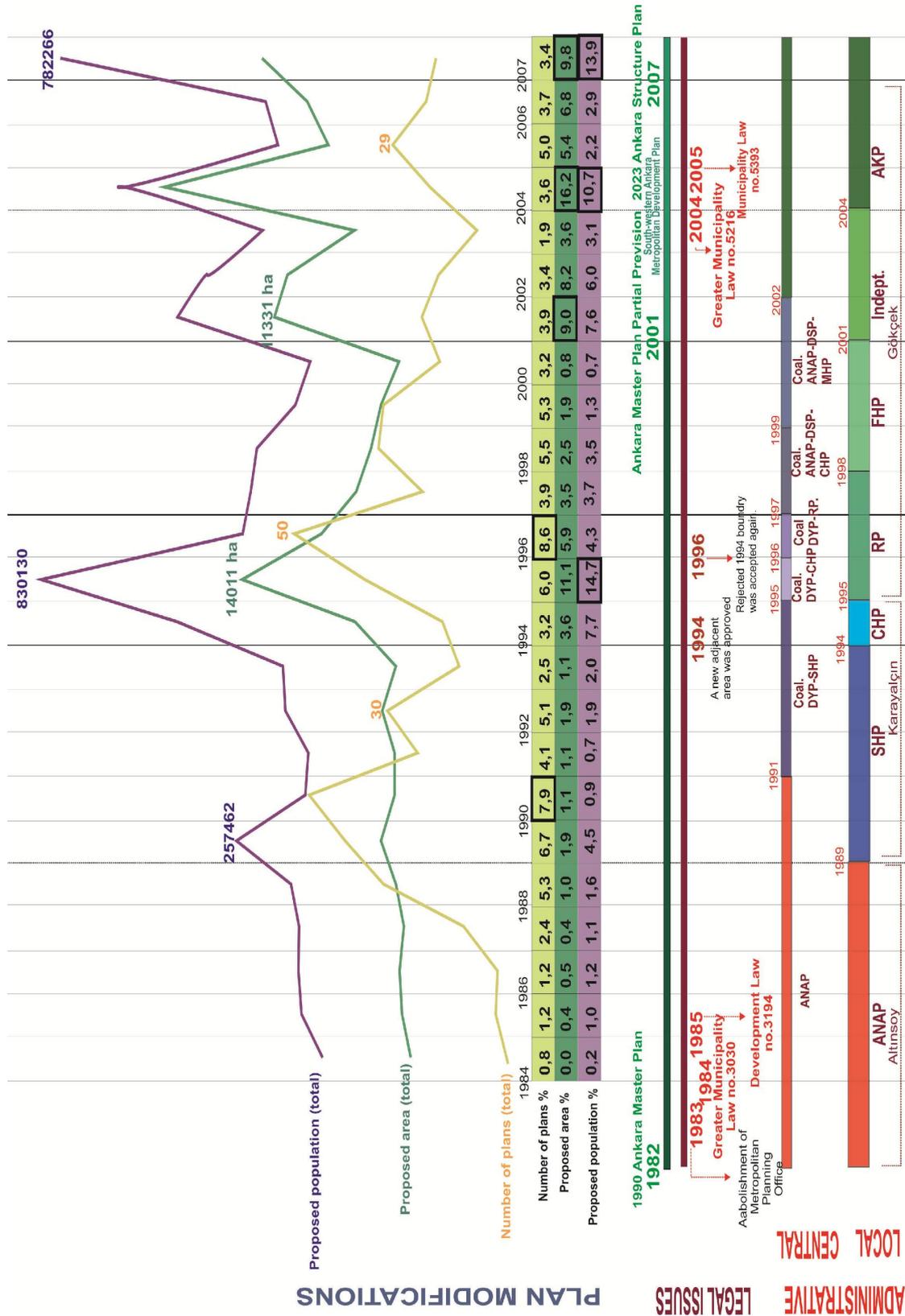


Figure 3.10: Fragmented and incoherent plans within the context of legal and administrative issues

Year	Number of plans		Proposed area		Proposed population	
	percent	frequency	percent	frequency	percent	frequency
1984	0.86	5	0.07	899972	0.25	14260
1985	1.21	7	0.49	6162096	1.08	60796
1986	1.21	7	0.56	7107608	1.29	72783
1987	2.41	14	0.41	5183736	1.18	66160
1988	5.34	31	1.00	12542173	1.69	95252
1989	6.72	39	1.91	24002287	4.58	257462
1990	7.93	46	1.13	14187390	0.93	52428
1991	4.14	24	1.19	15006128	0.75	42184
1992	5.17	30	1.93	24362032	1.97	110670
1993	2.59	15	1.15	14476687	2.07	116640
1994	3.28	19	3.68	46367736	7.77	437036
1995	6.03	35	11.13	140115586	14.76	830130
1996	8.62	50	5.95	74952488	4.37	246113
1997	3.97	23	3.52	44331575	3.77	212023
1998	5.52	32	2.58	32466453	3.51	197459
1999	5.34	31	1.97	24802407	1.38	77434
2000	3.28	19	0.83	10480549	0.79	44175
2001	3.97	23	9.00	113315530	7.65	430103
2002	3.45	20	8.22	103537180	6.05	340632
2003	1.90	11	3.69	46464869	3.12	175437
2004	3.62	21	16.25	204612772	10.79	607318
2005	5.00	29	5.43	68436074	2.25	126680
2006	3.79	22	6.87	86519191	2.95	165838
2007	3.45	20	9.85	124035885	13.90	782266
2008	1.21	7	1.20	15069070	1.15	64650
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>100.00</b>	<b>580</b>	<b>100.00</b>	<b>1259437474</b>	<b>100.00</b>	<b>5625929</b>

Table 3.12: Distribution of fragmented and incoherent plans between 1985-2007

	Number of plans		Proposed area		Proposed population	
	Central G. (%)	Local G (%)	Central G. (%)	Local G. (%)	Central G. (%)	Local G. (%)
1984	100	0	100	0	100	0
1985	86	14	94	6	95	5
1986	43	57	36	64	24	76
1987	71	29	64	36	42	58
1988	58	42	49	51	45	55
1989	69	31	10	90	5	95
1990	76	24	56	44	43	57
1991	46	54	17	83	19	81
1992	60	40	32	68	11	89
1993	40	60	2	2	2	98
1994	16	84	0	100	0	100
1995	71	29	91	9	97	3
1996	84	16	86	14	89	11
1997	0	100	0	100	0	100
1998	9	91	1	99	1	99
1999	0	100	0	100	0	100
2000	5	95	1	99	0	100
2001	4	96	0	100	0	100
2002	10	90	6	94	0	100
2003	0	100	0	100	0	100
2004	5	95	0	100	0	100
2005	0	100	0	100	0	100
2006	0	100	0	100	0	100
2007	20	80	74	26	98	2
2008	0	100	0	100	0	100

Table 3.13: Distribution of fragmented and incoherent plans between 1985-2007 with respect to approval authority.

Second period was the period of *authority confusion and disputes*. In 1994 Greater Municipality extended its authority area in line with the new Master Plan. However this plan and the new adjacent areas were not accepted by the Ministry of Public Works. This caused a long juridical process between the Greater Municipality and the Ministry. In 1996 all juridical processes finished in favor of Greater Municipality. Between this limited time, Governorship which is a branch of the Ministry approved many large scale fragmented and incoherent plans. After the enlargement of adjacent area Greater Municipality became a main, even only authority.

The third period started with the approval of “1990 Ankara Partial Plan Revision” that made critical changes inside the circumference of belt-highway. In 1999 the authority to approve the plans of 1/25 000, 1/5000, and 1/100 000 scale were given to Ministry of Public Works by by-law published in the Official Gazette No:23804. Therefore in 2001 a co-operation was made between the Greater Municipality and the Ministry and “1990 Ankara Partial Plan Revision” made by this cooperation and approved by the Ministry itself. This caused a *dual structure at south-west periphery*. While Revision Plan was binding for the areas inside the circumference of belt-highway, the areas outside belt-highway were subject to 1990 Plan. In this period another upper scale plan “South-western Ankara Metropolitan Development Plan” was made for outside the belt-highway. This plan was approved in 2004 by the ministry, however two years later in 2006 it was halted for being fragmented. In this period many plans were made according to decisions of this plan and large peripheral areas were opened to relatively low-density developments . Only four months later “2023 Ankara Plan” was approved in 2007. Therefore the periods between 2004 and 2006 and the period between 2006 and 2007 will be subject to separate examination.

The last Period began with the approval of “2023 Ankara Plan” in 2007. Because of the limitation of this thesis, just the modifications made until the end of 2008 could be analyzed. But the results showed that the proposals of these plans were not negligible in terms of urban sprawl production.

## MAIN PERIODS

## SUB-PERIODS

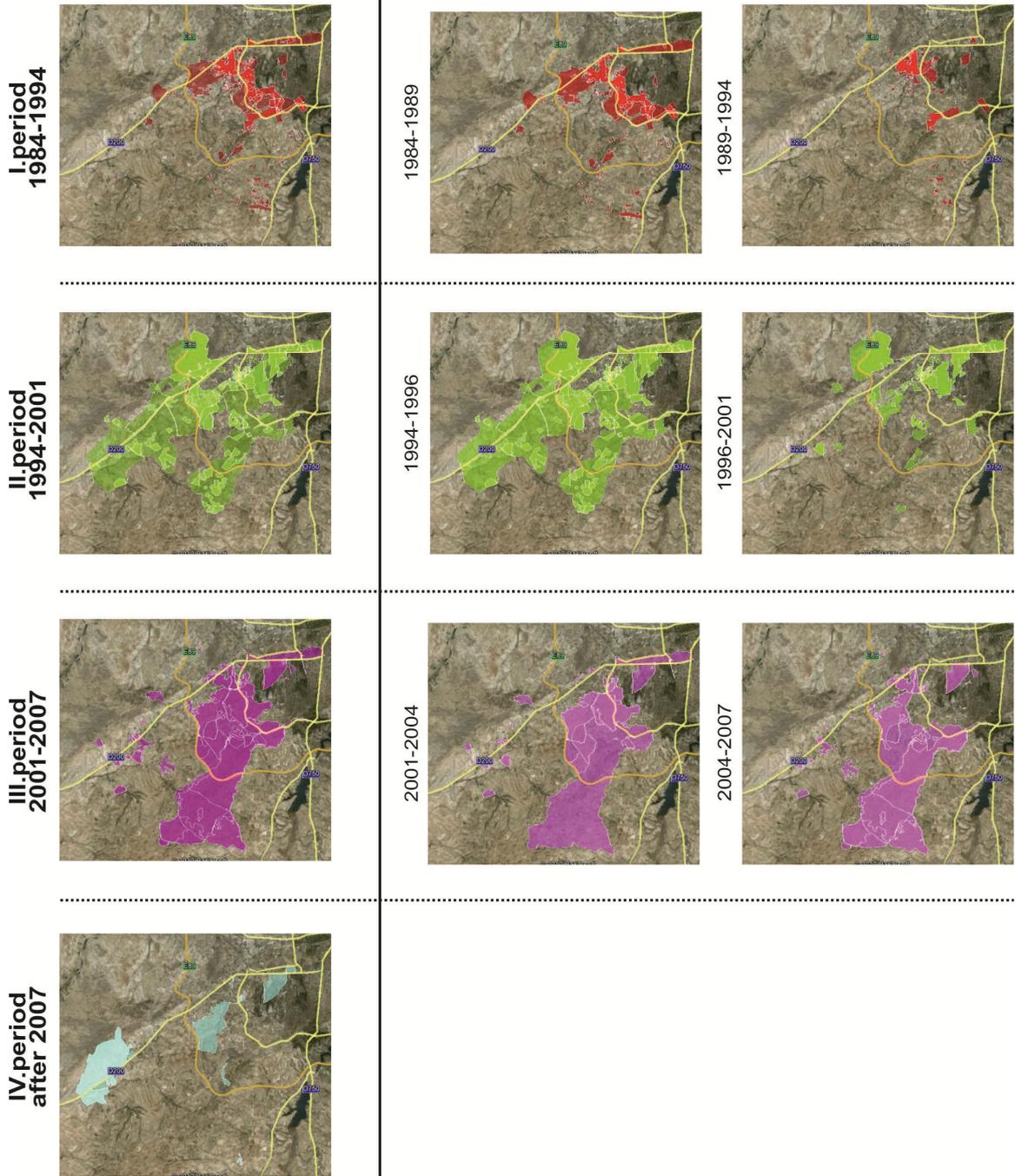
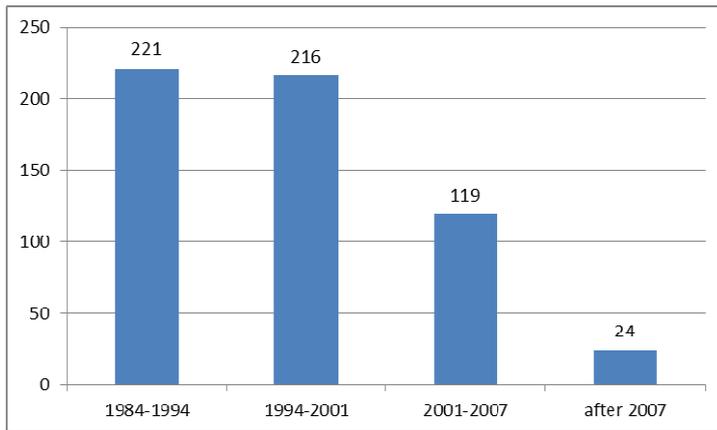


Figure 3.11: Development pattern of fragmented and incoherent plans between 1984-2008

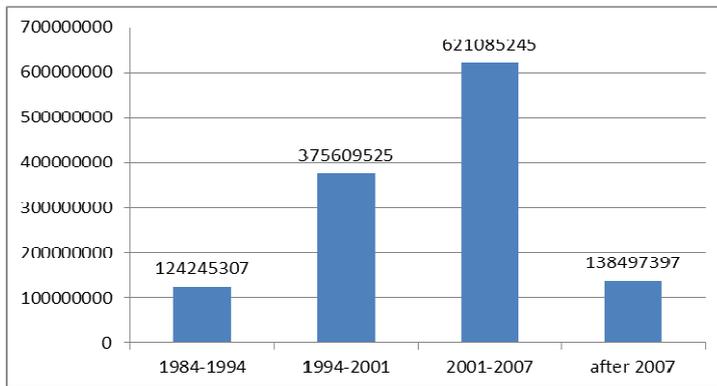
PERIODS	Number of total plans	Number of plan mod.	Prop. Area (ha) of plan mod.	Prop. Population of plan mod.	Density (Pop/m <sup>2</sup> ) of plan mod
1984-7.2.1994	280 (%34)	221 (%38)	12424 (%10)	889782 (%16)	75
1984-26.3.1989	99 (%12)	72 (%12))	3277 (%3)	335030 (%6)	95
26.3.1989-7.2.1994	181 (%22)	149 (%26)	9146 (%7)	554752 (%10)	65
7.2.1994-18.7.2001	267 (%35)	216 (%37)	37560 (%30)	2060630 (%37)	70
7.2.1994-01.10.1996	119 (%17)	99 (%17)	25174 (%20)	1507454 (%27)	57
1.10.1996-18.7.2001	148 (%18)	117 (%20)	12386 (%10)	553176 (%10)	82
18.7.2001-16.2.2007	215 (%26)	119 (%21)	62108 (%49)	1834511 (%32)	38
18.7.2001-24.2.2004	82 (%10)	45 (%8)	26137 (%21)	928765 (%16)	44
24.2.2004-16.2.2007	133 (%16)	74 (%13)	35970 (%28)	905746 (%16)	35
After 16.2.2007	60 (%8)	24 (%4)	13849 (%11)	841006 (%15)	60
TOTAL	822	580	125943	5625929	64

Table 314 : General statistical analysis of the periods

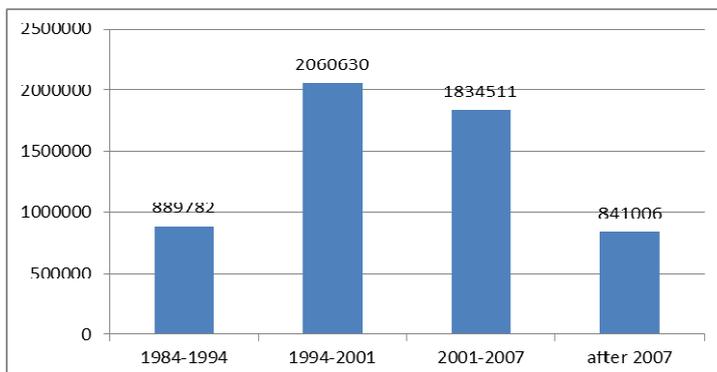
The comparison of the periods revealed that the majority of the plans were made in the first period. Of course it was related to the length of period. Although the number of plans is very high, neither the planned areas nor the proposed population had a considerable rate. However, a simple calculation indicated that the gross density of these plans was the highest among all periods. This situation was mostly related to the partial planning processes. 156 of the total 221 plans were partial plans that were made with the autonomous decisions of the Ministry. Hence these plans produced high-density developments in limited urban areas.



Graphic 3. : The distribution of the number of fragmented and incoherent plans



Graphic 3. : The Distribution of proposed areas of fragmented and incoherent plans

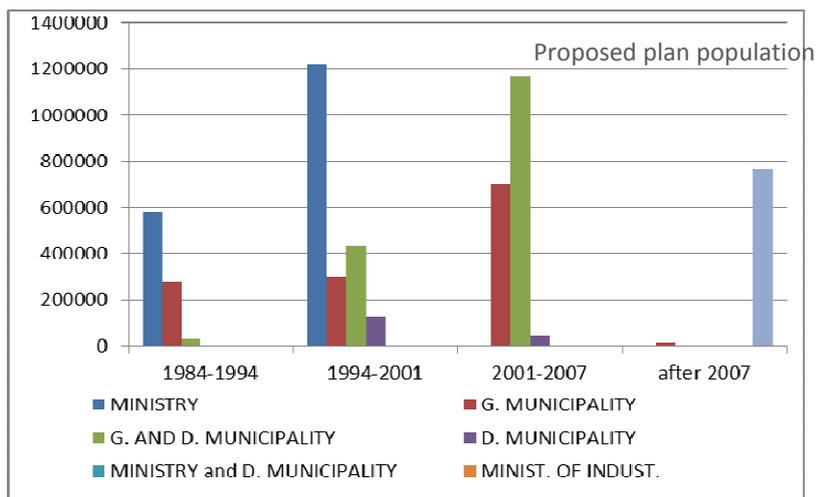
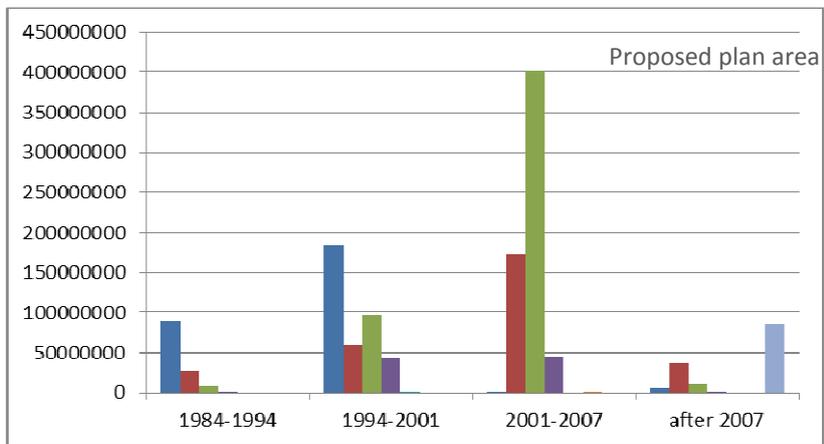
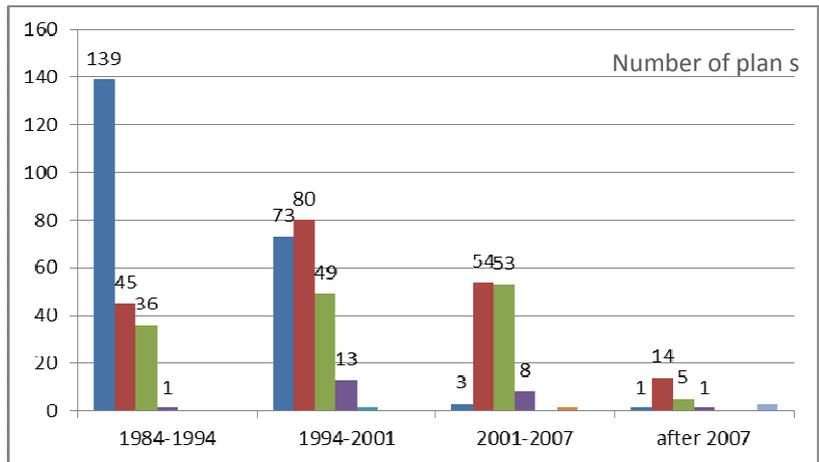


Graphic 3.2: The distribution of the proposed population of plan plans

The second period was *very impulsive*. %30 of planned area and % 37 of projected population were proposed in this period (Graphic 5.2). Due to the juridical processes, there were ambiguities and confusions in planning system. Within this uncertain climate The Ministry made intensive fragmented and incoherent plans. Those plans introduced large development areas that were not proposed in 1990 Master Plan. The repercussion of them in urban pattern was certainly very harmful that production of urba space in the periphery gained an enormous momentum with respect to them.

Third period was the most dynamic period that a heavy portion of planned area (%49) and proposed population(%32) were realized in this period. It mostly related with the proposal of an upper-scale partial plan. In 2004 “Southwestern Ankara Metropolitan Development Plan” at the scale of 1/50 000 was made at outside of belt-highway and approved by the Ministry. Until the abolishment of this plan in 2006, so many incoherent plans were made with respect to decisions of this plan. Nearly all of them changed the containment decisions of 1990 plan. They transformed agricultural and open spaces to housing areas. The low-density pattern of these developments depicted that urban sprawl in this period *was highly dispersed*. This period also lived other important events. Parallel to enactment of Greater municipality Law no: 5216, the authority area of Greater Municipal was enlarged and Greater Municipality gained a right to make and approve large scale urban plans in this area. This prepared the basis of following period in which Greater Municipality made “2023 Ankara Master Plan” at scale of 1/25 000.

After 2007 as it seen the graphic, number of plans were very low. However because of the new regulations introducing new plan types under the name of “Urban Transformation and Improvement Plan”, the small number of plans introduced large areas for development. Although the locus of these laws was for the transformation and renewal of historical quarters, this types of plans were used as main instrument to open new development areas at the periphery. Ironically, in some cases these transformation plans were made for agricultural and vacant lands at the periphery.



Graphic 3.3: The distribution fragmented and incoherent plans with respect to approval authority

Within this framework, the findings of detailed analyses are touched upon in the following chapter. After giving information about the regulatory and organizational contexts of time periods, the results of customary and sprawl-specific analyses will be discussed. For each time periods the data that give information about the contexts will be subjected to additional analyses. Necessary and contingent relationships to organizational and regulatory contexts will be investigated through these analyses and the production process of urban space in the periphery will be evaluated with respect to these issues.

## CHAPTER 4

### PRODUCTION OF URBAN SPACE IN THE SOUTHWESTERN PERIPHERY OF ANKARA BETWEEN 1984 and 2008

A turning point in the urbanization history of Ankara was 1980s. In that period Turkey intended to integrate into process of economic liberalization and new neo-liberal policies introduced fundamental transformations in spatial practices of urban space in Ankara. As the capital city and idealized model of nation state, Ankara was amongst the most dynamic cities effected by the policies of this new era.

The urban pattern has transformed from a relatively homogenous and compact structure in a planned area to a *heterogeneous and dispersed* structure in which new developments take place in unplanned areas. This structure is legitimized through **urban planning process** itself. Because of the inadequacies in administrative and legal mechanisms, new incremental, piecemeal, uncoordinated experiences of planning emerge. This new planning experiences are based on **manipulation of existing master plans of the city**. Within the context of this study all plans that change the decisions of existing master plans are appreciated as **fragmented and incoherent plans**. The aim of this chapter is to explain the evolutionary pattern of these plans through the case of South-western Periphery. The purpose of this chapter is also to seek how and what extent these plans produce urban space in the periphery of the city.

As it shown in the Figure 4.1 there is no area that existed as it was planned. Nearly whole case area was subject to manipulation.

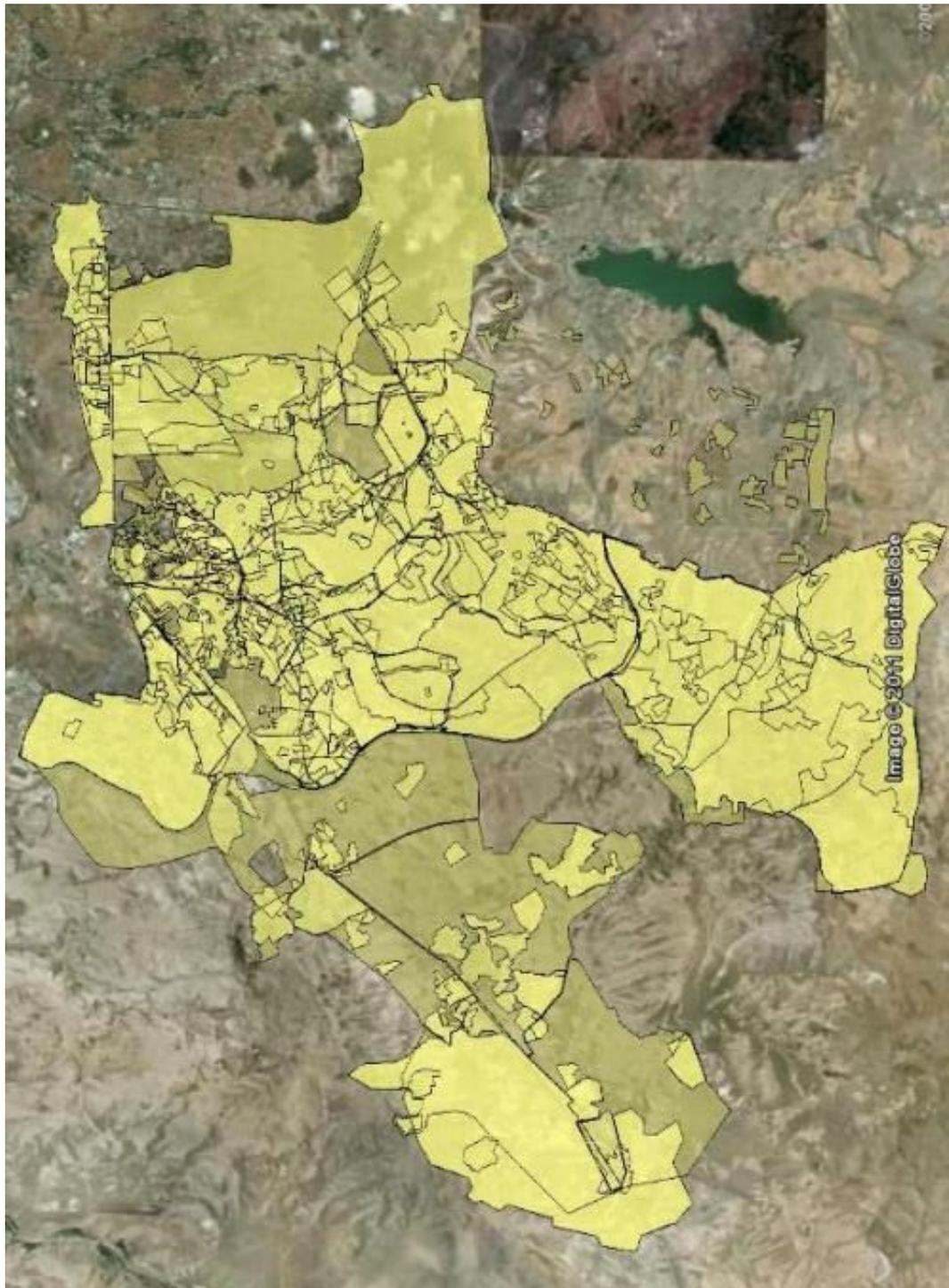


Figure 4.1 : Fragmented and incoherent plans. between 1984-2008

This chapter is divided into five sections. First section will review the first master plan of Ankara that directed development towards the south-west. The suggestion of this plan

was based on the decision to control the urban development within a determined pattern. However the urban development did not result as expected. And the plan became a starting point of a series of events that eventually lead to problematic urban development at the peripheral areas. The following four sections will make descriptive and explanatory analyses about the general tendencies of fragmented and incoherent plans for different time periods. These sections will examine the plans through customary and sprawl-specific analyses and put forward their role in production of urban sprawl. It is inevitable that the regulatory and organizational contexts of planning system are the bases for plans. They determine the general framework. As for this respect plans will also be discussed with reference to these frameworks.

#### **4.1. 1990 PLAN AS A THRESHOLD MATTER: FROM INTENDED DECENTRALIZATION DECISION TO PROBLEMATIC URBAN DEVELOPMENT**

After the 1960s, the rapid increase of population and urban growth pushed central authorities into a corner to control the development. In order to deal with urban growth problems, at the end of 1960s Ankara Metropolitan Planning Bureau was established as a department of the Ministry of Reconstruction and Housing. The bureau had a responsibility of preparing the plans, but not for approving and implementation.

Till 1980s, the Ankara Metropolitan Planning Bureau was the main actor in planning practices of the city. Different from the previous urban politics, the bureau aimed to direct future development within a *determined macroform* which extended towards the peripheral areas. The development framework and principles of the bureau were formed by a plan schema at 1/50.000 scale and in 24.02.1982 “1990 Ankara Master Plan” was approved (Figure 4.2)

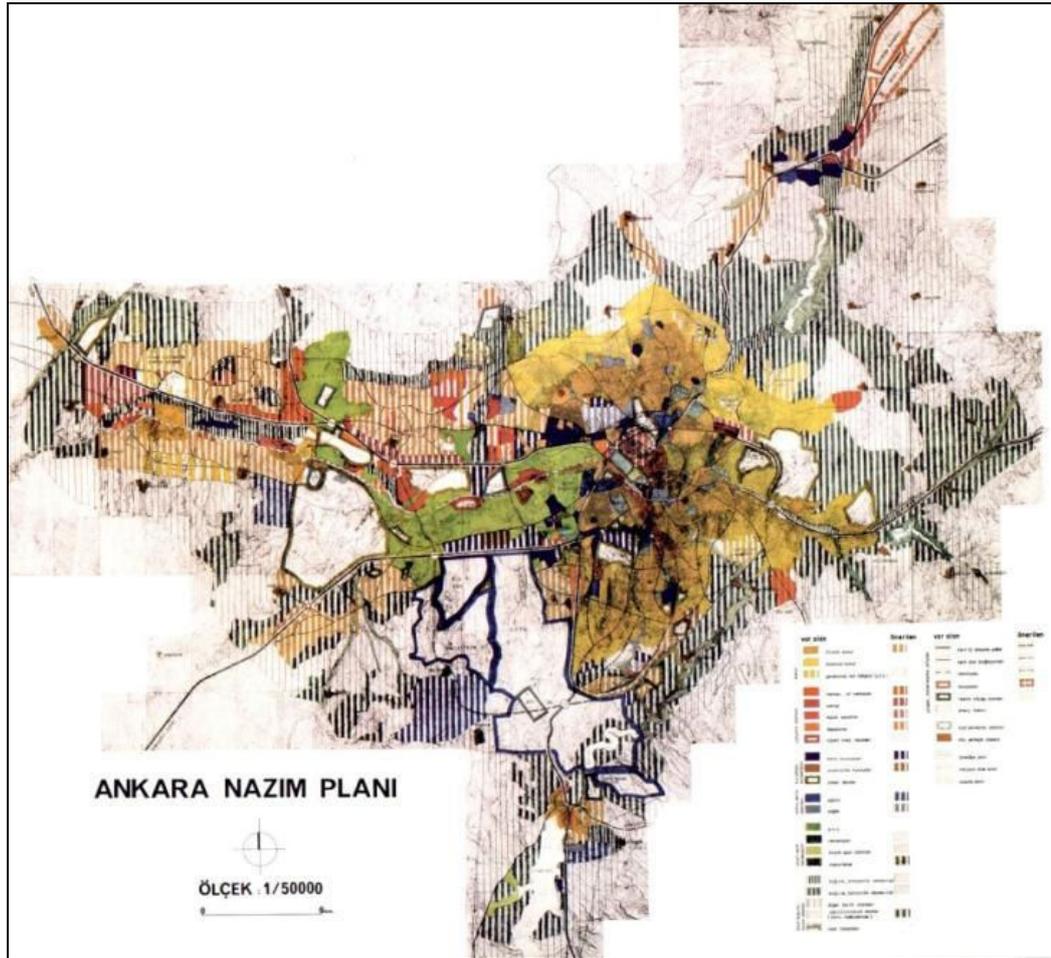


Figure 4.2 : 1990 Ankara Master Plan (ABSDB, 2006)

Instead of static approaches of the previous plans that were highly insufficient to cope with rapid urban growth, this plan developed “a new planning understanding that should be considered as a structure plan.” (Bademli in Günay, 1988: 39). It was the first time that a plan formulated many problems of the city that were neglected by previously and for the first time this plan tried to *give the city a new shape* (Günay, 1988:39). The main objective of the plan was the decentralization on certain corridors. The main reason for the corridor scheme was based on the following decisions;

- An economic physical structure of the schema was utilizing the existing road network, thus minimizing the investment and management costs
- A corridor scheme based on the topographical crack was the best alternative to solve the air pollution problems of the city
- With this schema, the accessibility was high between inner built-up area and residential quarters

- In corridor schema the rural areas and open areas were more accessible

This plan was successful in guiding the development. With this plan the real population remained below the estimated population that was the first in Ankara's planning history (3,6 million estimated population, 2,58 million was the real population of 1990). The proper population estimation and the true determination of the urban problems, this plan played an important role to channel development.

In this plan, west axis was proposed as the main corridor for urban decentralization and new neighborhoods were suggested in those areas. On the northern Batıkent and Eryaman Housing areas around İstanbul Highway and on south-west Çayyolu Housing areas along Eskişehir Highway were planned. Different from the northern part, residential areas in Çayyolu were proposed especially for the middle and upper income groups of the city. Actually along the Eskişehir road specifically between 10<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> kilometers there were already a few housing cooperatives who were unable to afford to locate in the inner city due to the absence of large building lots and high land price . Plan desired to control these developments and prevent the expansion of cities like an oil-stick. By introducing new development areas within a planned manner, 1990 Ankara Master Plan intended to reduce the increasing land prices and these new planned are was seen as a solution for the housing problems of middle and upper income groups. In contrast, this decision will generate an organized speculation in Çayyolu in the following years.

1990 Plan offered 12350 ha (%28 of total planned area) for future development in the south-west and suggested 1459 ha residential areas. Its projected population was 227850 with 150 per/ha density. In the Table 4.1 and Figure 4.3 below, the zoning decisions for these areas are summarized.

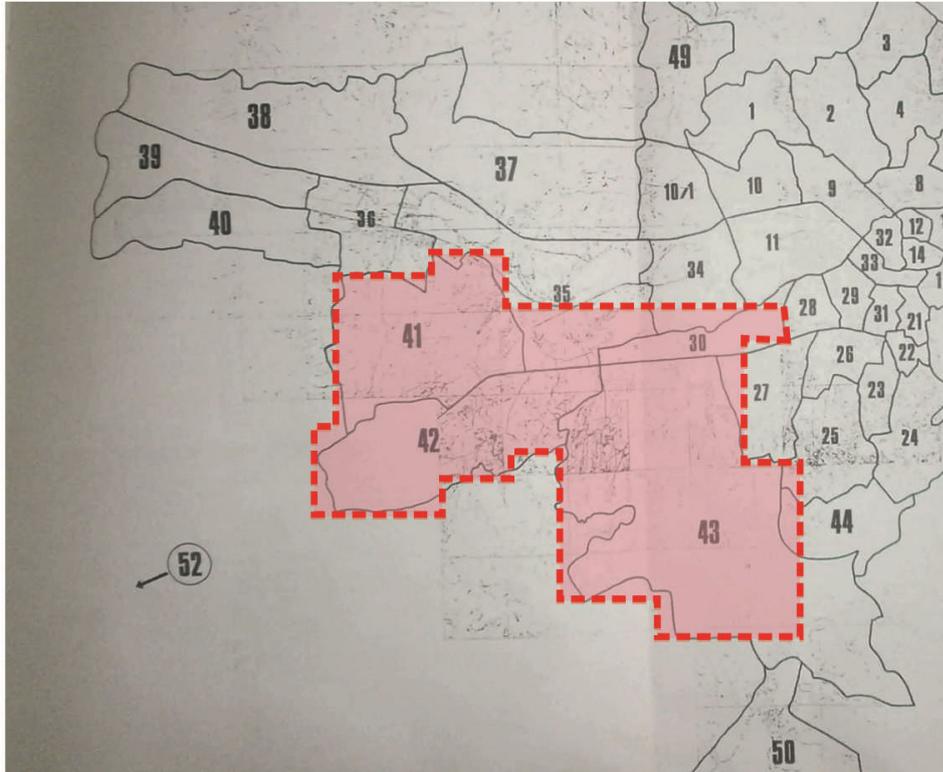
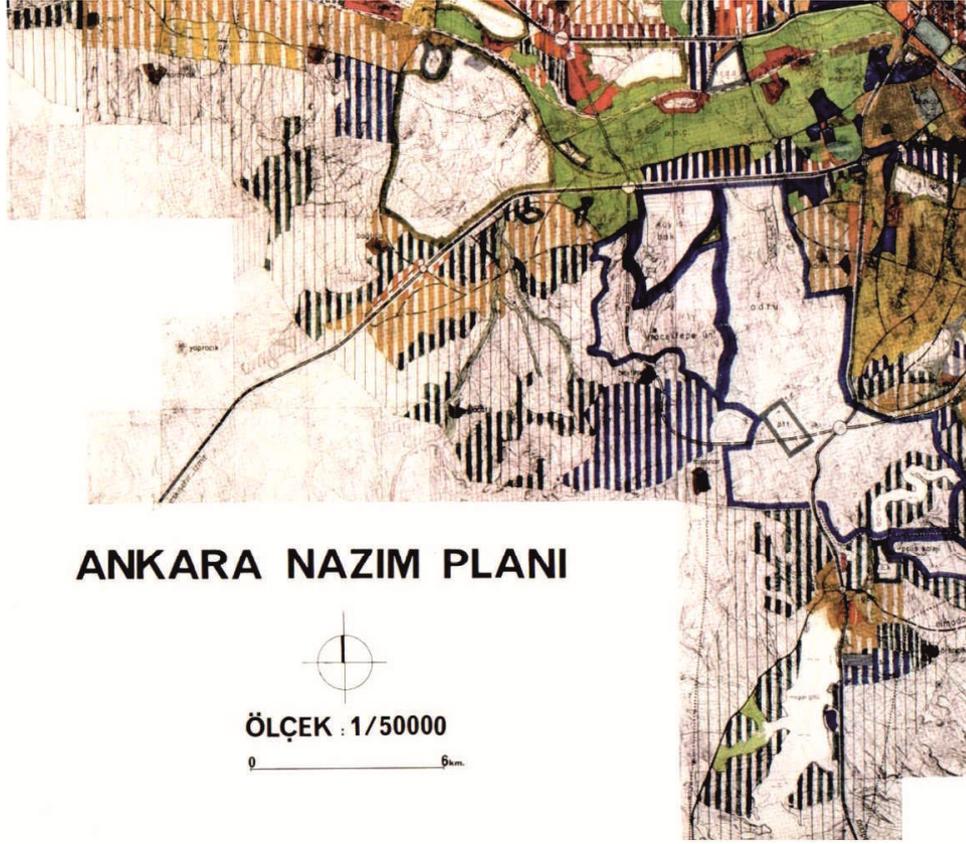


Figure 4. 3: Planning zones of 1990 Ankara Master Plan (AMANPB, 1977:355).

Planning zone number 42 (Çayyolu and Eskişehir Road)	Total planned area: 2502 ha Proposed population: 209850 persons Proposed density: 150 person/ ha Residential areas: 1399 ha Commercial and public institution areas: 44 ha Green and open areas: 448 ha
Planning zone number 43 (METU and Beytepe)	METU: 4900ha Hacettepe Uni. Beytepe: 1200 Proposed public institutions and academies: 665 ha
Planning zone number 41 (Bağlıca Village)	Total planned area: 2478 ha University areas: 623 ha Large Scale sport areas: 515 ha Green areas: 75 ha
Planning zone number 30 (Söğütözü)	Total planned area: 607 ha Proposed population : 18000 person Gross density: 300 person/ha Residential areas: 60 ha Public and commercial areas: 46 ha

Table 4. 1: Planning zones of south-western corridor (AMANPB, 1977:359-361)

As it can be seen in the Table 4.1 , 1990 Ankara Master Plan suggested large amount of housing areas around Çayyolu. University areas, green and sport areas were also seen as important parts of green belt system of Ankara. Besides, agricultural lands on İncek-Taşpınar and Çayyolu-İvedik axes encircling the housing areas were used as an important containment tool to limit and control the development. However the decision to decentralize public uses along Eskişehir increased the prestigious of lands around and initiated the housing development. This triggered the transformation of these agricultural lands, open and large sport areas to residential areas by speculative aspects.

While northern parts of the west corridor around Batıkent and Eryaman passed into hand of public bodies to be reserved for residential areas, development at south-west around Çayyolu was abandoned to market mechanism. And as a part of implementation process, private planning activities of companies and cooperatives were supported

there. With this respect 1990 Plan allowed partial plans for residential areas with a minimum of 15 ha (this decision was based on the amendment in 6755 by Law no. 1605). It could be seen as a positive effort that a neighborhood having education and socio-cultural areas could be generated in 15 ha. This could also pave the way for presenting urban design alternatives and introducing new urban patterns having particular identity (Günay, 2005). Although the plan was approved in 1982, Metropolitan Planning Office allowed developments with minimum 15 ha. To realized this decision Office made extensive expropriation works and ant transferred expropriated lands to the cooperatives. Most of developments around Çayyolu were realized in this way. However development did not occurred as intended.

Until 1980s, the large scale development projects were nonexistent due to the absence of substantial state subsidies for the construction sector. Therefore the activities of large contractors had minimum presence. Instead small scale housing cooperatives consisted of civil servants and employees of public institutions existed around Çayyolu (such as Ümit Housing cooperatives, Beysukent, Yenikent and Me-Sa Koru Sitesi). After the regulations that created a new financial system for housing development, the operational activities of cooperatives and companies accelerated. Mass Housing Law no :2985 ratified by liberal government in 1984 provided a supplementary financial source for housing credit. In line with this law, Mass Housing Administration supplied financial assistance not only for cooperatives and companies but also for individuals.

Emlak Bank as another stakeholder also provided financial supports. The bank subsidized housing development and in some cases as a joint venture it undertook the construction of dwellings in exchange for land ( such as as Konut-Kent I, Me-Sa Koru II). Despite these financial aids, public sector contribution to development never achieved a sufficient level\*. Along with the interventionist attempts of the Liberal Government, the regulatory role of the sate weakened and private sectors turned out to be dominant in residential developments.

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\* After the second half of 1980s The Mass Housing Fund itself went a crisis. It became impossible, to compensate the credits for too many housing units in the volatile economy with high inflation. The system could not work properly (Türel, 1989). Emlak Bank on the other hand continued its projects until its abolition in 2000.

The particularistic interests of the private companies and cooperatives were not concurrent with the premises of the 1990. The partial plans of cooperatives and companies became directly involved within the land speculation. Along with the movement of large educational and public institutions and development of Çayyolu Mass Housing Area, the interests of private bodies for more housing areas became widespread.

To sum, 1990 Ankara Master Plan enabled the city to expand towards to south-west, however, development gained a new momentum in the following years as a result of series of events. These events eventually produce urban sprawl.

In subsequent years through the abolishment of Ankara Metropolitan Planning Bureau, 1990 Ankara Master Plan began to lose its function and the main decisions of the plan were disturbed by the several partial, fragmented and uncoordinated plan modifications. After the military coup period the legal regulations and institutional arrangement that were put into agenda to cope with uncontrolled urbanization *paradoxically weakened the restrictions and obligatory measures of planning and caused special public provision at the south-western periphery*. All provided the basis for urban sprawl and the city expanded gradually to the periphery (Figure 4.4. and Figure 4.5).

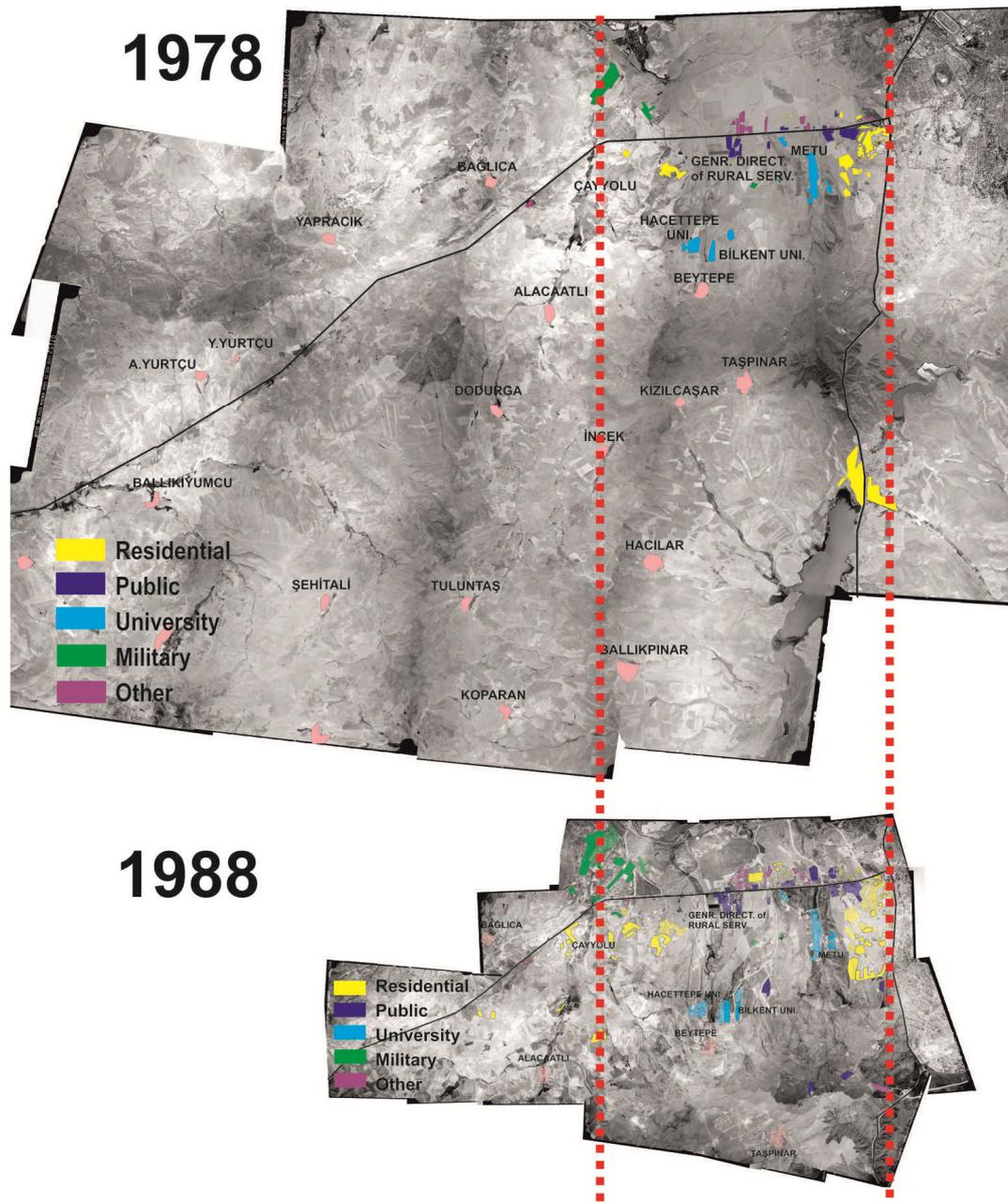


Figure 4.4 : Development pattern at South-Western Periphery of Ankara between 1978-1988

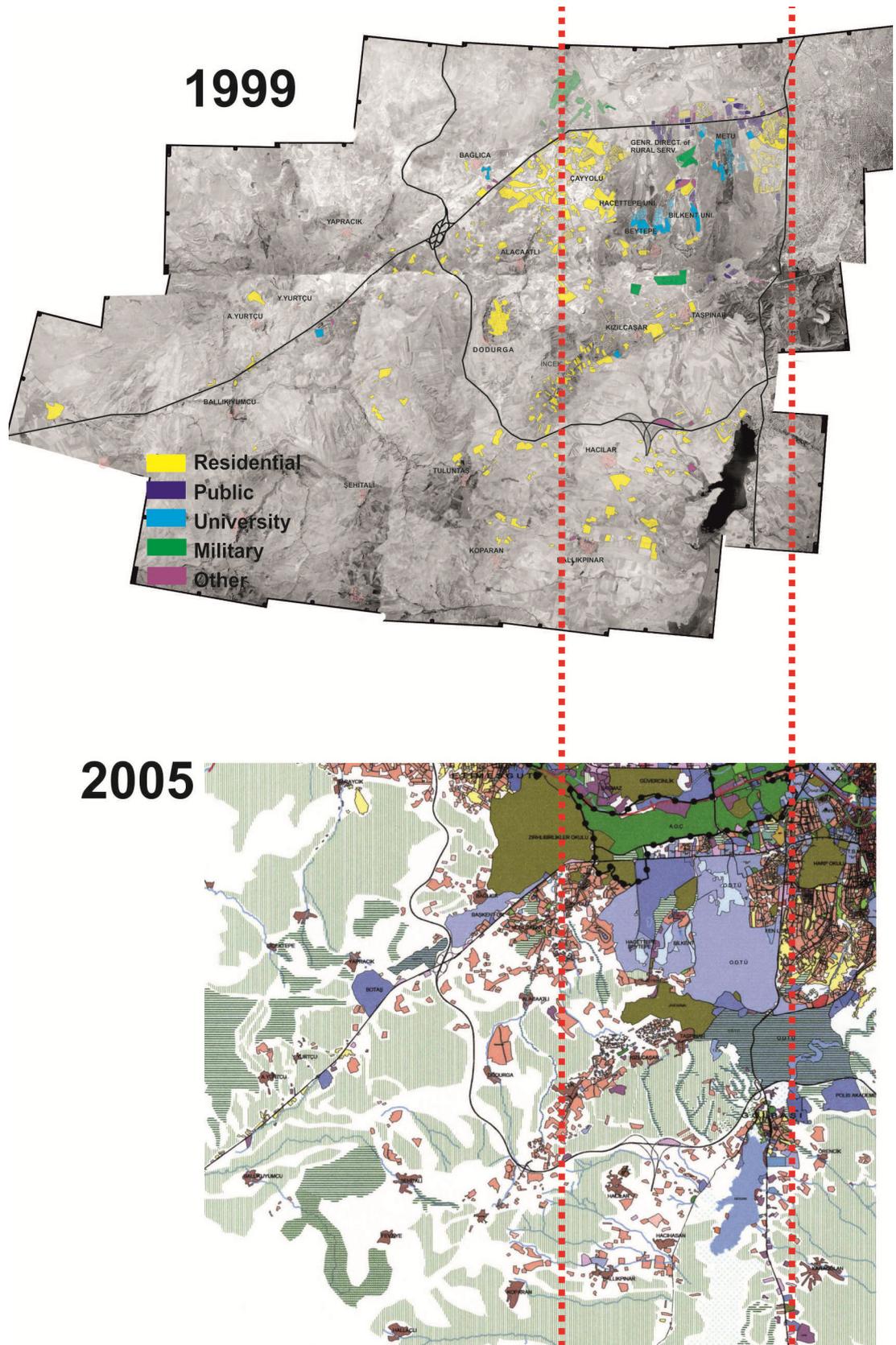


Figure 4.5: Development pattern at South-Western Periphery of Ankara between 1999-2005

## **4.2. PRODUCTION OF URBAN SPACE BY PARTIAL PLANS of CENTRAL AUTHORITY: FIRST PERIOD BETWEEN 1984 and 1994**

Following the 1980s was the decades of economic liberalization with structural adjustment policies. Until the beginning of 1990s, the neo-liberal policies both at central and local government levels brought radical transformations in spatial practices and dramatically influenced the urban planning process. Later on especially in 1989, local elections turned into a new stage that the liberal municipality (ANAP-Motherland Party) changed with social democratic one (SHP- Social Democratic People's Party) and new development dynamics became influential. Considering this administrative shift, the following part will first discuss the legal and administrative issues of the period between 1984-1994 and the examine the production of urban space by fragmented and incoherent plans with intensive analyses.

### **4.2.1. Contextual Framework in the Period Of 1984-1994**

In this period important legal and administrative arrangements were made and they directly effected the planning procedures and intuitional structure, thereby the future of urban development. In line with these arrangements Metropolitan Ankara Planning Bureau was abolished in 1983, planning process was decentralized and planning authority in urban sphere became diversified. Under these circumstances the decisions and provisions of the 1990 Plan were no longer relevant.

One of the most important laws introduced in that years was "Greater Municipality Law No: 3030" that established a new local administration for metropolitan cities under the name of Greater Municipality. The other laws which changed the urbanization pattern were Development Law No: 3194 and Mass Housing Law No: 2985. The consecutive two laws No: 3030 and No: 3194 introduced new regulations for urban development that did not exist in the previous laws.. However these laws were basically consisted of articles with lack of detail and clear information. They referred many other laws and indicated numerous authorized administrations. Therefore they became the source of embarrassment and intricacy in the planning system. In another word, the diversification of authority without a holistic and integrated approach caused confusion

and dispute among planning authorities. Law No: 2985 providing a new financial framework for urban (especially housing) development on the other hand led a speculation and manipulation in urban land. As mentioned in previous part Mass Housing Law as an important instrument to subsidize housing development caused a mass housing project and cooperative boom in the periphery . This law enabled larger scale housing provision and facilitated the organization and the operation of large scale capital. As Tekeli indicated this brought about a shift from “speculation of small capital” to “speculation of large capital”

Within the development Law no: 3194, plans were divided in three main groups. First one is Regional Plans, the second is Environmental Physical Plan and third one is Development Plans. The right of preparation and approval of regional plans of 1/500.000 and 1/100.000 scales were given the State Planning Organization. 1/25 000 scale Environment Physical plans were under the control of the Ministry of Public Works. Local governments are appointed to make the third level plans, consisted of Master Plan at scale of 1/2000 and 1/5000 and Implementation plans at scale of 1/1000. Development plans within the municipal and adjacent boundaries were the duties of Municipalities. Greater municipalities are responsible of preparing or getting prepared, approving and applying master plans within the boundary of Greater municipality. They are also responsible for approving and controlling the implementation plans, whereas district municipalities were only responsible to prepare and apply them. In areas outside the all municipal boundary, the responsibility was belonged the Governorship that was the branch of the Ministry.

As it can be seen in the Figure 4.6 in the inner peripheral areas around Söğütözü, METU, Çayyolu, plans were subject to approval of Greater Municipality. Governorship in another word Ministry was responsible at the outside area of the adjacent boundary (Figure 5.6) .In this period 134 plans were made by municipalities and 52 of them (%38) were consistent with the decisions of 1990 Master Plan. On the other hand municipality made just a few plans in accordance with the decisions of master plan. 139 of 146 (%96) plans were changed the decisions of 1990 Master Plan and 133 of them (%96) were composed of partial plans and 93 plans were under 15 ha that was a minimum plan area proposed by 1990 Plan . Subsequently it can be asserted that ***development in this***

*period occurred in a dual way; as generally planned manner under the authority of municipalities and unplanned and increment manner under the control of Ministry.*

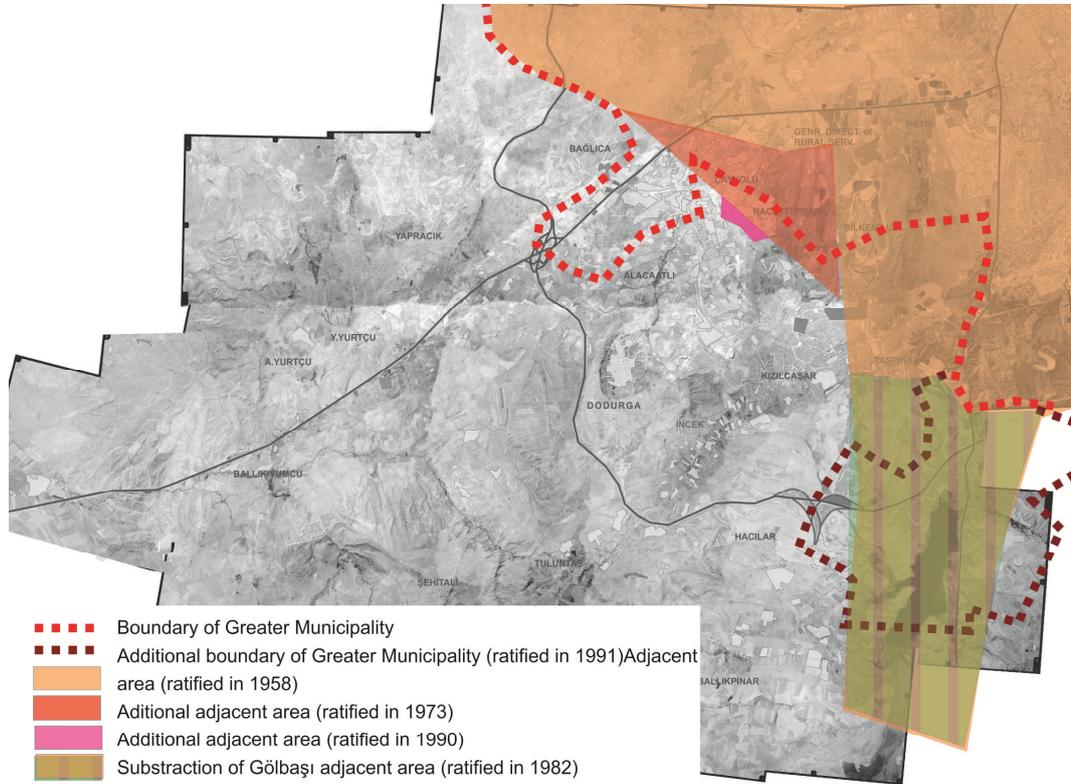


Figure 4.6: The boundary of municipality and adjacent areas between 1984-1994

Authority	Plans
Municipalities	134 plans were approved 82 of them (%62) were fragmented and incoherent with 1990 master plan 60 of them (%73) were piece-meal 40 of them (%49) were under 15 ha
The Ministry	146 plans were approved 139 of them (%96) were fragmented and incoherent with 1990 master plan 133 of them (%96) were piece-meal 93 of them (%67) were under 15 ha

Table 4.2: Distribution of plans with respect to approval authority

The supplementary plan types introduced by Development Law were the source of incremental developments. They were realized when there was need to revise and modify existing plans. These plans were, "Plan Modification", "Revision Plan", "Additional Plan" and "Partial Plans".

Plan modifications were the plans that brought the local changes changing in line with decisions of development plan. Revision plans on the other hand were the plans which brought a change in the essence of the plan. They revised the entire or a large portion of the plans so it was required to renew the analytical researches. This brought impulsive process that Plan modification substituted the Revision Plan. Instead of making Revision Plans, Municipalities and Governorship used Plan Modifications. When the existing plans were insufficient to meet the requirements of the population and/or new development areas were added to plans and a new type appeared under the name of Additional Plan. This type of plan was also required to propose analytical researches for the desires of additional areas.

Partial Plans as another supplementary type were prepared on the areas outside the existing development plan boundary and they provided social and technical infrastructure requirements in its own plan boundary. In the Metropolitan Planning Bureau period partial plans were seen as a tool for implementation process and they were consistent with the main decisions of 1990 Plan. However after 1980s most of Co-operatives and construction companies who did not desire to face with the restrictions and obligatory measures of regular development plans made their project by these partial plans. These plans are approved in a short time without any researches considering the landownership, natural resources or the characteristics of nearby neighborhoods etc. (Gök 1980,131). Hence lots of different housing projects that did not depend on the 1990 plan were made with partial plans. Between 1984 and 1994 the majority of incoherent plans (156 plans) were held by "Partial Plans".

Basically, the lack of the synchronizing arrangements led to confusion in planning system and hybrid plan types emerged such as "Additional Revision Plan", "Additional Plan Modification", "Partial Plan Revision", "Modification in Plan Notes" etc. Within this

period, without considering the scale differences, 14 types of plan were determined. And they became a mean for pursuing particular interest and speculative expectation of Municipalities and the Ministry.

Master and/or Implementation Plan	26
Master and/or Implementation Plan Modification	28
Master and/or Implementation Revision	2
Master and/or Implementation Additional	1
Master and/or Implementation Additional and Revision	1
Master and/or Implementation Additional plan Modification	1
Master and/or Implementation Plan Note Modification	2
Partial Plan	143
Partial plan Modification	12
Partial Plan Note Modification	1
Improvement Plan	1
Improvement Plan Modification	1
Special Project area Plan	1
Special Project Area Plan Modificaiton	1

Table 4.3: The distribution of plan types between 1984-1994

In 1986, to control the urban growth, a new urban plan concerning the city for a target year of 2015 began to be prepared by a research group in Middle East Technical University City and Regional Planning Department. It was more likely a bundle of policies instead of a development plan. The main premise of the plan was the decentralization of the city in the form of compact sub-centers. Yet, this plan could not become an official plan because of authority problem governorship, Ministry and the Greater Municipality.

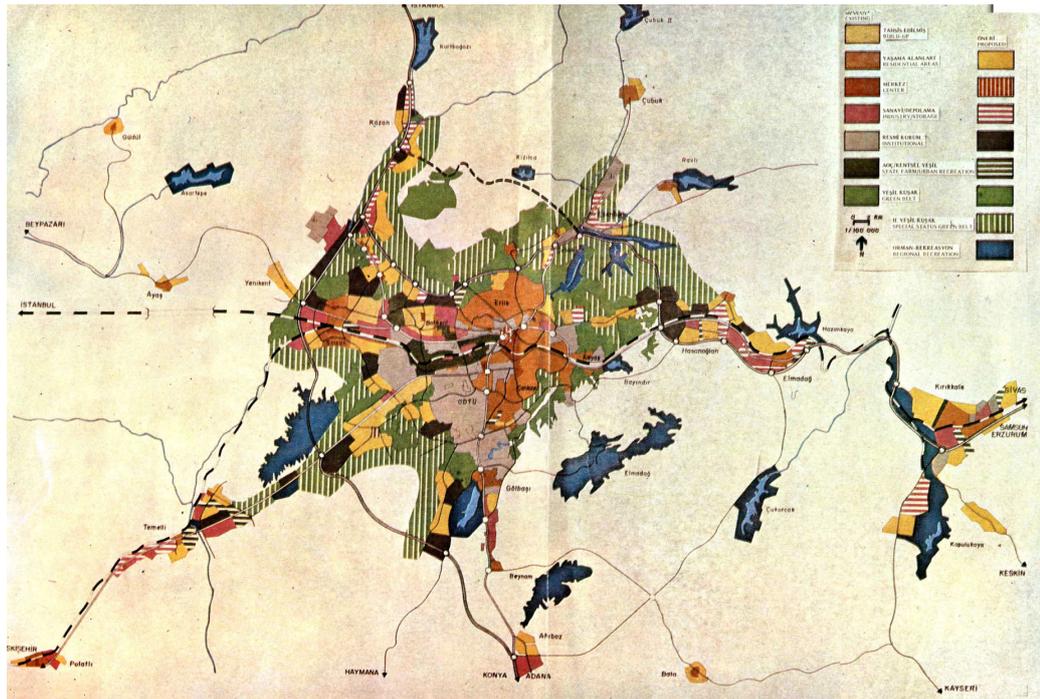


Figure 4. 7:Ankara 2015 Structure Plan (Günay, 2005)

Under these circumstances development at the south-western periphery of the city became more open to the speculation and manipulation. With the entrance of private planning bureaus into planning activities, urban plans became closely related with particular interests. And these interests were legitimized through the fragmented planning processes of governments.

After the local elections on 26.3.1989, the social democrat party rose to power in greater municipality and the major tried to constitute a vision for the city based on industrial production and commercial activities. For the inner parts of the city he realized urban renewal and rehabilitation projects and major infrastructures and transportation projects, he also made several plans for the south-western periphery of the city. The plans made in the period of social democrat major were much more than the plans approved in the previous municipality period. As the figure illustrated, in the period of social democrat major the percentage of compatible plans was comparatively low. In those years the belt-highway project of General Directorate of Highway Administration feed the speculative expectation and triggered the urban expansion. The

social democratic party could not manage to control and consolidate such development and many fragmented plans were approved by the district municipalities.

Greater Municipality	Plans
Liberal party (ANAP)	46 plans were approved by greater and district municipalities %47 (22) of them were consisted with the decisions of master plan in force. Proposed areas: 1959 ha Proposed population: 785 persons
Social democratic party (SHP)	88 plans were approved by greater and district municipalities %34 (30) of them were consisted with the decisions of master plan in force Proposed areas: 5123 ha Proposed population: 4619 persons

Table 4.4: Distribution of urban plans with respect to political party of greater municipality

Outside the boundary of greater municipality, the fragmented planning activities directed by the ministry continued in a severe manner. %62 (139) of incoherent plans were made by the ministry.

Against changing circumstances, the greater municipality started a new planning effort for the year of 2025. Yet, this plan was been completed more than five years later by different municipality with different policy preferences.

Without a general framework for the city, piecemeal plan processes directed the urban development in this period. Such a trend was supported by the regulations set by central and local governments. These legislations drew the general framework of the legal and administrative context of the planning system up to now. Greater Municipality Law no:3030 remained in effect until the ratification of new one in 2004, Development Law no:3194 on the other hand is still in force.

#### 4.2.2. Sprawl-Specific Analyses

In this period urban development at south-west periphery was handled through 280 separate urban plans. 221 (%79) of them was plans that distorted the decisions of 1990 plan. Only 59 plans (%21) were made according to 1990 Ankara Master Plan decisions. The small scale ones of these compatible plans were for housing areas, while the larger were for university areas or public institutions. Contrary to compatible plans, incoherent plans spread all over the 1990 Master Plan area and decentralized to the unplanned area at the south and south-west.



Figure 4.8: Fragmented and incoherent plans made in “1990 Ankara Master Plan” between 1984-1994



Figure 4.9: Plans made according to decisions of in “1990 Ankara Master Plan” between 1984-1994

The spatial distribution of the plans showed that the areas around the Eskişehir Highway and the axis between Çayyolu and Kızılcaşar were highly condensed. In 1990 Master Plan, just the areas around Çayyolu were proposed for development. However, in this period development expanded towards the south and west direction. As it seen in the figure development magnitudes of years between 84-89 were trivial and more fragmented.

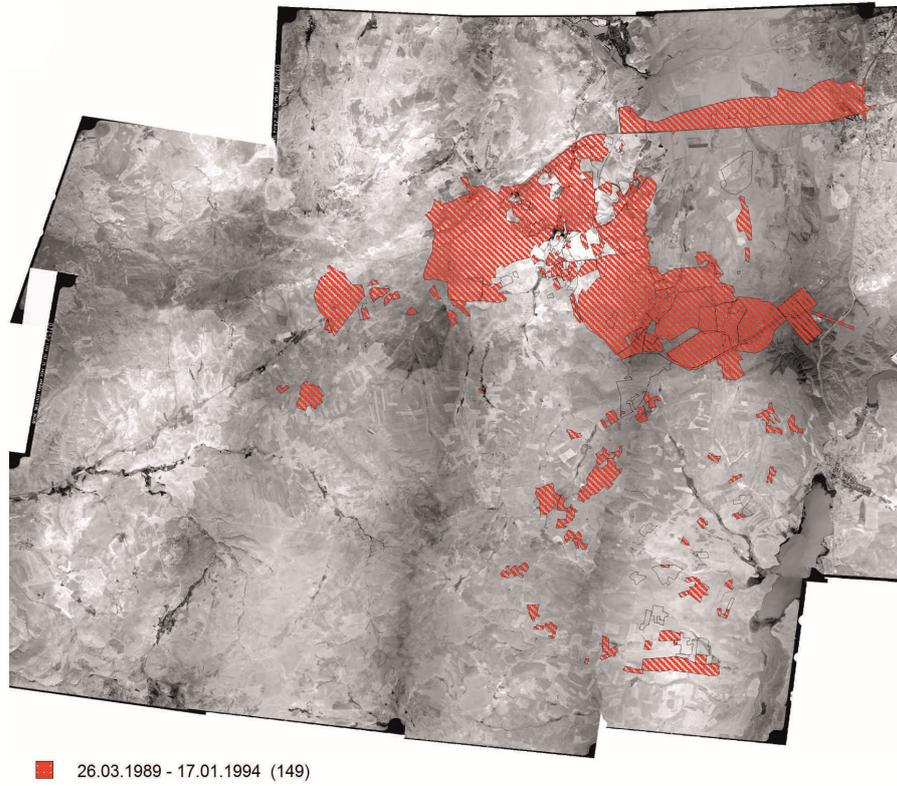
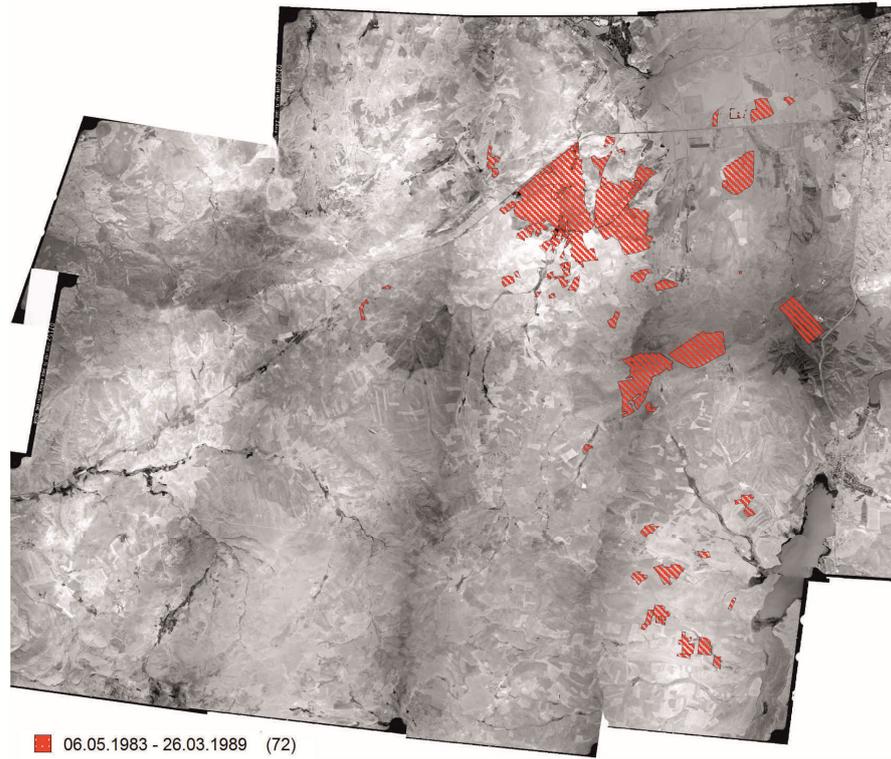
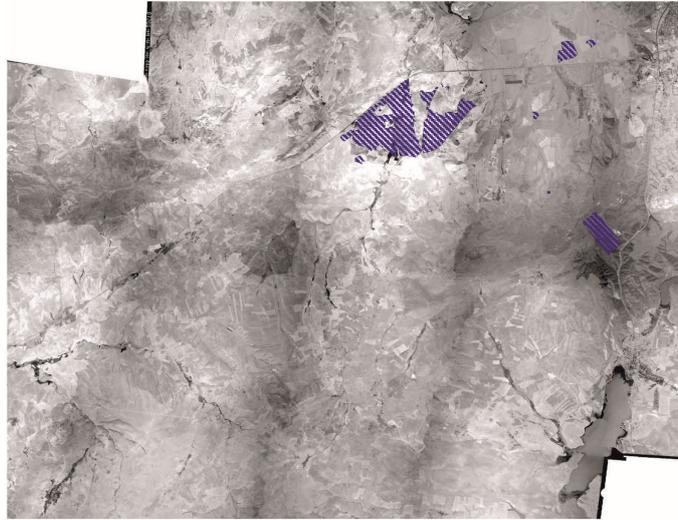
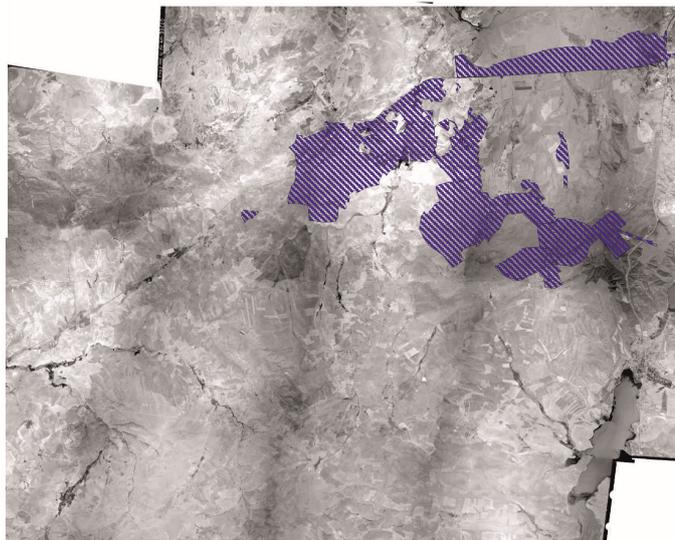


Figure 4.10 : The distribution of fragmented and incoherent plans between 1984-1994



Plans made by liberal municipality (Altınsoy) (24)



Plans made by social democratic municipality (Karayalçın) (58)

Figure 4.11: Distribution of fragmented and incoherent plans with respect to political party of greater municipality

The years after 1989 that was the period of social democratic party were the development upsurge. This increase could be evaluated with reference to two important events. One of them was the enactment of new laws. As it mention before these laws changed the structure and mechanism of planning system in a way that plan planning processes became more partial and fragmented than before. Another significant event was the proposal of “2015 Structure Plan”. Although it was not approved, the

decentralization decisions of this plan began to be equated with the promotion of particularistic interests of private bodies.

Politics	Incoherent plans made by		Compatible plans made by		Total Plans
	Municipalities	Ministry	Municipalities	Ministry	
Liberal (ANAP)	24	48	22	5	99
Social democratic (SHP, CHP)	<b>58</b>	91	30	2	181
Total	82	<b>139</b>	52	7	280

Table 4.6: Distribution of number of the incoherent and compatible plans with respect to political party of greater municipality

Due to the aforementioned regulations, planning activities were mostly centralized in this period that 139 (%63) of 221 plans were approved by Governorship (that is the branch office of the Ministry). These plans were made in unplanned areas of 1990 Master Plan. The ministry who did not want face with the restrictions and obligatory measures of Master Plan approved 133 (%95) of 139 plans as Partial Plans. In Planning history of Ankara, these plans could be evaluated the first attempts that directed urban sprawl to the south-west. Greater Municipality approved 45 (%20) incoherent plans. 37 (%17) of them were approved by both Greater and District Municipalities. The analyses of the plans with respect to politics of greater municipality indicated that production of urban periphery by incoherent plans continued without interruption in the period of social democratic party (Figure 4. and Table 4.)

The distribution of approval authority with respect to scale showed that the general tendency toward realization of fragmented and incoherent plans was to approve them with 1/1000 scale. 143 (%65) of plans in this period were at the scale of 1/1000. This indicated that the main concern of authorities- specially the Ministry's concern- was to shorten the time period and skip to implementation processes by circumventing upper scale plans. 48 (%22) plans were approved at scales of both 1/5000 and 1/1000. Such a trend was an evidence of incremental and piecemeal planning processes. By disturbing

the planning hierarchy, large agricultural and open space were transformed and opened immediately to construction. 1/1000 plans of The Greater Municipality on the other hand was not noteworthy. Regarding the development law and greater municipality law to make and to approve 1/5000 plans were the duty of Grater Municipality, 1/1000 plans on the other hand were made by District Municipality and approved by both Greater and District municipalities. Therefore 1/5000 plans of Greater Municipality had greater portion. In this point it could be said that those 1/1000 plans of district municipalities should be the compatible with the 1/5000 plans of Greater Municipality. Therefore they were not self-determining and autonomous as much as the plans of Ministry.

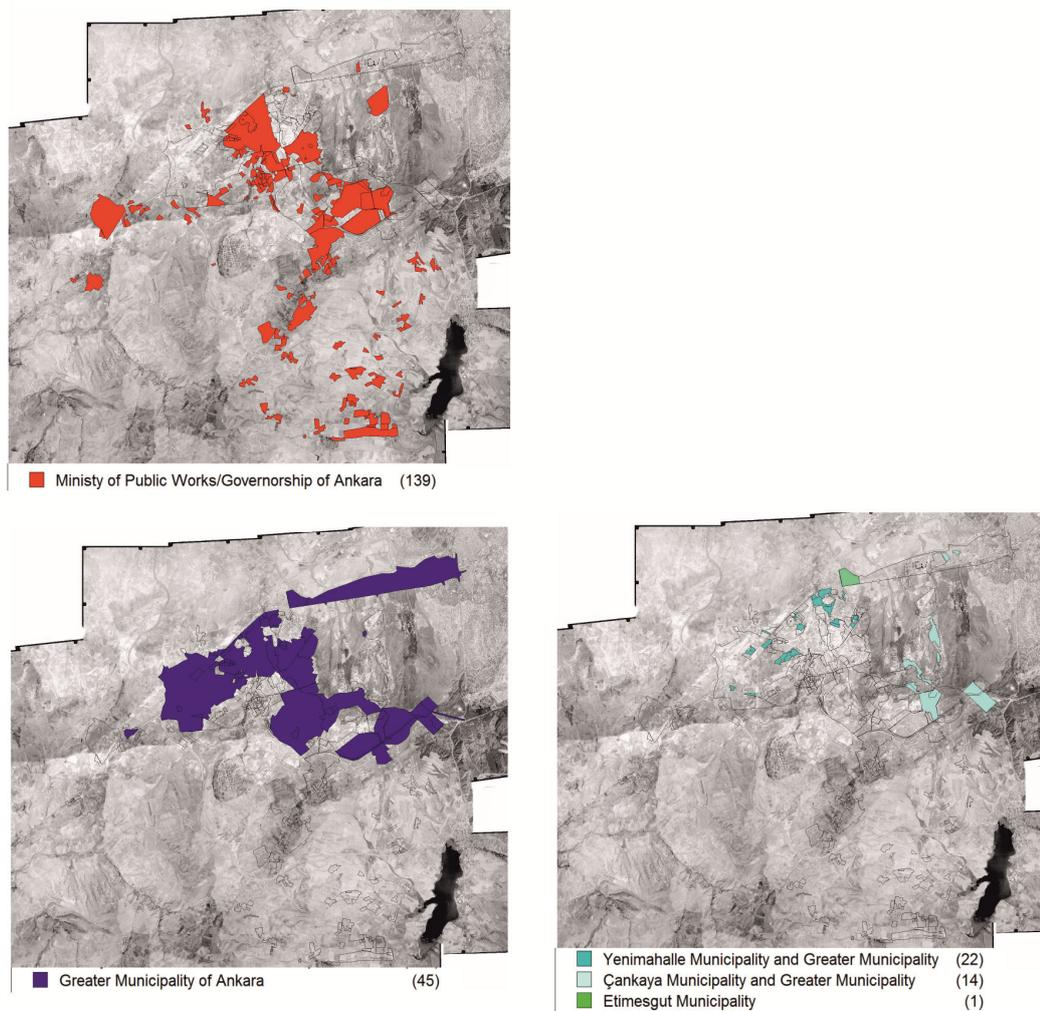


Figure 4.11: The distribution of plans between 1984-1994 with respect to approval authority

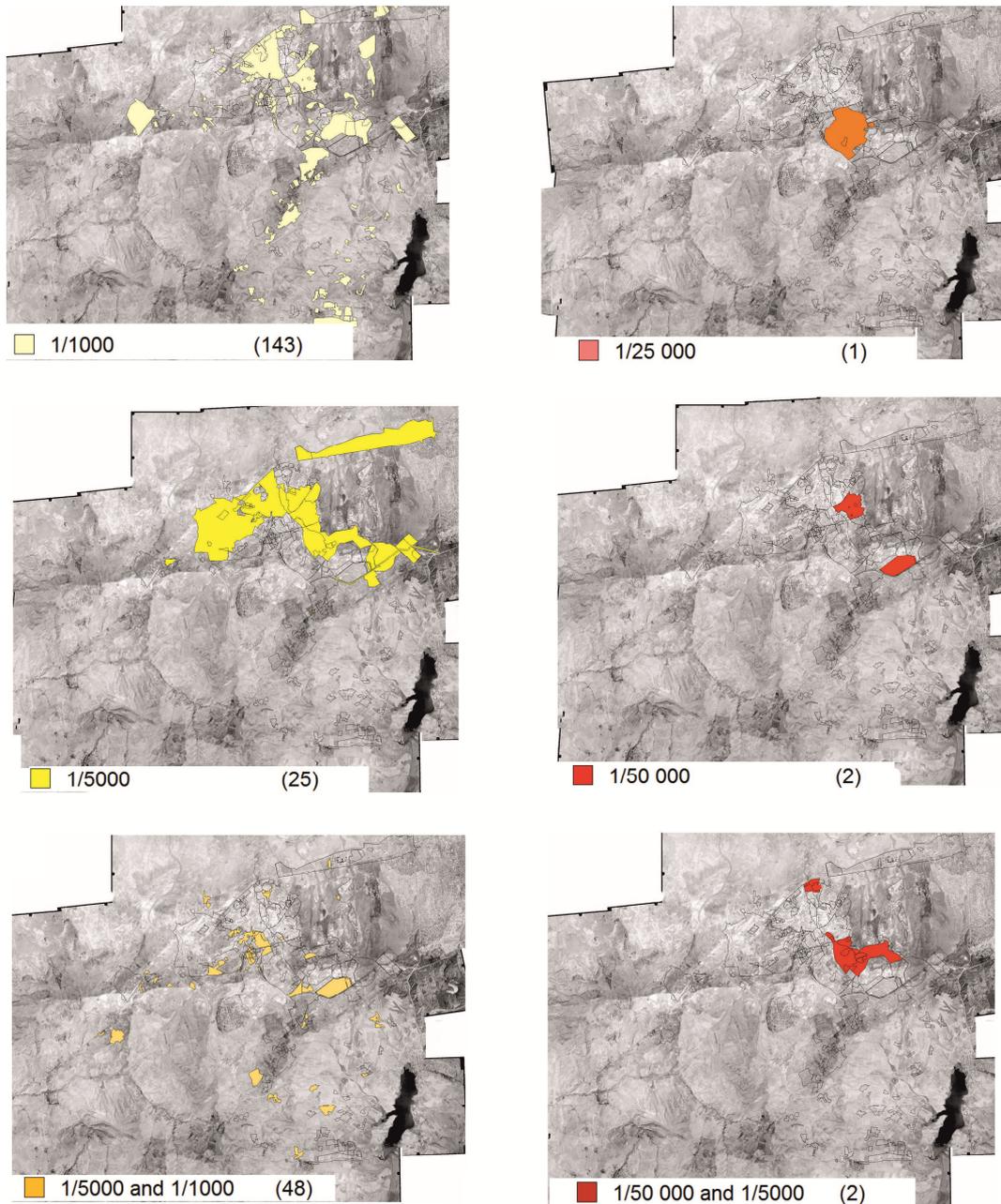


Figure 4.12: The distribution of plans between 1984-1994 with respect to plan scale

Apart from these lower scale plans, five upper scale plans were made by Greater Municipality and the Ministry. These plans were made for housing development: The plan at 1/25 000 scale was for Memurlar Koop. Beytepe Mass Housing areas; plans at 1/50 000 scale were for Beytepe Mass Housing Area and ÖYSE Housing area. The plans at the scale of 1/50 000 and 1/5000 also proposed housing developments, especially around Ümitköy and Beytepe village. Although all these upper-scale environmental

physical plans were in the boundaries of 1990 Ankara Master Plan, and their proposals were completely different from the 1990 Plan. These plans transformed generally public inst. and university areas or agricultural and green areas to housing developments. In the flowing parts of the paper the changes brought about the plans will be investigated in detail.

Authority	Scale of the Incoherent plans						
	1/1000	1/5000	1/5000 and 1/1000	1/25000	1/50 000	1/50 000 and 1/5000	Total
Ministry	90	3	45		1		139
Grater Municipality	17	22	2	1	1	2	45
Yenimahhale Dist. Muni. And Grater Muni.	21		1				22
Çankaya Dist. Muni. And Grater Muni.	14						14
Etimesgut District Muni.	1						1
<b>Total</b>	143	25	48	1	2	2	221

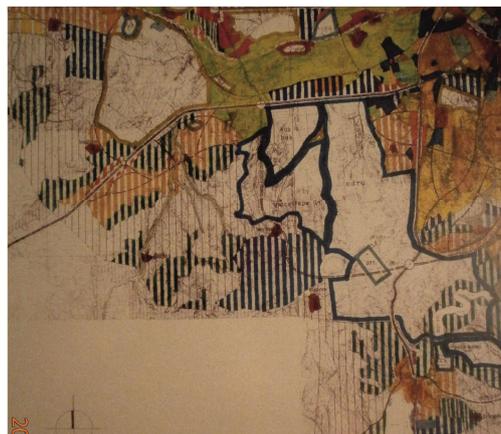
Table 4.7: The distribution of plans between 1984-1994 with respect to cross tabulation of approval authority and plans scale

Spatial distribution of plans with reference to changes they brought about proved the transformation deformation of 1990 Ankara Master Plan. The greatest portion of these incoherent plans 135 (% 61) changed the land use decisions of master plan. 65 (%30) plans were outside the master plan area. 20 (%9) plans increased the population density decisions of master plan and one plan was made to increase the road width.

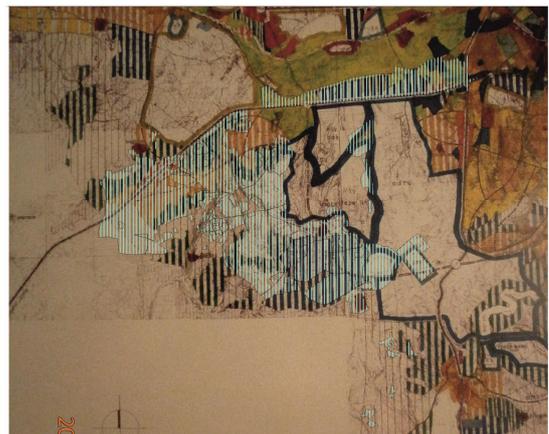
#### 4.2.2.1. Changing Land-Use Decisions

The distribution of fragmented and incoherent plans with regards to the changing land-use decisions shows significant details about the production of urban sprawl. Certainly, they were realized to gain additional development right and to propose new development area. Changes in the land use decisions with reference to existing land use

in 1990 Master Plan and proposed land use in plans vindicate that greater portion of land use changes was made for housing areas (Figure 4.). 108 (%80) of 135 plans were for housing development.



1990 Ankara Master Plan



Land-use changes brought about by plan Modifications



Land-use decisions of plan modifications

Housing Unit	(9)
Housing Settlement	(86)
Housing Settlement with variety of land uses	(11)
Housing Units of Public Inst.	(1)
Housing settlement and Military	(1)
Commercial	(2)
Social Infrast.	(4)
Public Inst.	(7)
Urban Service	(2)
Urban Service with Public Inst. and Commercial	(1)
University and Public Inst.	(1)
University and Forest	(1)
Military	(2)
Military and Public Inst.	(1)
Forrest and Military	(3)
Forest	(1)
Village	(2)

Figure 4.13: Land use changes brought about by incoherent plans between 1984-1994

To examine the land-use alteration in detail, the land use changes were clustered in two main groups with respect to the previous land use decisions. As the most manipulated one, the first was the conversion of the agricultural and forest areas to other premises. 104 (%77) of 135 plans resulted with alteration from agricultural and forest use to other uses and remarkable changes were made for housing areas. Specifically, 94 of 135 plans were made entirely on these areas and they permanently opened 3379 ha forest and agricultural lands to urban development. 88 of these 94 plans proposed residential area

and the average gross density of them was around 73 p/ha. This density proposal was below the decision of 1990 Plan (150p/ha) so it can be said that those plans converting agricultural and forest area proposed a low-density development pattern. However it should be taken into consideration that in the following years the population densities of these areas were increased by other plans. In another word these significant conversion decisions were the beginning of forthcoming urban problems. Furthermore, 10 of 104 plans proposed a partial alteration of agricultural and/or forest lands. These modifications transformed not only the agricultural and forest areas but also the other land-uses.

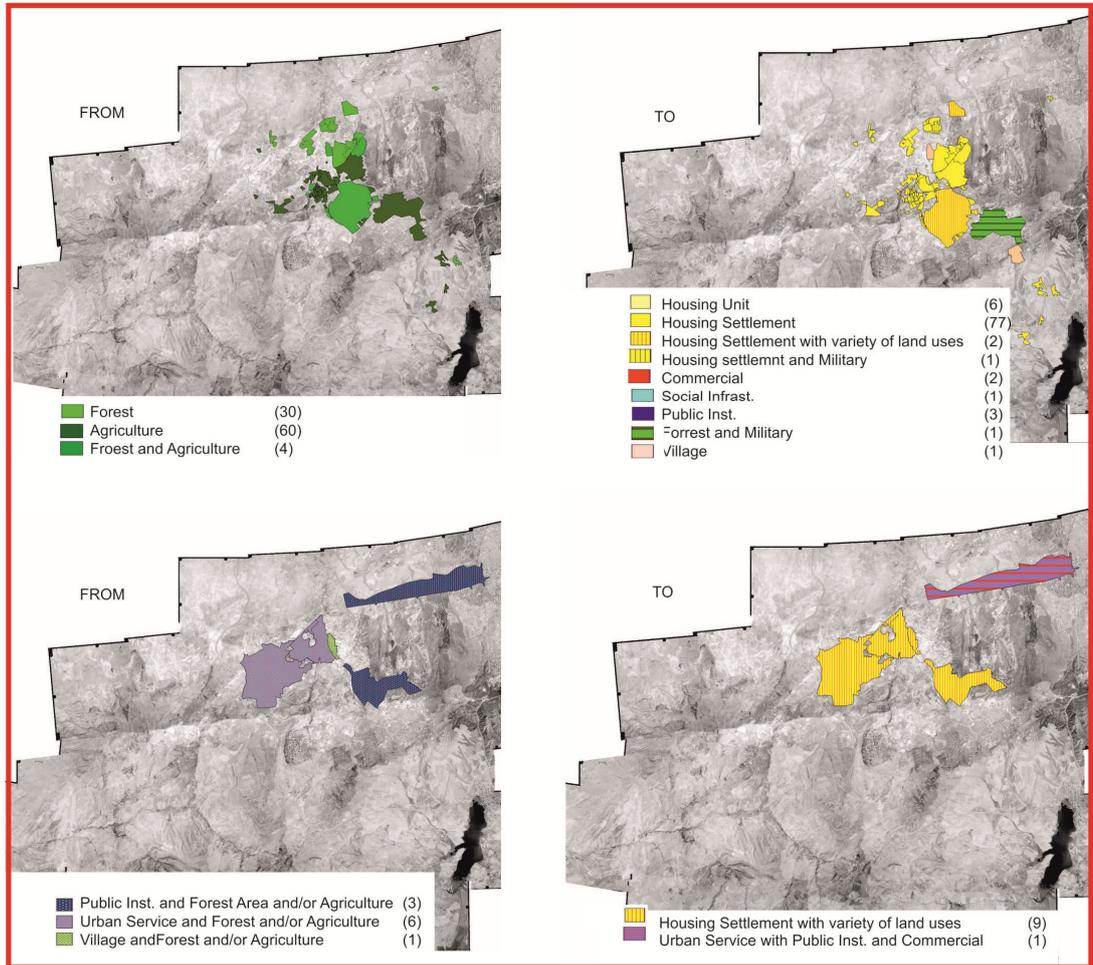
Housing Unit	1
Housing Settlement	2
Housing Settlement with variety of land-uses	3
Housing Settlement and Military	4
Commercial	5
Social Infrast	6
Public Inst.	7
Urban Service	8
Urban Service, Public Inst. and Commercial	9
Military	10
Military and Public Inst.	11
Military and Forest	12
Forest	13
Village	14

Table 4.8: Codification of proposed land-uses

Exist.	Proposed														T
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	
I.Group	6	77	2	1	2	1	3					1		1	94
			9						1						10
II.Group		1	11			3	4	2		3	2		5		31
<b>Total</b>	6	78	22	1	2	4	7	2	1	3	2	1	5	1	135

Table 4.9: Existing plan decisions and proposed land-uses

I.GROUP: CHANGING GREEN AREAS (FOREST AND AGRICULTURAL)



II. GROUP: CHANGING OTHER LAND-USES

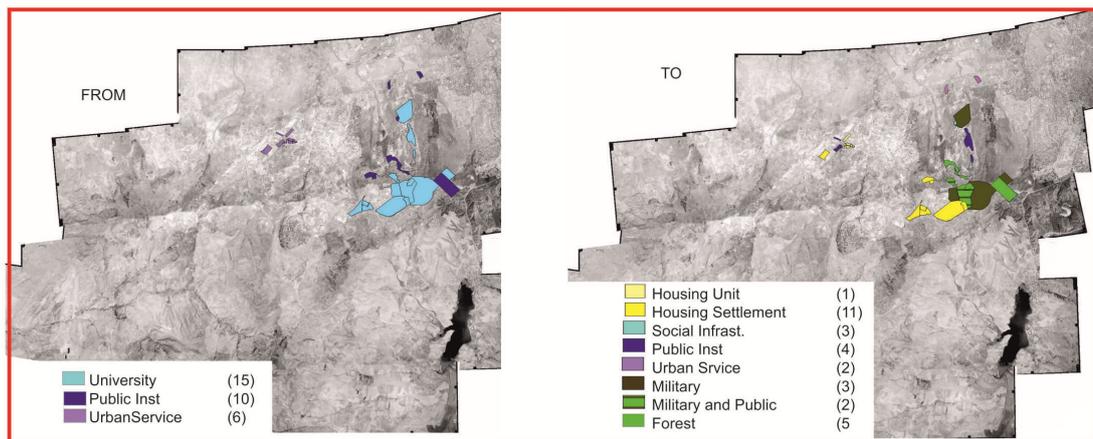


Figure 4.14: The spatial Distribution of fragmented and incoherent plans with respect to land use changes they brought about

The second group of land-use conversion was made on Public areas, University areas and Urban Service areas. These were the other significant land use decisions of 1990 Master plan that were changed by 31 plans. Like the previous one, these areas were mostly transformed to housing areas.

The main actor to approve the land use change plans was Ministry. 71(%52) of 135 land use conversions were approved by Ministry. The Greater Municipality also put forward many conversions, 38 plans were realized by the municipality. Most of these land-use conversions were made by partially at the low scale. 69(%97) plans of Ministry's plans and 18 (%47) of Greater Municipality's plans were at the scale of 1/000 and 1/5000-1/1000.

#### 4.2.2.2. Increasing Population Density

Without changing the land-use decisions, 20 plans just increased the population density of existing Master Plan. This type of modifications took place within the whole plans at a rate of %9. Except those located at the north, the most density increase were came into being at Çayyolu-Ümitköy axis (Figure 4.).



Figure 4.15: The spatial distribution of plans that increase population density

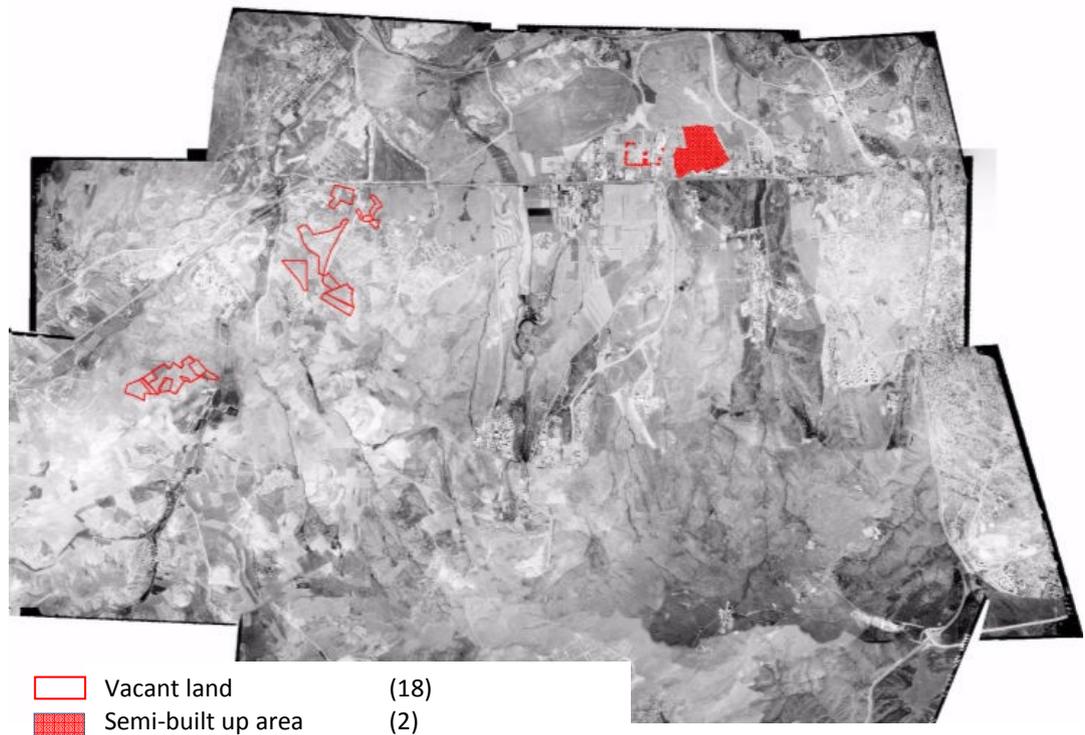


Figure 4.16: The characteristic of planned area

The main characteristic of these plans was that 18 of 20 density increase were realized in undeveloped vacant lands. That means, before the building activities, additional construction rights were given to these areas. The other two density increases were also made in semi-built area. One of these plans was Improvement Plan for squatter settlements in Mustafa Kemal Neighborhood.

The density proposal of these plans ranged between 172 p/ha and 270 p/ha. The highest density increases were carried out in improvement plan area and in some other areas alongside the main roads. These residential areas were mostly consisted with high-rise apartment buildings.

Density increase decisions were generally performed by 1/1000 scale plans. 11 of 20 plans made by 1/1000 plans. 2 of them were realized by both 1/5000 and 1/100. Just 7 plans were at the scale of 1/5000. This indicates that without a holistic manner, the densities of housing areas were increased and low-density suburban characteristic of the periphery was devastated.

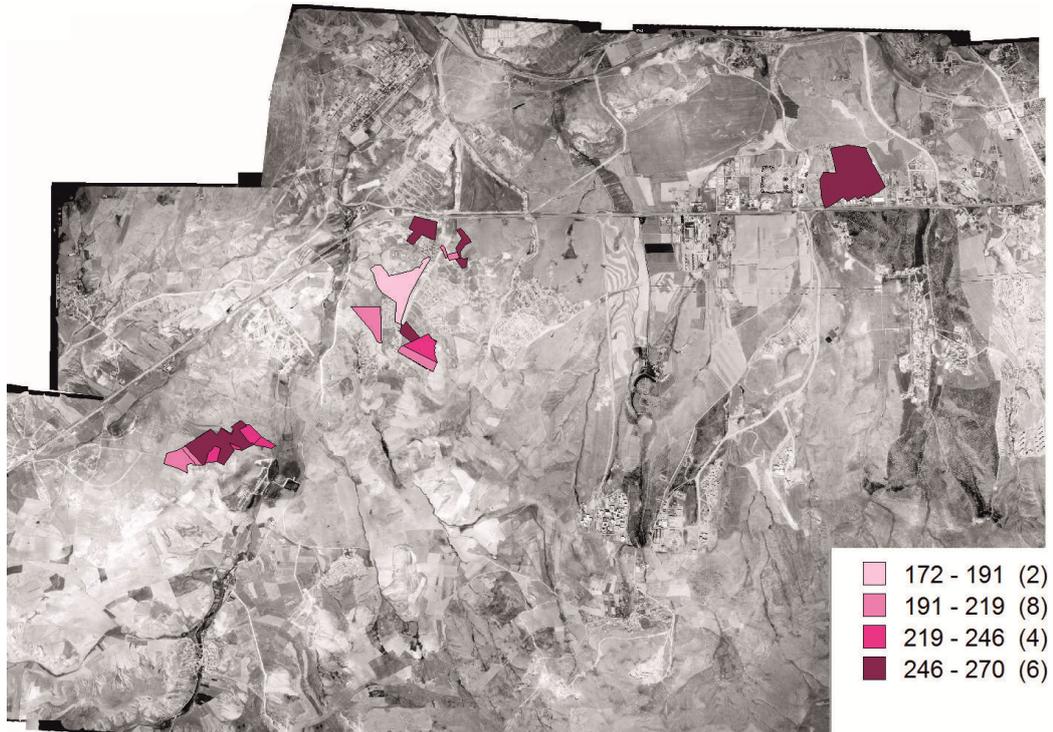


Figure 4.17: The spatial distribution of proposed densities

#### 4.2.2.3. Development in Unplanned Area

Between 1984-1994, 65 plans were made outside the 1990 Master Plan Area. The greater portion of these plans was appeared after 1987. These years were the period of 2015 Ankara Master Plan preparation. Despite this plan was not approved, it cause speculative movements to south-west corridor which was determined as one of the main decentralization corridor of Ankara. Therefore after these years fragmented and incoherent planning process accelerated and became the main reason of urban sprawl.

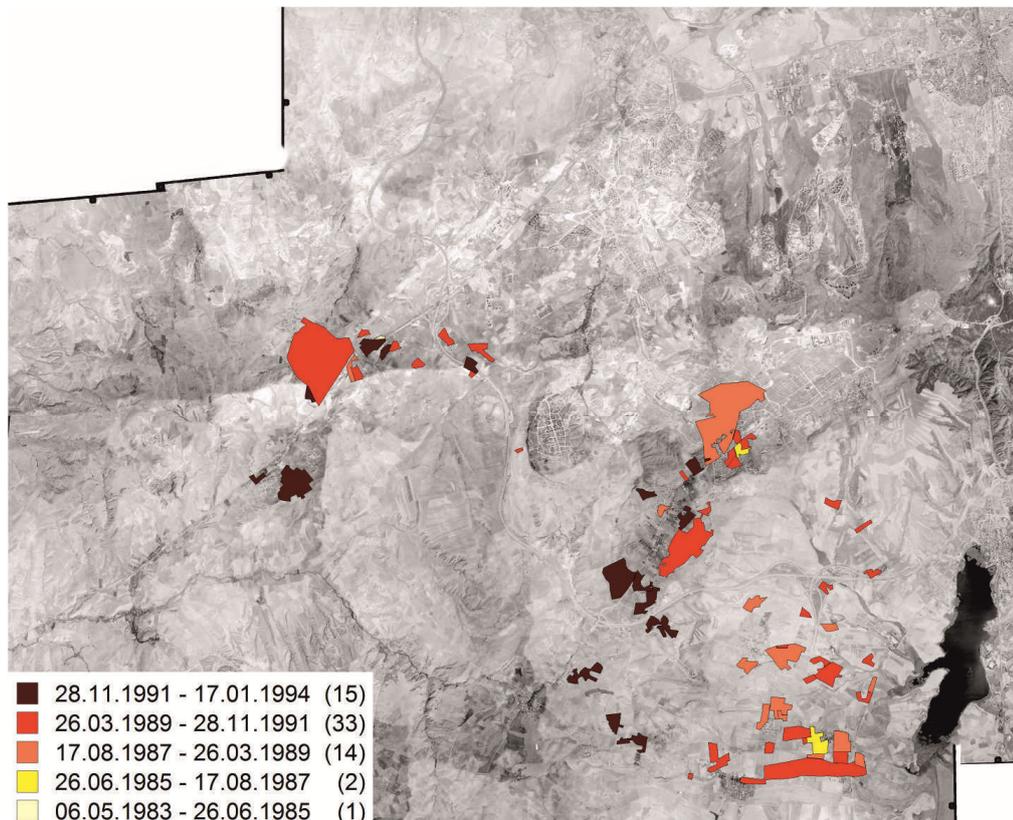
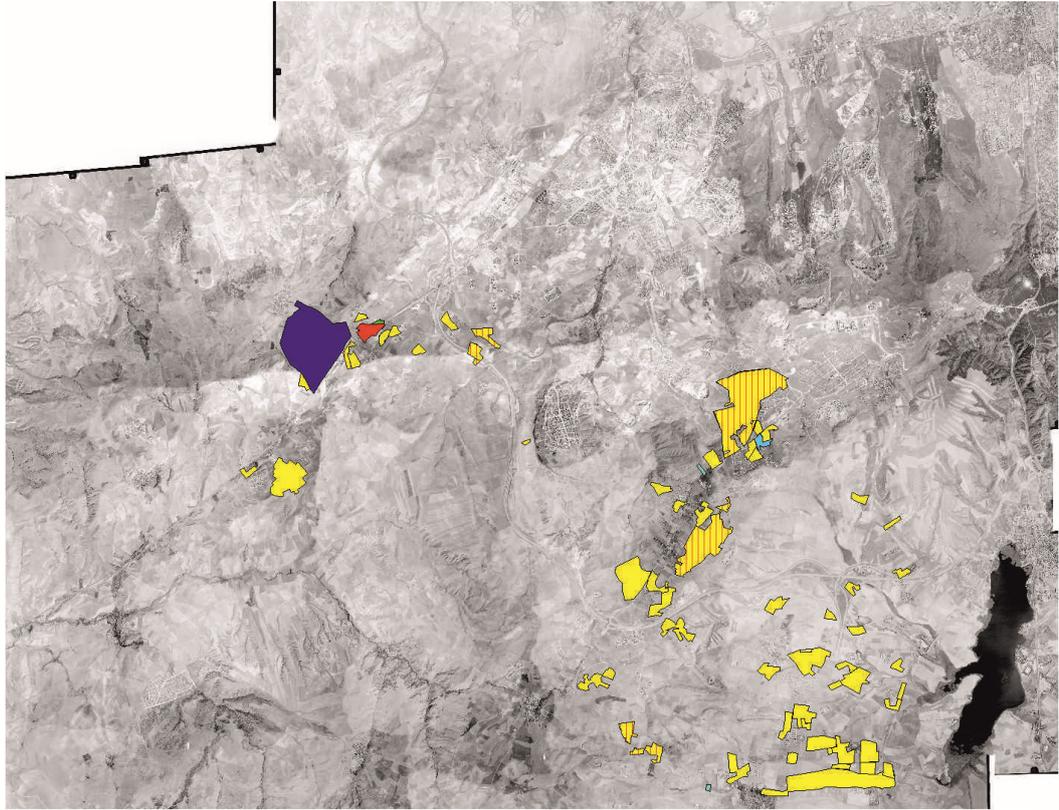


Figure 4.18: The spatial distribution of plans made in unplanned area between 1984-1994

As shown in the Figure (4.19), the main land use decision of these plans based on residential uses. 58 of 65 plans were realized for housing areas and 49 of them offered housing settlement with small commercial nucleuses or cultural facilities.

These plans proposed 87400 people in their 1770 ha planned area. The average density of residential areas was 43 p/ha. When compared with the density estimation of those plans increasing density or changing land use, this density estimation was relatively low. That meant, in this period plans made out of the planned area shaped more scattered dispersed and low-density urban pattern.



□ Housing Unit	(2)
□ Housing Settlement	(49)
□ Housing Settlement with variety of land-uses	(6)
□ Housing Unit and Urban Service	(1)
□ Social Infrast.	(2)
□ Technical Inst.	(1)
□ University	(1)
□ City Gate Complex	(2)
□ Rekreation	(1)

Figure 4.19: Land use decisions of plans in unplanned land

Considerable numbers of plans were held along the Kızılcaşar-İncek road and 2 of these plans proposed large commercial uses. This axis between Kızılcaşar-İncek is still predominant today. Another concentration was experienced on the north, alongside the Eskişehir road. One plan on the north was realized for technical infrastructure (natural gas pipeline terminal). Another important plan came into exist for City Gate Project containing commercial, recreational and cultural facilities. This project did not happen but caused speculation and intensified the demands around the area.

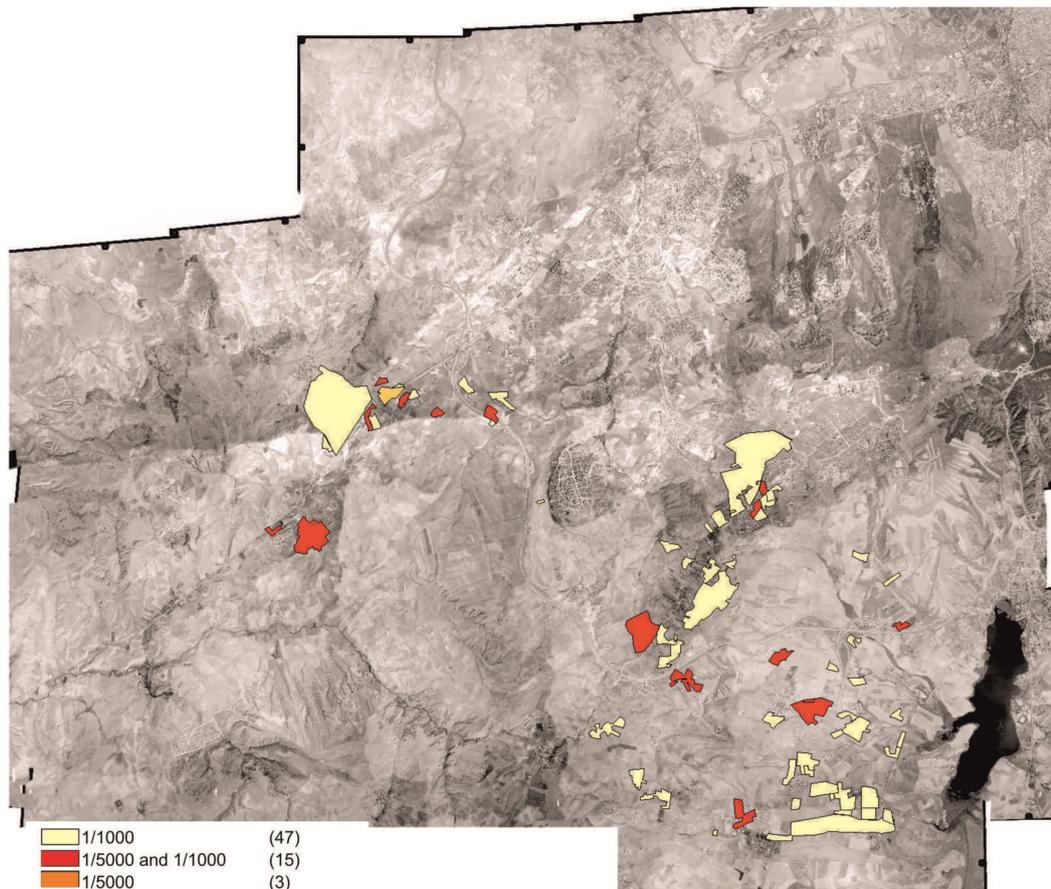


Figure 4.20: The scale of plans in unplanned area

Except one plan that was carried out for City Gate Project, all other plans (64) were put through by Ministry. As it mention before this superiority of ministry is based on the Law no: 3194 and Law no: 3030. These areas were outside the municipality and adjacent area, and as the laws indicated Ministry had authority to make and approve plans.

Furthermore, nearly all plans of Ministry were realized at the scale of 1/1000. 47 of 64 plans were at the scale 1/1000 and 15 plans were performed a both at the scale of 1/5000 and 1/1000.

At this point another important issue should be added that nearly all plans of Ministry (62 plans) were “Partial Plan”. To not face with the restrictions and obligatory measures of regular process, Ministry used this plan type. Law no: 3194 indicated that Partial Plans should provide social and technical requirements in their own boundary. From this

point of view these plans seemed to be compatible with the law, because majority of plans offered these facilities. However development did not occurred as it proposed. The social, commercial or social facilities were not constructed until population increased enough to meet the level of demand.

#### **4.3. PRODUCTION OF URBAN SPACE UNDER LEGISLATIVE AND ADMINISTRATIVE TURMOIL: SECOND PERIOD BETWEEN 1994 and 2001**

The post 1994 period may be termed as period of conflicts between central government and the greater municipality. The disputes arisen from the legislative and administrative confusion became the source of radical version of problematic urban development. Urban space at the south-western periphery of the city began to be produced by incremental and fragmented fulfillments of market demands without the macro-scale plan decisions.

##### **4.3.1. Contextual Framework in the Period Of 1994-2001**

After the rejection of 2015 master plan and proposal of belt-highway road, urban macro-form experienced a fundamental transformation in way that urban sprawl and the speculative movements at the south-western periphery became important problems and these problems necessitated produce a new plan. Within this context, in order to control the urban growth arose from partial developments, greater municipality began to prepare a new plan “Ankara 2025 Master Plan” for the predicted year of 2025. The main plan principle was to decentralize urban are by creating new nodes, corridors and attraction centers.

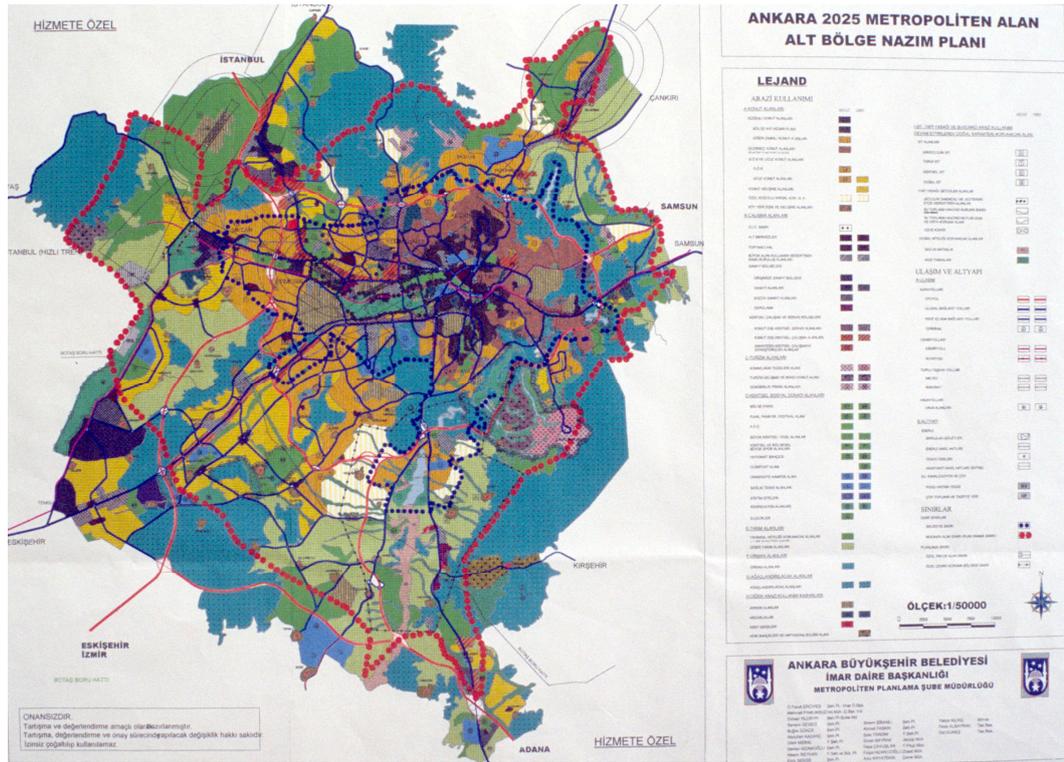


Figure 4.21: Ankara 2025 Master Plan (Source: ABBSBİDB, 2006)

In these efforts, greater municipality tried to extent its authority areas and determined a new adjacent areas same as the 2025 plan boundary. This boundary was ratified by the Ministry on **07.02.1994**. While planning effort was continuing, in March 1994 local election, islamic Welfare Party (RP) won and Gökçek became a major. After this alteration, just six months later on 30.09.1994 the ministry re-changed the boundary of adjacent areas and accepted the 1992 adjacent areas boundary again. This bought about a long judicial process between greater municipality and the ministry. The boundary became a source of dispute and judiciary procedures and these conflicts became the major factor for speculative developments.

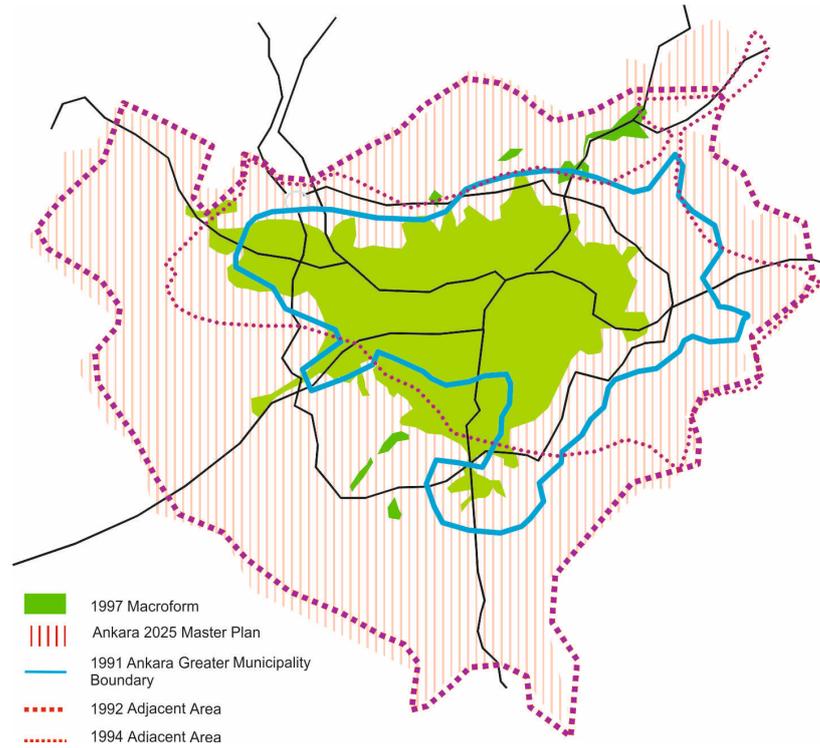


Figure 4.22: The boundary of municipality and adjacent areas in Ankara between 1994-2001

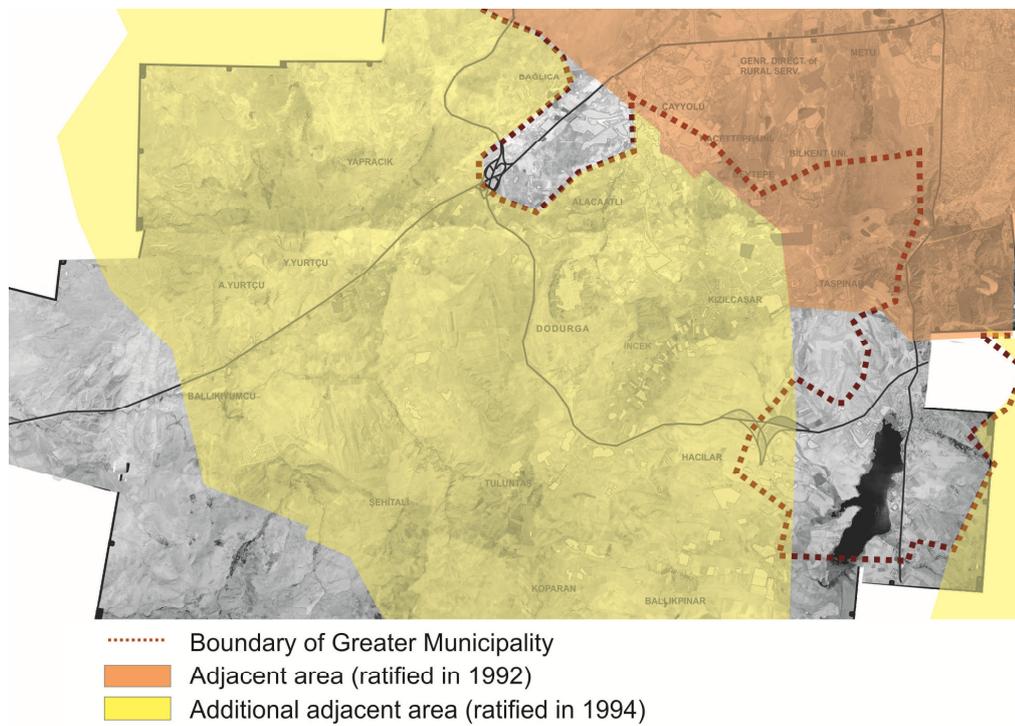


Figure 4.23: The boundary of municipality and adjacent areas between 1994-2001

During judicial process, the ministry prepared “Southwest Ankara Development Axis Plan” with 1/25.000 scale. After the enactment of this plan in **14.03.1995**, the ministry approved the 1/5000 plans consecutively. Until the date on which the ministry lost the authority in adjacent area, 66 plans were made by the ministry. The coverage areas (19157ha) and proposed population (1024229) of these plan constituted %50 of total incoherent plans made in this period. These plans brought a serious movement in the land market at the south-western periphery of the city and around it. Land values increased seriously and speculation accelerated by this way.

In **01.10.1996** the judicial process finished in favor of greater municipality and the 07.02.1994 adjacent boundary accepted again by the decisions of court of appeal. However until this day the plans made by the ministry in the adjacent areas proposed many development lands. And these plans increased the existent pressure and speculation problems in the south-western periphery. On **20.10.1997** the Council of State abrogated the Southwest Ankara Development Axis Plan and subsequently the master and implementation plans related to it began to be canceled. This intensified the problems caused a complex formation in urban development. During the lawsuit process many areas were transformed with additional development rights and after the cancellation of the plans these areas remained unplanned.

In this complicated milieu, greater municipality complicated 2025 planning study and at least on 28.12. 1998 it was presented to approval of Greater Municipality Council. A lot of criticisms were made about the growth policies of the plan such as lacking institutional perspective, not intervening the existing stock, opening more land to development without any significant criteria. As a result, the plan lacked public support and in 30.07.1999 it was not approved by the Ankara Greater Municipality Council.

During this process, amendment in the “By-Law About the Principles of the Making of Development Plans and Changing Them” was published in the Official Gazette no 23804 dated **02.09.1999**. It was stated 1/25.000, 1/50.000, 1/100.000 could only be made by the Ministry\*. In another word greater Municipalities could not make plans larger than

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\* In By-Law About the Principals of the Making of Environmental Physical Plan” published in the Official Gazette no 24220 dated 4.11.2000, it has been stated that environmental physical plans

the scale of 1/5000. This decision left the 2025 plan study totally out of agenda. All these conflicts led to confusion of authority in making of the upper- scale plans and intensified the speculative pressures at the South-western periphery that became an area directed by piecemeal plans keeping the **spontaneity of market** relations.

Despite all of these conflicts, one year late on 31.10.2000 with letter no. 2094 the ministry asked the greater municipality to prepare the 1/5000 master plans and 1/1000 implementation plans for the for the areas where Southwest Ankara Development Axis Plan was canceled. This also caused complex problems that the ministry wanted 1/5000 and 1/1000 scaled plans to be prepared without binding upper-scale plans. After this decision greater municipality approved many plans according to general assumptions of Ankara 2025 Master Plan. In the flowing years to cancel these plans , a number of juridical disputes arose.

		<b>07.02.1994- 01.10.1996</b>	<b>01.10.1996- 18.07.2001</b>
Number of plan	Municipalities	30 (%21)	112 (%79)
	Ministry	69 (%93)	5 (%7)
	Total	99 (%46)	117 (%54)
Proposed area (ha)	Municipalities	1801 (%13)	12239 (%87)
	Ministry	23372 (%99)	146 (%1)
	Total	25174 (%67)	12386 (%33)
Proposed Population	Municipalities	75421 (%12)	538809 (%88)
	Ministry	1432033 (%99)	14367 (%1)
	Total	1507454 (%73)	553176 (%27)

Table 4.10: The distribution of plans with respect to planning authority between 1994-1996 and 1996-2001

could be prepared at a scale of 1/25.000, 1/50.000, 1/100.000 or at a smaller scale and the Ministry of Environment was responsible for the preparation and approval of them. This brought about new delegacy conflict between the Ministry of Public Works and Settlement and the Ministry of Environment.

Under this legislative and administrative turmoil, in order to provide unity at the southwestern periphery of the city that faced incremental developments, the ministry and the greater municipality made a cooperation to prepare new upper-scale partial plans regarding the areas between Eskişehir and Konya Road and the belt-highway. With the approval of this plan in 2001, the production of urban sprawl gained a new dynamism.

#### 4.3.2. SPRAWL SPECIFIC ANALYSES

In the period between 7.2.1994 and 18.7.2001, 267 plans were made for the case area. While 216 (%81) of them were the plans that changed the decisions of master plan in force, 51 (%19) of them were made according to decisions of this plan. different from the previous one, the production of urban sprawl was exaggerated by those plans that covered large urban lands. These big plans swallowing the agricultural and open areas were spread over the entire area and proposed large housing settlement with various land uses.

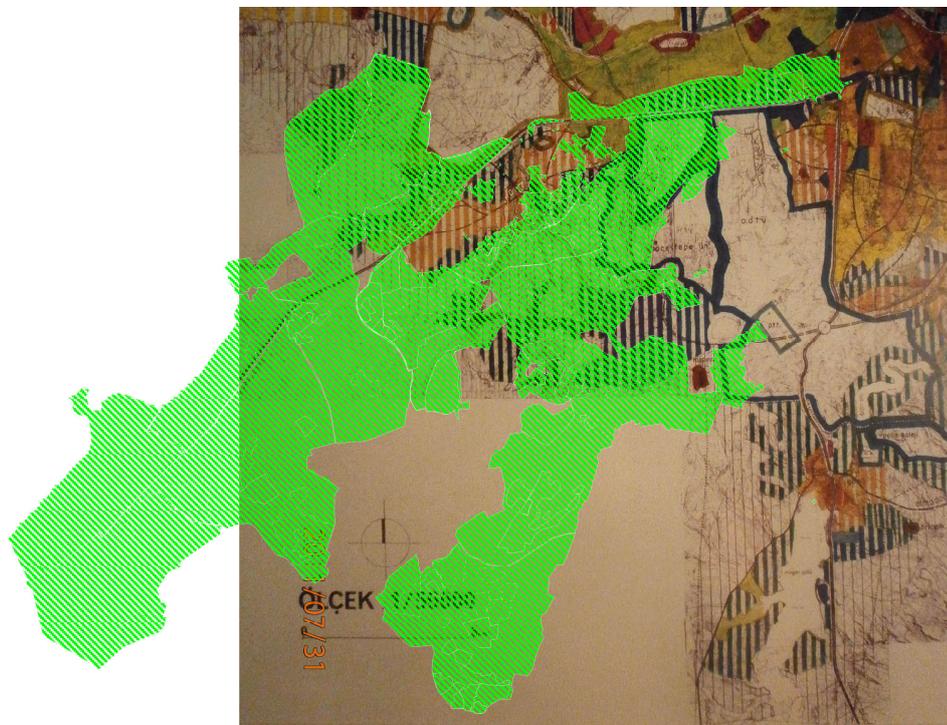


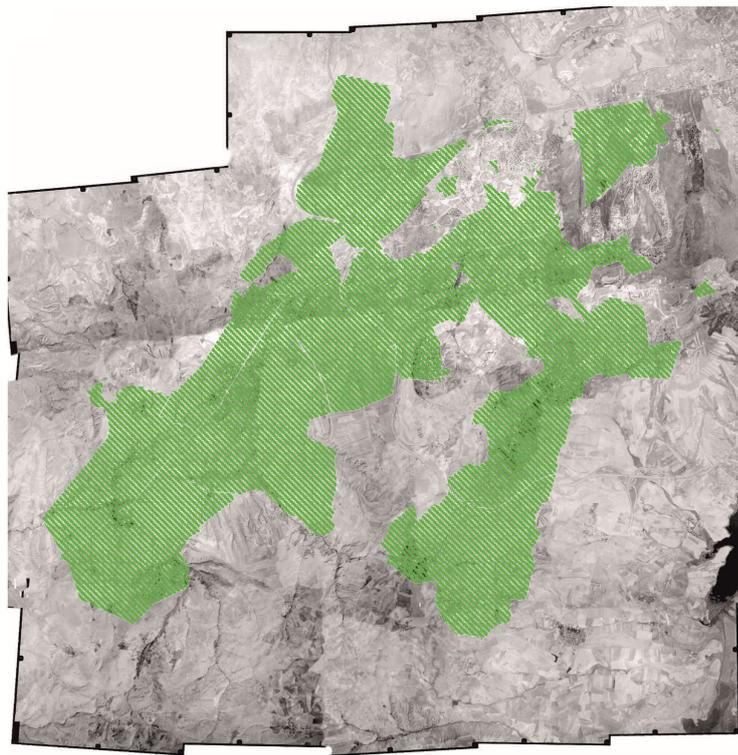
Figure 4.24: Fragmented and incoherent made in “1990 Ankara Master Plan” between 1994-2001



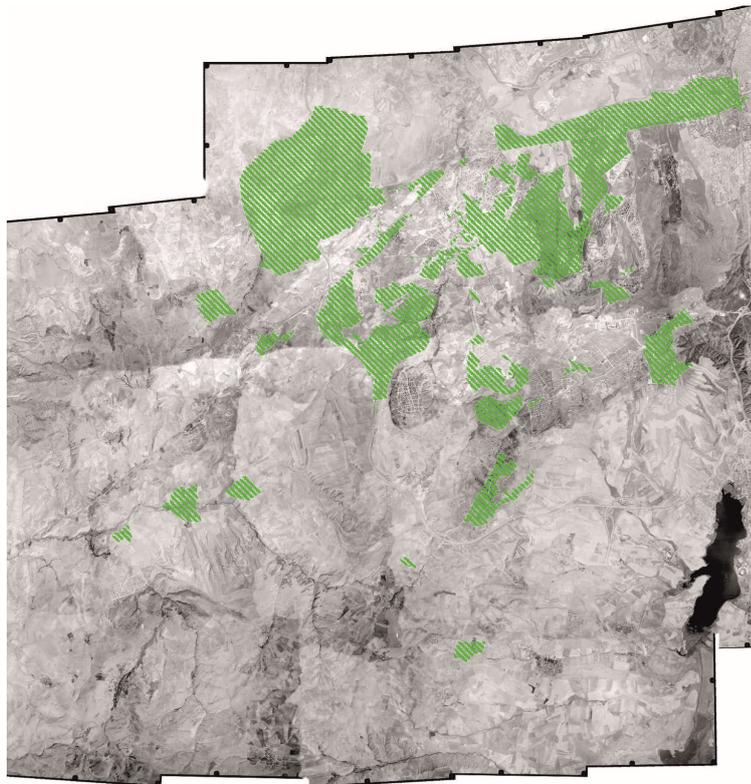
Figure 4.25: Plans made according to decisions of in “1990 Ankara Master Plan” between 1994-2001

The spatial distribution of incoherent plans indicated that the areas along the Eskişehir Road and the areas around Tuluntaş, İncek Axis were the most dynamics parts of the case areas where large unplanned peripheral lands were opened to development. Nearly all these large scale plans were approved during the juridical conflicts between greater municipality and the ministry. In the period between 07.01.1994 and 01.10.1996, %45 (99) of plans were approved and the proposed areas of these plans were two times bigger than the those approved between 01.10.1996 and 18.07.2001.

In juridical process, the majority of the plans were made by the ministry. Between 1994 and 1996, 69 (%70) plans were approved by the ministry. Most of these plans were made according to 1/25.000 scaled “Southwest Ankara Development Axis Plan”. Until the day on which the enlargement of adjacent area was accepted the ministry prepared 66 plans with respect to the decisions of this upper scale plan.



07.02.1994 - 01.10.1996 (99)



01.10.1996 - 18.07.2001 (117)

Figure 4.26: The distribution of incoherent plans between 1994-2001

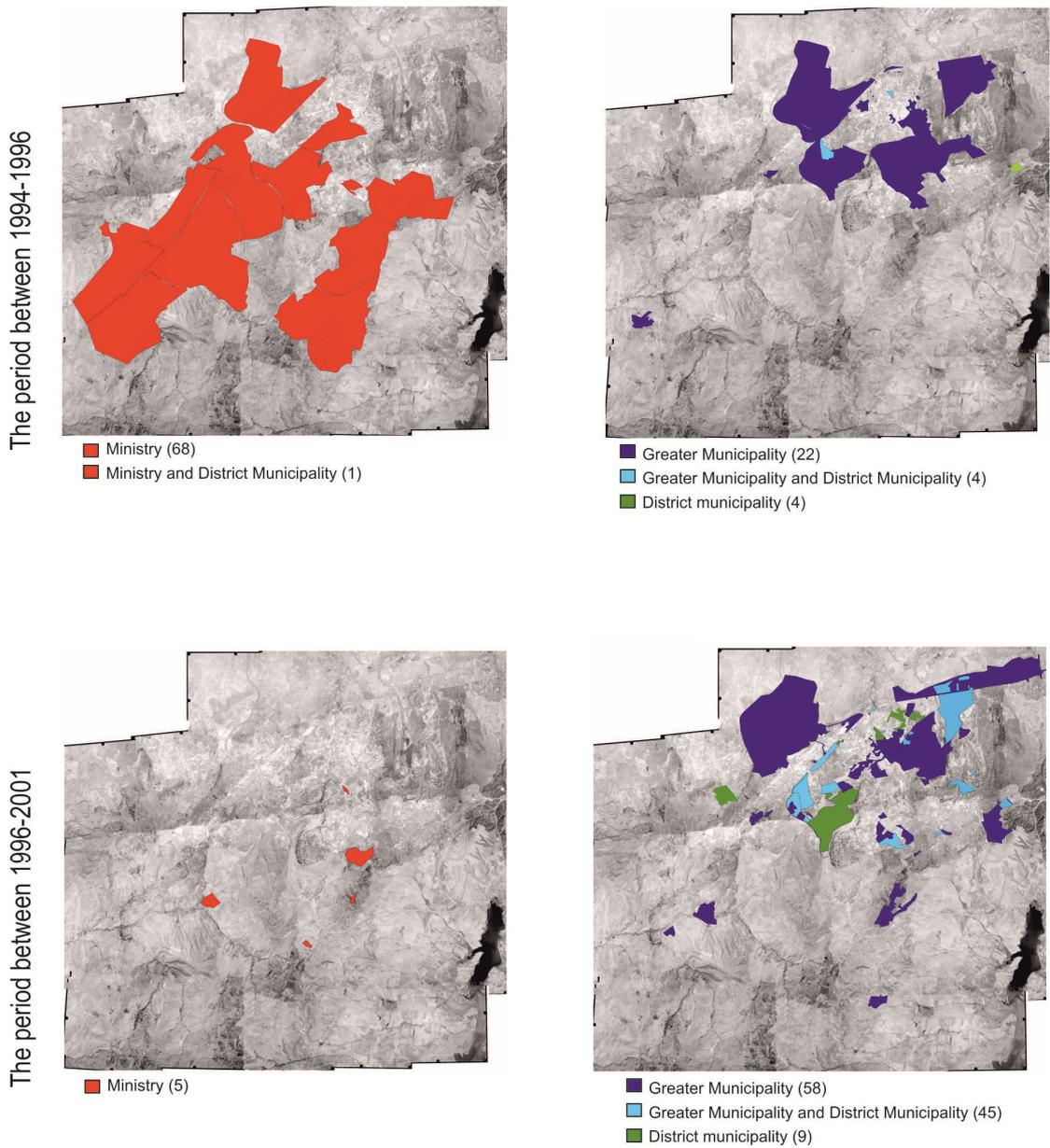


Figure 4.27: Distribution of plans with respect to approval authority between 1994 and 2001

After the expansion of adjacent area, the Southwest Ankara Development Axis Plan and subsequent plans of the ministry began to be abolished. The areas gained additional development rights remained unplanned that brought about additional juridical and planning problems. Between 199-2001 the planning activities of greater municipality could not be as intensive as the those of the ministry. Although greater municipality approved more 1/5000 and 1/1000 scaled plans than the ministry, these plans were relatively piecemeal and had smaller planned areas and population size.

	Number of plans	Planned Area	Proposed Population
Ministry	74	23319 ha	1446400
Municipalities	142	14041 ha	614230
<b>Total</b>	<b>216</b>	<b>37560 ha</b>	<b>2060630</b>

Table 4.11: The distribution of plans with respect to planning authority between 1994-2001

This was related with the amendment made in the “By-Law About the Principles of the Making of Development Plans and Changing Them” according to decision of this law, the planning authority to make the scale of 1/25.000, 1/50.000 and 1/100.000 plans were given to ministry in 1999. Therefore the greater municipality could only made 1/5000 and 1/1000 plans. Due to lack of any upper scale plans, the greater municipality directed development by these types plans. The greater municipality approved 5 plans at the scale of 1/50.000 and 1/5000-1/50.000, until the day on which the amendment was put into force. These plans without a holistic approach were made for piecemeal land use changes. Incoherent plans at the scale of 1/50.000 proposed for tp. 907 and kd. 525 parcels transformed the green and agricultural areas (proposed by 1990 master plan) to housing settlements.

Authority	Scale of fragmented plans						Total
	1/1000	1/5000	1/5000 and 1/1000	1/2000	1/50 000	1/50 000 and 1/5000	
Ministry	56	11	6				73
Ministry and District Municipality	1						1
Grater Municipality	23	47	4	1	2	3	80
Greater Municipality and District Municipality	49						49
District Municipality	12	1					13
<b>Total</b>	<b>141</b>	<b>59</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>216</b>

Table 4.12: The distribution of plans between 1994-2001 with respect to cross tabulation of approval authority and plans scale

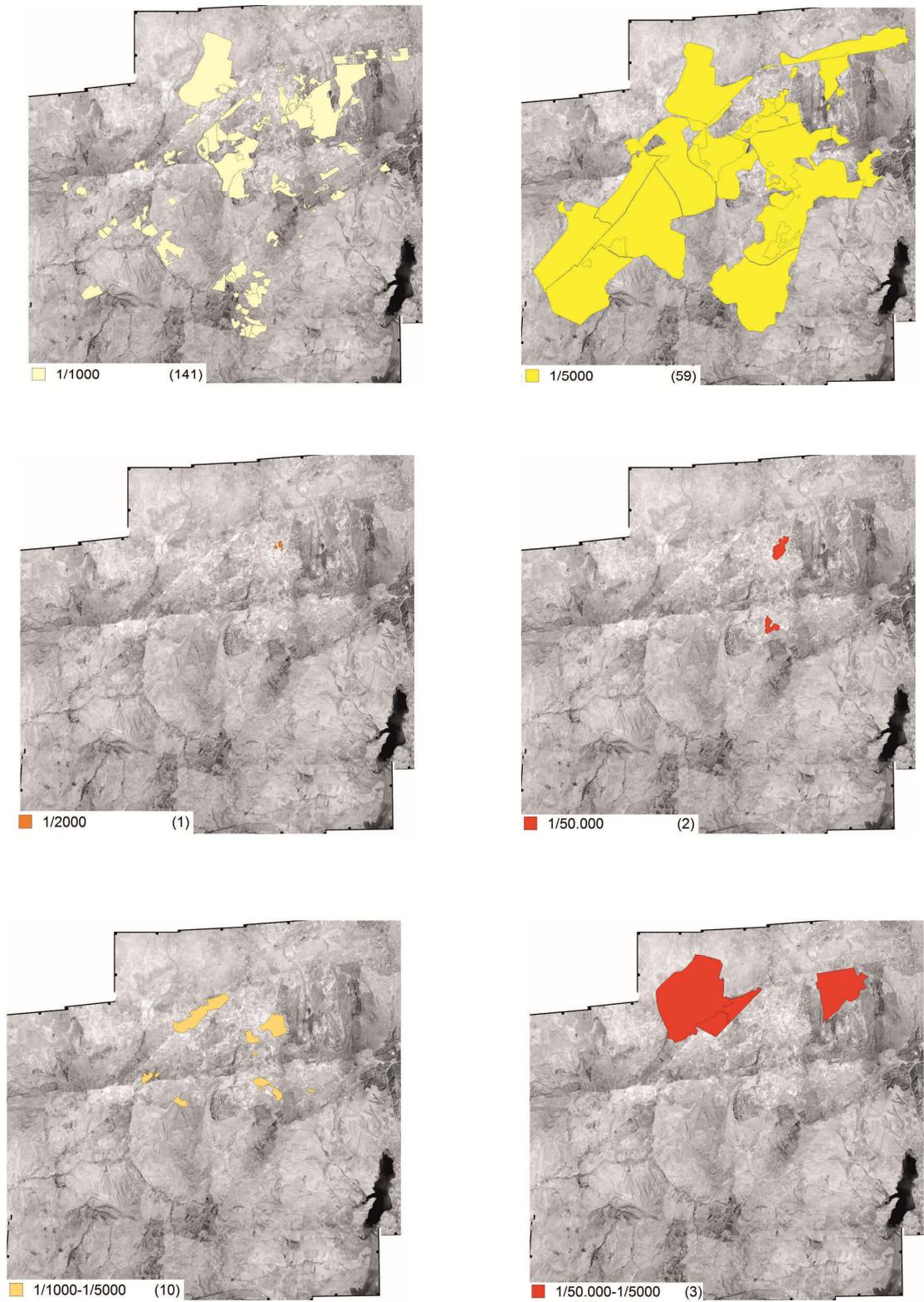


Figure 4.28: The distribution of plans between 1994-2001 with respect to plan scale

The majority of plans (141) were prepared at 1/1000 scale and most of them were approved by the ministry between 1994 and 1996. 1/5000 scaled plans on the other hand were the most speculative plans. Although the number of these plans were low (59), they covered large areas. 11 of them approved by the ministry were prepared in a harmony with the Southwest Ankara Development Axis Plan.

Unlike the previous period, there were not so many partial plans In this period. Majority of plans was prepared as Master and/or Implementation Plan types (101). 54 of them were prepared by the ministry. the scale of Master and/or Implementation Plan ranged between 1/1000 (71), 1/5000 (2), 1/1000-1/5000 (4) and 1/50.000 (1).

Although these plans were made under the name of Master and/or Implementation Plan, they brought crucial changes into master plan in force. In the following parts these changes will be investigated in detail.

Master and/or Implementation Plan	101
Master and/or Implementation Plan Modification	53
Master and/or Implementation Revision	13
Master and/or Implementation Additional	5
Master and/or Implementation Additional and Revision	4
Master and/or Implementation Additional Plan Modification	1
Urban design	13
Partial Plan	14
Partial plan Modification	12
Partial Plan Note Modification	1
Special Project area	2
Village area Boundary	2

Table 4.13: The distribution of plan types between 1994-2001

### 4.3.2.1. Changing Land-Use Decisions

Throughout this period % 61 (132) of all plans resulted with the land use alterations. The distribution of these plans shows that different from the previous period the plans made in this period were generally realized in the vacant agricultural lands. 93 (% 70) plans were made for housing areas. Most of these plans proposed larger housing settlement with variety of land uses, they were generally larger than 15 ha. 55 plans were made for the areas larger than 15 ha, 15 of them were larger than 100 ha and they concentrated around Çayyolu village area and Beytepe mass housing area. 5 plans which were larger than 1000 ha proposed new settlement areas in the vicinity of Bağlıca, Alacaatlı and Beytepe. 4 of these plans were prepared by the Ministry between 1994 and 1996, in accordance with the decisions of 2025 Ankara Plan.



1990 Ankara Master Plan



Land-use changes brought about by plan Modifications



Land-use decisions of plan modifications

- Housing Unit (17)
- Housing Settlement (50)
- Housing Settlement with variety of land uses (26)
- Commercial (3)
- Socail Infsat. (12)
- Public Inst. (4)
- Public Inst. and housing areas (3)
- Green and open areas (3)
- Urban Service (7)
- University and Green (5)
- Technical Infrst. (2)

Figure 4.29: Land-use changes brought about by incoherent plans between 1994-2001

While Commercial and social infrastructure land uses were generally parcel based decisions, university and public land use proposals were prepared for large urban areas. Başkent University Partial Plan and plan modifications for ODTÜ and Hacettepe University were made in this period. The plans for large public areas located along the Eskişehir road and the area of General Directorate of Village Affair at the south of Eskişehir was noticeable. Between 1997 and 1998 one 1/5000 master and two 1/1000 implementation plans were prepared.

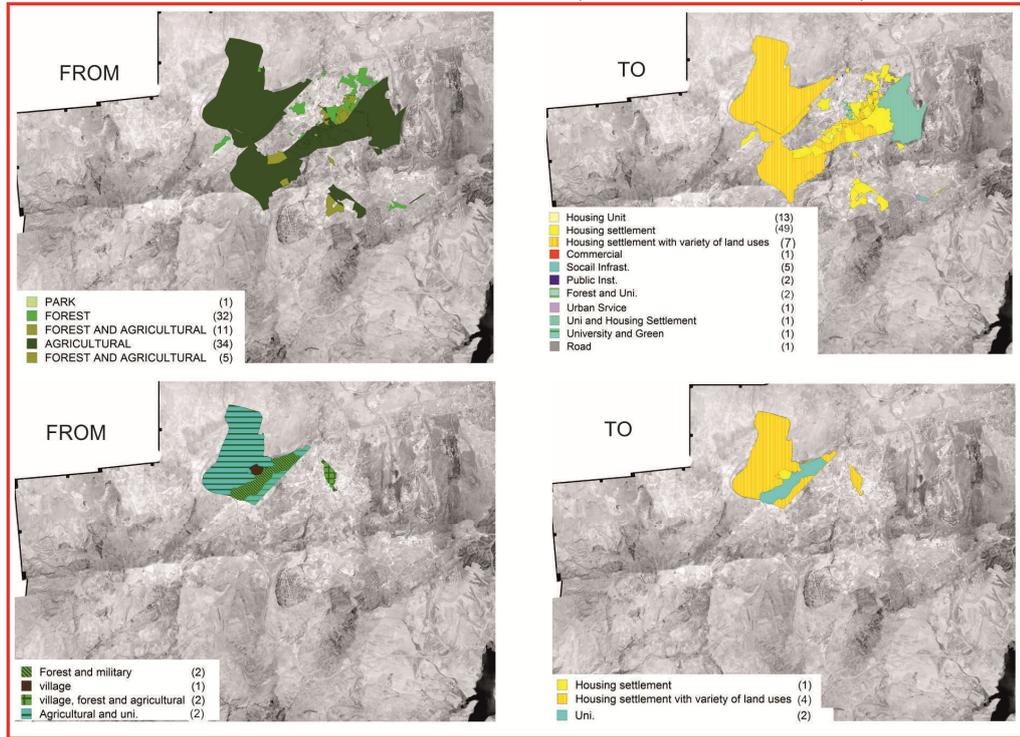
Housing Unit	1
Housing Settlement	2
Housing Settlement with variety of land uses	3
Commercial	4
Social Infrac.	5
Public Inst.	6
Urban Service	7
University and Green	8
University and housing	9
University	10
Technical Infrac.	11

Table 4.14: Codification of proposed land-uses

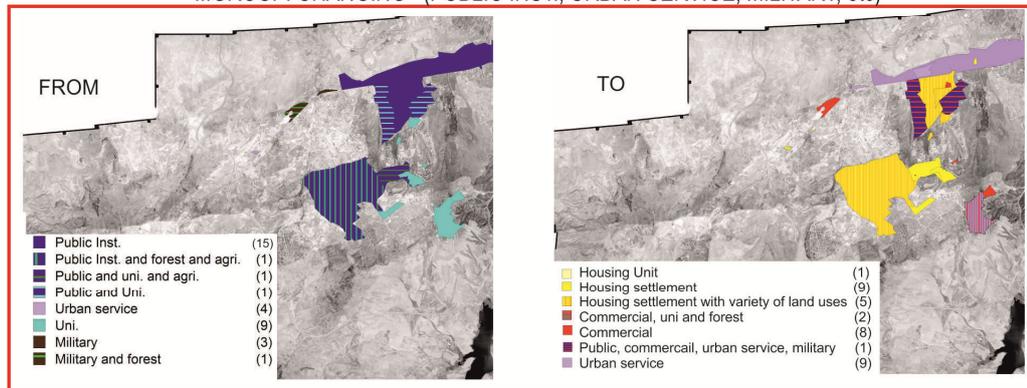
Exist.	Proposed												T
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	Comb.	
<b>I.Group</b>	13	49	7	1	5	2	1	3	1		1		83
		1	4							2			7
<b>II.Group</b>	1	9	5	8			9					3	35
<b>Others</b>	2			1			1					3	7
<b>Total</b>													132

Table 4.15: The distribution of the changes brought about by plans: Existing plan decisions and proposed land-uses

I.GROUP: CHANGING GREEN AREAS (FOREST, AGRICULTURAL etc)



II.GROUP: CHANGING (PUBLIC INST., URBAN SERVICE, MILITARY, etc)



OTHERS: CHANGING (HOUSING, COMMERCIAL, etc)

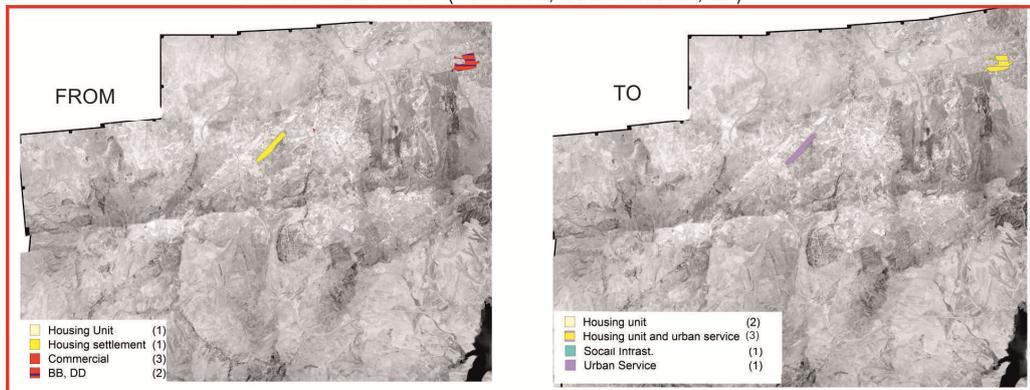


Figure 4.30: The spatial Distribution of plans between 1994-2001 with respect to land use changes

In total, 90 (%68) of plans proposing land-use alteration were resulted with change from green areas (forest and agricultural etc) to another uses. While 7 plans offered partial alteration, 83 plans were totally made in the green areas and opened 2514 ha parks, forest and agricultural lands to development. A large amount of (32 of 132 plans, % 24) interventions were also made to public inst., urban service university and military areas. In most cases they resulted with transformations into housing settlements and urban service areas. By these plans large tracts under possession of public were converted to private ownerships. While conversions to housing settlements increased the population and density, conversion to urban service introduced new dynamic issues. Under the name of urban service, these plans paved the way for commercial areas, shopping centers, office areas and even industrial areas. a small number of (7) plans, on the other hand, proposed small scale transformations for housing, public and commercial areas. To gain a flexible development conditions, like public intuitions alterations, these plans generally proposed urban service areas.

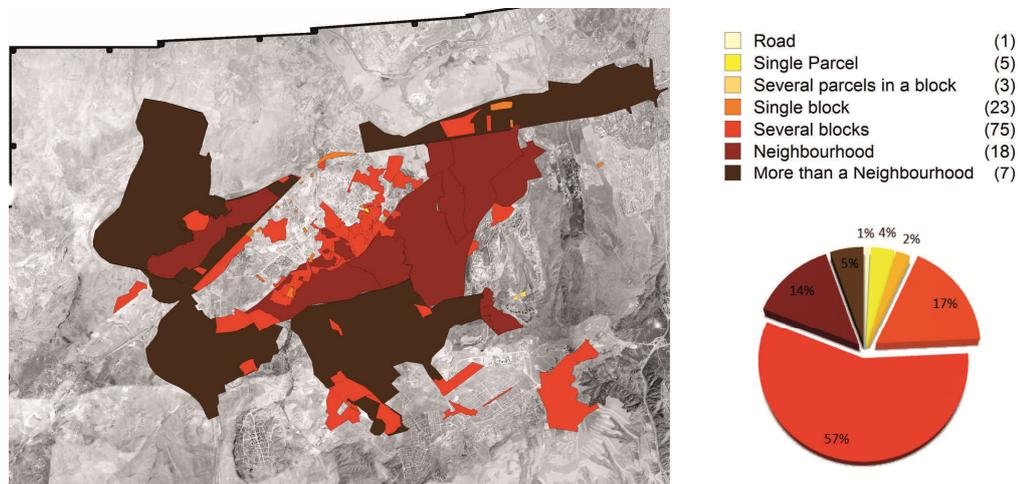


Figure 4.31: The distribution of plans changing land use decisions between 1994-2001 with respect to area coverage

When the realization of boundary of total plans made for land use alterations, it is observed that interventions were usually came into existence within large areas as flows; %57 (n:75) in several blocks, % 14 (n:18) in a neighborhood and %5 (n: 7) in more than a neighborhood. 30 of them were prepared in the period of legal conflict between

1994 and 1996 and 13 of them were approved by the Ministry. the remaining 60 plans were prepared after 1996 and except one plan all they were approved by Municipalities.

#### 4.3.2.2. Increasing Population Density

In this period just a few plans were realized to increase population density. Except one plan emerged in Mustafa Kemal district, all plans came into exist in vacant land. Like in the perious period, density was increased before the constructruction activities. 1990 Master Plan proposed 60 per/ha in the Mustafa Kemal district and the plan made in this area proposed 175 per/ha and it was approved by district municipality. The other 4 plans arisen in Çayyolu proposed 200 per/ha and 250 per/ha density. The previous decisions for these areas were 150 per/ha. As it is seen in these cases, throughout this period density increases were transpired by small scale interventions made in parcels and blocks.

However, it is important to note that the plans changing land-use decisions and offering housing areas introduced high population densities. While converting the forest, agricultural and public areas they suggested high population densities around the planned housing areas. 21 of 132 plans proposed a population increase higher then 150 per/ha and the average of them was 200 per/ha.



Figure 4.32 The spatial distribution of plans that increase population density between 1994-2001

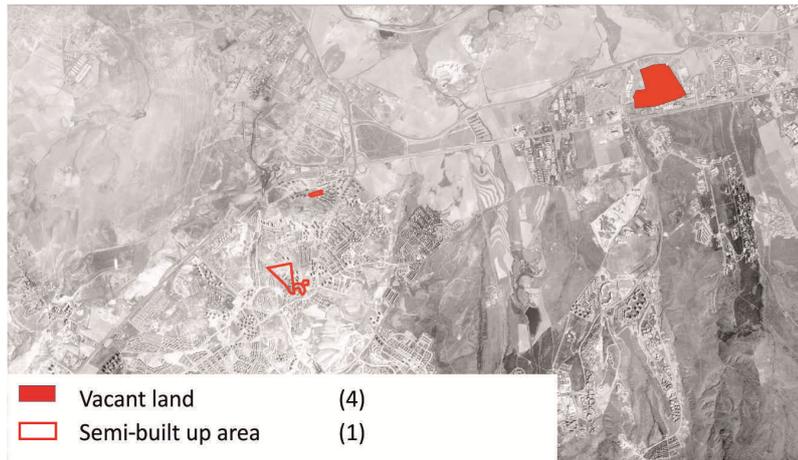


Figure 4.33: The characteristic of planned area



Figure 434: The spatial distribution of proposed densities

#### 4.3.2.3. Development in Unplanned Area

Development in unplanned area in this period, was achieved by 79 plans. While 73 plans were totally realized in unplanned area, 6 plans came into being in both the planned and unplanned area. In planned area these plans proposed land use alterations. While four plans transformed forest and agricultural areas to housing settlements, two plans also offered other uses alteration. “Southwestern Ankara 6. Region Master Plan” realized in İncek Kızılçarşar and Ballıkpınar introduced a transformation from public inst. to housing areas and “Bağlıca Village Area Plan Revision” brought a change from agriculture and university areas to housing ones.

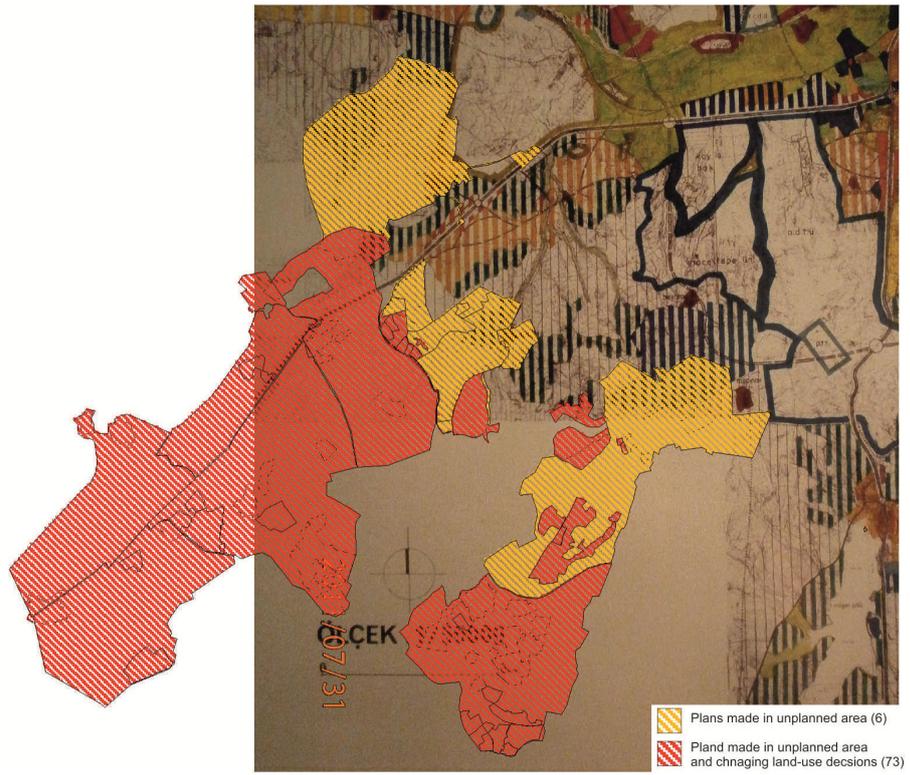


Figure 4.35: Spatial distribution of plans made in unplanned areas between 1994-2001

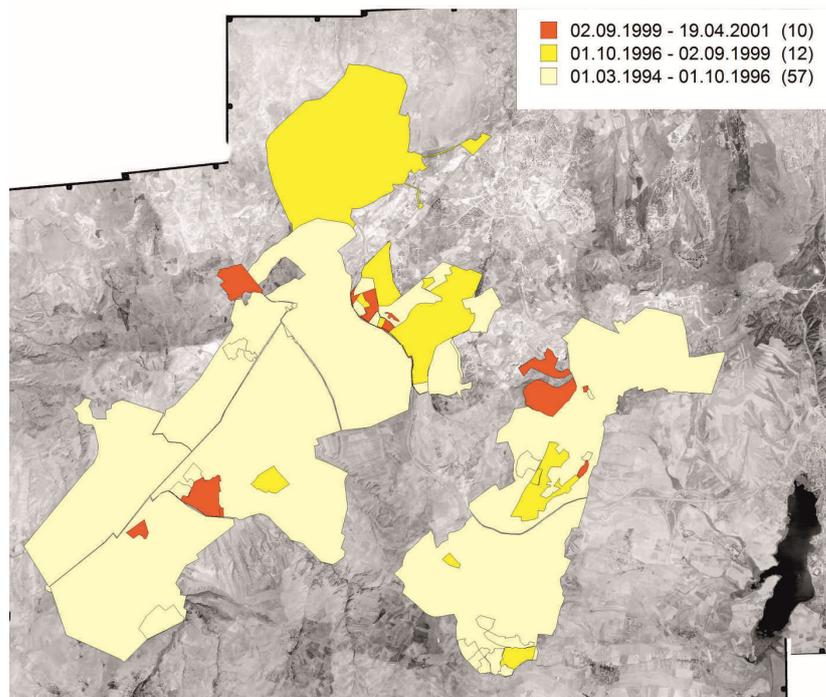


Figure 4.36: Development of plans made in unplanned area between 1994 and 2001.

The majority of plans (n:57) were transpired between 1994 and 1996. As it indicated in Figure 4, they covered large areas which constituted %43 of total planned areas made between 1994-2001. By these large scale interventions 16368 ha unplanned area were open to urban development for 830793 people.

The general land use decisions of plans were housing areas. Except 9 small scale plans including; 2 plans for mass housing areas in Ballıkuyumcu, 2 plans for Eskişehir city gate project, 1 plan for Yapraklı village area, and 4 block based plans for technical infrastructure, green and social areas, 70 plans proposed large housing settlements.

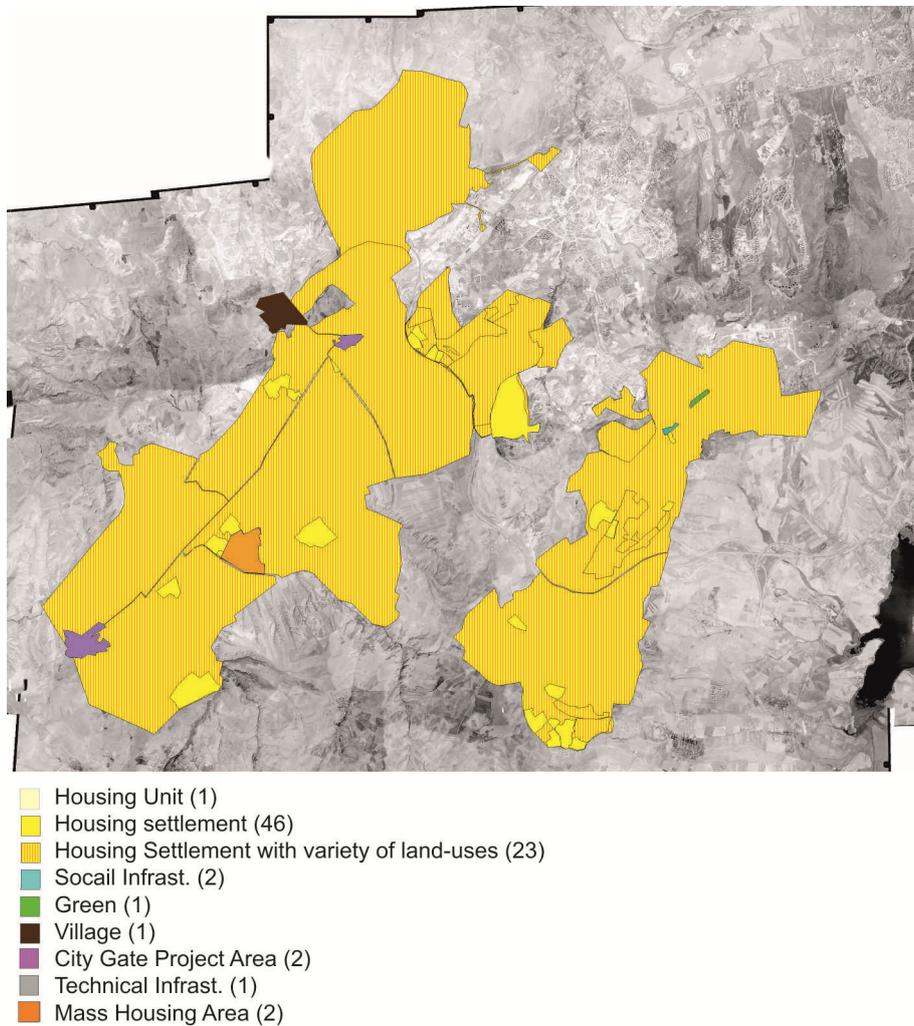


Figure 4.37: Land use decisions of plans made in unplanned area between 1994-2001

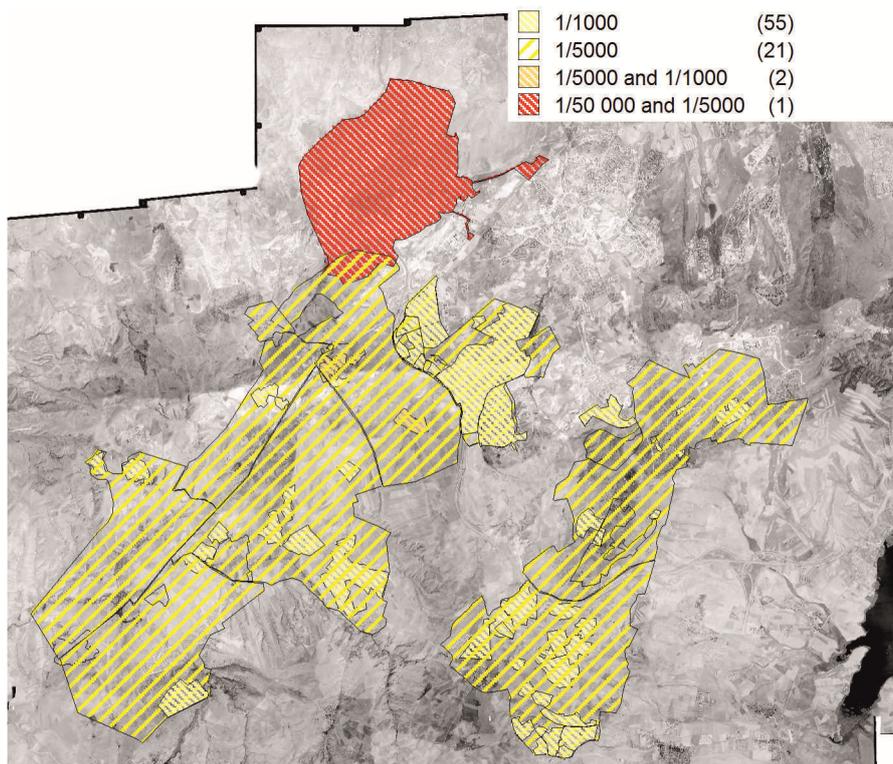


Figure 4.38: The scale of plans made in unplanned area

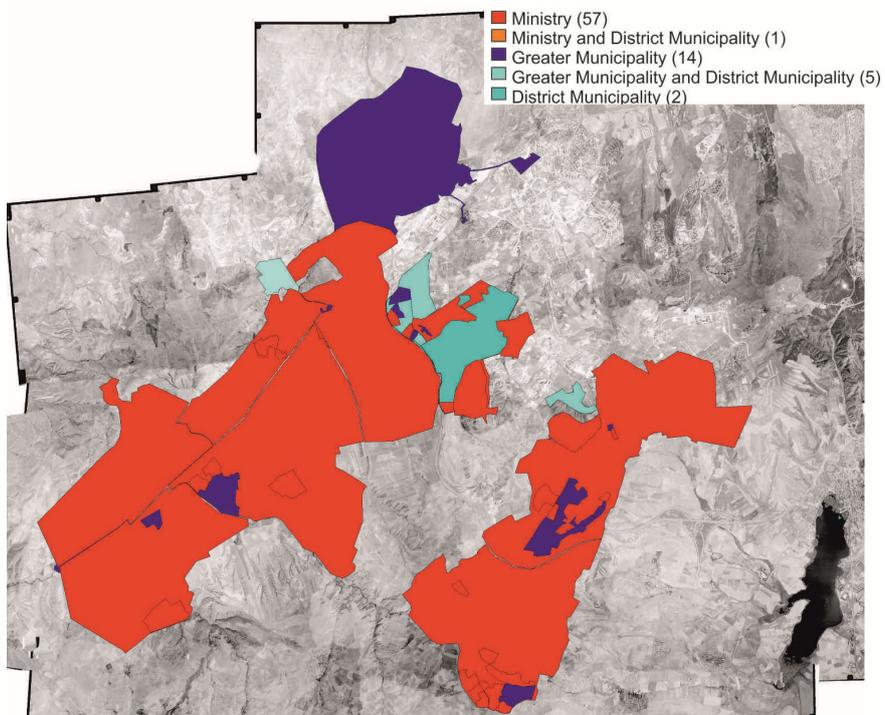


Figure 4.39: The distribution of plans in unplanned area with respect to approval authority

The one plan prepared at the scale of 1/50 000 and 1/5000 was Bağlıca Village Area Master plan Revision. It was approved by the greater Municipality in 1998. The other plans were at the scale of 1/1000 and 1/5000. And most of those plans were approved by the Ministry. In total 58 plans were approved by the Ministry. 54 of these plans were realized between 1994 and 1996.

The plans of Greater and district municipalities (n:21), on the other hand, were relatively small scale plans (except Bağlıca Village Area Plan Revision). 3 them were made during the period of legal conflict between 1994 and 1996 and 2 of them were for Eskişehir road city gate projects.

It is also important to mention that in this period neither the municipalities nor the ministry made partial plans. In unplanned areas development were legalized through regular master and implementation plans, plan modification and plan revisions. The main reason of this issue was that the ministry prepared its plans in accordance with the decisions of Southwest Ankara Development Axis Plan. Municipalities also made their plans in the previously planned areas.

In conclusion development in unplanned area was carried out by 79 plans. In contrast to previous period these were large scale intervention and proposed large housing settlement at the periphery of the city. As it said before the main authority directing this development was the Ministry. During the juridical dispute period it approved many master plans according to decisions of 1/25 000 scaled Southwest Ankara Development Axis Plan. After the nullification of this plan, these plans were also subjected to new problematic juridical processes.

#### **4.4. PRODUCTION OF URBAN SPACE BY LARGE-SCALE PARTIAL PLANS: THIRD PERIOD BETWEEN 2001 AND 2007**

In the period between 2001 and 2007, the production of urban space in the periphery gained a different form. The new neo-liberal policies aiming to support free movements of capital changed the urban planning and urban spatial pattern. While globalization on every sphere of life became more effective, urban space became a means for



30 person/ha for low density settlements. Although it can be evaluated as an attempt to decrease the existing density, the plan responded to the demands of various housing cooperatives and companies. The number of housing areas that had previously been started to be constructed were legalized and the all partial plans were accepted as approved. Without a holistic development approach, this plan like a trend-responsive and market oriented attempt legalized the existing piecemeal developments.



Figure 4.41: South-western Ankara Metropolitan Development Plan (Source: ABBSİDB, 2006)

The co-operation of the ministry and the municipality prepared another plan for outside the belt-highway. This 1/50.000 scale “South-western Ankara Metropolitan Development Plan” was approved by the ministry on 24.02.2004. It offered a fragmented urban pattern that expanded the belt-highway. The plan proposed 243980 extra population growth with densities of 60 person/ha, 30 person/ha and 16 person/ha. On 03.08.2005 an amendment was made on this plan to increase population density. The sparse density areas were converted to areas with special development condition. However this plan was halted by the Council of State on 19.09.2006 due to the fragmented and nonintegrated nature (on 15.09.2005

Administrative court granted a motion for stay of execution). The experts preparing a report for the Council of State insisted that the incremental decisions of this plan did not uphold to the principles of holistic planning ethics. They also asserted that this plan actually presented a population of 900.000 in new development areas. This overdose future population and land estimations stirred the market and prompted the land speculation and resulted in uncontrolled development. *Within the context of this study it is examined that until the abolishment day, 19 plans (%16 of total incoherent plans approved between 2001 and 2007) were made according to decisions of South-western Ankara Metropolitan Development Plan. These plans proposed 12647 ha (%20 of total areas proposed between 2001 and 2007) for 334930 persons (%18 of population).*

**74 (%62) plan modifications were made inside the boundaries of “1990 Ankara Partial Plan Revision” between 18.07.2001 and 16.02.2007**

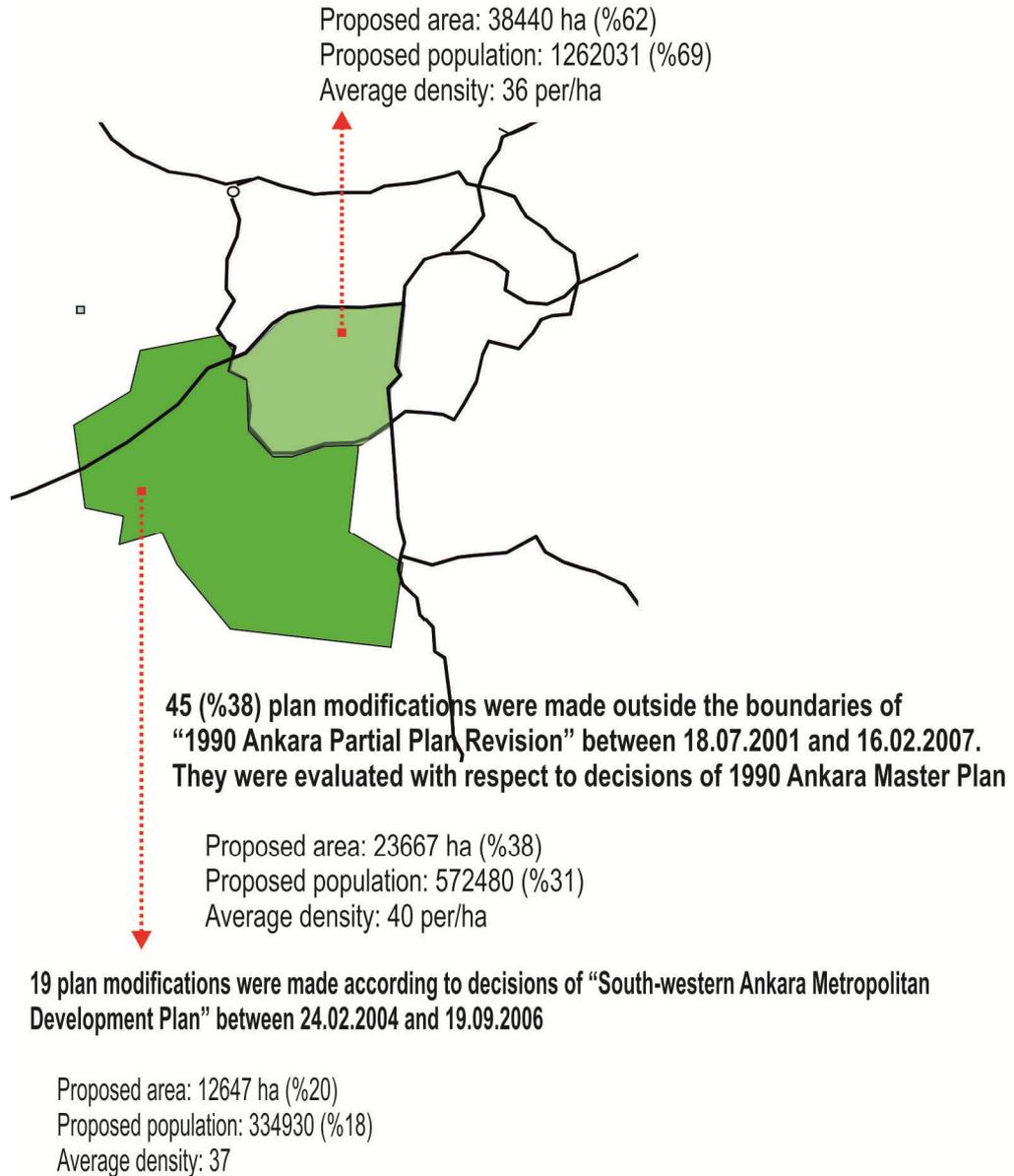


Figure 4.42: Distribution of incoherent plans between 2001 and 2007

After the general election in 2002, the winner Justice and development party (AKP) became one powerful party in the parliament. The ability of this party to make amendments in existing laws and to enact new laws without necessity of making concession to other political parties or, public opinion led to rigorous concentration and centralization of power. In the way of applying neo-liberal policies several laws were enacted in order to make intended urban development and transformations.

Municipality Law no. 5393, Greater Municipality Law no. 5216 and, Amendment in Housing Development Administration Law by Law no. 4966, Law no.5162 and Law no. 5273 were the most important ones that restructured the whole urban development process by introducing a general reform package. In 2004 same Islamic mayor was elected for the third time as a member of the AKP. Backed up with the support of central governments neo-liberal policies were intensively applied and new regulations were tried to be used in favor of greater municipality.

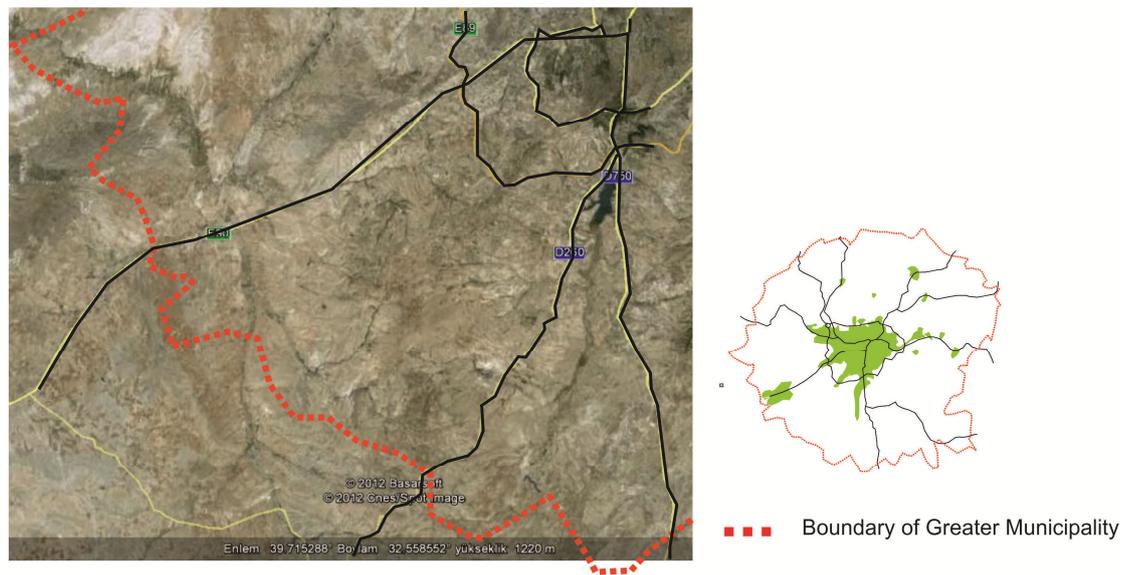


Figure 4.43: The boundary of municipality between 2001 and 2007

The new law no. 5216 enacted in 10.07.2004 reinforced the authority areas of greater municipality and intensified the dependency of district municipalities. In favor of municipalities, this law also provided legal rights to sell public lands and use them to direct land market and to gain funds for public investments. The greater municipalities were also given the right to prepare and approve 1/25.000 scale plans. According to legislation of this law, the boundary of Ankara Greater Municipality was determined with a radius 50 km and the greater municipality became dominant authority to direct the development. In accordance with this law, the planning department of greater municipality prospered a new plan “2023 Ankara Plan” and in 2007 this plan was approved.

On 13.07.2005 the enactment of Municipality Law no. 5393 accelerated the responsibilities of municipalities. With respect to this law (Article 69), municipalities had right to establish enterprise and contract debt for the works required foreign source. Law also enabled municipalities to buy, rent or sell lands inside the boundaries of grater municipality and its adjacent areas and to expropriate and exchange these areas. Furthermore, the law also allowed to make a cooperation with related administrative institutions and to develop projects with banks, to lease these properties within their borders.

With these changes the concept of “urban transformation and growth projects” became the most important notion for municipalities. According to article 73 of Municipality Law, to create housing areas, industrial and commercial zones, technology parks and social facilities, municipalities were allowed to reconstruct and restore the worn-out historical sites or urban parts. Although the law mainly implied the ruined areas in the city center, the vacant and generally the agricultural land at the periphery were ironically subjected to transformation and growth project. Many areas at the southwestern periphery of the city were established as *the transformation and growth areas (such as Güneykent Urban Transformation and Growth Projects outside the belt-highway, Taşpınar, Kızılçaşar, İncek Urban Transformation and Growth Project, Ahlatlıbel Urban Transformation and Growth Project, Lodumlu Urban Transformation and Growth Project Area)* and opened to development. Then they were subsequently halted by the administrative courts for not being in accordance with the article 73. Under these juridical process problems concerning the urban development increased. Numbers of housing areas developed according to decisions of these plans were remained unplanned and all these brought about a control problem at the peripheral lands. *In the case area 7 fragmented and incoherent plans were made to approve the boundaries of the urban transformation and growth areas. Without land-use decisions, they presented 8690 ha (%14) for development.*

It is also important to stress that after the year of 2003 the Mass Housing Administration (TOKİ) appeared as an key actor in production of urban land at the periphery of the city. The duties of TOKİ were widened and they began to cover variety

of issues concerning the changes on urban land. With the Law no.5273 enacted on 8.12.2004, the Land Office, responsible for the development and allocation of urban land with respect to needs of different institutions and local governments, was abolished. All its duties were transferred to Mass Housing Administration. With Law No. 4966 enacted on 06.08.2003 and Law No. 5162 enacted on 05.05.2004, TOKİ was given planning authorization on its own lands and power to establish companies related to the housing sector or participate those that had already been established. The administration was authorized to expropriate all the annexes and buildings in the areas owned by real and legal entities.

After these legislations TOKİ intervened directly in the planning process and realized various kinds of plans in the areas which were determined as mass housing areas. The profit-oriented projects to ensure sources to the benefit of the administration transformed the urban lands with high rent potential. Without considering the public opinion these projects were answered the short-term interests of power groups. *In this period the TOKİ made one crucial plan for “Yukarı Yurtçu Mass Housing Area” (proposed area was 109 ha and population was 21604 ) on 27.04.2006. With respect to 2<sup>nd</sup> article of Law no 5162, the administration sent 1/5000 and 1/1000 scaled plans to greater municipality for the approval procedures. The greater municipality approved these plans on 12.05.2006. And the formerly unplanned area (that was outside the 1990 Ankara Master Plan) was transformed to mass housing areas within an incremental form.*

Consequently, as a result of all these legal regulations, in urban development municipalities began to play not only regulatory but also a direct investor role. They started to implement housing projects directly through their own companies, they entered into profit oriented projects and established various partnerships. Consequently urban planning process directed by these regulations changed the form and content of the production urban sprawl. It allowed the capital to use lands and to change planning decisions.

#### 4.4.2. Sprawl-Specific Analyses

In this period urban development in the south-western periphery was provided by 215 separate urban plans. 96 (%45) of them were prepared according to decisions of 1990 Ankara Master Plan and 1990 Ankara Partial Plan Revision decisions. These plans generally concentrated in housing settlements and they were small scale plans covered 2670 ha. On the other hand, 119 plans made in this period covered large urban areas (62108 ha). 74 separate plans made on the 1990 Ankara Partial Plan Revision. The number of plans made on 1990 Plan and unplanned area was 45.

Nearly all planned areas of 1990 Ankara Partial Plan Revision especially the areas around İncek, Kızılcaşar and Taşpınar and the unplanned areas around Tuluntaş, Hacılar and Ballıkuyumcu were subjected to intensive manipulations.

	Fragmented and incoherent plans	Plans made according to decisions of master plan in force	Total
1990 Ankara Master Plan	45	11	56
1990 Ankara Partial plan Revision	74	85	159
Total	119 (62108 ha)	96 (2670 ha)	215

Table 4. 16: The distribution of number of inconsistent and compatible plans

The spatial distribution of plan modification indicated that the corridor along the Taşpınar, Kızılcaşar, İncek and Tuluntas in Gölbaşı district became the most speculative parts of the periphery. Throughout the period these areas were progressively subjected to plan modifications.

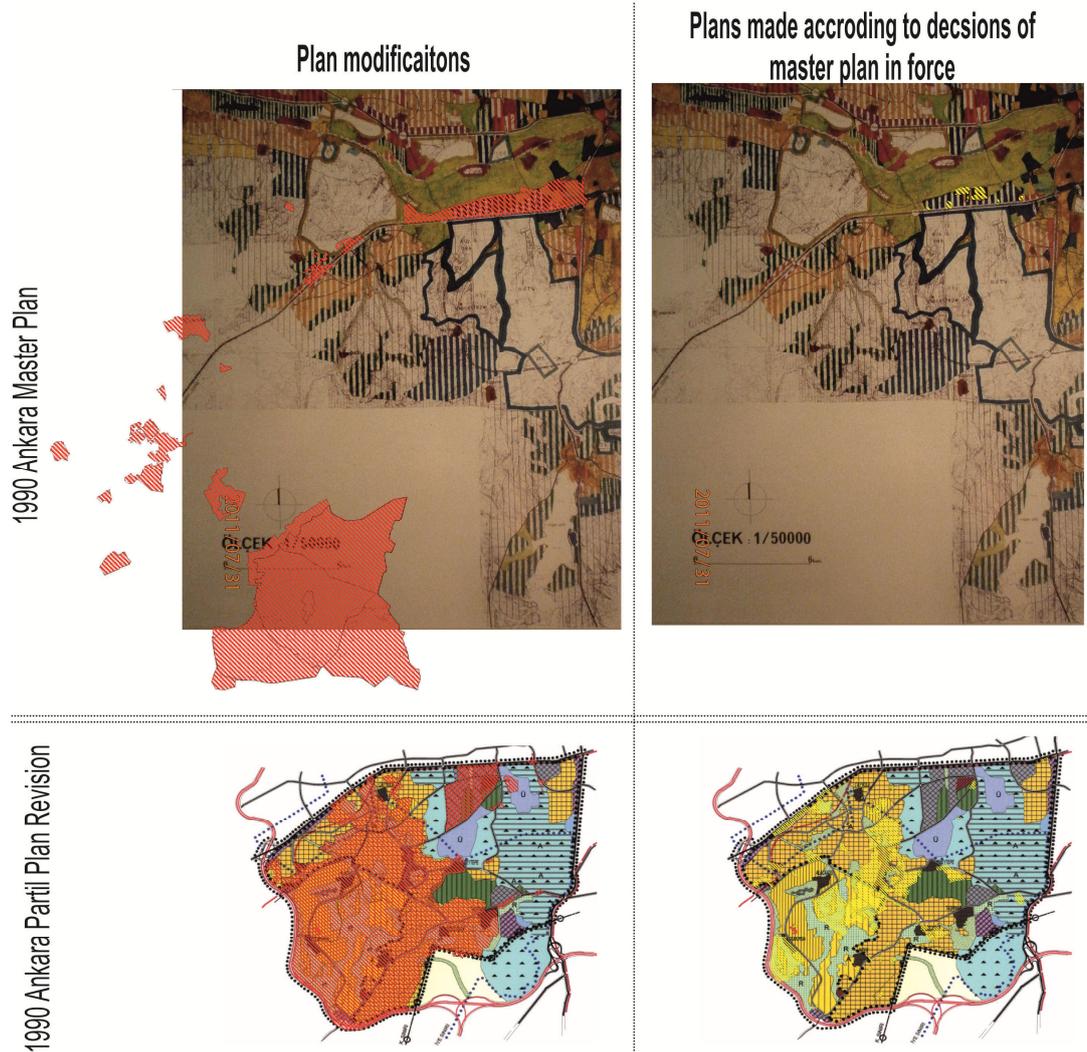


Figure 4.44: The spatial distribution of inconsistent plans and compatible plans made according to decisions of master plan in force

Until the approval of “South-western Ankara Metropolitan Development Plan” on 24.02.2004, 45 plans were made. Except *Lodumlu Master Plan and Master Plan Modification* and *Y.Yurtçu Master Plan Modification*, all other plans were approved by Municipalities. The production of urban space was directed by the planning activities of greater municipality. After the abolishment of “Southwest Ankara Development Axis Plan” in 1997 and disapproval of “2025 Ankara Master Plan”, the areas inside and outside the belt-highway remained unplanned. Therefore as discussed before, on 31.10.2000, the Ministry asked greater municipality to prepare 1/5000 and 1/1000 plans for these

unplanned areas. In parallel to this, “1990 Ankara Partial Plan Revision” was approved and many plans began to be made for the areas inside the belt-highway. Around “Beytepe and Çayyolu”, “Alacaatlı and Dodurga”, “İncek, Kızılcaşar and Taşpınar”, three sub planning area were defined. And under the name of “Southwestern Ankara Inside the Belt-highway”, greater municipality prepared master and implementation plans for these areas.

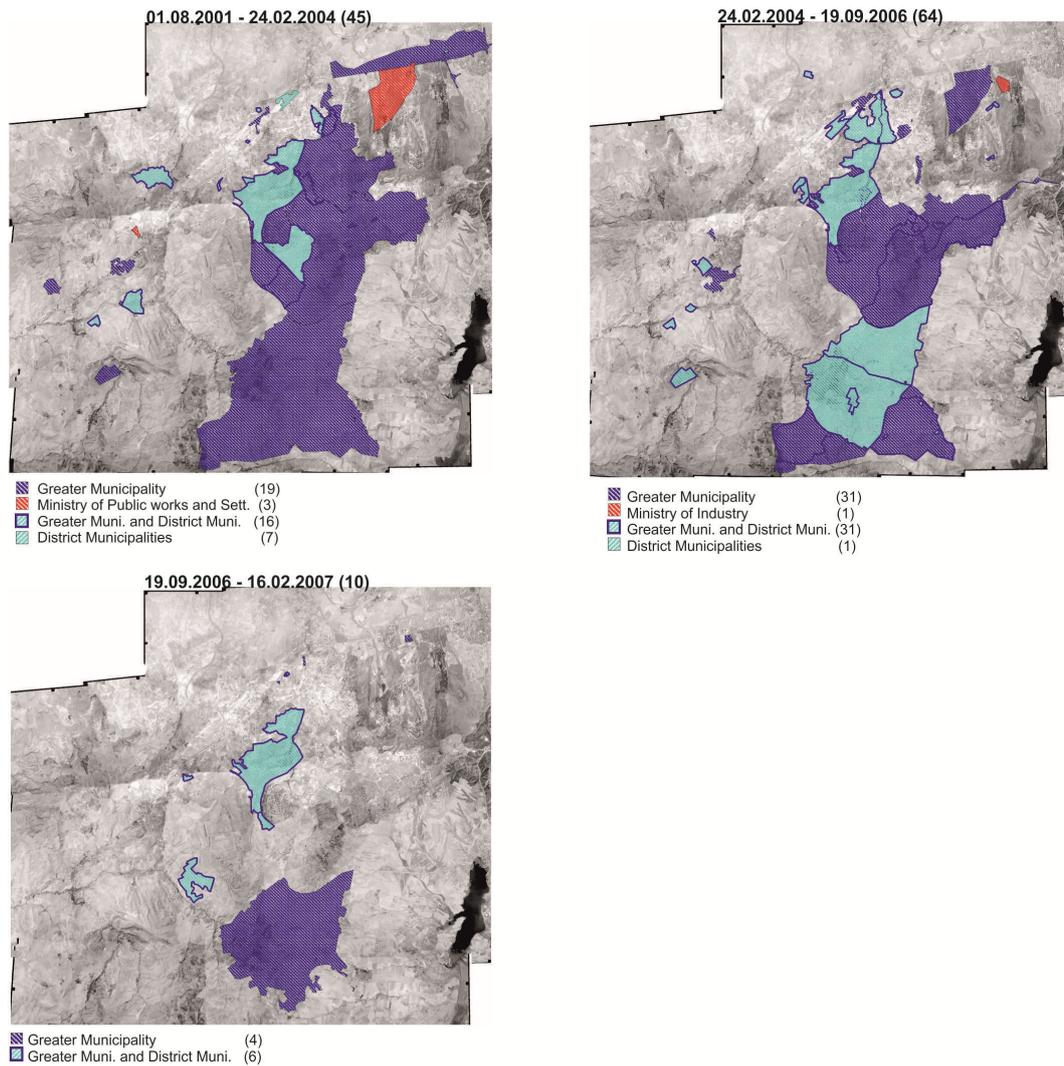


Figure 4.45: The spatial distribution of inconsistent plans between 2001 and 2007

On 01.03.2001, for the areas outside the belt-highway, the Grater Municipality Council took a decision to prepare plans according to general assumption of “2025 Ankara Master Plan”. These plans were considered as continuation of the plans made Inside the Belt-highway. In

2002, 1/5000 scaled "Güneykent Master Plan" around Tuluntaş, Ballıkuyumcu, Koparan villages was made. In 2004 this plan was cancelled and one month later, 1/50 000 scaled "South-western Ankara Metropolitan Development Plan" was approved for a wider area outside the belt-highway.

During the period while "South-western Ankara Metropolitan Development Plan" was in force, 64 plans were made according to it. While inside the belt highway modifications and revisions were made, outside the belt-highway new plans began to be made according to decisions of South-western Ankara Metropolitan Development Plan. By making small changes, the greater municipality produced similar plans for those areas. Many criticisms and objections were made to these plans and juridical process began to cancel them.

To overcome these problems, greater municipality applied a new planning operation. Parallel to enactment of new laws, urban transformation plans began to be introduced for those areas. The areas both inside and outside the belt-highway were established as urban transformation and growth area. According to Law No 5393 and its article no 73, first İncek, Kızılçaşar and Taşpınar planning area was defined as *transformation and growth area* in 2005. Just after the abolishment of South-western Ankara Metropolitan Development Plan" on 19.09.2006, greater municipality established the Güneykent planning area as an *transformation and growth area* on 15.11.2006. In these 1/5000 scaled plans, the greater municipality just defined the boundary of transformation and growth area, the land use decisions for these areas were generally taken by 1/1000 scaled plans in the subsequent years. And this paved the way for new juridical process. The plans made to define the boundary of transformation and growth area and 1/1000 scaled plans started be cancelled.

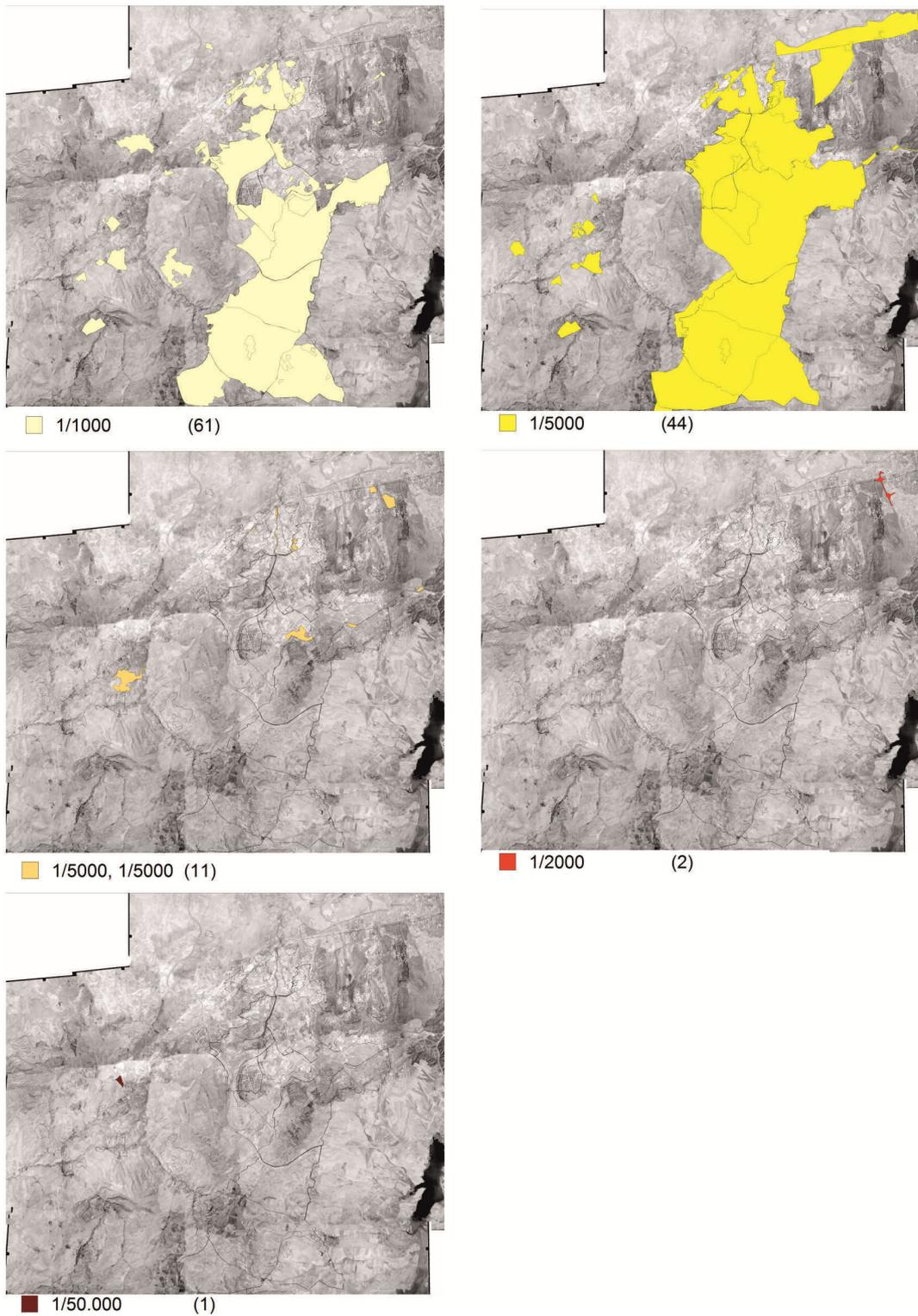


Figure 4.46: The distribution of plans between 2001-2007 with respect to plan scale

Authority	Scale of the plans					Total
	1/1000	1/5000	1/5000 and 1/1000	1/2000	1/50 000	
Ministries		2	1 (Min. of Industry)		1	4
Grater Municipality	3	42	8	1		54
Greater Municipality and District Municipality	52		1			53
District Municipality	6		1	1		8
<b>Total</b>	61	44	11	2	1	119

Table 4.17 : The distribution of plans between 2001-2007 with respect to cross tabulation of approval authority and plans scale

As it said above, planning activities in the period between 2001 and 2007 was handled by the greater municipality. Together with the district municipalities, the greater Municipality approved %90 (107) of total plans. The majority of these plans was at 1/1000 and 1/5000 scale.

The central government approved just 4 plans. 3 of them were approved by the Ministry Of Public Works and Settlement; 2 of the plans were made for public Lodumlu (the area around General Directorate of Village Affair) at the scale of 1/5000 and 1 plan was made for Yukarı Yurtçu at the scale of 1/50 000. And one plan was prepared for the technology Development area in the METU area and approved the Ministry of Industry at the scale of 15000 and 1/1000.

Like the previous period, the proportion of partial plans was very low (%4, n: 5) in this period. Many plans were made according to 1/50000 scaled 1990 Ankara Partial Plan Revision and South-western Ankara Metropolitan Development Plan. Therefore the development were widely held by the master and implementation plans (%25, n:30) and plan modifications (%50, n:59).

Master and/or Implementation Plan	30
Master and/or Implementation Plan Modification	59
Master and/or Implementation Revision	6
Master and/or Implementation Additional	1
Master and/or Implementation Plan Note Modification	5
Master and/or Implementation Plan and Plan Note Modification	2
Revision ;Plan Note Modification	1
Urban Design Revision	1
Partial Plan	3
Partial plan Modification	2
Urban transformation and Growth Area Boundary	3
Urban transformation and Growth Area Plan	1
Urban transformation and Growth Area Plan Modification	3
Boundary	2

Table 4.18: The distribution of plan types between 2001-2007

Although the number of transformation and growth projects made for “Lodumlu”, “İncek, Kızılcaşar, Taşpınar”, “Ahlatlıbel” and “Güneykent” is low, they were large scale interventions and they became very influential for speculative development. The juridical processes and cancelation of them created an uncertainty atmosphere for development and triggered the manipulation.

Two boundary establishments were also made in this period. One of them defined the Boundary of judge academy area in Aşağı Yurtcu and the other established the mixed land use area boundary in Ümitköy.

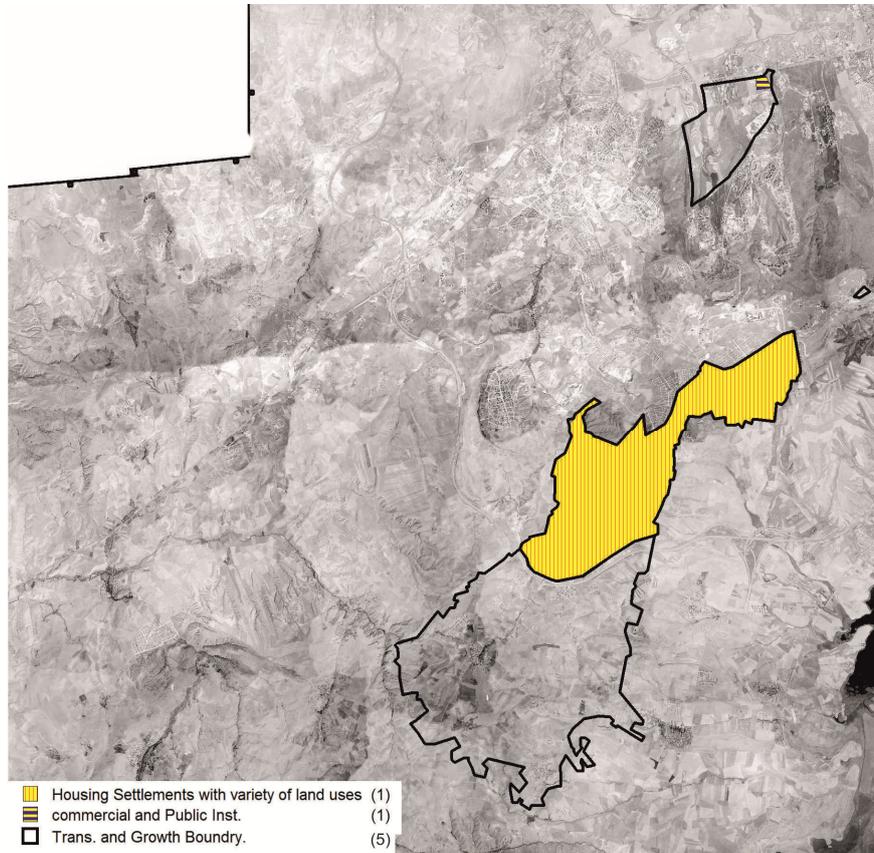


Figure 4.47: The plans made for Urban Transformation and Growth Area between 2001-2007

	1990 Ankara Master Plan	1990 Ankara Partial Plan Revision	Total
Land Use changes	13	61	75
Road		1	
Density increase	-	4	12
Density increase and land-use changes		8	
Plan mod. Made in unplanned areas	32		32
Total	45	74	119

Table 4.19: Changes made on macro-scale plans in force

To conclude, it can be argued that this period between 2001 and 2007 brought about a new dynamism for production of urban periphery. Since laws and regulations introduced new planning practices, authority especially the greater municipality exploited them. Many plans were prepared opposite to macro-scale plan decisions. 75 plans were made for land-use changes. 12 plans increased the population density and 32 plans were prepared out of the planned area. The changes brought about by these plans will be examined in detail in the following part.

#### **4.4.2.1. Changing Land-Use Decisions**

The distribution of incoherent plans with regards to changing land-use decisions indicates that the majority of changes were made in the inner parts of the periphery where 1990 Master Plan Partial Revision was in force. 62 (%86) plans manipulated the decisions of this master plan. The other 13 plans made within the boundary of 1990 plans were relatively piecemeal and small scaled plans. Except the plan of "Eskişehir Road Public Interventions Area" in Mustafa Kemal district, the plans introduced piecemeal land-use changes.

The greater portion of land use alterations (%48) was prepared for housing areas. In 1990 Master Plan 5 plans and in 1990 Ankara Master Plan Partial Revision 31 separate plans brought about changes for housing developments.

The spatial distribution of plans revealed that the areas along the major roads were the most speculative parts of the periphery. Both in two master plans, fragmented and incoherent plans concentrated in those areas. The land-use changes were generally directed by the planning activities of greater municipality and Yenimahalle district municipality. There were only two plans approved by the Ministry and two of them concerned the areas around Lodumlu and proposed land uses including public inst, social infrastructure (hospital), green and Tech. Dev. Area. In the following years this area was established as urban transformation area and planning activities in here were carried out by the greater municipality.

Land use decisions of master plans

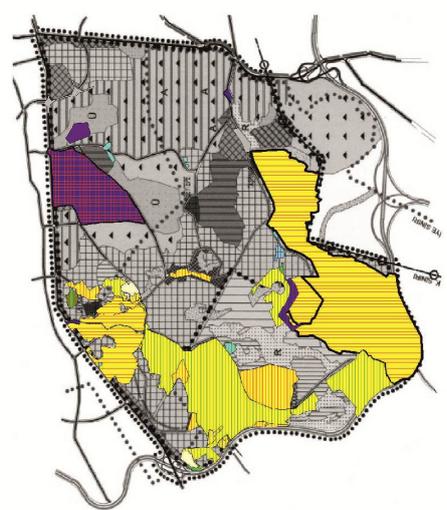
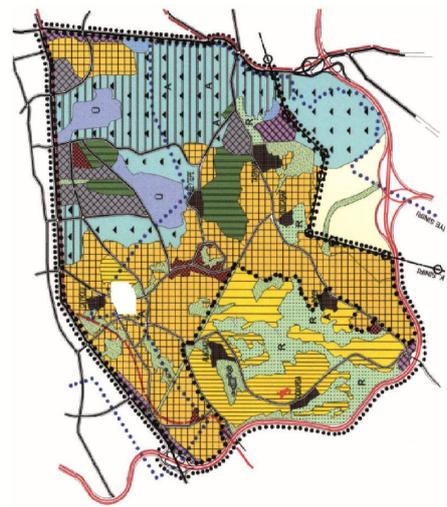


Land use decisions of plans



1990 Master Plan

1990 Master Plan  
Partial Revision



- Housing Unit (2)
- Housing Settlements with variety of land uses (2)
- Housing Settlements and urban service areas (1)
- Social Infrastr (1)
- Social Infrastr and green (1)
- Social Infrastr, public, urban service and green (1)
- urban service (1)
- University and housing settlement with variety of land uses(2)
- University and urban service (1)
- University, service, public and housing (1)

- Housing Unit (3)
- Housing Settlements with variety of land uses (13)
- Housing Settlements and green areas (11)
- Housing Settlements and public inst; (4)
- Social Infrastr. (7)
- Social Infrastr. and Public Inst.(1)
- Social Infrastr., public and Green(1)
- Social and green (2)
- Social Infrastr and Urban service(1)
- Public Inst.(3)
- Public Inst and Commercial (1)
- Public Inst, Social, military and TDA(1)
- Green (5)
- Urban Service (1)
- Military and Social Infrastr (1)
- Boundary of Transformation and growth area (4)
- Road (2)
- Technology Development Area (1)

Figure 4.48: Land-use changes brought about by plans between 2001-2007

All land use changes were came into existence by small scale interventions. (73 plans) were prepared at the scale of 1/1000 and/or 1/5000 scale and two plans established by Çankaya Municipality were at the scale of 1/2000.

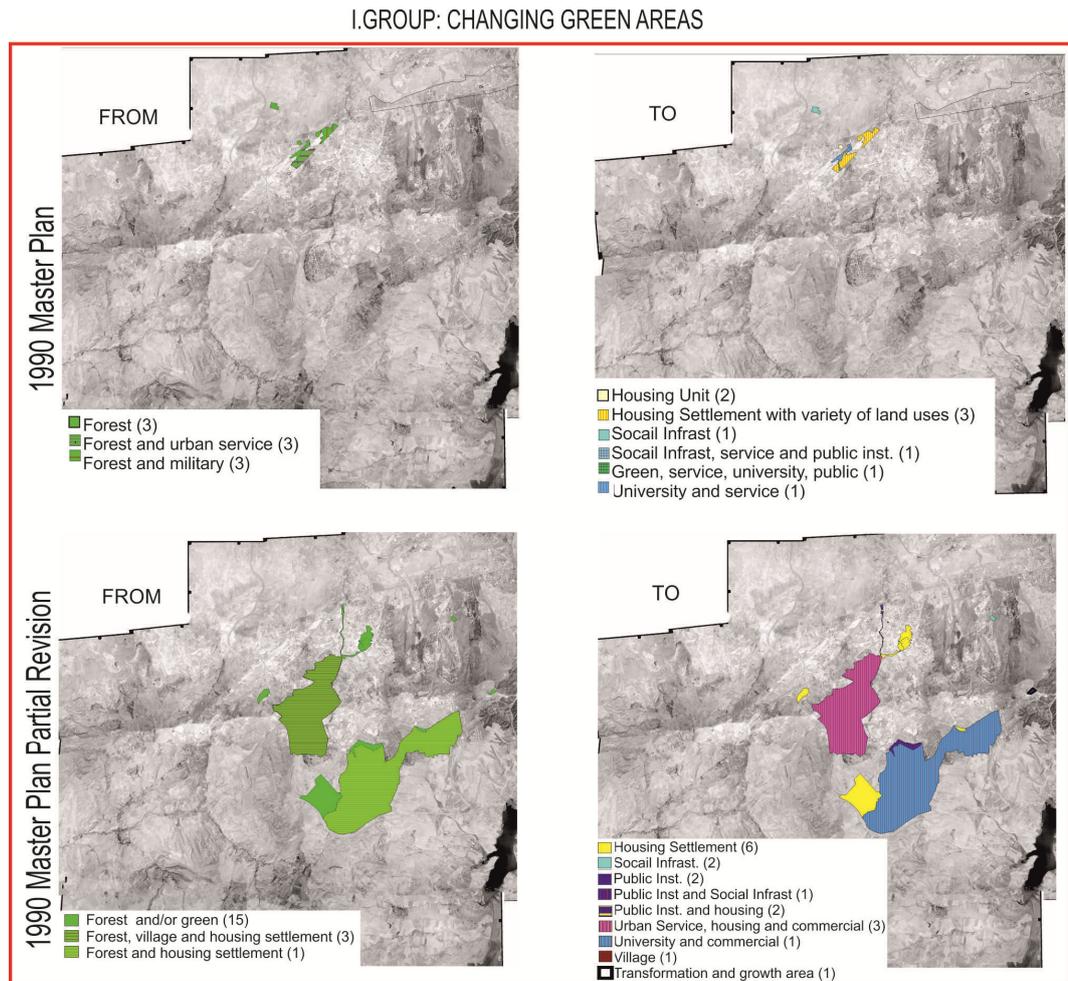
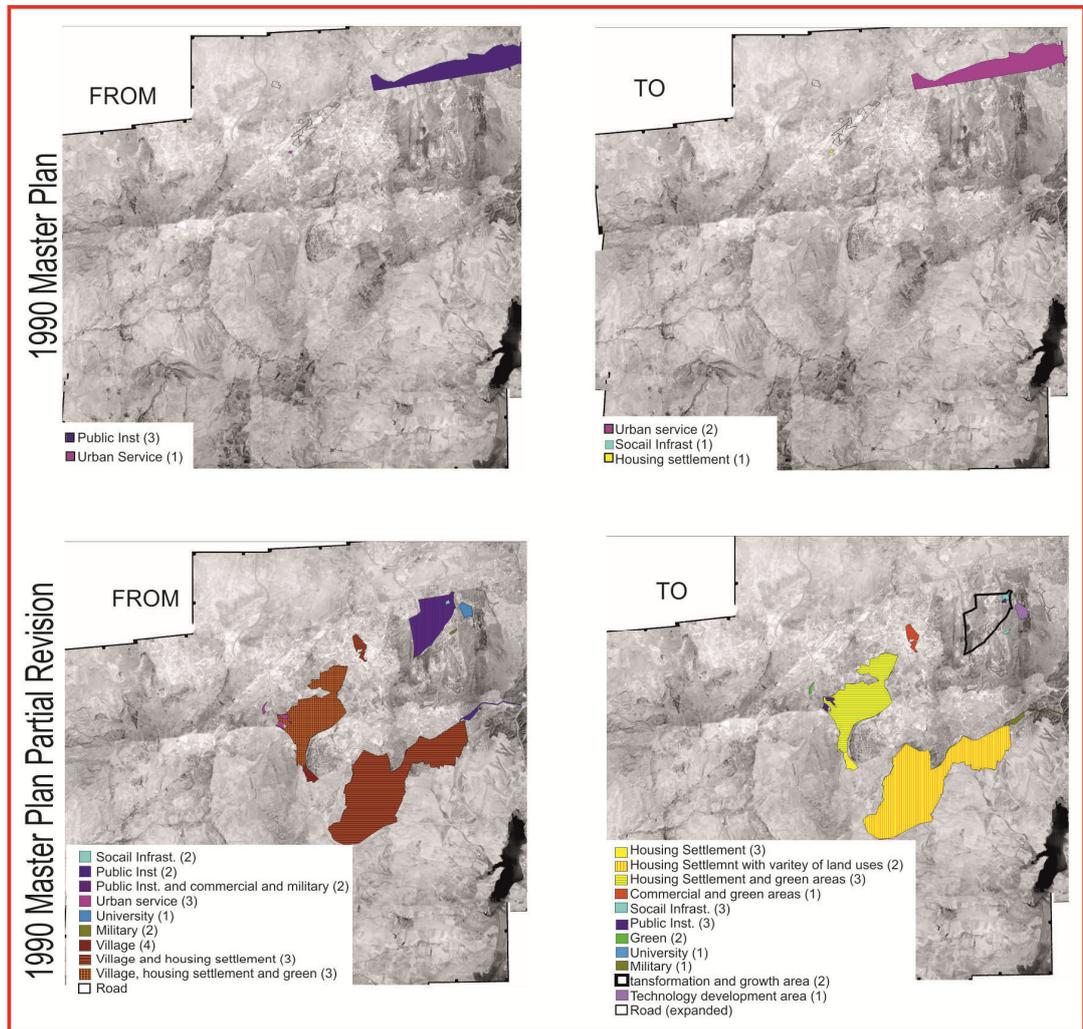


Figure 4.49: The spatial Distribution of Plans between 20001-2007 with respect to land use changes concerning green areas

In the period between 2001 and 2007, 28 plans (%37) proposed and alteration from forest and green uses to other land uses. The majority of them (19 plans) were made on 1990 Master Plan Partial Revision. While 18 plans established a total transformation in their boundary, 10 plans brought about partial transformations. Also the main transformations were made for housing settlement, public instutions, urban service and university were other important proposals of the plans.

II.GROUP: CHANGING (PUBLIC INST., URBAN SERVICE, SOCIAL INFRAS. etc)



OTHERS: CHANGING (HOUSING, COMMERCIAL, etc)

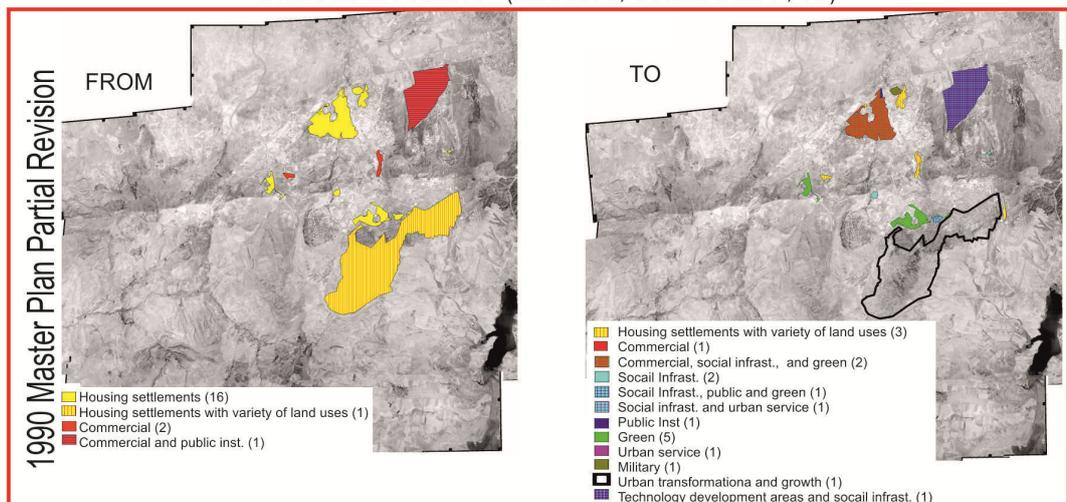


Figure 4.50: The spatial Distribution of Plans between 20001-2007 with respect to different land use changes

Housing	1
Social infrast.	2
Social infrast. And other land uses	3
Public inst.	4
Public inst. And other land uses	5
Green	6
Green and other land uses	7
Urban service	8
Urban service and other	9
Commercial	10
Commercial and other	11
University	12
University and other	13
Military	18
Technology development area	19
Road	20
Village	21
Transformation and growth area	22

Table 4.20: Codification of proposed land-uses

		PROPOSED																			
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	18	19	20	21	22	T	
<b>I. Group</b>	1990 Plan	1	1											1						3	
		4		1				1												6	
	1990 Revision	6	2		2	3													1	1	15
										3				1							4
<b>II. Group</b>	1990 Plan	1	1						2											4	
	1990 Rev.	8	3		3		2					1	1		1	1	1		2	23	
<b>Others</b>	1990 Rev.	3	2	2	1		5		1		1	2			1	1			1	20	
<b>Total</b>		<b>23</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>75</b>	

Table 4.21: The distribution of the changes brought about by plans: Existing plan decisions and proposed land-uses

Second group of land-use changes were largely realized to change public intuitions, social infrastructures, urban service areas, villages, military areas and university areas. 23 of 27 plans changed these land-uses in the boundary of 1990 Master Plan Partial Revision and 4 plans were made in the boundary of 1990 Master Plan. The plans made to alter *public intuition area to urban service area in north of the Eskişehir Road - public intuitions, commercial and military areas to urban transformation area in Lodumlu – villages to housing settlements in the areas around Alacaatlı, Dodurga, Incek and Taşpınar* as the most speculative plans introduced a dynamic transformation in the periphery and changed the production pattern of urban space. Under the names of urban service area or transformation area, these plans proposed variety of land uses that were not explained and defined clearly. This brought about ambiguity and uncertainty about the development and triggered the manipulations.

There were also some other plans that changed the housing settlements and commercial areas to other land-uses. Although most of them were small scale, 5 of these 20 plans offered change to green area. One of the plans proposing a boundary for *İncak, Kızılcaşar Taşpınar Urban Transformation of Growth Area* is appeared as the most problematic plan that introduced various problems as mentioned above.

#### **4.4.2.2. Increasing Population Density**

In this period 12 plans increased the population density. All plans were realized on 1990 Master Plan Partial Revision around the İncek, Kızılcaşar, Taşpınar. 8 of them at the time changed the land-use decision of master plan. 5 plans converted commercial areas into housing and commercial areas and 2 plans transformed village and housing areas to commercial areas. And 1 plan was made to change housing areas to commercial area.

1990 Master Plan Partial Revision proposed 2 different population densities for housing areas; 30 per/ha for low density and 60 per/ha for medium density area. The plans increasing the density were mostly concentrated in the low density areas and the average density proposal of these plans was 57 per/ha.

All plans were ratified in the sub-planning area of 1990 Master plan Partial Revision. They were realized within the context of “Development Plan of Southwestern Ankara inside the Belt-highway” of between 2001 and 2004. Although they were subject to this upper scale plan all they took inconsistent decisions about population density.

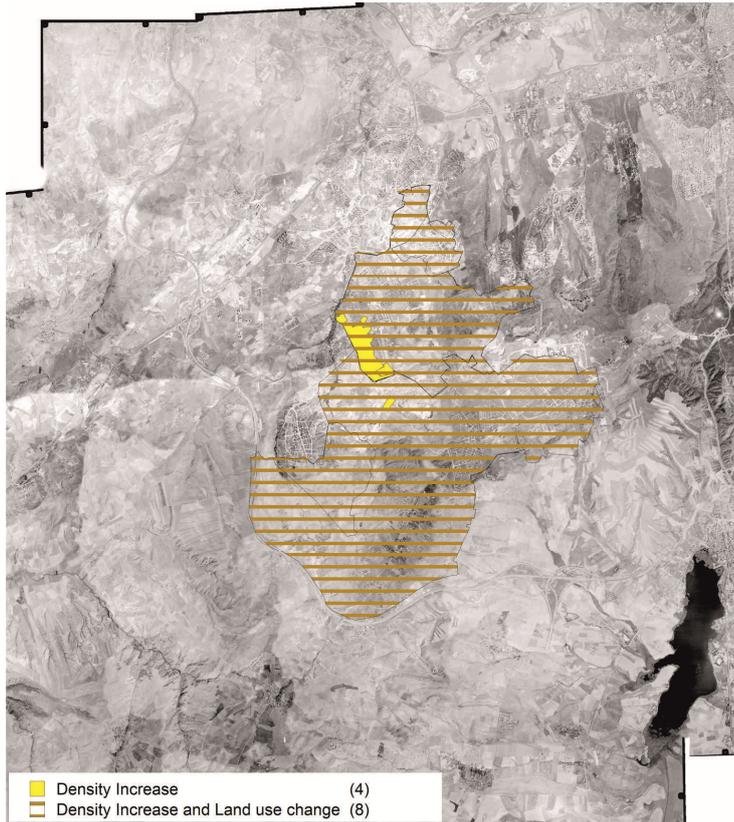


Figure 4.51: The spatial distribution of plans increasing population density between 2001-2007

#### 4.4.2.3. Development in Unplanned Area

Outside the 1990 Master Plan and 1990 Master Partial Revision, 32 plans were made. The most intensive planning process was observed outside the belt highway around Tuluntaş, Hacilar and Ballıkuyumcu. Y.Yurtçu and Yapraklı areas along the Eskişehir Road was also very dynamic however, plans made in these areas were more fragmented and piecemeal.

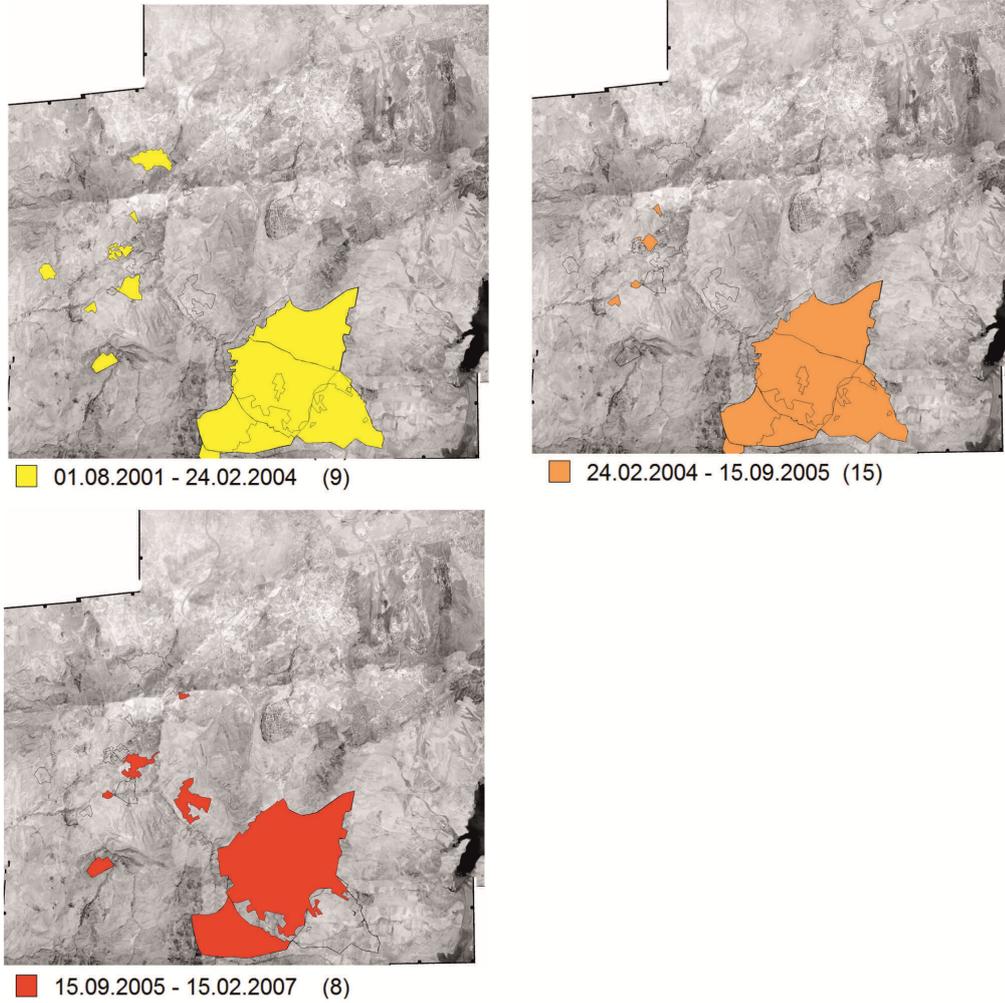


Figure 4.52: The spatial distribution of plans made in unplanned area between 2001-2007

During the period between 2001 and 2007, the plans were always influential in the vicinity of Tuluntaş and Ballıkuyumcu. In 2002 the planning process started with the approval of Güneykent Master Plan at the scale of 1/5000. As mentioned before this plan was prepared according to decisions of unplanned upper-scale “2025 Ankara Master Plan”. Although this plan was halted, planning activities continued without interruption. New plans began to be with reference to “South-western Ankara Metropolitan Development Plan” after 24.02.2004. 1/5000 and 1/1000 implementation plans were prepared in six months in 2004. After the abolishment of South-western Ankara Metropolitan Development Plan this area was established as transformation and

growth area and more problematic urban development processes appeared. Nowadays some of these plans have been cancelled or juridical processes are continuing for cancellation.

The main land use proposals of the plan were made for housing areas and university areas. In this period mass housing areas in Y.Yurtçu were planned and many fragmented plans were made for Çankaya University area.

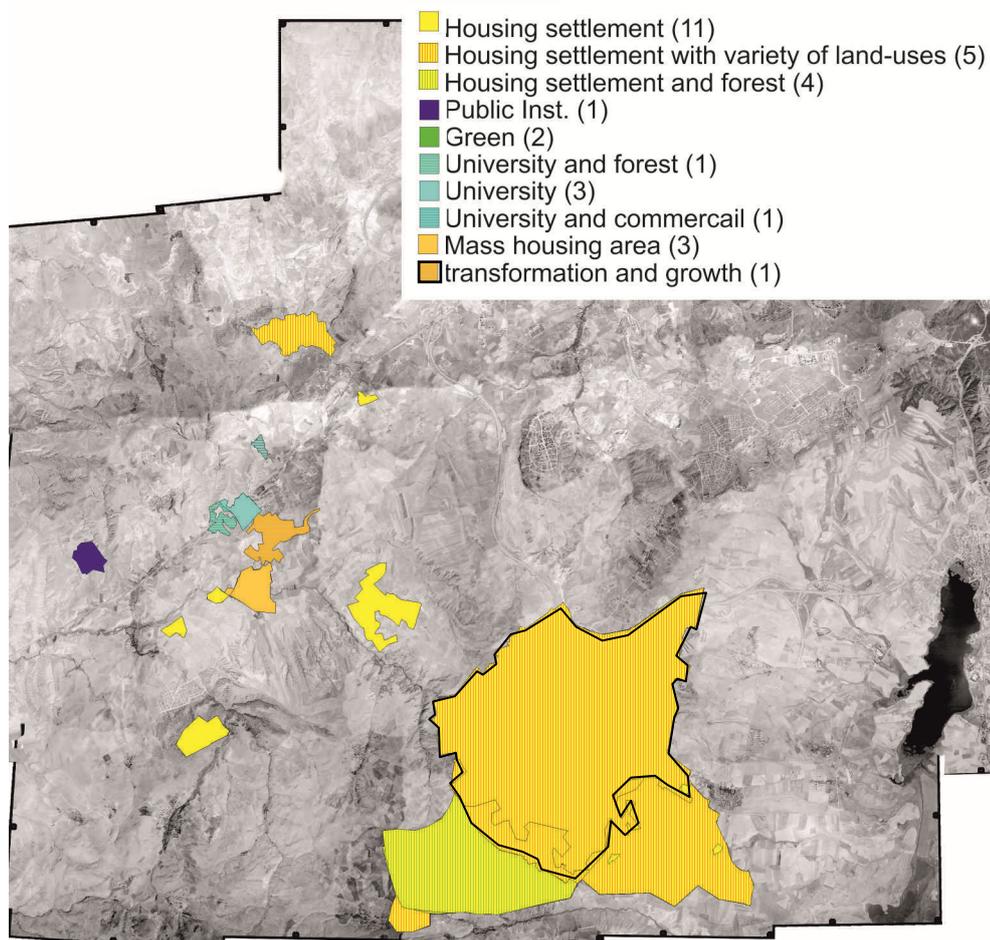


Figure 4.53: Land use decisions of plans in unplanned area between 2001 and 2007

All of these plans were at the scale of 1/1000 and-or 1/5000. Just a one plan made for university area proposing commercial activities was at the scale of 1/2000. %50 of plans were 1/1000 implementation plans. In spite of this piecemeal planning process there

was only one partial plan in this area. That is because as mentioned before, these plans were prepared according to decisions of larger scale plans. However it should be in mind that those plans took more intensive partial planning decisions that produced unwanted and undesired urban developments.

#### **4.5. URBAN SPACE PRODUCED BY A NEW MASTER PLAN AFTER 2007: A SHORT REVIEW**

In accordance with the introduction of Law no 5216, the greater municipality borders were expanded and redefined within a radius of 50 km and the municipality was given a duty to approve 1/25 000 scale plans. By these regulations the area controlled by municipality was enlarged. Finally, a new master plan called “2023 Ankara Plan” was prepared and approved by the municipality on February 16th, 2007. The valid plan of Ankara today, 2023 Ankara Plan aims to control the enduring speculative urban dispersion and expansion produced by piecemeal and fragmented urban plans. By revising all plans made before, the plan intends to ensure the spatial coordination among them. However this brings an eclectic approach rather than a holistic one. Plan expects an increase of %87.5 in population. It proposes 7.5 million for the years 2023 and 1,5 million of them are solely attributes to the peripheral areas of the city.

The plan has defined five sub-planning zones which are the central, east, west, south west and north. The south-western zone along the Eskişehir Road is evaluated as the most speculative part of the city where provisions of housing are excess and rents are high. And according to plan this tendency have to be taken under control by proposing compact macroform. However, contrary to these diagnosis, the plan having a dispersed urban form proposal gives extra development rights and provokes the urban expansion toward to periphery. The imbalanced develop decisions overloading the south-western periphery has deepened the control problems. 2023 Plan forecasts an increase of almost 4 million of population for Ankara and the main emphasis is for the south-western periphery. While the 2000 population of the areas is 150 000, the plan assumption for the year of 2023 is 650 000. This exaggerated population estimation amplifies the problems of urban growth.



should be taken in the process were ratified concurrently at the same time. Temakent was established as transformation and growth area, 1/50 000 plan modification and 1/5000 and 1/1000 development and implementation plan were came into force on the same day.

These regulations also have significant impacts on the provisions of urban space and the scale of urban production. The activities of small cooperatives and contraction companies as the predominant apparatus of space production have been replaced by the great development projects of large scale firms. Most of these plans results in the legal struggle between municipality and professional organizations. These ongoing struggles bring ambiguity to the urban development process. Under these uncertainties piecemeal and fragmentary urban development gained a new form.

#### 4.5.1 Sprawl-Specific Analyses

During eighteen months between february 2007 and august 2008, 60 plans were made in the southwestern periphery of Ankara. 36 of these plans were compatible with the decisions of 2023 Ankara Plan. 24 plans on the other hand within this limited time period were modified and changed the decisions of master plan. While plans made according to decisions of 2023 Plan concentrated south-western direction along the İncek Road, incoherent plans expanded along the Eskişehir Road.

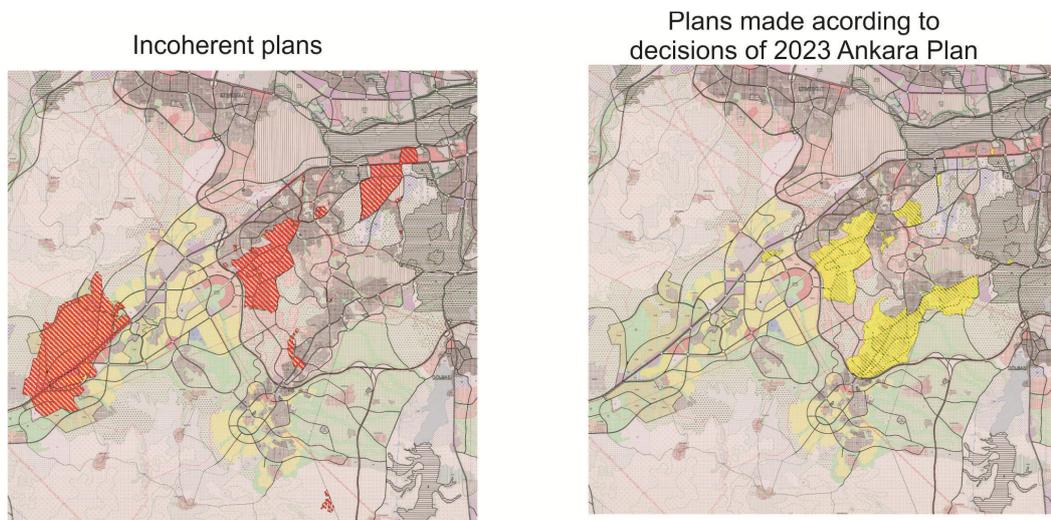


Figure 4.55: Incoherent plans and compatible plans made between 2007-2008

The majority of plans (n.14) incompatible with the decision of 2023 Plan were prepared by the greater municipality. Except one of them, plans of greater municipality were at the scale of 1/100 and/or 1/5000. That plan at the scale of 1/25000 and 1/5000 were prepared in the İncek Transformation and Growth area. it was made just for one cadastral parcel Tp.357. and converted the some parts of the green areas into commercial area.

The plan approved by the ministry was also at the scale of 1 /25000 and 1/5000 and it was established in another speculative area Lodumlu (administration of village affairs area) this plan proposed a transformation of social infrastructure areas to green areas.

As mentioned before 1/1000, 1/5000 and 1/50 000 scaled plans of Mass Housing Administration were approved by the Grater Municipalities on same day of 2023 Plan approval. By this group of plan the green areas in mass housing areas were converted to commercial and university areas.

Authority	Scale of the plans					Total
	1/1000	1/5000	1/5000 and 1/1000	1/50 000	1/25 000 1/5000 and 1/1000	
Ministry					1	1
Grater Municipality	2	8	3		1	14
Greater Municipality and District Municipality	4		1			5
Mass Housing Adm. And Greater Muni.	1	1		1		3
District Municipality	1					1
<b>Total</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>24</b>

Table 4.22: The distribution of plans between 2007-2008 with respect to Cross tabulation of approval authority and plans scale

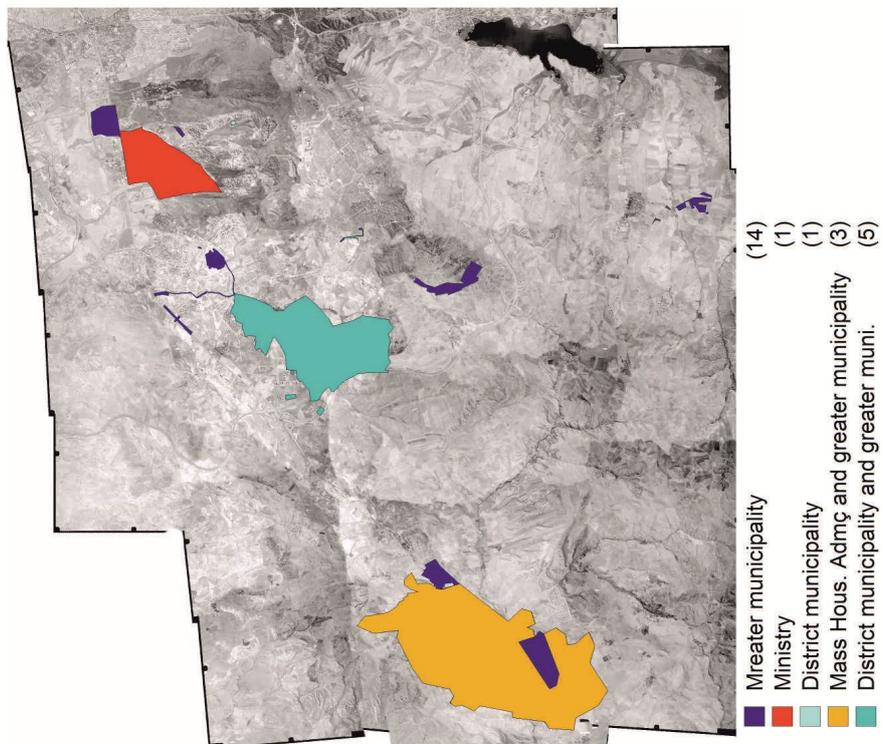
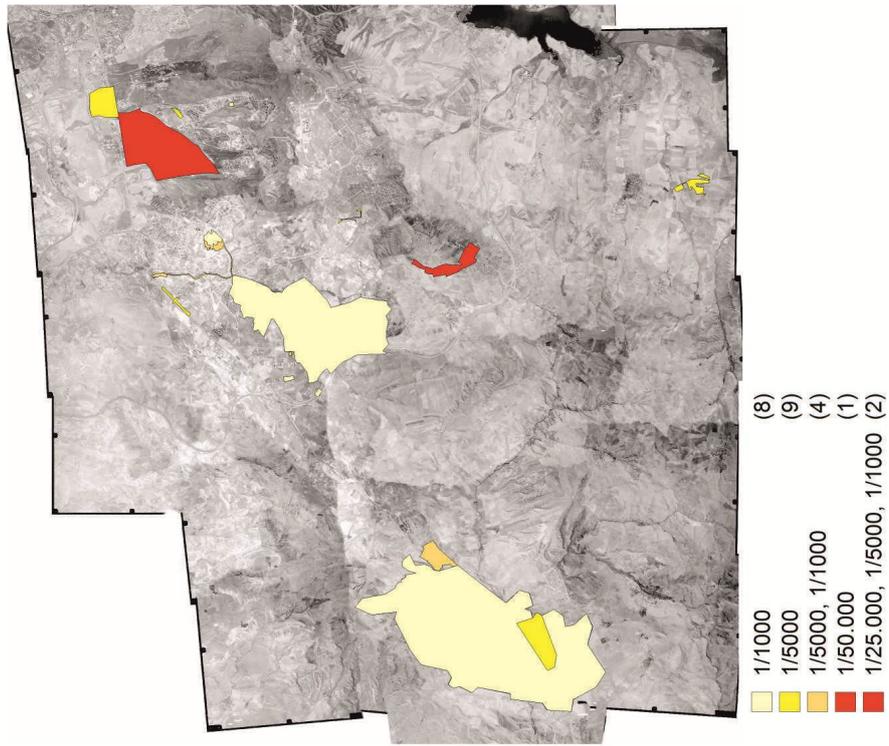


Figure 4.56: The distribution of plans between 2007-2008 with respect to plan scale and approval authority

None of the plan changed the density assumption of 2023 Master Plan and because of the scale of 2023 Master plan, there were not any plan made in unplanned area. Despite of them, all plans brought about land use changes. 8 of the plans resulted with change from green areas to housing, public, social infrastructure and commercial areas. 2 plans were made in the agricultural areas and they introduced a alteration to housing settlements. In this period 3 plans offered a housing transformation and they proposed university, commercial and service uses in the housing areas. It is also crucial to indicate that the mass housing areas and commercial areas were converted to transformation and growth areas by 5 distinctive plans.

From	To
Green (8)	Housing, public, commercial, socail
Agricultural (2)	Housing
Social Infrast (1)	Green
Public Inst(1)	Social Infrast.
Service areas (1)	Housing area
Housing settlement (3)	University, commercial and service
Mass housing area (5)	Transformation and growth
Commercial (1)	Transformation and growth
Road (2)	Road

Figure 4.23: The Distribution of plans between 1994-2001 with respect to land use changes

Like the previous periods, the main land use decision of plans in this period was for housing areas. 10 plans proposed housing settlements in their plan boundaries. Besides, 5 plans proposed transformation and growth area and social infrastructure areas were proposed by 4 small scale plans.

To conclude although the number of analyzed plans was very low, the changing legal and administrative dynamics and their effects on planning process can be gathered from these plans. The production of space by these plans indicates that the problematic

development in the periphery was intensified in each time period. Instead to produce containment policies, central and local worked coordinately to produce much more development areas in the periphery.

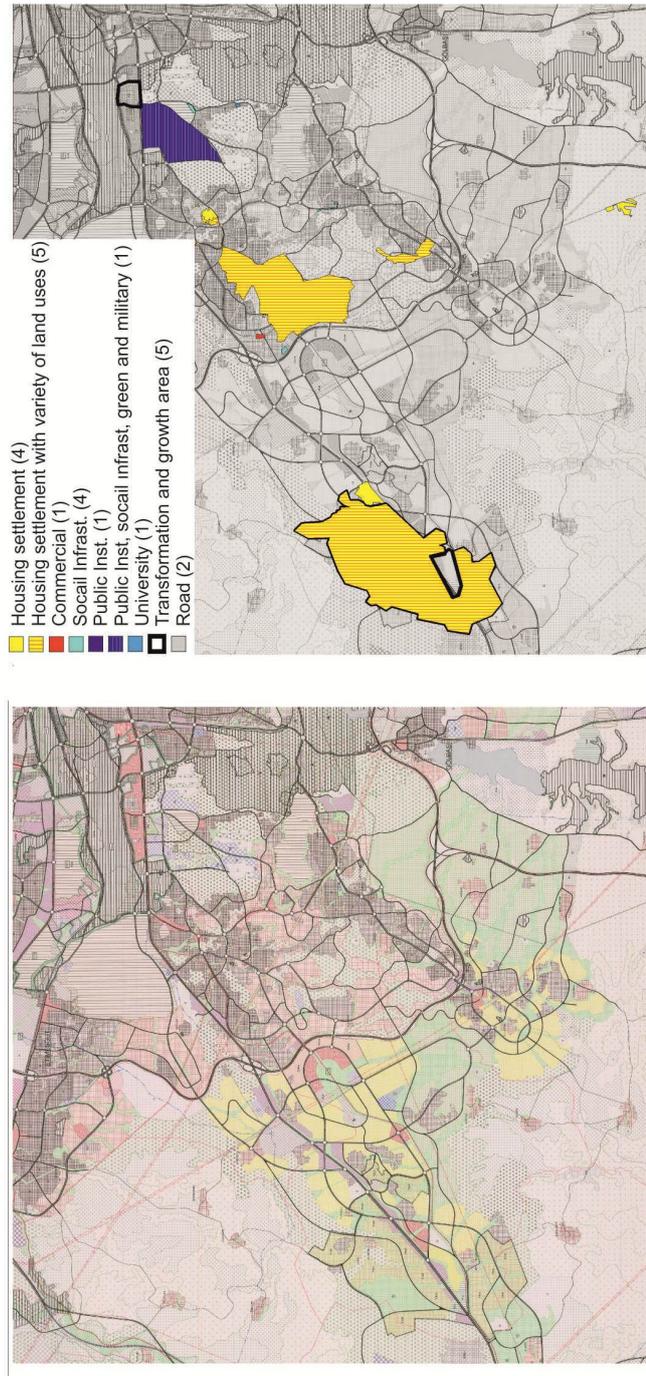


Figure 4 57: Land-use changes brought about by plans between 2007-2008

#### 4.6. EVALUATION

Although population growth, technological advances, households preferences etc are necessary pre-and-continuing conditions for urban development at the peripheral areas of the cities, the problematic development patterns witnessed in south-western periphery of Ankara have mostly depended on the fragmented and incoherent planning processes.

Between 1984 and 1994 under the impact of neo-liberal policies Ankara witnessed an intensive housing and infrastructure investments realized at the periphery of the city. Production of urban space was directed by *piecemeal urban plans*. These plans were generally prepared by private planning bureaus and approved by central governments. They were used to legitimate the demands of housing areas of cooperatives and firms.

The analyses indicated that the planning process and its administrative and legal procedures in the city of Ankara from 1984 to 1994 could not manage the problematic urban development, even triggered it. The enactment of new laws after 1980s in line with the neo-liberal politics reflected a new liberal ideology. The underlying ideology was supported by new written laws that decentralized the administrative system. The planning processes became linked with different legal and administrative structure in a different manner. This brought about confusion and ambiguity; without a general framework for the city, piecemeal planning processes directed the urban development. Most of plans made in this period were partial plans that were made with the autonomous decisions of the Ministry.

During the period between 1994 and 2001 *authority confusion and disputes* between central and local government paved the way for speculative development. In this uncertain atmosphere the authority having the planning power, the Ministry, introduced large development areas that were not proposed in 1990 Master Plan.

After the approval of 1990 Partial Plan Revision inside the circumference of belt-highway, production of urban space gained a dynamic form. To direct the development outside the belt-highway in 2004 another large-scale partial plan "South-western Ankara

Metropolitan Development Plan” was made and disturbed the containment decisions of existing master plan. In subsequent years many plans were established according to decision of it. However both this plan was halted two years later and long juridical process began to cancel other supplementary plans.

In 2007 a new master called 2023 Ankara Plan” was prepared for the city. This plan was an attempt to legalize problematic developments at the peripheral areas. the repercussion of the new laws and regulation that began to be ratified in the years after 2004, became more efficient. These regulations also have significant impacts on the provisions of urban space and the scale of urban production. The activities of small cooperatives and contraction companies as the predominant apparatus of space production have been replaced by the great development projects of TOKİ and large firms.

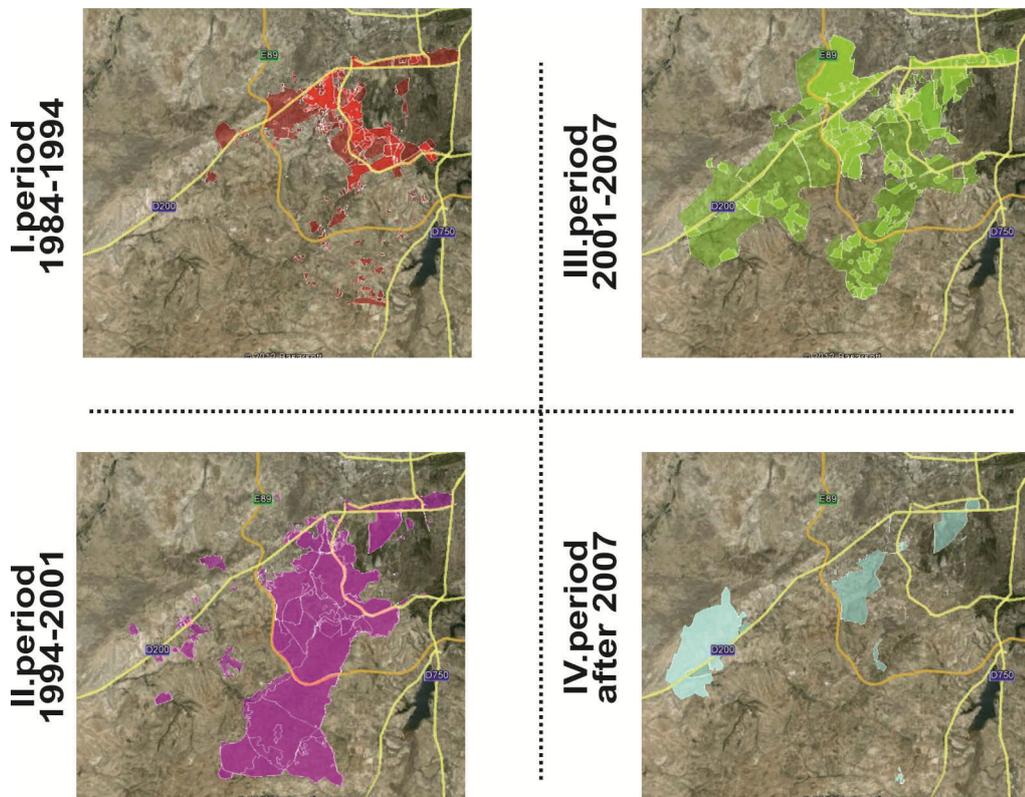


Figure 4.58: Spatial distribution of incoherent plans between 1984 and 2008

Production of urban space in the periphery as discussed in literature is a historically and geographically contingent outcome of a structuration process. Therefore it evolves and changes in time and space. as it discussed above and showed in the figure in each time period the dynamics effecting the planning process changed and plans produced different patterns of urban development. By changing the decisions of master plans in force, the incoherent plans produced disorganized, dispersed, scattered, inefficient, awkward, leapfrog, uninterrupted, monotonous, discontinuous, haphazard developments.

Overall classification	1984-1994 (1990 Master Plan)	1994- 2001 (1990 Master Plan)	2001-2007 (1990 Master Plan AND Partial Revision)		2023 Structure Plan (made between 07-08)	Total
Land Use change	135	132	13	61	22	363
Road change	1			1	2	4
Density Change	20	5		4		29
Land use change and density change				8		8
Plans that change density and made in unplanned area		6				6
Plans made in unplanned area	65	73	32			170
Total	221	216	45	74	24	580

Table 4.24: Distribution of incoherent plans with respect to changes brought about by the plans

% 70 (580) of total plans made between 1985 and 2008 manipulated the planning decisions of existing master plan. the majority of these plans (%63) were made to change land use decisions of master plans in force and %30 of plans were transpired in unplanned areas. the plans made in unplanned area were generally prepared as partial plans and sometimes they were prepared according to upper-scale partial plan decisions. Consequently, the ongoing changes brought about by these plans produced a problematic urban development. where these changes were made population

increased drastically and some parts of the former green belt transformed into high-income housing settlements. Thus it is widely mentioned today that rather than adopting existing plans to socio-spatial requirements of the city, these plans in the periphery of Ankara produced new requirements by legitimizing the ongoing developments.

## CHAPTER 5

### CONCLUSION

This chapter sets out the conclusion of the research. After a short synopsis, the production of urban space in the southwestern periphery of Ankara is conceptualized. Then, in last part, recommendations for further researches are put forward.

#### 5.1. SYNOPSIS

In last three decades there has been a different kind of change and transformation taking place in the periphery of cities. Although development in urban cores is still prominent, the periphery of the cities has gained an important role for further development.

Due to the process of *suburbanization* , *decentralization* , *expansion* , *dispersion* etc, directed by the technological improvements, governmental policies, social and cultural changes, urban areas can not be confined within their boundaries; they have reached much wider areas around the urban core. This has caused dramatic effects on the cities in a way that the peripheral areas surrounding urban centers have been subject to transformation with respect to physical configuration, economic activities, social relationships and so forth.

The Turkish cities have also lived dramatic changes. Peripheral areas of the cities have become the arena of manipulation and speculation of capital. New legal and administrative arrangements related with urban planning system have created a convenience atmosphere for rent and speculation.

While squatter settlements were legalized and began to be restructured through urban redevelopment projects, new mass housing areas and housing estates for middle and upper income groups introduced different kinds of problems in the periphery. Without considering the macro-scale policies, the partial planning processes of central and local governments encouraged the further speculative developments.

Considering these issues, this thesis suggests that **production of urban space in the periphery is not a self-regulative process, on contrary, in Turkish cases it is a process produced by urban planning.** As Zhang (2001, 221) states "urban sprawl results from poorly planned, new residential, commercial and industrial areas". This planning inability creates less-controlled areas at the periphery (Harvey and Clark 1965; Pendall 1999, Torrens, 2006). For the developers these less-controlled areas become the most preferable areas in terms of land speculation that can be achieved easily.

### **Theorization of a phenomenon rich in ambiguity**

The discussion of periphery has different ideological. Hence the conceptualizations and definitions of production of urban space in periphery have different point of views.

- **Morphological studies** of urban ecologist theorists such as Mumford, Wirth, Burgess and Jacobs reflect early concern for the periphery. The periphery is interpreted as an area of transition through the expansion of the residential and industrial area (Nagy, 1996:221). The periphery is seen as a container that contains mixed land use and extensive industrial and residential development.
- **Neoclassical studies** relying on a positivist epistemology often deal only with the superficial level of events rather than investigating the generative mechanisms of urban growth and so the change in periphery. (Gottdiener 1994; Healey and Barrett 1990; Sayer 1979). Change in periphery reflects an economically rational way of allocating land uses. Their paradigm states that the cumulative actions (demand) of individual households and firms create the overall land use pattern. Studies based on neo-classical economic assumption

emphasize on the outward appearances of urban periphery. They insist that the individual decisions of household and firms have created an expansion to the periphery and change the periphery. They did not look into social and political aspects and mechanisms of it.

- **The functionalist studies** of Marxian political theories attempt to address the interaction between the state and the market. For Harvey, capitalism creates new built environments in order to address the crises of accumulation. Lefebvre see space as an intrinsic part of capitalism that it was not only a product and but also a producer. As Gottdiener (1994:129) noted space was “simultaneously material object or product, the medium of social relations, and the reproducer of material objects and social relations. (Gottdiener 1994, 129). Therefore, periphery is interpreted as a built environment that is product of capitalism and also a producer that produces and maintains social relations and contradistinctions of capitalisms.

- **The contemporary theorists such as Giddens, Gottdiener, and Zukin** etc. emphasize on the relationship among social, culture, political and spatial issues of cities. The contingent relationship among social, culture, political and spatial issues is man concern of contemporary theories therefore, they put the emphasis on system specific characteristics of the process that create and change the periphery. Periphery is interrogated with its relationships with state, capital and society etc.

This thesis considered *the insights of Marxian political economy through a broader lens of the contemporary social theorists such as Giddens, Gottdiener, etc.*

## **5.2. CONCEPTUALIZATION OF PRODUCTION OF URBAN SPACE IN THE PERIPHERY**

Periphery is a dynamic phenomenon; it is not only a spatial entity that conveys the urban or rural land uses, but also a socio-spatial reality that urban processes manifest themselves in there. So the term of periphery cannot be easily defined through

unambiguous criteria. As Gallent et al (2006) said they are not merely a grey area between town and country.

Hence, defining periphery as a space locating at the edges of settlements and developed areas is not enough to describe periphery. It is the most dynamic part of the cities that urban processes strongly influence periphery.. Hence, it requires new conceptualization that interprets periphery not only as a physical matter but also as the coexistence of social and political relations. Within this framework this thesis conceptualizes the “production of periphery” as process and examined it with reference to dynamics that constitute it.

In Ankara Case, *Production process of urban space in the periphery is mediated and structured by fragmented and incoherent planning and main issue giving rise to the formation of these plans is related with the problems of **administrative and legal frameworks of the planning system.***

Therefore the model introduced here is based on two interrelated and overlapping concepts; **context and content**. However one should in mind that production of urban space in the peripheral areas as discussed in literature is a historically and geographically contingent outcome of a socio-spatial and economic processes. With respect to these issues, it evolves and changes in time and space.

Therefore in this conclusion chapter the concepts of **context and content** are interpreted with the process of **production**.

- **Context** is a system of interaction in which production of urban space is embedded. The local and central administrations who have the authority to prepare and implement the plans constitute the **organizational context** of the planning process. **The regulatory context** is legal regulations such as the laws, bylaws and circulars. It establishes and formulates the actions of planning and actions of agents

- **Content** of production of urban space indicates the internal aspects that are formed within the planning . In another word the content refers particular attributes of fragmented and incoherent plans which give crucial information about the characteristics and the formation of urban production process.
- **Process** on the other hand makes possible to comprehend other dynamics of economic, cultural and social. Other actors involved in the production process such as private investors or households, consumption preferences or social-economic desires of people.

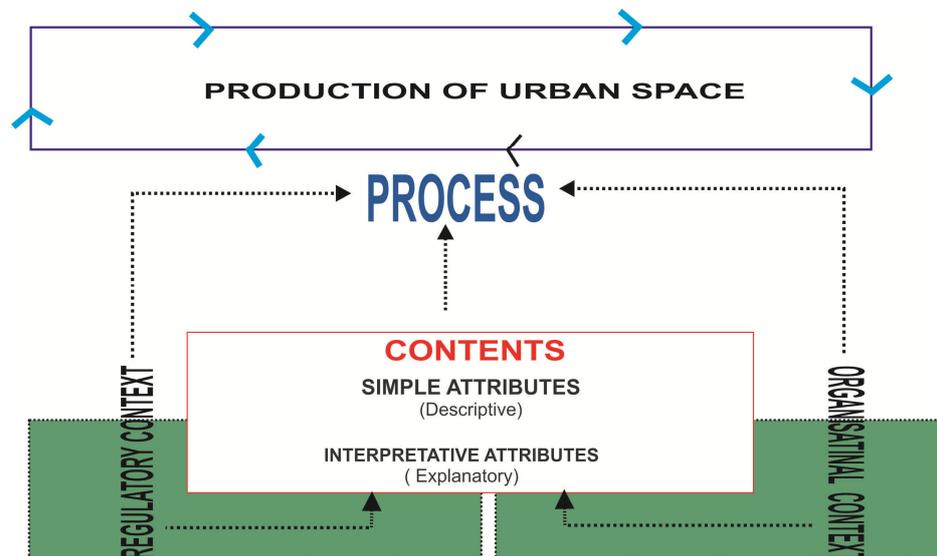


Figure 5.1: Conceptualizing of production process of urban periphery

**Production process of urban space in the south-western periphery of Ankara: a brief explanation**

After the 1960s, the rapid increase of population and urban growth pushed middle income groups to peripheral areas. Housing cooperatives that were unable to afford to locate in the inner city due to the absence of large building lots and high land price began to purchase at the south-western periphery. The vacant and agricultural lands were subjected to property conversion. In 1980s development along south-western corridor were supported by master plan. These areas were seen as solution for the housing problems of middle and upper income groups. This triggered the property

transformation and accelerated the cooperatives types of development. Between 1984 and 1994 many partial plans were made by planning bureaus or cooperatives. And these plans were approved by the ministry. The partial development in the periphery was carried out by these small-scaled housing cooperatives. However after 1994 in the period of legislative and administrative turmoil, the ratification of fragmented and incremental plans intensified the urban development and production of urban space gained a new direction. The southwestern periphery became the most speculative part of the city. The area was favored by upper income classes. New legal regulations made to articulate the country to neo-liberal politics have intensified the activities of authorities to make partial and incremental plans. In the years after 2000s the actors involved in the provision of urban land have been changed. Large construction firms and TOKİ became the main producers. In line with these developments the fashion of planning practice has also changed. Instead of partial and small scale intervention, authorities produce urban space through large-scale interventions. The ratification of new laws enables the destructive planning activities of authorities.



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## APPENDIX A

### CODIFICATION OF DATA SET

AUTHORITY	A	Greater Municipality
	B	Ministry of Public Works
	Y	Yenimahalle District Municipality
	C	Çankaya District Municipality
	G	Gölbaşı District Municipality
	E	Etimesgut District Municipality
	T	Mass Housing Administration

DISTRICT	1	Yenimahalle	1	Ümit
			2	Koru
			3	Konutkent
			4	Çayyolu
			5	Buketkent
			6	Yaşamkent
			7	Alacaatlı
			8	Dodurga
			9	Ballıkuyumcu
			10	A.Yurtçu
			11	Y.Yurtçu
			12	Şehitali
	2	Çankaya	1	Mutlukent
			2	Mutlukent (Angore)
			3	Beytepe
			4	Mustafa Kemal
			5	Üniversiteler
			6	Ahlatlıbel

			7	Söğütözü
			8	Çukurambar
			9	Kızılırmak
	3	Gölbaşı	1	Hacılar
			2	İncek
			3	Tuluntaş
			4	Kızılcaşar
			5	Taşpınar
			6	Ballıkpınar
			7	Koparan
			8	Yavrucak
			9	GOP
			10	Veli Ahmetli
			11	Halaçlı
	4	Etimesgut	1	Erler
			2	Yapracık
			3	Bağlıca
	5	Yenimahalle-Çankaya		
	6	Yenimahalle-Etimesgut		
	7	Gölbaşı-Çankaya		

PLAN TYPES	Master, I mpl. Etc	Partial	Urban Transfor mation and Growth	Improve ment	Other
Regular	1	2	30	4	51
Modificaiton	11	21	31	41	
Revision	12	22		42	
Addtional	13	23		43	
Plan Note modificaiton	14	24			
Plan and Plan Note Modificaiton	15	25			
Additonal and Revision	16	26			

Revision Plan Note Modificaiton	17	27			
Urban Design	18				
Urban Design Revision	19				
Boundary/Project Area			3		5
Additional Plan Modification	131				

CHARACTERISTIC	1	Built-up
	2	Built-up and vacant
	3	Vacant

LAND-USE	A	Housing
	B	Commercial
	C	Socail, Cultural, Religious, Education
	D	Public Inst.
	E	Green, playground
	F	Urban Service, Urban Working Area
	G	University
	H	Touristic
	I	Military
	Z	Agriculture
	K	Village
	S	Squatter
	R	Road
	T	Technical Infrst.
	U	Unplanned area
	AA	Housing settlemnt with B, C, D ,E
	BB	Businesss Center, Regional Commercial area, CBD
	CC	Hospital
DD	Larger Public Inst. Areas	
EE	Forest, Regional Park, AOÇ, Urban Recreation,	

CHANGES	L	Land-use change
	D	Density change
	U	Unplanned area
	N	Not change

BOUNDARIES	0	Road
	1	Single Parcel
	2	Several Parcels in a block
	3	Several parcels in several blocks
	4	Single block
	5	Several blocks
	6	Neighbourhood
	7	More than a neighbourhodd

SCALE	1	1/1000
	2	1/5000
	3	1/1000 and 1/5000
	4	1/50 000
	5	1/5000 and 1/50 000
	6	1/2000
	7	1/25 000
	8	1/5000 and 1/25 000



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