POLITICS OF URBAN TRANSPORTATION
LOCAL, NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL DYNAMICS
CASE OF ANKARA and ESKİŞEHİR ROAD CORRIDOR

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ABSTRACT

POLITICS OF URBAN TRANSPORTATION
LOCAL, NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL DYNAMICS
CASE OF ANKARA and ESKİŞEHİR ROAD CORRIDOR

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This study aims to identify the factors that influence the development of Ankara's urban transport system and to assess the effects of influencing groups and actors (referred to as assemblages in this study) on urban and transportation development of Eskişehir Road Corridor in relation with economic development, political decisions, institutional and legal frameworks.

The thesis adopts a multi-level analysis method for researching influencing developments and assemblage relationships shaping urban transport policies and practices. Multi-level research is carried out for international, national and local levels considering relations at each level and between different levels.

The analysis proved that management of a strong mayor together with its relationships with urban assemblages has been shaping urban transport decisions in the case of Ankara, which have been in contradiction with urban transport master plan principles and often at the expense of public good while creating benefits for several commercial profit-oriented assemblages. However, the most influencing factor again becomes national economic and political preferences of governing parties considering historical trends, of which the study also provides a review. This entrepreneurialist development trend is not unique to the current Mayoral period even though it reached its most intensified form because of national economic development policies and political attitudes adopted after 1980. National governments contributed to this trend through not improving legal and institutional frameworks related to urban transport in parallel to increasing urban transport problems and complexities.

Keywords: urban transport, transport policy, urban assemblages, entrepreneurialist urban development, Ankara, Eskişehir Road

ÖZ

KENTSEL ULAŞIM POLİTİKALARI
YEREL; ULUSAL VE ULUSLARARASI DİNAMİKLER
ANKARA ve ESKİŞEHİRYOLU KORİDORU ÖRNEĞİ

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Bu çalışma Ankara kentsel ulaşım sistemi gelişimi üzerindeki etkili etmenleri tanımlamayı, etkili gruplar ve aktörlerin (bu çalışmada assemblage olarak geçmektedir) Eskişehiryolu Koridoru kentsel büyümesi ve kentsel ulaşım gelişimi üzerinde etkilerini; ekonomik gelişmeler, politik kararlar ve yasal ve kurumsal çerçeveyle ilişkili olarak değerlendirmeyi hedeflemektedir.

Tez etkili kentsel ulaşım politika ve pratiklerini şekillendiren dinamikleri ve assemblage ilişkilerini araştırmak için çok düzeyli bir analiz yöntemi benimsemiştir. Çok düzeyli araştırma her düzeyin kendi içinde ilişkilerini ve birbirleriyle ilişkilerini göz önünde bulundurarak uluslararası, ulusal ve yerel düzeylerde gerçekleştirilmiştir.

Tez çalışması güçlü başkan yönetiminin ve kentsel assemblage'larla ilişkilerinin, kentsel ulaşım ana planı prensip ve kararlarıyla

çelişen kentsel ulaşım uygulamalarını kamu yararı pahasına şekillendirdiğini ve aynı zamanda bazı kar amaçlı ticari assemblagelar'a fayda sağladığını göstermiştir. Ancak tarihsel eğilimler gözönünde bulundurulduğunda en etkili faktör yine iktidar partisinin ulusal ekonomik ve politik seçimlerdir. Bu girişimci gelişme eğilimi bugün en yoğunlaşmış şekline ulaşmış olsa da yalnızca mevcut başkanlık dönemine özgü değil, 1980'den sonra benimsenen ekonomik gelişme tercihleri ve politik eğilimlerin bir sonucudur. Ulusal yönetimler ise bu eğilime artan ulaşım sorunları ve karmaşasına rağmen kentsel ulaşımla ilgili yasal ve kurmsal çerçeveyi iyileştirmeyerek katkıda bulunmuşlardır.

Anahtar kelimeler: kentsel ulaşım, kentsel "assemblage"lar, girişimci kentsel gelişme, Ankara, Eskişehir Yolu

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ABB	: Ankara Greater Municipality
ATTIS	: Ankara Traffic and Transport Improvement Study
AYGM	: General Directorate of Infrastructure Investments
CCAP	: National Climate Change Action Plan
DA	: Development Agencies
DAD	: Prime Ministry Department of the Administration of the Disabled
DDB	: Contracted Double Deck Public Transport Busses
DEM	: Department of the Administration of Disaster and Emergency
DP	: Democrat Party (Demokrat Parti)
DPT	: State Planing Organization
EIB	: European Investment Bank
EBRD	: European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD)
EGO	: General Directorate of Ankara Municipality Bus Operations
EU	: European Union
GB	: Contracted Green Busses
GDS	: General Directorate of Security
JDP	: Justice and Development Party (Adalet ve Kalkınma Patisi)
JP	: Justice Party (Adalet Partisi)
IBRD	: International Bank of Reconstruction and Development
IMF	: International Monetary Fund
KENTGES	: Urban Development Strategy
KGM	: General Directorate of Highways
MHA	: Prime Ministry, Mass Housing Administration
MoD	: Ministry of Development:
MoER	: Ministry of Energy and Natural Resources
MoFS	: Ministry of Family and Social Policies

MoIA	: Ministry of Internal Affairs:
MoST	: Ministry of Science, Industry, and Technology
MoTC	: Ministry of Transport, Maritime Affairs and Communication
MoEU	: Ministry of Environment and Urbanization
MP	: Motherland Party (Anavatan Partisi)
OECD	: The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
ÖHO	: Privately Operated Public Busses
ÖTA	: Contracted Privately Operated Public Transport Vehicles
DPT	State Planning Organization
ITF	: International Transport Forum
PPP	: Regulation of "Principles for Plan Preparation" (1985)
PSP	: Regulation of "Preparation of Spatial Plans" (2014)
RPP	: Republican People's Party (Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi)
SEC	: Special Expertise Commission of DPT
SPP	: Social democrat People's Party (Sosyaldemokrat Halkçı Parti)]
TUBITAK	: The Scientific and Technological Research Council of Turkey
TCDD	: General Directorate of Turkish State Railways
TDM	: Traffic Demand Management
TMMOB	: The Union of Chambers of Turkish Engineers and Architects
TPP	: True Path Party (Doğruyol Partisi)
TRUT	: Turkish Republic Undersecretary of Treasury
TSE	: Turkish Standards Institute
TŞOF	Federation of Drivers and Chauffeurs
TUIK	: Turkish Statistical Institute
UNDP	: United Nations Development Programme
UKOME	: Transportation Coordination Center
VP	: Virtue Party (Fazilet Partisi)
WP	: Welfare Party (Refah Partisi)

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Numerous cities around the world witnessed rapid fragmentation and decentralization of urban functions in expense of reducing costs of urban operations resulting with urban growth generating ever growing mobility demand. After separation of work and residence and invention of motorcar, daily trip distances expanded. Settlements are not formed as fine-grained pattern of mixed uses so that most people are in walking distance of their working, shopping and leisure venues. This brought extensive specialization among capitalist enterprises and functions. Thus capitalist accumulation created enormous demand for transportation. As advanced capitalism dominates the world geography, settlements and transport structures are shaped according to requirements of its mass production and consumption style.

The capitalist system used motor vehicle as a catalyst and urban land as a new potential for development and profit. With increased mobility opportunities, settlements are potential for increased levels of consumptions and social control become more and more attractive to producers, the local agencies and the state (Bentley, 1999). Urban land and its linking transport facilities were vital for the survival of the capitalist system. As Sawers (1984) indicated the profit, which is sought from the development of urban transportation, is derived not from the operation of the transport facility itself, but rather from its effects on urban land market. This study accepts that the underlying factor of societal developments are capital accumulation processes, economic relations, and related politics. Their development

shaped and is still shaping the urban development process and relations within this process. Due to this close relationship between capitalism and urban development, urban transport system developments have to be analyzed through taking into consideration political-economic developments and the influencing actors and assemblages.

Dynamics that influence urban transport development and practices exceed the ones operating at local level (Figure1.1). Understanding urban transport structure requires explaining the relationships of various components operating at three administrative levels; supranational, national and local as well as the dynamics operating in between these levels. Practices at urban level can only be understood through drawing the picture of underlying dynamics, which work at upper management levels. In addition, it requires perceiving of influencing supranational assemblages and their reflection on national and local level managements together with unique local dynamics and assemblages.

Upper level conditions together with political attitudes of national governments define general boundaries of practice at the local level. Although the main influencing practice on the supranational levels is capital accumulation strategy of the era, different geographies (countries, regions, and cities) are affected by the global process differently according to their own political and economic structures. International economic developments define the general framework of national conditions. These dynamics and assemblages constitute the basis for urban transport system development. National choices in world politics and economy may result in worldwide-accepted sustainability approaches to be disregarded. To a certain extent, this may help explain the practices in most Turkish cities, which usually contradict with worldwide-accepted urban transport planning approaches.

In the late 1990's, local and central governments of many developed and developing countries, including Turkey, allowed sprawled urban structure to help overcome the under-consumption problem and keep the market based system going. Turkey as a developing country that is recognized as an emerging economy with a relatively high rate of growth in population and urbanization often prioritized economic growth at the expense of social development and environmental protection. This hindered adopting a holistic approach for both urban and urban transport system development at the local level within the limitations imposed from above. Urban development and transport structure seem to be shaped according to the interests of several actors and pressure groups of various levels. Neo-liberal policies adopted all over the world and in Turkey after the 1980's, have amplified urban transport problems for both urban dwellers and other sectors of society that use the existing transportation system.

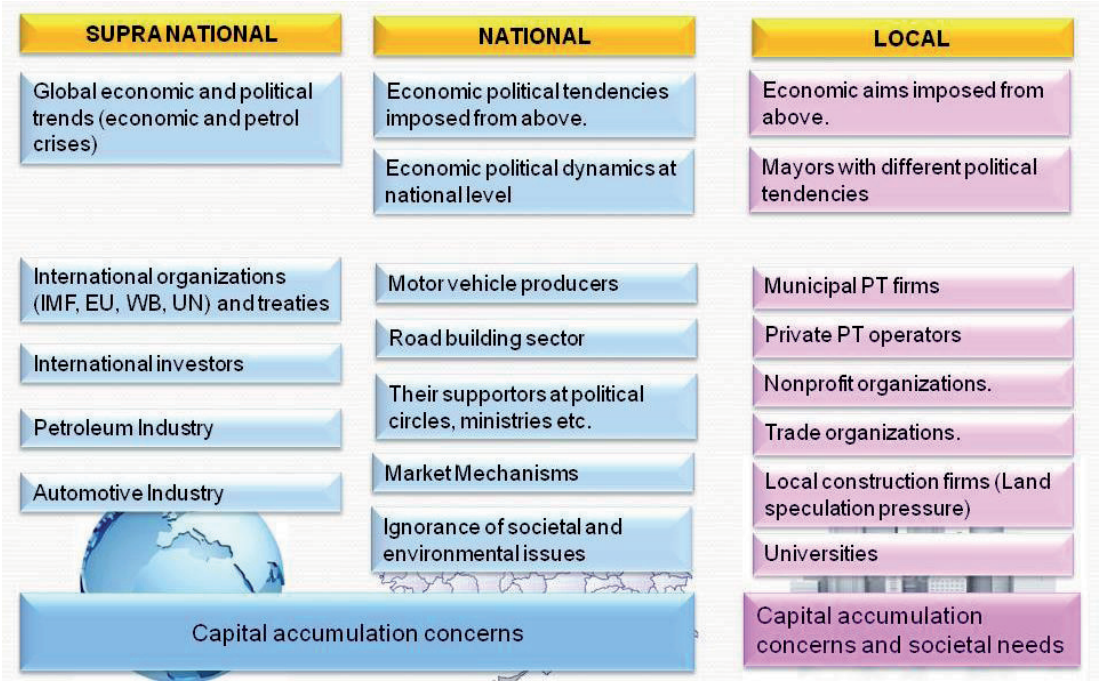


Figure 1.1 Dynamics and Assemblages at Three Level

Being affected by globally changing capital accumulation dynamics and national economic dynamics as well as national political choices, Turkish cities have faced scattered and unplanned urban development on the one hand and rising traffic congestions and accessibility problems on the other. Private car oriented urban transport approaches of city managements amplified the problems initiated by uncontrolled urban growth coupled with transportation and traffic problems. This trend is supported by national and local government policies. Approaches of national and local governments prioritized economic development rather than improvement of social and environmental conditions. National government supported these polices through ignoring and allowing gaps and conflicting authorities at institutional and legal structures. Road oriented policies in urban transport developments meant that the growing mobility demand was met by investing in private car oriented infrastructures, introducing new para-transit modes and finally investing in high cost mass transit systems at the final stage, instead of adopting approaches for improving existing public transport and non-motorized transport systems.

Ankara, the capital city of Turkey, experienced the effects of national liberal choices after the adoption of neo-liberal policies from the 1980s onwards. These effects have been intensified during Mayor Gökçek's period who previously worked at different right-wing political parties. Gökçek expanded his management period with five election terms from 1994 to 2019. In this long period, the city and its transport development have been shaped by the policies and vision of Mayor Gökçek, who received strong support of National Government.

At local level, agents, coalitions and local institutions, and also local assemblages may have crucial transformative influences. Interests of assemblages were also influential in Ankara in shaping the city and planning

decisions with road based projects including more than 100 grade-separated junctions, new highway links, and widened roads. They may have also had a role to play in delayed openings of two metro lines for over 15 years with more than 15 delay announcements in addition to the five rail lines that have not started yet. While these investments were being postponed, the mayor's policies included the introduction of low capacity buses on high demand arterial corridors, delayed introduction of electronic fare collection system with very limited integration efforts and limited coverage including only municipal public transport services, development of a private operator dominated public transport system etc. Societal and environmental issues have usually been disregarded in urban transport projects of Mayor Gökçek government.

Even after many cities in the country adopted policies for more sustainable urban transport in line with various national government policy documents (albeit remaining as recommendation documents as described later in the study), the city of Ankara continued implementing car-oriented policies together with public transport projects and schemes that failed to improve public transport in the city. Meanwhile conditions for pedestrians deteriorated continuously, and cycling, which was already very limited in the city, became impossible due to infrastructure projects that increased motorized vehicle speeds while excluding non-motorized modes from the transport system. This long period of urban transport policies, which clearly contradicts universally accepted planning approaches for sustainable transport, deserves an in-depth analysis. This thesis aims at explaining the main factors, interrelations of assemblages at different levels influencing urban and its transport system development with a view to providing a better understanding of the reasons for the abovementioned development of the transport system in Ankara in the recent decades.

1.1 Aim, Scope and Hypothesis of the Study

This study aims to identify the factors influencing the development of urban transport systems in relation with economic development with respect to political decisions and relations of assemblages, institutional and legal frameworks with a multilevel analysis, including, international, national and local levels.

Urban transport systems (which include both supplying services and infrastructure) of Turkish cities have developed under the influence of economic and political trends affecting cities globally. Economic conditions, political choices, institutional and legal frameworks resulting from national choices under global influences shape urban transport system. In addition to these dynamics, Ankara city experienced a rapid and entrepreneurialist growth without support of appropriate public transport system improvements. New urban areas such as Eskişehir Road Corridor that are dependent to private cars and motorized public transport had developed. Majority of commuters using public transport are facing growing difficulties such as extreme crowding on public transport vehicles, increased travel times and travel costs. Transport difficulties intensified by a strong mayor's entrepreneurialist choices and his close relationships with urban assemblages. Dynamics underlying this unsustainable and inefficient urban transport system development cannot be explained by attributing them only to the adoption of neo-liberal political and economic approaches. There are complex interactions and dependencies among influencing actors and assemblages that need to be clarified in order to provide a better understanding of the case of Ankara.

General framework of national conditions are often drawn by supranational economic and political developments and supranational assemblages (IMF,

EU, World Bank, OPEC etc.) while the political attitudes and economic choices of national government determine local level decisions and practices. Urban level dynamics and mayors have an action area restricted by national institutional and legal boundaries.

The hypothesis is that national economic dynamics, which are constituted by supranational level dynamics together with political choices of governing parties, are the most effective determinant on urban transport system developments. Mayors under these national and international conditions do not have wide range of other choices but adopt entrepreneurialist way of urban and transport system development. The attitude of local management influences only the intensity of the neoliberal policies. By this way, Ankara experienced an extremely unmanageable and entrepreneurialist urban and urban transport system development after 1994 during Mayor Gökçek management. However, assessment of his personality and personal relationships as the only cause of unfair and entrepreneurialist spatial development will be insufficient. The main hypothesis and secondary supporting hypotheses of the study are described in more detail in the following section.

Implementations of social democrat local governments during the 1970's under the above imposed limitations did not bring wide range of choices in terms of desirable urban transport development although there have been numerous pro-public-transport initiatives. These positive implementations either had temporary effect on urban transport system or remained as partial since they did not get support of national government on other complementary areas of urban transport. In this thesis, in order to explore the factors underlying urban transport system in Ankara, institutional and legal structures, economic conditions and political choices and assemblages at three levels are examined.

This thesis further argues that urban transport systems in Turkish cities develop under the politic and economic limitations of both from supranational and national level and from local level influential actors and groups (assemblages) especially when their attitudes are coherent with national political and economical choices. When political attitudes of local administration conflict with that of national government, implementations of local government may have temporary and limited effects on general urban transport systems. In this thesis, urban transportation system in Ankara is analyzed in terms of the economic and political assemblages, their relations, institutional and legal frameworks at local, national and supra national levels within this context in a historical perspective (Figure 1.2).

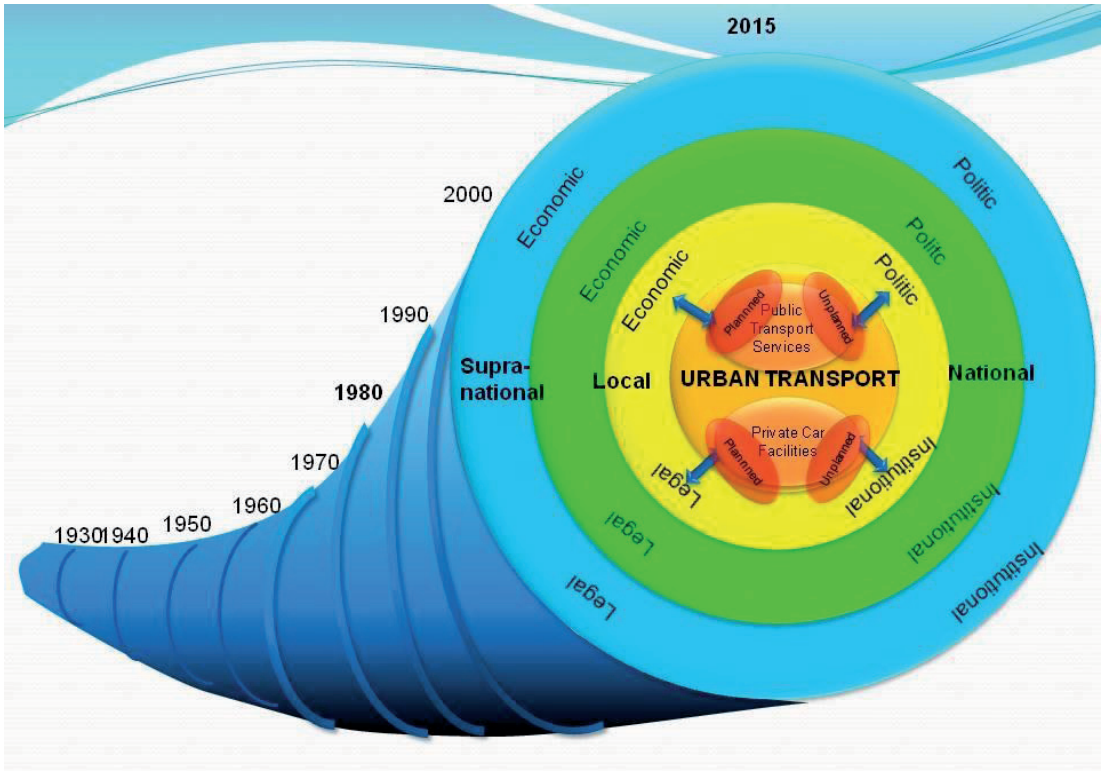


Figure 1.2 Historical Evalution of Dynamics and Assembalages shaping Urban Transport Developments

1.2 Methodology of Analysis

The study examines the effects of economic and political developments and relationship of assemblages in detail at three levels, i.e. supranational, national and local, on the historical development of Ankara urban transport system. Economic and political factors in addition to legal and institutional changes are analyzed within a historical perspective beginning from the 1920's reaching today, with a special emphasis on urban transport components in parallel with urban development decisions on entrepreneurial term after the 1980's. Eskişehir Road Corridor development coincides with this term beginning from the late 1980's. This Corridor is chosen for in-depth analysis since this area is a striking example in terms of entrepreneurialist implementations in terms of both urban growth and urban transportation. West residential corridor has began to developed with an planned macroform decision in 1987 and witnessed many unplanned and contradicting urban transport implementations that brought environmental, financial and time burdens on people from all segments of society traveling on this corridor while bringing short term advantages to several assemblages benefiting from this corridor

The thesis study chronologically evaluates the influence of different political local governments during different periods in relation with the other two level assemblages. In building a methodology for thesis, understanding historical development is crucial for drawing accurate analysis of recent urban structure both physically and socially. As Brenner (2011) argued, specific historical structures produce determinate constraints on the possibility for social transformation, as well as determinate often hidden or suppressed openings for the latter. In parallel with this understanding, historical political debates, choices, planning decisions, and assemblages enlighten factors

underlying recent urban developments and barriers that come from past political processes.

This study also includes a review and analysis of politic and economic developments, their underlying influences and relations of assemblages through the examination of official documents, publications of different organizations and operational data of municipality. Besides, unofficial data resources, such as review of press and indepth interviews with assemblage representatives contributed to the clarification of interactions between assemblages.

Supranational and national level review comprise identification of assemblages, analysis of legal and institutional structures, political and economic developments. Resources of supranational and national analysis include mostly official international and government documents including policy guides and several laws related to urban transport development. Interaction of assemblages and influences of underlying dynamics have been explored through interviews with persons belonging to assemblages.

Ankara case study begins with the definition of assemblages, political decisions and economic developments at the local level. After that, transport system development and urban macroform development are assessed together. To illustrate the impact of assemblages on decision-making in transport, this study focuses on development of urban transport system at Eskişehir Road Corridor in Ankara after the 1980's since this corridor has been subjected to many plans, projects and investments varying from public transport operations, rail investments and road infrastructure interventions. Investigation of all transport components, such as public transport services, private car facilities, non-motorized transport networks are required to evaluate whole urban transport system. However, such a study goes beyond

the scope of the thesis. Thus, the case study of the thesis focuses especially on planning decisions and public transport development. Besides, influences of three level interacting assemblages are evaluated through the definition of political and economic changes in time, as well as planned and unplanned intervention decisions of the municipality.

Changes on Ankara Eskişehir Road Corridor are examined through focusing on entrepreneurialist urban development period after the 1980's. Official and unofficial data guided the thesis study. Within the context of official data, existing urban transport master plan and new master plan preparation approach of Ankara municipality are assessed. Decisions of Ulaşım Koordinasyon Merkezi [Transport Coordination Center (UKOME)], past urban transport plans, operational statistics of public transport services and transport infrastructure projects are analyzed in parallel with the assessment of urban development trends, with the specific aim of defining interrelations of actors, dynamics and institutions at different levels. Interviews have been held with actors from national and local level assemblages in order to clarify influential decision and policymaking processes. Such assessments are contributed to highlight how policy changes occurred in transport planning in recent years. Evaluation of official documents are supported with unofficial resources including media and internet resources.

Main Hypothesis and three Supporting Hypothesis of the Thesis Study are given below:

Main Hypothesis: The hypothesis is that national economic dynamics, constituted by supranational level effects together with political choices of national governing parties is the most effective determinant on urban transport system developments. Attitudes of mayors and relationships of

influential assemblages are dependent on these upper level dynamics; however, they determine the intensity of entrepreneurial implementations.

Supporting Hypothesis 1: Deficiencies in the national legal and institutional framework, and non-decision areas on urban transport lead to unsustainable urban transport system development.

Supporting Hypothesis 2: Mayors and their interaction with powerful local and national assemblages specify the degree of entrepreneurialist urban and urban transport system development.

Supporting Hypothesis 3: Regardless of the political ideology of municipal government, general development trend of urban transport system conforms to the neoliberal national policies especially after the 1980's. Several positive implementations remain partial, having no crucial effect on the whole urban transport system.

National government draw the framework for local action area within the limits imposed by upper levels. Deficiencies of institutional framework and non-decision areas at legal framework constitute gaps, which may be filled by local leaders according to their own values and interests, and it may have negative consequences for urban development and transport system. Economic deficiencies and political choices of national government lead legal and institutional framework of urban transport to develop in a way that is open to political manipulations disregarding globally accepted sustainability and social equity concerns.

Mayor and administrators of municipality units composing municipality assemblage are among the influential determinants of concrete urban transport decisions. However, mayors and all other local assemblages have

rather limited action area, which is restricted by national institutional and legal boundaries. Any mayor under these national and international conditions does not have any other choice than entrepreneurialist way of urban and transport system development. The political attitude of local government influences the continuity and intensity of the neoliberal policy frameworks.

By this way unsustainable and entrepreneurialist, urban transport policies during Gökçek term could not be explained only by personal attitude and relationships. In order to explain the factors underlying Ankara's urban transport system development, institutional and legal structures, economic conditions and political choices are to be examined considering interactions of influential assemblages at three levels.

1.3 Structure of the thesis

The main body of the thesis comprises five chapters; Chapter Two introduces the theoretical framework and defines the theoretical bases of the study. Chapter Three defines political and economic dynamics and assemblages at supranational level and their influences on Turkish national policies and urban decision. Chapter Four examines the roots of urban transport planning framework at the national level. National political and economic choices, influential assemblages and legal and institutional framework are reviewed in detail. Chapter Five provides a detailed analysis of Ankara Urban Transport System Development. Eskişehir Road Corridor is selected for further examination of interactions of public transport assemblages. Chapter Six, the conclusion, includes reassessment of local findings in the light of aforementioned upper level findings and the hypothesis of the study.

Chapter Two reviews the initially early urban development theories in order to provide an understanding of the emergence of more recent theories and

concepts. It is argued that these early-established paradigms of urban research now become increasingly limited to illuminate contemporary urban changes (Brenner et. al., 2011). For this reason, two relatively recent theories are considered to be beneficial for explaining contemporary urban development and urban transport system changes. 'Entrepreneurialist Urban Development' theory (Harvey, 1989; Mayor,1994) and 'Urban Assemblages' theory (De Landa, 2006; McFarlane, 2011) are reviewed in order to explain urban transport system development trends of Ankara. The analysis of these urban development theories contribute to the clarification of underlying powers, which shape urban transportation system of different cities around the world under similar capital accumulation systems.

Since the thesis argues to reveal underlying influences and upper level effects, dynamics and interactions are examined through a multi-level analysis, which is constructed at three levels, namely supranational, national and local scales. Influential assemblages and political economic dynamics of these three levels are explained and evaluated at each related level chapter.

Chapter Three defines supranational political and economic dynamics influencing national position in world economy as well as supranational assemblages having direct influence on urban transport developments through financing and supporting several projects. Supranational economic organizations, international finance institutions and multinational companies are investigated within this framework.

Chapter Four focuses on national framework of urban transport. Political and economic dynamics, influencing assemblages at the national level are defined; and policy documents, historical development of institutional and legal framework are examined.

Chapter Five presents the historical development of Ankara urban transportation system together with political and economic changes at the local level. Historical analysis begins from early the days of the new Republic. A review of early periods is required for defining the whole picture of urban transport and defining deficiencies coming from the historical background.

This chapter also comprises the analysis of urban transport developments on a chosen corridor in Ankara. Developments on Eskişehir Road Corridor and interaction of urban transport assemblages are analyzed in depth by focusing on the developments since the 1980's. Urban planning efforts, urban transport plans, and the statistics of public transport operations help defining interrelations of assemblages. Different roles and weights of these assemblages on urban transport decisions are studied through several in depth interviews and evaluation of other unofficial documents.

Conclusions are presented in Chapter 6. In this chapter, findings of study are evaluated in the light of aforementioned upper level influences of political and economic dynamics and assemblages. This chapter includes the reassessment of the main hypothesis of the study. Contribution of the use of assemblage theory and limitations of study are also expressed. Possible contributions are stated with further application of the assemblage theory to urban transport system analysis.

CHAPTER 2

THEORIES OF URBANIZATION AND URBAN TRANSPORT POLICIES

2.1 Introduction

Urban space and its linking transport system are politically constructed. Understanding urban development trends and their theoretical base are required necessary in order to make a complete analysis of urban transport system development. For this reason, dynamics of politic-economic structures, urban development theories and related urban transport planning approaches will be described in this chapter.

Theoretical approaches on urban development will constitute a base for elaborating political construction of urban transport development dynamics. For this reason, general frameworks of two mainstream approaches, Weberian and Marxist urban development theories will be summarized briefly considering their possible contributions in explaining urban transport system changes. These two theories are briefly explained since they form the base for other contemporary theories and approaches. These have been useful to explain interrelations at early periods of capitalism, but have become insufficient as the actors, relations and conditions have become much more complex. Marxist and Weberian theories are explained briefly below for their points that aim at bringing clarification to the urban development.

In this process, transformative capacity of urban actors, organizations, and relations in decision-making processes that are emphasized by Weberian approach are reviewed. On the other hand, the Marxist political economy

perspective on urban development provides us theoretical means, which are necessary for understanding the relationship between capital accumulation and space with its linking transport system changes. Both neo-Weberian and neo-Marxist approaches provide useful explanations for drawing a general framework of urban and urban transport system development processes. Useful contributions and deficiencies are explained under the following headings.

By drawing upon these two traditions, the thesis suggests to import the concept of urban entrepreneurialism developed by Harvey on the study of recent urban and urban transport developments in Ankara and other Turkish cities. On the other hand, recently emerged concept of “urban assemblages” (De Landa, 2006; Mc Farlane, 2011; Deleuze, 1987; Brenner et. al., 2011) provides beneficial explanations for filling the gap of actors and political alliances. Otherwise, both Weberian and Marxist approaches are not capable of clarifying the recent developments in the area of urban transportation. Entrepreneurialist urban development explanation and concept of urban assemblages are critically reviewed for explaining Ankara's urban and urban transport system developments.

2.2 Marxist Approaches

Common characteristics of neo-Marxist urban policies are that capital accumulation processes, mode of production and classes are crucial for explaining urban development processes. Urban transport has dependent relationship with capital accumulation process. Urban transport is derived from capital accumulation activities and is a vital component for capital accumulation needs. This dependent relationship between the two enforces adopting an economical stance when analyzing urban transport development.

Marxist approaches differ according to their emphasis on economic forces, role of state and class struggle. This determines how they conceive urban development. Instrumentalist approach handles both central and local state as an instrument of dominant (capitalist) class. Main function of state is to respond to the needs of capitalist class (Saunders, 1979). For this view, state has also no authority on capitalist class and this class pursues one single interest. By this way, urban political institutions are integral parts of state and they have little or no autonomy (Pickvance, 1977). According to this view, studying urban policy is not meaningful since urban processes have no specialty; they are only a reflection of decisions given at national level. By the same way, Lojkine (1976) and Cockburn (1977) defined the relationship between the levels of the state, that is, central government and local government in an instrumentalist manner. According to their view, state acts as a basic unity and the actions of local government are not independent from central government. Central government acts as the bearer of the interests of monopoly capital and it imposes these interests to the local level. However, these arguments are not useful for explaining the dynamics of urban development in recent times, since capitalist class cannot be viewed as a single unity and local government represents many conflicting interests of various classes and various sized capital.

Instrumentalist view is insufficient for explaining urban transport developments in recent times since it ignores complex relationships at different scales. Both autonomous and dependent characteristics of local level from national level and international level have to be taken into consideration when explaining recent developments. Instrumentalist view can be meaningful only for explaining local government in Turkey when local governments acted as an arm of national government during the periods and locations where national and local governments have been from the same

party such as single party system term before 1946, during two military coups: eras of 1960-1963 and 1980-1983 and recent twelve years.

According to Structuralist approach, classes, not individuals, constitute center of political analysis (Saunders, 1979). Poulantzas (1976) indicates that the state necessarily represents the interest of monopoly capital since this is the dominant class and dominant political force. On the other hand, state is relatively autonomous of any one class although it is necessarily function in the long-term interests of monopoly capital. Relative autonomy of state is structurally determined by the relationship between economic and political instances in the social formation (Saunders, 1979).

Structuralist approach handles structure as having determining role and cannot be separated from its constituting elements since each are conditions for existence of others. A synthesis of constituting elements is more than the sum of elements. In this framework agency only retouches the final situation. The actions of those who administer the state are thus explained with reference to structural relationship between the political and the economic and, the state and the capital. Althusser (1970) conceptualized structure as composing of three sub structures; politic, ideological and economic. Although they have autonomy in a degree, they interact with each other. Economic structure defines dominant structure in each term.

Poulantzas (1976) emphasized in his structurialist urban explanations the relative autonomy of state. State imposes limits upon practices but do not determine them. The state therefore does not necessarily represent the direct economic interest of any one class. It operates for long-term interests of capital class and it is merely an expression of the balance of political class forces (Saunders, 1979). Although Structurialist view provides useful explanations for understanding influences of state and capital accumulation

in shaping urban environment, it fails to account for particular empirical situations but it claims to account for all situations. It is impossible to envisage any conceivable empirical test of its key assumptions immune from falsification (Saunders, 1979). Another deficiency of structurialist view is that it disregards the influence of individuals in both society and state. When explaining societal development structurialist gives a secondary importance to politics while they overemphasize structure (Duncan, 1981).

When we attempt to explain urban transport development through structurialist approach, urban transport development may be considered as a substructure of urban development process, which has many other substructures interacting with each other. According to this view, urban transport components (users and operators of public transport modes, pedestrians, local governments, legal and institutional frameworks etc.) pose again a substructure. However, attempting to explain these interactions only through accumulation process and ignorance of agency is insufficient in explaining the recent structure of urban transport system development. Despite that, Marxist approaches have various beneficial sides for explaining urban transport structures; it should have to be fulfilled by a Weberian perspective, which takes complex relationships of different interest groups (also assemblages) into to consideration. For this aim, assemblage theory is handled below under the heading of 2.4.

2.3 Weberian Approaches

Weberian approaches put state, actors, and institutions at the heart of urban development processes and urban policy analysis. Analysis of relations, decision-making processes of influential actors and organizations are crucial in urban development. Weberian urban explanations take state as independent variable. Actions of state have binding effect on organizations

and other agents. State uses his determining power through the laws and institutions. Giddens (1981) and Thrift (1983) emphasized that decisions which do not have any spatial context have effect on behaviors of agents and thereby spatial development process. Therefore, decisions of state and their influences on behaviors of rational human actions should be comprehended in policy analysis.

According to Weberian urban explanation of "Urban Managerialism" (Pahl, 1975), bureaucratic and market processes have determinative role in defining social mechanisms, while production processes do not have any effect. Resource distribution process and individuals intervening in this process are the focus of urban studies. Individuals who take roles in decision-making processes set state policies according to their personal values and trends. Therefore urban resource distribution depends on the aims of these actors. In this definition of Pahl (1975), "Gatekeepers" are composed of mayors, councilors, bureaucrats, planners and local business communities and organizations as well as the street level bureaucracy. They are treated as independent variables and capitalist processes do not limit behaviors of these managers.

In this framework, Managerialist approach can contribute to the analysis of urban transport system development processes in recent times only to a limited extent since it rejects the importance of the changes in production and economic processes. Mayors, councilors, bureaucrats, planners and business communities have determinative role on transport system development. However, they have only lasting effects when their interests overlap with goals of capital accumulation. They do not have any permanent effect on the urban and transport system development. When they act in contrast to capital accumulation dynamics in time, their actions have little and

temporary influence on society. These contrasting and concurring ideologies and actions of governments are examined in detail in the Ankara case.

Another drawback of this approach for explaining the dynamics of urban transport system development in recent times is that managerialist approach can provide benefit for explaining urban processes only in welfare period since it grounds on the resource distribution logic of welfare term (Şengül, 2001). Urban governments left their "distribution" function and adopted a "facilitator and coordinating" role with the transition from welfare state to neo-liberal state.

Approaches focusing on only capital accumulation process and only actors are insufficient for explaining urban development phenomenon. Saunders rejects the need for a choice between theoretical approaches. According to him, theories should be used as complementary to one another. As indicated by Saunders (1979) no single theory or paradigm can be expected to provide all the answers to the questions currently posed in urban sociology. In the same manner, Keskinok (1997) stated that a dynamic, dialectical and relational approach is needed for drawing a complete theoretical framework since their complex relations develop in multi ways.

The entrepreneurialist urban explanation and concept of urban assemblages are reviewed with the aim of fulfilling this gap for linking the importance of political economic processes and influences of agents in explaining complex urban and urban transport development process under neoliberal conditions.

2.4 Urban Entrepreneurialism

Above-mentioned approaches, attempting to clarify urban phenomena and underlying relationships are now insufficient for explaining complex nature of urban developments. Brenner (2011) argued that existing theories now appear limited in their ability to illuminate contemporary urban changes and struggles. For this reason two recent emerging approaches, which try to understand contemporary urban conditions are reviewed.

Urban development and its linking transport system are shaped according to the principals of capitalism also through the logic of capital accumulation from the early 1960's. However, survival methods of capitalism changed in time in parallel with emerging accumulation problems. Managerial approach of the 1960s supported capital accumulation through satisfying the needs of citizens, especially labor force, which was at the heart of the production process. At urban scale, this strategy takes form of local provision of services, facilities and benefits to urban populations (Harvey, 1989).

Fordist production regime was facing with crisis reaching the 1980's. Mass production regime caused high inflation rates and declining profits in all countries. New neoliberal economic solutions adopted by many governments with the claim of reduced role of state in economy and fiscal austerity programs would be the solution for getting out of the Fordist production crisis. New right appeared all over the world to solve problems of welfare state with the argument that needs of societies and well-being would be achieved only by an unlimited free market. According to this view, individual freedom and economic competitiveness were key elements of development

With transition from Fordist production style to new flexible production process, nations experienced deindustrialization, widespread unemployment,

fiscal austerity at both national and local levels. These recently emerged problems forced national governments to leave their welfare services and adopt market rationality and privatization tools in service procurement. This new practices led local governments to leave their managerialist approach of the 1960's, and take a new entrepreneurial roles beginning from the 1970s.

In this new era, state left its direct role of supporting capital accumulation and adopted a new facilitative role in capital accumulation process. In this corporative structuring state has a role of management of new relationships between different scales of government and economic interests groups. In this process, local government began to act as complementary to neoliberal tendencies of national governments to improve efficiency, competitive powers and profitability (Lambert, 1985). Also new approach was the exact opposite form of pervious term. Resource distribution and full employment aims were out of both national and local agendas. Privatization policies, marketizing government activities led to shrinking social services and increased user fees in a short time (Brenner and Theodore 2002, Peck and Tickell 2002).

International capital with opportunity of free movement, tend to look for new places to maximize its profits after the 1980s. Local governments began to negotiate with multi-national capital in order to attract them to invest in their locality. In this way, they considered traditional duties related with local needs to be of secondary importance. New advanced capitalism attributed local government new roles through supporting urban growth in a fragmented way; as Harvey (1989) stated; city appeared as both product and condition of capitalist development. Neoliberal restructuring process brought localities the ability of directly contacting with international capital. "Local" of the previous term was the space, in which collective consumption is organized. Therefore, local had the reproduction function. On the other hand, "new local" under the

pressure of neoliberal policies after 1980 is a space in which related flexible production is organized for maximizing profit of multinational capital (Ersoy and Şengül, 1998).

Despite the diminished role of state in economy, neoliberal state continued to establish the favorable conditions for attracting international capital. For this aim, urban planning appeared as a new tool for planning urban transport and other infrastructure projects, supporting land based investments. The new spread city of urban entrepreneurialism has new patterns of land uses, which are supported by postmodern design and which are made through speculative approaches. Large scale shopping centers, cultural entertainment complexes, world trade centers, luxury housing and office complexes are most widely used developments in Turkish cites as well as in other metropolitan cities around the world. On the other hand, all kind of investments are tried to be attracted by local governments without a comprehensive urban development plan and urban transport plan. Urban planning and urban transport planning activities generally followed urban development project decisions, shaped through negotiations between several interfering actors or interest groups. This (un)planned development or to say after planned development brought speculative land investment, resulting from the economic instability and market oriented economy.

Urban transport infrastructure investments were vital for this new fragmented and unplanned urban development scheme as this development trend generated new and unplanned transport needs. Costly road projects were used as the main tool for responding to the mobility demand of recently developed fragmented settlements. Urban transport planning attitude was largely disconnected from considerations associated with all transport modes and from other forms of spatial development. This approach became known as "predict and provide" where the demand for travel by various modes was

extrapolated and attempts were made to match the supply of infrastructure to that potential demand (Vigar, 2002). Main deficiency of "predict and provide" approach was its ignorance of new emerging demand, which is created by new investments. With this approach, cities all over the world witnessed highway infrastructure booms and increased car usages. On the other hand, insufficiencies both in service and infrastructure procurement led local governments of developing countries use again neglected solutions in responding to recently emerging problems. Unorganized private sector in public transport service procurement on one hand, private car oriented infrastructure road investment on the other hand led urban transport system to become more complicated and unsolvable.

Another effect of neoliberal policies on urban transport systems was that construction of new costly infrastructure projects and municipality services were opened to international capital. Financial problems were tried to be solved through foreign debts. On the other hand, in countries with developing economies, recently emerged urban transport demand were tried to be solved through contracting small firms or individual private operators with a fragmented vision of planning. Such a process led patron-client relationships dominate urban development and in turn mayors; actively involved in these relationships by allowing an increased role to be played by small individual operators; gain votes.

2.5 Theory of Urban Assemblages

Urban Assemblage is a new concept, which has been recently applied in social science studies by various researchers (Benett, 2005; De Landa, 2006; Farias and Bender, 2010; Marcus and Saka, 2006; Ong and Collier, 2004). Before explaining and evaluating this approach, it should be noted that there is no single assemblage urbanism and therefore no coherence to

arguing for or against the concept in general. As various theorists stated, there is no single correct way to deploy the term, nor does anyone theoretical tradition or style hold an exclusive right to it (Brenner et. al., 2011; Anderson and McFarlane, 2011).

De Landa (2006) defines assemblages as "wholes whose properties emerge from interactions between parts". According to him, assemblages as entities should have not internal wholeness or coherence. On the contrary, they should have relations with exteriority. McFarlane (2011), considered assemblages as "a part of a more general reconstitution of the social that seeks to blur divisions of social-material and structure and agency". Through giving a reference to Becker and Barnes (1961), Deleuze (1987) emphasizes that there can be no single theory for society as a whole, since there is no such a thing as society as a whole. Society is composed of indefinite number of assemblages and these are in interaction with each other at various scales. He draws a general theory, in which parts and wholes constitute seamless totality or display an organic unit.

In recent works, urban assemblage approaches have provided some epistemological and methodological implications through application into specific realms of urban research such as inequality. In these studies state and various other powerful actors are main resource of unequal access to infrastructure and other resources. With this respect, assemblage theory has parallel routes with Weberian urban explanations (such as gatekeepers). On the other hand, urban assemblage approach is assessed in many studies as a methodological extension of urban political economy, in which previously neglected dimensions of capitalist urbanization is investigated. Despite diversified utilization of the term in many social studies, the common attitude towards urban assemblage is that assemblage concept is most useful when it is mobilized in the context of broader repertoire of theories, concepts,

methods and researches, agendas that are not derived internally from the assemblage approach itself (Brenner et. al., 2011).

In assemblage conception of Gilles Deleuze, "relations of exteriority" is the main feature defining assemblages. "Unlike wholes in which parts are linked by relations of interiority (that is, relations which constitute the very identity of the parts) assemblages are made up of parts which are self-subsistent and articulated by relations of exteriority, so that a part may be detached and made a component of another assemblage." By this way in assemblage theory characteristics of assemblage and it's interior relations are not required to be examined in detail, since the properties of the component parts can never explain the relations which constitute a whole, that is, relations do not have as their causes the properties of the component parts between which they are established. Properties of the whole is more than aggregation of components own properties but the actual exercise of their capacities.

When we consider urban transport systems of Turkey there are various components (also assemblages) of transport systems; like public transport passengers, pedestrians, car owners, automobile manufacturers, petrol suppliers, local governments, public institutions of national governments etc. Despite having heterogeneous character of all these of the groups in itself they do have similar character in terms of relations with other groups. They are affected by the very same dynamics of economic, political and social structure and they develop a general response to these exterior changes. On the other hand, in parallel with Deleuze (1987), assemblages of Ankara urban transport are researched through examining their relations with other components not examination group characteristics and relation in itself.

De Landa (2006) emphasized that assemblages are made up of parts, which are self-subsistent and articulated by relations of exteriority. A part may be detached and made a component of another assemblage. In addition, any urban assemblage can be component parts of other assemblages. This dynamic structure of the theory is useful for explaining complex relations of urban transport system. As larger assemblages emerge from the interactions of their component parts, the identity of the parts may acquire new layers as the merging whole reacts back and affects them. Although a whole emerges from the interactions among its parts, one it comes into existence it can affect those parts.

When we attempt to theorize and explain dynamics of urban transport structure, with its components of politicians at national and local levels, diversified economic interests (land developers, transport infrastructure investors, oil suppliers, motorized vehicle producers, and public transport operators), urban transport system modes (public and private operators; urban transport system users, private car users, public transport users, pedestrians, bicyclers) pose various self-standing, conflicting and overlapping assemblages. Urban transport, as an upper level assemblage has another set of complex relations of urban development processes, which sometimes acts like another assemblage at same level and sometimes it acts like inclusive upper level assemblage. By the same way, De Landa (2006) states that when conceptualizing any assemblage at a relevant scale at which a particular social process is to be explained, this does not imply that explanations will always involve a single spatial space. In addition, social processes do not occur at only two fixed, micro (also individual) and macro (also society as a whole) levels. He gives an example of provincial market. It is considered "macro" relative to its component regional markets, but "micro" relative to the national market. This approach eliminates "society as a whole" by bridging the smallest scale and the largest through a variety of

intermediate scaled entities. Ureta (2013) emphasizes that assemblages are never fully stable and well bounded entities. They exist in a state of continual transformation and emergence.

Another characteristic is that the assemblages are product of recurrent processes and this implies that they always exist in populations. Following Weber, recurrent causes, reasons and motives are typically combined in the interpretation of social actions that is action oriented towards behavior of others. However, in a Weberian sense De Landa argues that this method worked best when applied to cases involving social actions having choices and goals. By this way, De Landa defines social assemblages as mechanisms that involve complex mixtures of causes, reasons and motives.

In order to handle this multi scaled social reality in urban transport area, assemblage theory is used to explain current dynamics and relationships influencing urban transport system of Ankara city. Since analysis in assemblage theory is not conceptual but casual (De Landa, 2006) it is beneficial to use it with concrete developments of urban transport and discover the actual underlying mechanisms resulting at any scale.

Assemblage theory provides useful insights for analyzing actors and dynamics influencing Ankara urban transport system. When we try to define assemblages of urban transport, we should look at the dynamics and changes between influential actors or with De Landa's term as "the relationships between components". In this thesis, it is argued that understanding urban transport structure requires explaining the relationships of various components operating at three administrative levels; supranational, national and local as well as the dynamics operating in between these levels. These dynamics and changes are explained briefly under the next heading.

2.6 Assessment of Theoretical Approaches and Drawing a Theoretical Framework for the Thesis

Marxist and Weberian approaches provide beneficial explanations for understanding dynamics of urban and transport system development however; they are insufficient to deal with urban development practices of neo-liberal period. Urban development practices of the recent era requires much more complicated analysis, which goes further than analyzing only agents or only economic processes. A relational approach including assessment of political economic dynamics and role of agents in these processes is required. This thesis accepts that underlying factor of societal developments are capital accumulation processes, economic relations and related politics. Their historical economic development shaped and is still shaping urban development process and relations in this process. However, agents, coalitions and institutions in these processes may have crucial transformative influences.

For this aim, Entrepreneurialist urban development approach and Theory of Urban Assemblages are reviewed as connective perspectives for complementing insufficiencies of previous Marxist and Weberian approaches to respond to recently emerging political, economic and social changes. Entrepreneurialist Urban Development Approach takes political economic stance while regarding urbanization as a social process in which a wide range of different actors with quite different objectives and agendas interact through a particular configuration of interlocking spatial practices (Harvey, 1989). This view complements the deficiency of agents through attributing crucial role to actors in coalition and alliance formation. Newly formed coalitions, pressure groups, organizations even institutions have to be

analyzed in order to find underlying influencing factors of urban and transport system development in entrepreneurial term.

Mayer (1994) argued that cities throughout Western Europe and United State deemphasized their redistributive policies through cutting welfare benefits and social consumption expenditures. However, Turkish cities did not reach to a complete welfare state term due to the late industrialization process of Turkey. Since main part of resources is allocated to industrialization investments in this term, Turkish cities are structured with limited resources and developed their own solutions to recently emerging urban problems without national fiscal support. Gecekondu and Dolmuş are the most important solutions of this era. These are informal and sometimes illegal new residential form and new public transport operations, which are allowed to develop for responding to the needs of new urban dwellers through allowing unlegitimized structuring. Considering such delayed development processes, similar entrepreneurialist term cannot be expected to be experienced.

Mayer (1994) further argued that new efforts of entrepreneurialism, which have introduced new institutions that contribute to the shaping of local politics, have been established outside the local authority (e.g. urban development corporations, training and enterprise councils, technology centers, growth alliances and local roundtables). However many of these formations did not have considerable influence on Turkish cities resulting from its late industrialization processes. Turkish local politics experienced less formalized relations and alliances giving priority to economic concerns while disregarding social and environmental needs of settlements and citizens.

Urban assemblage concept is a recently developed concept and it is still developing with its application by different researchers. It is undeniable that it

enables new insights for analyzing actors and dynamics of any urban phenomenon. Brenner (2011) emphasized that any researcher would fall into error when he or she uses a single theory. As mentioned above, it will be beneficial when it is mobilized in the context of broader repertoire of theories, concepts, methods and research agendas that are not derived internally from the assemblage approach itself. Therefore, it needs several contributions and modifications, depending on the unique problem, to which it will be applied. This thesis requires also contributions of urban development theories and urban transport approaches. Intending to describe dynamics and assemblages of Ankara urban transport system, multilevel structure of influencing dynamics and assemblages requires assemblage concept to be adopted in order to draw of a full picture of urban transport and making new proposals for its improvement. On the other hand, theoretical framework of the thesis should have routes from political economy when it attempts to analyze entrepreneurial developments undergone in Ankara city.

Both urban entrepreneurialism and urban assemblages have explanatory sides for recent changes in urban policy formulation and urban growth strategies after the 1970's all over the world. However, they need several contributions for explaining urban and transport system development from developing country perspective as explained later in this chapter.

2.6.1 Political and Economic Dynamics at Three Levels Shaping Urban Transport System

Urban transport is defined as spatial organization and infrastructure assemblage, linking urban activity areas and urban dwellers. Besides being a technical issue, there are social, political and economic aspects, shaping urban transport structure and daily life of city dwellers. As Sawers (1984) indicated, urban transportation is not just a matter of technological change of

one transport mode supplanting another. He sees it as merely one part of evolving socioeconomic totality. Therefore, it is necessary to analyze political, economic and social conditions for making a realistic view of an urban transport system and for formulating applicable policies. Political, economic and social dynamics, actors and institutions at local related with urban transport at national and international levels need to be considered for formulating policies for cities and their transportation systems.

Politics of transport sector is a “battle field”, which include several actors of international, national and local levels. At the highest scale, transformation of collective production and consumption styles shape the development of mobility needs and opportunities and it affects politics of urban transport. International market dynamics, international politics, and economic changes (international economic relations and treaties, multinational automotive industries, increase in oil prices, etc.) play a role at the global scale of urban transport politics. Environmental degradation and sustainability concerns on the other hand had growing effect on national governments to take restrictions on influences of these international actors especially during recent decades. However, cities of every country are affected by these changes differently in relation to its own national political and economic conditions, legal framework and institutions and social awareness of public. Local actors of urban transport are not independent from national and global conditions. Choices of central government directly affect economic conditions, politics, and actors of transport at urban scale. At the end of the process, local political choices at urban scale and municipality politics in relation with local actors of transport sector may be the determining factors of urban transport depending on their economic and political stance.

2.6.2 Changes in Urban Development Patterns and Policy Shift in the Urban Transport Field

As advanced capitalism dominates on the world geography, settlements and transport structures are shaped according to requirements of its mass production and consumption style. It is also true that different geographies (countries, regions and cities) are affected by this global process differently on the basis of their own political and economic structure. World cites witnessed a rapid increase in fragmentation and decentralization of urban economy and it has in turn generated an explosive growth in the demand for mobility (Sawers, 1984). After separation of work and residence and invention of motorcar, daily trip distances expanded. Settlements are not formed as fine-grained pattern of mixed uses, so that most people are in walking distance of their working, shopping and leisure venues. This brought extensive specialization among capitalist enterprises and functions. Thus capitalist accumulation created enormous demand for transportation.

Capitalist system used motor vehicle as a catalyst and urban land as a new potential for development and profit. With increased mobility opportunities, settlements potential for increased levels of consumptions and social control become more and more attractive to producers, the local agencies and the state (Bentley, 1999). Urban land and its binding transport facilities were vital for the survival of capitalist system. As Sawers (1984) indicated the profit, which is sought from the development of urban transportation derives not from the operation of the transport facility itself, but rather from its effects on urban land market. In developed and developing countries in early 1990's and also in Turkey, investment focused on sprawled urban structure as one of the ways for overcoming the under consumption problem and keep system going.

Public transport facilities are evaluated as a service of welfare state in the early years of suburbanization. Urban public services, like urban transport services, were still provided by the government. Private sector intervention started, when state was incompetent to provide this service, and was performed under government control. Neo-liberal policies became dominant in public service procurement after the collapse of welfare state structure beginning from the 1970's until today. Neo-liberal ideology accepts that the individual liberty and freedom are high point of civilization and individual liberty and freedom can be protected and achieved by an institutional structure, made up of strong private property rights, free markets, and free trade. The state should not be involved in the economy too much, but it should use its power to preserve private property rights and institutions of the market and promote those if necessary (Harvey, 2006). By this way, public services, which were formerly provided by government, become a matter of market concern placing the profit motive into its core leading to a process bringing the private sector to the centre of service provision and urban investments. Implications of neo-liberalism policies can be seen even at local level; including municipality services. As urban structure became highly complex, local governments could not struggle with all matters of public service and left its tasks to the private sector.

Automotive, petrol and road construction industries at the global level manipulate market dynamics and influence policies and politics. International actors play an important role at the global scene and influence national decision makers affecting local urban transport systems. While there are common characteristics of all forms of urban transportation in a capitalist society, implementations of the neo-liberal policies differ considerably among developed and developing countries.

On the other hand, nations recognized that uncontrolled urban sprawl together with increased personal mobility and private car usage began to pose threats for environment and human health in late 1980's as sustainability and sustainable urban development and sustainable urban transportation became the keywords for further steps. Environmental degradation and sustainability concerns had growing effect on national governments to take restrictions on influences of these sectors especially during recent decades. Transportation is one of the priority action areas since important share of carbon production is caused by transportation, both during production of vehicles and during consumption of fossil fuels in operation. Sustainability concerns including concepts such as equity, social and economic accessibility of transportation and exclusion started to be discussed more as results of increased motorized mobility for different social and economic groups and organizations, which are explained in the next Chapter.

2.6.3 Urban Transport System Development in Developing Countries in Entrepreneurial Term and Effects of Urban Assemblages

Cities of developing countries experienced different social and physical development patterns than their developed counterparts. Up to the 1980s, national and local governments of developing countries had limited financial resources since they gave priority to economic and industrial development related investments and allocated resources to these fields. They had limited amounts of resources to reserve to urban transport investments. These conditions changed when neoliberal attitudes became dominant at national government policies, and entrepreneurialist implementations began to be used as solution for procurement of local services starting from the early 1980s. In many developing countries including Turkey, even if accumulation

is still limited, priorities changed from production to consumption and finance sectors leading to a process of bringing the large cities into the centre of economy. Supported by debt financed investment strategies, the cities in developing countries started to receive considerable resources for financing large-scale projects and infrastructural investments, which are realized mainly through foreign private sector intervention and Exim banks.

Entrepreneurial urban development processes shaped urban transport systems of developing countries differently according to political and economic approaches adopted by their central or local governments. There are some cities in developing countries, i.e. Bogota in Colombia, Curitiba in Brazil; where transport demand of their citizens tend to be solved through low cost, energy efficient and equitable measures. Local governments give importance to alternative affordable and low cost transportation solutions including walking, cycling, rider sharing, various forms of public transport while placing a secondary role to automobile and limit automobile related investments. Consequently, automobile oriented developments are not supported in such cities since its use places a financial burden on consumers and reduce the options available for significant portion of the population. Litman (2009) emphasized that excessive automobile ownership and use tends to reduce economic development if it increases overhead costs or reduces the amount of wealth available for industrialization. Low cost public transport improvements and non-motorized transport oriented urban development process create more sustainable and livable urban conditions for citizens and more feasible and equitable urban infrastructure management process for local governments.

However, local governments of Turkish cities supported motorized traffic oriented urban development process and urban transport implementations especially after the 1980s. On one hand cities suffered from urban sprawl

through speculative land development, on the other hand shortsighted urban transport investments and implementations intensified negative effects of uncontrolled urban sprawl. In this process, Ankara city underwent entrepreneurial urban development under a strong mayor's government, which lasted 20 years long. In spite of economic and financial constraints, Ankara municipality chose automobile oriented road investments and high cost public transport investments, while disregarding low cost alternative solutions. Entrepreneurial urban development processes together with strong mayor management with neoliberal choices led urban transport system to develop more for interest of various urban assemblages and less for public good.

Entrepreneurial urban development process extends free movement area of international capital when national governments of these developing countries adopt neo-liberal policies. They modify institutional and legal framework related to urban development for international capital to act more freely while disregarding environmental sustainability and social equity requirements. As a result of neoliberal restructuring of both national and local state, institutional and legal framework of urban transport changed in recent years for responding capital accumulation needs and market dynamics. In this process, institutional and legal frameworks became to be open to manipulation by strong economic and political actors.

In the next chapter, dynamics and assemblages of supranational level are reviewed considering to Turkey's economic position and political choices for understanding national government choices and dependencies leading to unsustainable urban transport developments.

CHAPTER 3

DYNAMICS AND ASSEMBLAGES AT SUPRANATIONAL LEVEL AND TURKEY AS A DEVELOPING COUNTRY

3.1 Introduction

Supranational level assemblages are various national governments, intergovernmental organizations of various nations, multinational companies and credit institutions. Influence of national governments generally depends on their power in the global economy. Intergovernmental organizations are assemblages of different national governments, which come together to maximize their benefits that arise from their common features like being industrialized or petrol producing nations. They facilitate profit-oriented activities of other commercial actors; like multi-national companies and other foreign firms with operations on different continents of a borderless globe. Multi-national credit institutions and banks have the role of providing the vitality of market. By this way, they facilitate the activities of multinational and foreign firms through their relations with national governments.

Nations attending international organizations have different kind of relations and dynamics among themselves and between other countries, which are not member of the organizations. Nations have political, economic, military and trade rivalry as well as cooperation among themselves for their relations with other group of countries. Relations of Turkish national government with these organizations are shaped according to its developing country positions in the global economy.

The definition of “developing country” concept gains here importance for clarification of the relation between supranational and national assemblages and influences of their interactions on urban level; also for understanding the roots of urban and transport development in Turkish cities. The development concept has many different definitions and Turkey is assessed as both developing and developed country according to different classifications. The World Bank’s definition of developing country is based on gross national income (GNI) per capita referred to as gross national product (GNP). According to economic classifications, Turkey is listed among countries having emerging and developing economy by IMF (2015); upper middle income by IBRD (http://data.worldbank.org/).

However, such classifications are widely criticized since economic indicators are not accepted sufficient for defining social development. For this reason, United Nations performed another type of classification, which is made according to Human Development Index (HDI), in which Turkey is ranked as having “High Human Development” (http://hdr.undp.org/). HDI is a composite index of three indices measuring countries’ achievements in longevity, education and income. Other aspects of development, such as political freedom and personal security were also stressed as being important. However, the lack of data prevented inclusion of main social development data into the HDI. In this thesis Turkey is handled as a developing country considering its economic development level and it is argued that urban transport conflicts citizens are facing in their daily life are result of partly economic policies of the national level and legal and institutional gaps which is argued to be disregarded intentionally by the national government.

In this chapter, international and supranational assemblages and developments influencing urban transport planning attitudes and projects are explained briefly considering "developing country" position of Turkey.

International politics and economic dynamics, strategic decisions, competitions and alliances, and market relations are determining factors of the position of each nation in the world economy. Developed countries with lower financial constraints focus on sustainability of urban transport, implement high capacity public transport systems as developing countries, and act within tight budgets for improvement of transport system investments.

Local governments in Turkey used international and foreign debts for building new transport systems or improving their urban transport systems in the past. Debts were used for keeping economic balance or aiding existing balance in well working economies of developed countries. However, debts lead to crucial problems in economies of developing countries, also in Turkey (Koçak, 2009). Güler (2006) expressed that local governments were using debts from foreign national governments and international institutions like IMF and World Bank before the 1980's. Beginning from the end of 1980's, they began to use foreign debts from new resources; commercial banks and international money markets. In this new framework, local governments did not need any institutions to build relationship with international capital. Private capital has the ability to contact directly with public and private sectors in finance demanding countries.

Ankara Greater Municipality borrowed loans for completion of Metro and Light Rail Project between 1993 and 2007 both from national Banks (England) and foreign commercial Banks (Güler, 2006). Bus Operation Unit (EGO) of Ankara Greater Municipality used loans from national governments of Germany, Hungary, Austria, England and Bahrain for bus purchases between 1990 and 1997. Loans of Ankara Grater Municipality indicate that the municipality could not borrow required funds from domestic markets required for improving bus fleet. Güler also (2006) expressed that main part

of local governments foreign debts (60%) were borrowed for urban transport projects.

The concern of developing countries was mainly on economic development and they began to concern with urban infrastructure after they became to be a major threat for urban life. On the other hand, developed country urban governments were concerned with the provision of highway infrastructure until the late 1970's. After fuel crises of 1970's environmental concerns began to pose a threat for economic and social development; and governments of many developed and developing countries began to take restrictions on consumption of non-renewable resources considering their side effects on environment. They arranged commissions in international organizations and signed international agreements[1] for controlling damaging effects of this trend and they took measures at both national and urban levels to stop or slow environmental deterioration. Club of Rome Report (Meadows et al., 1972), Stockholm Conference (1972) and Silent Spring (Carson, 1962) are the initiator events that increased awareness of global environmental issues among the public and accelerated scientific studies about impacts of human activity on the biosphere (Vigar, 2002).

Practices in developing countries vary depending on their economic position in the global economy and political choices of national and local governments. South American cities like Curitiba and Bogota chose giving priority to public transport improvements without making big investments. Such cities of developing countries present a different picture than their Middle East counterparts. On the other hand, the process evolved in a

[1]Decleration of the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment, StockholmConferece, 1972; World Commision on Environment and Development: "Our Common Future": The Brundtland Report 1987; Eart Summit, Rio de Janerio, 1992; Convention on Climate Change, Kyoto Proctocol; OECD: Towards Sustainable Transportation, The Wancouver Conference, 1996.

different way in several developing countries. Both national and many local governments in Turkey preferred road construction based solutions to their recently emerging urban transport problems. In order to clarify this motorized traffic oriented urban transport development national policies and economic dynamics, defining national assemblages are discussed in Chapter 4 in relation to upper level influences defined in this Chapter.

Some of the supranational actors and assemblages explained below had direct influence on transport system development of case study of Ankara. Besides there are other actors and assemblages, which supported and directed several urban transport investments and projects in other several Turkish cities. They are summarized for emphasizing the type of influences of supranational dynamics on local urban transport planning decisions in Turkey and for indicating relationships of supranational assemblages and actors with local level assemblages. Parallel to assemblage theory of Deleuze (1987), interior relations of supranational assemblages are not examined in detail, since properties of the component parts can never explain the relations, which constitute a whole. In addition, relationship with other assemblages and actors are more crucial for understanding their influences on urban transport system. Therefore, supranational assemblages are handled together with their interaction of other assemblages from different levels. Besides, their influences on national level are pursued through examining political and economic developments historically.

In addition, there are numerous direct and indirect politic and economic dynamics and assemblages influencing local level developments. This thesis does not claim to describe all of them and reveal concrete influences on local development. Depicting the whole picture of assemblages, dynamics and actors of supranational level requires another fieldwork, which extends the boundaries of the thesis study since the focus of the thesis is on local

economic and politic dynamics in Ankara and interactions of assemblages at Eskişehir Road Corridor in particular as a case to illustrate the impact of assemblages. Main supranational assemblages and dynamics have been studied by reviewing available official documents.

3.2 Assemblages of Supranational Level

3.2.1 Supranational Economic Organizations and International Finance Institutions

International finance institutions and supranational economic organizations have developed especially for providing economic relations and sustaining vitality and stability of market economy with some emphasis on equity of resource utilization. They were developed to respond to global economic crisis and fluctuations as well as to ensure smooth operation of global markets.

World War II was the main initiator of development of international finance institutions and economic organizations as the most important struggle of the 20th century. The United States of America (USA) appeared as the most powerful economy and tried to constitute new economic order of the world after the war. USA was in need for foreign markets in spite of her strength as European Nations were suffering with economic struggles. USA had to support economies of European Nations for sustaining viable markets. For this aim, USA has structured Marshall Plan for some European Countries through two major institutions; International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD). OECD (evolved from another institution; Organization for European Economic Co-operation: OECC), was established to help administer Marshall Plan in these years.

Multinational finance organizations were interested in economic problems of developed countries and involved through international monetary cooperation, liberalizing and increasing intergovernmental trade associations. Economic crises of developing countries were a concern only if they were related to their own benefits (Karagül, 2014) and free market operations. IMF policy advices for developing countries included using credits in specific ways defined by these game-maker institutions. Payback conditions proposed for developed countries exceeded real market rates of credits, while benefits of developing countries decreased. IMF is widely criticized for its credit conditions for countries having external deficits or having financial crisis Other criticisms related to policies of IMF are that they caused short-term improvements in countries exercising external deficits and high inflation rates, while they are disturbing social balance in society in the long term. (Boratav, 2003; Yeldan, 2006, Hillman, 2002).

To sum up, policies of the World Bank and IMF contribute to the dependency of developing countries on external debts in the long term (Karagül, 2014). IMF loans of Turkey, which were taken in the past, have serious influences on Turkish general economy, which finally influenced urban and urban transport development as well. These milestones of global economic and politic development were associated with the influences on national politics and economic milestones and influences on national legal framework in the Chapter 4. These are illustrated chronologically in Figure 4.1.

In the framework of The Marshall Plan (officially the European Recovery Program,) of 1947, an analysis report was prepared by USA Federal Highway Administration for assessment of Turkey's transport system. The necessity of highway investments was emphasized instead of railway system investments in this report (İstemihan, 2008). The report further proposed that highway transport is much less expensive than railway transport. The report

proposed construction of 35,000 km highway network instead of the expansion of railway system (İstemihan, 2008). Marshall Plan, implemented between 1948 and 1951, promoted American automotive industry and opened new markets along with other nations with automotive, road construction and petroleum companies. Crucial amounts of Marshall Aids, given to foreign nations for the aim of restructuring their economies, were mainly for highway investments. Number of imported motor vehicles, need for, and dependency on petroleum increased in the following years.

After the 1970's governments began to realize the harming effects of uncontrolled economic development on environment. Economic development is closely bound to social structures and environmental resources. Considering these developments, several agreements and, declarations were prepared and organizations were established for setting limitations and standards on economic activities to protect environment. Many developed countries recognized seriousness of negative environmental effects of motorized transport. Environment preservation became important in both national and local policy formations of urban transport. Documents of international agreements and organizations impose compulsory actions on its members and advisory actions for non-members. They have important influence on actions of developing countries with less concern on environmental issues that focus more on shortsighted economic concerns (Öncü, 2007).

International financial institutions, such as European Investment Bank, International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, are generally owned by national governments or other international institutions. They provide financing and professional advice to donor countries for projects. These institutions are in contact with local and national governments for utilizing financial resources

either as grants or as credits proposed with commercial or more favorable conditions for projects. Foreign financing institutions provide funding for projects especially for developing countries on the condition that the project is supplied with a foreign partner from the financing country imposing their national technology. On the other hand, supranational economic organizations like European Union (EU) were established by different countries for reinforcing economic relations. EU has a unique financing mechanism for supporting projects, as described below under the related heading.

Key finance institutions and economic organizations of the supranational level with important influence on urban transport systems are described briefly below with projects financed in Turkish cities.

The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD)

The Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) is an international organization founded in 1961 to secure economic progress and improve social well-being of people around the world. Turkey is a founder member. The OECD originated in 1948 as the Organization for European Economic Co-operation (OECC), constituted to administer the Marshall Plan, which was a financial aid program from American Government for European Nations to implement economic programs for reconstructing of Europe after World War II.

The OECD works now as a forum in which governments can collaborate to share experience, seek solutions for common problems, to share good practices and coordinate domestic and international policies of member states by setting international standards on a wide range of subjects, from

agriculture and tax to the safety of chemicals (www.oecd.org). OECD issued two "Environmental Performance Reviews" for Turkey in 1999 and in 2008.

Environmental Performance Reviews of Turkey (OECD, 1999) had several recommendations on reducing the pollution generated by transport. Among these was preparation of a transport master plan developing modes and of interactions between transport and other economic activities, along with environmental objectives.

Main focus of Environmental Performance Reviews of Turkey (OECD, 2008), was on reduction of air pollution. The transport sector, which accounted for 18% of CO_2 emissions from fuel consumption in 2003 (MoEF, 2007), is also a major source of conventional air pollutants (e.g. NOx and PMs). Several measures and incentives were listed for local and national governments. Continuous air emission inventories, extended air quality monitoring, modal shift from road to railways from private to public transport with appropriate cost benefit analysis of investments and co-operation among levels of government and relevant sectors are the proposals made for municipal actions. Projects of Çayyolu Metro (M2), Törekent Metro (M3) and Keçiören Metro (M4) lines were given as good cases for Ankara Greater Municipality in attempting to reduce local air pollution, traffic congestion and energy consumption through using its own financing in the beginning of the 2000's. However, constructions of mentioned rail lines were delayed for over a decade and transferred to the national government in the later years since the municipal government could not finalize them for many years with its own budget.

In the Performance Review (OECD, 2008), Turkey is described as having largest revenues from environmentally related taxes; 4.8% of GDP and 25% of total tax revenue; among OECD countries. However, revenues of these

taxes were not designated to spent environmental purposes. Performance Review in 2008 listed Turkish gasoline and diesel prices as the highest among the OECD member countries, due to relatively high taxes and the supply conditions in the region. Like assessment of air pollution, assessment of taxes did not go further than international comparison and they do not influence implementation.

As the negative influences of urban transport on life and air quality dramatically worsen approaching the 2000's, OECD countries recognized the need of creating transport policies at global level. International Transport Forum (ITF) was formed in 2006 as an intergovernmental organization, with the aim of helping shape the transport policy agenda at global level and ensuring that it contributes to economic growth, environmental protection, social inclusion and the preservation of human life and well-being (www.internationaltransportforum.org). ITF is an organization transformed from the European Conference of Ministers of Transport (ECMT), established in 1956. Ministers at ECMT decided to extend the forum to include non-European countries in order to handle transport issues on a global level and for all transport modes, and to create a public platform for a broad policy dialogue.

Related to urban transport level ITF defined its working areas including, creating sustainable urban transport policies, reducing CO_2 and NOx emissions in the transport sector, achieving fewer deaths on the roads by 2012 and providing improved accessibility for all. For reaching these goals, ITF accepts that urban transport problems are not solely the concern of local authorities but also of governments at the national level. Moreover, developing and implementing new sustainable strategies could not be performed easily due to problems coming from the legal, regulatory and financial frameworks of the countries. Beside these barriers, insufficient

public participation, absence of clearly defined alternative solutions, failures in conducting follow-up and assessment mechanisms contribute to the processes in a negative way.

ITF is a discussion platform that could have positive influences only with support of national government arrangements and initiatives. Turkish national government did not arrange any compulsory measures for local level. By this way, no comprehensive citywide study was performed by Ankara Greater Municipality with the effect of OECD Review of Turkey (2008) and recommendations of ITF.

United Nations Development Program (UNDP)

UNDP is an international development organization for supporting developing countries to create own solutions to development challenges and improving national and local capacities that will help them achieve human development (www.undp.org). It provides expert advice, training and grants to support developing countries. Beggining with Stockholm Conference, environmental issues gained importance on the UNDP agenda. UNDP organized many meetings and conferences for this aim. Turkey is a signatory to UNDP agreements and declarations with its membership since 1945. However, most of the proposals of these agreements were not implemented due to development priorities of Turkey.

Stockholm Conference (1972) focused on the preservation and enhancement of the human environment, which is a substantial issue for economic development. According to this document, non-renewable fossil fuels are major contributor of global warming and should be replaced with renewable energy resources. Therefore, fossil fuel usage in urban transport is declared as the most important issue to be planned and designed carefully. Despite

initial claim on social development, equality among people and well-being of people, main emphasis of Stockholm conference declaration is made on the requirement for planning for economic development. Integration and coordinated approach were argued to be necessary. This goal aimed to be achieved through cooperation among nations and actions of international organizations.

Brundtland Commission of United Nations issued a Report in 1987. "Sustainable development" is defined in Brundtland Report for the first time indicating a kind of development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs. This term included two main emphases on the "needs" indicating the essential needs of the world's poorest people, to which they should be given overriding priority; and on the “limitations” which is imposed by the state of technology and social organization on the environment's ability to meet both present and future needs (WCED, 1987). Brundtland report like Stockholm Report emphasized the increased damaging effects of fossil fuels and its negative influence on economic development. It argued in the same way for achieving sustainable development integrating environmental policies with development strategies. Going further than Stockholm Declaration, Brundtland Report claimed the need for new policies in urban development, industry location, transportation systems and choice of technologies. Automobile transport was defined as one of the major causes of fossil fuel consumption and air pollution. Organization of carefully planned public transport systems is stated as an important solution for developing countries.

Earth Summit (Rio Declaration) was the first meeting about the climiate change organized by UN in 1992 porposing several strategies for countries, and it did not have binding status on actions of countires as well as it did not

include implementation means of these strategies. Briefly it proposed counties to;

- Integrate land use and transportation to reduce transport demand,
- Favour high occupancy public transport modes,
- Encourage non-motorized transport modes,
- Implement effective traffic management and efficient cooperation of public transport,
- Provide information exchange about their positive implementations,
- Reevaluate present energy consumption,
- Provide professional training for both public and private institutions,
- Raise public awareness.

Based on the above stated policies, Kyoto Meeting was organized in 1997 and ended up with a protocol having bindary status on many countries. The main aim of theKyoto protocol was to reduce the consumption of green house gases (GHG) especially in industrialized countires. Countries had to reduce thier GHG gas emmisions by 5% in first commitment period between 2008-2012. Protocol was signed by 55 countries and became effective beginning from 2005 until 2012. USA, China, Australia, and India rejected to sign the protocol. USA announced that the protocol will seriously harm the national economy. Second commitment term began in 2012, with "Doha Amendment to the Kyoto Protocol" covering years between 2013 and 2020 (http://www.un.org/climatechange/). However the number of attending countries decreased from 55 to 37 for economic reasons. Turkey signed the protocol in 2009. However; Turkey did not have any concrete quantative responsblity for both first and second term (MoEU, 2014). The Kyoto Protocol is assessed as an important first step towards a truly global emission reduction regime that will stabilize green house gas emissions and can provide the architecture for the future international agreement on climate

change. However, there are many other critisims about the unequity of carbon trading details, which favours already rich and developed countries.

International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD)

International Bank for Reconstruction and Development; known as The World Bank is an international financial institution of United Nations that provides loans to developing countries for development and poverty reduction projects.

There are many criticisms about the results of IBRD's work. It is argued that its actions contribute to a decline in prosperity rather than contributing to national development (Karagül, 2014). In parallel with this view; main part of IBRD supports are given with the condition that they will be used for financing specific investments, which have to be realized with foreign resources. This criticism underline that funds are used to improve developing countries as new markets, not to develop poor countries themselves as self-sufficient economies. By this way, new markets are constituted for developed countries and new barriers of debt are created contrary to development aims of developing countries.

Another criticism related to IBRD actions is about low standards in developing countries. Increasing legal responsibilities and developing standards on environmental issues led developed countries shift their investments to developing ones, where responsibilities and standards are at lower levels. In addition, environmental standards and legal framework are not working well in these countries, while individual and community awareness on environmental issues are much lower (Karagül, 2014). Absence of legal framework, standards and awareness together with

employment and investment expectations of developed countries result in serious deterioration of environment in developing countries.

In the field of urban transport, IBRD issued a transport strategy document in 1996 and a transport business strategy in 2008. IBRD applied cutting-edge knowledge in many of the policy areas, including improving the performance of state-owned transport enterprises; managing public assets; structuring private sector participation; advising on competition and regulation policy and implementing higher environmental and social standards in transport, including climate change implications for the sector.

IBRD declared its goal in transport area as providing safe, clean, and affordable transport that contributes to economic development. Bank focuses on projects aiming to improve interregional and international transport facilities for promoting commercial growth. Thus, highway improvements, railway modernization, and multimodal transport corridor development are main tools.

Policy document of "Transport Business Strategy for 2008-2012" (IBRD, 2008); handled countries in six regions with common challenges for development of a strategy that will make transport cleaner, safer, and more affordable. It is stated that developing a regional policy requires support from regional and global partnerships with aid organizations, governments, private sector organizations, and community representatives. Turkey was classified in "Eastern Europe and Central Asia" Region, in which infrastructure modernization and enterprise reform were defined as key policy tools. Within this framework, Bank provides financial and technical support to various urban transport projects, for which countries are in demand for advice and financial products (IBRD, 2008). IBRD financed Ankara Traffic and Transportation Study (ATTIS) (EGO, 1998). The study proposed numerous

Transport Demand Management (TDM) measures and improvements of Public Transport System. Since the project had no binding status on municipality implementation actions, none of the positive proposals of the Study was implemented by the Greater Municipality. Only a few of road building projects in line with political and spatial planning approaches of the Municipality were implemented.

European Union (EU):

European Union (EU) is an economic and political union of 28 member states. Turkey applied for being a candidate country in 1959 and was accepted as a candidate country in 2005 with negotiations continuing today.

Main aim of EU is securing and improving economic integration in Europe. Transportation facilities among EU countries seen as one of the major instrument of economic integration. EU declares importance as well as positive and negative influences of urban transport on economic development of cities. Since 1995, EU gives support on this urban challenge through issuing policy papers. The European Commission institutionalized a General Directorate for Mobility and Transport in 2010. This institution develops EU policies in the transport sector and manages funding for transport network between member states, and technological development and innovation.

EU provides several financial and technical supports for development of member and candidates states. Turkey receives financial support under the “Instruments for Pre-assistance” (IPA) on several subjects; like regional development, human resources development, etc. However, IPA assistance does not have any context related to urban transport. Financially supported

projects include only improvement of intercity networks, which serves economic aims of EU.

In parallel with general attitude of other supranational organizations of “giving priority to economic relations and leaving social development issues mostly to national governments”; transport policy documents of EU have mostly advisory statements for candidates and binding statements for both states. These documents are reviewed below briefly in terms of implications in the area of urban transport.

“The Citizens Network Green Paper', 1995: This paper focused on the importance of local and regional passenger transport in Europe's transport network. Role of European commission is providing useful tools for the national authorities and establishing a policy framework for sustainable mobility. In this document, role of local and regional managements was underlined.

Transport White Paper: European Transport Policy for 2010: Time to Decide (2001): Main emphasis of the White Paper is on role of transport for sustaining economic competitiveness and commercial, economic and cultural exchanges. A comprehensive strategy is defined for integration of transport in sustainable development.

White Paper has little implications regarding urban transport. According to document, urban transport policy should provide the balance between public services and more rational use of car. Fares are tool for providing balance through promoting the use of less polluting modes and less congested networks. Besides, congestion is seen as a major threat for reaching economic, social and environmental goals. Balance among different transport modes and inter-modality should be provided in order to cope with

congestion, maintain right to mobility for everyone, put safety and the quality of services.

EU Green Paper (2007): Towards a new culture for urban mobility: The document emphasizes the need for coordination at EU level for establishment of sustainable urban transport. Separate local actions are insufficient. The main focus of the Green Paper is on providing urban mobility, which makes the economic development of cities possible, while securing the quality of life of their inhabitants and the protection of their environment. In policy document five challenges are defined for achieve self-sustaining urban transport systems.

Transport White Paper: towards a competitive and resource efficient transport system (2011): Emphasis of the document is again on economic role of urban transport; also satisfying both transport needs of citizens and transportation needs of economy; also transportation of goods. Negative effects of transport such as dependency on non-renewable resources, contribution to air and noise pollution and social cost of accidents should be minimized through using new technologies for vehicle and traffic management methods.

Sustainability of transport should be improved since it enables economic growth and job creation. All regions have to be fully and competitively integrated in to world economy. The focus of the document is on the improvement of transportation network in Europe, besides there are several suggestions related to urban transport systems.

Well developed public transport choices are accepted as widely available, as well as the option of walking and cycling in urban transport. The paper has suggestions for reducing traffic congestion including adopting new

technologies like Intelligent Transportation Systems (ITS) for public transport vehicles and electric, hydrogen and hybrid technologies for private cars, development of appropriate fuelling/charging infrastructure for new vehicles and implementing travel disincentives like road pricing and taxation.

White Paper of 2011 introduced a new responsibility to urban governments of member states. Cities above a certain size should be encouraged to develop Urban Mobility Plans, bringing all urban transport elements together. Urban Mobility Plans should be fully aligned with Integrated Urban Development Plans. The main purpose of these mobility plans is implementing EU wide inter urban and urban road user charging schemes.

This policy statement indicates the main strategy of EU for non-member states is supporting infrastructure projects or enterprises. Officials of Ankara Municipality emphasized EU's preference of partial infrastructure construction projects, rather than comprehensive planning projects. They added that Ankara Municipality demanded funding from EU in the beginning of the 2000's for the preparation of a new Urban Master Plan. EU authorities did not approve this demand due to not being eligible for EU's funding priorities for non-member states. They added that no urban transport planning project have been financed with EU support by that time.

European Investment Bank (EIB)

The European Investment Bank (EIB) is the European Union's nonprofit long-term lending institution established in 1958 under the Treaty of Rome. As a "policy-driven bank" whose shareholders are the member states of the EU, the EIB uses its financing operations to bring about European integration and social cohesion. The EIB is a publicly owned international financial institution and its shareholders are the EU member states. Thus the member states set

the bank's broad policy goals and oversee the two independent decision-making bodies—the board of governors and the board of directors.

EIB has been supporting Turkey's development projects and integration with the EU since the mid-1960s. More than EUR 19 billion has been lent since 2000. Besides inter city transportation projects such as Ankara-Istanbul High Speed Railway, Samsun-Kalın Railway, Ankara-Samsun Highway and Aliağa Petkim Port urban transport projects, that were financed by EIB, also the Bosporus Tunnel (Marmaray) construction and rolling stock, Istanbul Metro, Eurasia Highway Tunnel, Antalya Light Rail, Izmir Commuter Train (Izban), Istanbul Urban Ferry Fleet Expansion, Samsun Light Rail Transit, Bursa Light Rail Transit, Eskisehir Tramway System also received funds. EIB has not financed any transport projects of Greater Ankara Municipality as the only EIB project for Ankara stands as financing construction of sewerage network in Ankara with an agreement signed in 1995.

European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD)

The European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD) is a multilateral development bank founded in 1991, using investment as a tool to build market economies. Initially focused on the countries of the former Eastern Bloc it expanded to support development in 30 countries from Central Europe to Central Asia. Besides Europe, member countries of the EBRD are from all five continents, with the biggest shareholder being the United States, so the name is somewhat of a misnomer. The EBRD is owned by 64 countries and two EU institutions. Despite its public sector shareholders, it invests mainly in private enterprises, together with commercial partners.

EBRD financed urban transport projects in Turkey include Izmir Ferries Project, Izmir Metro Project, Gaziantep CNG Buses Project, Istanbul Ferries Privatization, Turkey Eurasia Tunnel and Bursa Light Rail. EBRD has not financed any project of Greater Ankara Municipality.

3.2.2 Multinational Companies and Institutions

These are assemblages of different firms including road construction industry, automotive industry, oil market and other motorized transport related side industries. Multinational corporations are aware of sustainability and environmental aspects of the transportation sector but are not very keen on implementing policies in support of such aspects in developing countries if not obligatory. They develop sustainable urban transport policies and enforce for implementation internally but they stretch rules in developing countries as local rules allow like in Kyoto protocol. It is possible to claim that they want to continue their operation in developing countries since they are potential markets for their firms on transport related sectors.

Developed countries limit production and direct their automotive production plants to developing countries as assembly plants with its high carbon footprint where environmental issues are less important compared to economic benefits of having a car assembly plant. Multinational firms see developing countries as a promising transportation market for all stages and activities of transportation from petrol stations to road construction, from car production to construction of turnkey urban rail systems.

On the other hand, transport is one of the major areas, in which impacts of fluctuations in oil prices can be seen immediately. Oil production and setting oil prices used as a political and economic weapon or toll by oil producing countries. Middle East countries took the lead in oil production from United

States after World War 2. Two international organizations, The Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC)[2] and Organization of Arab Petroleum Exporting Countries (OAPEC)[3], were established with the aim of coordinating energy policies between oil producing nations. They have crucial role in setting oil prices and policies beginning from the 1970's.

The first oil crisis of the 1970's occurred in 1973 when Egypt and Syria entered in to YOM Kippur War with Israel. OAPEC announced that they would not export oil to countries, which sided with USA and Israel. Impacts lasted until the beginning of the 1980's. World Economy witnessed biggest financial crisis since the Great Depression. One more crisis emerged in the United States and influenced World economy in 1979 after the Iranian Revolution. The new Iran regime resumed oil exports, it was inconsistent, and at a lower volume, forcing prices to go up. Two oil crises of the 1970's had many negative global short and long-term economic impacts. Rise in oil prices caused decrease in number of motorized vehicle travels. Automotive and its supply industry suffered from low demand. Negative impacts of this term on automotive sector lasted until the mid 1980's.

On the other hand, this term forced governments to take restrictions and they organized awareness-raising campaigns for reducing energy usage and look into new alternative energy production ways. As a positive side effect of the crisis, many countries developed new alternative policies at various areas

[2] OPEC is an intergovernmental organization that was created in 1960 and consist of Iraq, Kuwait, Iran, Saudi Arabia and Venezuela. Nine more governments joined to the organization in 1965. These are Libya, United Arab Emirates, Qatar, Indonesia, Algeria, Nigeria, Ecuador, Angola, and Gabon.

[3] OAPEC a regional intergovernmental organization, which is created in 1968. It consists of eleven Arab oil exporting countries namely; Algeria, Bahrain, Egypt, Iraq, Kuwait, Libya, Qatar, Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, Syria, Tunisia and United Arab Emirates.

(restriction of traffic speeds, production of smaller and lighter cars, implementing renewable energy alternatives like sun and wind power) for reducing their oil dependency to foreign oil resources in the future. Oil crisis of this period laid foundations of a new era toward sustainability discussions, conferences, and policy declarations developed in the following period.

Scarcity period in the late 1970's led the world price of oil to reach a peak in 1979. Economic crisis slowed industrial economies, stabilized supply, and resulted in the reduction of the demand for motorized vehicle travels and correspondingly oil consumption. Decline in oil prices continued until the mid-1980. Effects of 1979 petrol crisis on automotive sector was reflected to production of motorized vehicles. World production of motor vehicles number decreased from 41,6 millions in 1979 to 36,1 millions in 1983.

High petrol prices shifted attention of national and local governments from motor vehicle oriented approaches to human power and non-motorized vehicles oriented solutions. Increase of harming effects of motorized transport on urban and global physical and social environment slowed down in periods of economic crises due to reduced travel demand driven by economic limitations.

Rising awareness of motorized vehicles' negative effects on physical environment led city governments especially in developed countries to shift their urban and transport planning approaches toward formation of more compact cities causing transport investments to shift from private car towards non motorized modes and public transport.

3.3 Assessment of Supranational Actors and Economic -Politic Dynamics

Actions and activities of supranational economic organizations focus on having a greater share from competition at urban level while considering well being of local people may not be high on the agenda since the local context, conditions and planning are to be left to national states and local authorities.

Policy declarations of supranational economic organizations like European Union have suggestions for their members having advanced economic and social development levels. However, developing countries have different social and economic conditions. There are different economic limitations, political dynamics, and assemblages shaping urban and urban transport system development in these cities. Besides these countries, do not have appropriate legal and institutional frameworks for implementation and control of these policies. Therefore, they do not pose any applicable policy guides for local governments of developing countries.

Many developed countries already have well working public transport systems, which operate in integration with non-motorized transport network. However, many widely accepted principles, such as public transport having priority over individual motorized transport is still open to discussion at city governments of developing countries. Implementations of municipalities usually conflict with these widely accepted polices. In Turkish cities, local governments are more concerned with providing road transport infrastructure and services for private cars instead of give priority to public transport.

In the EU White Paper of 2011, member states discuss most efficient way of choosing appropriate technology for minimizing oil dependency through electric cars or bio fuels without compromising the concept of free travel

across Europe. However, decisions of local governments in developing countries are more concerned with meeting motorized transport needs with minimum standards, while disregarding many social and environmental needs posing greater problems for economic, social, and environmental development in the future.

Effective implementation of these policies requires all actors (private companies, individuals, industries, and governments) to participate in this process. Governments have important roles in implementing these policies. New institutional structures may be required for effective implementation of environment conscious policies (Banister, 2005). On the other hand, proposals of these agreements limited binding content for national governments.

Responsibilities, functions and action areas of supranational assemblages including two ministries of the national level with duties at supranational are defined in Table-3.1. It is clear that most powerful actors from related industries concentrate on planning and design stages where procurement, production and construction decisions taken. Focus of influential industries dissolves after finance stage when “selling” of a transport project.

Central government's economic development policies are reviewed considering above clarified effective supranational assemblages and politic economic developments in the next Chapter 4. In addition, Turkish national government’s legal and institutional framework related to urban transport planning and sustainability are examined and supranational effects on these national structures are reconsidered.

Table 3.1 Duties and Responsiblities of Supranational Level Assemblages

	Planning	Design	Approval	Financing	Operation	Supervision	Training	Standarts	Statistics	Coordination
Rail Transport Projects (Tram, LRT, Metro, Commuter)										
International Infrastructure Banks	○	○	○	●				●	⊙	
National Exim Banks	○	○	○	●				●	⊙	
Commercial Banks				●					⊙	
Rail Industry	●	●			●		●	●		
Road Building Industry	⊙	⊙			⊙					
Petroleum Industry	⊙	⊙			⊙					
Automotive Industry	⊙	⊙			⊙					
The Treasury			●	●					⊙	
MoD			●	●						
Surface Transport Projects (Road, Pedestrian, Bicycle, Bus)										
MoD			●	●				○	⊙	⊙
TheTreasury			●	●					⊙	⊙
Rail Industry	⊙	⊙							○	
Road Building Industry	⊙	⊙			⊙					
Petroleum Industry	⊙	⊙			⊙					
Automotive Industry	⊙	⊙			⊙					

Strong Responsibility/Involment: ● Strong Responsibility/Involment: ⊙ Covered Responsibility/Involment: ○

CHAPTER 4

NATIONAL DYNAMICS AND ASSEMBLAGES INFLUENCING URBAN TRANSPORT SYSTEMS

4.1 Introduction

Turkish cities had developed under financial limitations for urbanization and urban transportation problems. The problem had two interrelated sides; the first constraint was related to limited resources to be allocated to the first priority problem of economic development that delayed long-term transportation projects to answer future needs in many Turkish cities. The second side of the problem was using these limited resources not on the projects that could resolve the bottlenecks and create access to rapidly developing urban areas and for public transport, but on the contrary spending them on road building for cars that would increase the congestion and problems in very short periods.

Public transport development attempts at the central level started in the early 1920's before establishment of the Turkish Republic. Trams and tunnel operations in Istanbul and other major cities such as Izmir emerged as institutional private enterprises. They were transferred to public transport enterprises of local municipalities (İETT, ESHOT, EGO etc.) after the establishment of Turkish Republic. After the fifties with rapid urbanization Ankara, Istanbul and other major cities faced huge migration waves. Gecekondu (unauthorized squatter) settlements were built by immigrants as a response to their housing needs, and central government allowed this by granting these unauthorized houses deeds and settlement permits. Municipality managements could not meet the daily transport needs of rapidly

growing outskirts with their own budgets, fleets, and services. Since main resources in the country were allocated primarily to industrial development, government chose private provision of transport services as solution rather than giving the service by public institutions. These implementations often caused many public goods to be ignored and created high benefits to land speculators and private sector. Political approaches of city government affected the balance between private sector and public good benefits. This led different political governments to choose different urban development policies and implementations and financial choices. Relation between political choices of governments and urban transport applications are examined in detail at Ankara Municipality case in the following section.

4.2 Assemblages of the National Level

Central Government

Political attitudes and economic development choices of the central governments directly influence urban and urban transport development at local level. Generally, right wing liberal political governments in Turkey favored economic development at the expense of environmental damages and equity of social groups (Duru, 2006; Çoban, et. al. 2015). However, after 1980; left wing governments, having the claim of social justice and environmental awareness, did not adopt very different approaches than other governments. Urban and urban transport developments can be analyzed in relation to different political attitudes, economic choices, and implementations of central governments. Political approaches and implementations of different governments are historically examined with the purpose of identifying their influence on urban levels in the following sections.

Legal and institutional frameworks effecting local levels and urban transportation are again defined by political approaches and economic choices of the central governments. Legal and institutional frameworks constitute a base and an operational framework for local level project and implementations. Continuity of administrations strengthens legal and institutional framework adopted at the national level.

Another important factor is continuity of political approaches of the state and the local governments. Their conformity or inconsistency affected and are still affecting funding flows from national to local levels. If there are political conflicts between two levels, national government use funding and approvals as a tool to influence and control local decisions. Example of a conflict period is examined in detail at Ankara case between 1973-1980 years. The period from 2002 to present day is also evaluated as example of conformity for political approaches and implementations of national and local level governments.

Central Government Units and Bureaucracy

Main actors of the national government level are ministries directly related with local projects with responsibility of either financing, approval, policy making or all of them. These are the ministries related to urban development, infrastructure, and transport system development. Among these are the Ministry of Environment and Urbanization (MoEU), the Ministry of Transport, Maritime, and Communications (MoTC) are the important and effective actors influencing local projects.

The Ministry of Development (previously State Planning Organization) and The Undersecretary of Treasury are also active influencers of the bureaucratic processes at the central government level with their

responsibilities in preparation of the central government budget and for their role for international tenders, international procurement and credit agreements of transportation projects. These national level institutions, their duties and tasks related to urban transport developments are handled in detail in the following section 4.3.

National level government actors also include units such as the Privatization Authority (ÖİB) and the Housing Development Administration of Turkey (TOKI) with physical planning authorities affecting transport demand levels and patterns resulting with new transportation projects at local levels. These institutions create development projects within or at the periphery of urban area that increase population densities and the need for new transport facilities.

Politicians

Members of the Parliament also have some degree of effect on urban development and urban transport decisions where members from the party in power are more influential. Representatives are interested with central government level project decisions either to follow projects for the sake of the localities they represent or some business interests they are involved with.

Commercial Interests

Private entrepreneurs with an interest in road production have close relationships with public bodies including central state bodies as well as local government departments (Sawers, 1984). These groups benefit from transport investments and are composed of land speculators, land developers, big landowners, construction firms and other property investors. They are an important pressure group on municipal decisions related with the

land they own or plan to own. These groups impose pressures on both national and local governments to make investments on roads and private car access.

Automotive Industry and Periphery

This group is composed of private companies gathered around motor vehicle use that includes vehicle production, services, maintenance and operation related commercial functions. This group includes many sub sectors and commercial markets including motor vehicle producers, insurance companies, petrol production and selling companies, vehicle maintenance and service companies, infrastructure (road and parking) building and operation markets. They have a common interest of increasing the use of motorized vehicles especially private vehicles. They support road investments of national and local governments. Therefore, they benefit from decentralized urban development and inefficient public transport systems.

Automotive industry has transformed its production pattern during recent decades to integrate automotive industry to national levels by moving their production facilities from their original countries to selected strategic developing countries. As environmental awareness developed in the industrialized countries, automotive industry was highly criticized with its carbon production and other adverse effects to the environment by many groups and even governments. Automotive industry of the developed countries with saturated car markets focused on exports and decided to move their production to strategic locations of developing markets.

Carbon pollution rich automotive industry plants were relocated from their own countries to developing countries where environmental awareness is not that developed. New car factories in nations like Turkey were highly

welcomed as new employment centers without understanding them as a major pollution source of exporting nations. Benefits of new production locations was twofold for the industry as the pollutions was moved to the countries like Turkey and the assembly line production was less costly with the cheaper labor costs. Relocation of automotive industry plants were seen as a win-win solution for both the industry and the country it was moved to when the irreversible pollution costs and stronger penetration into the car market of the developing countries are not considered.

Responsibilities, interests and action areas of public institutions, interest groups and assemblages grouped according to different stages of planning and implementation in Table 4.1 below. Central government bodies have definite responsibility for rail system projects where road project procedures are very loose leaving room for local decisions resulting with quick decision and mostly wrong decisions on road development projects and investments.

Table 4.1 Assesment Duties and Resposiblities of National Level Assemblages

	Planning	Design	Approval	Financing	Operation	Supervision	Training	Standarts	Statistics	Coordination
Rail Transport Projects (Tram, LRT, Metro, Commuter)										
MoTC (AYGM)	●	●	●	○	○	○		●		
MoEU	⊙	⊙								
MoD			●	●				○		
TUIK									○	
TRUT			●	●		○				
Rail Industry	⊙	⊙			⊙					
Road Building	⊙	⊙			⊙					
Petroleum Industry	⊙	⊙			⊙					
Automotive Industy	⊙	⊙			⊙					
Technical	⊙	⊙					●			
Universities					●				●	
Surface Transport Projects (Road, Pedestrian, Bicycle, Bus)										
MoIA					○	○			○	○
MoTC (KGM)	○	○	○	○	○	○		○	○	○
MoEU				○						
MoD			○	○				○		
TUIK									○	
Road Building										
Petroleum Industry										
Automotive										
Technical										
Universities							○			
Government										
Private Operators					○		○	○		

Strong ● Strong Responsibility/Involment: ⊙ Covered Responsibility/Involment: ○

4.3 National Political and Economic Dynamics Effecting Urban Development and Urban Transport in Turkish Cities

In the first years of the Turkish Republic, single party system was in effect. Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi [Republican People's Party (RPP)] was the only party until 1945. Most important incident of this term was World Economic Crisis beginning from 1929 and lasting until the beginning of the 1940's. Economic deficiencies brought negative effects on agriculture sector since increase of oil prices decreased rates of agricultural productions. Manufacturing and trade were affected in a similar manner. This situation led national government to adopt state directed industrial policies in the following years. Urbanization and urban transport activities were very limited until 1950. This led state not to pay attention and not make any special effort related to urban areas. Nationally adopted Industrial Development Plans, whose main aim was industrialization; had no societal implications for urban areas (Ekiz, 2005). International dynamics of the oil sector and national economic choices were the only determining factors on urbanization and transport system at these years.

Turkey's political system faced a turning point with the transition to a multi-party system in 1946. Demokrat Parti [Democrat Party (DP)] were established and won national elections in 1950. Although having different political origins with RPP of previous term, it continued anti-socialist policies (Yıldırmaz, 2008). Political attitude of DP influenced urban development and urban transport system of recently developing cities of Turkey. Unplanned urban development and giant migration waves to cities started as policies focused on industrialization and urban development along with efforts for transferring public interest to private entrepreneurs.

New global alliance, created after World War II shaped main lines of policy of both DP and national politics of Turkey. After World War II, USA appeared as a new hegemonic power at global economy. It is not a coincidence that the rise of DP at national politics falls to the same period with USA as a rising power in world economy. DP had dependent relations with imperialism and was far from political line of previous term (Yıldırmaz, 2008). Its national economic policy led DP to adopt small producer and tradesman oriented implementations at municipality level. These policies at urban scale continued until 1973 by different political managements (Tekeli, 1983)

Marshall Plan, which was implemented by USA between 1948 and 1951 as an economic aid program shaped urban transport structure developments in the 30-year period after the World War II. Marshall Aids brought mechanization in agriculture and industry, thus it demanded labor force in these sectors. Rising unemployment pushed labor force from rural areas to recently developing urban areas in the following years. Main purpose of this aid for USA was developing its new foreign markets especially for its automotive industry. Therefore, Marshall Aids were given with the condition of using them for highway constructions rather than rail system investments, already described in the previous section... Rail infrastructure was considered to be expensive by the Marshall Plan. These financial aids resulted in urban transport infrastructure to develop highly dependent on highway transport modes in the following years. Marshall Aid was seeding money to create for environment for automotive, road building and petroleum industries and markets.

Nationally adopted agriculture and industrial policies caused Turkish cities to face rapid urbanization after the 1950's. Although national government politically supported migrated workforce, urbanization of this new population was not supported financially due to economic limitations of the term.

National government pursued minimum intervention and investment strategy and expected the problems of rapid urbanization to be solved through market mechanism. This situation led municipal governments develop their own solutions for problems of rapid urbanization. Major reflections of this national policy to urban level were squatter settlements and Dolmuş as a new mode of public transportation. Municipalities with support of national governments allowed squatter belts to emerge around urban areas for fulfilling residential need of migrated population. Unplanned and uncontrolled urban development brought huge infrastructure problems. By this way, Dolmuş appeared as a solution for overcoming transport needs in the squatters, which were located at the outskirts of cities, having unsuitable road infrastructure for other transport modes. These two urban solutions of these years triggered many other problems, which will be handled in detail at Ankara case study part.

Short-term patronage based socio-economic policies chosen by DP for overcoming development problems, were not successful to sustain economic growth, supported by foreign debt. The distribution of economic surplus through patronage web, increased distrust towards DP (Şahin, 2007). Failures of DP's economic policies and discontent among society led democratic political system being interrupted by a military coup in 1960. DP was closed after the coup. Adalet Partisi [Justice Party (JP)] as a follower of ideologies and cadres of previous DP won elections together with RPP and they established the first coalition government in Turkish political life. In 1965, JP won the general elections alone. Small entrepreneur oriented local policies and implementations of previous DP government continued under JP government. Turkish national politics faced short termed coalitions after the 1969 general elections until the military coup of 1980. Coalition governments caused central governments not to adopt substantial changes in institutional and legal framework between 1969 and 1980 due to oppositions in coalition.

New constitutional law, which was implemented after 1960 coup proposed a new institution, named State Planning Organization (DPT) later restructured to merge to the Ministry of Development (MoD). DPT had the duty of handling economic and societal development together and reflected predictions related with economic and societal objectives to five-year development plans. The main difference from the 1930's industrial plans was the new term of "development", which is a wide process, including social, economic and cultural content (Ekiz, 2005). Planned economic development had important implications for urban development and urban planning. Institutionalization of economic and social planning together brought the acceptance of comprehensive rationalist planning understanding for urban development (Şahin, 2007). However, dynamic improvement of legal and institutional framework could not be realized properly, and political and economic choices of national governments had no continuity in these years. Therefore, this positive intention of comprehensive planning could not have the expected benefits in terms of urban and urban transport structure in the following years. Policy outputs of the planned term, i.e. five year development plans, are analyzed in terms of urban transport content in the following Legal and Institutional Framework Section of 4.3.

Global sudden increase in oil prices brought decrease in profit rates and regression in capital accumulation process in the 1970's. In Turkish economy, import substitution development model adopted after transition to planned economy was based on new investments made by foreign credits. This development model resulted Turkish economy to face with foreign payment crisis under the effect of world oil crisis and political instability. Economic and political instability resulting from the new model pursued by coalition governments led discontent among society. Foreign debts brought reactions of working classes and it prepared the conditions of 1980 coup. Mayors of metropolitan municipalities were recalled and municipal councils

were abolished since they were seen as the resources of objections to central government.

After the 1960's, urban migrants became to be a determining factor in national and local politics since they have an important share of votes. Urban population increased 60% in less than three decades. Squatters began to be allowed after 1960 both by state and by municipal governments since they provided reproduction of labor force without using state intervention capital (Şengül, 2001). This political attitude established the backbone of urban and urban transport system development in the following years.

Another important progression at national level influencing urban and urban transport development was the starting of motor vehicle production. Motor vehicle industry began production of trucks in 1959, and the first automobile for market was produced in 1966 (http://tr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Anadol). Increasing automobile production resulted in the first suburban settlements to develop in this period (Tekeli, 1998). Magirus brand minibuses, which were used for Dolmuş operation, began to be assembled in Turkey in 1963. Magirus brand minibus production supported nationally adopted small enterprise oriented policies at urban scale and flourished the use of para-transit services in all urban areas.

In 1972, a strong new leader Bülent Ecevit was elected as party chairperson to RPP and this made votes of RPP to increase. He became the prime minister of Turkey in 1974 and for another two terms until 1980 coup. National management was composed of short term unsuccessful coalitions until 1980 military coup with the party leader serving short periods. During these years national government began to depart from small entrepreneur oriented political attitudes of previous years. Left ideology and social democrat understanding became influential in Turkish political life. Urban and

transport planning problems started to be solved using different tools, which societal needs and equity among people. Housing cooperatives, with large-scale social housing projects on large pieces of land were encouraged to be developed by the public. In responding to new transport demands, social democrat party municipalities preferred human oriented transport planning attitude rather than motorized vehicle oriented approaches. By this way, they developed low cost instruments such as exclusive busway projects, pedestrianization projects, free off-peak bus services and other traffic management tools. They attempted to develop large-scale railway projects with their own financing models. However, these projects did not receive approval of the central government, which was composed of short-term unsuccessful coalitions until the 1980 military coup.

Economic and political instability, growing violence and security problems, prepared conditions for the 1980 military coup. Military coup took over the government for a period of three years and introduced a new constitution in 1982. After the coup, mayors were recalled, municipal councils were abolished. Mayors of military term supported large-scale investments, which were made by institutionalized entrepreneurs. Small-scale investment and urban poor oriented urban development of previous government ended. Ersoy (2013) indicated that neoliberal policies came to the agenda when organized social structure was eliminated through the Military Coup.

On the same year of the military coup of 1980, right wing political leader Özal was entitled with preparation of new economic development strategy. 24 January 1980 stabilization program was prepared and implemented under the influence of the international institutions, including IMF and World Bank. According to the 1980 program internal market oriented development was abandoned and it was replaced by an economic development model based

on free market economy. Internal markets were opened to foreign markets and it brought new neoliberal state restructuring in the following years.

After the military term, Anavatan Partisi [Motherland Party (MP)], led by Turgut Özal held power in 1984 until the beginning of the 1990's. Özal government widened neoliberal policies of previous military government and Adalet ve Kalkınma Patisi [Justice and Development Party (JDP)] continued the application of neoliberal policies more extensively in the 2000's. The main aims of Özal government were to sustain economic growth and through the integration of the national economy to the global market and to establish free market economy. For this aim, financial system underwent several modifications, which enabled foreign capital to invest easily through the cooperation with national private sector firms.

After 1980, urban areas were shaped through the influence of neoliberal policies and globalization. The new development model opening to foreign capital flows caused parallel process foundation for neoliberal political, socio-economic and cultural infrastructure in the Metropolitan cities (Şahin, 2007). Large capital, which could not find new profitable investment areas in agriculture and industrial sectors, began to invest in urban land and urban consumption areas, which become attractive with the development of metropolitan areas. In addition, metropolitan cities were used as a tool for vitalizing national investments and transferring foreign capital through credits and aids. Şengül (2001) terms this development model beginning from the 1980's, as "Urbanization of Capital". Characteristics of this term differ completely from previous term, which was characterized with labor and local community oriented developments. Municipalities gave priority to infrastructure investments rather than investing reproduction of labor force or supporting urban poor. These services have been performed through

privatization and finance need was provided from international finance capital (Doğan, 2001).

This new type of urbanization through investments of large capital to urban areas for gaining land rents and valuations brought both socio-economic and physical implications for cities and for their transport systems. Management of urban units and municipal services become more difficult since urban problems became more complex with the urban development at fringes, which created new infrastructure and service needs. In order to handle complex problems, new two tiered municipality system created "Greater Municipality" structures were adopted for metropolitan cities in 1984.

Reaching the 1990's, MP's neoliberal polices for integration to global economy at central government level were not successful, since it brought growing economic problems. Policies for integration of national economy to global system led to increasing export deficits and foreign public debt. In addition, export oriented development model, dependent on international dynamics caused national economy to be easily influenced by global financial fluctuations. By this way, Turkish economy experienced two economic crises in the 1990's and 2000's. National government insistence on application of IMF and World Bank Programs was criticized by parties in opposition since policies for integration of national economy to global system led to increasing export deficits and foreign public debt. Economic instabilities led the popularity of MP to decrease. In the 1991 election, ruling party MP lost majority in the parliament while Doğruyol Partisi [True Path Party (TPP)] became the first party. TPP and Sosyaldemokrat Halkçı Parti [Social democrat People's Party (SPP)] formed a coalition government. The rise of TPP was related to the election of Süleyman Demirel as party Chairman after his restriction of political activities in 1980 coup. This led to erosion of political base of the MP. Although social democrats were in coalition government, this

could not affect nationally adopted neoliberal policies, since coalitions were short-lived. Free market oriented neoliberal applications and public debt increases continued under coalition government.

Implementation of neoliberal policies, budget deficits, increasing debts and populist policies resulted in an economic crisis in 1994. Recent changes led to existing traditional left and right wing parties to lose their popularities. In these years a new liberal conservative party; Refah Partisi [Welfare Party (WP)]; was constituted and it filled the gap which was created at right wing. In 1995 elections, WP established coalition government with TPP. In coalition government, WP together with TPP continued to implement neoliberal policies.

In the 1989 local government elections SPP got votes of majority of local governments. These left wing party governed municipalities faced again with financial restrictions like left wing governed municipalities between 1973 and 1980. Cutbacks were implemented by Özal government, which was elected in 1989 at national level. Municipalities, like in the previous term, tended to develop their own resources. However, solutions of left wing governed municipalities of this term sharply differ from the municipalities between 1973 and 1980. Despite having social equity and societal development oriented arguments, new social democrat municipalities chose contradicting costly infrastructure investments, complying with the neoliberal national political attitudes. Municipal governments initiated large infrastructure projects including costly urban rail projects, which were financed through foreign credits from supranational agencies like World Bank and from international finance institutions. International credits provided enlargement of organized capital under payback guarantee of the treasure. Rail system investments have positive implications in terms of being public transport rather than private cars having lower passenger capacity with social equity and

environmental drawbacks. However, rail systems are not always affordable investments, considering to Turkey's developing country economic position. This new investment put burden at municipal governments. Moreover, this investment strategy of municipality allowed small entrepreneur oriented short termed implementations become permanent components of urban structure with their growing problems in the following years. Implementations and political choices of local governments with their urban space related implications are discussed in detail in Ankara case study section.

Turkish economy is negatively affected by global crisis of 1997 crisis and this effect is grown with earthquake of 1999. In order to get over these negative effects of financial crises 1990's and 2000's and to prevent large-scale capital outflow, national government received wide international finance supports. Moreover financial and institutional suggestions of international organizations are implemented for getting these supports (Celasun, 2002). Policies for Turkey to be member state of European Union limited Turkish action in international policy context. Attempts to integrate global economy resulted to Turkish politics and economy being influenced by dynamics and actors of supranational and international levels. On the other hand, left parties in opposition at national level did not create important alternatives policies considering social justice, environmental degradation etc. They followed these dependent policies at various scales.

In the general elections of 2002; newly formed right wing conservative party; JDP; gained majority in the parliament and established the government on its own. The main source of this victory was unification of right wing politicians, formerly belonging other right parties (MP; TPP, WP and VP) under JDP. The society lost trust in former parties due to economic crisis and this new cooperation started gaining popularity in the following years as a hope for being a solution to the problems of the previous years. Following right wing

tradition, neoliberal policies were pursued by JDP in this term. In fact the basis of neoliberal implications began to be built in 1998 through an auditing contract with IMF about restructuring of Turkish Public System. The positive impacts on economy were seen in JDP term and adoption of neoliberal policies led Turkish economy to overcome several global economic crises under JDP government. In a sense adoption of entrepreneurialist implementations brought economic and political stability. However neoliberal policies were not implemented only by JDP. Altıok (2007) assessed the implementations of JDP as enforcement of the Turkey's role in world capitalist system, which began years ago in 1980 parallel to global economic dynamics: All national governments (including right and left wing governments) beginning from 1980 adopted neoliberal policies and performed implementations. They shaped their decisions and implementations under the influence of other countries, international organizations, requirements of globalism rather than societal needs and priorities. Principle of these implementations are based on privatization, efficiency, effectiveness rather than national public needs while having positive claims of localization, democratization in terms of society.

Beginning from the 2000's reforms for integration to EU were on the top of the Turkish national governments agenda. State took a regulatory position and performed several legal and institutional reforms, with the principles of localization, democratization, governance, technocracy. In this new regulatory model of state, economy was managed by market and civil society rather than state. Increasing economic efficiency and social welfare attracting foreign capital to inland were announced as main aims of the arrangements. Although public management reform was approved by the parliament constitutional court rejected it due to its contradictions to the constitution and it was abandoned. However, every institution/services were localized separately on its own in the following years (Acar, 2008). By this way,

Greater Municipality Law numbered 5216 and Municipality Law numbered 5393 were introduced in 2004 and in 2005. Following the victory at general elections; JDP got the majority of greater municipalities in 2004 local elections, including Ankara and Istanbul, which were already governed by JDP in the previous terms too.

JDP performed large-scale privatization projects with the political and economic support of IMF and EU and their claim of integration. Large-scale privatizations enabled JDP to overcome negative effects of global economic crisis in 2008. However state performed "reproduction of labor" function within tightened boundaries since political and economic movement area was restrained by supranational assemblages. In other words, privatizations led state to be dominated by capital more than ever (Angın, 2012). Both national and local governments were restricted by global actors for the aim of becoming foreign financial supports. In the case of urban transport, procurement of large infrastructure projects was enabled through international financial supports with the condition of using their national technologies or professional support. On the other hand EU policies, having many positive sustainability content related to urban transport did not influence local level practices since urban policy statements did not have binding directives for implementation in cities of candidate states. Besides national government of Turkey did not prepare required legal framework.

Neo-liberalization processes brought free market oriented implementations to local government level, beginning from the 1980's. Privatization of local services were widened and deepened with the aim of opening new capital accumulation areas. Privatizations of services were legitimized by JDP with regulatory state applications through positive claims of pluralism and participation. However, national management has started most unjust application of the regulatory state since it proposed abolishment of finance of

public services from national budget. It proposed financing public services at the local level by the local budget through pricing or privatization of the services when possible. By this way, it disabled resource transfers from developed regions to less developed regions of the country.

On the other hand, transfer of local services of national state to local government would bring enormous inequalities and inefficiencies since resources' transfer from national budget to local was ambiguous (Acar, 2008). In urban transport area procurement of urban transport services are performed at municipal level through self-procurement or contracting. Finance of large infrastructure projects, which are exceeding municipal budget, are realized through the financial support of national government. However, national governments did not look after providing balance on the national geography through distribution of the financial support. This led to large infrastructure projects to concentrate in metropolitan cities managed by mayors from JDP. Furthermore, national governments easily provided finance to the projects of municipal governments, belonging to their party, while governments of other parties suffered from lack of funding.

Effects on urban level were seen with the adoption of entrepreneurialist urban development policies that brought speculative urban development through luxury housing sites and shopping centers. In this speculative urban development, urban transport acts as a complementary speculative sector. Urban land development profits are more voluminous and attractive than the profits of urban transport developments and operation. Effective assemblages of urban transport are usually small and middle-sized investors and operators, while urban development decisions bring much larger returns to investors. As a result urban transport system development follows and supports urban land development decisions and projects.

JDP won the following general elections in 2007 and 2012 with increasing shares of votes. Main reasons behind these victories were the abandonment of inflation dependent economic growth and procurement of economic growth and stability through speculative oriented implementation in all sectors of public life (Altıok, 2007). Following requirements of EU adoption process, JDP supported localization through implementation of several legal frameworks. However especially in the last term JDP government cut back urban planning powers of municipalities and transferred several duties to central government institutions, including Ministry of Environment and Urbanism, Ministry of Culture and Tourism, Mass Housing Administration, Privatization Authority and even Turkish State Railways that owned large and strategic urban property. However, centralization of the planning activity did not enforce bureaucracy and auditing mechanisms to be centralized by the state. On the contrary, it targets specifically creating land development projects for large capital instead of proper urban planning.

Erder and İncioğlu (2013) indicated that JDP policies witnessed different kind of tendencies and these have different influences on management. Since national government does not have comprehensive policy and specific programs on urban development (and urban transport system development). I developed sudden, casual and contradicting solutions for recently emerging problems. However, this way of development makes it difficult to analyze development at local level. Parallel with the view of Erder and İncioğlu (2013) urban transport system development of Ankara especially in recent entrepreneurial era should be analyzed in the light of assessment of influencing upper level dynamics, assemblages together with changing legal and institutional frameworks.

Below Figure 4.1 summarizes interactions in a historical timeline for major actors at three levels in two time periods. Developments before 1970

highlights major influential actors and impacts during foundation of the Republic of Turkey and acceptance of liberal policies after fifties. This period shows a clear diversion from the nationalist political approaches to liberal under influence of supranational actors such as World Bank, IMF and USA after the WWII. This influence is also globally valid for many developing nations and laying down paths for global strategies for the following periods.

Period from 1970's until today, there is a dual polarization period where USA led supranational assemblages continue their effects toward local levels in the country and the second group of actors based on European initiatives as a response to oil crises of seventies. Turkish national and local actions and policies were under influence of both of these polar centers and approaches during the latter period. Following chapters evaluate effects of both influence groups with supranational actors and their initiatives.

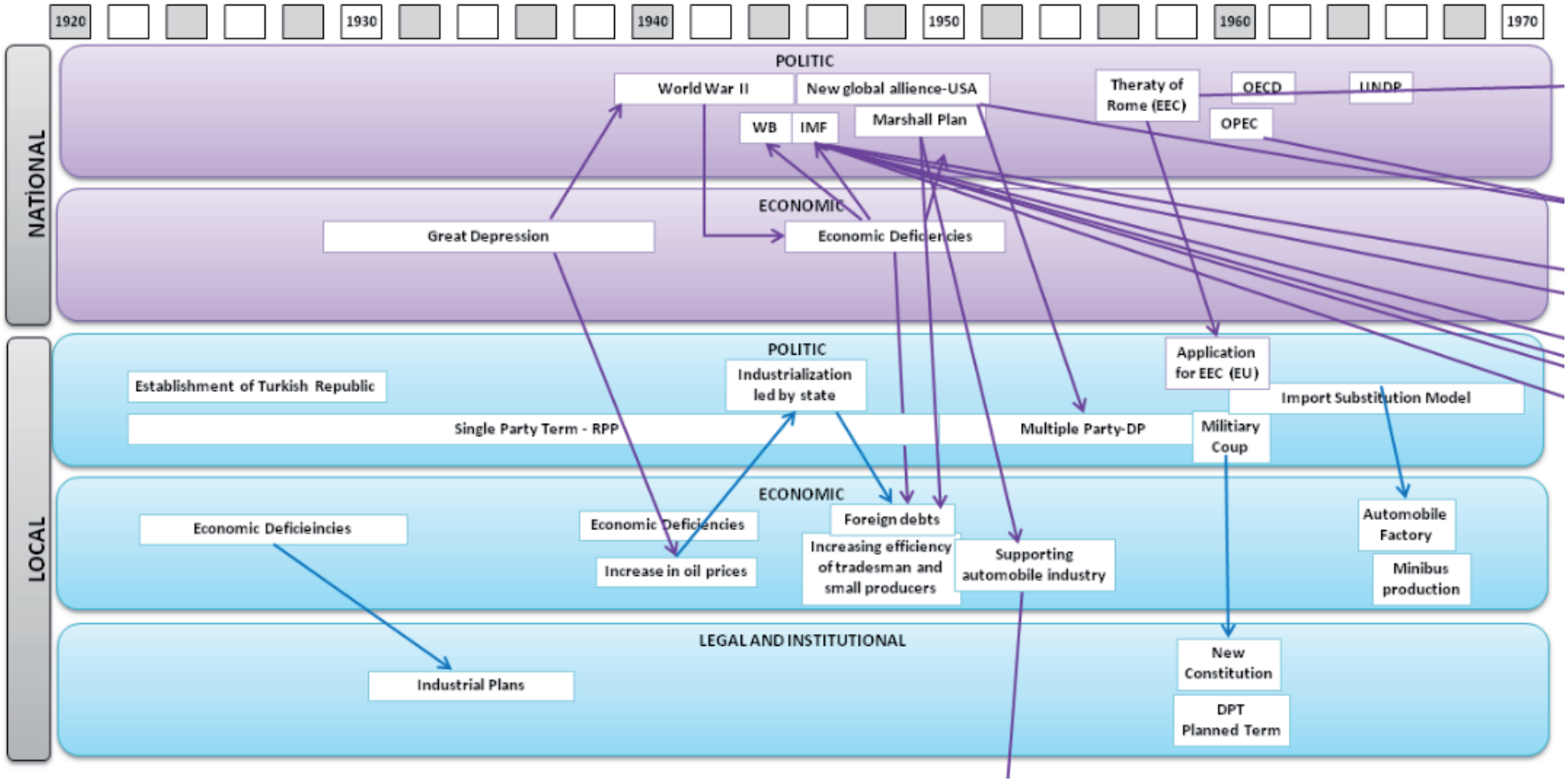


Figure 4.1 Influencing Politic and Economic Dynamics at Supranational and National Levels

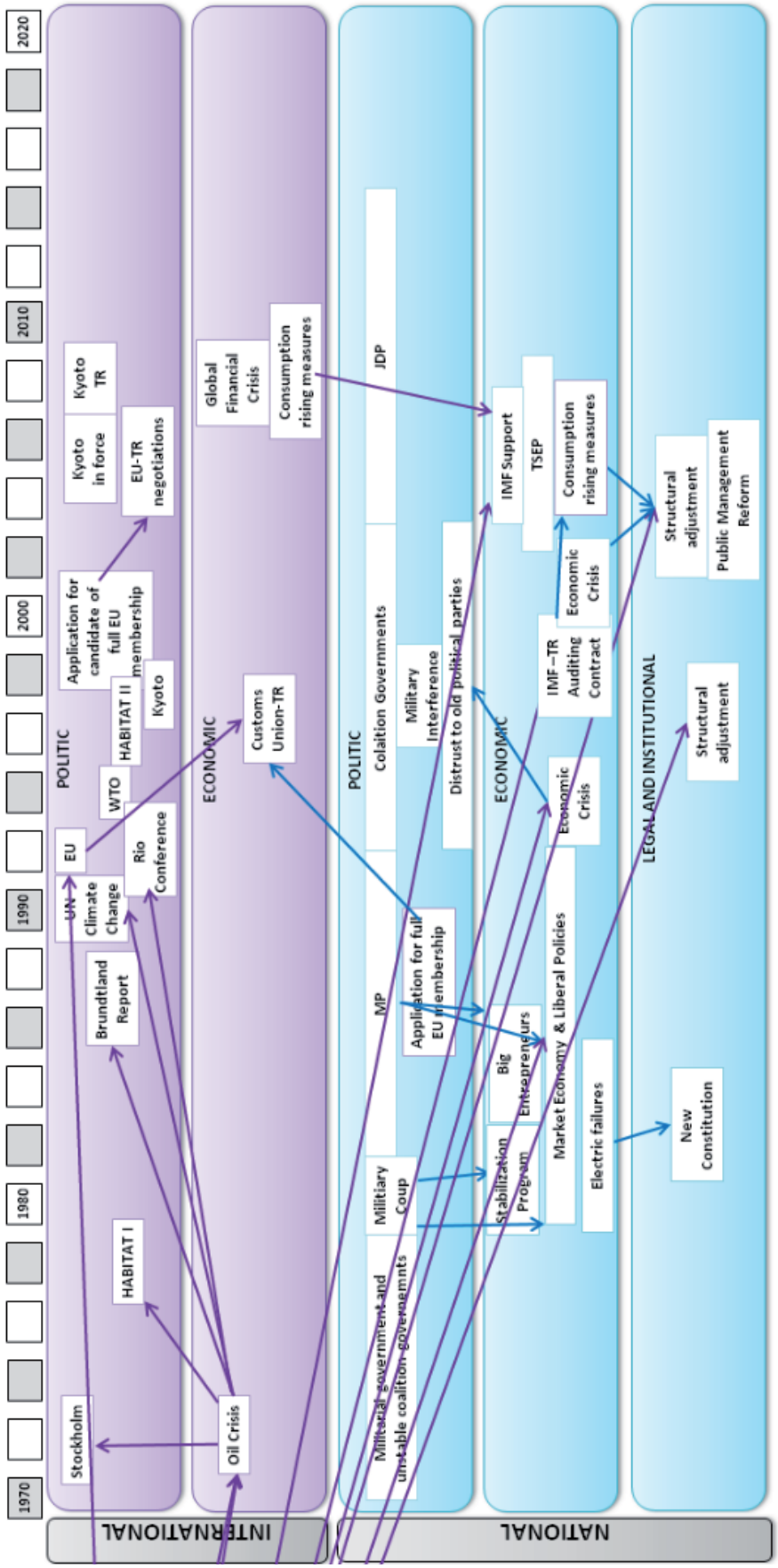


Figure 4.1. (continued)

4.4 Legal and Institutional Structures Shaping Urban Transport Planning and Implementations

Urban transport in Turkish public management structure is a complex arena due to conflicting responsibilities and duties of several institutions. At national level, Ministry of Development (MoD) draws baselines of urban transport developments in five-year development plans. Ministry of Transport, Maritime and Communications (MoTC), and Ministry of Environment and Urbanism (MoEU) define the framework of development of urban transport structures.

In order to draw a complete picture of urban transport planning and urban transport development in Turkey a detailed analysis is made on urban transport related activities of three Ministries (MoTC, MoEU, MoD). For this purpose, institutional structures and strategy documents related to urban transport are examined at the national level. Furthermore, institutional structures of Greater City Municipalities are priory reviewed in detail since case study is performed in Ankara City. Municipalities other than greater cites have second importance in legal and institutional analysis.

For this purpose Five Year Development Plans of MoD (previously DPT) are reviewed initially below in relation to its content related to urban transport planning. After the evaluation of strategy documents, annual programs of MoTC that guide the implementation of five-year development plans are analyzed.

4.4.1 Ministry of Development (MoD) and its Policies related to Urban Transport

The Ministry of Development (MoD), which previously performed the same duties as Undersecretary of the State Planning Organization (DPT) under the Prime Ministry, have the duty of advising the government in determining Turkey's economic, social and cultural development policies and is responsible for coordinated implementation of policies and projects. Central economic development planning practice of Turkey began through five-year plans in 1963. Problems of urban transport and solution proposal are placed on these long-term plans. Special Expertise Commissions (SEC) are established to prepare a baseline report and technical proposals for each of the economic development areas starting from the VI. Development Plan. Annual programs are prepared within the framework defined with five-year development plans guiding implementation programs since 2001. MoD sends approved transport projects of municipalities requiring foreign funding or international tender to the Undersecretary of Treasury who will be coordinating these efforts and arrange credit conditions on behalf of the municipalities.

4.4.1.1 Five Year Development Plans and Annual Programs of MoD

MoD points out the number of increasing motorized vehicle travels and their negative effects, such as deteriorating accessibility, increased costs, time loss, environmental hazards, social and physiological drawbacks in the development plans. In the first three five-year plans, there were several disconnected assessments and suggestions related to urban transport under the general topic of transportation. Beginning from **IV. Five Year Development Plan** (1979-1983) preparation studies, urban transportation

was handled as an independent heading with separate expertise committees. Increase of motorized vehicle traffic and appearance of first urban transport problems coincide with the petrol crises of seventies. Requirement of slowing down the increase of motorized vehicle use appeared in this period. Most important proposals of IV. Five Year Plan preparation studies were;

- Urban development plans and urban transport plans should be developed together.
- Necessary legal and institutional arrangements related to of duties, authorities and responsibilities in transportation need to be clearly defined.
- Management and supervision of implementations and operations are needed.
- Public transportation should have the priority in solving urban transport problems. Partnerships and organizations, providing economic benefits need to be utilized for this aim.

V. Five Year Plan (1985-1989) prepared during the coup coincided with a critical transformation of economic development policy replacing import substitution development model with export oriented one. V. Five Year Development Plan had limited content related to urban development as Turkish cities faced with a new urban development pattern. Proposals of this plan generally includes proposals related to urban development and industrial location choices. However, the plan did not include any separate heading related to urban transport and had not any special expertise committee report for urban transport. Government did t recognized that importance of urban transport systems and allocated its efforts only to urban development and industrial development.

VI. Five Year Plan (1990-1994) coincides with the application of Turkey to full membership of EU. Market mechanism became more effective and efforts

of specialization of State Economic Enterprises became widespread in this period. During the VI. Plan's implementation period cities around the world began to leave personal car oriented policies and focused on public transport as a result of increased traffic congestions, travel times, environmental hazards and accidents. SEC Report of Urban Transport pointed out to increasing daily travel times focusing on "use of existing infrastructure at maximum efficiency to eliminate unnecessary spending" as the main policy of the period. However, implementations did not change the track and Turkish cities continued to pursue highway investment oriented policies with support of the benefiting assemblages while cities around the world began to give priority to public transport and non-motorized transport systems. VI. Plan SEC Report defined policies and principles and developed proposals for Turkish cities to comply with this changing trend. SEC Report of VII. Plan was the most detailed study at national level, performed until this time. Main objectives of the proposals were:

- Providing secure and comfortable transport service,
- Decreasing travel times,
- Decreasing transport costs,
- Providing equity among citizens,
- Decreasing negative effects on environment,
- Decreasing dependency on foreign resources.

In accordance with these principles and policies, VI. Development Plan included more concrete objectives and policies for implementation, which were different from previous plans. However, responsible institutions and required tools for implementation and supervision mechanisms were not defined precisely. As a result of this, SEC Report remained as an advisory document without any binding proposal for local level implementations. Generally, stated aims and objectives of this document are listed below:

- Detailed definition of aims and principles of urban transport,
- Clarification of urban transport planning methods and procedures,
- Standardization of project preparation and implementation processes,
- Clarification of financing resources, models and allocation criteria for urban transport projects,
- Providing maximum efficiency at transport system and modes through creation of mode selection criteria and efficient use of existing infrastructure and integration of infrastructure plans,
- Clarification of uncertainties and voids of legal and institutional structure defining tasks and duties of UKOME and municipalities at local level and a new national level institution for coordinating urban transport implementations and setting standards.
- Standardization of public transport systems and vehicles,
- Developing education opportunities for human resources needed for urban transport systems,
- Supporting urban transport research,
- Improving citizen participation in the process of urban transport project decisions,
- Reducing environmental hazards,
- Increasing energy efficiency.

VII. Five Year Development Plan (1996-2000) aimed accommodation to requirements of recently emerging international organizations and also globalization process. Reinvigoration of private sector investment was aimed in this plan period. SEC Report of VII. Plan includes similar policies and proposals with previous Report. It assessed fulfillment of previous proposals. Crucial part of above stated proposal of VI. Plan was not realized and problems grew in the meantime. Proposals of pervious plan were accepted to be valid for the period of next plan. Proposals were classified under four

headings as Planning, Finance, Efficiency, and Standardization. Beginning with this plan period, introducing privatization and increasing the contribution of private sector are seen as new tools for overcoming finance problems and for implementation of proposals. Contribution of private sector has to be assessed with a new attitude and use of private sector's resources should have to be extended through institutionalized entrepreneurs. Another emphasis of the VII. Plan was the definition of duties and responsibilities of institutions and definition of technical criteria and standards in planning and implementation of railway systems projects. SEC Report of VII. Five Year Development Plan introduced new concepts and policies such as pricing policies, intelligent transport systems and environmental standards. It emphasized the need for institutional and legal rearrangement for overcoming planning, finance, and operational problems especially in metropolitan areas. The proposals also included detailed institutional recommendations for local and central levels.

Despite having many positive assessments and policies for implementation, recommendations of five year development plans were not implemented satisfactorily due to insufficient legal and administrative structures for responsible implementation and supervision in addition to the improper consideration of roles and powers of stakeholders and assemblages.

VIII. Development Plan (2001-2005) aimed primarily to accommodate to the globalization process, which began with the advances of communication technologies and increased free movement capability of financial resources. VIII. Plan pointed out that technological capacity is concentrated on developed countries and developing countries are dependent on these resources. This technological dependency created a crucial drawback in terms of financial dependency of these nations and restricted their political and economic capability. For integration to global system and for overcoming

negative effects of both global economic crisis and the 1999 Earthquake, private sector oriented economic measures are proposed to be taken in this plan.

VIII. Urban Transport SEC Report assessed previous SEC Reports and emphasized that afore mentioned principles, policies and proposals are still valid. However, the report points out that substantial amount of these principles and proposals are not implemented. Attention is drawn to the reasons underlying this situation. SEC Report further stated that conditions and factors underlying non-implementation should have to be found and these factors have to be eliminated. Otherwise, commission reports would turn to be repetition of previous unimplemented policies and proposals.

This report includes a detailed analysis of the urban transport field in Turkey. It includes detailed assessment of institutional and legal framework of urban transport, project preparation and participation processes, problems and solution proposals for different transport modes, investment and finance issues, security of transport, environmental impacts and energy requirement, technological developments and standards. VIII. SEC Report remained the most comprehensive policy document of MoD until today.

Urban transport proposals of IX. Development Plan (2007-2013) was again formulated by a SEC, however the report remained unpublished. This national plan was prepared for a seven years periods instead of five year periods before.

X. Development Plan (2014-2018) does not have any special expertise commission for urban transport. Urban transport subject was handled by a new commission set up for spatial planning.

National Development Plans were prepared for five-year periods with an exception of IX. Plan, which covered a seven year period. Preparations took long periods in some years so national plans did not exist for 1978, 1984, 1995 and 2006 years. Handling of urban transport issues of development plans are evaluated and compared in Table 4.2 below.

Table 4.2 Five Year Development Plans in terms of Urban Transport Content

Urban Transport in National Development Plans	I. Plan	II. Plan	III. Plan	IV. Plan	V. Plan	VI. Plan	VII. Plan	VIII. Plan	IX. Plan	X. Plan
Under various headings	●	●	●	●						
Independent SEC and published Report						●	●	●		
Independent SEC and unpublished Report					●				●	
Under another SEC and unpublished Report										●

MoD prepared Annual Programs each year after the National Development Plans, which guided projects and implementations of related Ministries. Annual programs lead actions of related ministries and local governments. However, in cases where the implementation processes and control mechanisms are not clearly defined, it could not have any effect on practices at local level. Among the listed policies below, only concrete standards and policies of rail systems had some effect on local level implementations.

Five Year Development Plans, SEC Reports and Annual programs are examined in terms of their implications of urban transport. Statements about urban transport are listed in the Table 4.3 under five general headings;

namely; Legal and Institutional Framework, Urban Transport Modes, Social, Environmental and Technical Aspects. It can be seen that several statements, which contributes to handling urban transport as an holistic manner, are not continued after several years. On the other hand, continuity of policies can be seen only at issues related to rail systems. These two tendencies have two main roots. Firstly, national governments have an attitude of concentrating only on costly rail system projects while disregarding other low cost urban transport solutions, and improvement of existing transport modes through urban transport planning. Secondly, responsibilities related to rail projects are clearly defined at the central level by a specific law while responsibilities for other transport issues are not given to any central organization. All other implementations and planning procedures of urban transport are left as discretionary.

X. Plan gave very limited place to urban transport proposals and policies. Stated proposals are too general for implementation compared to the previous plans. Many recommendations that were stated in the previous plans but not implemented were completely disregarded in the last two plans.

Many proposals of the plans were not realized since no proposed institutions or methods were set up for the implementation of these proposals. Only "Urban transport master plans" were prepared by various municipalities even though urban transport master plan preparation process and content was not defined clearly with legislations or guidance documents. Proposals related to different transport modes are intensified on SEC reports of VI,VII, VIII. Plans, however many of these proposals were not put in the Development Plans and Annual Programs. This showed that SEC Reports and recommendations were not very influential on development plans, programs and implementations. Furthermore there can be seen no continuity between the plans' proposals of preceding periods.

Analysis of urban transport related items underlined at Annual Reports shows that several issues, which are not covered by Development Plans, were placed in Annual Programs. Highlighted statements at Table 4.4 are about new railway projects and these are not proposed by urban transport SEC Reports but are mostly political decisions of MoD and MoTC. Many of highlighted proposals about railways are a result of financial support need of local governments from MoD. Experiences of previous years lead technical persons tend to limit unfeasible railway projects through implementing several binding statements. These binding proposals have positive effects on municipal spending in the following years. However, other proposals and policies of the annual programs have no specific binding items. Therefore other positive implications of programs remained as advices in the policy documents, other policy statements of SEC reports and Five Year Development Plans.

Influence of these policy documents on urban transport development of Ankara are assessed again after the examination of Ankara Urban Transport System in Chapter 5.

Table 4.3 SEC Reports, FiveYear Development Plans and Annual Programs in terms of Implications on Urban Transport

	Policies and Proposals of SER and Five Year Development Plans	VI. Plan		VII. Plan		VIII. Plan			IX. Plan[1]		X. Plan[2]	
		SEC	Plan	SEC	Plan	SEC	Plan	Prog.	Plan	Prog.	Plan	Prog.
Legal Institutional	Integration of urban and transport plans	●	●	●	●	●	●	●				
	National authority / strategy of urban transport	●	●	●	●	●			●			
	Continuous and effective training program	●		●		●	●	●				
	Definition of task, duties and organizations	●		●		●	●	●	●	●		
	Supporting **research and development**	●				●						
	Definition of urban transport planning procedures	●				●		●				
	Preparation of Urban Master Plans	●			●							
Transport Modes	Improvement of **Public Transport services**	●	●	●	●	●		●				
	Definition of **railways** standards with respect to scientific criteria	●		●		●	●	●	●	●	●	●
	15.000 passanger/hour/direction requirement for heavy rail, 10000 for **LRT,** 7000 for **tram** investments										●	
	Supporting use of **alternative energies** at public transport	●				●						
	Financial, operational and legal arrangements for **municipal buses**					●	●			●		●
	Arrangements and supervisor for **private public transport operators**					●		●				
	Integration of urban **rail system**	●				●	●	●				

Table 4.3 (continued)

Transport Modes	Financial, physical, legal arrangements for **pedestrians**	●		●		●	●	●	●			
	Financial, physical, legal arrangements for **bicycle transport**	●		●		●	●	●	●		●	
	Arrangements for **taxi** operations			●		●						
	Legal arrangements for **car parking**			●		●	●	●				
	Legal and physical arrangements to decrease negative impacts of **private cars**			●		●						
	Arrangements for **school and employee buses**	●		●		●		●				
Social	**Participation** citizen groups	●		●	●	●			●			
	Design for **disabled persons**			●		●	●					
	Accessible and reliable transport service **for all income groups**			●		●		●	●			
	Environmental Impact Assessment for all transport projects			●								
Financial	Allocation of transport related local **taxes** to urban transport			●		●						
	Eliminating **reduced public transport fares**	●		●								
	Development of **finance models** for urban transport projects			●		●	●	●				
	Equitable distribution of national resources to urban projects					●						
Technological	Urban Information Systems & ITS							●	●		●	

Table 4.4 Analysis of MoD Annual Programs for Implications on Urban Transport

	Policies and Proposals	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
Legal Institutional	Integration of urban development with transport plans	■■■	■■■	■■■	■■■	■■■								
	Continous and effective training program	■■■	■■■	■■■	■■■	■■■								
	Defination of task, duties, and organizations	■■■	■■■	■■■	■■■	■■■								
	Defination of urban transport planning procedures													■■■
	Supporting research and development	■■■												
Transport Modes	Improvement of Public Transport services	■■■	■■■	■■■	■■■	■■■		■■■	■■■					
	Definition of railways standarts with respect to scientefic criteria	■■■	■■■	■■■	■■■	■■■	■■■	■■■	■■■	■■■	■■■	■■■	■■■	■■■
	Improvement of bus system rather than costly new rails systems		■■■	■■■	■■■	■■■		■■■	■■■	■■■	■■■	■■■	■■■	■■■
	Use of local resorces and use of foreign resources only for high technologies			■■■	■■■	■■■		■■■	■■■	■■■	■■■	■■■	■■■	■■■
	TDM arrangements rather than costly projects.			■■■	■■■	■■■								
	1 milllion population requirement for railsystems			■■■	■■■	■■■								
	15.000 passanger/hour/direction requirement for heavy railsystem investments							■■■	■■■	■■■	■■■	■■■	■■■	■■■
	% 25 local resource usage requirement for projects						■■■	■■■	■■■	■■■	■■■	■■■	■■■	■■■
	Cooperation with local industry for railsystem projects	■■■		■■■			■■■	■■■	■■■	■■■	■■■	■■■	■■■	■■■
	Resource allocation and authority transfer for incomplete railsystems											■■■		

Table 4.4 (continued)

Transport Modes	Arrangements and supervision for private public transport operators	■■■	■■■	■■■	■■■	■■■								
	Integration of urban railsystem	■■■	■■■	■■■	■■■	■■■								
	Arrangements for pedestrians	■■■	■■■	■■■	■■■	■■■	■■■							
	Arrangements for bicycle transport	■■■	■■■	■■■	■■■									
	Arrangement for taxi operations	■■■												
	Arrangement for car parking	■■■	■■■	■■■	■■■	■■■								
	Arrangements of school and employee buses	■■■	■■■	■■■	■■■	■■■								
	Development of finance models for railsystem	■■■	■■■	■■■	■■■	■■■								
Social	Participation of citizen groups effected by the project	■■■												
	Design for disabled persons	■■■												
	Accessible and reliable transport service for all income groups	■■■			■■■	■■■	■■■	■■■						
Environmental	Enactment of energy efficiency law	■■■		■■■	■■■	■■■	■■■							■■■
	Preparation of national standards and criteria for sustainable urbanization		■■■				■■■						■■■	
Financial	Development of finance models for urban transport projects	■■■	■■■	■■■	■■■	■■■								
ITS	Preparation of strategy document of ITS												■■■	

4.4.2 Ministry of Transport, Maritime and Communication (MoTC) and Policies of Urban Transport

MoTC have the duty of defining transportation policies and targets as well as performing necessary work for their implementations. However, MoTC or any management unit of MoTC do not have any direct role or responsibility related to management and supervision of urban transport system implementations and operations. Only General Directorate of Infrastructure (still known by its former name of "General Directorate of Railways Harbors and Airports Construction") have the responsibility of assessment and approval of the urban rail system, cable car, funicular, airports and harbors projects installation requests of municipalities or provincial administrations. This directorate submits adequate projects to the council of Ministries for its approval. Setting standards and related unit prices of heavy rail systems, urban rail systems and transportation infrastructures are among the responsibility of this directorate. Besides it has to prepare or make someone prepare, review or make someone review, perform or make someone perform projects and programs of the urban rail systems and their facilities, which are decided to be undertaken by Council of Ministers.

Main deficiency of existing institutional and legal structure is the absence of any unit and legal framework responsible to formulate policies and standards for urban transport. Despite the emphasis of MoD on the "Requirement of a National Unit for Urban Transport Planning" beginning from VI. Plan (1990-1994), no government unit has been attempted to be established by MoTC. Main deficiency of this proposal was that MOD did not assign any government institutions, through a bindery statement. By this way, MoTC intervene to urban processes only if there is a rail project investment, requiring foreign finance. This partial role of MoTC encourages

municipalities to act independently in terms of preserving social and environmental goods.

A recent modification has been experienced through an update in the legal framework, defining responsibilities of MoTC. The organization and duties of MoTC were updated in 2011 with the addition of temporary articles to law numbered 3348. MoTC was given the power of taking over ongoing constructions of urban rail systems and metro projects of Greater City Municipalities. This legal arrangement was performed for rail projects of Ankara and Istanbul Municipalities, which were begun by the local governments belonging to the same party of the national government. In addition, this legal change was interpreted as discriminative support of national government to unsuccessful local governments, belonging to the same political party. That is because national funds are allocated to metropolitan cites, supporting uneven development in the country. Underlying dynamics and development of this legal arrangement and delayed rail system openings are tried to be clarified through assessment of politic and economic changes and influencing assemblages of the term in Ankara Case at Chapter 6.

MoTC does not constitute any special unit or commission responsible for formulating policies or addressing problems of urban transport. Due to this, no special policy document for urban transport was prepared by the ministry. There are a few statements about urban transport on strategic plans and annual plans of MOTC. These items are briefly assessed below.

4.4.2.1. Assesment of Strategical Plans of MoTC in terms of Urban Transport

Public administrations of Turkish Republic are entitled to prepare strategic plans with enforcement of law numbered 5018 passed in 2003. This Law came in effect in 2006. According to this legal arrangement, MoTC was entitled to prepare its first strategic plan for implementation in 2009. Strategic plans, having a five year planning perspective; have to include long and midterm aims, main principles and policies, targets and priorities, performance measurements, methods for reaching them, as well as resource distribution plan.

In the first strategic plan of MoTC (2009-2013), “urban transport” was mentioned only with a few sentences at "Shortcomings" and "Goals" sections. In this plan, it was emphasized that MoTC have limited duty and responsibilities in view of urban transport problems. Furthermore, it was argued that public transport was not sufficiently encouraged by public managements. The plan emphasized that administrations should give priority and weight to urban rail transport projects (Başkentray, Egeray, Marmaray etc.) especially in metropolitan cities, facing serious traffic problems. Holistic approach, covering all transport modes in a complementary attitude is not taken by the first strategic plan.

Second Strategic Plan covering policies for the term between 2014 and 2018 have similar characteristics to the previous Plan in terms its limited context about urban transport. Increasing the share of rail systems is listed among the aims MoTC. Under this heading Kızılay - Çayolu (M2) (16,59 km), Batıkent - Sincan (M3) (15,36 km), Tandoğan - Keçiören (M4) (9,22 km) metro lines, their depots, vehicle purchases and their connections to existing lines are stated to be finished and transferred to municipality for completion

of electro mechanic works and for operation. Furthermore, construction of Ankara Esenboğa metro connection is listed under the aims of MoTC. This railway decisions is not based on the transport master plan or any other technical study. Such politically imposed decisions are discussed in Chapter 5.

Despite being entitled to address all aspects of transportation, strategic plans of MoTC have very limited content for urban transport. If five year development plans of MoD would be reassessed with strategic plans of MoTC, it can be stated that policies and principles of MoD Plans did not have any influence on strategic plans of MoTC. No obligatory relations between these two ministries and between documents of these institutions are defined. Similar to disconnection between MoD and MoTC, MoTC did not have any sanction on urban transport development at municipal level besides urban rail systems since the statements and assessment of strategic plans about urban transport problems and policies do not refer to any public institution for implementation and supervision.

4.4.2.2 Assesment of Annual Reports of MoTC

Annual reports of MoTC are reviewed in terms of urban transport implications. Policy changes, effects of upper level dynamics on actions of MoTC, deficiencies are aimed to be explored through chronological examination of these reports. Furthermore, compliance of Ankara Greater Municipality's implementations to these Annual Plans is assessed through examination of actions of municipality in parallel with policy changes of the Ministry in the following chapters. Statements related to urban transport planning and implementations" are summarized below in the Table 4.5.

Annual programs of Ministries should guide implementation processes. However, annual programs of MoTC have limited statements for implementation process for local governments. Annual programs focused mostly on principles and aims. Although annual reports of MoTC, like policy documents of MoD; have positive statements in terms of sustainable urban transport development, documents do influence the practice in cities. The questions of "how and by whom these principles and targets would be implemented" remain unanswered. Although MoTC have general directorates for handling specific issues about highways, seaways, airways, and railways issues, Ministry does not include any responsible unit for directing and controlling urban transport implementations. Therefore, a significant part of urban transport policies at annual programs and strategic plans of MoTC remained only as advices since they do not include any binding force for local governments at their implementations except the rail system planning criteria.

Annual reports point to a critical issue, which are not handled in any other document. Annual reports claimed that urban transport investments should be based on the transport plans. Unsustainable investments of municipalities are attempted to be prevented by this proposal. However, no mechanisms are defined for implementing this proposal. Therefore, it could not have any influence on the actions of municipalities.

Even though urban transport issues besides rail systems are not managed and controled by any national level authority, Ministry of Environment and Urbanisation has started a financing mechanism to cover part of investment costs of protected bicycle facilities according to their own creiteria. A statement of annual programs highlights the need of improvement of pedestrian and bicycle transport facilities within the integration process to EU.

When policy documents of MoTC are compared with those of MoD, it is obvious that documents of MoTC have narrower content in terms of urban transport problems and policies and solutions. It is expected that MoTC have detailed and wider policy documents and implementation guides in relation to its specific responsibility area.

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Table 4.5 Urban Tranport Implications of MoTC Annual Reports

	Items underlined by Annual Reports of MOTC	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
Legal Institutional	Requirement of a Urban Transport National Strategy			■■■	■■■	■■■	■■■	■■■
	Integration of urban transport and urban development plans	■■■						
	Assessment of land use effects on urban transport systems at various scales	■■■			■■■	■■■	■■■	■■■
	Definition of duties, tasks and responsibilities			■■■	■■■	■■■	■■■	■■■
Transport Modes	Modes should not compete	■■■			■■■	■■■	■■■	■■■
	Requirement of 15.000 passenger/hour/direction for rail system investments			■■■	■■■	■■■	■■■	■■■
	Incentives for Pedestrian & Bicycle Transportation (EU)			■■■	■■■	■■■	■■■	■■■
Social	Equal Oppoutunities for all segments of Society,	■■■			■■■	■■■	■■■	■■■
	Participation	■■■			■■■	■■■	■■■	■■■
Financial	Development of finance models for transport projects			■■■	■■■	■■■	■■■	■■■
	Consistency of municipal in & out finance composition with its financial structure			■■■	■■■	■■■		
	Finance models minimizing foreign dependency			■■■	■■■	■■■	■■■	■■■
Technological	Development of widespread Urban Information Systems			■■■	■■■	■■■	■■■	■■■

4.4.3 Ministry of Environment and Urbanization (MoEU)

MoEU does not have any department responsible for formulation of urban transport policies. Although Spatial Planning Department is responsible for defining and implementing principles, strategies and standards related to land use, it does not include any unit related to control planned and unplanned urban transport implementations. MoTC gave place to urban transport policies in its several policy documents and guides. However, they could not have any effect at local level due to not having an implementation or supervision unit. Two policy papers, KENTGES and National Climate Change Action Plan are reviewed in terms of their content of urban transport. After that, a brief comparison between former Regulation of "Principles for Plan Preparation (PPP)" (dated 1985, updated in 1999) and recent regulation of "Preparation of Spatial Plans (PSP)" (2014) is made and deficiencies of both regulations are assessed below.

4.4.3.1. Urban Development Strategy (KENTGES)

One recently developed policy document of MoEU; KENTGES was prepared through the organization of an Urbanization Congress. Congress composed of a vast variety of stakeholders related to urbanization process, including representatives of public institutions and organizations (especially institutions having spatial planning authority), unions and professional organizations, universities, non-profit organizations of urban development. Urbanization Congress assessed urban development dynamics within the framework of sustainability principles and prepared a program consisting of concrete actions for reaching livable cities. Sum of policy documents consist reports of 10 sub-commissions, aimed at determining a road map of urbanization and urban planning for both central and local governments. 100-step action plan

of Kentges includes definition of problems and proposals for their solutions. Urban transport related sections of these actions are listed in detail below.

1. Preparation of legal arrangements for integrating urban development plans with urban transport
2. Preparation of urban transport plans considering environmental, technical, economic and social values
3. Preparation of legal arrangements for guides, criteria for improvement of bicycle use and pedestrian standards.
4. Plan decisions and implementations related to bicycle use and pedestrian network
5. Arrangements for freight transport
6. Accessibility, security, reliability, comfort, continuity, costs, feasibility principles should be taken into consideration at urban transport plans
7. Transport systems and facilities have to be resistant to natural disasters.
8. Planning considering disabled persons (standards etc.)
9. Increasing service quality and technology levels of urban transport
10. Public transport systems should be environment friendly
11. Efficient use of information systems.

Kentges report assessed unsustainable fragmented urban development together with increasing private car ownership as the main causes of urban transport problems. Technical Infrastructure and Transportation Commission prepared a policy report, which includes definition of strategies and actions for establishing sustainable urban transport systems.

100 step Action Plan of KENTGES defined five main strategies or urban transport under the aim of establishing sustainable urban transport system and 11 actions have been developed for accomplishing mentioned strategies (Table 4.6). Different from previous strategy documents, it described

responsible organizations and institutions for implementation and defined a time interval for realization of the defined actions. Strategies of Kentges are generally in parallel to other policy documents of MoTC and MoD. However, KENTGES Report goes further than previous documents and defines several actions generally for achieving mentioned five strategies. Although actions are formulated, they are still too general for implementation. Implementation regulations of these proposed tools are absent and it is undefined who is responsible for preparation of these regulations. Similar to other policy documents, this document does not have any blinding force defined with legal arrangements. Since implementation processes and control procedures are not appropriately defined, KENTGES could not have the expected positive effects on urban transport structures in practice.

As seen in the first strategy, "Developing policies, programs and plans for different size of settlements", proposal could not be realized until the specified year of 2014. Regulation for implementation or responsible institutions for preparation of such a regulation is not defined by KENTGES, which, like previously analyzed documents, remained only as an advice for municipalities.

Table 4.6 100 Actions of KENTGES Strategy Document

Strategy	Action	Responsible	Related Inst.	Term
Developing policies, programs and plans, which can be implemented according to size of settlements in comprehensive spatial planning studies	Legal arrangements will be made for providing the integration and harmonization of transport plans with the urban plans.	MoEU	MoIA, MoTC, Municipality	2010-2014
	Protection of environmental, technical, economic and societal values via urban transport plan preparation and implementation processes	Municipality	Technical Chambers, MoIA, MoTC, MoEU, Universities	2010-2023
Development of pedestrian transport and bicycle use in compliances with widely accepted design principles.	Legal arrangements for expanding pedestrian and bicycle ways	MoEU	MoTC, Municipality	2010-2014
	Developing and implementing plan decisions for expansion of pedestrian and bicycle ways	Municipality	MoTC, MoEU	2010-2023
Arrangement of depot, handling, transfer and distribution areas of freight transport, not influencing urban traffic in a negative way.	Establishing depot, processing and distribution areas at places determined by spatial and transportation plans.	Municipality	MoIA, MoTC, MoEU, Governorship	2010-2023
Development of urban transport plans pursuing accessibility, security, comfort, reliability, continuity, affectivity and cost principles	Arrangements for providing efficiency of urban transport and traffic services	Municipality	MoIA, MoEU, MoTC, Governorship	2010-2023
	Arrangements for earthquakes and disaster resistant transport systems and important transport facilities	DEM	MoEU, MoTC, Municipalities	2010-2017
Preparation and implementation of projects taking into account of the needs of people with limited accessibility in urban transport system for pedestrian and vehicle transport integration.	Developing standards to enable the use of transport services by people having limited mobility.	MoEU	MoFS/DAD, MoIA, Municipality	2010-2014
	Increase in service qualities and technology levels of public transport system	Municipality	MoIA, MoTC, Governorship	2010-2023
	Environment friendly public transport systems	Municipality	MoIA, MoTC,	2010-2023
	Arrangements for the efficient use of information technologies	Municipality	MoTC, TÜBİTAK, Universities	2010-2023

4.4.3.2. Climiate Change Action Plan (CCAP)

Ministry of Environment and Forestry, which has recently been merged with another ministry to form the Ministry of Environment and Urbanism (MoEU), prepared National Climate Change Action Plan (CCAP) of Turkey in 2012. Transportation is defined as one of the action and target areas of this National Action Plan. “Restructuring urban transport in accordance with sustainability principles” is stated among the five aims of transportation sector. Restriction of emissions emitted from individual car use and preparation of necessary legal and institutional frameworks and guide documents until 2023 are the objectives of Urban Transport Restructuration. Under these two objectives, action areas, specific actions and responsible institutions and organizations are defined (Table 4.7).

Different from previous policy documents of MoD, MoTC and MoEU, outcomes, side benefits, time interval, responsible and related institutions are also defined. Although purpose of this document is not improvement of transport planning but environmental conditions, it has more concrete content and proposals related to transport planning for implementation. However, implementation and control directives of these actions are still absent. Therefore, these action plans do not bring obligatory tasks for local level. It remains as an advisory policy document, which local governments have the choice of not complying to.

Table 4.7 Environment Change Action Plan 2011-2023

Action Area	Actions	Term	Outputs and Performance Indicators	Responsible Institution	Related Institution
Public Transport	Providing in-service training to workers of sector for increasing service quality	2012-2013	In-service trainings, operation guides, customer service measurement and monitoring	Municipality	NGO's, Consumer Associations
	Investments and operation arrangements for urban highways, seaways, rail systems	2014-2016	Assessment Report, Feasibility Studies	MoTC, Municipality	MoD, TCDD, NGO's, DAD
	Integrated public transport systems	2013-2016	Integrated public transport Increase in public transport use	Municipality	MoTC, MoD, TCDD, NGO's, Private Sector, DAD
	Regulation of ticket system to increase number of users	2013-2016	Cost/benefit analysis Common ticket/card Informing Public Opinion, Legal Arrangements	Municipality	MoTC, MoD, TCDD, NGO's, Private Sector, Consumer Associations
	Urban developments on main public transport routes	2014-2016	Guides	Municipality	MoTC, MoEU,
Bicycle Pedestrian Transport	City wide bicycle road network, parking areas, intelligent bicycle systems	2014-2016	Increase length of bicycle way Increase bicycle parking areas	Municipality	NGO's
	Automobile free pedestrian areas, providing access to urban transport road network	2014-2016	Planning and design standards, guidelines for public transport, bicycle and pedestrians	Municipality	MoEU, KB, ÖİB, Universities, NGO's
	Encouragement of "Slowcity" concept,	2014-2016	Increase in the number of cites with "Slow City" certification	Municipality	MoEU, NGO's
Deterrent TDM for automobile use	Parking control, use of capacity for short-term parking, implementing deterrent pricing, intelligent parking systems	2014-2020	Directive for parking operation and rearrangement of on street parking in center area Increase in parking fees	Municipality	MoEU, GDS, NGO's

Table 4.7: (continued)

	Assessment of implementations for car access restriction to center	2015-2020	Assessment Report	Municipality	NGO's,
Decrease vehicle densities.	Taxi queues only at stands control of taxis traveling emptily in urban traffic	2013-2014	GDS		Municipalities, NGO's
	Entrance of heavy vehicles to center at specific hours	2014-2034	Legal framework	Municipality	GDS
Review and restructure of existing legal framework	Preparation and enacting of "Urban Transport Law"	2012-2014	Legal arrangements	MoIA, MoTC	MoEU, MoD, GDS, Municipality, NGO's
	Legal arrangements for integration transport plans with urban and environment plans at all scales	2012- 2014	Legal arrangements	MoTC, MoEU,	MoD, DA, Governorships, Municipality, NGO's
	Making Traffic Effect Analysis obligatory for all plan changes	2012-2014	Legal arrangements	MoEU	MoTC, MoIA, MoD, NGO's, Municipality
	Defining bicycle and pedestrian plans in the framework Master Plan	2011-2015	Changes in regulations	MoTC	MoEU, MoER, Municipality, NGO's
	Revise of PPP proposals to increase traffic flow and feasibility of urban transport master plan	2011-2015	Changes in regulations	MoTC	MoEU, MoER, Municipalities, NGO's
Institutional Restructure	National unit for urban transport to formulate, direct and audit sustainable transport policies	2012-2016	Establishing institutional structure.	İB, MoEU	MoTC, MoD, Municipality, NGO's, Universities
	National Urban Transport Strategy	2013-2023	Urban Transport Strategy Document	İB, MoEU	MoTC, MoD, Grt Municipality, NGO, University
Guides for direct urban transport interventions	Guidelines for transport planning, rail system investment planning, TDM	2013-2023	Guide Documents	MoTC	MoIA, MoEU, Municipality, NGO's, Universities

4.4.3.3 Comparision of Regulations of "Principles for Plan Preperation" (1985) and "Preperation of Spatial Plans" (2014) in terms of Urban Transport Content

Spatial Planning Regulation, which came into force in June 2014 brought new definitions and explanations about urban planning which were absent in the previous legal framework. New regulation brought a new spatial hierarchy, which includes spatial strategy plan at the highest level, then territorial development plan and urban development plan at the lowest level. However, new regulation has many deficiencies in terms of content and process of urban transport planing.

Recently enacted Law of PSP (2014) has "Planning Principles Section", which did not exist in the previous PPP (1985). In this section PSP points out that decreasing vehicle traffic, establishing public transport and pedestrian movement oriented urban transport system is essential. Besides, public transport integrated park and ride opportunities should be arranged in urban development plans.

PPP (MoTC, 1985) indicated that Urban Development Plans (1/2000 and 1/5000) have to show urban transport systems and they have to include solutions of urban transport problems. However, it did not include any further explanations that addressed urban transport systems and solutions. This definition remained the same in the PSP of 2014.

In this new regulation, additional statements are included related to urban transport aspect of Urban Development Plans. It is essential in urban development plans that they have to be prepared as plans shortening distances of urban transport trips. Information about main transport system (roads, seaways, railways, airway, station, terminal, harbor, airport), urban transport system and its hierarchy, location of stops and stations and

transport routes have to be gathered; analysis, surveys and researches have to be performed within the framework of urban development plan preparation process.

PSP (MoEU, 2014) has statements for plan revisions and additional development plans. According to these statements, Impact Assessment Report of Urban Technical Infrastructure has to be prepared in the case of plan changes, which increase densities or influence urban transport system. Identification of influences and development of actions are aimed with this new obligation.

PPP (MoEU, 1985) did not include any definition of Urban Transport Master Plans, despite greater municipalities are given responsibility to prepare Urban Transport Master Plans since 1985. PSP (MoEU, 2014) brought the definition of "Urban Transport Master Plan"; however, urban transport master plans were already being prepared despite not featuring the PPP document. On the other hand, both regulations do not include any other details and definitions about content of urban transport plans and planning methodology.

According to PSP (MoEU, 2014) Urban Transport Master Plans have to take into account urban transport needs and demands in respect of spatial, social and economic features of city while respecting sustainable development principles. Urban transport system, urban transport network, standards and road capacities have to be considered in the plan, while setting modal distribution of urban transport, road, sea and air transport, and their integration, transfer points and centers, depot areas, commercial freight corridors and public transport routes. Plans have to determine details of parking, bicycle and pedestrian ways, accessibility and traffic issues when it is necessary. Master plan must give weight and priority to public transport. It has to have short and midterm recommendations related to problems of

urban transport modes. It can be prepared in coordination with upper and lower scale urban plans, while having a plan map and a plan report."

Definition of implementation plan did not have any details about urban transport until the new PSP (MoEU, 2014). According to new definition, implementation plans have to include vehicle, pedestrian and bicycle ways; however, there are not any other explanation or standards about them. It can be said that this new regulation is more up to date when compared to the old one; however, it does not include any content of implementing the solutions for mentioned recent developments.

4.4.4 Municipalities and Greater Municipalities

Municipalities and Greater City Municipalities have responsibility for urban transport related decision and implementations within their responsibility area. In article 14 of Municipality Law numbered 5393, it is stated that municipality has the duty of providing urban transport service by itself or ensure its provision by a third party. Except for Greater City Municipalities, other municipalities have unstable and different urban transport administration units. These units are designated by each of these municipalities. The organization structure for urban transport planning is not well defined by the Municipality Laws. The urban transport planning, operation, implementation, and infrastructure building activities are distributed to various management units of municipalities.

Greater City Municipalities are established with the enactment of Law numbered 3030 in 1985. According to this law, a new upper tier local government administration system was established. Two municipal levels were adopted for the specific three big cities, including Ankara (in later years many more cities were added to the list of metropolitan cities with greater municipality). These municipalities are responsible for preparing and

approving urban development plans and urban transport master plans, as well as approving implementation plans. With the enactment of Greater City municipality Law 3030, new administration unit, Transportation Coordination Center (UKOME) was formed to provide coordination and harmony between the implementations of district municipalities and infrastructure building activities of central government and local government. They are entitled to determine and implement routes, schedules and tariffs of public transport vehicles. Municipalities, whose duties are defined through above stated laws, have to prepare their own investment plans and programs complying with the proposals of 5 year development plans and implement them.

UKOME undertakes it is implementations in coordination with Provincial Traffic Commission, which is a department of Provincial Administration. However, standards and procedures of these unplanned implementations are not clear in the legal framework. This deficiency leads to contradicting implementations of municipalities in some cases with unsustainable decisions.

Greater Municipality Law has undergone several changes in time and new Greater Municipality Law numbered 6360 was adopted in 2012. This new law brought new duties and responsibilities to municipalities. Boundaries of the greater municipalities enlarged to provincial boundaries. Former municipalities within boundaries having population below 2000 are transformed to neighborhoods while settlements with population over 2000 continued as second tier district municipalities. Enlargement of boundaries and transformation of former districts municipalities to neighborhoods brought new burdens to Greater City Municipalities. They had to provide public transport services to low demand rural settlements (previous villages and new neighborhoods) and they are responsible for traffic related arrangements and infrastructure building activities at rural areas. This decision is criticized

by several professionals due to its inconsistency and contradiction to the establishment reasons of grater city municipalities, since greater cities have been formed for the reason of dealing with the complexity of urban side with the claim of efficiency and effectiveness.

Neither Greater City Municipality Law Numbered 5216 nor Municipality Law numbered 5393 have any statement or suggestion about institutional and legal structure of urban transport in municipalities. UKOME has a limited role in taking decisions about the whole of urban transport system. Investment decisions and other arrangements of urban transport have the tendency of being open to political manipulation by different interest groups. Functional improvements and modification should be made in duties and actions of UKOME in relation to its interference to decision-making mechanism of new investments. There are many experiences in various cities of Turkey, in which public good and technical aspects are ignored for increasing benefits of various interest groups. Mentioned experiences are assessed below in Ankara case in sections on Urban Transport Master Plan Preparation and Urban Rail System Development.

Greater City Municipalities are in need of comprehensive institutional structure, including units, which will work together with UKOME. Main deficiency of existing structure is that there is no responsible body for preparing and implementing urban transport master plan. Greater City Law numbered 5393 includes several arrangements related to urban transportation. According to Article 7 of Law numbered 5393; "Greater City Municipalities have the duty of preparing or making someone to prepare urban transport master plans; planning and coordinating transport and public transport services; determining, number of vehicles, timetables, stops and stations, timetables and tariffs of public transport services, determining, operating and making someone to operate parking places on roads, streets,

squares, and conduct all business required by transport arrangements given to municipalities by the laws." However, legal framework of transport master plan preparation processes, standards of planning and urban transport services are still missing. Municipalities and private sector urban transport firms are preparing Urban Transport Master Plans depending on their perception of Urban Master Plan not depending on defined legal statements based on technical standards.

4.4.5 Governorship, Provincial and District Traffic Commissions

Governorship approves annual budgets of municipalities after approval of budgets by municipality councils. Governorship controls the coherence between spending and incomes of the budget spending. Furthermore, it approves the decisions of provincial and district traffic commissions.

Provincial and district traffic commissions consist of governor or deputy governor, representatives of Municipality, National and Municipal Police, General Directorate of Highways, National Education, Professional Drivers Association in addition to representatives of universities, technical chambers, foundations and other organizations which are deemed appropriate by the Governorship. These commissions are entitle to take measures for providing traffic order and safety, take infrastructural measures for providing steady traffic flow. In addition to mentioned supervision duty, commission has the duty of defining the operational and technical specifications of commercial vehicles carrying goods and passengers and operating within the municipal boundaries. In addition, designating parking areas for public institutions is among its tasks. In addition, large part of these duties overlap with the duties of municipalities and it results in conflicts and problems in practice.

These contradictions were pointed out by SEC Reports of VII and VIII. Development Plans, and several proposals were stated for overcoming this problem. However, no effort has been made by any institution.

4.5. Evaluation of National Level Dynamics, Assemblages and Legal and Institutional Framework

Various national institutions and organizations influence urban transport system developments at the local level. Many of them are in the form of assemblages interacting with each other and interacting with other assemblages at other levels. In order to define urban level developments, assemblages of national level and interactions among all are examined through defining political and economic dynamics. On the other hand, legal and institutional conditions and boundaries have importance in defining relationships of the assemblages.

Before the analysis of political and economic dynamics, it is expected that the most effective assemblage on urban transport system development is governmental bodies through their institutions and legal frameworks. However, it is seen that economic and politic dynamics of both national and international level have crucial influence on restructuring institutional and legal framework. International financing and national institutions are among the effective assemblages of national and international level.

Analyzed guidelines issued by government institutions have many positive implications in terms of sustainable urban transport development. However, these proposals are too general for implementation. Detailed directives of implementation procedure and related standards are missing in the legal framework. On the other hand, local government, who is responsible for implementation, is not entitled with bindery law for complying these

proposals. Besides, there is no institution for controlling the compliance of implementations to these general policy proposals.

After the analysis of documents, it is seen that existing national and local transport institutions as well as legal framework are far from being capable of handling urban transport issue in a comprehensive manner. Moreover, it is seen that number of fragmented urban transport proposals increased in the last years. For example, in the X. Development Plan of MoD "improvement of pedestrian and bicycle transport conditions" is proposed with the claim of integration to EU not for social and physical requirements of urban transport system.

On the other hand, there are partial positive steps in environmental protection and in ITS fields. However, substantial influences on urban transport systems are not expected due to the deficiency of the legal and institutional framework at national level, which defines their implementation processes at local level. Therefore, it can be stated that any positive improvement at any specific issue requires initially improvement of urban transport legally and institutionally in a holistic manner.

At both local and national level, decisions of urban transport are dispersed to various units of different public institutions due to their relevance of different responsibility areas. However, coordination of these decisions or implementations was not carried out by any management unit. Supervision, planning and management functions undertaken in a dispersed way by various institutions have to be consolidated in a single unit. Evren (1999), stated that although there are many institutions responsible for different functions related to urban transport, urban transport is like ownerless. In a similar way SEC report of VII. Development Plan (1995) pointed out that there are fields, in which duties and responsibilities of organizations

contradict and there are others, in which there are gaps on realization of several duties and responsibilities. Beside there are important duties and task which are not undertaken by any organization.

At national level, there is a need for a management unit or institution providing unity of urban transport policies and implementations, defining standards, carrying out auditing function on transport implementations, maintaining balanced finance distribution for urban transport investments, gathering statistical data for municipalities and performing research and development function. Although this need is stated by many experts, as well as being stated in policy documents of Ministries, no political action has been taken for years to fulfill this institutional gap.

At the local level, there are institutional overlappings as well as very large and important gaps. There is a necessity for urban transport modes to be planned, operated and supervised by a single institution in coordination with other local and national institutions. Urban transport planning and management tasks are dispersed among various units of municipality, governor's office and private operators. On the other hand, contradictions between Provincial Traffic Commissions and UKOME of Greater Municipalities have to be solved. As stated in VII. Five Year Plan (1995), duties related with traffic management should be taken from municipal traffic police and should be consolidated at a single unit under municipality, which is already entitled to planning and coordination of urban transport activities. However, it could not be implemented due to the reaction of the Ministry of Interior.

Many examples show clearly the influences, interrelations and cooperation of urban and transport related assemblages at the global, national and local levels. Effects from upper levels to lower levels seem much stronger than

influence from lower to upper levels although these may take some time to appear. For example, results of the Marshall Program of an international level actor have taken some time to show its effects but these were clear and strong at the national level with immigration to cities and rapid urbanization supported with road building and motorization.

National level factors and their actions would be reflected to Ankara urban and urban transportation system at the local level after some time depending on specific conditions of each level. Economic, political, social and financial conditions defined development history at each level but development was also affected from influences of upper and lower levels assemblages with the time factor.

Limited financial resources were allocated to basic infrastructure, agricultural and industrial projects in the early years of the republic where towns expanded within walking distance. As urbanization enlarged settlements to cities beyond walking distance, rising daily trip demand was satisfied by early motorized modes of shared taxies and shuttle buses in the capital.

Limited and short term efforts at the local level for more efficient use of transport infrastructure and improvement of public transport after the global petrol crises ended in eighties under globalization and neo-liberalism winds effecting developing countries globally.

International trends and approaches effecting national assemblages easily and effectively reached to deeper local markets and decisions especially when national and local decision makers were in favor of similar approaches

CHAPTER 5

ASSEMBLAGES, POLITIC AND ECONOMIC CHANGES IN ANKARA AND THE ANALYSIS OF THEIR INTERACTION ON ESKİŞEHİR ROAD CORRIDOR

5.1 Introduction

Assemblages of each level determine conditions of a specific time through interactions with each other. After the 1980's Turkish national government adopted neoliberal development policies, in parallel with many countries over the world. Country's late industrialization characteristics coming from the establishment of republic together with political choices of governments resulted in a dependent development. However, national government units could not establish necessary framework for a sustainable development at the right time within these limitations. As seen in previous Chapter, there are still serious gaps and contradictions in the legal and institutional framework. Required efforts were not made by national governments for legitimizing sustainable policy framework, which would guide municipal actions at local level. The "non-decision" areas of national government are left with the aim of supporting economic interests of upper level assemblages as well as serving local assemblages representing strong political support at local level and supporting the base of national government. Local governments also play a crucial role in specifying intensity of entrepreneurialist applications through defining urban and urban transport development policies. However, their authority and political tendencies does not allow a development contradicting approaches of national governments of time.

Ankara is selected as case study for examining various assemblages of local level under the effect of international and national economic and political

dynamics and their assemblages. Although being restricted with upper level national and international politics, there remains a certain free space to local actors and assemblages to act. Among local level assemblages, municipality government, also mayor is the most powerful one. However, depending on the political party they belong to their power and authority may be restricted if there is a contrasting national government in power. Continuity of municipal management, also mayors and their actions also depend on their political side and so their implementations have more lasting effect when political choices do not conflict with each other. Similarly, in recent decades Ankara witnessed uninterrupted entrepreneurialist implementations especially in Mayor Gökçek's term. It is assumed that his radical implementations result from compliance of his political attitude with neo liberal national government.

Ankara urban transport assemblages are examined through defining their roles and duties related to urban transport system development and operations. Description of relationships with each other and with upper level assemblages guides the analysis of their influences on urban and urban transport development. After describing general framework of influential local assemblages, politic-economic changes at local level are discussed. These changes from the baseline of spatial changes will be followed by physical and operational changes on urban and urban transport system that need to be interpreted considering them. Political and economic changes are reviewed through periodization in terms of different local political approaches and their urban development strategies. After that, Ankara urban transport development is evaluated through same periodization. Public transport system changes are assessed through using public transport system operations data, which were gathered from Municipality and other official documents. Private sector assemblage oriented urban transport decisions and private car oriented planning approach of existing municipality are tried

to be revealed through examining public transport system changes and operational data of Ankara transport system.

As illustrated in upcoming sections, Mayor Gökçek did not obey plan decisions of the latest Transport Master Plan of Ankara and his management did not prepare any comprehensive master plan until 2014, which is still not completed. This attitude reflected on the operation of transport planning unit in that no statistical data was collected nor any operational report was prepared related to public transport after the 2000's. This attitude of Municipality management is evaluated again in detail at EGO subsection of "Eskişehir Road" section.

Lack of statistical data or incomparable irregular information on public transport operations led the thesis to test its proposals through in depth interviews held with representatives of public transport assemblages (including private operators) and municipality units. However, in-depth interviews could not be published completely in this thesis due to confidentiality of some of the shared facts and comments by the interviewees. Facts and comments from these interviews, which support the thesis proposals, are included at related sections.

On the other hand, several municipality officials rejected providing data about public transport system changes. UKOME decisions are tried to be gathered from Municipality with the aim of drawing the complete picture of urban transport developments after 1980. Although UKOME decisions have to be announced officially, Municipality published only a few of them at their internet site. Missing UKOME decisions were rejected to be given by Director of UKOME unit for the thesis study. This attitude of municipality gives clues for hiding its relationships with the urban transport assemblages, which are explained in the following sections. Official documents related to motor

vehicle oriented approach, also construction expenditures, other details of road expansions and construction of grade separated junctions, pedestrian overcrossing could not be fully gathered from municipality like public transport operation data.This information gap tried to be filled again through media resources, personal photos and also in-depth interviews with Municipality Officials.

Semi structured-in-depth interviews and unstructured interviews were held in May and June 2015 within the framework of Case Study on Eskişehir Road Corridor. Five semi-structured indepth interviews were held with representatives of different assemblages. Two of these interviews were held with officials of the Greater Ankara Municipality as being both provider of public transport services and coordinator of urban transport planning. One of them was held with an official from Bus Operation Administration Directorate under Bus Operation Department of EGO and the other one was held with an official of Transport Planning and Coordination Directorate under Transport Department of EGO. The main aim of these municipality interviews was to reveal these actors' commitment to recent implementation decisions, their intentions for efficient planning and their attitude when public good is in contrast with private sector interests.

In addition to the municipality interviews, one interview was held with a representative of a civil society initiative; Hacettepe University Student Transport Initiative, contributing to a social media internet site namely; "Hacettepe Ulaşım Dayanışması" (https://www.facebook.com/Hacettepe-Ulaşım-Dayanışması). Hacettepe Transport Initiative is created for protecting the transport rights of Hacettepe University Students, especially after the rail system opening on Eskişehir Road Corridor in 2014 March. On the other hand, "Ankara Ulaşım Dayanışması" is a social media platform, in which various organized and unorganized society segments share their commuting

problems and experiences at Ankara public transport system. In-depth interview with Hacettepe Student assemblage could not reflect all public transport problems on Eskişehir Road Corridor; however, it provided explanations for explicit crowding of Hacettepe University bus stops and rail station on Eskişehir Road. Besides findings of Hacettepe interview gave clues for understanding the experiences of the other rails system users at other parts of Eskişehir Road Corridor.

The last two interviews were made with private provider side of Ankara Public Transport System. Within this framework, interviews were held with leaders of Ankara Şehiriçi Özel Halk Otobüsleri Esnaf Odası (Ankara Public Bus Operators Chamber for ÖHO buses) and S.S. Ankara İli ve İlçeleri Midibüs ve Halk Otobüsleri Derneği (Association of Ankara Province and District Midibusses and Privately Operated Busses). Interviews intended to define ÖHO and ÖTA bus lines on the Corridor, their views regarding the opening of new rail line and their participation and influence on decision-making mechanisms, their relationships both with municipality units, with other private assemblages and with public transport users.

Additionally, in-depth unstructured interviews were held with officials of several municipality units; including Transport Planning and Coordination Branch and Traffic Control Branch under Transport Department of EGO. These interviews contributed to the thesis for verification of in-depth interviews in terms of municipality's tendency for unplanned actions and implementations. In addition, other short and restructured interviews were made and written requests were made for operational data from UKOME (Transport Coordination and Management Center) Branch under Transport Department of EGO and Bus Operation Management Branch and Statistics Branch of Bus Operation Department of EGO. Requested operational data could not be gathered.

Political and economic developments, urban and urban transport developments are discussed under five periods in relation with above clarified national changes. Main emphasis of the analysis is the third and fourth terms, in which the study concentrates on Eskişehir Road Urban Development. The first term of political, economic and urban transport reviews represent early years of Ankara city (1923-1972) foundation and development as the capital of the new republic. In the beginning of this term, mayors were being appointed by central government as local governments were acting as continuation of central government. In the 1950's mayors began to be elected, however Ankara municipality continued act as an extension of central government until 1972 elections. The second term begins with 1972 elections and continued until 1980 Military Coup. During this period, municipal government adopted remarkably conflicting political attitudes towards urban and urban transport system development. Third and forth terms; also entrepreneurialist and intensified entrepreneurialist terms, started with legal and institutional restructurings of 1980's and continued in 2000's with varying intensities. In parallel with political choices and economic stability of central government, influences of strengthened entrepreneurialist attitude of Mayor Gökçek's management period (1994- on going) on urban and urban transport system changes are examined.

Although the focus of the thesis is on development at entrepreneurial term, earlier decisions, investments, plans are reviewed for understanding the baselines of recent structure. Several decisions, which were given decades ago to solve problems urgently without serious effort, constituted the backbone of the current urban transport system. Analysis of earlier years are undertaken mostly through written documents of official sources, urban transport planning documents, public transport reports of Municipality and academic writings. Planned and unplanned urban and urban transport

developments in recent years are pursued and assessed through both official documents, irregular public transport data and through mainly indepth interviews held with private operators and the municipality.

Thesis then focuses on the Urban and Transport System Development on Eskişehir Road Corridor. Urban planning decisions and urban development on Eskişehir Road Corridor constitutes the base for evaluation of transport system changes. Already fragmented entrepreneurialist development structure of the city does not allow sustainable urban transport system development. Entrepreneurialist urban development choices of local government were accompanied with highway oriented urban transport infrastructure projects against city's Transportation Master Plan recommendations. The last urban transport master plan in force, neglecting of this plan by the municipality and new transport master plan preparation attitude of the municipality are assessed together with urban development and urban planning decisions on the corridor. After that interactions among assemblages are tried to be investigated through several statistical data, historical analysis of academicals writings, media sources and indepth interviews held with representatives of influential assemblages, including municipality officials staffing at different municipality units, private operators and citizen groups.

5.2. Influential Local Level Assemblages

5.2.1 Ankara Greater Municipality

Municipalities are the most effective actors for urban transport system development. Urban transport system is shaped through urban transport plans, unplanned interventions and operation decisions. Municipality as a local government institution should seek to provide balance between public good and private interest of operators and investors. They are also affected

by central state political tendencies and by commercial interests of different levels. Political and economic changes, which influenced Ankara Greater Municipality actions and decisions, are evaluated historically through periodization of political attitudes. Furthermore, political and economic dynamics of the era enabled modification of existing laws. For example, municipality performs its tasks within the municipality budget. However, they received support from central government through enactment of case specific laws as mentioned in Chapter 4 under review of Five Year Development Plans. Fiscal and legal concessions provided by central government for supporter municipalities are explained in detail in the case of Ankara and unfinished rails systems in continuing Chapter 5.

Many metropolitan municipalities of Turkey except Ankara have a “transportation department” under one of the deputy general secretaries responsible from various stages and functions of urban transportation planning and operation. Transportation departments are responsible from planning, coordination, design, operation and supervision of urban transport services, operators and infrastructure. Metropolitan cities generally have one or more companies; as municipality enterprises, for operation of transport services (bus, rail and ferry) such as İstanbul Ulaşım A. Ş., İDO, İstanbul Otobüs A.Ş. for İstanbul, İzulaş and İzdeniz for İzmir, Antalya Ulaşım A. Ş., Samulaş for Samsun, Burulaş for Bursa as publicly owned transport operators under control and supervision of municipality transport department.

İstanbul, Ankara and İzmir have historically founded operating general directorates (İETT, EGO and ESHOT) by special laws in addition to private operators. Two general directorates (İstanbul’s IETT and Izmir’s ESHOT) operate under transportation department of as one of the many transport operators in these cities. Ankara municipality has a different structure where General Directorate of EGO (historically founded for electricity, city gas and

bus services) is left with only bus operation after privatization of electricity and gas distribution but with additional responsibility of rail systems construction and operations. Ankara Greater Municipality's rail transport operation company Bugsaş is responsible from human resources and daily operations of metro, light rail and intercity bus terminal with a contract to her client EGO. EGO is structured as a powerful body where transport department and many other transport related duties of the municipality are under EGO. This formation is in contradiction to general principals where duties and responsibilities of municipality transportation department (planning, supervision of private operators, coordination and construction of new rail systems) are given to an operator organization, i.e. EGO, in the system. Ankara Greater Municipality Transportation Department, a planning, coordinating and under EGO General Directorate, a municipal operator.

EGO is the public transport operator in charge of planning, coordination and management of numerous components and functions of urban transport system (services of private and public transport operators, school and employee bus service vehicles, taxis, private car infrastructure, signalization and car parks, pedestrians and bicycles and etc.) and transport planning functions directly related with land use plans of the municipality. These represent a multitude of responsibilities. Performance and quality of EGO services are not easily quantifiable since very limited data is available. But even the lack of data is a sign of the performance as EGO in that it is not capable of collecting essential statistical data for its services and operations for all planning and management actions.

This organizational setup of Ankara Municipality, which is different from other municipalities (Istanbul, İzmir, Gaziantep, Konya) comes from the absence of a legal framework for organization, duties and operation of urban transport functions of Greater Municipality. Current legal framework was discussed in

detail in the previous Chapter. Inadequacies of legal and institutional structure already caused limited transport planning role of EGO management after 1994. Effects of such an organizational structure are evaluated during the analysis of the case of Eskişehir Road Development.

5.2.2 Land Developers and Construction Firms

Capitalist system requires spatial dispersion for keeping the consumption at a certain level. Major instrument of government is speculative activity, which is inseparable part of capitalism in recent neoliberal term. National and local state agencies under the influences of above mentioned supranational neoliberal policies encourage private sector to make investments with legal and fiscal support (urban plan modifications, credit and tax incentives). These groups benefit from urban development decisions. Municipality investments on urban transport systems bring land value developments. As Sawers (1984) indicated the profit, which is sought from development of urban transport, derives not from operation of transport facilities itself, but rather from its effects on the market for land. On the other hand, urban development decisions may require new urban transport investments. Due to this inseparable relationship between urban transport and urban development, urban transport systems should only be analyzed considering planned and unplanned urban development.

Speculative activity is inseparable part of capitalism (Sawers, 1984). However provision of necessary urban transport infrastructure and public transport system services are not profitable, they are mostly subsidized by the local or national government. Private sector has interest in public transport operations too. However the main costly part of planning and investment processes are performed by state since profit is not intended to be generated by urban transport service but from urban development. Speculators withholding land from the market in the hopes of gaining greater

profits are putting pressures on municipality for outward urban growth. On the other hand, dispersed urban development is supported by continuous technological developments and increase in number of motorized vehicles. This in turn, makes the city much larger and consequently increase demand for transportation much more (Bentley, 1999).

Another investment area, which land speculators are interested is costly transport projects for private and public transport. Construction firms and land speculators have strong interest in transport infrastructure investments, providing access to their assets. Bus system improvement projects are least preferred public transport investments by the business interests since they wish to generate particular and permanent change in land use. Although bus system improvements are one of the most feasible, easily applicable and most flexible public transport intervention, municipalities give priority to high cost rail projects, often beyond their budgets. Important reason underlying this tendency is that the new rapid rail system is embedded in concrete and steel a particular urban infrastructure for generations to come (Sawers, 1984). Effect of land developers and construction firms are not examined in detail since focus of the thesis is on public transport assemblages. Influences of neoliberal policies on urban planning and land development practices at Eskişehir Road Corridor and Çayyolu Settlements are evaluated by several other academic works (Şahin, 2007 and Akın, 2007). These studies indicated massive efforts and struggles of different sections of society for getting building rights on the area.

5.2.3 Public and Private Public Transport Operators

EGO General Directorate of Ankara Greater Municipality is the public provider of public transport services. It is originally founded as an institution, providing several other urban services, such as electricity, gas and bus as

the name indicates. EGO continued with only bus operations as electricity and gas production and distribution were privatized. EGO restructured as the urban transport planning and operation unit of the municipality. Transport planning branch, rail system branch; transport coordination center (UKOME) and other urban transport related functions are now under EGO.

Urban transport provided by the municipality as a public service has to be offered equally to all citizens. Local government has a regulatory role, which includes keeping the balance between various stakeholders with priority of responding needs of citizens. However, business coalitions have representatives in city council and even in the national parliament, and in other influential positions to assure their private interests of real estate valuation and speculation, which often results with neglecting public good aspect. On the other hand, effectiveness of private sector operations decreases parallel to the cost of operations (Öncü, 2007). If the private sector side of urban transport is not effectively regulated by government, they have a tendency of neglecting quality and public good aspect of the transport in the expense of maximizing their profits.

Ankara public transport system includes private public transport operators, Özel Halk Otobüsleri [Privately Operated Public Buses (ÖHO)] (Standard 12 m long urban buses), Özel Toplutaşım Araçları [Privately Public Transport Vehicles (ÖTA)] (1st generation consist of standard 12 m long urban buses; 2nd generation consist of smaller 7 m long urban buses); Minibuses (14 seat small vehicles), School and Employee Service Vehicles and Taxis. They differ in terms their physical, legal and operational characteristics (routes, pricing system, stops etc.). Characteristics of these public transport modes are given below in the Figure 5.1 and Table 5.1.

Table 5.1 Existing and Perivous Public Transport Modes in Ankara

Mode	Vehicle	Characteristics
EGO Buses		- EGO operated standard and articulated buses - With electronic ticketing and integrated fares
Privately Operated Public Buses (ÖHO)		- Owner operated standard buses - Unintegrated fares with cash payment on board - Operating since 1982
1st Generation Contracted Public Transport Vehicles - Double Decker Buses (DBB)		- Owner operated double-decker buses - Unintegrated fares with cash payment on board - Discontinued since 2007
1st Generation Contracted Public Transport Vehicles -Green Buses (GB)		- Owner operated standard buses - Unintegrated fares with cash payment on board - Discontinued since 2007
2nd Generation Contracted Public Transport Vehicles- Midibuses (ÖTA)		- Owner operated midi buses - Unintegrated fares with cash payment on board - Operating since 2008
Minibuses		- Owner operated 14 seat mini buses - Unintegrated fares with cash payment on board - Operating since 1959

Varying characteristics of transport modes are given below in Figure 5.2. Four basic criteria defining the distinction between transit and para-transit, which are being open to public, having fixed fare, fixed route and fixed schedule, are valid (or nearly valid) for the first four types of operations/modes leaving out service buses (employee and school buses), taxis and car out of transit definition. Applicability of passenger concessions (to students, seniors, veterans, etc.) and fare/operation integration is not valid for any of the private public bus and minibus operations.

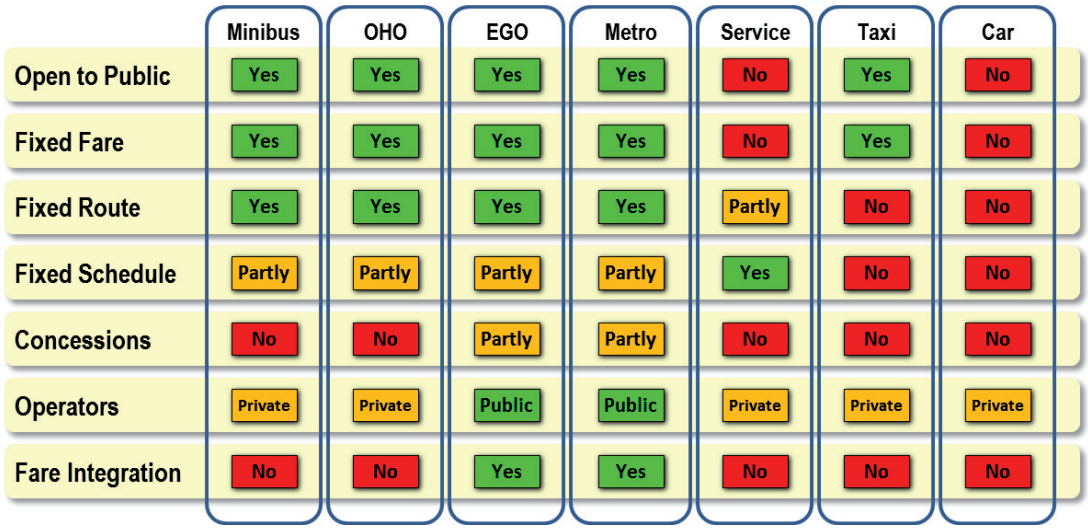


Figure 5.1 Comparison of the Characteritics of Public Transport Modes

Private investors seek commercial benefits from the urban transport system operations. These persons and small firms are effective in operational decisions and relatively small investment decisions. However, the main costly part of planning and investment processes is performed by state. Besides municipality transfer public transport operation rights to private sector especially at routes with high operation costs. Private sector operators organize their service on these routes with lower trip quality than municipality services. First and second generation privately operated busses and

minibuses, and double-deck busses were organized with such an aim. However, their low standards brought several drawbacks in time and several contradictions. These are evaluated in detail at Eskişehir Road Section.

In the thesis, private operators as assemblages are argued to have serious effect on actions, operational and investment decisions of Ankara Greater Municipality. Relations between municipality and private operators are analyzed to reveal influential role of these groups. Owner operators of paratransit and public transport are organized in associations and trade chambers that have invisible power and regulatory role through their relations based on votes and direct connections with municipality decision makers. Privately operated public buses, ÖHO and ÖTA, which have different legal status and contract terms, minibuses, taxis and service vehicles are the main components of these private assemblages.

Private operators' professional organizations are governed by laws and organized at three levels (Table 5.2). Federation of Drivers and Chauffeurs Chambers of Turkey (Türkiye Şoförler ve Otomobilciler Federasyonu: TŞOF) is the country wide umbrella association where ÖHO, ÖTA, minibus, taxi and truck drivers are members, and it is a powerful and influential body in terms of transportation decisions. Establishment aim of TSOF is improving working conditions of drivers and finding solution for their occupational problems. Their main aim is inevitably protecting their commercial profit. As they grew in number in time, they posed crucial power on actions of government.

Second level of private operators' organization is at the Greater Ankara Municipality level as third level being at the districts out of the metropolitan municipality borders. This three-layer structure may need to change after extension of metropolitan municipality borders to cover all districts. Private operators are organized according to their services and vehicle types at the

metropolitan municipality level. Each of the modes in the city namely bus, minibus, employee bus, taxi and truck operators has their own chambers. Each of them lobby to protect and improve their position on related decisions and often compete and collide with each other when conflicting interest occur. They compete to influence and try to keep close relations with municipal decision makers especially with the mayor and transport related managers. Private operator assemblages in Ankara are classified by geographical levels in Table 5.2.

Table-5.3 defines roles, duties, responsibilities and interests of local assemblages according to level of functions in the decision making and implementation process. Figure clearly indicates that Greater Ankara Municipality has main responsibility and power for local level actions as surrounding assemblages including operators and district municipalities have participation in many fields while rail and road sector private business and industry have high level interest in decisions bur rather behind the scenes for preparation of the conditions for their projects

Table 5.2 Organizational Structure of Private Operators

National Level Organizations		
Türkiye Şoförler ve Otomobilciler Federasyonu (Federation of Drivers and Chauffeurs Chambers of Turkey) compulsory membership Tüm Özel Halk Otobüsleri Birliği Derneği (Union of Associations of All Private Public Bus Operators, TOHOB) optional membership		
Metropolitan Ankara Level Organizations		
Minibüscüler Esnaf Odası (Minibus Operators Chamber for minibus Operators)		
Servis Araçları İşletmecileri Esnaf Odası (Service Vehicles Operators Chamber for School and Employee Buses)		
Şehir İçi Halk Otobüsçüleri Esnaf Odası (Urban Public Bus Operators Chamber for ÖHO buses)		
Kamyoncular ve Kamyonetçiler Esnaf Odası (Truck and Small Truck Operators Chamber)		
Umum Otomobilciler ve Şoförler Esnaf Odası (General Drivers Chamber for taxi operators)		
Ankara Districts (Single chamber for all members with compulsory membership)		
Akyurt	Elmadağ	Kalecik
Ayaş	Gölbaşı	Kazan
Bala	Güdül	Polatlı
Beypazarı	Haymana	Sincan
Çamlıdere	Kızılcahamam	Ş. Koçhisar
Çubuk	Nallıhan	

Table 5.3 Assesment of Duties and Responsblities Public and Private Sector Assemblages

	Planning	Design	Approval	Financing	Operation	Supervision	Training	Standarts	Statistics	Coordination
Rail Transport Projects (Tram, LRT, Metro, Commuter)										
Ankara Greater	●	●	●	●	●	●	●		○	●
UKOME			●							
District	○	○								
TSE Region									⊙	
Rail Industry	⊙	⊙		⊙	⊙					
Road Construction	⊙	⊙			⊙					
Petrol Suppliers	⊙	⊙			⊙					
Auto Sellers	⊙	⊙			⊙					
Tecnical Chambers	⊙	⊙								
Universities							●			
Muncipal					●				●	
Government					●				●	
Private Operators					●					

Strong ● Strong Responsibility/Involment: ⊙ Covered Responsibility/Involment: ○

Table 5.3 Assesment of Duties and Responsblities Public and Private Sector Assemblages (continued)

	Plannin	Desig	Approva	Financin	Operatio	Supervisio	Trainin	Standart	Statistic	Coordinatio
Surface Transport Projects (Road, Pedestrian, Bicycle, Bus)										
Ankara Greater	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	○	⊙	●
UKOME			●							
District Municipalities	○	○								
National /Municipal					○	○	○			○
MoTC (KGM)	○	○	○	○	○	○		○	○	○
TSE									⊙	
Road Construction	⊙	⊙			⊙					
Petrol Suppliers	⊙	⊙			⊙					
Auto Sellers	⊙	⊙			⊙					
Tecnical Chambers	⊙	⊙								
Universities	⊙	⊙								
Muncipal Operators					●		○		●	
Government Operators					●		○			
Private					●		○			

Strong Responsibility/Involment: ● Strong Responsibility/Involment: ⊙ Covered ○

5.2.4 Public

Directly affected group from urban transport system changes is public. It is the largest group composed of citizens, including, disabled, elderly, families with young children who do not have a car, people with physical disabilities, teenagers, etc. Urban transport improvements; also improvement of public transport conditions and non-motorized transport facilities together with restrictions on private car use; may have important indirect impacts on society such as improvement of safety and health conditions, decrease of social inclusion in society; providing community cohesion and equity (Litman, 2014). However, short-term economic concerns outweigh these social benefits in countries like Turkey, as already discussed in Chapter 2 under the review of literature.

Public transport was perceived as a welfare service before the liberalization wave of the 1980's. Legal reflections namely; "structural adjustments" led local and national governments to adopt market-oriented implementations in public transport field as well as other urban transport areas. This attitude of national government was revealed in Chapter 4 through examination of urban transport related policy documents of Turkish national government. Despite the emphasis of neo-liberalism on liberty and democratic characteristics, the process operates not for majority-of public, but for minorities and individuals, including investors and land speculators. These small groups, including assemblages, are more influential on local government decisions. The majority of public can only show its preference directly at local government elections, once for every five years. Local governments make efforts to convince and to get more votes just before the elections through more promises, groundbreaking or ribbon cutting ceremonies of large rail systems or grade separated junction constructions.

Public and even politicians believe that larger and costly the solutions proposed for urban transportation problem, the more promising the project is for solving the problem. This misconception leads politicians to fight for and the layman vote for unsustainable and costly investments for urban transportation problems. Public votes for promises of monumental projects and investments of Mayors without considering real costs and benefits to themselves.

Aside from local elections public has another representation channel for reflecting spatial wishes and public service demands and choices through non-governmental organizations and other civil initiatives. Various professional chambers like city planners, architects, civil engineers belonging to the Union of Chambers of Turkish Engineers and Architects (TMMOB) and Consumer Right Protection Association are closely following transport decisions of Municipality. Their professions and interest areas are related to urban transport and development. They have the duty of protecting “public benefit” in both municipality and private sector actions and plans. These organizations have closest position to public and they enable democratic participation processes. Although professional organizations carry their objections related to planned and unplanned interventions of municipality to the court, municipality government usually does not conform to decisions of court. Especially when central and local government is from same political view municipality have relatively free action area.

In addition to these organizations, there exist less organized user groups, such as student action groups of universities. Student user groups of Hacettepe University and Middle East Technical University have emerged as a response to public transport arrangements of municipality after the opening of Çayyolu Metro Line. They emerged for a specific urban transport need and they may have small effect (i.e. increase in daily number of university bus

rings service) on implementations of municipality through their protests and press statements. However, municipality officials emphasized during interviews that public requests generally do not influence municipality decisions.

In the light of defined actors and dynamics at different levels, Ankara urban transport development is evaluated under the limits and effects of interaction of national and international dynamics and actors. Municipality development decisions, planning attitude and its relation with public transport assemblages are examined on Eskişehir Road Corridor Development under continuing sections. Interactions of three level assemblages are illustrated on Figure 5.2.

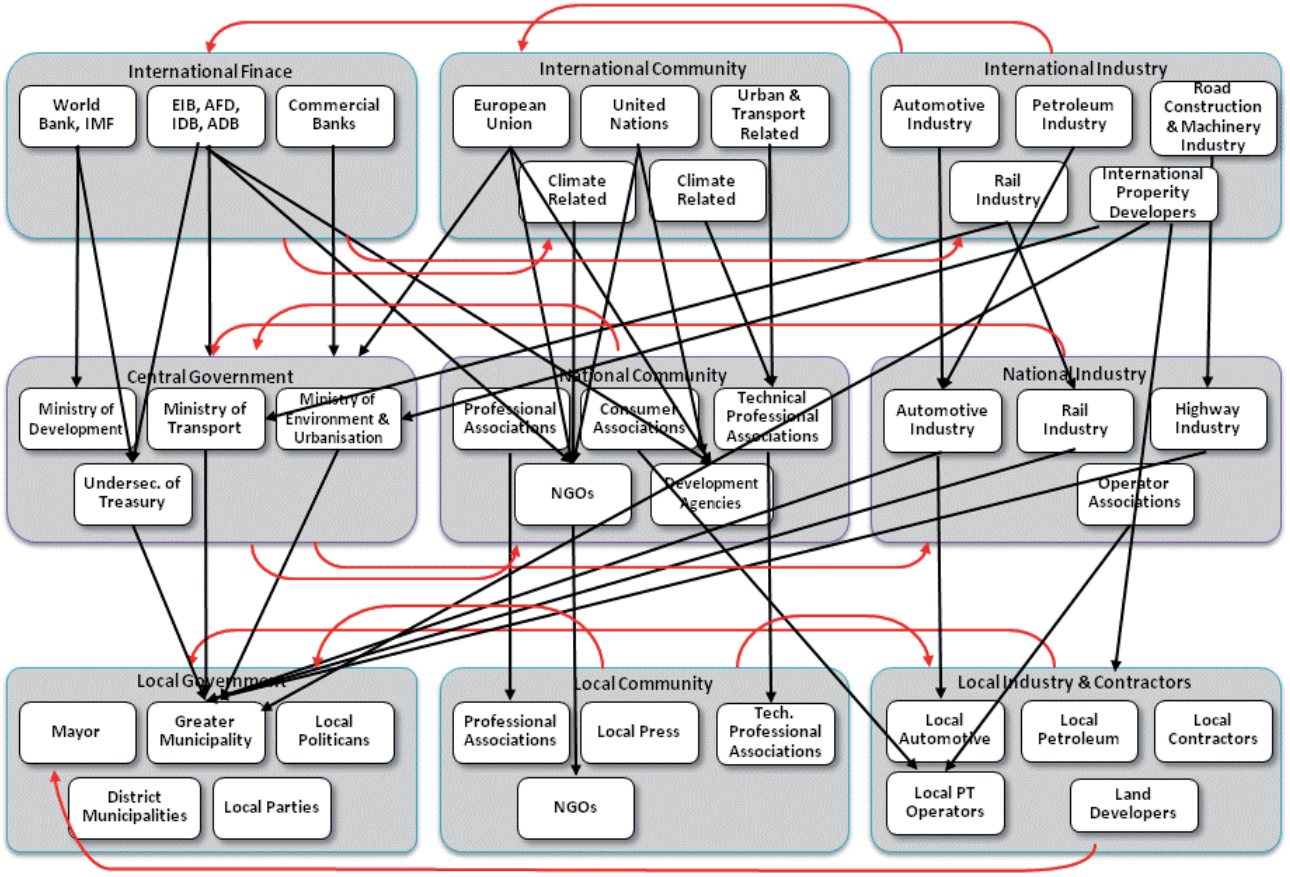


Figure 5.2 Assemblages at Three Levels and Their Relationships

5.3 Urban Transport System Development of Ankara in relation with Politic-Economic Changes

Urban transport system evaluation begins from the early years of capital Ankara in order to establish a complete picture of urban transport developments. Political and economic changes influencing local governments, urban and urban transport system of Ankara are explained in relation with the spatial and organizational changes at local level. Development of Ankara is evaluated in five terms. The main aim in drawing a framework for first three periods until the 1980s; was establishing baselines of existing structure and relations.

The main focus of the case study is on the entrepreneurial terms; also fourth and fifth terms; after the 1980's, when entrepreneurial urban development approaches expanded on the geography all over the world with the claim on enhancing individual freedom and economic competitiveness. Neoliberal policies at central government facilitated entrepreneurialist urban development through minimum direct but facilitative role of the state. Local governments left their welfare services and they adopted market rationality in service provision through privatization and subcontracting. Multinational capital, looking for new places for maximizing its profit began to negotiate with local governments without a need of national government's authorization. This new interactions led them to act for private interest while disregarding economic, social and environmental benefits of majority. After a while, global cities of new world began to restructure in a more fragmented way, in which urban planning is used as a tool only for necessary infrastructure projects. Infrastructure decisions were shaped usually after the decisions of land based investments, such as large-scale shopping centers, cultural entertainment complexes, world trade centers, luxury housing complexes, etc.

Ankara City also experienced all aspects of this entrepreneurial development. Urban planning and service provisions decisions generally followed “urban development project” decisions. It is claimed in this thesis that planning decisions were shaped through negotiations between several actors or interest groups (assemblages). In this process urban transport infrastructure investments and operational decisions of public transport are vital since they integrate these recent “development projects” to existing city structure and foster these projects. Costly road projects are preferred for responding to the growing demand of recently developed fragmented city parts or development projects in Ankara.

In this entrepreneurial development era of urban and urban transport systems; patron-client relationships dominate the processes and in turn strong mayors gain votes with public spending. In order to determine influencing factors of Ankara urban transport system, assemblages and their relationships are analyzed. In this framework urban development and interrelated urban transport is conceptualized as a network of urban assemblages, including several interest groups and actors. Both interactions within and among groups and their relations with each other and with exterior assemblages (like urban development) is examined, while above mentioned upper level assemblages will be taken inconsideration. Like in assemblage theory of De Landa (2006), including components (public transport operators, decision makers at municipality, local construction firms, etc.) have relations with exterior environments, including upper level transport assemblages (automobile manufacturers, petrol suppliers, local governments, political of national governments) as well as urban development actors at various scales.

Local analysis focuses on concrete urban development and urban transport system developments on specifically Eskişehir Road Corridor. The actual underlying mechanisms resulting from any scale are analyzed by focusing interacting sub assemblages of urban transport in parallel with De Landa's (2006) theory of assemblages, which are operating as mechanisms that involve complex mixtures of causes, reasons and motives, which will be examined here through handling public transport operators and municipality having various choices and goals. The choices are tried to be explained through clarifying goals, motives and reasons of the assemblages. Assemblages of Ankara urban transport are evaluated through examining relations of components but not through the examination group characteristics and relations itself.

5.3.1 Early Years of Ankara (1923-1972)

In the early years of the Turkish Republic, single party system was in force. Local governments acted as an apparatus and continuation of the central government and this structure continued until the 1970's. Municipality Law of those years was Law Numbered 1580 and had one single structure for all size of municipalities. Economic deficiencies resulting from World War and late industrialized country position of Turkey were the main dynamics influencing this term. National government chose to allocate financial resources to industrial development rather than urban development. Therefore, industrial plans were prepared instead of comprehensive urban development plans. Urban transport demand in Ankara was very limited and existing demand was chosen to be responded by several unorganized individual entrepreneurs and municipality imported public transport buses from Russia in the 1930's.

Turkey entered into the multiple-party system in 1946, however former system continued until the 1950's. Since central and local governments were from the same political party, no conflicts were experienced between two administration levels. Democrat Party (DP), aiming to increase the efficiency of tradesman and small producers, won in the 1950 elections of both national and Ankara municipal government. DP was defending benefits of bourgeoisie at central level and small bourgeoisie at local level (Tekeli, 1983). Main strategy of DP was linking them with facilities, which are presented by municipality (Tekeli, 1983). Effects of this strategy were also seen in public transportation. Public transport service deficit was tried to be solved through transferring public transport operation rights from municipality to small entrepreneurs. First operation of minibuses in Ankara coincides with DP management at local and central level.

Turkish Republic experienced a military coup in 1960. Coup lasted three years and mayors were appointed by the military administration during these years. After the coup, Turkish cities experienced first multiple party elections for local governments. First elected mayor of Ankara was Halil Sezai Erkut from RPP, who was followed by Ekrem Barlas from JP. Results of local government election were in parallel with central government elections. Therefore, decisions of local governments did not conflict with central government. Local governments continued to act as an extension of central government. Resulting from the central government oriented management structure, problems of Ankara and other large cities could not be handled with a holistic approach. Inconsistent approaches and applications of the municipality amplified urban and urban transport problems.

The negative effect of national policy of supporting industrialization was allocating limited funds to local development in these years. Migration from the rural to urban areas reshaped urban structure and characteristics of the

settlements during this period. Together with urban sprawl, unplanned actions of municipality caused Ankara to experience serious transport problems for the first time. Effects of unplanned urbanization and migration resulted in urban transport problems that were tried to be solved with piecemeal spontaneous unplanned urban transport arrangements.

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City's population was around 25,000 as it settled around the historic castle. In these early years of Ankara, travel activities were based on walking since motorized transport usage and ownership were at very low levels (Tekeli, 1987). Settled area began to enlarge and develop towards south to Yenişehir and Cebeci direction in the 1930's. This growth created vehicle transport demand between old and new settlements. Small entrepreneur based unorganized bus operation, named "kaptı-kaçtı", began to serve on 12 lines. The municipality determined tariffs of this service. Departure point of these routes was Ulus and routes were reaching to new development areas. The name of these privately operated public transport mode changed to "Dolmuş" in the following years with several modifications on their legal status.

Today's district municipalities like Sincan, Etimesgut, Gölbaşı settlements were just small villages of Ankara (Akçura, 1971). First state owned public transportation service started in 1929 on the existing railway line between Kayaş and Ankara. However, this rail service was not a regular public transport service since it was operated only on weekends for leisure journeys. This railway line increased residential developments in Cebeci, Mamak and Kayaş districts by increasing the accessibility of these districts (Öncü, 1979).

First organized public transport operation of Ankara municipality has started during 1930's with municipality busses imported from Russia. Relying on the

Municipality Law 1580 dated 1930, a new public transport administration was established in 1935 for bus, electric and gas operations in Ankara. Ankara Bus Administration began to operate public bus operation on 15 routes. After Municipality buses began operation, “kaptı-kaçtı” routes were transferred from inner city parts, on which municipality buses were in operation, to outwards where no public transport service was in operation.

In the 1940’s, bus fleet of Ankara Bus Administration was not adequate to respond to the growing travel demand since additional buses could not be purchased due to budget limitations during the World War II. The administration could not import spare parts and maintain the fleet. Budget restraints did not allow proper maintenance and repair of the fleet and previously imported buses were withdrawn from operation (Tekeli, 1987). Municipality sought ways to respond to the demand through putting carriage bodies on trucks. However, vehicle fleet deficit expanded further with fire at the bus garage in 1946.

Like municipality buses, privately operated "kaptı-kaçtı" buses were suffering from spare part shortage. Ankara Drivers and Chauffeurs Chamber were allowed to operate regular “Dolmuş” operations at inner city areas in order to fill the gap of municipality's public transport service. Dolmuş was a shared taxi-operation of individual private operators with fixed fare on fixed routes. Dolmuş operators replaced their vehicles with larger vehicles in the following years. They began to be a permanent para-transit service on Ankara urban transport system with several legal and technical modifications in the following years.

Taxi-Dolmuş with 7 seats capacity, began to be operated as a new public transport mode in 1941 for fulfilling the service gap of municipality. (Tekeli, 1987) These public transport services were operated by small operators

without any fixed stops on fixed routes with Ulus-Cebeci, Cebeci-Sıhhiye, Ulus-Bakanlıklar lines, which were busiest parts of the central area. They used either modified station-wagon or saloon cars. These vehicles were preferred by higher income passengers with higher comfort levels with guarantied seat in spite of higher fares than Dolmuş. In following years, this public transport service was decided to be ceased through freezing number of vehicles and not allowing new licenses for scrapped old vehicles.

First trolleybus network of Turkey was established in Ankara in 1947. Trolleybuses were in operation between Bakanlık, Ulus and Dışkapı. Additional lines (Dışkapı-Bahçeli and Dışkapı-Kavaklıdere) were added to the network in the following years. Trolleybus and bus operations were administrated under a new entity EGO after 1950. When financial restrictions were relaxed at postwar years, municipality bought new trolleybuses to operate on a new line, between Bahçelievler and Cebeci.

In the 1950's, migration from the rural to urban areas began to reshape urban structure and characteristics of settlements. Population of Ankara was about 200,000 in the 1940’s and it tripled to reach 650,000 in 1960. Rapid urbanization and unplanned development caused infrastructure shortages. City macroform spread through east and north towards former fringe districts like Kayaş, Etimesgut and Keçiören while densities in the existing neighborhoods increased rapidly.

After World War II, public transport vehicles of the municipality and private entrepreneurs did not show significant increase since main automotive supplier of previous term was USA and it was shifted to recently revived Europe (Tekeli,1987). Municipality could have financial opportunity to buy new buses five years after the World War II. Both public suppliers and small entrepreneurs enlarged their vehicle fleet after 1950. Minibuses with 11

seats, began operation in the 1959 at the outskirts of the city and they gradually changed urban transportation system and the city macroform. First minibus operation began at Aydınlık-Çankaya and Bahçeli-Dörtyol lines. After a short while, minibuses forced public bus system to serve at outer areas with subsidized fares for low income citizens while getting closer to main corridors and inner areas with higher fares suitable for mid-income passengers. Minibuses began to be produced in Turkey beginning from 1961. In the same year municipality arranged minibus operation with a new regulation. In central area, both Minibuses and Taxi-Dolmuş began to compete with public transport buses of EGO and this competition resulted in service inefficiencies in terms of both public and private operators. In these years, EGO was the only service provider at the city outskirts with low density.

Ankara City Plan (Yucel-Uybadin Plan) was approved in 1957. This plan proposed Kızılay and Ulus to be developed as central business districts and this decision caused suburban rail to lost importance in the following years. The city plan examined inner city road links in detail and developed proposals to solve future traffic problems. Administrations of following periods ignored these proposals and focused to only new rail transit investments (Öncü, 2009).

Beginning from the 1960's, Ankara Municipality gave support to urban development through multi story building permits for small developers "Build and Sell" (Yap-Sat) developments increased densities against the illegal housing developments (gecekondu) spurred by migration. Increased densities caused infrastructure shortages, including public transport infrastructure and services. Transport demands of newly developed unplanned and partly illegal housing areas were solved with entrance of personal entrepreneurs (owner operators) into the public transport market

with their small vehicles. These owner operated minibuses were very suitable transport modes for these gecekondu areas due their driving ability on hilly geography with poor road conditions and low fares (Akçura, 1971). In these years, increasing demand for commercial use caused the spread of central business district functions towards Sıhhiye and Kızılay along Atatürk Boulevard.

Ankara population was around 900,000 in 1965 and reached to 1.2 million in 1970. First automobile factory of Turkey opened in 1966 starting a new era where dream of car ownership was made possible for even middle-income groups in cities. Increased mobility further increased work and home separation and accelerated urban sprawl. New high income residential areas began to be developed at the outskirts (Tekeli, 1987). Private car ownership experienced an explosive growth beginning from the 1970's. Increased car usage created more demand for highway infrastructure, including roads and bridges. The central government supported Ankara Municipality for road building. Urgent parking need has emerged with the increase of car ownership. Municipality sought places for building new multi-storey car parks near the business district (Öncü, 1979).

Small entrepreneur oriented development policy continued until the 1970's. As a result, public share in public transport operation has declined about 30%. Privately operated public transport services of small entrepreneurs developed and institutionalized in these years. Start of minibus production supported this trend and number of these small vehicles increased dramatically. Public transport modes, operated by the small operators become dominant in public transport system. Small number of taxi vehicles increased extremely between 1960 and 1965 and taxi market experienced an over-supply starting from these years. This resulted both in congestion on roads and decreased profitability of taxi operators.

Consequently, numbers of taxis were frozen by the municipality in 1966 with the supporting attempts of Ankara Drivers and Chauffeurs Chamber (Tekeli 1987). Similar decision was taken for number of minibuses in the following years. However, limitation of number of minibuses in the market did not solve increasing congestion but rather resulted with passengers waiting at long queues at the minibus and bus stops or solving their travel needs through ownership of a new car if they could afford (Öncü, 1979).

In addition to congestion created by numerous private public transport suppliers, privately operated small vehicles, increased numbers of “service vehicles” (Employee and School Buses) of public institutions heightened congestion levels on roads. Since Municipality was not able to respond to growing transport demand, public institutions sought their own solutions by carrying their employees with their own bus fleet. This trend was supported by location choices of the public institutions away from center and number of employee buses of these institutions exceeded public bus fleet of the municipality.

Number of buses and trolleybuses increased toward the 1970's. Commuter rail line was upgraded to double tracked line and electrified tractions system in the beginning of the 1970's. Passenger volume on commuter rail increased after these improvements. However, these increases and improvements were not sufficient to answer the public transport demand of rapidly growing city.

At the end of the term, governments could not respond to growing transport demand and alleviate congestion levels through intervening into existing modes. They began to focus on high capacity public transportation systems (metro, light rail systems). The idea of building a heavy rail system came up first in this term. Ankara City Transport Study, including surveys for

modernization of existing bus system and building a Metro System, was prepared in 1972 by a joint venture of EGO and a French firm. Proposed rail system project depended on French technology and other alternatives were not evaluated. The State Planning Organization did not approve this project due to its dependence on a specific technology and lack of finance options.

5.3.2 Conflicting Political Approaches (1973-1980)

Ankara city population reached 1.7 million according to population census of 1975. SPP won in most large cities with population over 200.000 in 1973 local elections. First military and later right wing coalition parties were at central government and they limited financing opposing left wing local governments to hinder their actions. In this conflicting period, municipalities adopted social democrat municipality approaches and they defined themselves as “Social, democrat, people’s municipality”. Target group of municipality services were not only small entrepreneurs and tradesman as in previous term, but also large working class and low-income citizens. Municipality approached urban transport issue differently and focused on public transport services. It applied several physical and operational projects for increasing the accessibility from all segments of society. Municipal government defined itself not as an apparatus of central government but as a representative and natural extension of local people to central government (Göymen, 1983). Since municipalities were facing big revenue deficits resulting from fiscal limitations of central government, left party governed municipalities of this period tend to create own resources and sought to solve urban problems with minimum resources. Economic crisis and finance scarcity resulting from conflicting political approaches continued until the 1980 Military Coup.

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Rapidly growing population and transport demand of Ankara under resource scarcity conditions resulted in urban transport problems to reach critical levels. Municipality adopted several traffic demand management (TDM) methods that could be easily applied within limited financial conditions. These methods are still used by many right and left wing governed cities around the world for solving urban transport problems. Main aim of the TDM method is reorganizing mobility needs of people and decreasing traffic congestions by influencing demand, shifting it from private cars towards modes that are more productive (Öncü, 2007). TDM methods began to be adopted by city governments around the world when petrol crisis of 1970's arose. TDM contributes to achieving a more sustainable transportation system as well as reducing environmental damage and improving quality of life while providing financial efficiency. The importance of TDM programs was recognized by Ankara municipality and several instruments (roundabouts, pedestrian zones, bike lines etc.) were implemented in this resource scarce period.

The first Mayor of the term, Dalokay, intended to make bus public transport service free of charge. This project was based on the idea of "car users to change their trip behaviors and leave their private cars to use public transport". Thus, vehicle flow on congested urban roads would be more fluent. However, this plan could not be implemented after change of Mayors at the next elections. Dalokay management constructed roundabouts for managing traffic and alleviating traffic congestions on the junctions. These roundabouts contributed to both the improvement of congestion conditions and improvement of the identity of places, such as squares, like Kızılay Square, Tandoğan Square etc. However, these squares were modified physically by the city managements after the 1980's. İlkay (2008) emphasized that these physical modifications may have political intentions

aiming at squares to lose their identities and social implications as symbolic places of previous terms. In the 1990's, Mayor Gökçek transformed many of them to grade separated junctions with the claim of accelerating motor vehicle travel speeds.

Dalokay criticized previous management's transport study, proposing a new rail system, due to its dependence to foreign resources. His management attempted to develop new rail project through a joint venture with Moscow Municipality. This project had better financial conditions than the project of previous term. However, central government did not approve this project and it was not implemented (Tekeli, 1991). A similar project, relying more on local resources, was prepared by the second mayor in this term, Mayor Dinçer. The proposed 25 km heavy rail system partly underground in the city center planned to use commuter rail wagons produced by National Railway Administration (TCDD). This time central TCDD management did not give consent to the project. Municipality began construction works in 1980 with own resources; however it was called off with the military coup of September 1980.

Second Mayor of this term, Dinçer applied several bus system improvements using existing road infrastructure more efficiently. However, central government hindered these bus improvement projects of municipality by refusing resource allocation demands for new bus purchases. Aim of these projects was to increase commercial bus speeds and comfort levels. By this way, buses would be able to compete with private cars.

Busways and bus lanes were nevertheless implemented in order to give priority to public transport operations at low cost. With the implementation of Beşevler-Dikimevi busway in 1978, travel time decreased by 10%, number of bus trips increased by 17%, and patronage in the corridor increased by 64%.

Dikimevi-Beşevler busway carried 9 to 10 thousand passengers on one direction in an hour during the peak hours in these years - higher than the passengers carried by Ankaray Light Rail System (LRT) line today (ABB, 2003; EGO,1990). This busway was abolished with the opening of Ankaray LRT. Ankaray with the capacity of carrying 16 thousand passengers in one hour in one direction was constructed at the cost of about 500 million USD. However, it was carrying about 6 thousand passengers/direction/hour in 2010. It is well below the number of passengers carried with the busway in 1978 on the same corridor. Second bus lane project on Dikmen – Güven Park line operated successfully during early months of the operation. It completely eliminated traffic congestions on this corridor; however, it faced infrastructure problems due to inappropriate surface and substructure design for heavy use of municipal buses (Göymen, 1983; Çelik, 1999). Busway infrastructure deficiencies were not repaired and the reserved busway was allocated later back to mixed traffic after this political term. Third Busway at Demetevler was designed as a contra flowing lane on one side of the road. On this lane, minibuses were also allowed to operate. It was the first designated lane application, including both public transport and para-transit modes. This bus lane faced oppositions from the local shop owners since bus lane on right side of the road was limiting the pedestrian access to their properties. After a while, implementation deficiencies caused complaints by shop owners and busway was abolished. Municipality has chosen to abolish the system in all three cases instead of solving the problems.

Express Bus Operation as another bus system improvement was implemented in this term after a pilot application on five routes. Aim of implementation was to decrease congestions on bus stops through decrease in number of main major destinations and thus to decrease crowding on buses. On these pilot routes 25%, time savings were recorded. After successful pilot application, Express Bus Lines were made permanent. Some

of the transferred employee service vehicles began to work on new Express Bus Lines.

During these years, growth in fleet of public institution employee busses was one significant cause of congestion. Increase in vehicle number continued until 1979. These vehicles were transferred with an enactment first to State Supply Office for coordinated use with municipality. Municipality allocated them to operate on existing minibus and bus lines for responding to excess transport demand. After the success of pilot implementation all fleet was transferred to Municipality (Göymen, 1983; Ankara Greater Municipality, 1987).

Mayor Dinçer management prepared a pedestrianization plan for Sakarya Street and surrounding area and implemented in the same year. This was the first implementation for regaining pedestrian space from the motor traffic facilities. Street spaces were converted to urban pedestrian areas through several physical arrangements. Mayors of the term evaluated costly highway and crossing constructions as having second priority since they alleviate traffic levels only for a short while and not sufficient in long term perspective. They gave secondary importance to road oriented implementations requiring more financial resources.

Trolleybuses, in operation on streets of Ankara beginning from 1947, were decided to be withdrawn from operation. Their number was reduced gradually between 1979 and 1981. Main reason of the reduction decision was frequent power breaks resulting from national electricity cuts. Power breaks led vehicles to be stranded hours long and time schedules to be interrupted. Serious traffic congestion problems were experienced on urban roads due to this power cuts. On the other hand, privately owned cars were in competition for sharing road space with trolleys. They hardly maneuver in

congested traffic, increased congestion levels slowed down trolleys. Besides trolleybuses was facing inconvenience due to competitions with dolmuş service. Dolmuş was in operation on the same routes of trolleys, preceding them down the street picking up passengers waiting for trolley. Dolmuş and other public transport modes had advantage over trolleys resulting from not operating not on a fixed lane like trolleys. Disadvantages of trolley operations together with energy cut problems of these days led the Municipality to abandon trolleybuses instead of modernizing them. This decision was criticized by transport planners and academicians (Özdirim, 1990).

In this term, municipality arranged awareness-raising campaigns and published many brochures to inform public about the public transport improvement implementations. In addition to information services, municipality arranged Public Transport Congresses to induce academic and technical works on these issues.

Many positive implementations (public transport-focused implementations, bus lanes, pedestrianization, roundabouts, free public transport service, public transport congress etc.) in terms of sustainability and self-sufficiency of municipality were abandoned after the military coup. Next municipal governments, especially right wing ones, considered these successful practices as belonging to left political ideology and never adopted such approaches. However many right and left wing city governments around the world and in Turkey implemented and are still implementing such low cost measures.

5.3.3 First Applications of Entrepreneurial Urban Management (1980-1994)

Turkey had experienced another military coup in 1980. Left party mayor Dinçer was depositioned from Ankara mayoralty as an army general, Önder, was appointed as the mayor. Önder ruled Ankara Municipality until the 1984 elections. After the coup, central government adopted liberal policies, including strategies like strengthening market economies and capital against the labor. Central government's policies reflected to local government's policies and they left previously accepted people oriented policies. Önder government focused urban infrastructure improvements that have been long ignored by irresponsible local government administration in the eyes of military (Şahin, 2007). Investments of municipality supported motorized transport and private car usage. Previous public transport improvements were interrupted by the economic stabilization policies of central government (Tekeli, 1987). Public interventions were limited by the national government for getting out from inflationist environment. This situation influenced municipality spending. Comprehensive investments were not realized to solve Ankara transport problems between 1980 and 1984 (Görmez, 2004). However, contrary to economic stabilization, road infrastructure investments of central government intensified in this term. Private sector interests created serious interventions on urban development and urban transport infrastructure.

After the coup term, MP won both state and Ankara Municipality elections. Liberal right party central government increased authority and revenues of municipalities considerably. Ankara witnessed a major breakpoint in terms of application of neoliberal policies. Municipality services became much more market oriented with the wide spread decentralization movement. Municipality focused on short-term project management rather than

implementing comprehensive urban and urban transport plans. Şahin (2007) emphasized that the main aim of these projects was to create business opportunities for capitalist assemblages, especially construction firms.

Ankara Greater City Municipality was governed again by a left wing political party, with Mayor Karayalçın, after 1989 election. At the beginning of the second social democrat term, MP a right wing liberal party was at central government. However, at national level a coalition government of one right and one left wing party was established after 1991 elections. Excessive political contradictions were not seen in this term. Policies of Mayor Karayalçın towards solving urban transport system had social implications in a neo-liberal line. His government implemented various TDM measures as well as costly public transport investment that were dependent on foreign debts despite the financial scarcity of the municipal budget.

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Municipality revenues were increased and local governments were more empowered under the influence of central government's liberal policies. On the other hand; economic stabilization decisions, which were brought with the military coup of 1980, hindered municipalities from making big investments. Municipalities could not invest in major public transport project constructions or in public transport vehicles. Ankara Municipality used privatization and other private sector intervention methods to respond increasing travel needs.

In both Ankara and Istanbul, municipalities allowed the first Privately Operated Public Bus (ÖHO) operation through the organization of small entrepreneurs. ÖHO buses began to operate unprofitable bus lines of EGO with Council of Minister’s decision in 1982. However, number of busses rapidly increased in two years and they demanded to operate on profitable bus lines of EGO. One year later, ÖHO buses were allowed to operate on

most profitable lines. This rapid privatization process of public transport services began with a claim of being a “complementary service” to EGO and transformed in a short time to “a competitive and impeding service” to municipality operated public transport busses.

Station wagon dolmuş vehicles were abolished from operation in traffic in 1983. Minibuses and Drivers Association, as a strong assemblage in transport decisions, could not influence this decision due to conditions of Military term. Municipality issued new ÖHO, taxi and minibus licenses to taxi dolmuş operators instead of their abolished licenses.

Pedestrian Areas Analysis Survey was prepared by EGO in 1982. In this project Sakarya Street, İzmir Street and its side streets, Yüksel Street and its back streets, were proposed to be pedestrian areas and the project was approved by the municipality management. However, an important part of the pedestrianization project was not implemented (Okullu, 2007). Contrary to pedestrian oriented planning attitude, first pedestrian overpasses in the city centre were constructed in same term. Overpasses were built not to improve pedestrian transportation but to enable cars to move without pedestrian disturbance. Pedestrian movements were made difficult in city center by these arrangements in order to fasten vehicle traffic flows.

The first elected municipal government after the 1980 coup, continued to implement liberal policies of military government. Investment on existing modes was assessed worthless for tackling increasing transport demand and solving the congestions. That was because purchasing new public transport buses for EGO, the start of ÖHO operation and increased number of para-transit vehicles could not alleviate transport problems. For this reason municipality chose to initiate large investment projects to overcome urban transport problems. Finance of these projects was planned to be covered by

external credits. These projects and their finance strategies influenced and shaped urban development and macro form in the following years.

Trolleybuses were completely withdrawn from operation by the municipality in 1986 due to frequent energy cuts and serious traffic congestions experienced in those days. However, abandoning trolley systems did not solve the congestion problem. Streets were congested with private cars and buses, only the form of congestion changed. Governments began to seek new ways, like light rail system projects to alleviate traffic levels. Abandoning trolleybuses were criticized by many academicians and professionals since trolleybuses were in operation in many European cities due to their silent, rapid and environmentally friendly operations.

First concrete steps of Ankara rail system were taken in this period. After definition of the duties and responsibilities of Municipality in urban transport issues, Ankara Urban Transport Master Plan and Rail Public Transport Feasibility Study were prepared with cooperation of EGO, a local and a Canadian Firm in 1986. In this project, the rail system was proposed to be operated by Canadian vehicles since the project was performed with the aid of Canada. In 1989 before the elections, the first steps were taken for Ankara Metro system by Mayor Altınsoy through build-operate-transfer model. Light rail and metro system were viewed as progressive reform both by public and by government. However, many transport professionals around the world have long favored expansion and improvement of bus systems over rapid rail transit since buses were more economic means of expanding public transportation at low demands.

Urban Transport Study for Ankara (EGO, 1987) was prepared based on a strategical development scenario of Ankara Structural Plan prepared by a team of planners from ODTÜ and EGO for the target year of 2015. Ankara

Transport Study took proposals of Ankara Structural Plan as input. The Transportation Master Plan examined all modes of urban transport in detail in relation to proposed land-use scheme and prepared recommendations for public transport solutions and emphasized the importance of integration between modes to overcome transport problems. Although the study includes policies for many transport components of Ankara city, implementation plans of these policies were not prepared. This study is the first comprehensive planning study for Ankara urban transport system but it did not have a legal binding effect until it was updated with new schemes incorporated into it and approved as the Transport Master Plan in 1993. Nevertheless, many projects contradicting with the plan proposals were implemented in the following years, as described later in this chapter.

After application of liberal policies initially by military government and then by right wing party Mayor Altınsoy, Ankara city experienced a second left party term. However, this term was different from previous left wing term (1973-1980) due to global liberalist environment. Mayor Karayalçın had a social democrat political line accepting requirements of liberal term. His urban transport development policies and investments had a social base while complying with the global and national liberal policies.

Developing and implementing a rail system project, and financing them had priority on Karayalçın's agenda. Ankara Light Rail System Study (EGO, 1990) was prepared and the route of Ankaray Light Rail System was defined along with operation and service characteristics in this study. Ankara Transport Master Plan (EGO, 1994) was prepared based on the 1987 Transport Study to overcome legal deficiencies of the previous plans study to supplement recent urban transport system changes (first stages of Ankaray and Metro systems, city ring road, etc.). It is the first and the only approved Transport Master Plan of Ankara. The decisions of the 1987 and 1994 plans

were very similar except for recent urban developments. Plans include several institutional and restructuring proposals, general principles, and urban rail proposals. However, it was weak in terms of short-term actions. This deficiency led to municipality to act independent from the Transport Master Plan and to implement discontinuous public transport and traffic arrangements in the following years. Construction of Ankaray Light Rail System began in 1992 and continued until 1996 when it started commercial operations. After Ankaray began operation, Kızılay- Dikimevi Busway, one of the successful busway implementations in the world, was abolished (Altınöz, 1990). Preparations for Heavy Rail (Metro) constructions began in 1990 until actual construction started in 1993. Metro line began operations in 1997 within the next right wing Mayor's period.

Karayalçın's government, having left wing social political party management, not only focused on costly public transport projects but also implemented other public oriented transport arrangements. Free public transport services named “People’s Vehicle” were operated to serve free to low income neighborhoods before peak hours for a period of five years. People’s Vehicle services were arranged before morning and evening peak hours. This application had positive effects in terms of both social equality and for reducing traffic congestions by shifting some peak demand to other hours. Since it provided more balanced traffic demand distribution, it decreased traffic congestion level at peak hours (Ankara Greater Municipality, 1991) and increased fleet efficiency.

Greater Municipality Law Numbered 3030 allowed municipalities to issue bonds to domestic and international financial markets as a funding potential without official guarantee of Central Government’s Treasury. Mayor Karayalçın of Greater Ankara Municipality issued bonds for the first and the only time through German and Japanese Banks in 1990 at a value of 200

million Deutsche Marks to assure funds for urban projects including a new intercity bus terminal and a light rail line (Çınar, 2004).

5.3.4 Intensified Entrepreneurial Urban Management (1994-2015)

Mayor Karayalçın left his position in 1993 for participating next central government elections. Social Party elected Aydın as acting Mayor. Karayalçın lost the central government elections and one of the result of the national defeat is assessed left political party losing its votes in the next local government elections in Ankara. Melih Gökçek was elected from the right conservative WP as the mayor of Ankara Greater Municipality in 1994 local elections.

When he started his duty, population of Ankara was around 2.5 million compared to 5 million in 2015 (www.tuik.gov.tr). He pursued Islamic values and ideals as well as neoliberal strategies of the party he belonged to, WP (Şahin, 2007). As Gökçek won elections, right and left wing party governing coalition management (TPP and RPP) was in the central government with the right wing party's officials heading the government. In 1996, two right wing parties (WP and TPP) established the coalition government. Local and state government political choices complied each other. In first term of Gökçek between 1994 and 1999, he established close connections with fractions of capital. Although the WP tried to control activities of the municipalities, Gökçek and other mayors gained relative autonomy against the control of the party. Gökçek improvised his own way of using these processes with respect to his political career and the characteristic of the local political sphere (Şahin, 2007; Doğan, 2005).

WP was closed after 28th February 1997 military interference. Gökçek joined newly opened right based conservative Fazilet Partisi [Virtue Party (VP)]. He

had continued his duty under the centre right MP at the central government. Since he came originally from MP from the end of 90's, national government supported his actions. After closure of VP, he slowly started to change his conservative image. Although, most of the conservative mayors lost their seats or detracted from the politics in the 1999 local elections, Gökçek won the local elections for the second time. Şahin (2007) emphasized that his success was result of the political base, which he established among new conservative middle classes and urban poor as well as fragmented structure of the politics in central arena.

Thus, he won 1999 municipality elections for the second time, when state was governed by left wing Party. This is the most conflicting term of Mayor Gökçek, since his liberal policies did not comply with left wing central government. In this term, he changed his expressions from Islamic conservative politician into a technical, skillful and creative local leader. He consciously distanced himself from Islamic conservative policies and acted independently (Şahin, 2007). This term continued two years and newly conservative right wing political party JDP, which Mayor Gökçek also joined, won the central government elections in 2002 and established the government solely.

Gökçek run for 2004 municipality elections from JDP and won for the third term. JDP won in central government elections again in 2007 and 2011, and Gökçek was elected for the fourth and fifth term for municipality elections in 2009 and 2014. His influence in the party and state mechanism increased after elections. He lobbied and tried to influence the law making process during the drafting of the 5216 Greater Municipalities Law, which was later called Compass Law. Parallel and conflicting political structures of central and local government after 1970's are indicated at Figure 5.10.

Since neoliberal policies of Gökçek complied with central government except for a short term between 1999 and 2001, he had the financial and political support of right wing central governments. In order to understand the influence of Mayors on local planned and unplanned interventions and investments they have to be evaluated together with their compliance with national governments. National and local politic-economic developments beginning from the establishment of Turkish Republic in 1920's were handled relationally together with influences on urban and urban transport system at Figure 5.12. It is obvious that the strength of Mayor Gökçek come from his close relationships both with national and local assemblages. City-wide developments are briefed below, while the following section defines influences of local assemblages on a specific part of transport system on Eskişehir Road Corridor.

Urban Growth and Urban Transportation

Urban macroform resulting from uncontrolled and rapid sprawl of the metropolitan area questioned municipal boundaries and changed needs of the metropolitan area. Şahin (2007) emphasized that liberalization effects on urban development were similar to some extent during the 1980's and 1990's. Urban plan revisions of this period aimed to increase building rights, legitimize illegal buildings, and transform rural and green areas, open spaces and public land into housing, industry and commercial uses in planned neighborhoods and suburbs. Squatters at semi periphery and periphery of the macroform transformed to densely built up areas (Şahin, 2007).

Municipality management focused on only highway based solutions for congestion problem of Ankara starting from 1994. Municipality's attitude on urban transport decisions was parallel to its profit oriented partial and short-term urban development strategies. Grade separated junctions, built on main corridors even at city center, became the symbol of Gökçek period (Figure

5.3, Figure 5.4, Figure 5.5, and Figure 5.6). Ankara Transport Master Plan did not propose most of them and many planners, engineers and other experts had criticized grade-separated junctions especially at city center. Chamber of Architects and City Planners carried several grade-separated junctions (Mithatpaşa Overpass, Sıhhiye Bridge, Akay and Kuğulu I-II grade separated junctions) to the court before the municipality began the constructions. Court decided that junctions are contrary to public good and universal city planning principles. However, the Municipality had already begun the constructions and finalized them during judiciary process, which did not stop these constructions. Grade separated solutions alleviated congestion on roads only for short period and congestion levels then increased both at grade-separated junctions and other linking roads and junctions. Drivers, who had to wait at traffic signals, started waiting on more congested roads over or under bridges. A grade separated junction requires other grade separated junctions on its linking connections. After a short time, this need leads to grade separated junctions network in the city. These junctions may seem to decrease waiting time at traffic signals but only increases travel times due to increased traffic congestion.

After several years, junctions resulted in more car journeys, known in the transport planning literature as induced traffic created by road expansions, and hence raised congestion with traffic levels increasing rapidly. Whenever court decisions were made confirming the grade separated junctions as contradicting urban and transport planning principles, the municipality announced that these junctions would be closed to fulfill the requirements of the court decision after 14 years opening of the junction. However, the municipality had prepared no other improvements or plans. Such announcements were only political manouvres to blame professional organizations for wanting to close these junctions and harming the people's accessibility in the city.



Figure 5.3 Municipality Billboard, "104 Grade Seperated Junctions, 93 Pedestrian Over and Under Passes"
(Authors Archive, March 2009)


ERŞEMBE 16 EKİM 2003 SABAH SAYFA 25

48 TANESİ YETMEDİ

50 kavşak daha

Büyükşehir Belediye Başkanı Gökçek, hizmete giren kavşakların trafik sorununu tamamen çözmeye yetmediğini açıkladı

Bugüne dek 48 kavşak yaptıklarını belirten Gökçek, "Sorunun tamamen çözülmesi için 50 köprülü kavşak daha yapılması gerekir" dedi

TUM Mühendisler Birliği tarafından düzenlenen "Yerel Yönetimler ve Şehircilik Sempozyumu"nda konuşan Gökçek, Ankara'nın 50 kavşağa daha ihtiyaç duyduğunu söyledi. Bilkent Otel Konferans Salonu'nda düzenlenen sempozyuma, siyasi parti temsilcileri, belediye başkanları ve akademisyenler katıldı. Türkiye'nin dört bir yanından gelen davetliler için bir sunum hazırlayan Büyükşehir Belediye Başkanı Gökçek, Cumhuriyet tarihi boyunca yapılandan daha çok kavşak ve alt-üst geçit yaptıklarını söyledi.

UĞUR BECERİKLİ

congress management systems

SUNUM YAPTI

Büyükşehir Belediye Başkanı Melih Gökçek, Tüm Mühendisler Birliği tarafından düzenlenen sempozyumda bugüne dek yaptıklarını anlattı.

SEMTLERE GİRİŞTE SORUN VAR

Yaptıkları kavşaklarla ana arteller-deki trafiği rahatlattıklarını anlatan Büyükşehir Belediye Başkanı Melih Gökçek, sadece semt girişlerinde sıkıntı yaşandığını, bu sorunu da daha küçük ölçekli köprülü kavşaklar-la çözeceklerini söyledi.

ANA ARTERDE SORUN YOK

Görevde bulundukları süre içinde 48 kavşak inşaatı yaptıklarını belirten Gökçek, "Her yapılan kavşak inşaatı yeni bir inşaat ihtiyacını doğurur diyorlar. Doğru ancak bizim hesaplamalarımıza göre 50 kavşak daha yapılırsa Ankara'nın trafik sorunu tamamen bitecek" diye konuştu. Ana arterlerin sorunlarının çözüldüğünü belirten Gökçek, mahalle ve semtlere girişlerde sıkıntı yaşandığını belirterek, yapılacak daha küçük çaplı kavşaklarla şehir içinde sorunun tamamen çözülebileceğini kaydetti.

İCRAATLARINI ANLATTI

Daha sonra sinevizyon gösterisine geçildi. Sinevizyon gösterisinde Dikmen Vadisi, alt ve

Figure 5.4 Gokçek: 48 Greate separated junctions are not Enough! 50 More Juctions to be built
(Hürriyet 16.03.2003)



Figure 5.5 Queues at Grade-Seperated Junction on Central Section of Eskişehir Road
(Authors Archive)



Figure 5.6 Queues at Akay Grade-Seperated Junction in CBD
(Authors Archive)

Automobile oriented transport policies and implementations of Gökçek gained acceptance by the new middle class, urban poor and other working classes, who envy the life style of the new middle classes and see automobile as a sign of modernization and prestige. This increased his popularity among these classes as Gökçek administration continued to build roads, tunnels and multi layered crossings to increase speed of motorized traffic. However, highway construction policies and projects adversely affected majority of the citizens including public transport users, pedestrians, elderly, children and all non-car-owning citizens. Grade separated junctions cancelled at-grade pedestrian crossings. Pedestrian overpasses were constructed at roads that became high-speed due to grade-separated junctions and even in the city center. Overpasses increased walking distance of pedestrians. Pedestrians with accessibility problems faced with limitations in using overpasses and crossing main arterials safety (Figure 5.7, Figure 5.8, Figure 5.9)



Figure 5.7 Pedestrians Crossing Under The Pedestrian Overpasses at CBD

(Authors Archive)



Figure 5.8 Pedestrian Overpasses Before Mithatpaşa Grade-Separeted Junction at CBD
(Authors Archive)

Winners of these road-based implementations were neither pedestrians nor motor-vehicle drivers. The urban life was losing its values, while highway lobby, land speculators, and key municipality decision makers enjoyed benefits of these road construction activities. Şahin (2007) emphasized that through apportioned budget for roads, the management established partnerships with large construction firms and served capitalist classes that builds suburban life style and produce automobiles.

Mayor Gökçek refused to redeem Ankara Municipality bonds sold by Karayalçın when their payback time came. The Treasury had to undertake these debts and payback even though it was issued without central government liability. Mayor Gökçek adopted an attitude of not assuming debts of the municipality even the ones indebted during his period (Çınar, 2004:142). Central government assumed and paid back 7200 billion TL unguaranteed debt of Ankara Municipality in 1995 (Güler 2006, Güler and Çınar 2004). Ankara Municipality under Gökçek administration preferred to borrow from commercial banks for metro and Ankaray but failed paying back at due periods. Central government had to wipe off about half of the debts of

Ankara Municipality in December 2013 (1.4 billion TL of 2.9 billion TL) (Güler 2006, Güler and Çınar 2004).



Figure 5.9 Students Intend to Cross Mithatpaşa Street with Uninterrupted Traffic Flow
(Authors Archive)

Constructions of two rail lines, Ankaray (A1) and Metro (M1), were finished and operations began in 1996 and in 1997 during early years of Gökçek period. Studies of Ankara urban rail systems began in the period of Mayor Altınsoy during the 1980's. Karayalçın continued efforts to implement the project and started construction. Three new metro lines (M2, M3, and M4) began to be constructed during the Mayor Gökçek between 2001 and 2003. Government announced that they would be in operation shortly after 2004 elections. After Gökçek won elections of 2004, his management again intensified investments of road widening and grade separated junctions instead of metro construction. This private car oriented rather than public transport oriented attitude has been criticized by many professionals, including Chamber of City Planners and Chamber of Architects. After more than a decade of ongoing construction, the Ministry of Transport, Maritime

and Communication took over three of the metro constructions in 2011 since the Municipality did not seem close to finalizing the projects (Figure 5.11). The Ministry opened M2 and M3 Metro Lines short before the 2014 local elections with many inadequacies. Operational, physical and planning deficiencies of Çayyolu Line are discussed in the Section of 5.4.

The municipality started constructions and announced unrealistic opening dates to gain political support before local elections. Rail and road constructions are more impressive projects in the public opinion than bus system organization or travel demand management programs. Liberal politicians give more emphasis to concrete and costly projects like voters without considering real benefits and costs in detail. Professionals evaluate these projects with all aspects and criticize the local management approach and actions. This is why municipality, technical chambers and professional associations have sharp contradictions and debates.

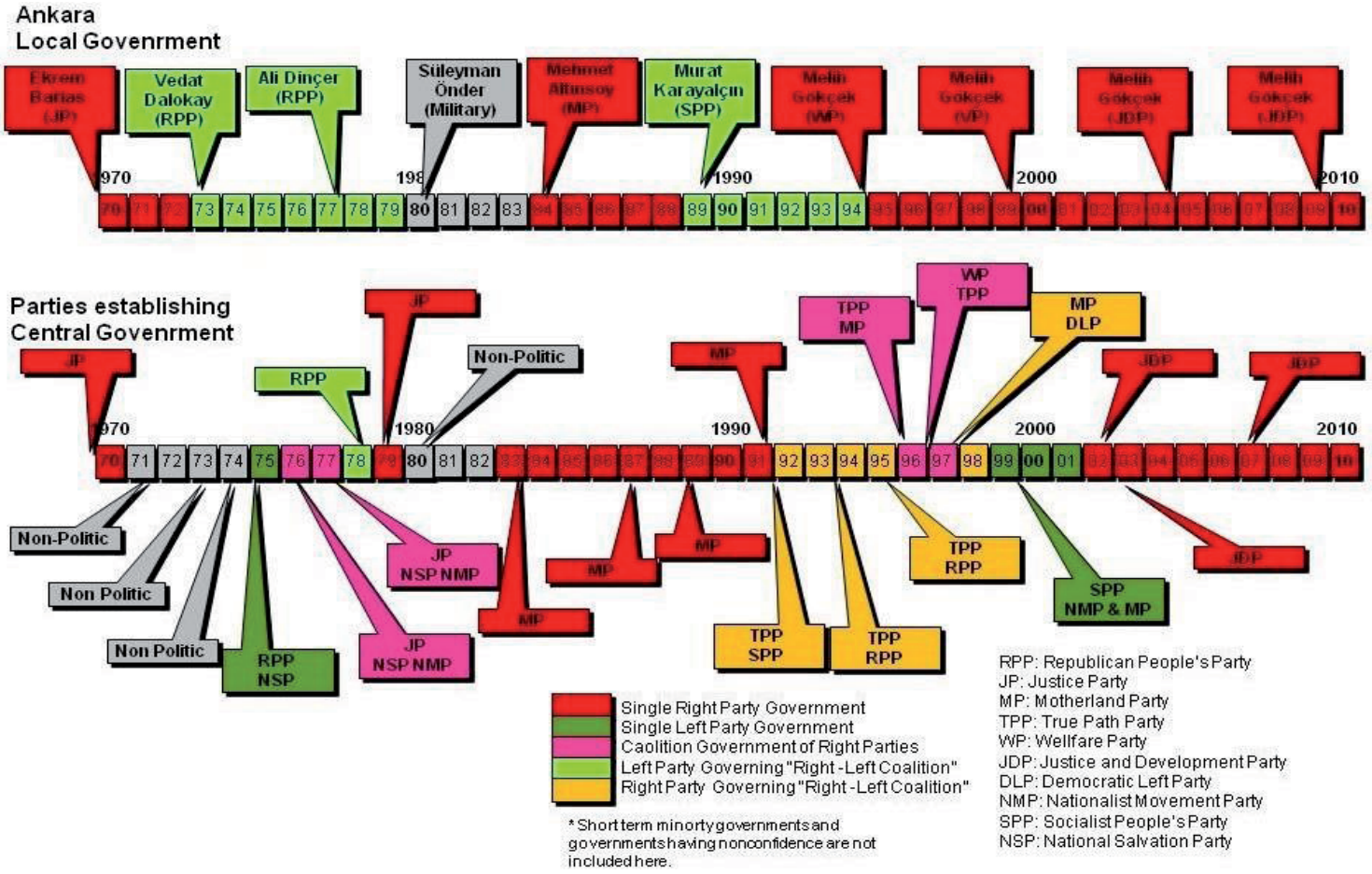


Figure 5.10 Political Ideologies of Local and National Governments after 1970

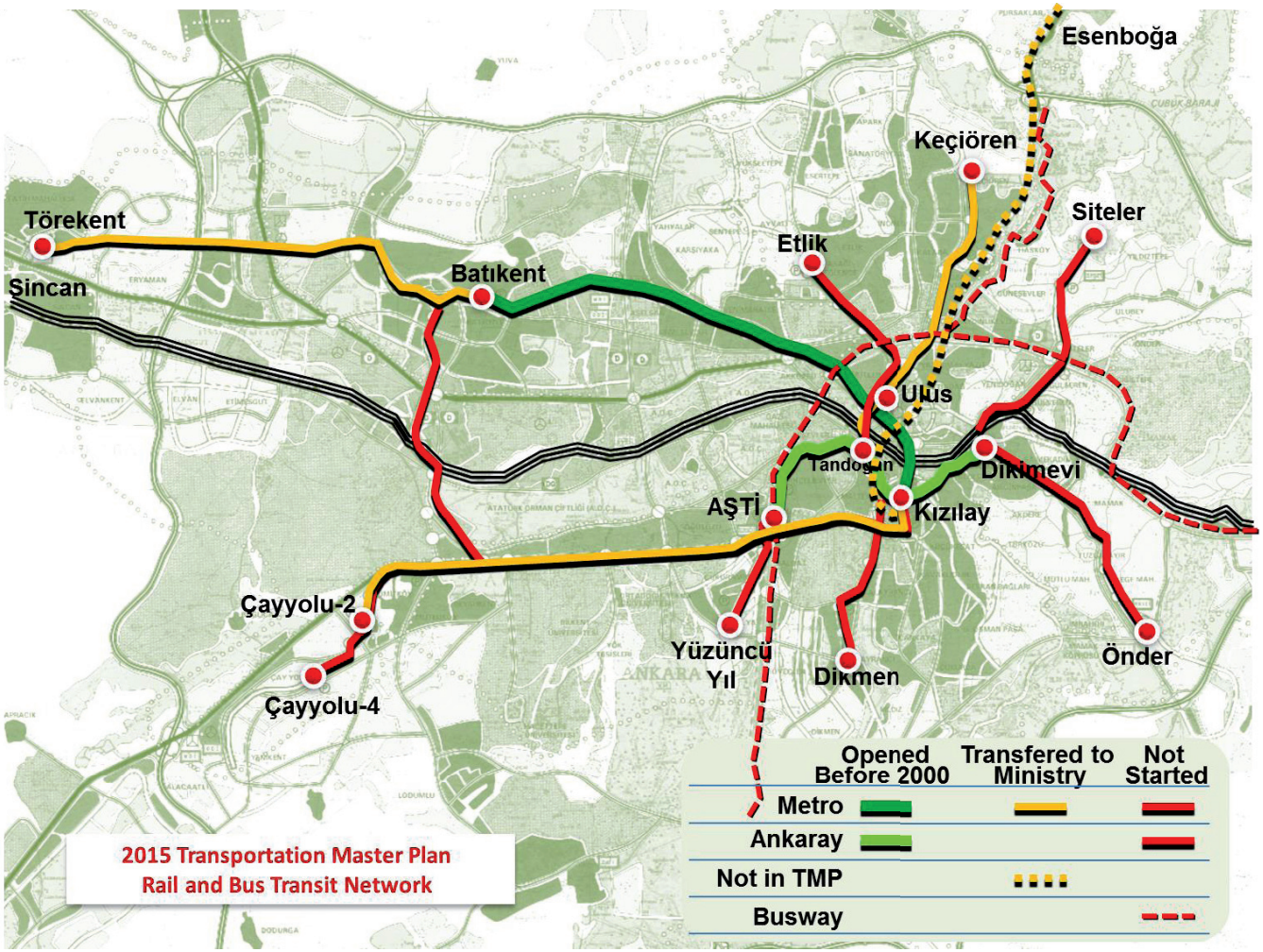


Figure 5.11 Ankara Rail System Lines

World Bank financed a transport study for Gökçek municipality, in the early years of the mayor's term in the late 1990s, upon a request for funding new road and interchange constructions. Independent consultants prepared Ankara Traffic and Transportation Improvement Study (ATTIS) with a World Bank grant. Purpose of the Gökçek administration in requesting this study was to obtain World Bank credits for construction of grade-separated junctions in the following years. However, the study resulted with proposals for improving public transport system, creation of a traffic demand management program, application of traffic demand management measures, signalization arrangements and new contemporary institutional structures, adopted by many countries around the world. These proposals could be implemented within in a short period with low investments and their positive effects could be seen in traffic in a short time. However, none of these proposals were implemented by Gökçek administration. Only highway based proposals (three grade separated junction projects) were implemented.

Gökçek's management did not prepare any transport study or master plan until 2013. In 2013, municipality announced that a new master plan would be prepared and the plan would be completed in 2014. However, this plan could not be completed and approved until today, August 2015. Besides, Gökçek did not comply with the proposals of last Urban Transport Master Plan of Ankara dated 1994 during his term. He implemented unplanned highway construction decisions without any technical study but with his own personal assessments. Most of these projects did not comply with the current legal plans. Central government supported Ankara mayor's highway projects with funding support and participating at the ground-breaking and ribbon cutting ceremonies. Ankara urban transport system development was shaped according his unpredictable relationships and bargains with assemblages of varying scales. His relationships with local public transport assemblages and influences of these assemblages on municipality decisions are tired to be

understood through in dept interviews held with several of these assemblages of Eskişehir Road Corridor in the following Section.

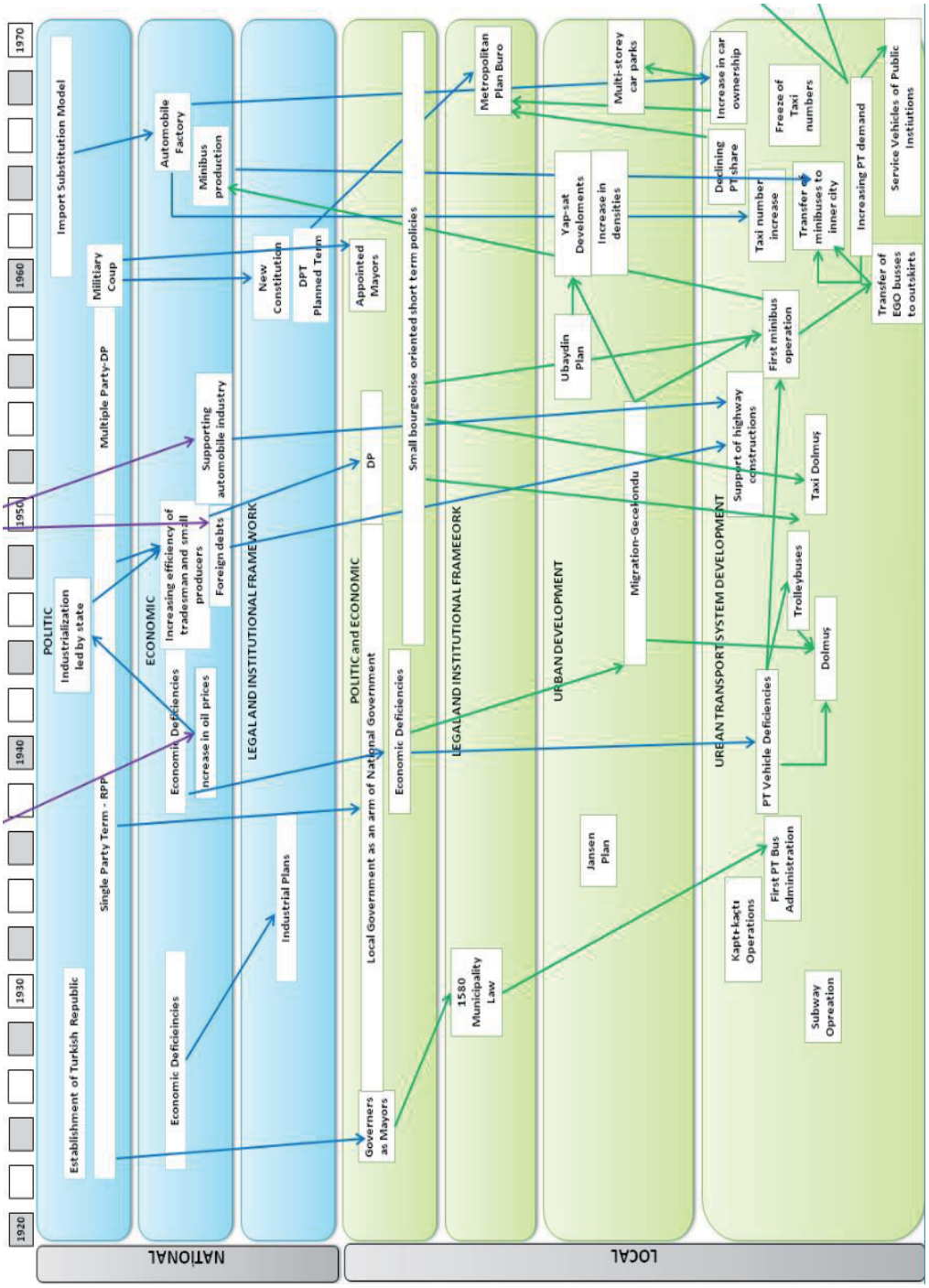


Figure 5.12 Influencing Dynamics at National and Local Levels

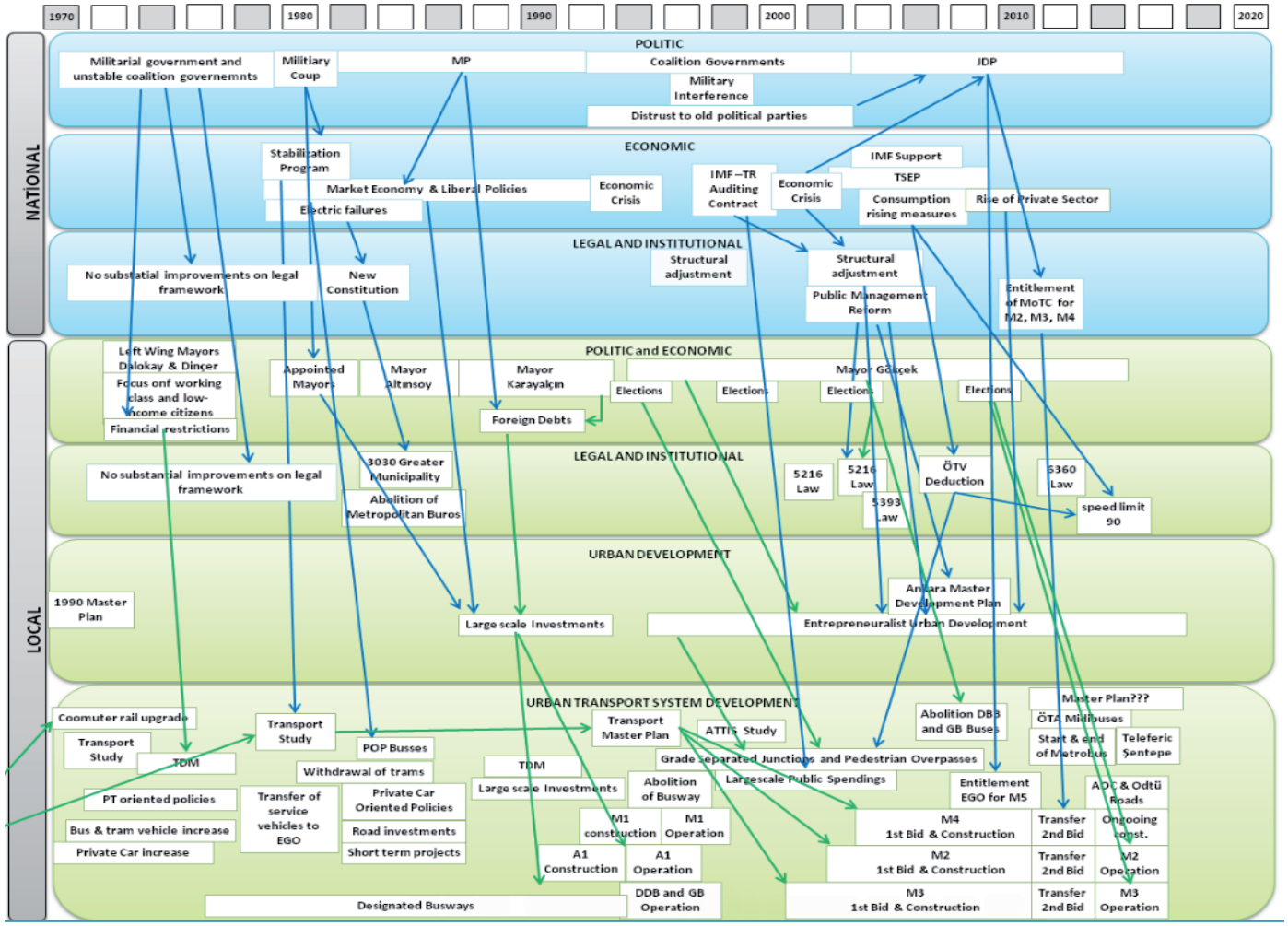


Figure 5.12 (continued)

5.4 Assessment of Urban and Public Transport Development of Ankara

Available public transport development and public transport usage data and data from official resources (EGO) are reviewed under this section. EGO statistics reflect strategic decisions and give clues for relations of actors and help clarify influencing factors at the local level. EGO statistics after 1980 were evaluated for defining relations of various factors on urban transport developments.

Ankara urban population had a consistent growth trend since the 1950s, while the number of public transport passengers show fluctuations depending on various factors (Figure 5.13). Commuter rail services run by the central government agency (TCDD) have remained at a very low profile historically and even decreased during the recent years in contrast to the increasing population, expanding settlement area and growing urban transport market. Commuter services have been unresponsive to urban travel demand growth as national rail administration kept itself away from urban affairs and focused on intercity rail transport. TCDD is not eager for urban public transport service considering intercity transport as the main responsibility. After a recent successful implementation of the joint project of IZBAN in Izmir, which was a project of partnership between TCDD and Izmir Municipality to run the commuter line as a modern regional railway, TCDD's request for collaboration in Ankara for improving Ankara commuter rail system in a similar way has been rejected by the Ankara Municipality. TCDD is currently in process of implementing commuter rail improvement project without any participation from the municipality. This conflict between central government institution and municipality indicates that their interests are not completely compatible with each other and municipality has a relative independency from central government.

Number of EGO bus passengers have shown a steady growth trend along with urban growth with some fluctuations since late 1970s with a peaking Number of EGO bus passengers have shown a steady growth trend along with urban growth with some fluctuations since the late 1970s with a peaking period at 1991-1993 as a result of the new Ikarus buses added to the fleet. Number of bus passengers entered into a steep decline as Mayor Gökçek's management started in 1994, possibly due to a general mobility decrease in this period of economic crises. This downward trend in bus passenger number was triggered further with the opening of two rail lines, Ankara (A1) in 1997 and Metro (M1) in 1998 (in both cases, their full year of operation).

The year 1998 shows a temporary growth especially in private bus passengers, i.e. private operators served with various types of vehicles including Minibuses, Privately Operated Public Buses (ÖHO), Contracted Double-decker Public Transport Buses (DDB), Contracted Green Busses (GB), etc. Municipality cancelled DBB and GB licenses, which reflected to private bus passenger numbers during 1999-2004. After cancelling licenses issued by previous managements, the municipality management started issuing new licenses for private buses (ÖHO) and contracted midi busses (ÖTA). This can be interpreted as an action of the municipality for cancellation of assemblages existed from previous periods and creating a new set of assemblages with new (or renewed) operators and modes in the market controlled by the municipality management.

Ankaray (A1) and Batıkent Metro (M1) passengers kept almost a constant ridership level without considerable growth in spite of the ever growing market. Limited EGO bus line restructuring efforts were not able to attract and grow rail patronage as many private bus and minibus lines continued to operate in parallel to parts of the rail lines. Magnetic ticketing technology and very limited use of transfer fares allowed private surface transport operators

to increase their share in the market without any complaint from new rail lines as size of the EGO bus fleet reduced due to scrapping old buses.

Although the two rail systems opened in 1997-1998 (their full-year of operation respectively) and new private and EGO buses were added to the public transport market, number of total passengers has not increased compared to 1992-1993 period.

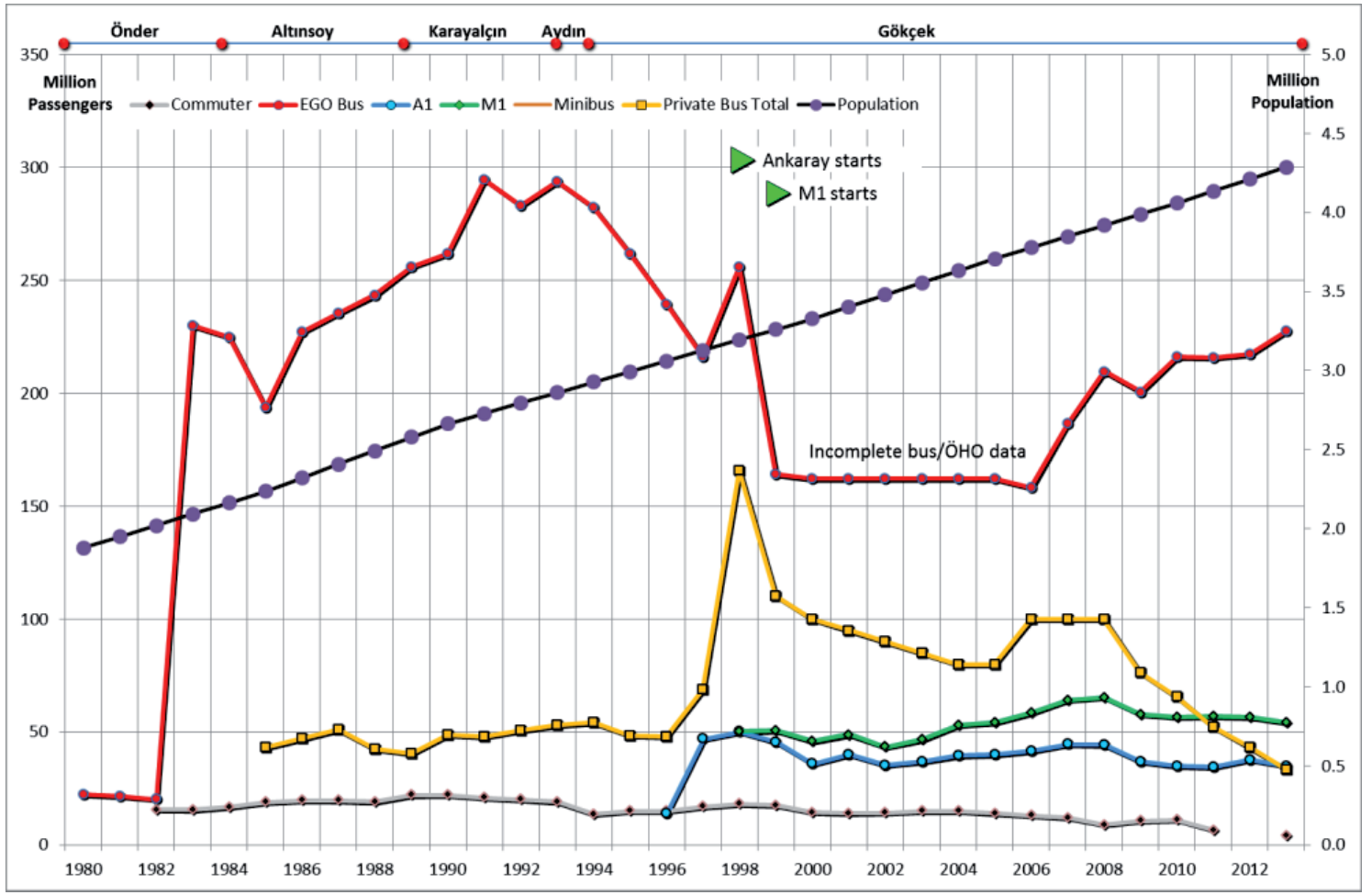


Figure 5.13 Development of Public Transport Trips and Ankara Population After 1980
(EGO,2015)

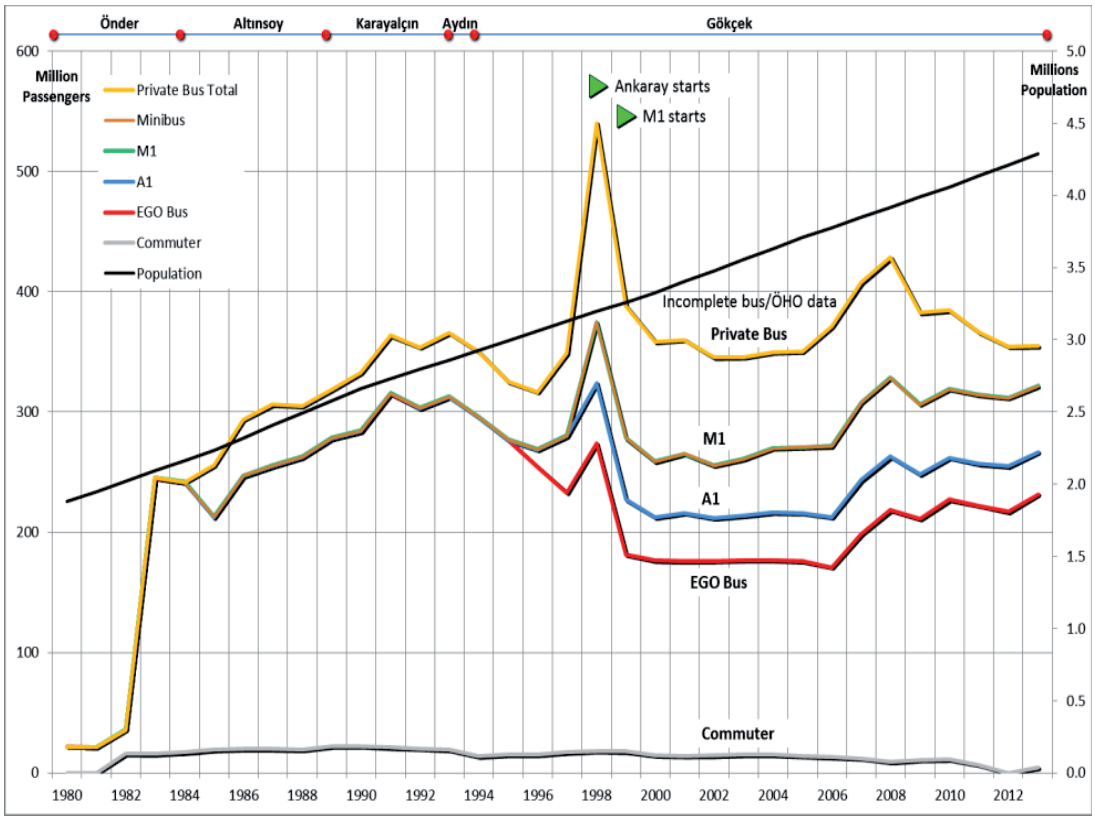


Figure 5.14 Development of Public Transport Trips and Ankara Population After 1920

(cumulative annual values) (EGO,2015)

Total number of EGO bus and rail passengers have not reached the level of 1998 even though population of the city hosted about one million additional residents and mobility per capita increased in the same period. This additional travel demand was answered by new assemblages in the urban transport market namely new car users and new private operators along the policies of the local management. Number of rail passengers has kept their share at a rather constant level during the last fifteen years while number of EGO bus passengers was reduced during the same period reflecting the

growing effect and share of the assemblages other than public transport services (Figure 5.14 and Figure 5.15).

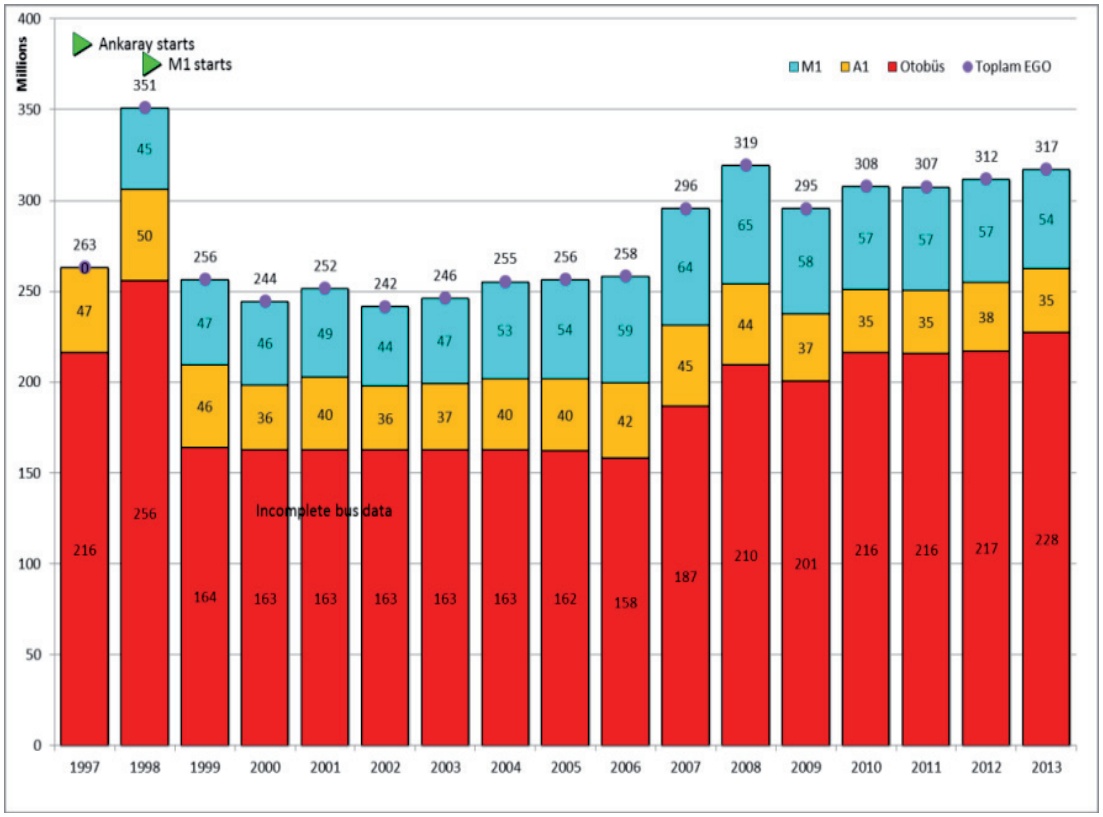


Figure 5.15 Public Transport Services Operated by Municipality

(Annual cumulative values) (EGO,2015)

Change in the modal split of Ankara urban transport shows us results of highway and car oriented approaches (Figure 5.16). Currently largest share of daily trips is by car (33%) as compared to 22% in 1989 with 50% increase in two decades. Besides the two minimal shares of the metro (3%) and Ankaray (2%) all public transport modes has lost the market to private cars and to a para-transit mode of school/employee buses. Largest loser was municipal buses (from 25 to 14%) while private operators lost smaller shares

(minibuses from 24 to 23%, ÖHO buses from 10 to 7% and taxis from 10 to 7%)

Three urban rail systems currently have a small share (6%) while road based transport modes carry most (94%) of the daily passengers in Ankara. Public transportation modes (rail, EGO and ÖHO) carry 27%, para-transit modes (minibus, school and employee bus and taxis) carry 40% and private cars carry 33% of daily trips. This distribution shows that road based policies, private operator based policies and small entrepreneur based policies were successful.

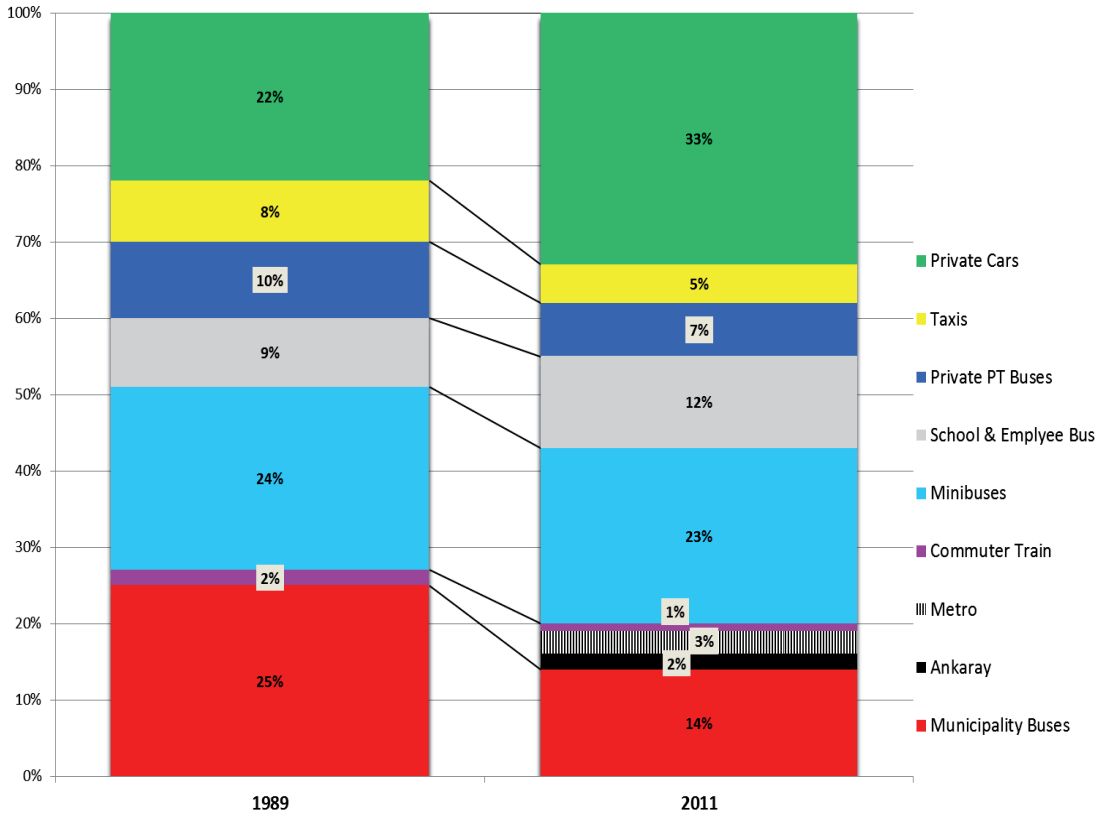


Figure 5.16 Change of Modal Distribution in Ankara (1989-2011)
(EGO)

Para-transit modes have a share of 40% reflecting municipality's deficiency of public transport policies and implementation allowing larger marker shares for unorganized private operators in the form of school and employee buses in addition to citizens trying to solve their commute problems by having a car.

Municipal operations had lost coverage from 25% (bus) in 1989 to 19% in 2011 (bus, metro, Ankaray) in spite of two new rail systems with 300,000 daily passengers.

5.5 Urban and Transport Planning Studies and Development on Eskişehir Road Corridor

First urban developments on Eskişehir Corridor were initiated with the Ankara 1990 Urban Development Plan, which was prepared in the early 1970s and approved in 1982. According to this plan, proposed urban development of Ankara had to be extended beyond the topographical limitations through the creation of two corridors in the west, the Batıkent-Sincan Corridor and Çayyolu Corridor known also as the Eskişehir Road Corridor. This metropolitan plan decision shaped today's macroform. After the approval of the plan Eryaman and Batıkent residential areas, Sincan organized industrial district and public institutions on Eskişehir Road began developing incrementally. Çayyolu region was planned as a housing area to be developed with cooperatives and private developers. Besides, Ministry of Public Works and Settlement proposed new 650.000 populations for Temelli region, including Bağlıca and Alacaatlı area, near Çayyolu (ABB, 1982). First residential areas on Eskişehir Road Corridor, which can be reached only by Eskişehir Road, appeared after 1985 (Figure 5.17).

Ankara Structural Plan was prepared in 1987 by a professional group from Middle East Technical University for the target year of 2015. However, 2015

Structural Plan was kind of a policy document rather than urban development plan since it did not include concrete and detailed spatial proposals. Nor was it approved as a plan document. However, it adopted various spatial proposals of the previous Ankara 1990 plan, and supported corridor development. Structural plan proposed residential areas on West corridor; such as Eryaman, Çayyolu, Etimesgut, Sincan residential areas, parallel to previous 1990 Plan. Since the 2015 plan was not approved and implementation plans with 1/1000 scales could not be prepared, serious pressures were experienced on proposed development areas (Altanban, 1998). Fragmented implementations and investments deteriorated urban macroform substantially. Changing dynamics and increasing pressures led municipality to present new 2025 Ankara development plan to municipal council to have it approved in 1997. Land use Map of 2025 plan indicates that serious amount of land on both north and south side of Eskişehir Road was already built up during the 1990's (Figure 5.18). However, municipality council of these years did not approve this plan. After the failure to get the second plan approved, Southwest corridor opened to development through many fragmented and partial plans (Figure 5.19).

Two residential developments, Çayyolu at Southwest and Batıkent-Sincan-Eryaman-Etimesgut at North West of Eskişehir Road have access through Eskişehir Road. Transportation to Çayyolu at southwest was available only through Eskişehir Road until the construction of a parallel Sabancı Boulevard in the 1990's while many of residential areas at the northwestern Batıkent-Sincan corridor can be reached by an Istanbul Road. The first metro of the city, which opened in 1997, served this northwestern corridor from the city centre to Batıkent, while the metro access to the Çayyolu-Eskişehir Road corridor was provided only in 2014 through Çayyolu Metro that was originally planned to start operation 15 years before this date.

First settlements of Ümitköy were cooperatives and mass housing for middle and upper middle class areas. This new area developed fragmentally and disconnectedly and included only residential areas. Area contained only housing without any working and service area required for the population. Service facilities (schools, health services etc.) developed after the 2000's reducing dependency to city center while employment still continued with continuously growing residential areas. Low density and fragmented structure of new developing area directed the transport demand to be dependent on private cars.

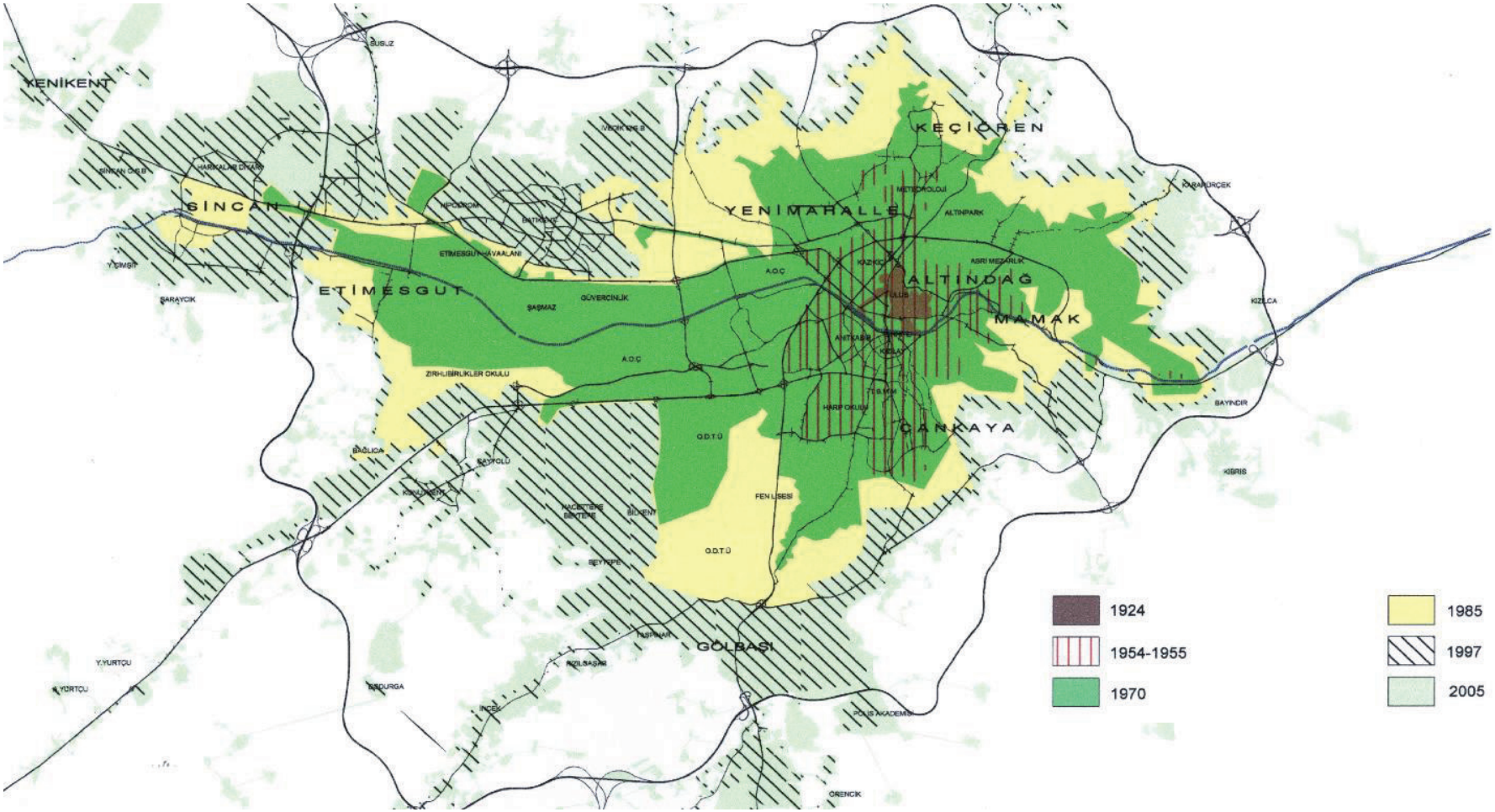


Figure 5.17 Development of Ankara City Settled Area
(ABB, 2006)

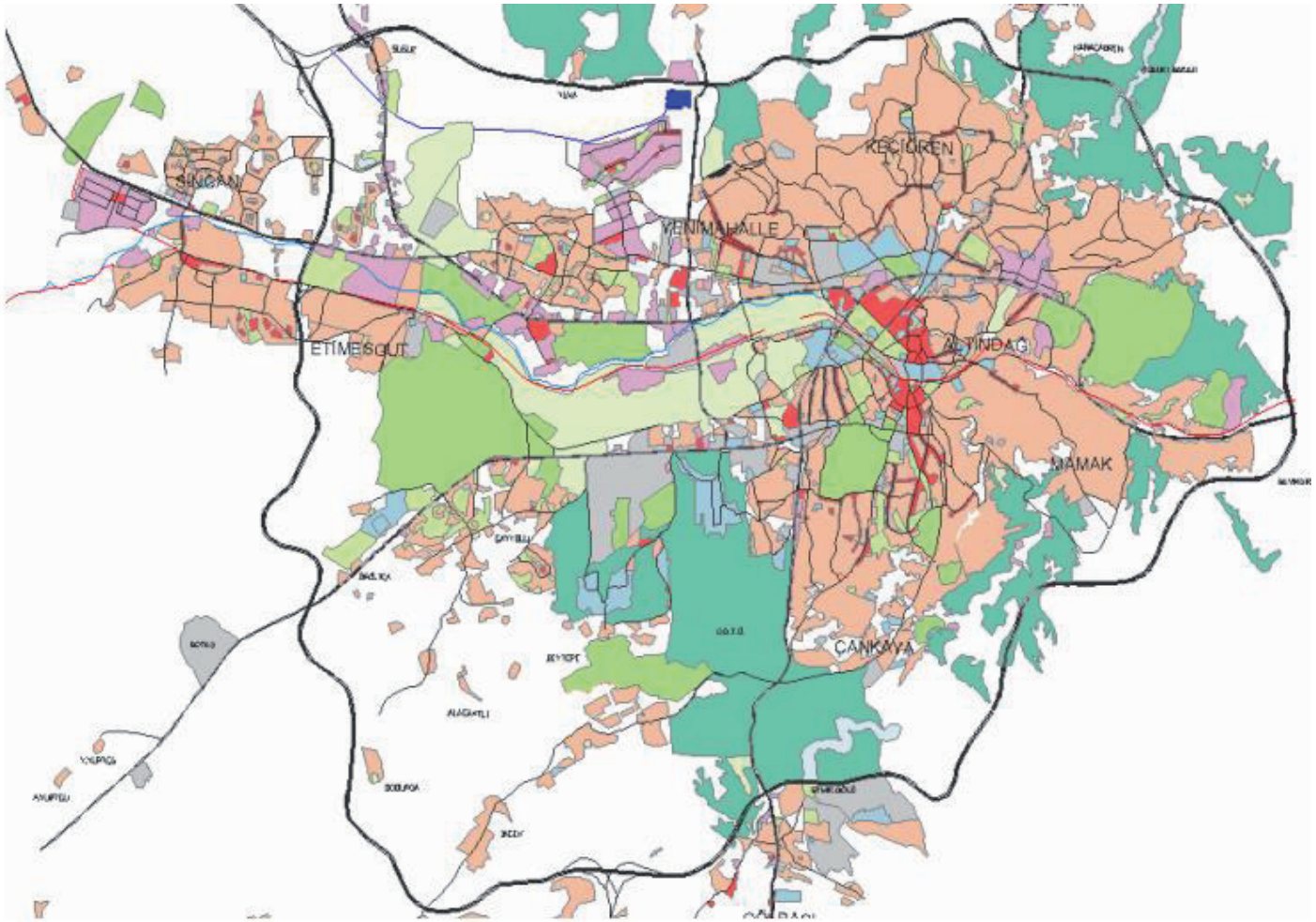


Figure 5.18 Ankara Landuse
(**AB**B, 1997**)**

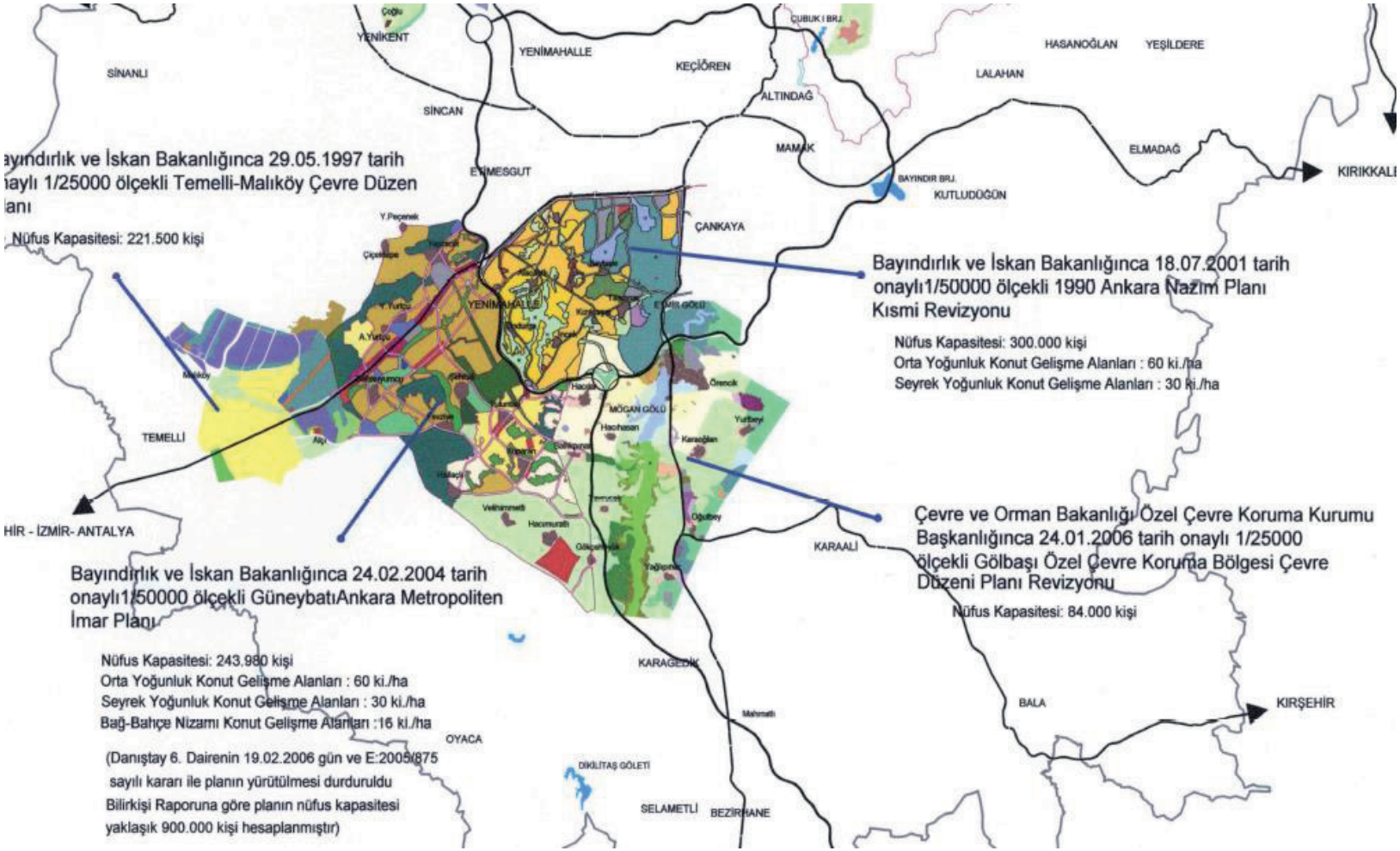


Figure 5.19 Partial Development Plans on Çayyolu Residential Area
(ABB, 2006)

Ankara Urban Transport Study (1987) was the main aim of preparation of Ankara 2015 Structural Plan. Ankara Urban Transport Study (1987) accepted land use proposals and population projections of 2015 Structural Plan. After 2015 Structural Plan was announced, decisions of residential development in Çayyolu and decentralization of public institutions along the Eskişehir Road until the newly proposed Ankara Ring Road triggered development on these areas. Until the transport study revision and approval of the Transport Master Plan in 1994, there occurred many changes, which did not comply with the plan. 1994 Ankara Transport Master Plan was based on an assumption of 80,000 population for Çayyolu settlement in 2014 with the number of automobiles being 23,200 (ABB, 1995).

1994 plan proposed that second stage of Metro – Çayyolu Metro- would be in operation by 2000. However, Çayyolu Metro could be opened with numerous deficiencies only in 2014. Meanwhile, vast developments were realized in surrounding area. Delay of Çayyolu Metro opening and inadequate public transport operations supported citizens to own private cars, which in turn created higher levels of congestion. Despite the Transport Master Plan (1994) proposals for park and ride areas near railway stations, these areas were opened to urban development and transformed into high density residential areas or shopping centers, such as the Gordion Shopping Center and Residences, creating additional traffic demand.

Above mentioned Ankara Transport and Traffic Improvement Study (ATTIS) prepared in 1998 with the finance of World Bank. This study did not have binding status on municipality's actions. This study had many low cost but effective proposals such as travel demand management measures and organizational restructuring but municipality implemented only three grade separated junction proposals and ignored all other recommendations, as already described above. The study proposed bus lanes on Eskişehir Road

too and other central corridors, express bus operations, enabling direct and uninterrupted public transport service between central business districts. Several junctions on Eskişehir Road were recommended for signal priority operation for public transport between Çayyolu and the central city. Busways were proposed on Eskişehir Road considering current traffic volumes derived from traffic counts (1998) given below (Figure 5.20 and Figure 5.21). None of these proposals were implemented by municipality. Municipality arranged only short and interrupted service roads sections, used by all traffic instead of proposed bus-only lanes.

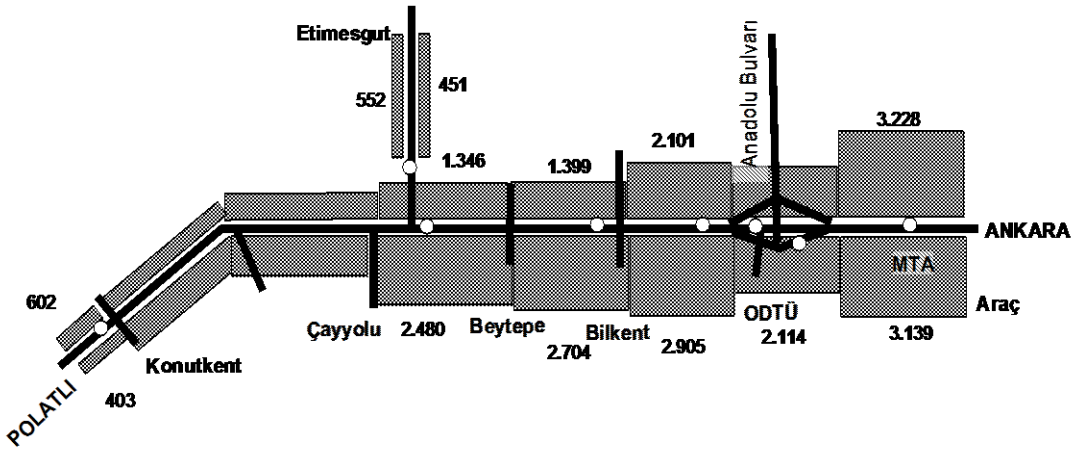


Figure 5.20 Total Vehicle Number on Eskişehir Road at Morning Peak
(ATTIS, 1998)

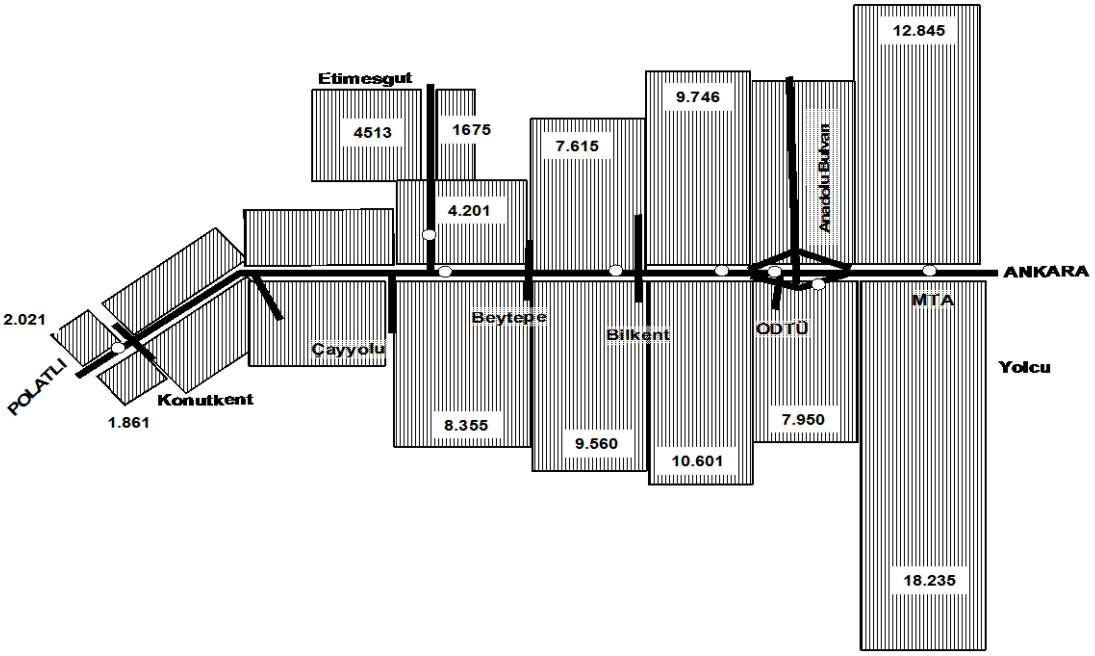


Figure 5.21 Total Passenger Numbers on Eskişehir Road at Morning Peak
(ATTIS, 1998)

In the mean time, the section of the Eskişehir Road between Ümitköy and Konya Road was widened in 1998 and Eskişehir Road was transformed from an urban arterial road of 2x2 lanes to a partial access control road with 4x4 lanes (Atak, 2001). Junctions along the Eskişehir Road were transformed to grade separated junctions during the 1990's as proposed in 1994 Transport Master Plan. New intercity Bus Terminal (AŞTİ) and a new limited access connection road parallel to Eskişehir Road opened in the same period. Beginning from the mid-1990's the municipality adopted transport policies, which put private cars at the center of the urban transport system through allocating major part of its budget to road investments, whereas improvement of public transport system and pedestrian facilities were disregarded.

On the South West Corridor, which is served by Eskişehir Road, the Ministry of Public Works and Settlement (now the Ministry of Environment and Urbanism) continued to approve several partial development plans during the 1990's. Inner Ringroad Development Plan of Southwest (2001) put together numerous partial plans, legitimized in previous years and even though many constructions were completed South West Development Plan proposed further new areas for development. The plan covered 40,000 hectares on both inner and outer part of Ringroad. Inner Çayyolu Region was handled by three partial plans, including Beytepe and Çayyolu Villages Plan (2001), Alacaatlı and Dodurga Villages Plan (2001); İncek, Kızılcaşar, Dodurga Villages Plan (2001). Other plans for this region include Elvan Saraycık Yeni Çimşit Development Plan (2002) and Ballıkuyumcu Mass Housing Area Plan Revision (2000). According to these plans, Çayyolu settlement was proposed to grow as oil stain. Surrounding areas were under pressures of speculative manipulations of land developers including the municipality as a public developer (Akın, 2007). There are many criticisms on Eskişehir Road Corridor residential areas in terms of both urban and urban transport development. Eryıldız (2003) listed negative characteristics of Çayyolu as follows: its location far from central area and its dependency to central area; inadequate public and private sector services provision in new residential development; interrupted green belt and ignorance of continuity of green areas; lack of pedestrian connection between subcenters, green areas and services.

On the north part of Eskişehir Road, the 1990 Plan Proposals began to be realized on Sincan, Fatih, Elvankent, Eryaman residential areas and Sincan organized Industrial Regions, even though the plan was not approved officially until 1982. Eryaman residential area began to develop in 1986 at the north part of Eskişehir Road. Development of residential areas accelerated after the 1990's with the beginning of preceding stages of Eryaman,

Elvankent and Ümitköy Çayyolu Residential areas. Akın (2007) indicated that the pace of housing production was influenced by economic crises of 1994 and 2001. Constructions on these sites continued to extend after 2003 with new state incentives for the construction sector. In these years, many buildings on Eskişehir road corridor began to be constructed both by private and public hand (TOKI). In the mean time, many forest areas and areas proposed to be afforested in previous plans were opened to urban development through transferring them first to General Directory of Forestry and then to Ankara Greater Municipality. After the 1980's Ankara witnessed effects of globalization through fragmented urban development plans of municipality and through entrance of large construction companies to the market (Akın, 2007). These large-scale residential areas having relatively higher living standards were articulated to the city.

2023 Ankara Urban Development Plan (ABB, 2006) handled Çayyolu as a separate planning sub-region under the "South East Plan Region"; while residential areas at north part of Eskişehir Road were handled under the "West Plan Region" (ABB, 2006) (Figure 5.22). Plan decisions related to these two plan regions assigned new population through proposing infill development in empty areas in already developed lands as well as opening new lands at the periphery to development. New and existing development regions are: Çayyolu-Ümitköy, İncek Kızılcaşar, Ortadoğu, Bağlıca, Beytepe-Alacatlı-Dodurga, A.Yurtçu Yapracık, Tuluntaş, Y.Yurtçu at South East Plan Region; Eryaman-Fatih, Etimesgut-Sincan, Çimşit-Saraycık. Development of alternative transport facilities for alleviating increasing transport demand on Eskişehir Road and establishing new public transport facilities on Eskişehir road are stated among the proposals of these sub-regions plan decisions. However, no concrete proposals were included by the decisions. Motorized transport based transport system development continued.

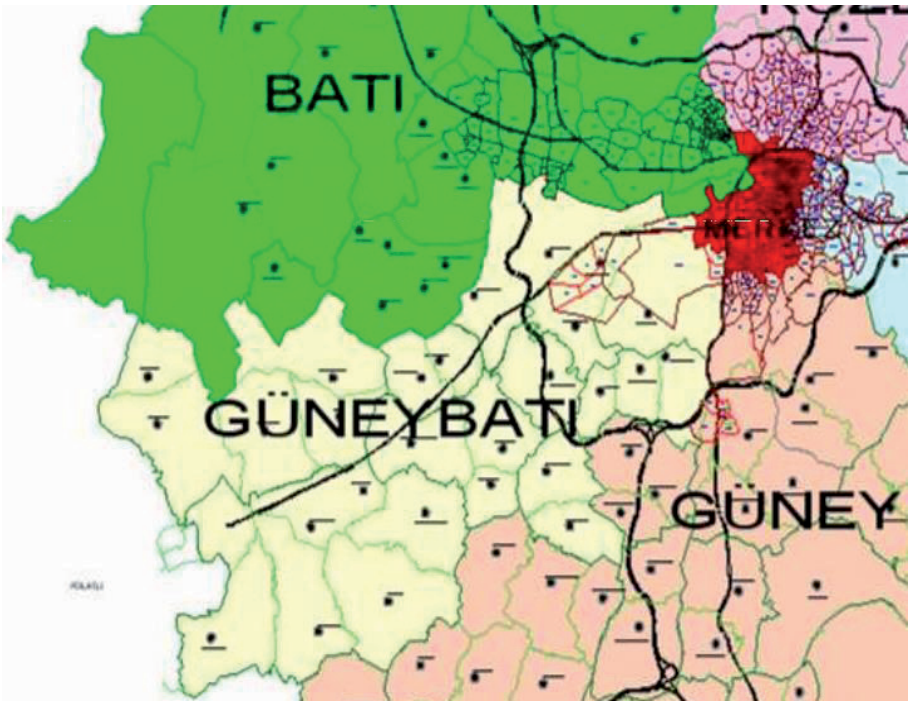


Figure 5.22 Plan Regions on Eskişehir Road Corridor
(ABB,2006)

The new proposed population can be understood by giving an example of Çayyolu sub-region population: the plan proposed areas for an additional 57.000 population capacity. This is more than the existing settled population of this area in 2005 and hence Çayyolu-Ümitköy subregion reaches to 110.000 populations. 2023 Plan assessed the Southwest development area as most speculative area of the last 20 years. Population of all Southwest region was 139.317 according to 2000 census while previously approved partial plans assigned to Southwest Region a population between 2.014.000 and 2.860.000 (ABB, 2006). 2023 Plan revised former plans and made new population assignments as 1.650.000.

Furthermore, 2023 Ankara Development Plan criticized residential area based land use decisions of previous plan in Çayyolu. Different from previous

plans, 2023 plan defined new sub-centers in Dodurga and Mustafa Kemal Districts; new urban working area in Maliköy- Alcı Organized Industrial Area; and techno parks in ODTU and Bilkent University. It was suggested that creation of new working places will contribute to the alleviation of travel demand and associated traffic problems on Eskişehir Road by creating a mixed-use development and consequently lower distances between home and workplaces.

In urban transport area, Municipality ignored proposals of 1987 and 1994 Urban Transport Plans and did not prepare any Transport Master Plan between 1994 and 2015. Municipality prepared ATTIS study in 1998 but did not implement its proposals. Municipality contracted Gazi University for preparation of a Transport Master Plan in 2013. Their contract term ended in March 2014 but the plan is not declared to public yet (as of August 2015). Published Analysis Reports of the unfinished plan were criticized by many professionals, including Chamber of Architects and Chamber of Urban Planners due to the Municipality's attitude for legitimization previous unplanned and illegal arrangements and investments. Chamber of Architects criticized plan preparation attitude since the municipality ignored their opinions and rejected involvement of Professional Chambers (http://www.mimdap.org/?p=153409). Besides several opponent members of parliament made parliamentary questionery about the content, methods and directors of the plan (http://www.pirsushaber.com/ankara-ulasim-ana-plani-na-dair-calisma-meclis-gundeminde-1274504n.html).

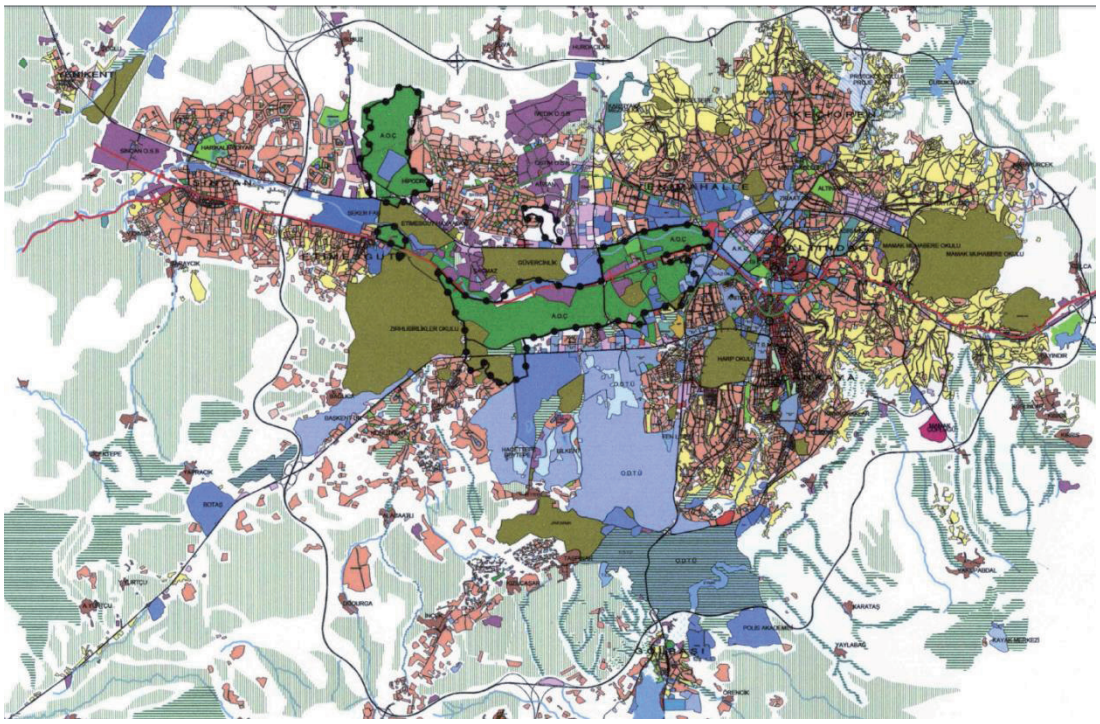


Figure 5.23 2005 Ankara Landuse-Settled and Surrouding Area
(ABB,2006)

In 2001, Gökçek government started the construction of Çayyolu Metro Line. Municipality had announced opening of the new rail system as 2004, but the Çayyolu Metro Line started to operate only in 2014 after the Ministry took over the construction work from the Municipality. Central government signed a unique transfer agreement for taking over Çayyolu Metro line and completing it within general state budget. This unique support of central government can be explained through Gökçek's close relationships with national level assemblages. During 2000's Gökçek administration continued its road investment based urban transport policies. Negligence of public transport system brought traffic congestion to severe levels. Since the completion of Çayyolu Metro Line took three years after central government takeover, Gökçek tried to solve congestion this time with construction of a

new parallel road (ODTÜ road) reaching to Konya Road, through bypassing congestion on Konya Road and Eskişehir Road junction.

Having no updated Transport Master Plan eased Municipality's unplanned and profit oriented traffic arrangements and investments on Eskişehir Road Corridor. Negative effects of the unplanned urban transport term together with speculative and partial development plans on Eskişehir Road corridor created enormous congestion and accessibility problems. Activity centers and travel destinations in the corridor increased and varied in recent periods as indicated in Table 5.4 and Picture 5.17 as most of them developed after 2000. General approach of Gökçek administration for solving these problems were investments oriented towards road building. In this framework, public transport improvements were disregarded substantially. Public transport arrangements are shaped by mayor's personal relationships with public transport assemblages. Characteristics and interactions of effective assemblages are discussed in the following sections in detail.

Table 5.4 List of Main Urban Focals on Eskişehir Road Corrdior

Universities		
A. METU	D. Bilkent	G. Ufuk
B. Hacettepe	E. Başkent	H. THK
C. Atılım University	F. Çankaya	I. TOBB
Hospitals		
A. Rıdvan Ege Hospital	C. TOBB Hospital	E. Medicana
B. Bayındır Hospital	D. Atatürk Hospital	
Shopping Centers		
A. Armada	E. Ankuva	I. Minasera
B. Next Level	F. Galeria	J. Anse
C. Kentpark	G. Üstün Petrol Outlet Complex	K. Arcadium
D. Cepa	H. Gordion	
Military Places		
A. Zırhlı Birklikler		
Colleges		
A. Bilfen	D. Arı	G. Tevfik Fikret
B. Doğa	E. ODTÜ	
C. Zafer	F. BUPS	
Business		
A. Ankara Chamber of Commerce	D. TOBB	G. Bilkent Cyberpark
B.Armada	E. Tepe Prime	
C. Next Level	F. ODTÜ Technokent	
Government		
A. MTA	F. Directorate of Religious Affairs	L. SPK
B. Şap Enstitüsü	G . Ministry of Customs and Trade	M Ministry of Science, Industry, and Technology
C. CHP	H. Council of State	N. AFAD
D. Turkish Petroleum	I. Ministry of Food, Agriculture and Livestock	O. General Directorate of Sustainable Energy
E.AKP		P. Atomic Energy Authority
Intercity Transport Bus Terminals		
A. AŞTİ	B. Ulusoy Terminal	
Hotels		
A. JW Meriott	B. Mövenpick	

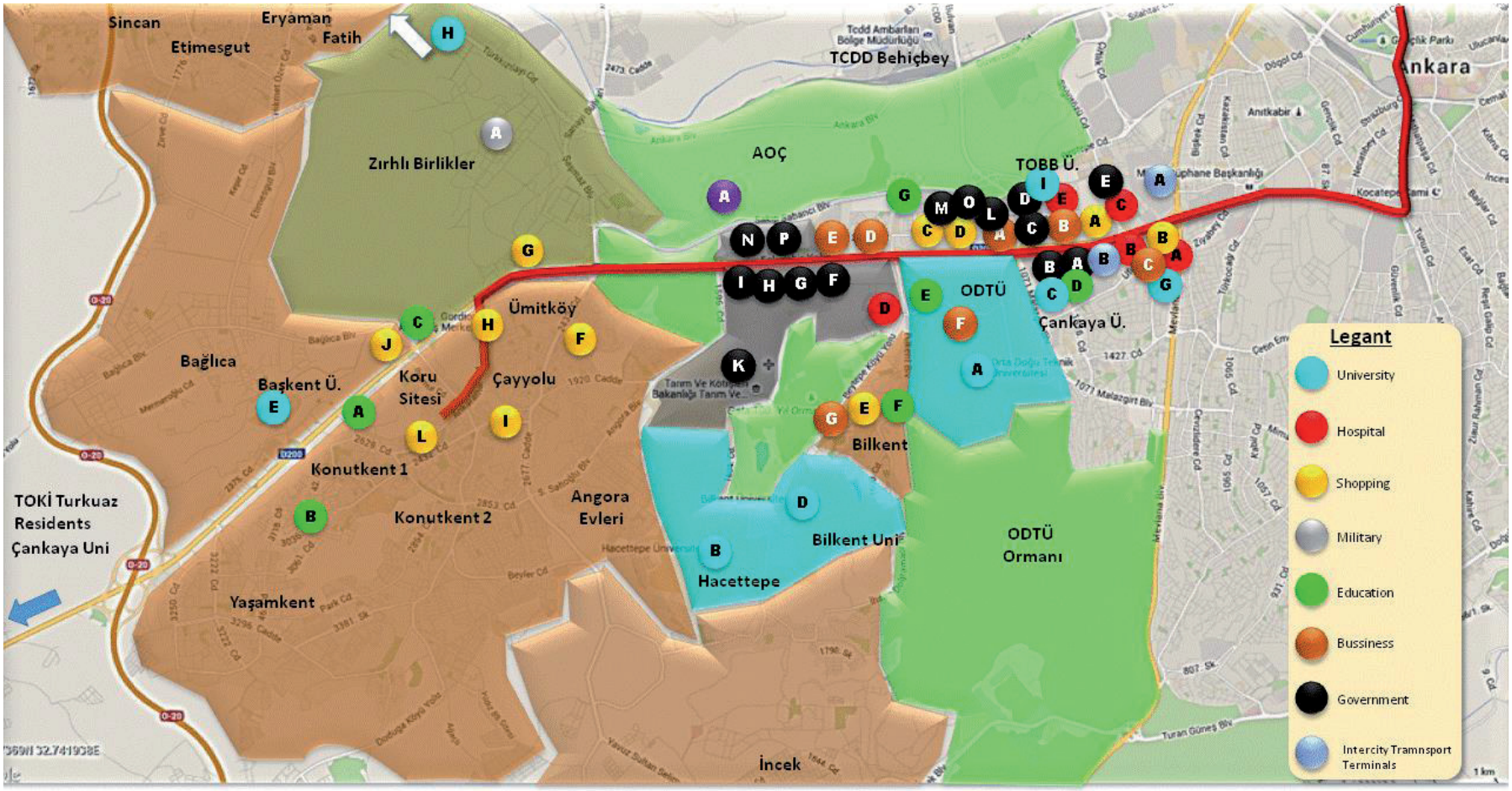


Figure 5.24 Main Urban Focals on Eskişehir Road Corrdior

5.6 Interaction of Urban Transport Assemblages on Eskişehir Road Corridor

In this section, private and publicly operated public transport modes are examined on the rapidly developing Eskişehir Road Corridor. After definition of their characteristics, changing composition in traffic and interaction among them are tried to be revealed. Although the municipality has the role of protecting public good through balancing the interactions of assemblages, its increasing entrepreneurialist attitude both in urban and urban transport development resulted in a decrease of implementations for public good. Public transport facilities were not improved as required by residential travel demand increase and population growth on the corridor. Insufficient public transport facilities and services led middle-income residents to solve their transport needs through private cars and this created traffic congestions and accessibility problems.

Construction of Çayyolu metro became prominent with the 1994 Transport Master Plan. Çayyolu Metro together with EGO bus operations constituted public side of operation while ÖHO, ÖTA bus and minibus operations constituted private sector side. Çayyolu Metro, EGO, ÖHO and ÖTA bus operations and minibus operations were examined through official documents and press analysis along with interviews with related parties. Official documents contributed to thesis study to a limited extent due to inadequate data collection and analysis attitude of Municipality. This attitude of Municipality units and improper institutional framework of urban transport are evaluated in the following section of “EGO” at Picture 5.1.2. In-depth interviews substantially contributed to second supporting hypothesis of the thesis that Mayors and their interaction with powerful assemblages specify the degree of entrepreneurialist urban and urban transport system

development. However, names of persons and details of these in-depth interviews are not published here.

Characteristics of minibus operators and relations are defined through cross checking of interviews with other assemblages. In addition to regular public transport services of private sector and public sector, employee and school buses (service vehicles) have important role on Eskişehir Road passenger transport. Each of these individual operators has different route, different capacity and different fare depending on their route distance. Their growing passenger share in Ankara modal distribution was indicated in the previous section. However, data related to service vehicles using Eskişehir Road is not available. Their characteristic and interactions with other assemblages are not explained here for Çayyolu case but for Ankara in general.

5.6.1 Publicly Operated Rail System (Çayyolu Metro)

Çayyolu Metro line began to be built in 2002 with two other lines; Keçiören and Sincan. Municipality announced that it would be completed in 2004. This was an unrealistic date at the beginning and was impossible to achieve as municipality gave priority to road constructions and grade separated junction investments instead of ongoing rail system constructions. Starting constructions before elections was a vote gaining strategy of Mayor Gökçek in 2001. A similar strategy was repeated in 2009 elections and Gökçek administration announced that Çayyolu Metro line would be finalized shortly after the elections. However, MoCT took over in 2010 the three urban rail projects for finalization, including construction and vehicle procurement. MoCT did not made any announcement about the exact date of Çayyolu Metro Line. Central government together with local government implemented the same vote gaining strategy through ribbon cutting ceremonies, ensuring

that the line opened right before the local elections despite incomplete aspects of the project. This time ribbon cutting ceremony was not for opening for a construction but for opening for finalization of construction and starting rail line operation, which brought many problems resulting from its early opening before all works were complete. Several municipality officials emphasized that incomplete and early opening of the Çayyolu Metro Line was a political decision for handling traffic congestion on Eskişehir Road. They further emphasized that they would have preferred opening it a later date after finishing all physical and operational preparations. Deficiencies of Çayyolu metro line in March 2014 are listed below.

Different from Çayyolu Metro (M3), Batıkent Metro (M1) and Ankaray (M2) Lines started operation after preperation and implementation of an Integration Study (EGO, 1997) prepeared nine months before operation. Transfer areas and public transport routes of different operators that would be influenced by the metro lines opening were determined in this study (EGO, 1997). Operational characteristics, routes and policies of both public and private public transport modes were specifed for enabling smooth and effective operation. Municipality officals of the planning unit indicated that the positive effect created with M1 and Ankaray rail lines in society, did not occur with the opening of M2 and M3 lines due to lack of planning studies before the opening. The effect created by the M2 and M3 lines was more likely a chaos and citizens lost their trust for the rail system being a good solution for alleviating traffic congestions and accessiblity problems.

- Test-drives of Çayyolu metro vehicles were made in shorter period of time than was required before the operation. After operations began, passengers faced numerous failures that caused enormous time losses and accessibility problems. There are several news, indicating problems experienced on Çayyolu Metro Operation (Figure 5. 25 and Figure 5.26).



Aksamalı metro hattı

[Metro with Failures]

Ender BAYKUŞ-Mert Gökhan KOÇ

8 Mayıs 2015

Açıldığı günden bu yana arıza yaşanan Çayyolu metrosu dün sabah güne sancılı başladı. Arıza nedeniyle 30 dakika seferler aksarken, ardı ardına yapılan anonslara yolcular isyan etti: "Teknik bir arıza deniliyor. 3 dakika mı, 5 dakika mı yoksa bir saat mi?"

Figure 5.25 "Metro with Failures"
(Hürriyet Ankara 08.05.2015)



Çayyolu metrosu arızalandı

[Breakdown at Çayyolu Metro]

Ender BAYKUŞ

25 Aralık 2014

Çayyolu metrosu dün sabah, enerji sorunu nedeniyle arızalandı. Kızılay'a gitmek için Cayyolu'ndan metroya binen yolcular tahliye edildi. Yolcuların ulaşım için son çaresi otostop oldu.

Figure 5.26 "Breakdown at Çayyolu Metro"
(Hürriyet Ankara, 25.12.2014)

- Metro began operations with three wagon units instead of six wagon units as planned originally. Municipality officials blamed the Ministry for not fulfilling this crucial gap until today. The Ministry have to complete requirements of the purchase bid and transfer the fleet to the Municipality. Officials of EGO have stated that the vehicle purchase bid was cancelled and they had no further information in August 2015 whether new bid was arranged and when the vehicles would be delivered. In December 2014, the municipality announced that the service headways would be reduced in January 2015 as new train sets would be delivered and enter operation (Figure 5.27). Clearly, this still did not happen.



Metroya yeni setler geliyor [New train sets are coming]

Umut ERDEM 18 Aralık 2014

Çayyolu ve Sincan hatlarında yaşanan sıkıntılar Meclis gündemine geldi. Levent Gök, bütçe görüşmeleri sırasında Ulaştırma ve Haberleşme Bakanı Lütfi Elvan'a metrodaki problemleri anlatarak, "Vagonlar tıklım, tıklım" dedi. Bakan Elvan da, "Şu anda 6.5 dakikada bir sefer yapılıyor; ama Ocak sonu itibarıyla, inşallah bu 6 buçuk dakikalık sefer sayısı daha da aşağı inecek" dedi.

Figure 5.27 "New train sets are coming"
(Hürriyet Ankara 18.12.2014)

- Bus lines of EGO were not integrated into the Metro Line and there were no planning studies for integration when the metro opened. Bus lines continued to operate five months on the same route causing duplicating and competing services on the corridor. Municipality prepared an integration plan after the opening of Çayyolu Metro, which is discusses in detail below under the next heading. Integration document, bringing modifications to EGO lines and services in connection with the metro, was implemented in August 2014. According to this plan new bus lines opened to service, existing bus lines were transformed to feeder ring lines and some of the previous bus routes were canceled with the claim of service duplication. This integration plan and modifications made after the implementation of the integration plan are analyzed below under the heading of “Publicly Operated Bus System (EGO)”. Brief review of integration plan and modifications indicates that the municipality’s strategy was based on common sense and trial-and-error approach rather than a technical analysis and study. Besides the problem of overcrowding on metro trains, excessive waiting and overcrowding at transfer bus stops and EGO buses could not be solved until today.

- Metro lines were not integrated into privately operated public transport operations, which are in operation on the same route when the metro began its operation. Municipality officials stated that they did not have any plan to integrate private operators to the system. Contradicting attitudes of municipality for private operators are discussed under following headings.

5.6.2 Publicly Operated Public Transport Buses (EGO)

Municipal buses operated by EGO buses historically constituted the backbone of public transport system in Ankara in spite of the share decreasing during recent decades. EGO has been founded to operate public buses in the city bus has been assigned to plan and manage all the transport modes with its Transport Planning Branch, which is the only transport-planning unit in Ankara Greater Municipality. However, it does not have sufficient staff and qualifications for providing comprehensive transport planning activity, including various components and users of urban transport system. In depth interviews explicitly revealed that the planning function of EGO is often overlooked since the municipality make many urban transport decisions without consulting EGO or asking it to carry out an urban transport study on any given matter. Urban transport planning officials stated that sometimes they were informed about the EGO bus route arrangements during the implementation. Similarly, “bus line restructuring for Çayyolu Metro Integration” was prepared by another unit rather than transport planning unit. Dissolution of planning role of EGO is supported by legal deficiencies and institutional structure, which does not include a definite urban transport unit structure and duties in various sized cities. In depth interviews showed that EGO is actually not planning the routes of public transport modes, even its own buses.

EGO started operation with 12 routes in 1935 and number of its routes reached to 311 in 2015. It is the public side of public transport provision and EGO is the management authority of urban transport services in Ankara. EGO faced several financial shortages over the past and gave several operation rights to private sector to fill the gaps in service provision as explained in the previous section of Ankara analysis. Private operators became competitors of EGO. EGO seems to have adopted the minimum

service provider role, ensuring the profit of private operators on commercial routes. Private operators have been located on the most profitable routes and trip numbers of EGO on these routes have decreased. EGO continued as the only public transport service provider on unprofitable areas with low demand.

EGO collected and issued detailed analyses about its operation and other public transport services beginning from 1983 until 1999. According to the information from existing and former officers, issuing these detailed reports ended with a decision of EGO management. It is emphasized during the interviews that it was a political decision, which technicians did not support. Several of these detailed reports have been obtained during the data collection phase of the thesis. However, they are made available not from the Ankara Greater Municipality but from several former officers and researchers. EGO sent these reports to recycling when moving to new municipality building in 2008 and even this action reflects the policy of the current Municipality with regards to data collection and planning.

Available “EGO Passenger Reports” cover the years between 1983 and 1999. They include information about routes of both EGO and private public transport modes, monthly and daily passenger numbers on EGO routes, distribution of passengers into fare categories, vehicles stock and conditions of buses, number of bus trips made, kilometers of EGO bus services, employment on EGO, information about income and outcome of EGO and accident data of EGO buses. Main aims of preparation of these reports were to define and improve operational conditions and other inefficiency problems resulting from its operation and other modes.

EGO discontinued preparation of these operational reports after 1999 despite improving analysis opportunities in comparison with the beginning of the

1980's. After several years, the institution began to issue annual reports with only general information about the operation and these do not include any statistical data about the operation and other changes on public transport system. EGO bus routes and their daily patronage were collected between 1983 and 1999 from these reports. Regular passenger data on Eskişehir Corridor Bus routes could not be reached until today. Municipality officials expressed that there were no need for collecting these regularly since there were no efforts for planning the system comprehensively and they only gathered data from electronic fare collection system when they required it for emerging problems.

EGO bus route information could not be reached from Municipality before the beginning the operation of Çayyolu Metro since EGO stopped collecting data about operational changes, as it did before in 1999.

Information on public transport routes on Eskişehir Corridor were gathered from several unofficial internet sites (www.yoltarifi.com and www.otobussaatleri.net) in this thesis. Passenger volume and trip frequency of these routes were used through making assumptions from available unsystematic operational data made available from EGO fare collections system that comprised data for different months or weeks of different years. EGO operation regions were also recommended for collection of missing data but these units were found to be engaged only with current operations thus not collected and kept historical statistics, and hence the officials gave general and unwritten answers without statistics.

EGO reports (1983-1999) generally emphasize that after private public transport operators entered the system, EGO busses passenger numbers decreased sharply. Moreover, they argue that all passengers of ÖHO buses, which correspond to an annual average of 50.000.000, are former

passengers of EGO (EGO, 1996). In other words, the private operators did not help increase bus passenger ridership levels. Despite such an analysis EGO continued to allow new private operators to the system in several routes during Mayor Gökçek period.

Electronic fare collection system is a huge opportunity for data collection, analysis and planning. However, the municipality was too late in introducing the smart card system that enables vast data collection and analysis. Cities like Istanbul and Izmir have been using smartcards for over a decade by the time Ankara adopted this technology. Interviews held with municipality officials showed that the municipality did not have any plan for introducing this system to private operators. Although many private operators like ÖTA are willing to adopt this system, municipality is delaying introduction to private operators as it gives the municipality easier control of the balance among private operators with unclear rules and data for her relations among private assemblages. It should be noted that in Istanbul, the smartcard is valid on privately operated buses as a successful step by the Municipality, and that in both Istanbul and Izmir municipalities continue negotiations with minibuses and dolmuş systems to include them in the smartcard system too. Ankara appears to lack behind these cities due to its limited use of smartcards in public transport.

EGO bus routes on Eskişehir Corridor began operations with the emerging residential areas on Eskişehir Road Corridor. Their number increased in time in parallel with growth of residential areas on Eskişehir Road Corridor. In the beginning of the 1980's EGO had only one bus line (Kızılay-Ümitköy Bus Line). Monthly passenger number was reported as 780 passengers in EGO Reports. This number indicated that Çayyolu settlement was a village sized area in these years. Bus lines of EGO increased to 12 lines in 1987 and to 27 lines in 1995 on Eskişehir Road including one express line between City

Center and Çayyolu Settlement. Development of express lines indicates that there was increased demand, which was enough to operate an express bus service to Çayyolu. In addition to the services to residential areas, 6 routes were created for operation from several parts of the city reaching to Middle Technical University and to Hacettepe Campus Areas. In 1999 number of EGO lines decreased to 21 despite the growing demand on both the south (Çayyolu) and north parts of the Eskişehir Road. Main reason behind this was the entrance of the new private operators; double deck buses and first generation ÖTA's to the public transport system on Eskişehir Road Corridor. Despite the decrease in passenger numbers of EGO busses, municipality decided to introduce new private operators when the license of the first generation private operators ended. Number of privately operated public transport routes increased in time while their service areas enlarged.

5.6.3 EGO Bus Network Restructuring for Çayyolu Metro

Ministry of Transportation took over three of the metro constructions when incapability of Ankara municipality to finish was clear after 11 year from the start of constructions . The government decided to open Çayyolu metro short before the local elections with incomplete telecommunication systems and insufficient rolling stock fleet in March 2014. Early opening for elections did not allow bus system restructuring and multi modal integration on metro corridors. Necessary changes to bus services for integration of metro with municipality bus lines implemented five months after opening the metro line in August 2014,.

New transport scheme aiming integration of EGO bus services with the metro line restructured all bus lines and services using Eskisehir Road Corridor also included;

a. closure of 32 long EGO bus lines on the metro corridor (Table 5.5) ,

Table 5.5 Deleted Bus Lines

(http://www.ego.gov.tr)

İPTAL EDİLEN HAT LİSTESİ	
HAT NO	HAT İSMİ
161	KONUTKENT - KORU SİT.-ÜMİTKÖY - ÇANKAYA
169	DİKMEN - BEYTEPE ÖĞRENCİ SERVİSİ
206	YENİMAHALLE-ODTÜ
212	YENİMAHALLE-BEŞEVLER
218	MACUNKÖY METRO-AŞAĞI YAHYALAR
219	İVEDİK METRO-A.O.Ç TOKİ BLOKLARI
230	HACETTEPE-BEYTEPE
231	HACETTEPE-BEYTEPE-EXPRES
232	BATIKENT METRO-ODTÜ
245	BATIKENT METRO - ERYAMAN
260	ESERTEPE- BEŞEVLER
272	ŞENTEPE-BEŞEVLER
274	GÜLEN CAD-UFUKTEPE-SIHHİYE
293	BATIKENT METRO - BEYTEPE KAMPÜSÜ
294	BATIKENT METRO - BEŞEVLER
301	ÖRNEK-ULUS-KIZILAY-BALGAT

İPTAL EDİLEN HAT LİSTESİ	
HAT NO	HAT İSMİ
305	ÖRNEK-YENİDOĞAN-ULUS-EMEK-BAHÇELİ
311	ÖRNEK-BABÜR CAD-ULUS-EMEK-BAHÇELİ
317	BAĞCILAR-KIZILAY-İÇAYDINLIK
319	BAĞCILAR-ODTÜ
323	EGE MAHALLESİ-ODTÜ
388	OPERA-YUKARIAYRANCI-KÜÇÜKESAT
406	KEÇİÖREN-ODTÜ
423	SUBAYEVLERİ-ODTÜ
464	SUBAYEVLERİ-EMEK-BAHÇELİ
544	ERYAMAN – ODTÜ
546	ERYAMAN - BEYTEPE
550	ERYAMAN 3.4. ETAP - BATIKENT METRO
554	FATİH - BATIKENT METRO
559	ÇİMŞİT – SİNCAN – ATATÜRK HASTANESİ
564	BAĞLICA MAHALLESİ - BAKANLIK
572	FATİH - SİNCAN - BEYTEPE

b. creating new lines by cutting and diverting current lines from residential areas to terminate at metro stations (Table 5.6),

Table 5.6 New Bus Lines Ending at Metro Stations

(http://www.ego.gov.tr)

YENİ AÇILAN HATLAR	
128 KORU METRO İST. - YAPRACIK 1.BÖLGE	KORU METRO İST.
129 KORU METRO İST. - YAPRACIK 2.BÖLGE	KORU METRO İST.
130 BEYTEPE METRO İSTASYONU – BEYTEPE KAMPÜSÜ	BEYTEPE METRO
110 BİLKENT METRO İSTASYONU – ATATÜRK HASTANESİ	BİLKENT METRO
166 BEŞEVLER İSTASYONU – EMEK - BAHÇELİEVLER	BEŞEVLER ANKARAY
164 KORU METRO İST. - KOZA EVLERİ - TÜRKKONUT	KORU METRO İST.
170 EMSAN SİTESİ – MTA İSTASYONU	MTA İSTASYONU
125 ÜMİTKÖY METRO İST.- ÜMİTKÖY 8. CADDE	ÜMİTKÖY METRO

c. creating 38 short feeder bus lines by converting bus lines from residential areas to metro stations (Table 5.7),

d. keeping private operators' (ÖHO, ÖTA, and minibus) lines and routes as before without any change.

Table 5.7 New Residential Feeder Bus Lines To Metro Stations

(http://www.ego.gov.tr)

RİNGE DÖNÜŞTÜRÜLECEK OTOBÜS HATLARI							
ESKİ DURUM		YENİ DURUM		ESKİ DURUM		YENİ DURUM	
HAT NO VE ADI	HİZMET VERİLEN UÇ NOKTA	HAT NO VE ADI	HİZMET VERİLEN UÇ NOKTA	HAT NO VE ADI	HİZMET VERİLEN UÇ NOKTA	HAT NO VE ADI	HİZMET VERİLEN UÇ NOKTA
120 OPERA - YAPRACIK TOKİ	KIZILAY - ULUS	120 KORU METRO İST. - YAPRACIK TOKİ	KORU METRO İST.	551 SİNCAN BATIKENT METRO	BATIKENT METRO	551 SİNCAN ERYAMAN 1.2. ETAP METRO İST.	ERYAMAN METRO
121 OPERA - TURKUAZ TOKİ	KIZILAY - ULUS	121 KORU METRO İST. - TURKUAZ TOKİ	KORU METRO İST.	552 ELVANKENT BATIKENT METRO	BATIKENT METRO	552 ELVANKENT ERYAMAN 1.2. ETAP METRO İST.	ERYAMAN METRO
124 OPERA - TEMELLİ	ULUS	124 KORU METRO İST. - TEMELLİ	KORU METRO İST.	553 ETİMESGUT BATIKENT METRO	BATIKENT METRO	553 ETİMESGUT ERYAMAN 1.2. ETAP METRO İST.	ERYAMAN METRO
119 KONUTKENT-KIZILAY	KIZILAY	119 KORU METRO İST. - KONUTKENT KORU SİT.	KORU METRO İST.	573 YENİKENT BAKANLIK	BAKANLIK	573 YENİKENT ÜMİTKÖY METRO İSTASYONU	ÜMİTKÖY METRO
196 OPERA - BALLIKUYUMCU	KIZILAY - ULUS	196 KORU METRO İST. - BALLIKUYUMCU	KORU METRO İST.	567 AYYILDIZ MAH. BAKANLIK	BAKANLIK	567 AYYILDIZ MAH. ÜMİTKÖY METRO İSTASYONU	ÜMİTKÖY METRO
122 KORU SİTESİ - KIZILAY	KIZILAY	122 KORU METRO İST. – KORU SİTESİ	KORU METRO İST.	507 PLEVNE MAHALLESİ - BAKANLIK	BAKANLIK	507 PLEVNE MAHALLESİ – ÜMİTKÖY METRO İSTASYONU	ÜMİTKÖY METRO
118 TÜRKKONUT PARK CAD.- KIZILAY	KIZILAY	118 KORU METRO İST. -YAŞAMKENT PARK CAD	KORU METRO İST.	511 SİNCAN - BAKANLIK	BAKANLIK	511 SİNCAN – ÜMİTKÖY METRO İSTASYONU	ÜMİTKÖY METRO
111 BİLKENT - GÜVENPARK	KIZILAY	111 BİLKENT – BİLKENT METRO İSTASYONU	BİLKENT METRO	512 SİNCAN – AHİ MESUT BULVARI - BAKANLIK	BAKANLIK	512 SİNCAN – AHİ MESUT BULVARI – ÜMİTKÖY METRO İSTASYONU	ÜMİTKÖY METRO
175 GÜVENPARK–BEYTEPE MAH	KIZILAY	175 BİLKENT METRO İSTASYONU-BEYTEPE MAH	BİLKENT METRO	517 FATİH - BAKANLIK	BAKANLIK	517 FATİH – ÜMİTKÖY METRO İSTASYONU	ÜMİTKÖY METRO
165 TÜRKKONUT-KIZILAY	KIZILAY	165 KORU METRO İST.-TÜRKKONUT	KORU METRO İST.	521 FATİH (GOP) - BAKANLIK	BAKANLIK	521 FATİH (GOP) – ÜMİTKÖY METRO İSTASYONU	ÜMİTKÖY METRO
132 ODTÜ-100 YIL-ULUS	KIZILAY- ULUS	132 SÖĞÜTÖZÜ METRO İSTASYONU-100.YIL	SÖĞÜTÖZÜ METRO	524 SİNCAN – POLATLI 2. CADDE - BAKANLIK	BAKANLIK	524 SİNCAN – POLATLI 2. CADDE – ÜMİTKÖY METRO İSTASYONU	ÜMİTKÖY METRO
123 YAŞAMKENT - KIZILAY	KIZILAY	123 KORU METRO İST. - YAŞAMKENT	KORU METRO İST.	532 ELVANKENT - KIZILAY	KIZILAY	532 ELVANKENT – ÜMİTKÖY METRO İSTASYONU	ÜMİTKÖY METRO
126 YILDIZ 88-ÜMİTKÖY-KIZILAY	KIZILAY	126 KORU METRO İST.- YILDIZ 88	KORU METRO İST.	541 ERYAMAN - KIZILAY	KIZILAY	541 ERYAMAN – ÜMİTKÖY METRO İSTASYONU	ÜMİTKÖY METRO
133 ODTÜ-Ç.AMBAR-ULUS	KIZILAY - ULUS	133 ODTÜ METRO İSTASYONU – ODTÜ KAMPÜS	ODTÜ METRO İST.	534 ELVAN MAHALLESİ – ESK. YOLU - ULUS	ULUS	534 ELVAN MAHALLESİ – ÜMİTKÖY METRO İSTASYONU	ÜMİTKÖY METRO
134 GÜVENPARK–ÇİĞDEM MAH	KIZILAY	134 SÖĞÜTÖZÜ METRO İST.–Ç.AMBAR-ÇİĞDEM	SÖĞÜTÖZÜ METRO İST.	545 ERYAMAN – GÜZELKENT - AŞTİ	BEŞEVLER	545 ERYAMAN – GÜZELKENT – ÜMİTKÖY METRO İSTASYONU	ÜMİTKÖY METRO
127 OYAK 4 - ÜMİTKÖY- KIZILAY	KIZILAY	127 KORU METRO İST. - OYAK 4	KORU METRO İST.	537 TOPÇU MAHALLESİ - BAKANLIK	BAKANLIK	537 TOPÇU MAHALLESİ – KORU METRO İSTASYONU	KORU METRO
174 OPERA BEYSUKENT	KIZILAY - ULUS	174 BEYTEPE METRO İST. - BEYSUKENT	BEYTEPE METRO İST.	566 SİNCAN – AHİ MESUD BLV. – AHİ ELVAN CADDESİ - BAKANLIK	BAKANLIK	566 SİNCAN – AHİ MESUD BLV. – 2149. CADDE – 2157. CADDE – KORU METRO İSTASYONU	KORU METRO
171 GÜVENPARK M.KEMAL MAH. EMSAN SİT.	KIZILAY	171 BİLKENT METRO İST. - M.KEMAL MAH.	BİLKENT METRO İST.	530 ETİMESGUT ULUS	ULUS	530 ETİMESGUT ÜMİTKÖY METRO İSTASYONU	ÜMİTKÖY METRO
304 ÖRNEK-ULUS-KIZILAY-AŞAĞI AYRANCI	AŞAĞI AYRANCI	304 ÖRNEK -BABÜR CAD.-ULUS -KIZILAY	KIZILAY	538 ETİMESGUT HİKMET ÖZER CADDE - ULUS	ULUS	538 ETİMESGUT HİKMET ÖZERCAD ÜMİTKÖY METRO İSTASYONU	ÜMİTKÖY METRO

New public transport scenario had proper objectives by putting bus and rail services in their correct roles but a number of **vital facts and consequences** were ignored;

- metro was not completely totally finished to give full service due to limited number of train units in the fleet, unfinished telecommunication and signaling infrastructure, incomplete passenger information system, incomplete stations, unplanned and improper transfer facilities around stations,

- all of EGO bus lines on the corridor were cancelled in spite of the insufficient capacity of the metro line and incomplete transfer facilities,

- EGO feeder bus lines were not properly designed with acceptable walking distances in catchment areas and were changed occasionally after operations with trial and error approach,

- feeder bus services were not planned with required headways as passengers had to wait more than half hour to an hour after using metro services with seven minute headways,

- metro services were disrupted several times daily due to power shortages and other unannounced reasons causing unpredictable travel times, extensive delays and loss of public reliance on the metro service,

- metro trains offer passenger services with two transfers at Kızılay and Batıkent Stations for passenger travelling from Çayyolu to Törekent due to incomplete train control system,

- continuing private bus services (ÖTA, ÖTA and Minibus) in the metro corridor without turning them to feeder services resulted in public transport passengers switching to these private buses that did not require transfers and appeared more reliable when compared to delays at the metro,

- passengers that were previously keen on using the metro system and public transport buses switched to private transportation if they had access to private car due to unsatisfactory services of integrated bus and metro.

All of these factors contributed to the resulting situation where public transport passengers were lost to privately operated para-transit modes and private car contrary to what was planned.

Meanwhile, employee and student service vehicle fleet increased through issuing new licenses by the municipality in contrast to integration aims. Daily and peak hour trip numbers on restructured ÖHO lines also increased on the corridor.

New EGO Bus Lines

Original integration scheme proposed eight new bus lines (http://www.ego.gov.tr/tr/haber/) but two of them were canceled shortly (166 Beşevler İstasyonu-Emek Bahçelievler- Beşevler- Ankaray and 110 Bilkent Metro - Atatürk Hastanesi). Remaining six of the bus lines designed with the original scheme are currently in operation today:

- 594 (128) Koru Metro - Yapracık 1. Bölge - 1.Bölge Koru Metro Station.
- 595 (129) Koru Metro İst. Yapracık 2. Bölge – 2. Bölge Koru Metro Station.

- 130 Beytepe Metro İst.- Beytepe Kampüs- Beytepe Metro Station
- 596 (164) Koru Metro İst- Koza Evleri – Türkkonut Koru Metro Station
- 167 (170) Emsan Sitesi – MTA Station
- 570 (125) Ümitköy Metro Station.- Ümitköy 8.cad – Ümitköy Metro Station

Shortened EGO Bus Lines Serving Çayyolu Metro Stations

Bus lines serving residential areas, universities, hospitals and other working places on south and north part of Eskişehir Road were shortened and designed as ring lines serving new metro stations in the framework of integration arrangements. It was announced that 30 main bus lines were transformed to ring lines, serving Çayyolu, Sincan, Beytepe, Bilkent and Mustafa Kemal Regions. However three of these lines are created for Sincan Metro Integration (Lines 551, 552 and 553) and one other bus line was completely unrelated to recently opened two rail lines (304 Örnek- Ulus - Kızılay Ayrancı). There were some routes, which were canceled short after the operation began (122 -Koru-Çınar Sitesi – Kızılay). Finally 29 bus lines of 34 originally planned lines are currently serving the Çayyolu Metro.

A comparison of former and recent bus routes shows that municipality improved accessibility of bus services on many routes since routes are shorter, entering more side streets than previous lines. Below a few EGO bus lines in operation on Eskişehir Road Corridor are illustrated with before and after the integration arrangements (Figure 5.28 and Figure 5.29). Complete list of EGO bus routes are given in Appendix Section.

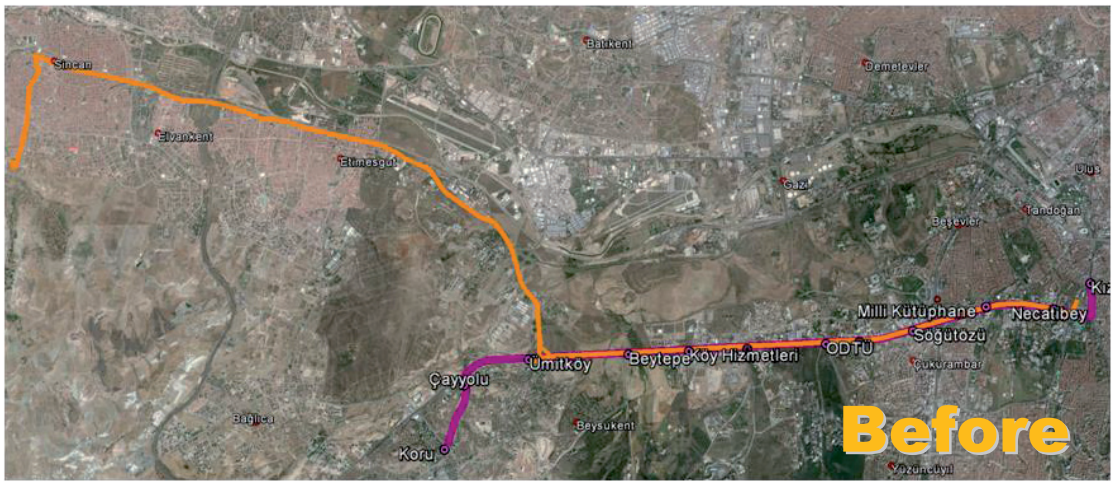


EGO Bus Route 126 - Yıldız 88, Gama Erdemkent, Ümitköy, Kızılay in 2013

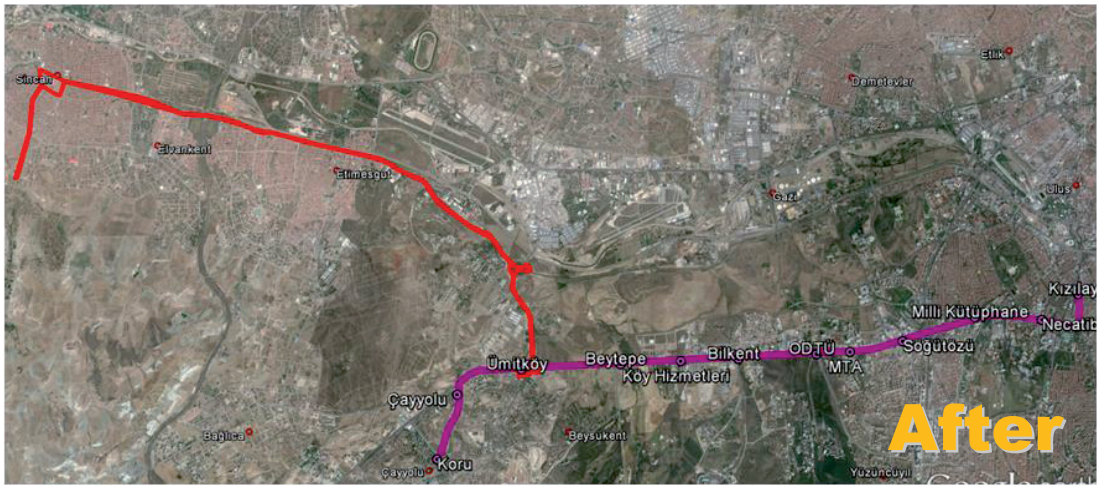


EGO Bus Route 592- Koru Metro Station-Yıldız 88-Gama Erdemkent in 2015

Figure 5.28 Comparison of EGO Lines Before and After the 1st Integration Arrangements
(www.ego.gov.tr, www.yoltarifi.com, reached in 2015)



EGO Bus Route 511 Sincan – Bakanlık in 2013



EGO Bus Route 511 – Sincan - Ümitköy Metro in 2015

Figure 5.29 Comparison of EGO Lines Before and After the 2nd Integration Arrangements
(www.ego.gov.tr, www.yoltarifi.com, reached in 2015)

Canceled EGO Bus Lines

Network restructuring scenario proposed the cancellation of 32 bus lines to end potential duplication and competition with metro services. However,

there were some contradicting cancelations and inconsistent proposals. These were;

- 13 bus lines out of total 31 canceled bus lines with the new scheme were unrelated to both of the newly opened metro rail lines (Çayyolu Metro and Sincan Metro). Municipality officials stated that these lines were canceled not due to the metro line operations but due to other needs that were defined before although implemented at the same time with the metro integration restructuring. These line closures that were unrelated with metro line openings are as follows:

  - 212 Yenimahalle – Beşveler,
  - 218 Macunköy Metro – Aşağı Yahyalar,
  - 219 İvedik Metro Station- AOÇ TOKİ Blokları,
  - 260 Esertepe-Beşevler,
  - 272 Şentepe- Beşevler,
  - 274 Gülen Cad – Ufuktepe- Sıhhiye,
  - 294 Batıkent Metro Station – Beşveler,
  - 301 Örnek Ulus – Kızılay Balgat,
  - 305 Örnek - Yenidoğan – Ulus- Bahçeli,
  - 311 Örnek Babür –Ulus –Emek- Bahçeli,
  - 317 Bağcılar- Kızılay-İçaydınlık,
  - 388 Opera- Y. Ayrancı- K.Esat,
  - 464 Subayevleri- Emek – Bahçeli)

- Three bus lines (such as 206 Yenimahalle – ODTÜ, 232 Batıkent Metro Station – ODTÜ, 406 Keçiören-ODTÜ) which do not use Eskişehir Road Corridor were cancelled. These are lines reaching to METU campus from residential areas of Keçiören, Batıkent and Yenimahalle. With this cancelation students have to travel first to Kızılay and then to METU,

resulting in a significant increase in distance and duration of their trips. Student groups of METU protested against this cancellation but the municipality did not bring back the old lines. Closure of these lines also resulted in overloading of existing bus routes between these residential areas and Kızılay. When the logic of these arrangements are questioned in interviews with municipality officials, they accepted this arrangement as unfeasible in terms of students and they added such arrangement are made not by planning unit but by political management. Like the cancelled METU route, EGO routes reaching to Hacettepe University were cancelled despite many having only a small part parallel to Eskişehir Road, and hence not really duplicating the metro service. User groups and Chamber of City Planners arranged meetings, made announcements, and organized social media groups for the municipality to change the arrangements (Figure 5.30 and Figure 5.31). However, municipality ignored feedbacks and these actions did not influence implementations.

ANKARA ULAŞIM DAYANIŞMASI ULAŞIMDA GECİKMELERİN HESABINI SORMAK İÇİN TOPLANDI

CUMARTESİ, 31 OCAK 2015 16:26



Figure 5.30 Hand banners of Ankara Transport Right Meeting, 2015

(http://spoankara.org/, 2015)



Figure 5.31 Protest illusturation of Hacettepe University Students

- Three feeder bus lines (numbered 245, 550 and 554) operating to Batıkent Metro from Eryaman and Fatih residential settlements were canceled for enforcing Eryaman and Fatih passenger to use new feeder bus lines reaching to Ümitköy Metro Station. The main purpose of this cancelation was increasing number of passengers on Çayyolu Metro. However, management did not take into consideration that Metro began to operate without full capacity.

- Many of the bus lines (e.g. 564 Bağlıca- Bakanlık transformed to 597 Bağlıca – Koru Metro Station) were restructured as ring services or realigned after the first implementation. As mentioned before, the Municipality adopted a trial-error method rather than collecting statistical data and using them for analysis and design.

- New “integrated” network also cancelled bus lines with origins and / or destination outside of metro corridor but using the corridor for only some part of the line. Bus line numbered 122 - Konutkent – Çankaya for example where only part of the line uses the corridor was deleted and assumed that 161 Koru – Çankaya local feeder line will serve passengers with any bus line from Kızılay to Çankaya. This assumption and the new scheme replaced a direct bus trip with two bus trips at two ends and one metro trip in between. Infrequent bus services at two ends, a metro trip with unpredictable time schedule, two inconvenient transfers with time loses and extra cost of travel forced users to switch to car use where no other direct service existed or to two private bus/minibus trips with a single transfer.

Review of Public Transport Modes Before and After Integration

Operation of public transport modes on a section of Eskişehir Road are evaluated in detail through comparison of before and after situations of public transport lines, daily trips on the public transport lines and peak hour trips of public transport. EGO lines serving Çayyolu Metro Stations, peak hour and daily trip numbers of these lines and exact routes of these are derived from the web page of EGO for the year 2015 however EGO did not collect any reports or data about past implementations of municipality. Route and line data for 2013 were found on a commercial web page of www.yoltarifi.com. Total passenger numbers and peak hour trips are compared by using the only available data of March for the year 2013 and 2015. Comparison of public transport lines indicates several points as following;

- **Total number of daily bus trips** on most congested sections of Eskişehir Road before Ümitköy decreased by half (48%-55%) (Figure 5.32 and Figure 5.33). The proportional decrease in daily trips is lesser than decrease in total number of public transport lines. This is the result of the only integration of EGO busses, having lesser trips. Private public transport modes, which were not changed for integration to Çayyolu Metro system; has more daily trips than EGO. Decrease of 48%-55% on daily trips indicates that a substantial amount of motorized public transport services still continue to serve the corridor that is already being served by the metro, hence duplicating the metro service. Continuing operation of private public transport modes, with the demand of increasing their daily trip numbers rather than integration to newly opened lines, indicates power of private public transport assemblages on Municipality decisions despite the public good.

- **Total peak hour trip numbers** has decreased, despite non integrated privately operated public transport services (Figure 5.32 and Figure 5.34). Due to the extreme long routes of private public vehicles, ÖTA midibuses can perform maximum three or four trips, ÖHO buses and minibusses perform only one trip in an hour. Integration of numerous EGO lines, serving various points led to a relief on traffic congestion especially in peak hours. However, operators of ÖHO buses took this relief as an opportunity and they prepared a proposal for increasing their number of trips and routes on the Eskişehir Road Corridor. The ÖHO operator assesses this proposal as likely to be implemented due to their close relationships with the municipality management

- **Total number of public transport lines** decreased sharply (58% - 79%) after the integration (Picture 5.32). Most of EGO bus routes (except for one route) are modified for directing demand to Çayyolu Metro Line. However lines of ÖTA Midibusses and ÖHO buses and minibuses, having high trips and peak hour trip numbers remained the same,

- These figures include EGO, ÖHO, ÖTA and minibusses but not service vehicles. Service vehicles have an important share in the corridor. This means that these reductions do not reflect the real improvement on Eskişehir Road.



Figure 5.32 Change in Public Transport Services After Çayyolu Metro

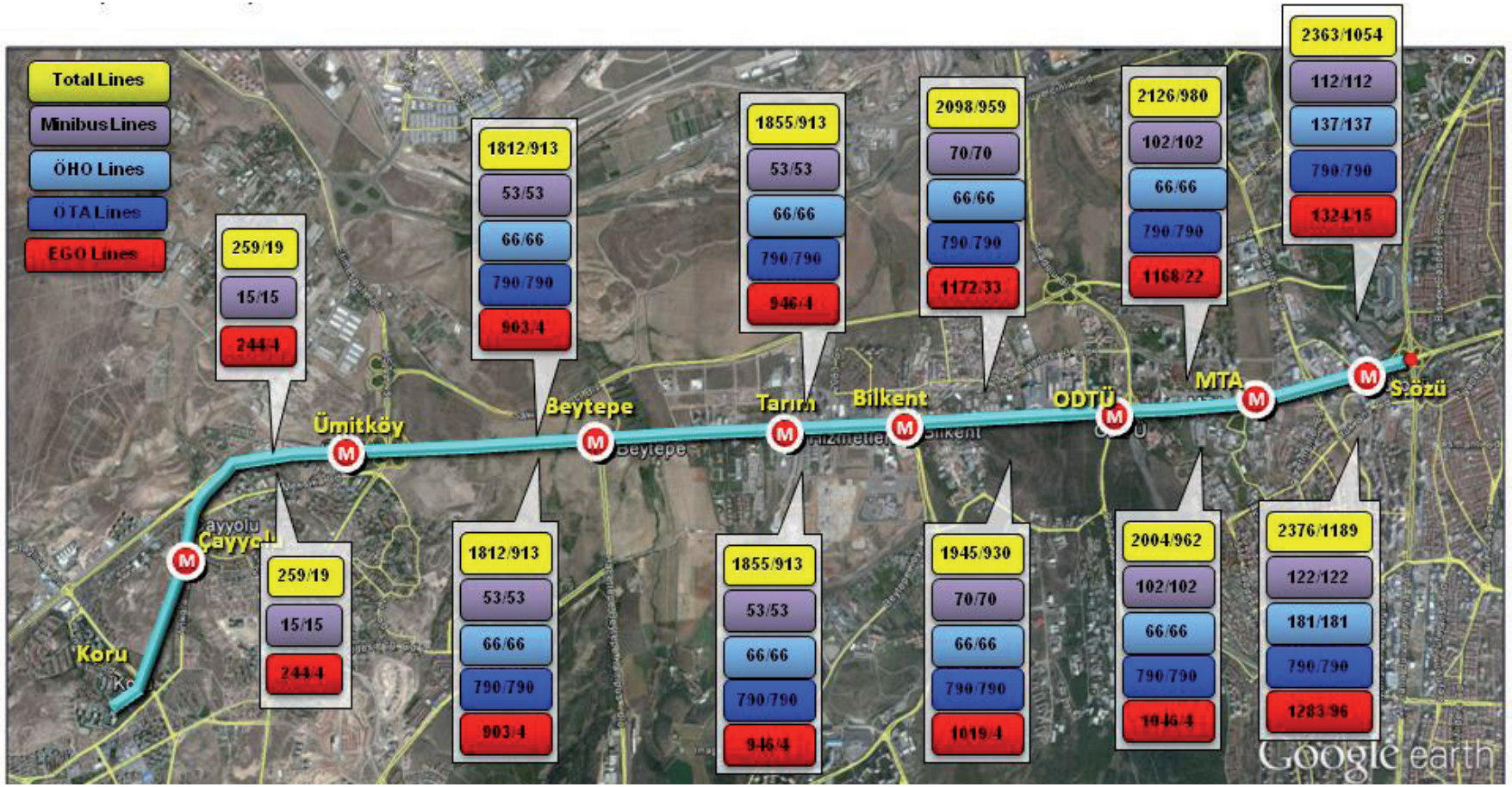


Figure 5.33 Daily Trips of Public Transport Modes Operating on Eskişehir Road (2013/2015)

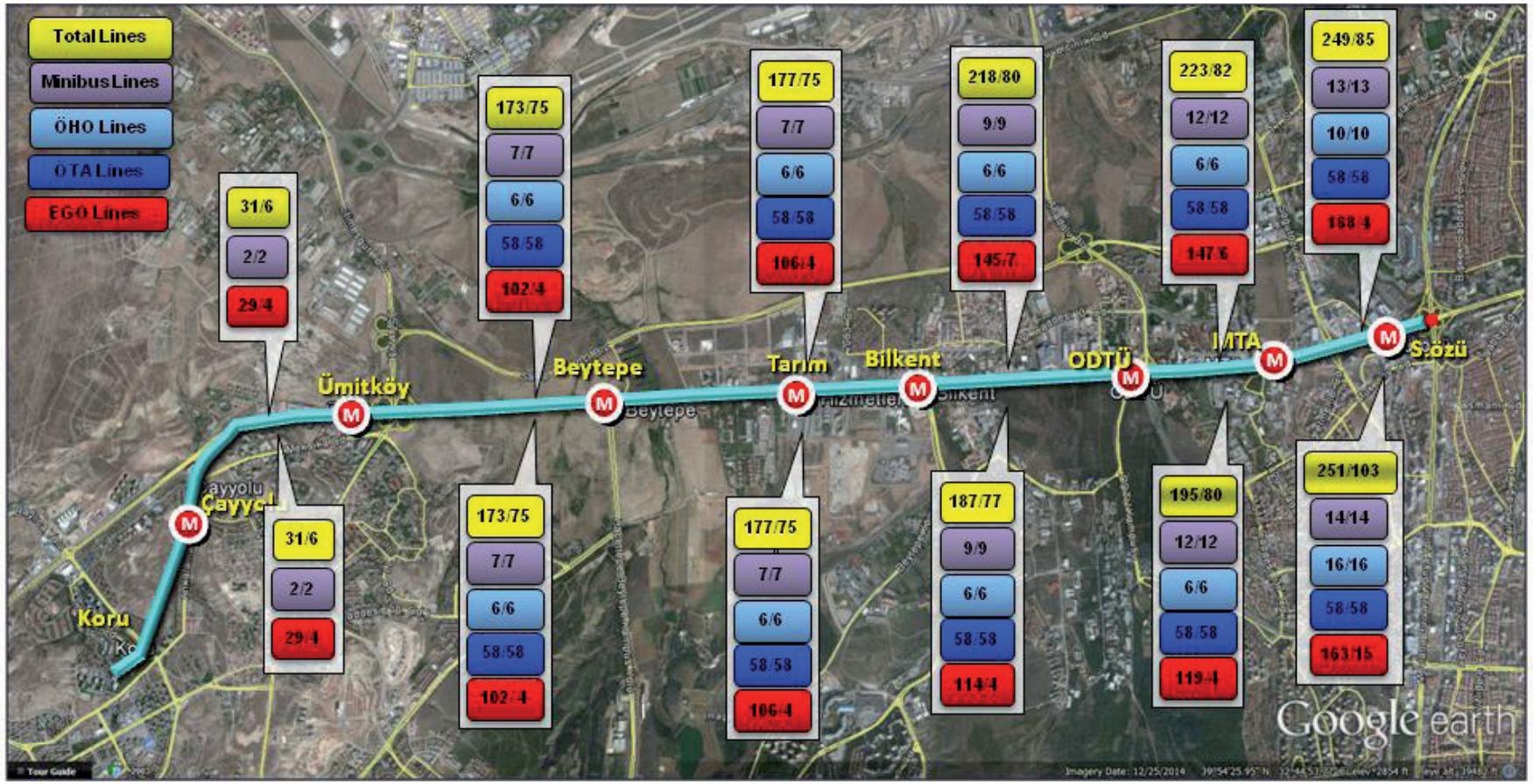


Figure 5.34 Peak Hour Trips of Public Transport Modes Operating on Eskişehir (2013/2015)

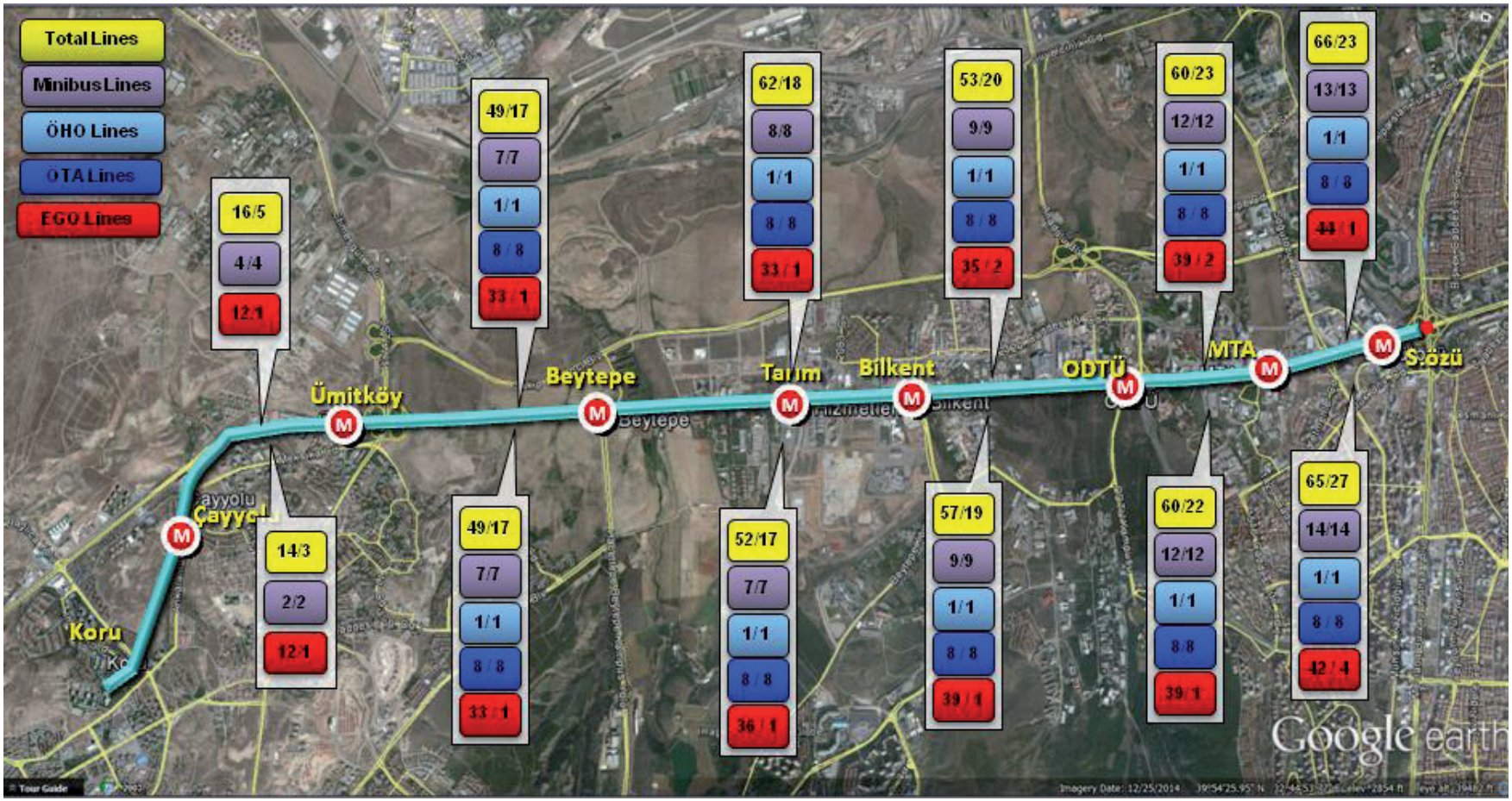


Figure 5.35 Number of Public Transport Lines operating on Eskişehir Road (2013/2015)

5.6.4 Privately Operated Para-Transit Minibuses

Minibus is the earliest owner operated public transport mode in Ankara. Minibuses started operations in 1959 to satisfy the growing demand gap created by inadequate municipal public transport services. It became the main mode with largest share competing with municipal public transport services. According to a report by EGO, number of minibuses and their routes increased in the following years to have a larger fleet and passenger numbers than EGO (EGO, 1996). Furthermore, EGO Report indicated that EGO left its profitable routes to minibuses in many areas or decreased the frequency of services leaving the largest market share to minibuses on the same routes. Owner operated minibuses are categorized as a para-transit urban transport service due to their hail-stop operation without any time schedule (Table 5.1 and Figure 5.1).

Number of minibuses is fixed and route modifications are made by UKOME when a new demand emerges on a new developing area. For example with the development of new residential area in Yaşamkent, a new line was introduced in 2005 through relocating some vehicles from other routes.

Privately operated minibuses are in operation on 14 different lines using Eskişehir corridor. These minibus lines begin from five points in the center; Denizciler, Dışkapı, Sıhhiye, Ulus, Kızılay in central area and end at several residential areas and universities (Table 5.8). However, they respond to the demand from a wider range of areas in between, including shopping malls, business centers, public institutions, and hospitals.

Minibus lines were not restructured with the M2 Çayyolu Metro Line like EGO bus lines. Municipality allowed minibuses and other private operators continue to operate in parallel with metro line accepting operator's claim of

current routes being an antecedent right gained in the past. Municipality officials expressed that profitability of minibus operation resulted from frequent short distance passenger trips allowing high passenger turn over (five or six times) on one round trip. Officials further express that minibuses are interested in operating on long routes enabling high passenger turn over by increasing number of passengers per trip. Therefore, minibus operators do not want to shorten their routes for metro integration, which will also reduce their passenger turn over. Municipality officials further emphasize that minibus passengers travel at very low comfort standards with many standees, which is not legal, and that Ankara Greater Municipality did not have any effort to integrate these privately operated minibuses. Officers expressed that “M2 Metro Integration” was designed only for municipality buses excluding other transport modes. Other cities including Istanbul, Antalya, Eskişehir and Kayseri, etc., included private operations in their restructuring scenarios to have an integrated system after the opening of new rail and metrobus systems. Municipality officials interpreted this privileged situation of Ankara minibuses resulting from the Mayors preference for continuing political support from operators and families

Minibuses are assessed as the second influential assemblage among private operators considering their current profitability levels. Their relative priority comes from being the earliest public transport mode and close relationships with Mayors. However, they have a secondary position relative to ÖHO operators that have more organized operations and closer personal relations with the Mayor, as revealed by interviews made with all operators.

In addition to the routes operating on Eskişehir Road parallel to the Metro Line, there are minibus lines operating between North and South sections. Their routes have been extended to Eskişehir Road after the opening of the metro here. They enter Eskişehir Road at the most congested section for

allowing transfers to the Metro. These additional vehicles on most congested parts indicate the power of minibus assemblages on municipality for maximizing their benefits. The length of minibus route sections parallel to Çayyolu Metro line varies between 11 and 3 kms showing unnecessary duplication on Eskişehir Road that have all been cancelled for EGO buses.

Municipality officials informed that minibus is more widely preferred by passengers on Eskişehir Road Corridor after the cancelation and shortening of EGO bus lines within the framework of Çayyolu metro integration. Numerous failures at metro operation and overcrowding at Çayyolu metro trains resulted in passengers shifting to this para-transit mode.

Cash payment is the only payment method for minibus trips. Like route restructuring, minibus operators do not wish to enter electronic payment system since they do not wish to be closely monitored and supervised and pay an additional tax (18% VAT). Municipality officials point out that minibuses do not have to report any passenger or revenue data. Therefore, information related to minibus operations, like daily trip number and peak hour trip number are estimations of municipality officials. Municipality officials further expressed that passenger data are reported casually and infrequently, not reflecting real operational data. Exclusion of minibuses and other private operators from fare integration creates drawbacks for implementation of reduced fare and free pass passengers and fare integration with transfer fares. ÖTA and ÖHO operators emphasize that the unwillingness of minibuses operators to enter electronic fare system is delaying their integration to the system. They point out lower taxes and other charges minibuses pay through cash fare collection.

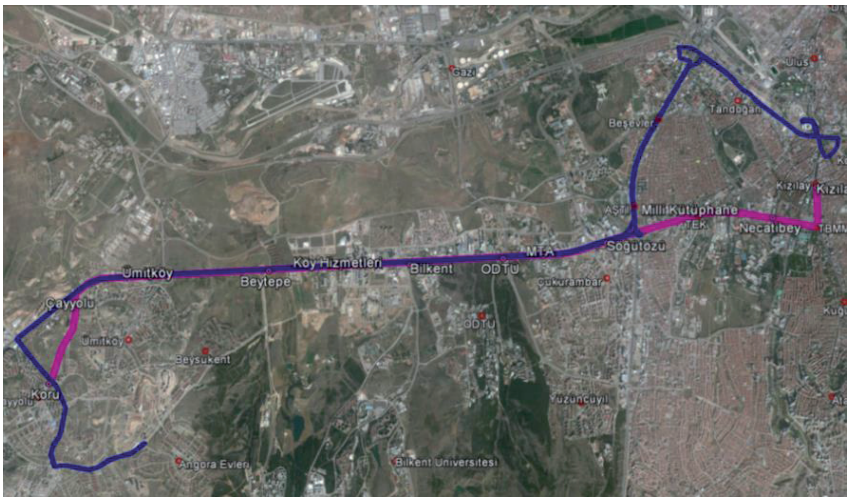
Minibus lines and minibus numbers operating on Eskişehir Road Corridor are given below at Table 5.8 There are 14 minibus lines in operation between

central area and various destination points on corridor. Destination points are mostly in residential areas on West corridor. Municipality officials stated that their vehicles on one trip get full for three times during the trip. This indicates that they responded to not only the demand between West and central area, but to many short trips on Eskişehir Road.

Private operators line lengths vary between 19 and 70 km. Below a few ÖHO bus lines in operation on Eskişehir Road Corridor are illustrated (Figure 5.36). Since their routes are not integrated to Çayyolu Metro Line as EGO buses, there is no need to compare before and after situations. Complete list of minibus routes are given in Appendix Section.

Table 5.8 Minibus Lines Operating on Eskişehir Road Corridor

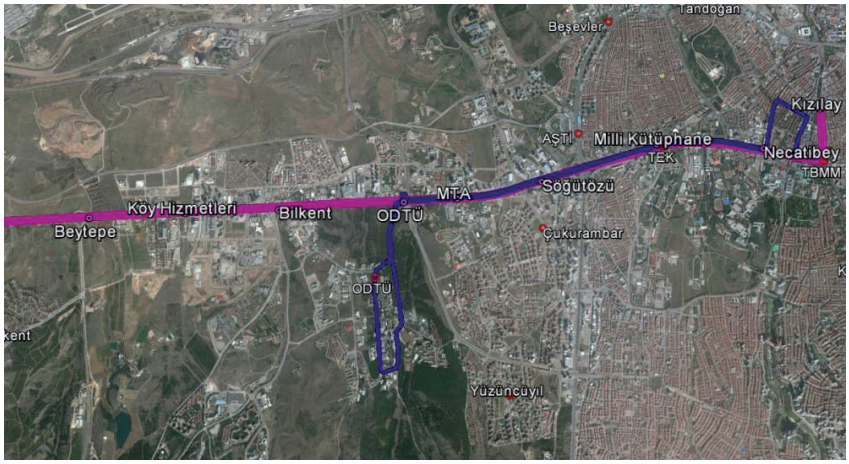
	Minibus Lines	Km
Denizciler	Denizciler-Bilkent-Atatürk Hastanesi	40
	Denizciler-Koru Sitesi-Alacaatlı	49
	Denizciler – Türkkonut	57
	Denizciler- Yaşamkent	61
	Denizciler-Ümitköy-Konutkent1,2-Alacaatlı	47
Dışkapı	Dışkapı-Atatürk Hastanesi	27
Sıhhiye	Sıhhiye- Toki - Turkuaz	71
	Sıhhiye-Elvankent	70
Ulus	Ulus-ODTÜ	25
	Ulus-Sincan	71
	Ulus-Balgat - 100yıl. Çiğdem	28
	Ulus-Balgat-100.yıl-Çukurambar	28
	Ulus-M. Kemal Mah	29
Kızılay	Kızılay-ODTÜ	19



Denizciler- Koru Sitesi- Alacaatlı



Ulus- Sincan



Odtü-Kızılay

Figure 5.36 Examples of Minibus Lines in operation on Eskişehir Road parallel to Çayyolu Metro Line

5.6.5 Privately Operated Bus System (ÖHO)

Privately operated buses began to operate in 1982 for fulfilling the vehicle insufficiency of municipality fleet. Privately operated bus operators are organized under a professional chamber; Ankara Şehiriçi Özel Halk Otobüsleri Esnaf Odası [Urban Public Bus Operators Chamber for ÖHO] established in 1991 within the framework of the Türkiye Esnaf ve Sanatkarlar Odaları Birliği [Confederation of Turkish Tradesmen and Craftsmen (TESK)]. An in-depth interview was held with the chairperson of the chamber. He explained that ÖHO began operation with a proposal from local trades' people owning buses. Operation of ÖHO was realized with a decision of cabinet of the central government. This indicates support of both central and local governments' policy for encouraging private sector at these years and close relationship among local tradesman assemblage (will transform later to formal ÖHO assemblage), central and local governments. Their operation period is to be renewed in every 10 years beginning from 1999 without any financial or other cost to them. Head of Ankara ÖHO Chamber stressed that this renewal is exercised like a legal procedure until today. However, it is further underlined that the municipality has the power and authority to change their operation according its own decisions, which means that they have no other choice than having good relations with municipality.

ÖHO began operation with 30 vehicles on eight routes and reached to 200 vehicles in one year. After the sharp increase, their number remained stable until today. Five hundred persons have various sizes of ownership shares of the current 200 vehicles. This indicates profitability of ÖHO operations. ÖHO was intended to be a supplementary service for EGO buses but as described before,

they were relocated to most profitable corridors and began to compete with the EGO buses after a period.

Interviews with the municipality officials revealed that routes and timetables are prepared not according to any transport planning study of the municipality but according to the demand of ÖHO operators. Municipality officials stated that EGO timetables are prepared considering profitability of ÖHO operations while routes are designed not to create any conflict among private operator groups.

Their legal status originated from a central government decree that brought superiority on to contracted public transport vehicle operators, whose operation is based on 10 year contracts, and the municipality has the choice not to renew it. Head of the Ankara ÖHO Chamber explained that the first generation contracted vehicles; also contracted Double Deck Public Transport Buses (DDB) and Contracted Green Bus (GB) operators sued ÖHO operators claiming extension of their operation period. However, the court decided on the behalf of ÖHO operators stressing their legal status originating from central decision. ÖHO and EGO bus lines replaced the DBB and GB operations after the end of their contract period. ÖHO line 163, which is operating along Eskişehir Road (Kızılay-Konutkent) was created this way.

Most important competitor of ÖHO both on citywide operations and on Eskişehir Road is minibus operations. Head of ÖHO Chamber stressed that the municipality did not take any decisions to the detriment of the ÖHO operation when dealing with conflicts between minibuses and EGO. The municipality gave a choice initially to them for solving conflicts between each other. The superiority of ÖHO is believed to stem from higher quality of operational standards (vehicle

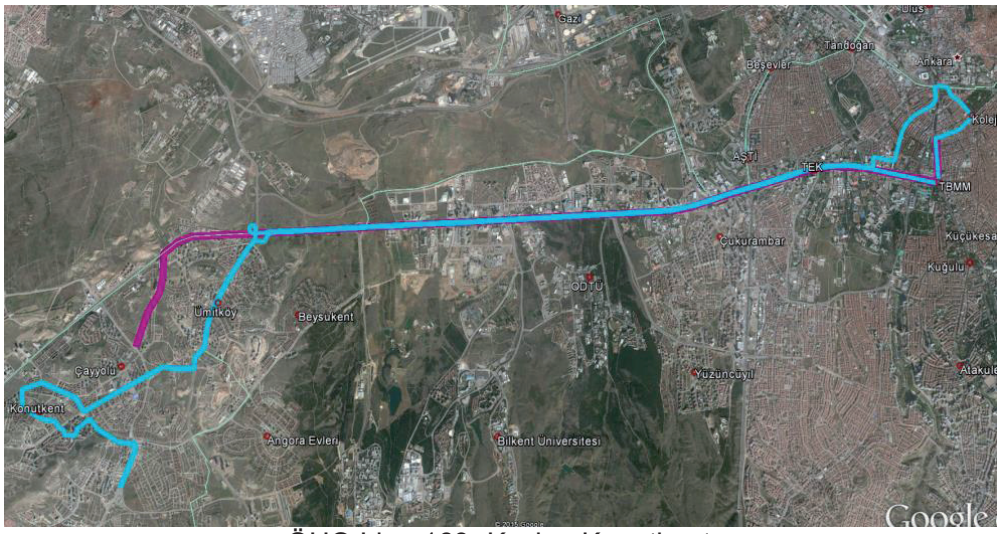
size, operation with bus stops, etc.) when compared to minibuses. All operators and municipality officials evaluated them as the superior actor in the public system due to their close relationships with municipality management.

Head of the Ankara ÖHO Chamber further emphasized close relationship of ÖHO Chamber and the Mayor. He exemplified that many operators like in Istanbul could not get an appointment once in a year with their Mayor while Ankara ÖHO Chamber meet more than once a month. He further emphasized their good dialog with the Mayor and his support on passing the law for general budget subsidy for the implementation of free passes for 65 year old and disabilities.

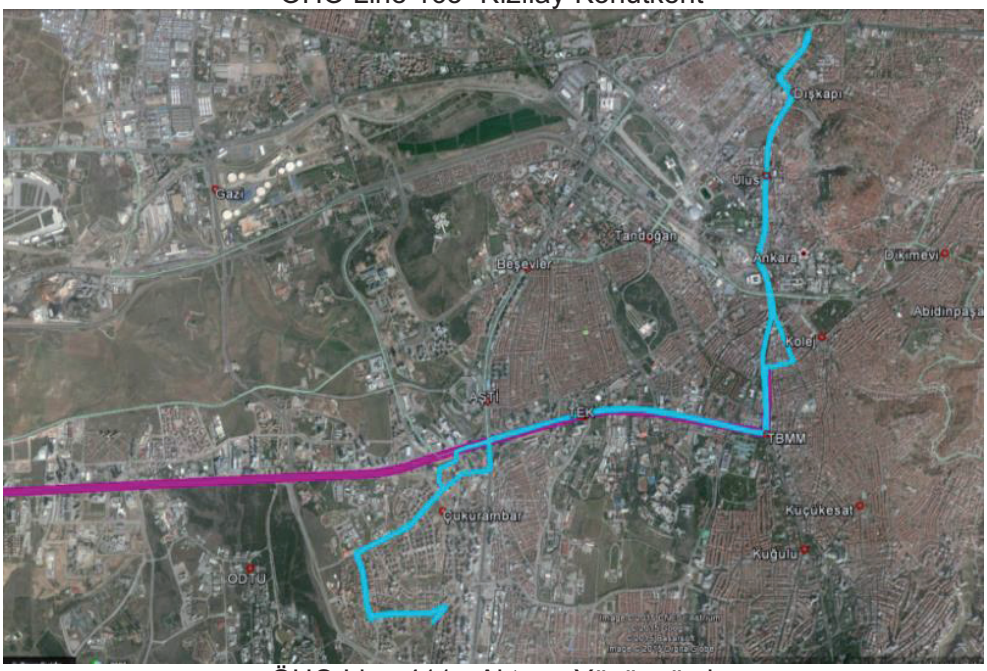
As already mentioned before, ÖHO lines were not rearranged within the framework of Çayyolu Metro integration while EGO lines on Eskişehir Road were shortened for enabling transfers to metro. ÖHO lines continued to operate parallel to Çayyolu Metro Line and gained a preferential treatment due to unsuccessful rail operations. There are four ÖHO lines operating on the Eskişehir Road Corridor. Three of them use Eskişehir Road partially on the busiest sections. Their departure and destination points are outside of Eskişehir Road corridor. These three lines could be easily shifted to alternative corridors.

The fourth line (163) operates completely along Eskişehir Road. This line is created after the end of DDB operation through shifting vehicles from a canceled line between Bahçelievler-Kızılay after the beginning of Ankaray rail operations. In a similar way with Ankaray operation and Bahçelievler line, ÖHO 163 line was expected to be unfeasible with the beginning of Çayyolu Metro operations. Municipality officials emphasized that Çayyolu metro operation did not created

the same positive effect as Ankaray due to overcrowding resulting from missing wagons, frequent breakdowns, and delays. Shortcomings of Çayyolu metro, together with cancelation of EGO routes on Eskişehir Road created new profit hopes for ÖHO operators. Head of Ankara ÖHO Chamber informed about their new proposal for increasing their trip frequency and renewing vehicles of this line. This proposal is contradicting with Municipality's restructuring intentions on two aspects. Firstly, the municipality had canceled its lines for alleviation of traffic congestion on Eskişehir Road corridor by directing passengers to the Metro. If ÖHO presence grows on the corridor, traffic congestion will not be reduced and there is the possibility that metro passengers will shift to ÖHO buses. Secondly, after the completion of additional works for the Çayyolu Metro, ÖHO is likely to lose passengers and will need to take this step back. Parallel bus lines will be unfeasible after starting high quality metro operations. They stated that a sharp decrease occurred in their passenger numbers even due to the start of such an uncompleted operation of the metro. Like minibuses, their routes are not integrated to Çayyolu Metro Line. Thus, there is no need to compare before and after situations. Examples of ÖHO routes are given below (Figure 5.37). Complete ÖHO route list is given in Appendix Section.



ÖHO Line 163- Kızılay-Konutkent



ÖHO Line 411 - Aktepe Yüzüncüyıl

Figure 5.37 ÖHO Lines in operation on Eskişehir Road parallel to M2 Çayyolu Metro Line

5.6.6 Contracted Public Transport Vehicles

First Generation Contracted Vehicles: -Double Deck Buses (DBB) and Green Buses (GB)

Operation of Contracted Double Deck Public Transport Buses (DDB) had begun in 1995 and Contracted Public Transport Green Buses (GB) had begun in 1997 with a decision of the Municipality. Municipality officials and private operators expressed that they emerged to fulfill the service gap of Municipality buses especially for settlements at outskirts of the city. Municipality officials expressed that the tradesmen who operate vehicles in public transport system (also existing ÖHO, minibus, taxi and service vehicle operators) brought the proposal to municipality for operating their old vehicles on unprofitable lines of EGO. Municipality officials expressed, however, that their operation on these lines turned out to be more profitable than EGO since they did not operate with the same standards of EGO. They resemble more to minibus operation, which are categorized as a para-transit service. Municipality officials emphasized their low standard operation caused dissatisfaction for both public transport passengers and drivers in traffic.

Their licenses covered an operation period of ten years. After 10 years municipality have the option of extending their licenses. However, municipality chose to end up their licenses due to several conflicts they experienced with both municipality and citizens. Private operators expressed a statement of the Mayor when he assessed his 20 year duty period in terms of public transport development: “First generation contracted public transport vehicles especially Green Buses are my biggest fault”. However, with the concern of losing votes of the DBB and GB assemblage and its environment, municipality decided to

transform many of these bus licenses to midi buses (second generation public transport vehicles; ÖTA) with the condition of two operators having one new midibus operation license. Their numbers decreased and their operation is constrained to specific regions.

DDB started to operate on 21 routes with 100 vehicles. Six lines of DDB were in operation on Eskişehir Road with 28 busses. Five bus lines designed to operate between city center and residential areas on Çayyolu Region (Kızılay-Koru, Kızılay-Konutkent, Kızılay-Bilkent, Çankaya-Konutkent, Çankaya-Bilkent) and one line (Elvankent-Kızılay) served the Sincan Region. These operations were ceased at the end of their license term. Municipality did not renew their licenses with the claim that their vehicles were old. Despite the age of vehicles, DDB services were the most-preferred operation in Çayyolu Region due to high seating capacity of the vehicles.

GB were in operation with 400 vehicles on 42 routes. Seven of these lines were on Eskişehir Road, they designed to serve various areas city wide including routes operating on Eskişehir Road to Sincan and Çayyolu Regions (192 Konutkent- Çankaya, 195 Koru-Çankaya, 511 Sincan Bakanlık, 517 Fatih Bakanlık, 530 Etimesgut-Ulus, 531 Elvankent Ulus, 541 Eryaman Bakanlık).

Second Generation Contracted Public Transport Vehicles- Midibuses (ÖTA)

Second generation contracted public transport vehicles (ÖTA) started operations in 2008 with 222 vehicles. Their operation started under pressures of operators after contract termination of the first generation. Interviews held with ÖTA operators revealed that many of previous ÖHO operators currently participated

in ÖTA operations. Municipality management wanted to end the artificial value of operation licenses and start a new period with redistribution of new licenses creating a new market under its control. This was very clear after redistribution of the licenses where operators' association stressed that many of previous operators continued to operate under the new contracts with new payments to the municipality. Besides, cancelation of first generation contracted vehicles did not solve the problem in terms of operation and improvement of their behaviors in the traffic.

Duration of new contracts is ten years, which is to end in three years time. Both municipality officials and operators do not know, whether their licenses will be renewed or not. Both sides state that municipality management will decide at renewal time.

Municipality decided to replace standard size buses with lower capacity midibuses for the new contract term. New high platform vehicles offered smaller capacity, with higher maneuverability enabling them act like minibuses. This decision was a backward step from standard public transport service to a para-transit mode with lower standard for a public transport service in a metropolitan area. Operators stated during the interviews that they would prefer larger vehicles, i.e. standard buses of 12 m long. Both municipality officials and ÖTA operators emphasized the incompetency of midibuses for public transport operation and they indicated municipality management accountable for this choice. Probably vehicle choice of municipality is a result of relationships of municipality management with another assemblage, the examination of which exceeds the limitations of the thesis.

For providing better control on the ÖTA operation, municipality restricted their operation to lines only between specific points in the city center and North West residential areas (Sincan, Eryaman) rather than operating on different parts of city. Their operation was initially designed with 8 lines (numbered 505, 508, 510, 511, 515, 512, 517, 520) serving as the only unique operator to this residential area. However, EGO officials stated that after a short operation, they caused again unrest in society and municipality could not resist the complaints of passengers, who objected to being forced to use ÖTA's on their daily transports. Municipality reintroduced EGO busses on parallel lines (numbered 514, 521, 523 and 524) to provide passengers with an alternative to ÖTA operations. This time operation of EGO and ÖTA on the same routes caused competition on roads and numerous accidents on these routes (Figure 5.38, Figure 5.39)



Figure 5.38 ÖTA Accident with One Fatality
(www.flasgazetesi.com.tr/, 13.09.2014)



Figure 5.39 ÖTA Accident With Two Fatalities
(www.milliyet.com.tr, 21.04.2014)

After many complaints and accidents, the municipality withdrew some vehicles from operation on west corridor and allocated them to various parts of the city. Within the new scheme, one ÖTA line is again arranged for operation on Eskişehir Road, this time to Hacettepe University. This line is assessed as the most profitable line on Eskişehir Road by officials of the municipality. The new arrangement indicates the pressure power of ÖTA operators on municipality despite many complaints from both municipality and citizens.

Operations of 222 ÖTA vehicles are supervised by 10 officials. However, this is considered insufficient by municipality officials for an effective operations control

mechanism. They further emphasized that fines are not very common and the amount of fines are not high to act as a deterrent.

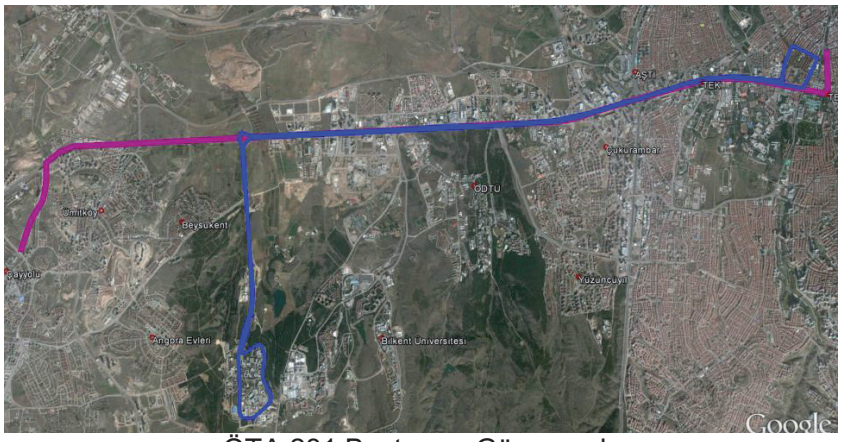
Operators of ÖTA vehicles are organized in 2012 as an association, S.S. Ankara İli Ve İlçeleri Midibüs ve Halk Otobüsleri Derneği [Association of Ankara Province and District Midibusses And Privately Operated Busses], which works under the Ministry of Interior not under the TESK as ÖHO and Minibusses. The association aims to handle problems of these operators together and take joint action in related public institutions. Interviews held with deputy president of association showed that their relations are based on kinship and most of the operators, chairperson, deputy chairman and many others are from Haymana District of Ankara. From interviews, it is recognized that their composition based on kinship brings them several drawbacks. They emphasized that they could not implement operation related penalties fully as ÖHO operators do. They appreciate operation practices and accurate implementation of penalties of ÖHO busses, however they add that they could not implement such fines or suspensions due to their personal close relationships among operators coming from childhood years or kinship relations. During and before the interview, it is recognized that they easily recruit drivers based on their kinship without subjecting them to any training. This in turn probably brings them disorder in operation and a decrease in service standards as well as unrest among passengers and among other modes of transport.

Interview held with ÖTA Association showed that, ÖTA operators are eager to introduce electronic fare collection system to their vehicles since they believe electronic fare system will reduce competition and unrest. They also add that electronic fare system would decrease unfair tax collection among operators.

They emphasize that electronic fare system will not bring any problem to their operation since they already pay their taxes related to passenger tickets.

Operators of ÖTA compared their situation with ÖHO operations and emphasized that their legal status are based on contracts, which is renewed every ten years. However, they recognize ÖHO as permanent actors of public transport since ÖHO operators are most powerful actors on public transport system due to close relationships with municipality management. Interviewed operators evaluate minibuses as secondary actor in the public transport system due to again their relationships with several actors in municipality and in other institutions. Their evaluation is similar to ÖHO operators and municipality officials.

Similar to minibus, ÖHO ve ÖTA operations; their routes are not integrated into the Çayyolu Metro Line and their route sections that are parallel to Eskişehir Road remained the same after the integration. Examples of ÖHO routes are given below (Figure 5.40). Complete ÖHO route list is given in Appendix Section.



ÖTA 231 Beytepe - Güvenpark



ÖTA 511 Sincan Ahi Mesud Blv- Bakanlık



ÖTA 541-3 Eryaman - Kızılay

Figure 5.40 ÖTA Midibus Lines in operation on Eskişehir Road

5.6.7 Service Vehicles

Privately operated employee and school buses, called “service buses”, started to fill the accessibility need of public and private institutions, universities and other schools located at places with limited public transport services. Every institution had its own vehicles and operated with its own employees. This caused inefficient use of these vehicles operated at only morning and evening peaks while staying idle whole day. This inefficient use finished with transfer of vehicles to EGO claiming as a solution to vehicle scarcity in public transport services during seventies. This inefficient operation of service vehicles and their transfer to public transport services in the late 1970s were explained in the previous chapter.

Service vehicles started as a solution of the institutions to their own transport problems either being located at places without public transport services or having work shifts at the times when public transport services stopped during late night hours. “Service bus” operations with door-to-door, tailored routes and schedules for passengers expanded for other areas and purposes and became a permanent privately operated transport mode citywide. The main advantage of service vehicles is enabling express service between residents of employees and working places. It is preferred by passengers since it assures a seated trip with no transfers, as employers prefer having a scheduled arrival at the beginning of the office hours and the cost can be deducted from the tax as supplied free to employees. Institutions also try to eliminate public transport problems of existing management through hiring private operation.

“Service vehicle” operations became a preferred solution when government institutions including military establishments were forced to hire transport

services from commercial market and stop owning and operating their own fleet as a policy of privatization of public services and downsizing public operations. “Service vehicle” operations that use different vehicle sizes ranging from a car to a bus fleet are currently expanded to various similar usages including;

- Employers hiring buses from private operating companies to operate commuter services on specific times and routes for their own employees,
- Employers operating their own services on specific times and routes for their own employees,
- Residents organizing among themselves informally and hiring a minibus for themselves
- Shopping centers arranging bus companies to operate vehicles on specific routes connecting their facility with residential areas where customers live,
- Primary, middle and high schools arranging bus companies for their pupils’ school trips where families pay the cost,
- Universities hiring bus companies for their pupils’ school trips,
- Hospitals and health centers hiring bus companies to operate vehicles on specific routes connecting their facility with residential areas where patients live,
- Intercity bus terminals operating distribution services to various parts of the city.

However, unorganized routes, trips and vehicle sizes bring other problems to already congested traffic. They also operate on additional routes and services for responding to excess demand on and outside of their self designated routes. Therefore, their real operational statistics could not be evaluated in the thesis study.

The approximate number of service vehicles are given at several statistics published before 2000. EGO Report (1995) stated that a sharp increase occurred in service vehicles of both public and private institutions during the 1990's. The report further stated that the number of public operated service vehicles is unknown and that total number of service vehicles was around 4000 in these years. According to a survey conducted in 1992 for Transport Master Plan, service vehicles carried 73% of daily passenger numbers of EGO. Since EGO does not prepare reports about public transport services any more, no information on the increase between 1995 and 2015 could be obtained from the municipality. On the other hand, UKOME Director stated that service vehicle number has increased in 2011 and 2012 by adding another 616 vehicles. A final fleet increase decision was given in 2015 with 400 more vehicles making the total service vehicle number 7200. Yearly average increase of service vehicles is 6 times bigger than yearly increase of public owned EGO busses

5.7 Summary and Findings of Study on Ankara and Eskişehir Road Corridor Urban Transport Development

Milestones of urban and transport developments related to Eskişehir Road Corridor by decades are listed below in Table 5.9 and Figure 6.1. These are main decisions and events resembling some important actions either resulting from consensus among various assemblages or featuring the first steps of starting interactions among assemblages for a consensus.

Detailed analysis of actions and interrelations of assemblages' clarifies dynamics, expectations, and influences of various actors in the planning, investment and operation activities.

Assemblages with expectations from land development influence planning actions while local government and private operators define boundaries of operational roles and benefits as municipal governments manipulate public transport projects without much concern on transport plan decisions.

The chronological list of transport decisions and interventions on the Eskişehir Road corridor, as shown in the Table below, help to highlight the lack of a comprehensive vision, which could ensure that policies and projects to be implemented are supporting and complementing each other. On the contrary, several projects contradict each other, and have no relevance with ongoing investments or previous decisions and actions. Many decisions seem to be given without any consideration for providing a good quality public transport service that also considers the growing mobility demand and congestion problems in this corridor. Furthermore, the decisions within the recent years highlight the increasing level of preferential treatment that private operators receive at the expense of not only publicly operated (i.e. EGO) buses, but also the newly opened metro line.

Table 5.9 Planning Framework, Legal Changes and Unplanned Transport System Modifications Inflencing Development of Eskişehir Road Corridor

	1970s
1970	Ankara Urban Development Plan of 1990; proposing first developments on Eskişehir Road Corridor (approved in 1982)
1973	Mayor Dalokay with financial limitations and low cost traffic management measures
1977	Mayor Dinçer with financial limitations and low cost TDM measures and PT improvements
	1980s
1980	Military Coup and Military Management at Municipality
1980	Withdrawal of trolleybuses
1982	Introduction of Privately Operated Public Transport busses
1984	Local Elections - Mayor Altınsoy from right wing party (MP)
1987	Ankara Structural Plan supporting the Çayyolu Coridor Development (not approved but acted as the basis of the urban transport study)
1987	Transport Study: Eskişehir Road Corridor for the second metro (M2) line
1989	Local Elections – Mayor Karayalçın from left wing party
	1990s
1992	Transport Master Plan Preparation until 1994: again Eskişehir Road Corridor for the M2 metro line
1994	Local Elections: First term of Gökçek
1994	Sabancı Boulevard opened
1995	27 EGO lines on Eskişehir Road
1995	1st generation ÖTA (Green Buses) operation to Çayyolu- Sincan
1997	Ankara 2025 Plan (not approved)
1997	Partial Urban Plans on Eskişehir Road Corridor
1997	1st generation ÖTA (double decker) operation to Çayyolu
1998	Eskişehir road widened from 2x2 lanes to 4x4 lanes
1998	Ankara Transport and Traffic Improvement Study proposing busway operations, including Eskişehir Road Corridor and travel demand management solutions
1999	21 EGO lines operating on Eskişehir Road despite the rapidly growing population and demand on the corridor
1999	Start of construction of grade separated junctions

Table 5.9(continued)

1999	Local Elections- Second Term of Gökçek
	2000s
2000	EGO stopped publishing Annual Public Transport Statistics Reports
2000	to 2003 Partial Urban Plans on Çayyolu Region
2001	Start of Çayyolu Metro (M2) Construction
2004	New municipality law
2004	Municipality Announcement for M2 opening date (within 2004) (the line does not open till 2014)
2004	Local Elections - Third Term of Gökçek
2007	End of First Generation ÖTA's (DBB and GB)
2007	Start of a new ÖHO line on Eskişehir Road
2008	Introduction of Second Generation ÖTA's – Midibuses (lower capacity vehicles in spite of the growing population and demand on the corridor)
2008	Municipality Announcement that "M2 would open after the election"
2009	Local Elections - Fourth term of Gökçek
	2010s
2010	Ministry takes over the construction of three metro lines, which have been going on for a decade
2012	400 new operation licenses for service vehicles
2012	6360 Greater Municipality Law
2014	March: Opening of the two metro lines, one along Eskişehir Road, despite being incomplete with regards to technological aspects and fleet
2014	March: Local Elections – Fifth term of Gökçek
2014	August –EGO Bus Reorganisation for Integration with M2 line (no reorganisation for minibus/dolmuş systems or privately operated buses, such as ÖHO and ÖTAs)
2014	Route, trip, modifications on feeder bus lines (EGO only)
2014	Municipality announcing that new M2 vehicles will be introduced in 2015 January to help improve waiting times and overcrowding problems (new vehicles still did not arrive as of September 2015)
2015	Licenses for additional 400 service vehicles

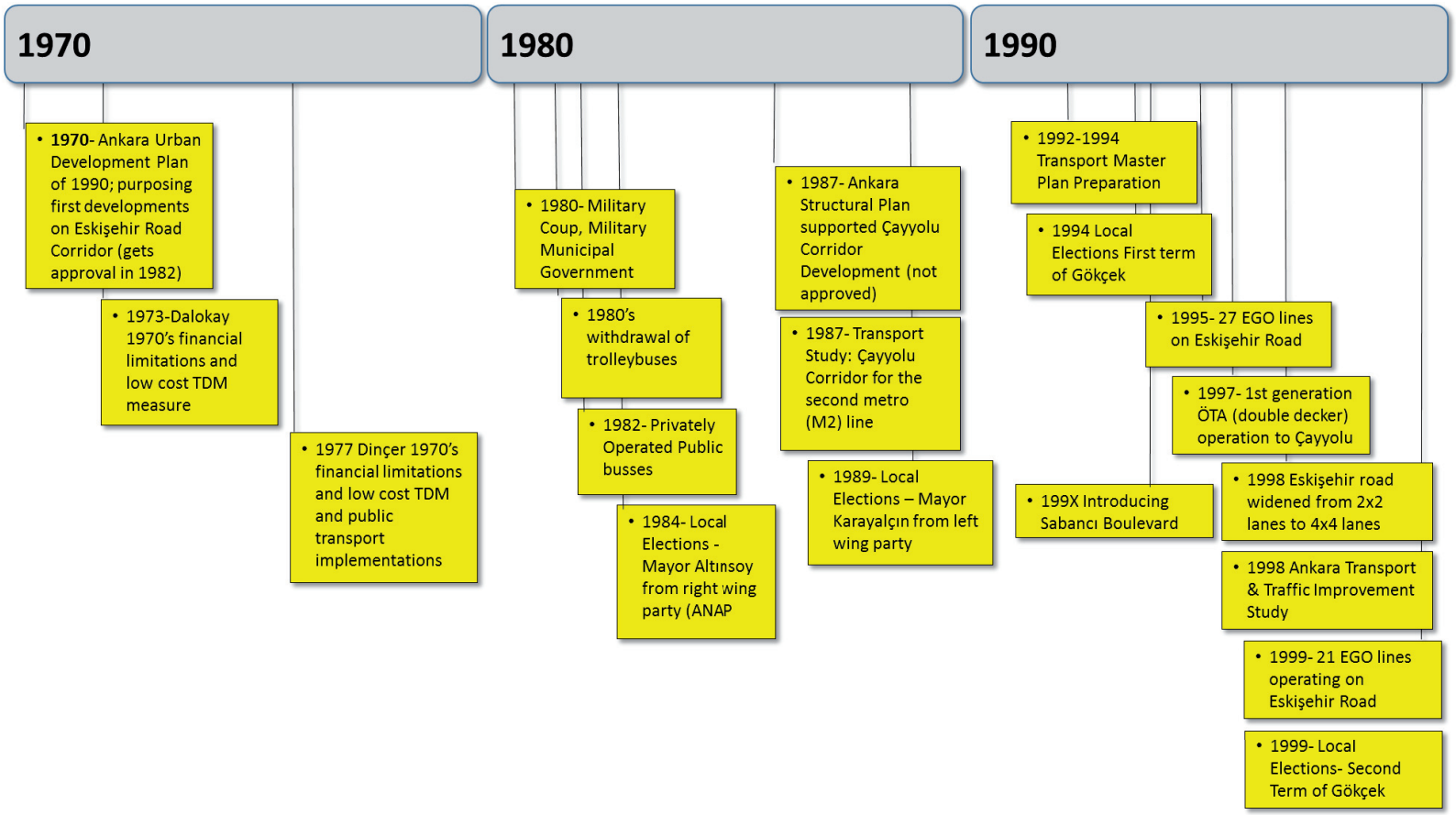


Figure-6.1 Eskisehir Road Corridor Related Milestones in Urban and Transport Development (1970-1990)

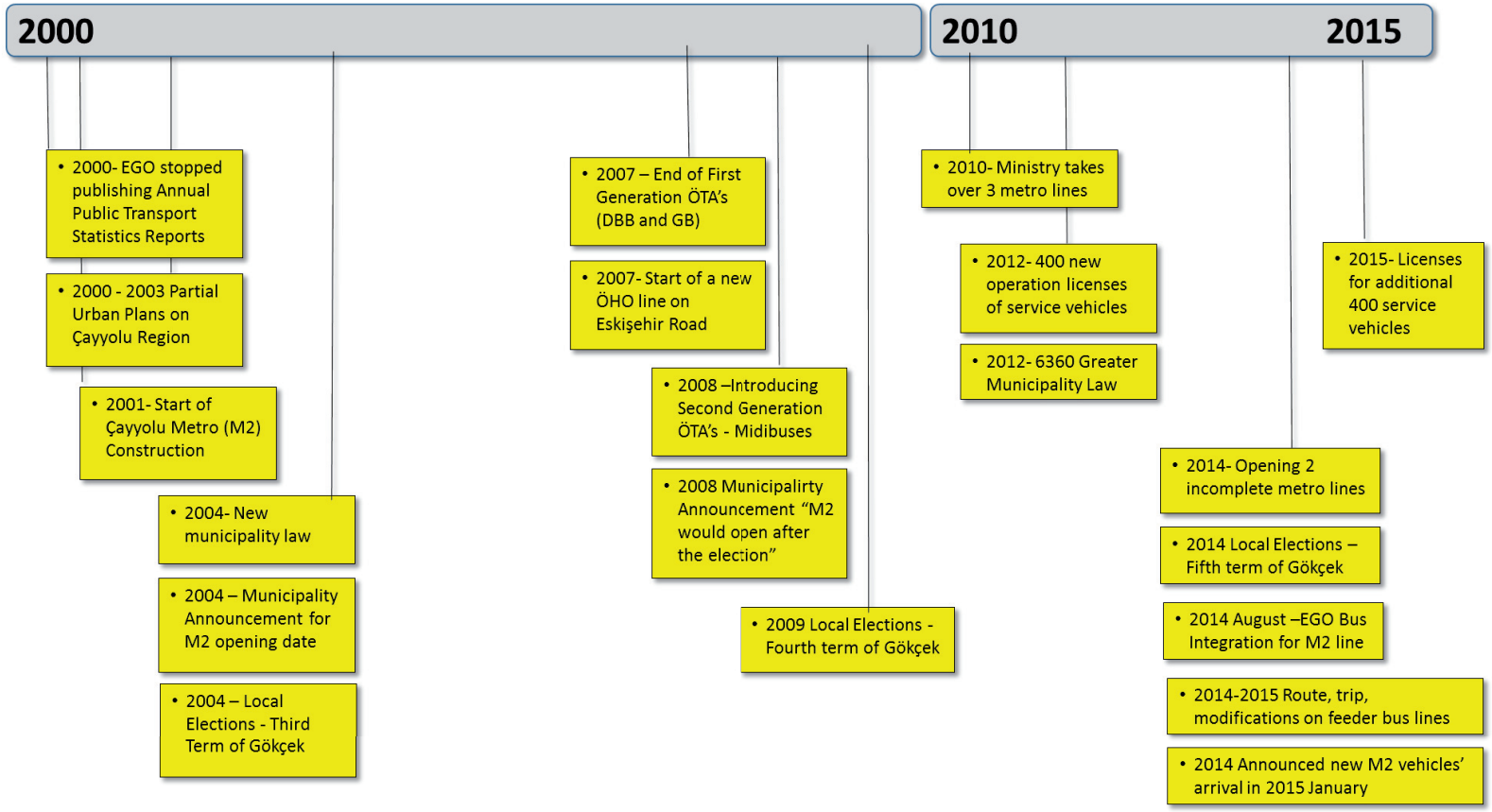


Figure-6.1 (continued)

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

This study reviewed initially urban development theories considering increasing complexities of urban transport problems and increasing number of interest groups acting in cities. As Saunders (1979) suggests, theories are more useful when they are used as complementary to one another. By this way; “Entrepreneurialist Urban Development” theory (Harvey, 1989) and “Urban Assemblages” concept (Deleuze, 1987, De Landa 2006) have been assessed as most explanatory and complementary theories in understanding underlying dynamics of urban transport decisions and developments.

After that, supranational economic and politic dynamics and international assemblages influencing urban transport systems have been defined, and reflections of international dynamics on Turkey have been evaluated considering the developing country position of Turkey and political economic choices of Turkish national governments. Institutional and legal framework leading urban transport developments in Turkish cities have also been examined in detail and their content changes have been discussed in relation to political and economic choices national government.

Numerous institutions and organizations of national level influence urban transport system developments at the local level. Many of them are in the form of assemblages interacting with each other and interacting with other assemblages of other levels. After the analysis, it is seen that economic and political dynamics of both national and international level have crucial influence on restructuring institutional and legal framework of urban transport.

Despite the fact that recently developed guidelines by government institutions have many positive implications in terms of sustainable and equitable urban transport development, detailed directives of implementation and controlling procedures and related standards are missing in the legal framework. Existing national and local transport institutions as well as legal framework are far from managing urban transport issues in a comprehensive manner. In addition, intention for handling urban transport issues systematically is completely abandoned after the 2000's. Decisions of urban transport are dispersed to various units of different public institutions due to their relevance of different responsibility areas both at local and national levels. However, coordination of these decisions or implementations was not carried out by any management unit. Lack of national level institutions providing the unity of urban transport policies and implementations, defining standards, carrying out auditing function on transport implementations, maintaining balanced finance distribution for urban transport investments, gathering statistical data from municipalities and performing research and development functions led municipalities to adopt inappropriate implementations with different perspectives for solving urban transport problems as seen in the Ankara case.

Ankara urban transport development has been analyzed in relation with local economic and politic changes. Historical assessment of Ankara urban transport system developments have emphasized the close relationship between changing national economic-political dynamics, insufficient legal and institutional structures and changing urban transport planning attitudes of local governments. Within this framework, interactions of urban transport assemblages have been examined in the case study of Eskişehir Road corridor. Examination of Ankara urban transport system development and Eskişehir Road Corridor assemblages indicated a development line that revolves around a strong Mayor, his periphery and his relationships which

prioritize interests of several assemblages and usually disregard public benefit. Mayor Gökçek administration created new assemblages as well as a new balance among existing and new operators for maximizing personal and private operator benefits. However; winning side of these assemblage oriented road-based implementations are neither pedestrians, public transport users nor motor-vehicle drivers. Urban life suffered as a result of deteriorating conditions of travel, decreasing quality of access and increasing costs of travel due to poor integration, while the highway lobby, land speculators, and key municipality decision makers enjoyed benefits of these road construction activities. It is the citizens that pay the bill of inappropriate implementations.

6.1 Assessment of Ankara Urban Transport Development under the influences of National and Supranational Dynamics.

Ankara city has undergone an entrepreneurialist period with inefficient use of resources during Mayor Gökçek's management period. This situation has roots in the transformation that occurred in the 1980's. Attempting to explain all unsustainable and contradicting developments only through the attitudes of strong neoliberal Mayor's personality and his relationships would not be sufficient and meaningful. However, it is undeniable that attitudes of Mayor Gökçek intensified the degree of these unsustainable implementations.

Limited economic resources in the 1970's led municipalities to adopt social democratic municipality implementations in various areas of urban transport (busways, restriction of private cars and car parks, pedestrianization implementations, etc.). Implementations of this term can be evaluated as fully in line with contemporary sustainable urban transport approaches. However, this era ceased and positive implementations abolished after a military coup

due to contradicting main economic and politic policy lines of national governments.

Military management and right wing party governed Ankara Municipality after the 1980 coup and adopted completely contradicting implementations with previous term, including high cost road investments supporting private car usage and private operator oriented public transport, focusing on maximizing private operator's benefits rather than public benefits. Policies and implementations adopted after the 1980's created baselines of current urban transport problems, supported, and amplified through policies of following governments.

Left wing municipality management of Karayalçın during the 1990's, claiming to represent the second social municipality term, implemented a mixture of both entrepreneurialist and social development oriented schemes. His implementations could not have a strong positive effect on urban transport as experienced in the previous term. Karayalçın management implemented high cost public transport infrastructures through international borrowing without any attempt to improve existing conditions with low cost solutions. This attitude stems from national policies of outward oriented growth, privatization of public services and facilitating local government's direct contact with international capital.

Similarly, national governments' attitudes in solving urban transport problems were reflected in national five-year development plans in terms of content of urban transport. Urban transport was covered comprehensively in the 1970's including proposals for numerous components and issues of urban transport. Content and suggestions of plans began to be limited beginning from the 1990's. In the 2010's five-year development plans had very limited and neglecting contents, including only few statements about national financial

support for uncompleted urban railway lines. Legal framework of spatial planning was not updated in parallel with increasing problems and needs of urban transport and accessibility problems in Turkish cities as seen in Chapter 4. These legal documents and institutional framework constituted base lines of unplanned developments and inappropriate implementations of municipalities in Turkish cities.

The underlying factors of decrease of urban transport content in national documents and insufficient legal and institutional framework of urban transport are closely related to national political choices, adopted economic development models, borrowing policies and incentives. Developing country characteristics, together with national governments adopting short-term economic development policies led to unsustainable policy frameworks. Urban transport problems that the citizens are facing in their daily lives are result of economic policies of the national level and legal and institutional gaps, which is argued to be disregarded intentionally by the national government. Especially, inadequacies of legal and institutional structure caused limited transport planning role for municipalities.

Historical evaluation of Ankara urban transport system together with legal and institutional framework changes verified the **Supporting Hypothesis 1** that “national legal and institutional framework deficiencies and non-decision areas on urban transport lead to unsustainable urban transport system development.”

When compared with previous term it is undeniable that Ankara urban transport system witnessed most unsustainable and inequitable implementations during the Gökçek administration. Increasing intensity of entrepreneurialist implementations both on urban development and urban transport system can be associated with 12 year continuous liberal right JDP

national government and other right wing national governments (having short breaks with coalitions) after the 1980's (Figure 5.10). Evaluation of Ankara urban transport development patterns together with national and local economic dynamics, institutional and legal frameworks of urban transport verifies the **Main Hypothesis** of the thesis study, which suggested that "national economic dynamics, constituted by supranational level effects together with political choices of national governing parties is the most effective determinant on urban transport system developments".

Attitudes of mayors and relationships of influential assemblages are dependent to these upper level dynamics; however, they determine the intensity of entrepreneurial implementations. Social democrat Karayalçın municipality government did not insist on previous term approaches and implemented various contradicting urban transport decisions along with the main economic and political development policies of the era. Therefore **Supporting Hypothesis 2**, which claimed that "regardless of the political ideology of municipal government, general development trend of urban transport system conforms to the neoliberal national policies especially after the 1980's. Several positive implementations remain partial, having no crucial effect on the whole urban transport system is applicable when considering Turkish national and local government systems.

6.2 Evaluation Urban Transport Assemblages on Eskişehir Road Corridor

The development of Ankara urban form in relation with its transportation system during the recent decades have shown four distinct patterns:

(i) radial developments along main intercity highway corridors, which later led to

(ii) oil-spill growth between these radial corridors,

(iii) in-fill developments on existing green and publicly owned land and
(iv) finally by higher densities of high rise buildings assured by development plan revisions of influential assemblages.

These developments were led or supported by different assemblages; corridor developments were mainly under influences of local industrial entrepreneurs requiring road access to their facilities. Oil-spill developments between radial corridors were mainly mass housing developments led by private and public (TOKI) land development assemblages for their projects not requiring heavy vehicle access to their premises. The latter two types of development requiring higher influential power were manipulated by politically backed land developers (with luxury office, shopping center and luxury residence projects).

Eskişehir Road Corridor has a special importance in this four-tier development scenario as the only corridor serving to all four types of development patterns. Eskisehir Road Corridor, city's major planned housing development backed with "long delayed potential metro line" and university campuses and government office complexes had developed under influences of many different assemblages.

This corridor, which serves very different land uses, was shaped by many assemblages including housing cooperatives and developers, private and public universities, government bodies, military establishments, shopping center developers and operators, rail system contractors, private and municipal transport operators and residents. The focus of this thesis, however, has been the development of transport infrastructure and operations along this corridor with a view to explaining many seemingly contradictory decisions by analyzing various assemblages.

Urban transport development and interactions of assemblages of Eskişehir Road Corridor have been investigated initially through official documents including latest approved and published transport master plan dated 1994. Most informative official documentation, annual operational reports of EGO that had detailed data of both privately and publicly operated services, were prepared after 1980. The greater municipality discontinued ~~the~~ preparation of these reports as well as comprehensive data collection and analysis after 1999. Officers working at UKOME unit rejected sharing unpublished UKOME decisions for thesis study despite that these official UKOME decisions have to be announced officially. Their negative responses for sharing data and other documents revealed their intention to cover any information that would show low performance resulting from inefficient and irrational planning and management of transport system. After evaluation of available data, development of urban transport system and interaction of urban transport assemblages were studied using limited official and unofficial documents, in-depth interviews with assemblage representatives and several unofficial resources, like local press and web resources. In depth interviews explicitly showed that underlying factor of UKOME rejection of document sharing was intention to hide its relationships with the urban transport assemblages.

Entrepreneurial urban development processes together with strong mayor management with neoliberal choices led urban transport system to develop more for interest of various urban assemblages and less for public good. Highway construction oriented transport problem solving approach of the Municipality led to the delay of Çayyolu Metro opening for 15 years. Failure of Ankara Municipality in building three Metro lines (including Çayyolu Metro) was compensated by the national government through close relationships of Mayor Gökçek with national government. In the meantime, growing service gap is filled by private operators, which interact as assemblages having

relationships with other assemblages from different levels and different sectors.

Gökçek government preferred to focus on road building investments for alleviating increasing congestion problems resulting from increased number of motorized vehicles and urban sprawl. He frequently expressed that he aims facilitating private car accessibility in urban areas. On the other hand, urban transport needs of non-car owners, which happens to be the majority of the society, tend to be satisfied through expansion of privately operated public transport services. In depth interviews revealed that, concessions of private operators are increased in expense of public good and efficiency of municipality public transport operations. Although local governments have the role of keeping balance among actors in urban transport for protecting public good, Gökçek administration created new assemblages as well as new balance among existing and new operators for maximizing personal and private operator benefits.

Entrepreneurialist urban development theory (Harvey 1989) has been used in this study for understanding recent urban development and urban transport development trends. In addition, Assemblage Theory contributed to the thesis study for clarification of multilevel interaction of assemblages. As Brenner (2011) indicated, assemblage concept is most useful when it is mobilized in the context of a broader repertoire of theories, concepts, methods and researches agendas that are not derived internally from the assemblage approach itself.

Urban transport operator groups have been researched considering their resemblance of assemblages (De Landa 2006). By this way, public transport assemblages influencing Eskişehir Road Development have been defined as; Privately Operated Public Buses (ÖHO), first and second generation

contracted public transport vehicles (ÖTA), Municipality Buses (EGO), Minibuses, and Service Vehicles. Changes in their service characteristics and in depth interviews with representatives of these assemblages clarified decision making mechanism of urban transport on developments on Eskişehir Road Corridor. The most important competitor of ÖHO both on citywide operations and on Eskişehir Road is minibus operations. Head of ÖHO Chamber stressed that the municipality did not take any decisions to the detriment of the ÖHO operation when dealing with conflicts between minibuses and EGO. The municipality gave a choice initially to them for solving conflicts between each other. The superiority of ÖHO is believed to stem from higher quality of operational standards (vehicle size, operation with bus stops, etc.) when compared to minibuses. All operators and municipality officials evaluated them as the superior actor in the public system due to their close relationships with municipality management. In addition, other operator assemblages have been investigated since properties of the component parts can never explain the relations, which constitute a whole. Like public transport operations, assemblages are made up of parts, which are self-subsistent and articulated. On the other emphasis of Deleuze (1987) on relations of exteriority also “a part may be detached and made a component of another assemblage” concords with private public transport operator networks in Turkey urban transport structure.

Minibus and ÖHO operators have been assessed as the most powerful assemblages among players of the public transport market during the Gökçek period. They explicitly emphasized close relationship with municipality management and mayor. They further expressed that municipality generally respond to their demands positively. The municipality put first generation ÖTA operations into the public transport market for decreasing the monopoly of minibus and ÖHO operations. ÖTA public services are organized from various intersecting owner operators from the

transport market. However, after a while municipality ended their operation by not renewing their licenses. Main reason of this action explained by ÖTA operators was their attitudes leading to unrest among operators and society. ÖHO buses and EGO operations filled the service gap in this term. After a year, the municipality organized a new bid for contracted public transport services. Although the initial claim of ending their operation rights was unrest in traffic and society, the municipality gave a second ten-year operation right to the same operators. This action of municipality can be assessed as a political game for stabilizing and limiting the growing power of ÖTA operators and renewing financial benefits to parties issuing permits. In addition, reentrance of contracted operators to public transport market short before the local elections indicates indicates a political manouvre by the mayor to secure votes from the members of this assemblage.

Another growing assemblage is service vehicles, privately operated school and employee buses. Despite growing share of these individual operators and firms in recent years, their control and supervision mechanisms (also routes, trips, time schedules) are not operated as in other public transport modes. Their increasing share and growing vehicle numbers indicate their close relationships with municipality. In depth interviews showed that, municipality management uses the self-created balance through personal relationship in cases of disagreements with any other assemblage.

While Municipality and its management is the most powerful assemblage, its technical staff is intentionally underutilized by the political management. In depth interviews showed that transport planning and urban development decisions of the municipality are not taken by transport planning and urban planning technicians according to their professional and technical considerations. Planning, investment, and operational decisions of the municipality are results of negotiations among assemblages at local, national,

and supranational levels. Influential effect of each assemblage and level varies with the characteristics and cost (rather benefit to stakeholders) of the project or decision.

Local decision powers are concentrated at the mayor and municipality management level while closer and more direct relations with the mayor and municipality management increase influence of assemblages on decisions. Decisions are taken with optimized benefit of the municipality (mayor and municipality managers) and assemblages, but not for the public or with proposals of technical staff. This relation is clear in the decision-making procedures of the municipality where technical staff are not involved in pre-decision activities and only informed after the decision is made just for completion of the official procedures.

This approach may be the reason for termination of technical and statistical data collection, and reporting activities since this information will not be used anyway in the decision-making processes. In the same way, lack of technical and statistical data about publicly and privately public transport services hindered further assessments of recent developments under the thesis study. The exclusion of private operators in the electronic fare collection system is also an example of the same approach where municipality and private operators had negotiated and agreed to continue the current system, which keeps the accounts of private operators separate, despite the potential benefits of a system-wide electronic fare collection scheme to the users and the public.

Private sector oriented public transport development together with highway construction oriented approach of municipality management encouraged private car usage and ownership. Attitude of Municipality generally caused various losses in terms of society; daily time spent in transport, financial

losses, as well as environmental hazards (damage in air and noise pollution). In depth interviews with assemblages verified the **Supporting Hypothesis 3,** that “under national and international conditions, mayors and their interaction with powerful assemblages specify the degree of entrepreneurialist urban and urban transport system development.”

Besides, the third supporting hypothesis could be further investigated through analyzing road infrastructure investments of municipality and the construction firms with the intention of showing the underlying dynamics of road building oriented approach of Gökçek administration. However, decisions and procedures about grade separated junction and road infrastructure investments could not be reached through municipality. Since indepth interviews with road building assemblages exceed the scope of the thesis, only public transport assemblages have been investigated.

The main hypothesis of the study may be further tested through the analysis of a municipality governed by a left wing party Mayor. In depth interviews with left wing municipality management and local assemblages would enable the assessment of whether urban transport system developments are consistent with national political economic choices despite a social democrat municipality.

6.3 Concluding Remarks

It is difficult for local governments to act in capitalist systems as a natural authority being fair between public and private interest. They act in the interest of capital and profit accumulation, especially when they are governed by liberal parties. Damaging effects of the system need to be reduced by state governments and state institutions. Central governments do not act in opposition to local governments when they have same political views. Limited

economic conditions of the country do not allow the country to act strictly to accumulation process. Funding provided for planning studies by international organizations serve more to capitalist system accumulation process with privatization of public transport institutions and increasing share of road transport and private public transport operators.

As this study examined Ankara urban structure and transport development, it was clarified that Ankara Municipality had implemented after the 1980's and is still implementing several projects in contradiction with sustainable development goals, public transport and pedestrian improvement which are universally accepted as valid trajectories in urban transport planning and operation. In addition, all segments of society, including pedestrians, public transport users, private car users, elderly, disabled, students, low income citizens, even private operators are suffering from adverse effects of cost, environmental drawbacks, overcrowdings at public transport vehicles, traffic congestions and extremely long travel times.

This approach also works well for both land speculators and highway lobbies which are in good relation with political decision makers in the municipality. Metro lines on three corridors would reduce urban sprawl, automobile ownership and use if they had opened to operations 15 years ago as planned. If these rail systems were in operation in time, urban area would experience a different type of urban development than the current trends that are shaped by dependency on road based transport and private car.

Analysis showed that as the project size (cost and benefit) enlarge, focus of the influential powers switch to national level decision makers as local management and local assemblages lose their roles. This focal movement is clearly reflected with the decision of the central government to take over metro construction and rolling stock procurement tenders. Switching the

responsibility of constructing the metro to central government was lifting the decision center to national level and to influential assemblages at the supranational levels.

Urban decision makers as an assemblage in relation with upper level profit oriented assemblages arranged urban transportation assemblage (both transport infrastructure and transport service providers of private and municipality operations) for maximizing their own profits. In this process national level governments supported their actions in an invisible manner by not establishing appropriate institutional and legal frameworks and leaving non decision areas which local governments fill according the their own values.

Urban transport implementations and politics in Ankara City that favor entrepreneurialist and highway based approaches disregard worldwide-accepted urban transport planning principles; and as a result, national and local social, economic, and environmental needs, equity concerns have degraded both the urban life and urban transport in Ankara leaving many unsolved problems for the future administrations.

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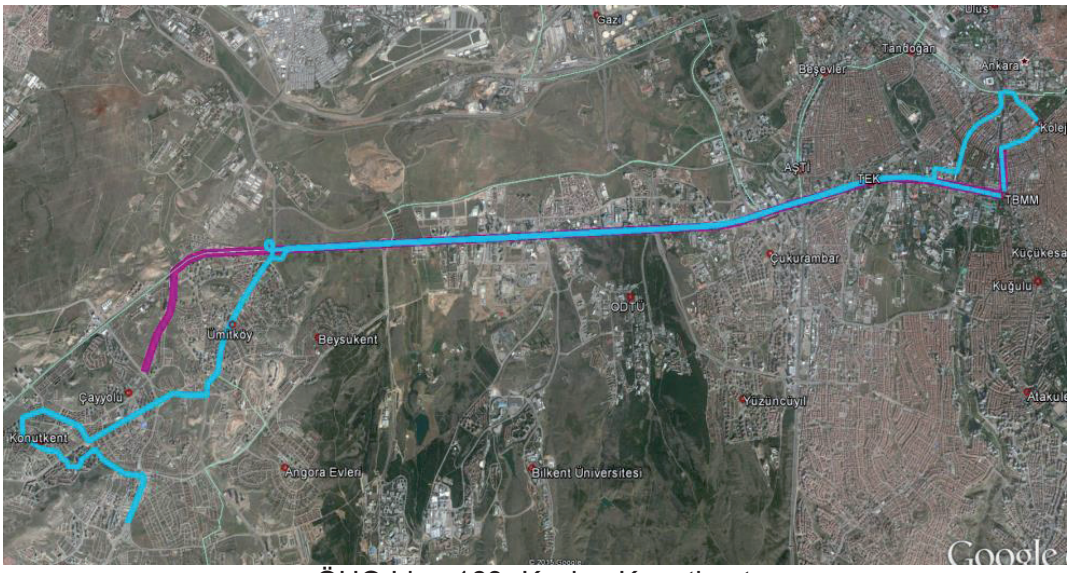
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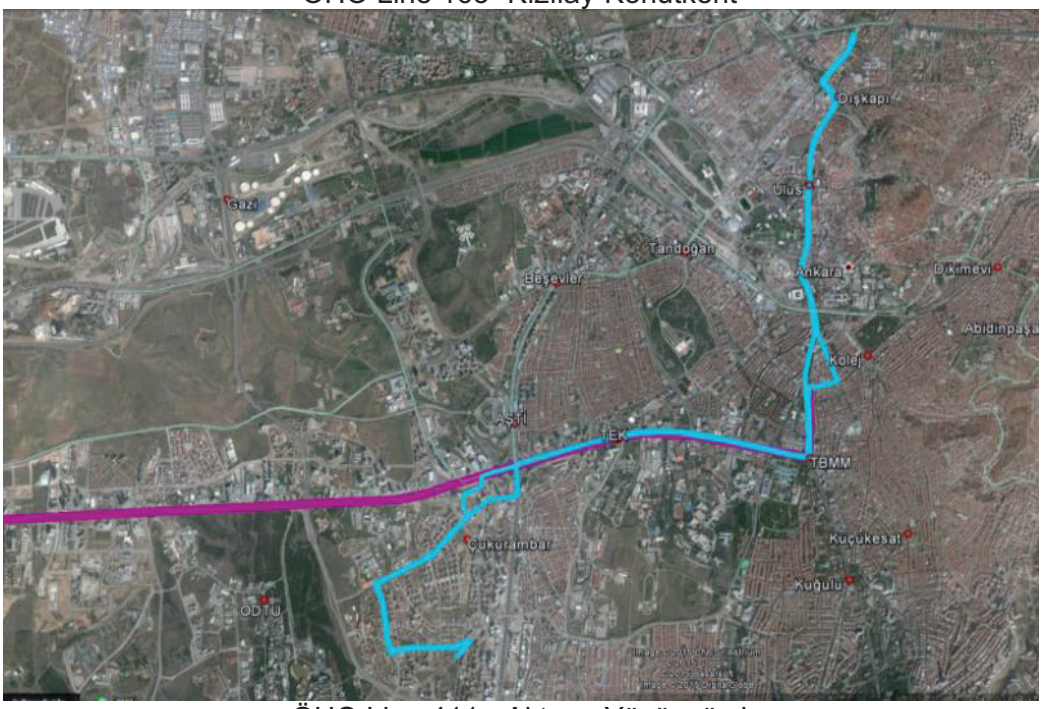
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APPENDICES

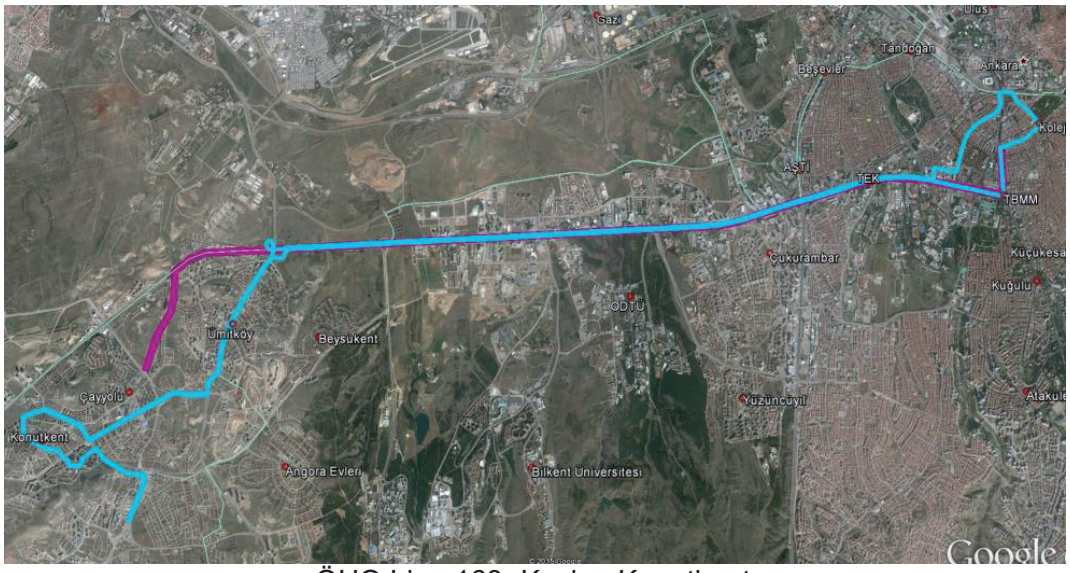
APPENDIX A. ÖHO BUS LINES ON ESKİŞEHİR ROAD



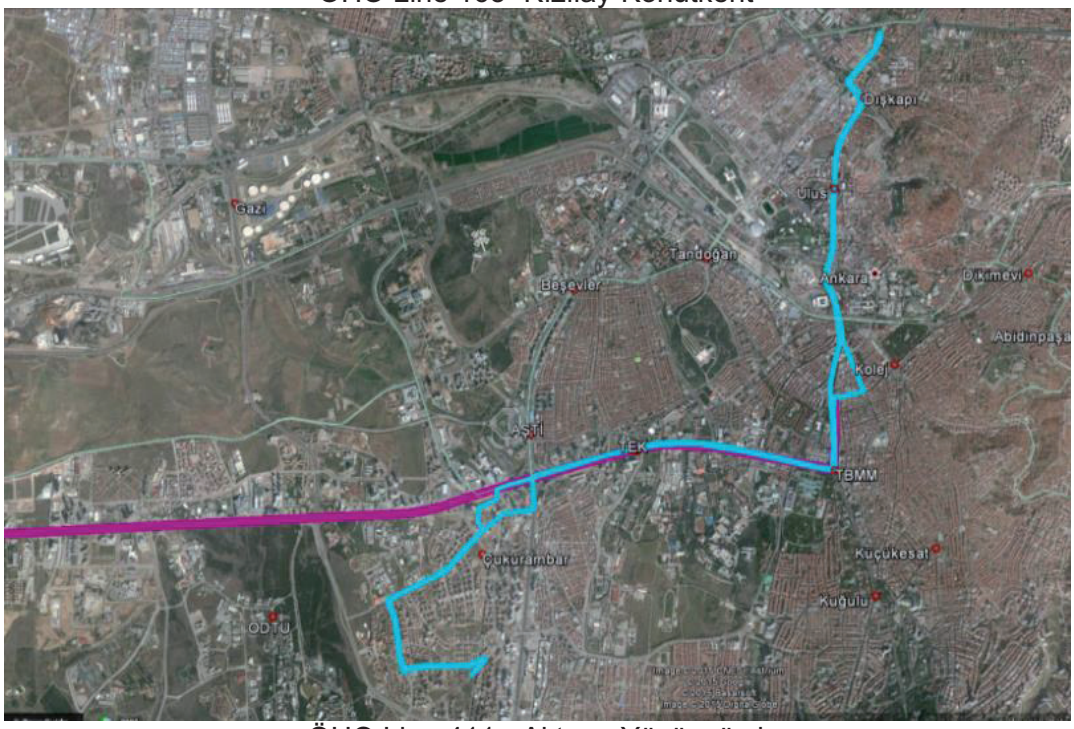
ÖHO Line 163- Kızılay-Konutkent



ÖHO Line 411 - Aktepe Yüzüncüyıl



ÖHO Line 163- Kızılay-Konutkent



ÖHO Line 411 - Aktepe Yüzüncüyıl

APPENDIX B. EGO BUS LINES BEFORE/AFTER THE ÇAYYOLU METRO INTEGRATION

EGO BUS LINES TRANSFORMED FEEDER SERVİCES IN THE FRAMEWORK OF ÇAYYOLU METRO INTGRATION



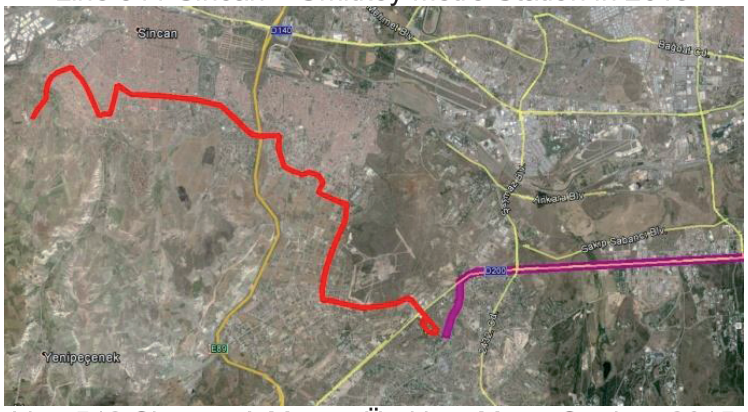
Line 511 Sincan – Bakanlık in 2013



Line 511 Sincan – Ümitköy Metro Station in 2015



Line 512 Sincan -A.Mesut– Bakanlık in 2013



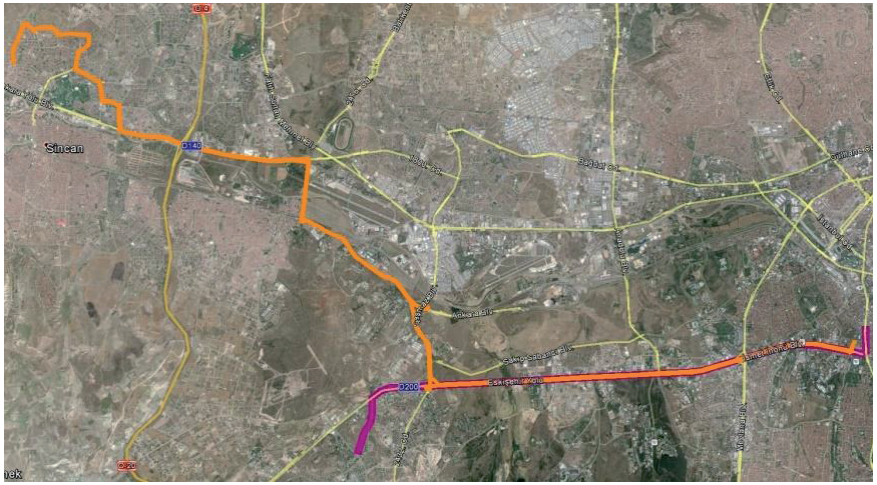
Line 512 Sincan -A.Mesut–Ümitköy Metro Station -2015



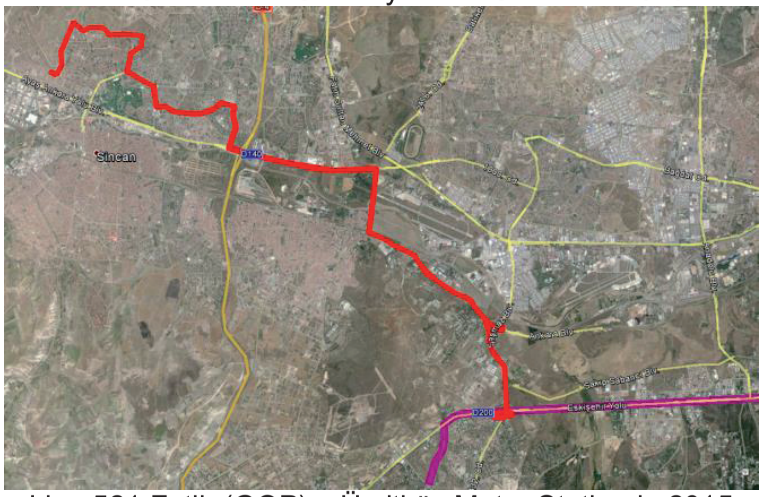
Line 517 Fatih – Bakanlık in 2013



Line 517 Fatih – Ümitköy Metro Station in 2015



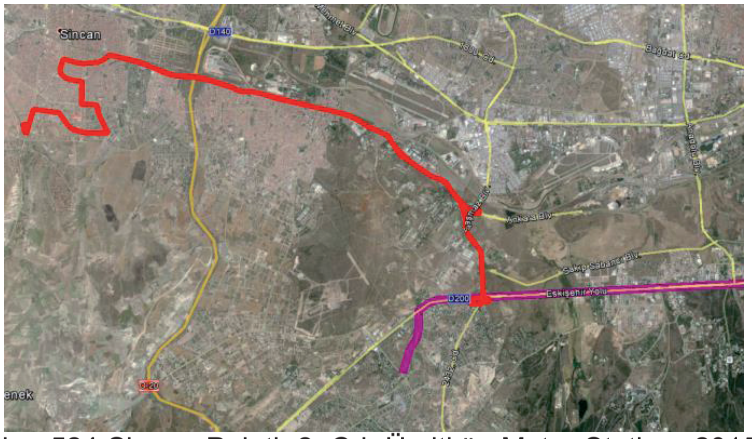
Line 521 Fatih (GOP) – Bakanlık in 2013



Line 521 Fatih (GOP) – Ümitköy Metro Station in 2015



Line 524 Sincan-Polatlı 2. cd – Bakanlık- 2013



Line 524 Sincan-Polatlı-2. Cd- Ümitköy-Metro Station -2015



Line 532 Elvankent- Kızılay -2013



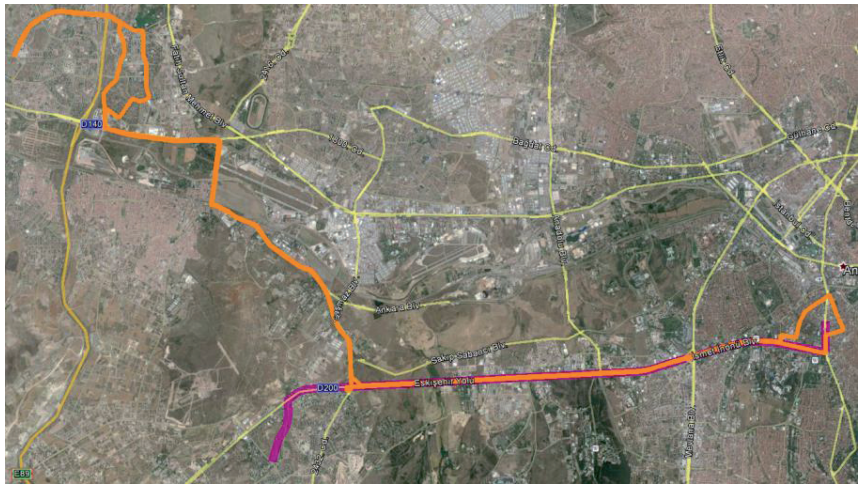
Line 532 Elvankent- Ümitköy Metro Station- 2015



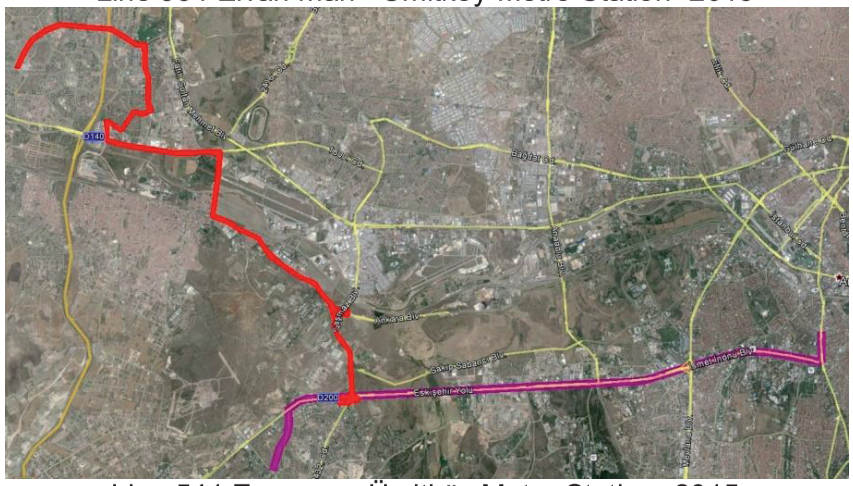
Line 534 Elvan mah-Ulus- 2013



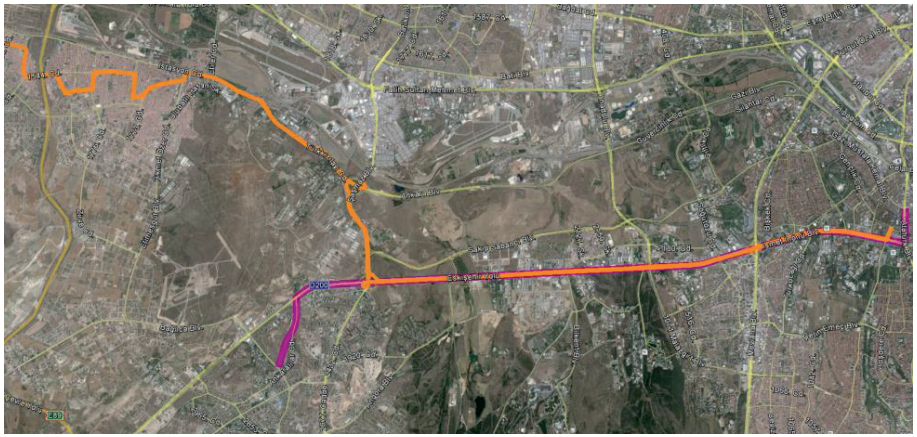
Line 534 Elvan mah - Ümitköy-Metro Station -2015



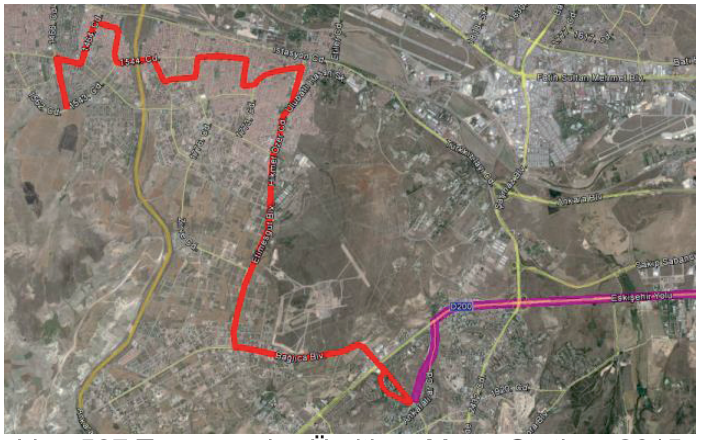
Line 541 Eryaman- Kızılay -2013



Line 541 Eryaman- Ümitköy Metro Station- 2015



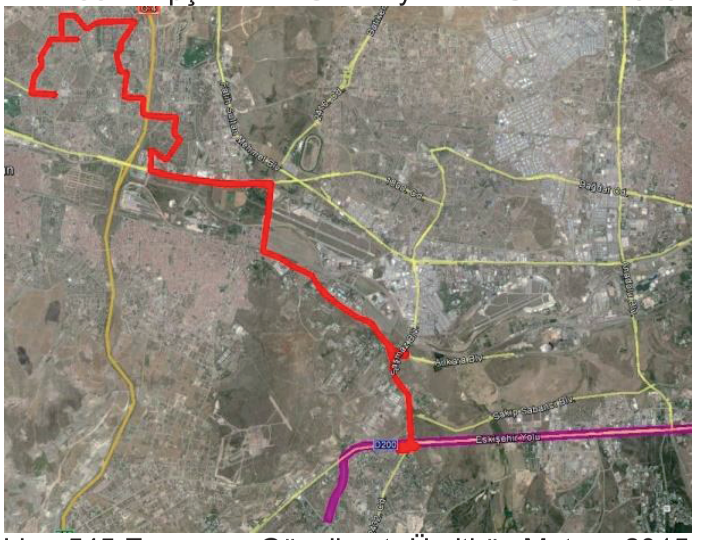
Line 537 Topçu mah-Ulus- 2013



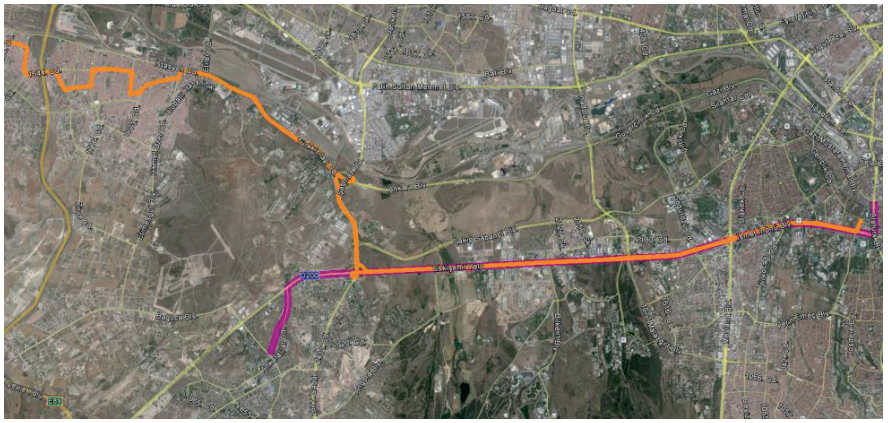
Line 537 Topçu mah - Ümitköy-Metro Station -2015



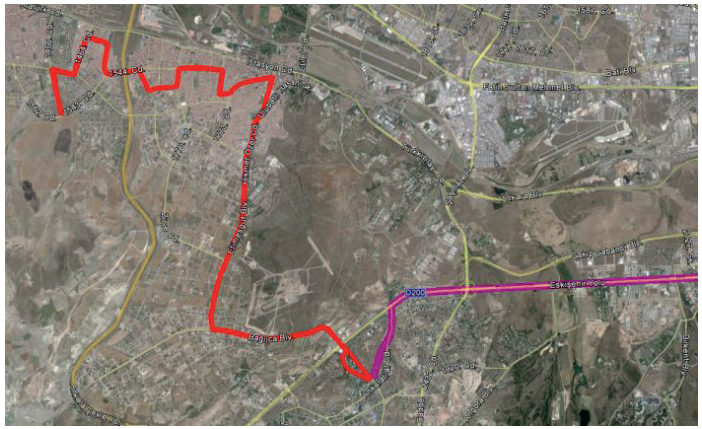
Line 545 Eryaman- Güzelkent-Aşti -2013



Line 545 Eryaman- Güzelkent- Ümitköy Metro - 2015



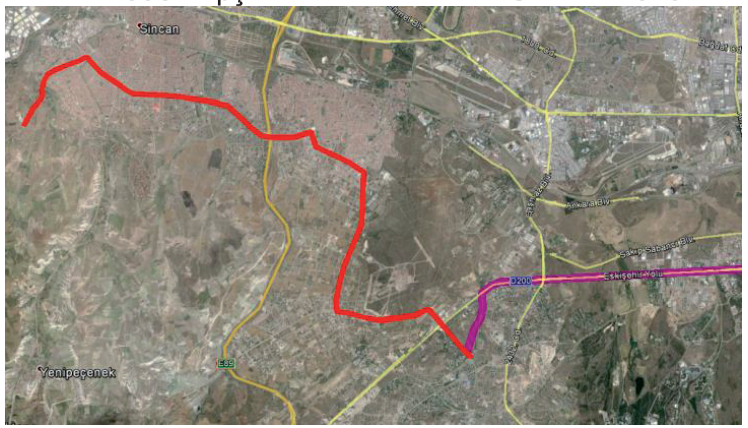
Line 538 Topçu mah-Ulus- 2013



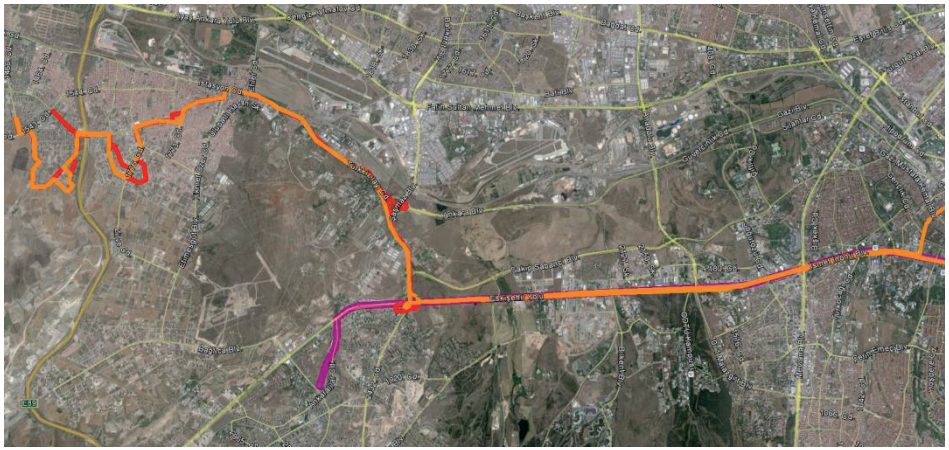
Line 538 Topçu mah - Koru-Metro Station -2015



Line 566 Eryaman- A. Mesud-2149- cad-2157 cad.- Bakanlık- 2013



Line 566 Eryaman- A.Mesud-2149 cad-Koru Metro-2015



Line 567Ayyıldız Mahallesi-Bakanlık - 2013



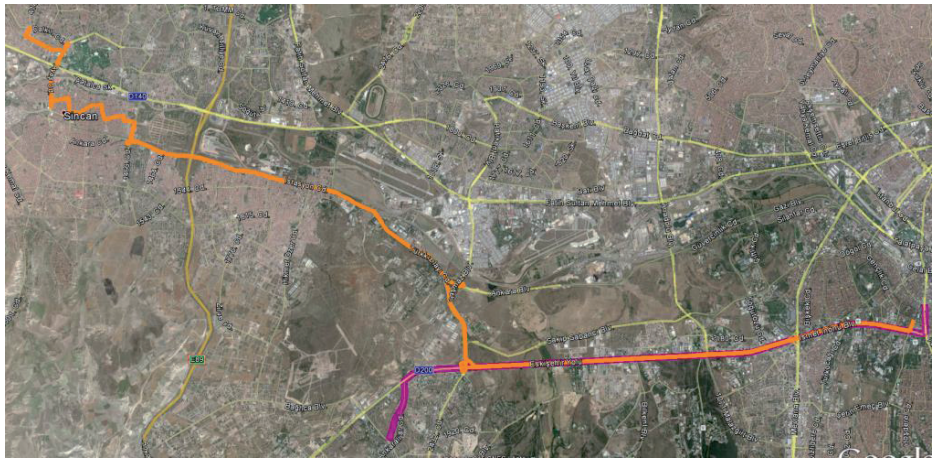
Line 567Ayyıldız Mahallesi-Ümitköy Metro Station - 2015



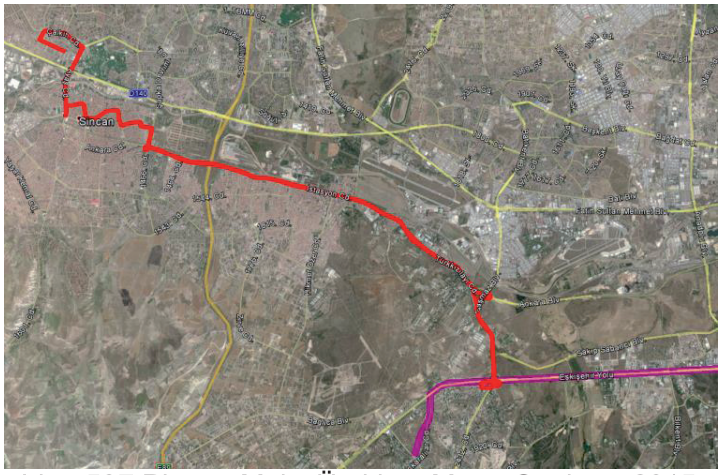
Line 573 Yenikent.- Bakanlık- 2013



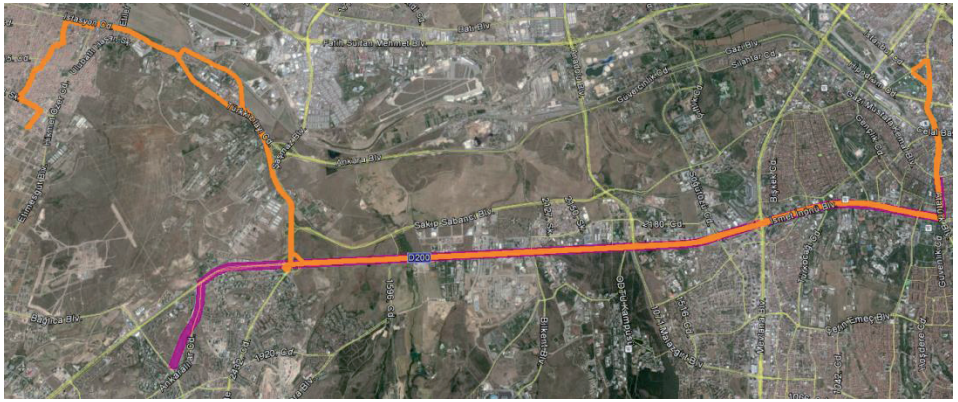
Line 573 Yenikent.- Ümitköy Metro Station- 2015



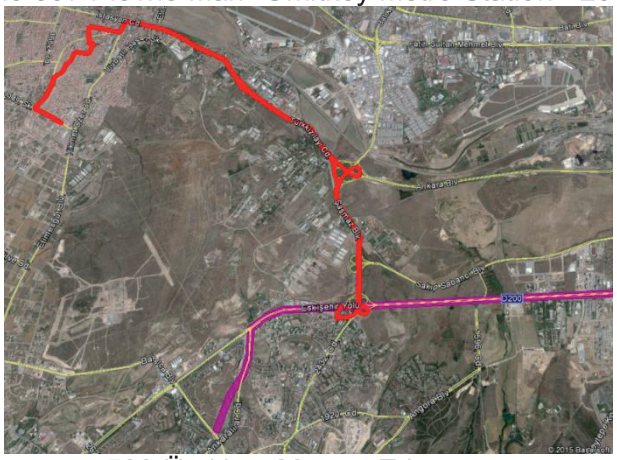
Line 507 Plevne Mah-Bakanlık - 2013



Line 507 Plevne Mah--Ümitköy Metro Station - 2015



530 Etimesgut – Ulus



530 Ümitköy Metro - Etimesgut



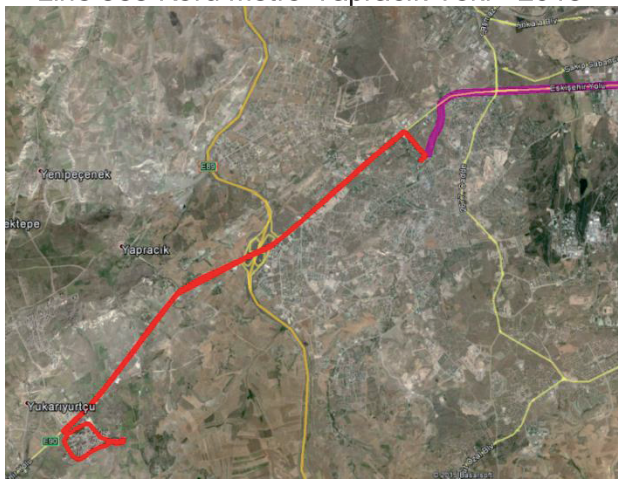
Line 120 Opera-Yapracık-Toki- 2013



Line 588 Koru Metro-Yapracık Toki - 2015



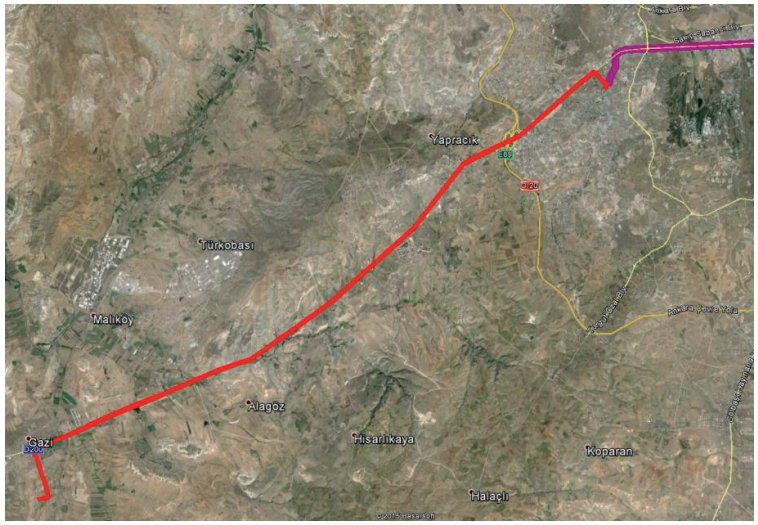
Line 121 Opera-Turkuaz-Toki- 2013



Line 589 Koru Metro-Turkuaz Toki - 2015



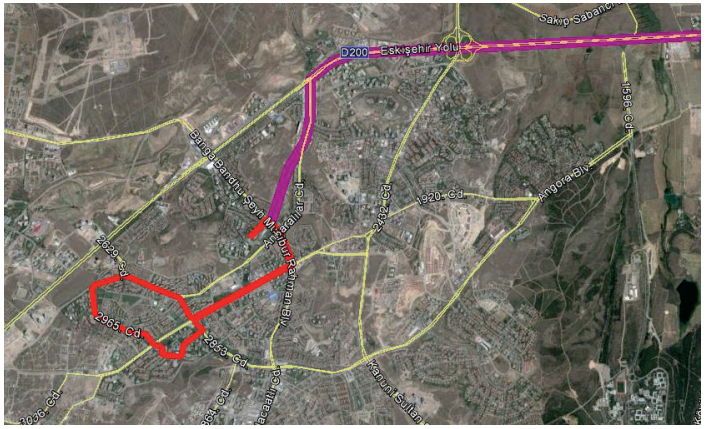
Line 124 Opera- Temelli- 2013



Line 591 Koru Metro Station-Temelli - 2015



Line 119 Konutkent-Kızılay- 2013



Line 587 Koru Metro-Konutkent Toki - 2015



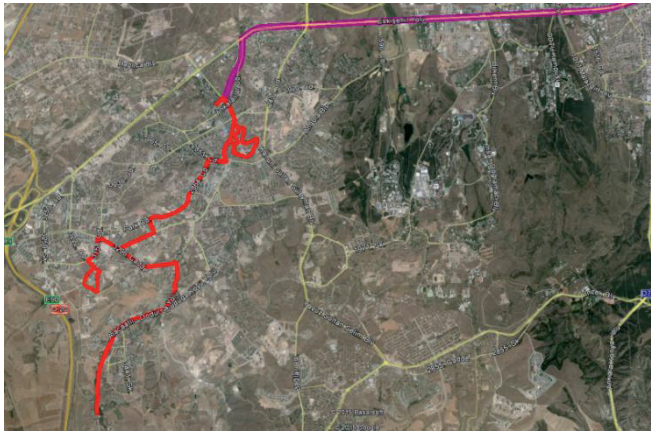
Line 196 Opera- Ballıkuyumcu- 2013



Line 583 Koru Metro Station-Ballıkuyumcu - 2015



Line 118 Türkkonut-Park cad - Kızılay- 2013



Line 586 Koru Metro-Yaşamkent Park cad. - 2015



Line 111 Bilkent-Güvenpark - 2013



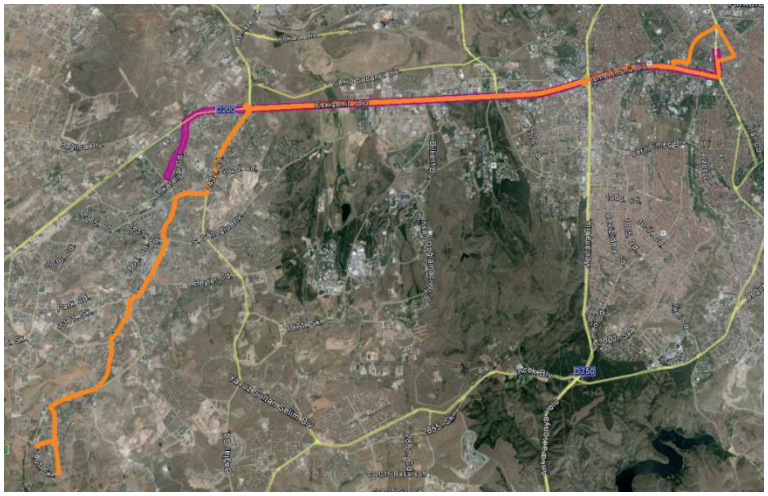
Line 111 –Bilkent Metro- Bilkent- 2015



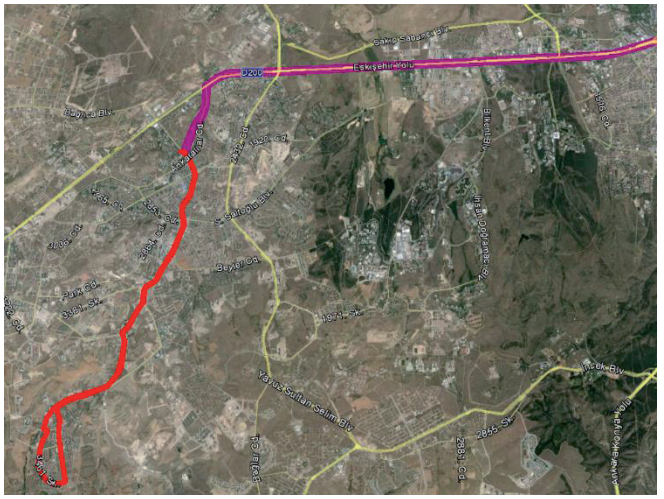
Line 175 Güvenpark- Beytepe Mah



Line 175 Bilkent Metro- Beytepe mah-Park cad. - 2015



Line 165 Türkkonut - Kızılay - 2013



Line 598 –Koru Metro Station- Kızılay- 2015



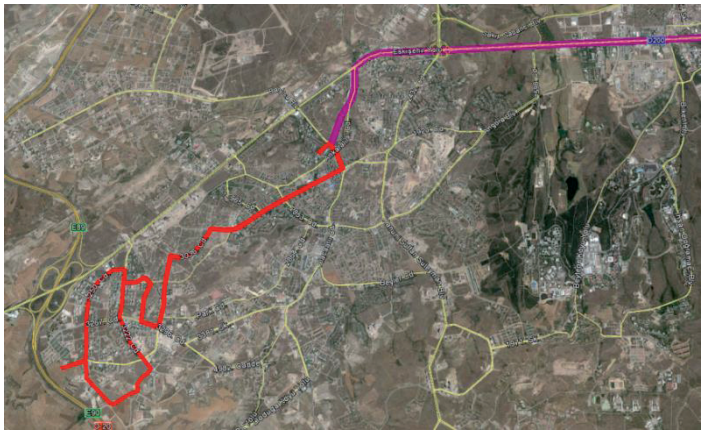
Line 132 Güvenpark- Beytepe mah -2013



Line 132 Söğütözü Metro Station- 100. Yıl. - 2015



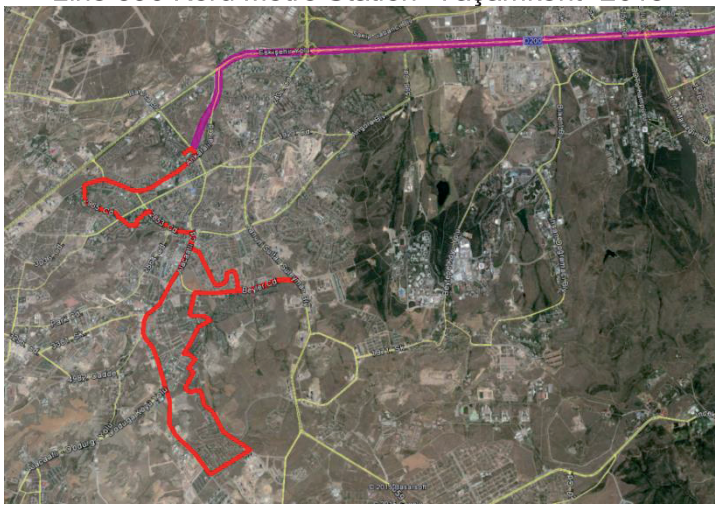
Line 123 Yaşamkent - Kızılay - 2013



Line 590 Koru Metro Station- Yaşamkent- 2015



Line 126 Yıldız 88- Ümitköy – Kızılay -2013



Line 592 Koru Metro Station- Yıldız 88 - 2015



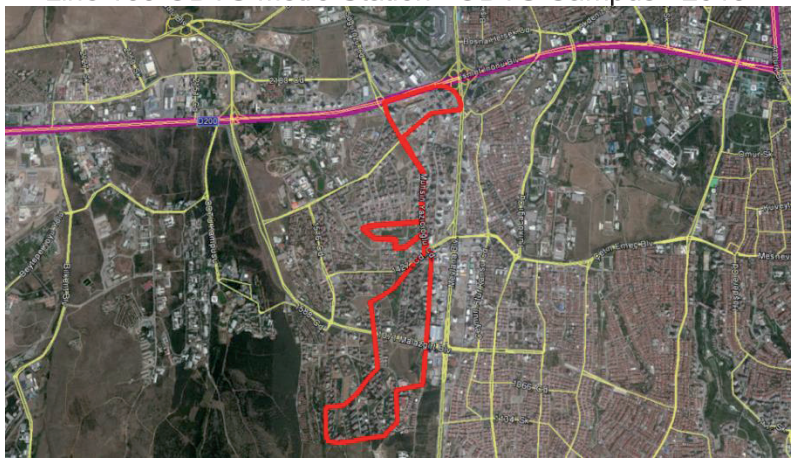
Line 133 ODTÜ- Çukurambar-Ulus - 2013



Line 133 ODTÜ Metro Station –ODTÜ Campus - 2015



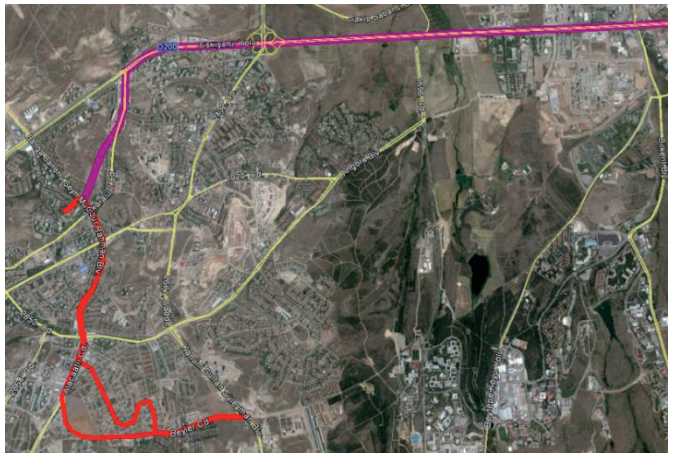
Line 134 Güvenpark – Beytepe mah.-2013



Line 134 Söğütözü Metro- 100. Yıl



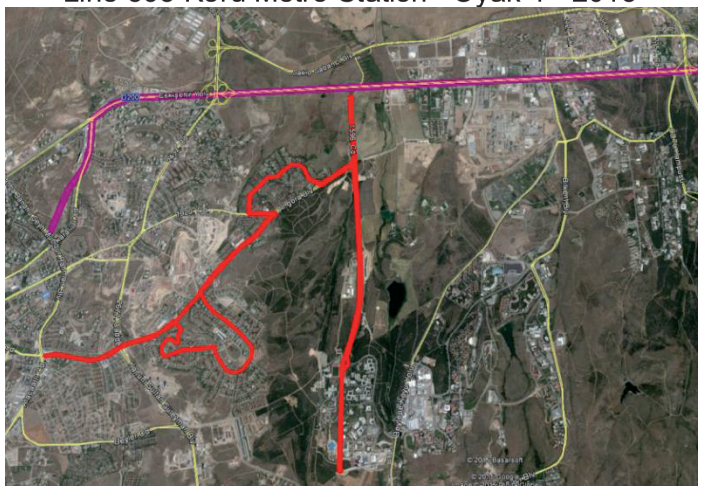
Line 127 Oyak 4 – Ümitköy- Kızılay - 2013



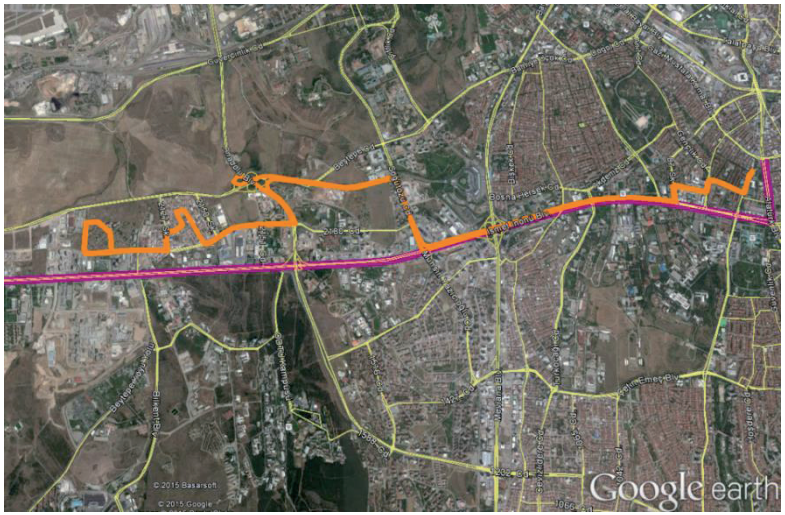
Line 593 Koru Metro Station –Oyak 4 - 2015



Line 174 Opera – Beysukent -2013



Line 174 Beytepe Metro Station- Beysukent -2015



Line 171 Güvenpark-M. Kemal mah.- Emsan 2013



Line 171 Bilkent Metro Station –M.Kemal mah. - 2015



Line 569 THK Uni- Eskişehir Road-Kızılay 2013

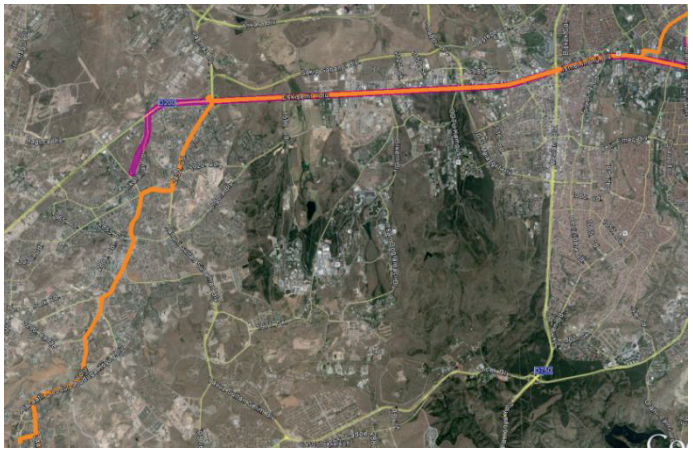


Line 569 THK Uni- Eskişehir Road-Kızılay 2013

CANCELED LINES EGO LINES



Line 161 Konutkent-Koru Sitesi- Çankaya



Line 169 Dikmen - Beytepe. - 2015



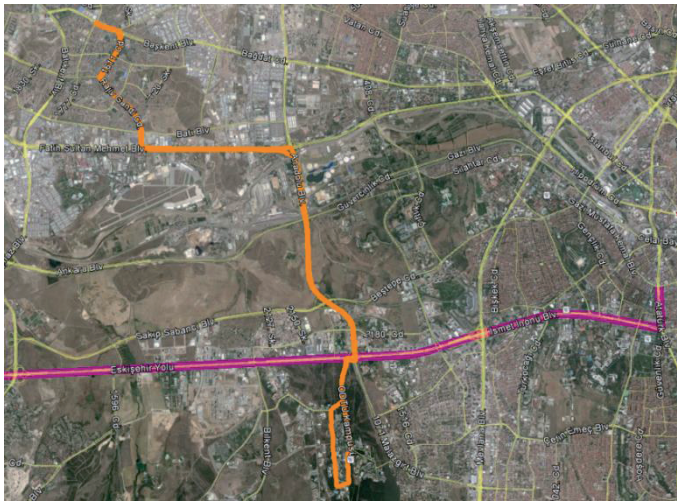
Line 206 Yenimahalle - ODTÜ



Line 230 Hacettepe -Beytepe



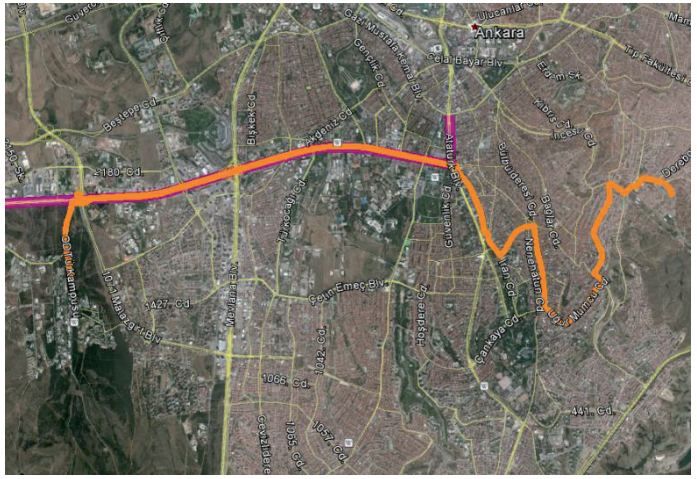
Line 231 Hacettepe –Beytepe (express)



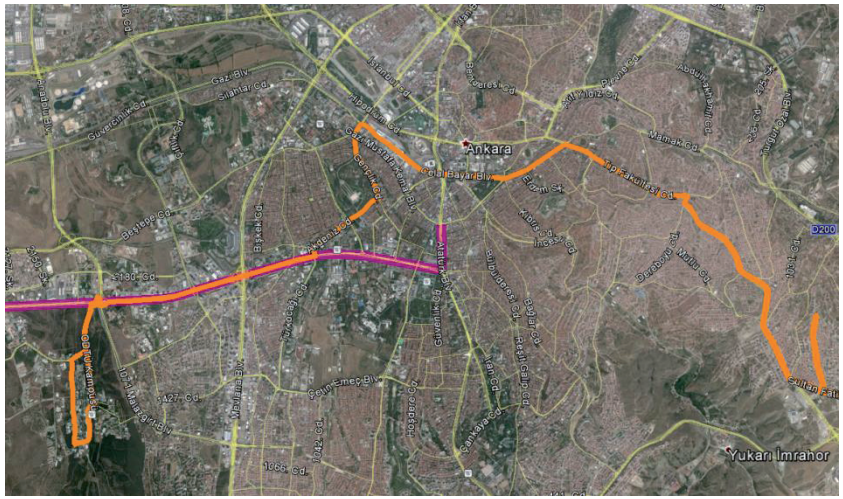
Line 232 Batıkent Metro - Odtü



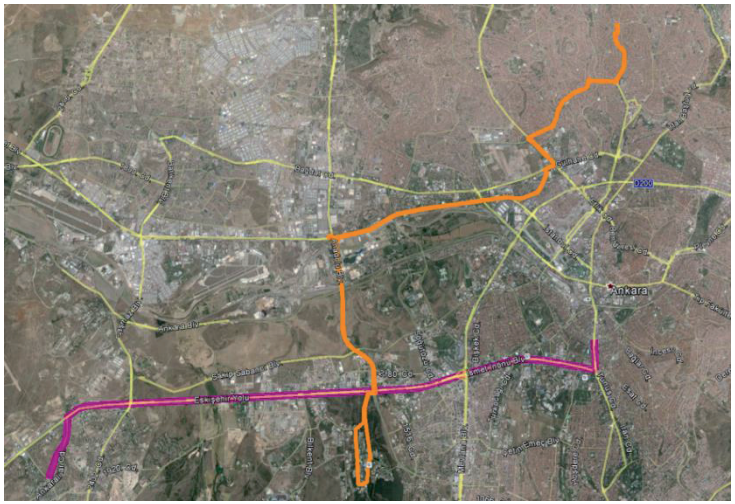
Line 293 Batıkent Metro - Beytepe



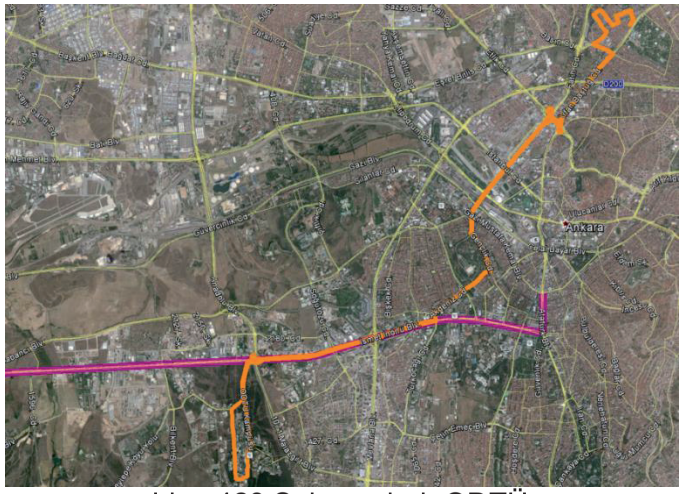
Line 319 Bağcılar - Odtü



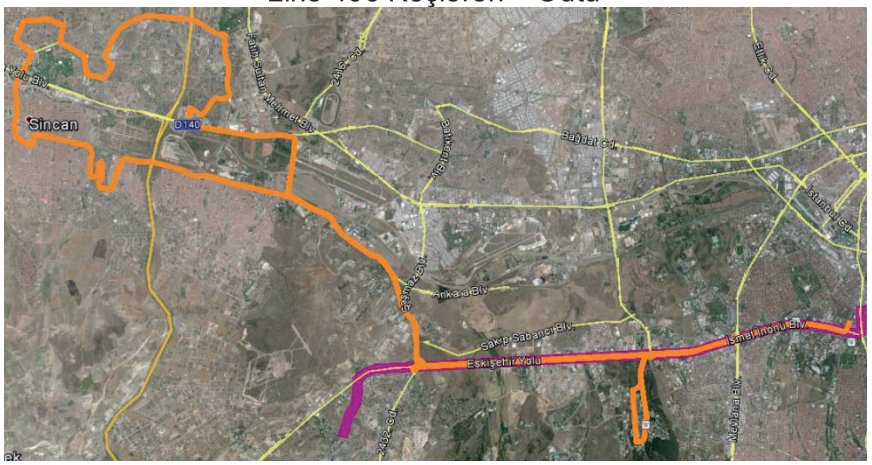
Line 323 Ege Mahallesi - Odtü



Line 406 Keçiören – Odtü



Line 423 Subayevleri -ODTÜ



Line 544 Eryaman –Odtü



546 Eryaman Beytepe



559 Çimşit – Sincan – Atatürk Hastanesi

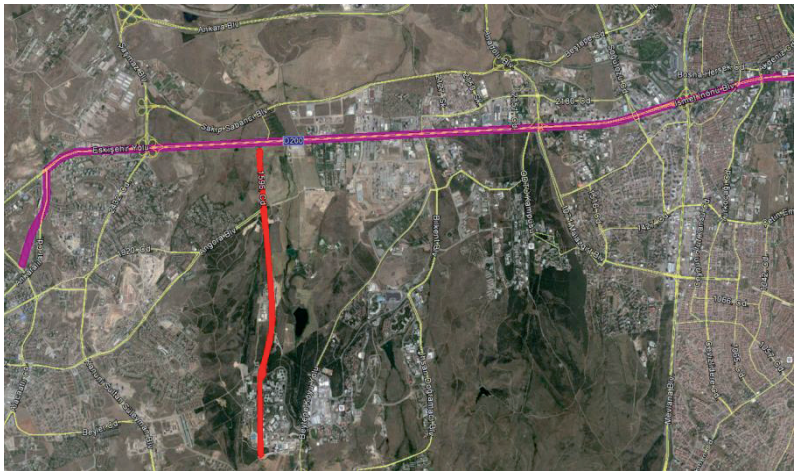


564 Bağlica mah- Bakanlık



572 Fatih- Sincan- Beytepe

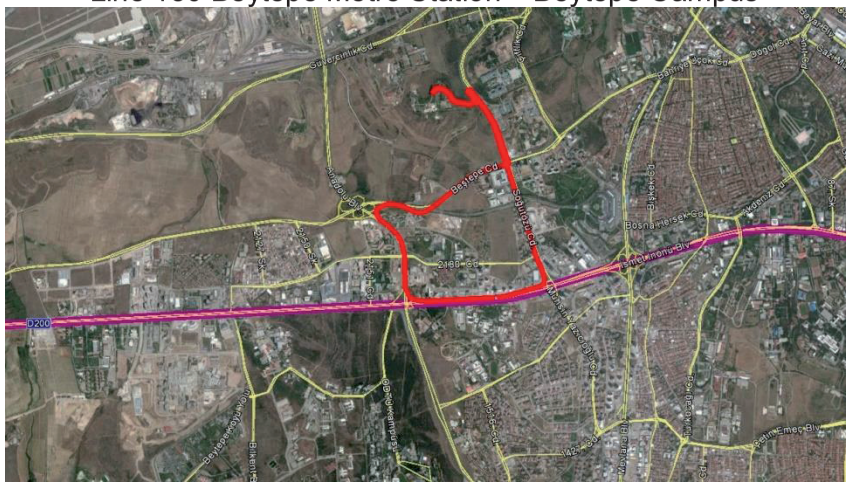
NEW LINES



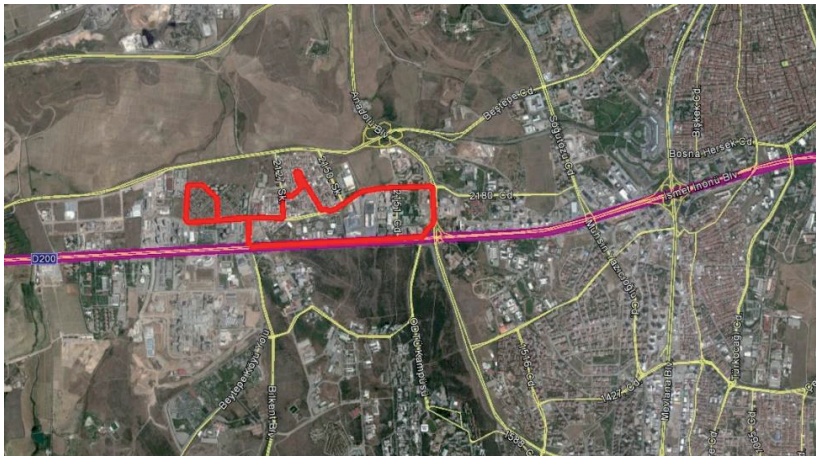
Line 130 Beytepe Metro Station – Beytepe Campus



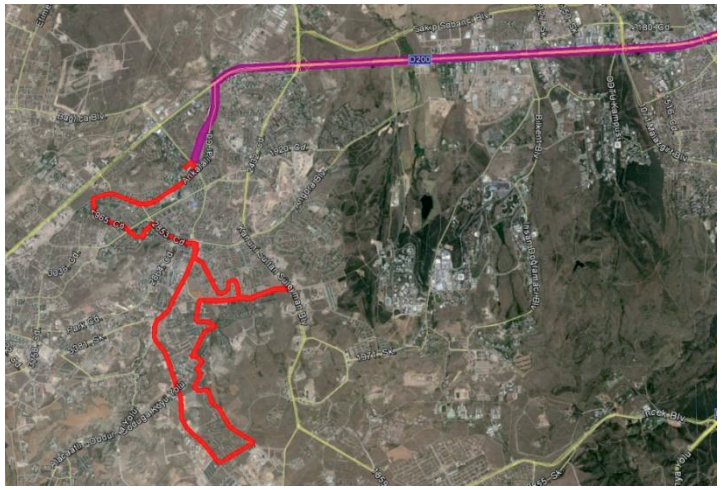
Line 132 Söğütözü Metro – 100. Yıl



Line 167 MTA Station – Emsan – Söğütözü cad.



Line 171 Bilkent Metro Station- M. Kemal Mah



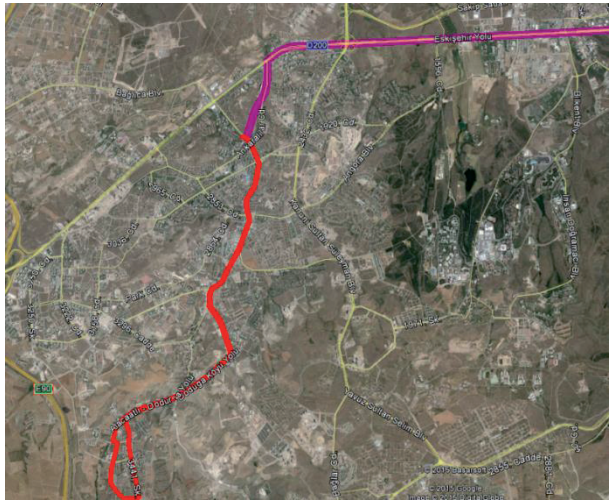
Line 592 Koru Metro Station- Yıldız 88



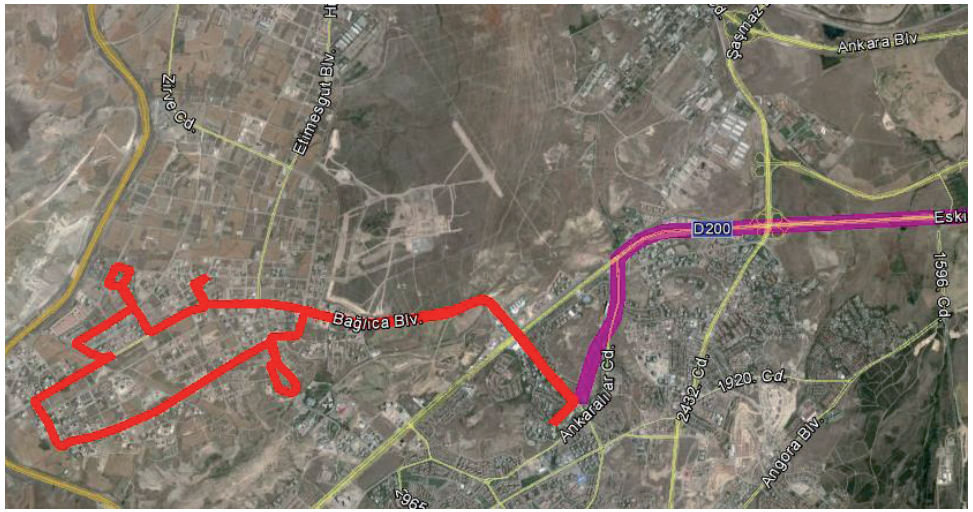
Line 594 Koru Metro Station- Yapracık 1. Bölge



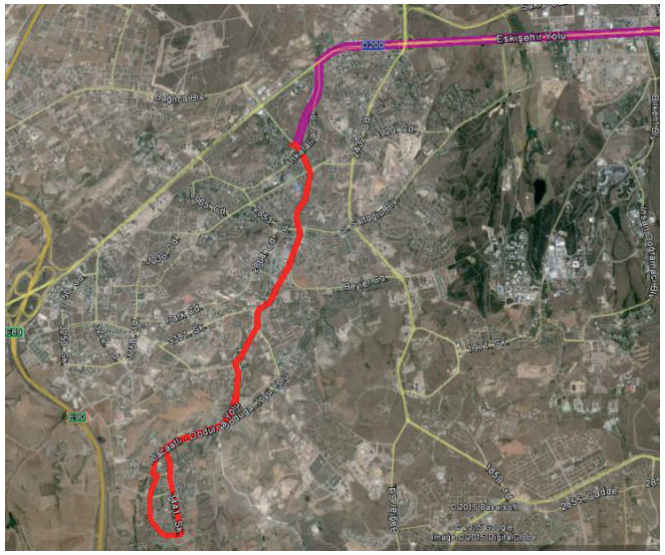
Line 595 Koru Metro Station- Yapracık 2. Bölge



Line 596 Koru Metro Station- Koza- Türkkonut

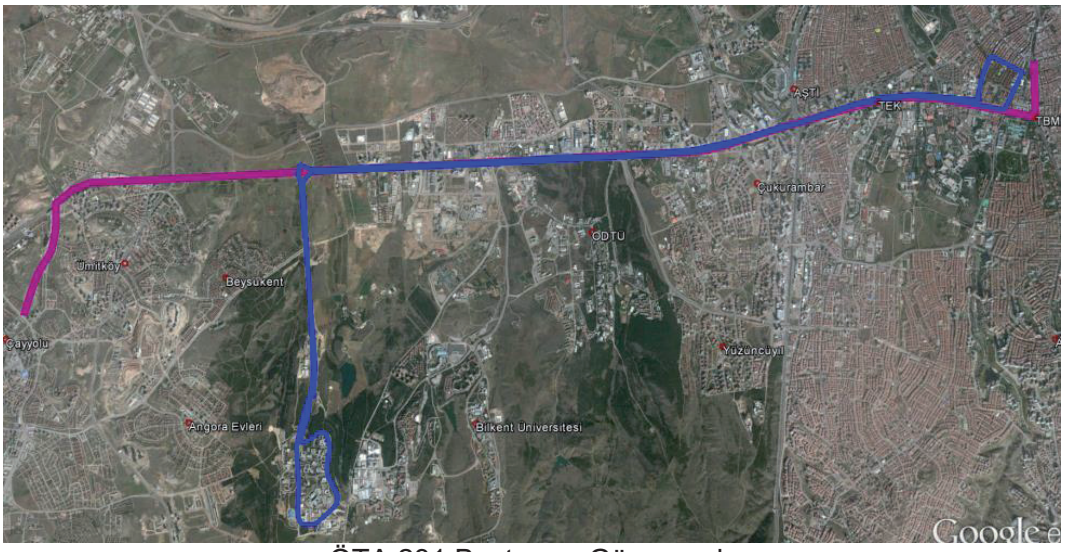


Line 597 Koru Metro Station- Bağlıca

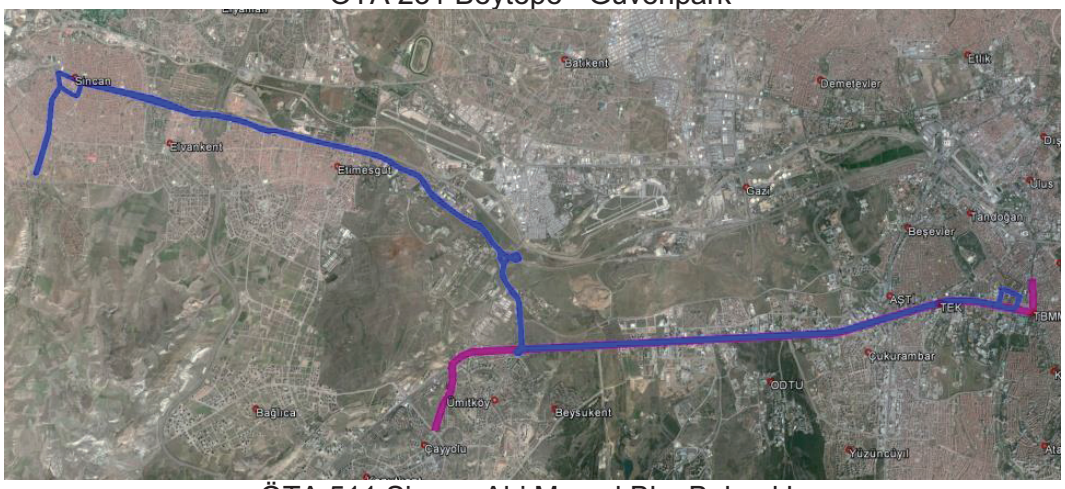


Line 598 Koru Metro Station - Türkkonut

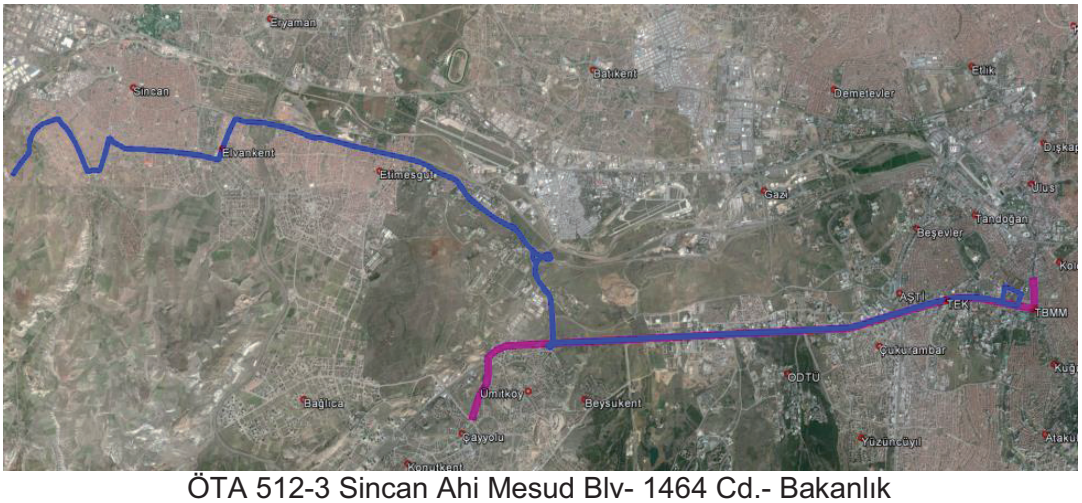
APPENDIX C. ÖTA MIDIBUS LINES ON ESKİŞEHİR ROAD



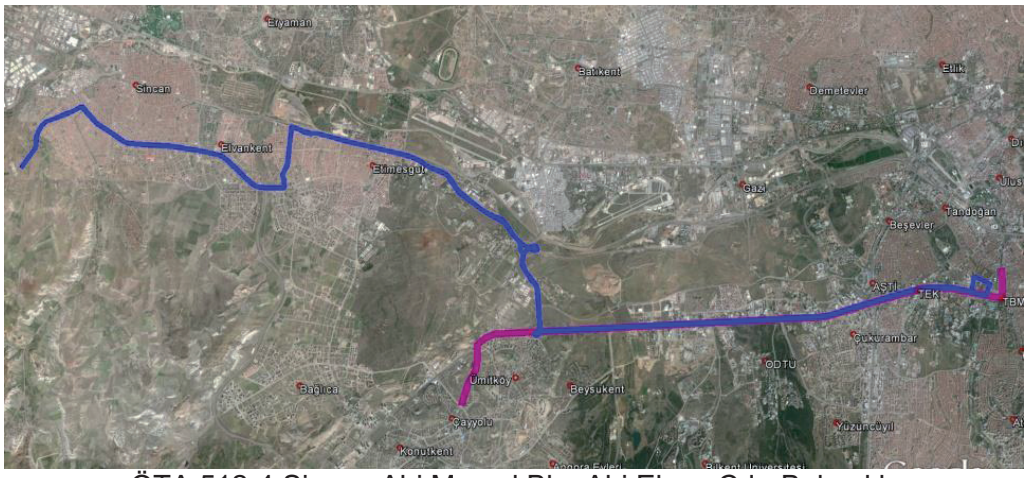
ÖTA 231 Beytepe - Güvenpark



ÖTA 511 Sincan Ahi Mesud Blv- Bakanlık



ÖTA 512-3 Sincan Ahi Mesud Blv- 1464 Cd.- Bakanlık



ÖTA 512-4 Sincan Ahi Mesud Blv- Ahi Elvan Cd.- Bakanlık



ÖTA 517-3 Fatih Bakanlık



ÖTA 524-3 Sincan Polatlı 2.Cd- Bakanlık



ÖTA 530-3 Etimesgut -Ulus

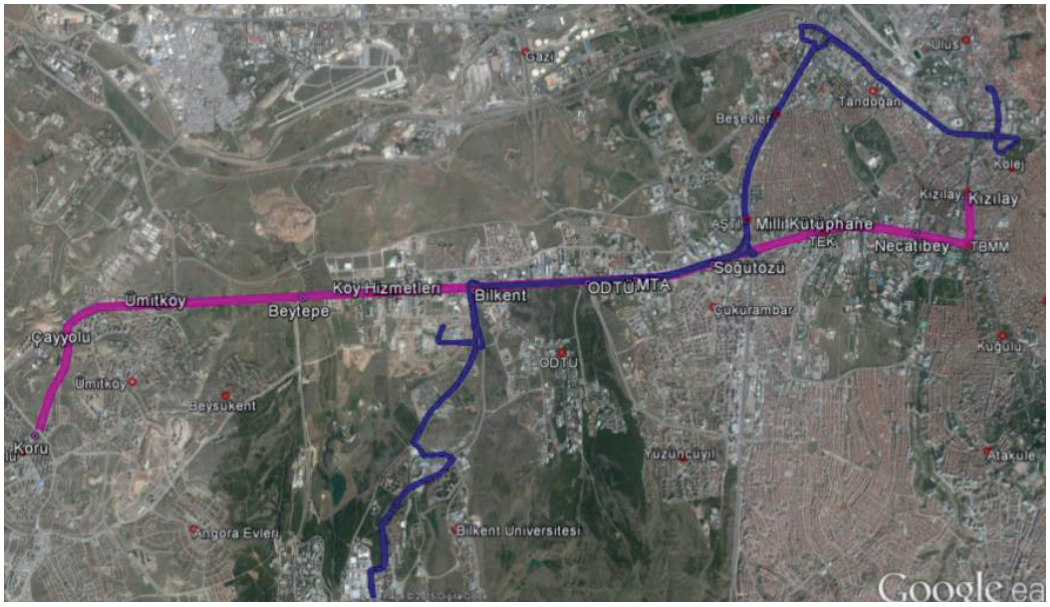


ÖTA 532-3 Elvanket-Ümiyköy Metro İstasyonu

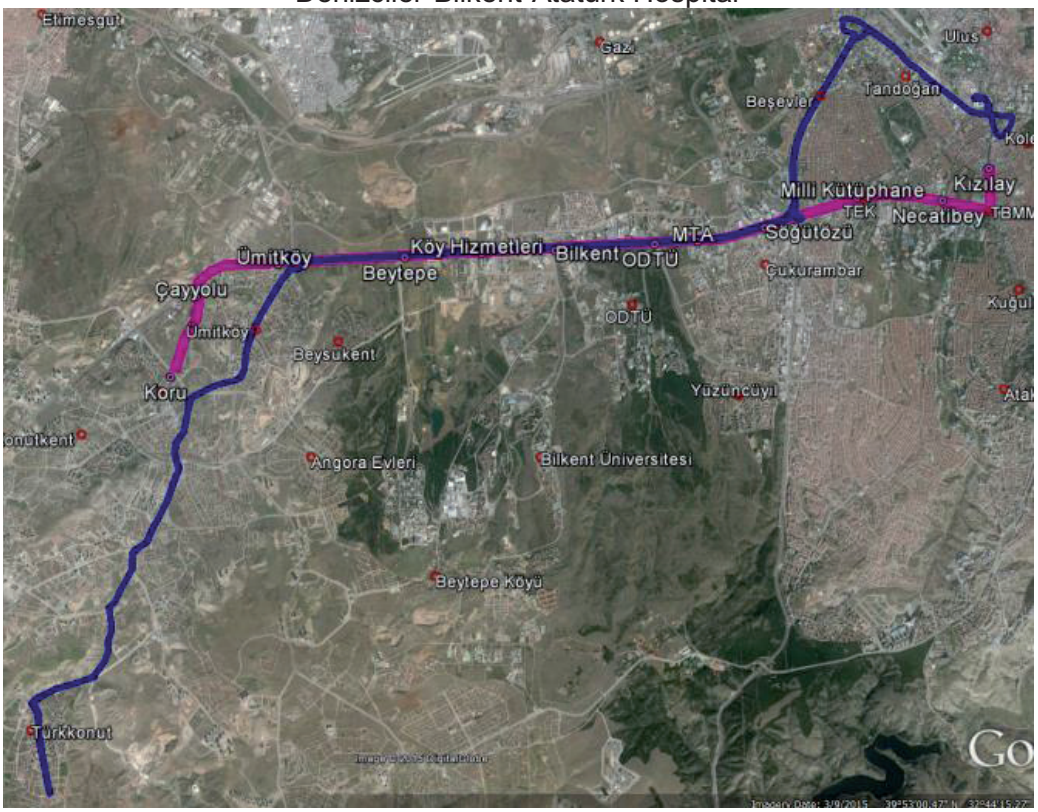


ÖTA 541-3 Eryaman - Kızılay

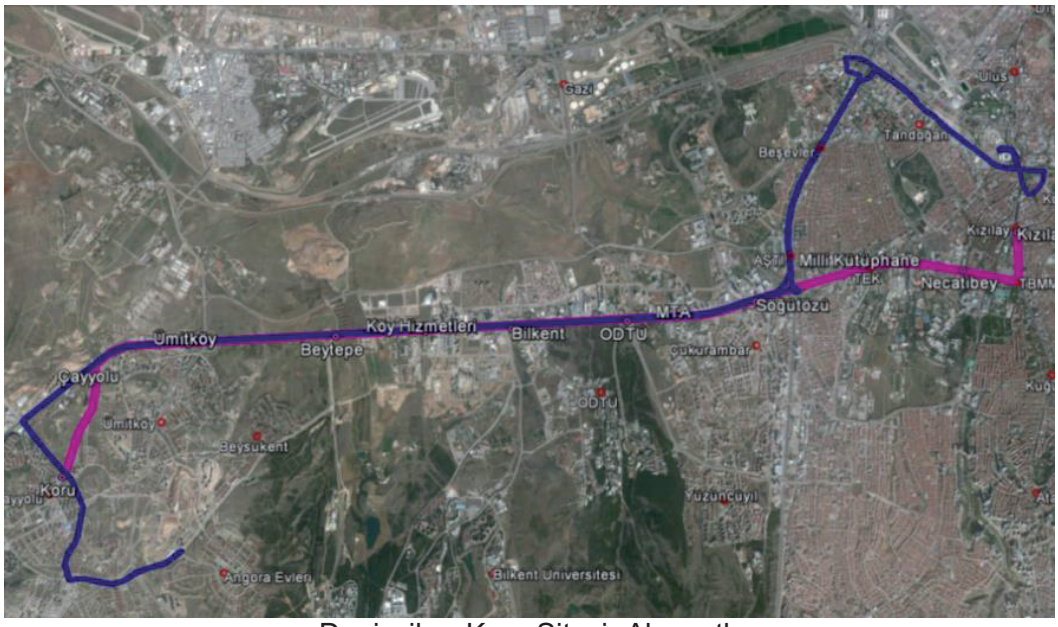
APPENDIX D. MINIBUS LINES ON ESKİŞEHİR ROAD



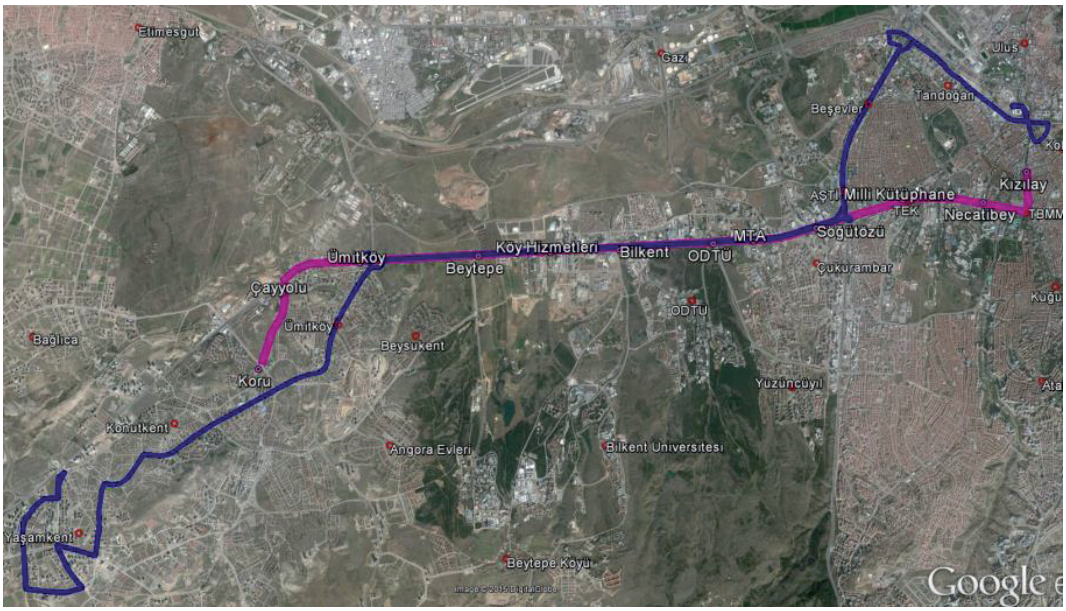
Denizciler-Bilkent-Atatürk Hospital



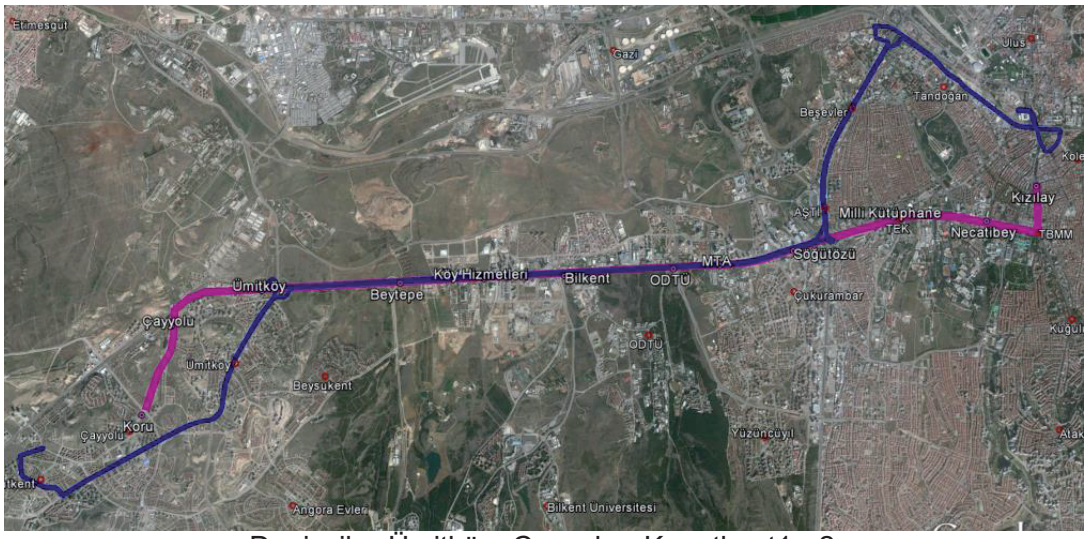
Denizciler-Türkkonut



Denizciler- Koru Sitesi- Alacaatlı



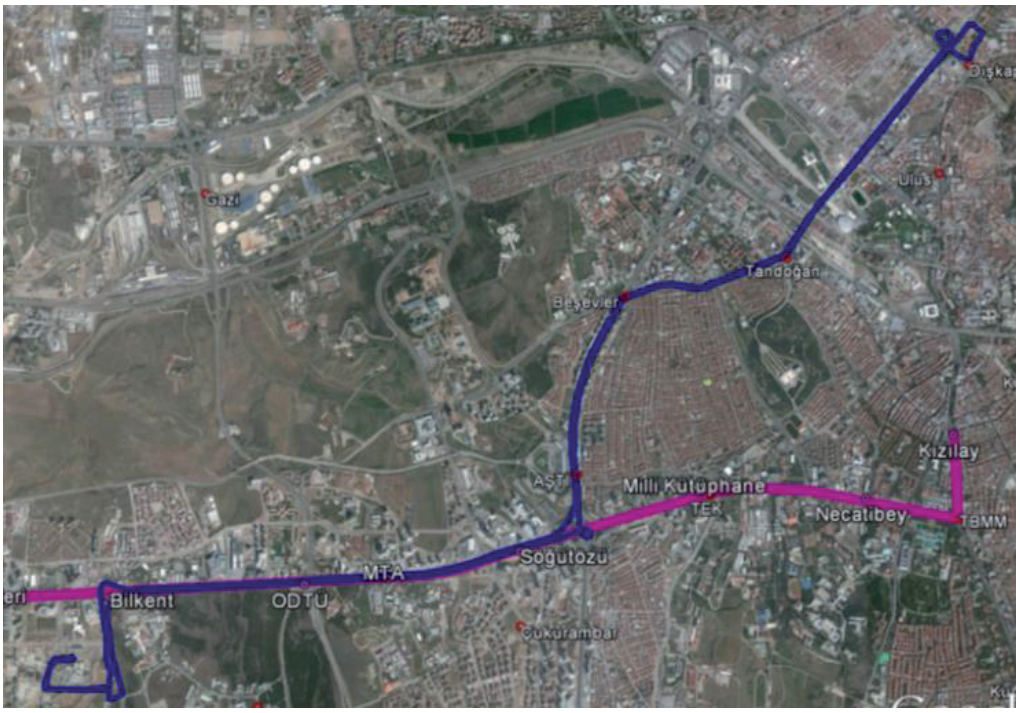
Denizciler-Yaşamkent



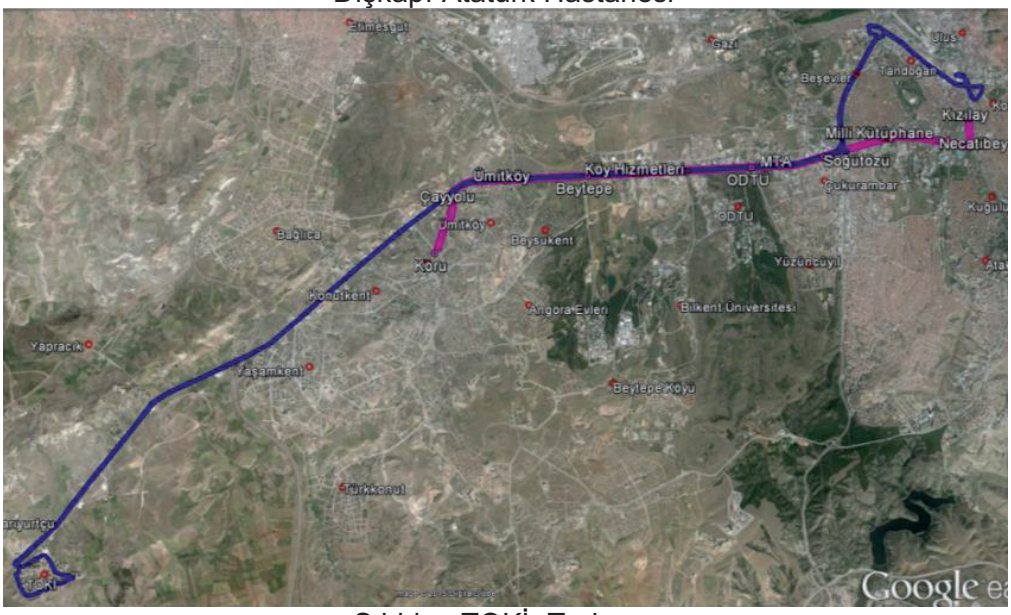
Denizciler-Ümitköy- Çayyolu - Konutkent1 - 2



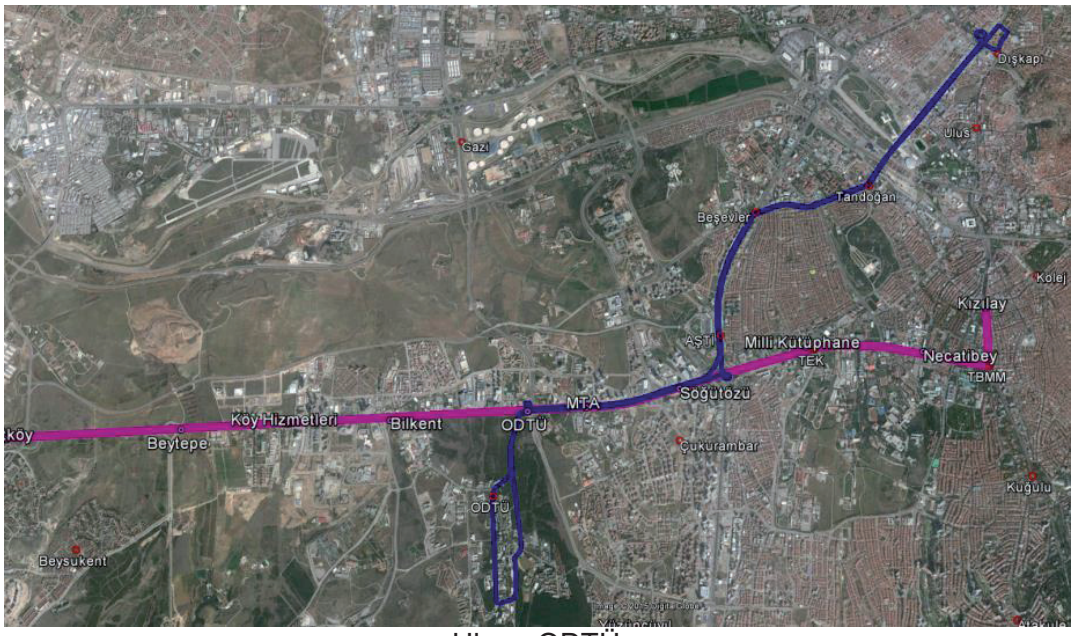
Sıhhiye-Elvankent



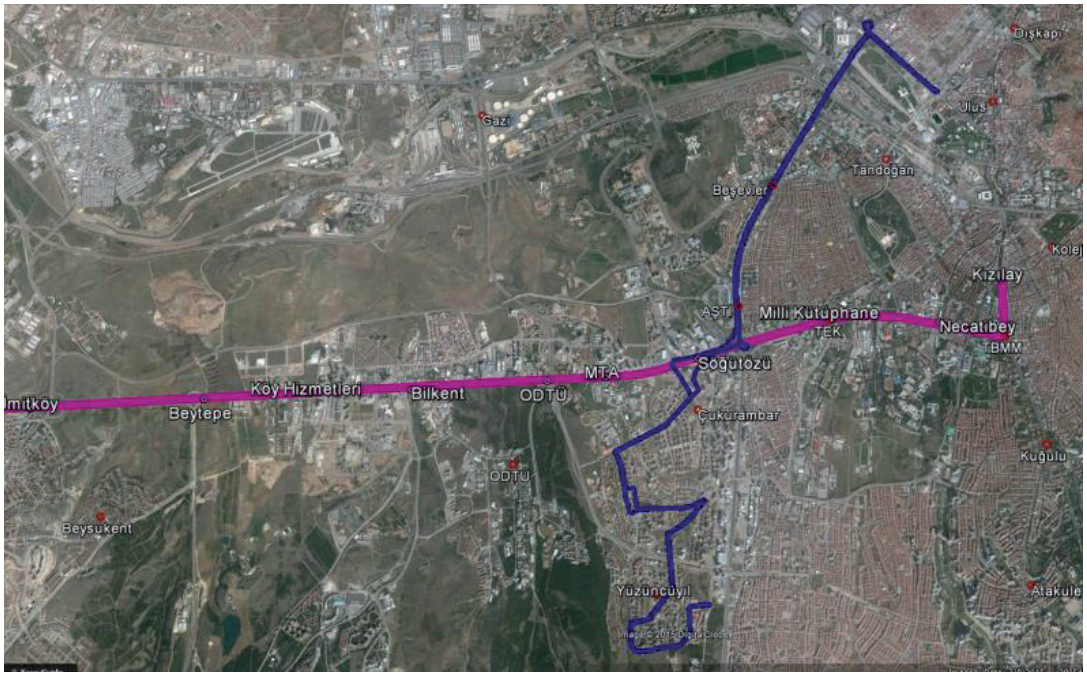
Dışkapı-Ataturk Hastanesi



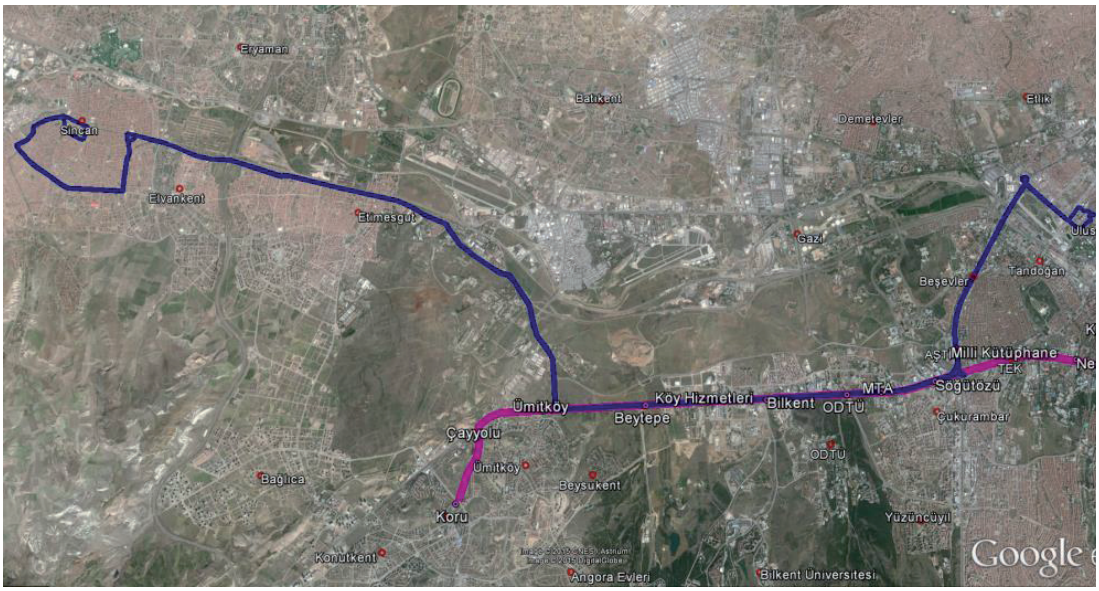
Sıhhiye-TOKİ- Turkuaz



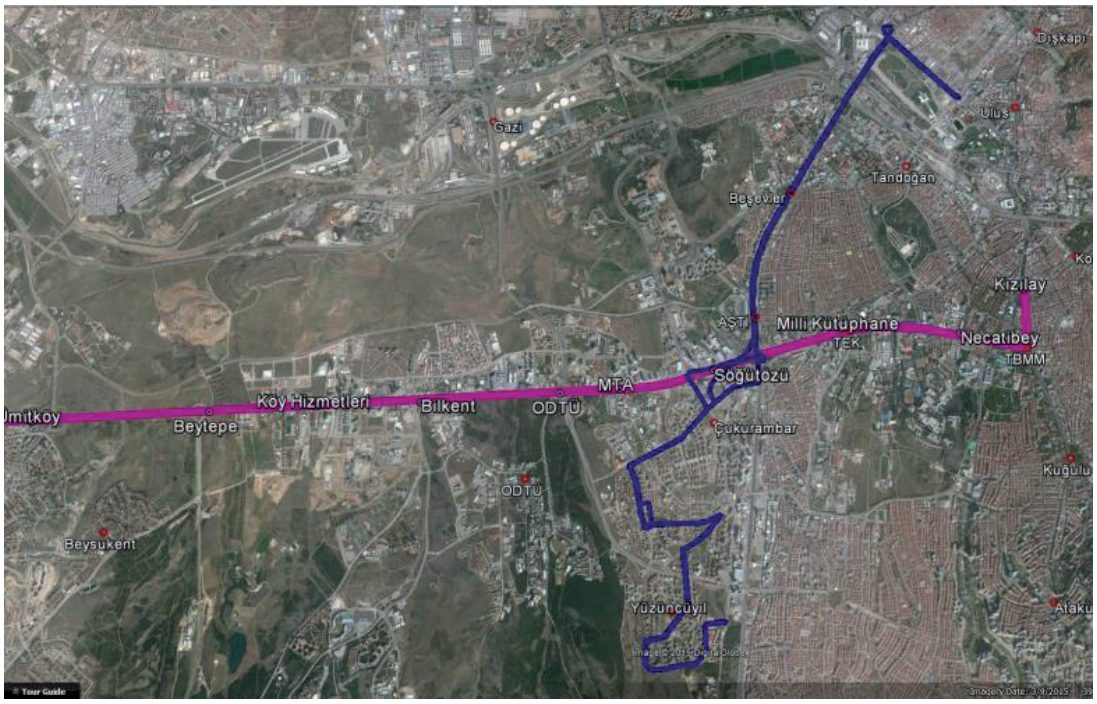
Ulus - ODTÜ



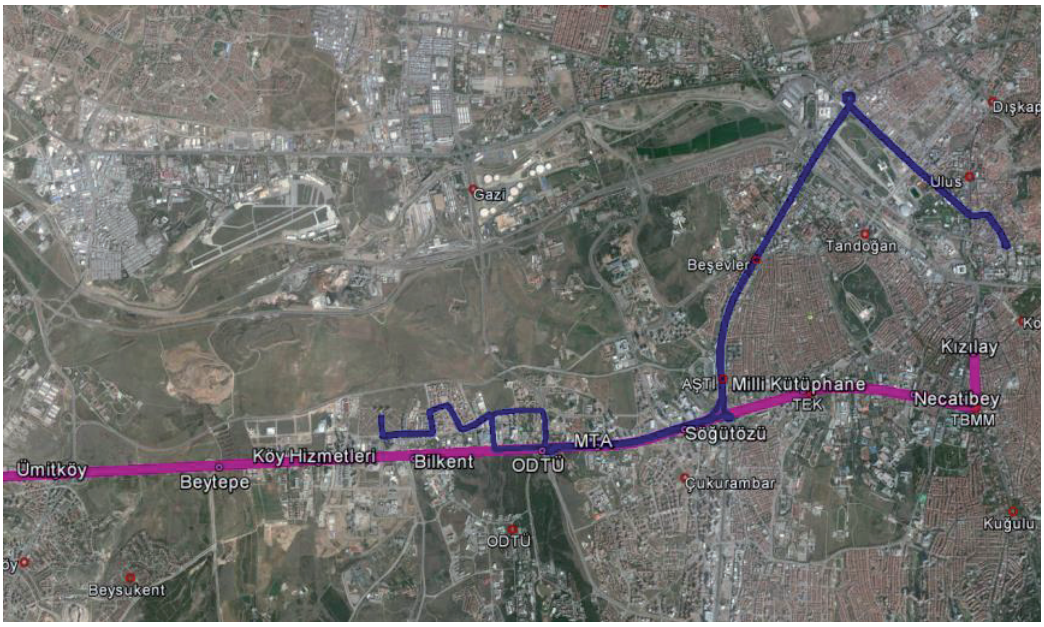
Ulus- Balgat- 100. Yıl. Çiğdem Mh



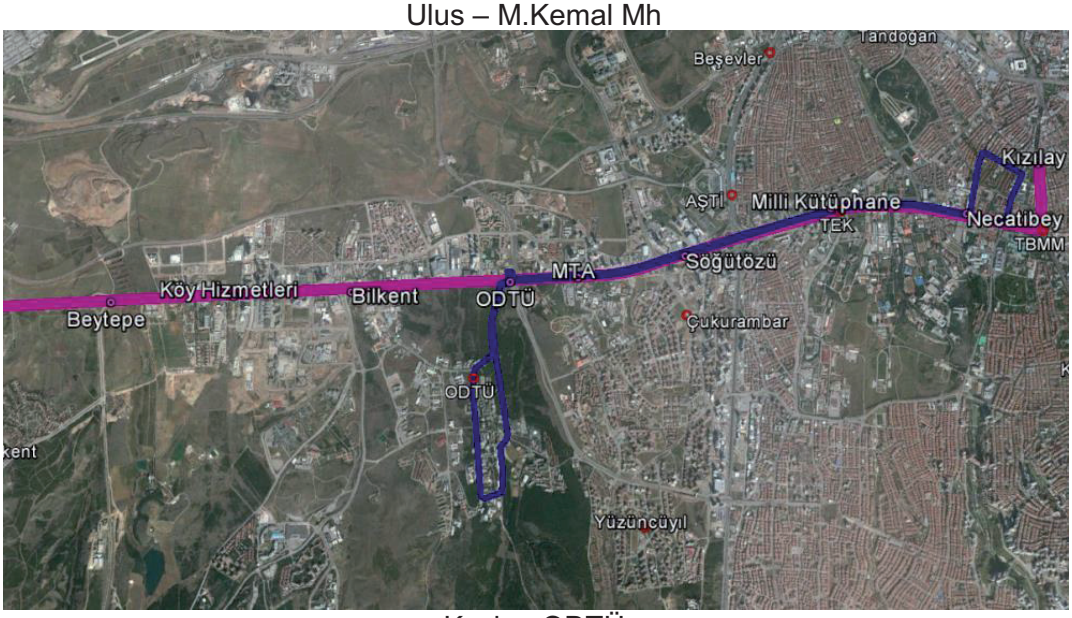
Ulus- Sincan



Ulus-Balgat-100. Yıl- Çukurambar - Çiğdem



Ulus – M.Kemal Mh



Kızılay-ODTÜ

APPENDIX E ALL PUBLIC TRANSPORT LINES on ESKİŞEHİR ROAD

EGO, ÖHO and ÖTA Public Transport Lines on Eskişehir Road Before the Integration (2013)



EGO, ÖHO and ÖTA Public Transport Lines on Eskişehir Road After the Integration (2015)



APPENDIX F. CURRICULUM VITAE

PERSONAL INFORMATION

Surname, Name: Öncü Yıldız, Mevlüde Ayça
Date and Place of Birth: 25 March 1981, Ankara
email: aycaoncu@gmail.com

EDUCATION

Degree	Institution	Year of Graduation
MA	METU, Urban Policy Planning and Local Governments	2007
BCP	Dokuz Eylül University City and Regional Planning, İzmir	2003
High School	Çanya Anatolian High School High School	1999

WORK EXPERIENCE

Year	Place	Enrollment
2003- 2015	Ulaşım-Art Transportation Research and Planning Engineering Consultancy Firm	Transport Planner

FOREIGN LANGUAGES

Advanced English, Upper Intermediate German

PUBLICATION

1. Öncü, M.A. (2009), Yetmişli Yıllardan Günümüze Ankara Kent Yönetimlerinin Ulaşım Politikaları ve Uygulamaları, Dosya 11: Yerel Yönetimler ve SU. Bülten 67, Mimarlar Odası Ankara Şubesi,
2. Öncü Yıldız, M.A., Atalay, S. (2011), Antalyada Sürdürülebilir Ulaşım için Bisiklet Planı, 9. Ulaştırma Kongresi, TMMOB İnşaat Mühendisleri Odası İstanbul Şubesi
3. Öncü Yıldız, M.A., (2012): Influence of local, national and international actors on Ankara urban transport system, AESOP Annual Congress 2012, Ankara (Unpublished)

APPENDIX G. TURKISH SUMMARY

KENTSEL ULAŞIM POLİTİKALARI
YEREL; ULUSAL VE ULUSLARARASI DİNAMİKLER
ANKARA ve ESKİŞEHİRYOLU KORİDORU ÖRNEĞİ

Bölüm 1. Giriş

Dünya üzerinde birçok kent ekonomik kalkınmayı desteklemek için kentsel kullanımların saçılması ve yayılması sürecini yaşamaktadır. Bu şekilde bir kentsel büyüme, sonunda büyük miktarda haraketlilik talebi üretmektedir. Kapitalist sistem kentsel araziyi kalkınmanın ve kazancın yeni bir katalizörü olarak kullanmaktadır. Kentsel ulaşım bu noktada kentsel gelişme için hayati öneme sahiptir. Diğer yandan Sawer'ın (1984) da belirttiği gibi kentsel ulaşım yapısının gelişiminden beklenen kazanç aslında ulaşım sistemlerin işletiminden değil, hizmetin kentsel arsa piyasası üzerindeki etkilerinden kaynaklanmaktadır. Buna paralel olarak tez çalışması, kentsel ulaşım sistemi değişiklikleri ve gelişimi altında yatan etmenin sermaye birikim süreci yani ekonomik ilişkiler ve ilgili politikalar olduğunu iddia etmektedir

Türkiye Cumhuriyetinin başkenti Ankara 1980 sonrası merkezi yönetimin benimsediği ulusal neo-liberal politikalardan önemli ölçüde etkilenmiştir. Bu etkiler Başkan Gökçek döneminde daha yoğunlaşmıştır. 1994 yılı yerel seçimlerinde göreve gelen Gökçek'in, görev süresi 2014 seçimlerini de kazanmasıyla 2019 yılına kadar uzamıştır. Bu dönem içinde Gökçek merkezi yönetimin önemli ölçüde desteğini almıştır. Güçlü başkan ve yerel ölçekli

ticari faydalar etrafında bir araya gelen koalisyonlar, aktörler ve yerel kurumlar önemli dönüştürme etkisi olan "assemblage" [4]lardır.

Çalışmanın Amaç, Kapsam ve Hipotezi

Bu çalışma kentsel ulaşım sistemlerinin gelişiminde etkili olan faktörleri, ekonomik gelişmeleri ve politik kararları, aktör ve çeşitli grupların (assemblage) ilişkilerini, kurumsal ve yasal çerçeveleri çok düzeyli bir araştırma yöntemi kullanarak tanımlamaktır. Çok katmanlı araştırma ulusüstü, ulusal ve yerel düzey araştırmaları içermektedir

Türkiye kentlerinin ulaşım sistemleri (sistem burada hem hizmet hem de altyapı sağlanmasını anlatmak için kullanılmıştır) dünyadaki tüm kentleri etkisi altına alan ekonomik ve politik-ekonomik sınırları tarafından şekillenmektedir. Bu küresel etkiler ülkelerin ekonomik koşullarını, ulusal ekonomik sınırları tanımlasa da aslında uygulamaları doğrudan etkileyen kurumsal ve yasal çerçeveleri şekillendiren, ulusal ekonomik gelişme tercihleri ve ulusal politik eğilimlerdir. Ankara kentine bakıldığında, son yıllarda kentsel ulaşım problemlerinin, trafik sıkışıklıklarının, ulaşım maliyetlerinin aşırı derece arttığı, kamu refahının ikinci plana alan ve diğer bazı grupların (assemblage) çıkarlarının ön plana çıkaran bir planlama anlayışı benimsendiği görülmektedir.

Ankara kentinde güçlü başkan Gökçek yönetimi altında yirmi yılı aşkın süredir, birçok kentsel girişimcilik uygulaması hayata geçirilmiştir ve kent sonunda çarpıcı boyutta yayılmacı olarak gelişmiştir. Artan ulaşım talebi ve seyahat mesafelerine paralel olarak kamu toplutaşımacılığının etkin bir

[4] Assemblage Teorisi son yıllarda sosyal bilimlere uygulanmaya başlanmış bir teoridir. Tezin teorik kısmında detaylı olarak açıklanmış ve özette de değinilmiştir. Çok yeni kullanılımı nedeniyle Türkçe yazında karşılığı henüz geliştirilmemiştir. Türkçe özet içinde bu kavram inglizce haliyle kullanılmıştır.

şekilde geliştirilmemesi Eskişehir Yolunun hizmet ettiği Çayyolu konut alanında olduğu gibi özel araç bağımlı bir yerleşme yapısı oluşturmuştur. Bu yapı zamanla trafik sıkışıklığı ve ulaşım maliyeti artışına, zaman kayıplarına, çevresel kötüleşmeye kısacası kentlilerin yaşam kalitesinin zarar görmesine neden olmuştur. Bu sürdürülemez ve verimsiz ulaşım sistemi gelişimi anlamak için üst düzey politik ekonomik eğilimlerin yanında etkili aktörler ve "assemblage"lar arasındaki karmaşık etkileşimler ve bağımlıkların açıklanması gereklidir.

Diğer tezde, yandan dünya üzerindeki birçok kentin benimsediği sürdürebilir kentsel ulaşım politikalarıyla çelişen belediye uygulamalarının köklerini anlamak için farklı yönetim düzeylerdeki gelişmelerin kentsel ulaşım sistemindeki etkilerini değerlendirmiştir. Öncelikle Türkiye'nin "gelişmekte olan ülke" karakterini de göz önünde bulundurarak uluslararası aktörler, ekonomik koşullar ve politik gelişmeler açıklanmıştır. Daha sonra Türkiye özelinde merkezi yönetimin ekonomik tercihleri, politik eğilimler tarihsel süreç içinde el alınmıştır. Kentsel ulaşım sistemlerinin şekillenmesinde etkili kurumsal ve yasal çerçevenin yapılanması üzerinde etkileri değerlendirilmiştir.

Tezin alan çalışması Ankara kentsel ulaşım gelişiminin ve Eskişehir Yolu Koridorunun detaylı incelenmesini içermektedir. Bu kapsamda farklı belediye birimleri ile görüşmeler yapılmış, istatistik bilgi toplanmaya çalışılmıştır. Belediye istatistiki bilgi toplaması ve analizini istemli olarak bıraktığı için toplutaşım yapısının gelişimini talep edilen toplutaım işletme verileri aracılığı ile etkin olarak değerlendirilememiştir. Ancak kentsel ulaşım sisteminin gelişiminde etkin belediye, özel işletici ve kullanıcı "assemblage"larının temsilcileri ile yapılan derinlemesine görüşmeler, hem genel eğilimi

açıklamada hem de veri toplama ve değerlendirme işinin bırakılma nedeninin anlaşılması konusunda teze önemli katkı sağlamıştır

Tezin Ana Hipotezi ve Destekleyici Hipotezleri aşağıdaki gibidir:

Ana Hipotez: Genel anlamda kentsel ulaşım sistemlerinin şekillenmesinin altında yatan en önemli dinamik sermaye birikim sürecidir. Buna bağlı olarak tezi ana hipotezi; uluslararası etkiler altında sınırları çizilen ulusal ekonomik dinamikler ve merkezi yönetimin politikaları kentsel ulaşım sistemlerinin ana hatlarını oluşturmaktadır. Diğer yandan başkanların eğilimleri ve etkin "assemblage"larla ilişkileri bu üst dinamiklerin doğrultusunda girişimci uygulamaların yoğunluğunu belirlemede etkilidir

Destekleyici Hipotez 1: Kentsel ulaşım alanında yasal ve kurumsal çerçeve yetersizlikleri, bu çerçevede karar verilmemiş alanlar sürdürülemez kentsel ulaşım sistemi değişikliklerine zemin oluşturmaktadır.

Destekleyici Hipotez 2: Başkanlar ve başkanların yerel ulusal "assemblage"larla ilişkileri kentsel girişimciliğin derecesini belirler.

Destekleyici Hipotez 3: Belediyenin politik yaklaşımında bağımsız olarak, kentsel ulaşım yapısındaki genel gelişimin eğilimi özellikle 1980lerden sonra ulusal neo-liberal politikalarla örtüşür.

Bölüm 2: Kentleşme Teorileri ve Kentsel Ulaşım Politikaları

Kent mekânı ve mekânları bağlayan ulaşım sistemi politik olarak yapılanmaktadır. Kentsel gelişme eğilimlerini ve bunların teorik temellerini anlamak içn ekonomik politik inceleme gereklidir gereklidir. Bu doğrultuda güncel yaklaşımlara temel oluşturan kentlleş politkaları ana akımları; Marksist

ve Weberci teoriler kısaca açıklandıktan sonra, Harvey'in "Kentsel Girişimcilik" teorisini ela almış ve benimsemiştir. Diğer yandan ilk ortaya çıkışı Deleuze (1987) ile seksenlerin sonlarına dayanan ve günümüzde De Landa(2006), Mc Farlane (2011) ve Brenner (2011) tarafından tekrar ele alınarak sosyal bilimlerin farklı alanlarındaki gelişme ve ilişkileri açıklamakta kullanılan "Assemblage" teoriden yararlanılmıştır. Assemblage kavramı tezin iddia ettiği kentsel ulaşım yapısı üzerinde etkili olan aktör, koalisyon ve grupların (assemblage'ların) etkilerini ve ilişkilerini açıklamak için kullanılmıştır. Aşağıda ana akım yaklaşımlar ve teze teorik çerçeve oluşturan yaklaşımlar kısaca ele alınmış ardından bunların tezde benimsenen teorik çerçeveye katkıları açıklanmıştır.

Marksist Yaklaşımlar: Marksist yaklaşımların ortak özelliği kentsel süreçleri açıklarken sermaye birikim süreçlerini merkeze almalarıdır. Marksist teorinin altındaki yapısalcı yaklaşım, yapıya belirleyici görev atfeder. Yapı içerdiği diğer alt öğelerden ayrılamaz. Bunların her biri birbirini varoluş koşuludur. Ve bunların sentezi toplamlarından daha fazlasıdır. Ayrıca Poulantzas yapısalcı anlatımında devletin görece özerkliğinden söz öder. Uzun vadede devlet sermaye birikimi için çalışır ancak kısa vadede bir grubun çıkarlarına hizmet etmez. Yapısalcı yaklaşım önemli açıklamalar sağlasa da özel ampirik araştırmalara açıklama getiremez.

Kentsel ulaşım yapısı gelişimini yapısalcı yaklaşımlar ile açıklamaya çalıştığımızda kentsel ulaşım üst yapı olan kentsel gelişme sürecinin bir alt yapısı olarak değerlendirilebilir. Ayrıca kentsel ulaşımında kendi içinde etkileşim halinde olan birçok altyapısı vardır. Hâkim dinamik sermaye birikim sürecidir. Yapısalcı yaklaşım yararlı açıklamalar sağlasa de Weberci yaklaşımın odaklandığı farklı çıkar grupları ve aktörlerin dönüştürücü etkisini göz ardı eder.

Weberci Yaklaşımlar: Weberci yaklaşım devleti ve kurumları kentsel araştırmanın merkezine koyar. İlişkilerin, karar verme süreçlerin, etkili aktörlerin incelenmesi kentsel süreçlerin açıklanmasında esastır. Bu yaklaşımda devlet bağımsız değişkendir ve aktörler kurumlar üzerinde yasalar yoluyla belirleyici güce sahiptir. Giddens (1981) ve Thrift (1983) ise mekânsal olmayan devlet kararlarının aktörler ve mekânsal gelişim sürecinde etkili olabildiğini vurgulamaktadırlar. Pahl'ın kent yöneticiliği yaklaşımda kent yöneticilerinin kaynak dağıtımında önemli görevi vurgularken yalnızca refah devleti dönemi için açılama sağlayabilmekte ama tüm zamanlar için açıklayıcı bir teori oluşturmaktadır.

Açıklanan her iki yaklaşımın da bugünün kentsel gelişimini açıklama konusunda önemli katkıları olsa da eksik yönlere sahiplerdir. Keskinok (1997) bu nedenle kentsel süreçlerin açıklanmasında dinamik, diyalektik ve ilişkisel bir yaklaşım benimsenmesi gerektiğini vurgulamaktadır. Bu doğrultuda Harvey'in "kentsel girişimcilik" ve De Landa ve Deleuze'un "Urban Assemblage" yaklaşımları güncel kentsel süreçleri açıklamada sermaye ve aktör etkisinin incelenebilmesi için birleştirici olarak değerlendirmiş ve bunları temel alan bir teorik çerçeve oluşturulmuştur.

Kentsel Girişimcilik: Brenner mevcut teorilerin güncel kentsel değişimleri ve mücadeleleri açıklamakta yetersiz kaldığını ifade eder. Bu nedenle yakın zamanda geliştirilmiş iki teori bağlayıcı oldukları düşünülerek ela alınmıştır. Kentsel büyüme ve onu bağlayan ulaşım yapısı 1960'lardan bu yana sermaye birikim süreçleri mantığı ile şekillenmiştir. Ancak kapitalizmin hayatta kalma yöntemi zaman içinde değişmiştir. 1980'lerden itibaren aşırı üretim krizine çözüm olarak tüketimin arttırılması strateji benimsenmiştir.Neo-liberal politikalarla devletin azalan görevinin sayseinde tüketim sorunun

çözülmesi hedeflenmiş ve yeni sağ refah devletinin sorunlarını devletin serbest piyasa uygulamaları benimsemesiyle çözmeye çalışılmıştır. Bu görüşe göre kişisel özgürlük ve ekonomik yarışabilirlik ön plandadır. Devlet kolaylaştırıcı göreve sahiptir. Özelleştirme politikaları, devlet hizmet ve eylemlerinin piyasalaştırılması sosyal servislerin daralmasına ve kullanıcı ücretlerinin artmasına neden olmuştur. Bu süreç seksenler sonrası Ankara kentsel ulaşım sistemindeki toplutaşım hizmeti sağlama görevinin devletten özel işleticilere aktarılmasını ve diğer özelleştirme uygulamalarını açıklamak için uygundur. Ayrıca bu dönemin getirdiği sermayenin özgürce yatırım yapabilme özelliği büyük ölçekli kentsel yatırımın dış borçlanma yoluyla hayata geçebilmesini sağlamıştır. Ayrıca kent planlama büyük ölçekli kentsel ulaşım projelerinin hayata geçebilmesi yani dış borç sağlanması için bir araç olarak da kullanılmıştır. Bu dönemde bütüncül kent planlarına gerek duymaksızın uluslararası sermaye yerele çekilmeye çalışılmıştır. Planlama eylemi ise çoğu zaman uygulama sonrasında gerçekleştirilmiştir.

Kentsel "Assemblage"lar: Kentsel "Assemblage"lar çok yeni bir kavramdır ve açıklamaya başlanmadan önce bu kavramın birbiriyle uyumlu olmayan pek çok kullanımı olduğunu göz önünde bulundurmak gerekir (Brenner, 2011; Anderson ve Mc Farlane, 2011). De Landa "Assemblage"ları "özellikleri içerdiği bölümlerden ortaya çıkan bütünler" olarak tanımlamaktadır. Bu varlıkların iç birlikteliği veya uyumu olmak zorunda değildir. Deleuze (1987) toplumun açıklayacak tek bir teori olamayacağını çünkü tek bir toplum olmadığını savunur. Toplum sayısız sayıda "assemblage"'ın bir araya gelmesinden oluşur ve birbirleriyle farklı ölçeklerde etkileşim içerisindedirler.

Bu yaklaşımın tekbir kullanımı olmamasına rağmen teorisyenler bu yaklaşımın başka geniş teorilere, kavramlarla, araştırma yöntemleriyle birlikte kullanıldığında yararlı olabileceği konusunda hem fikirdirler (Brenner, 2011).

Kentsel ulaşım alanında aktörler, gruplar ve koalisyonları “assemblageler” olarak ele alınıp ilişkilerinin bu lekilde kavramsallaştırılmasının araştırmaya geitdiği açıklamalardan birkaçı aşağıda kısaca değinilmiştir.

- Dışsal ilişkilerin zorunluluğu: “Assemblage”ları tanımlamada iç özellikleri ve iç öğeler arasındaki uyum değil “assemblage”ların dış “assemblage”larla ilişkileri önemlidir. Kentsel ulaşımın bileşenleri Toplutaşım hizmeti sağlayıcıları, yayalar, özel araç üreticileri, petrol sağlayıcıları, yerel yönetimler vs. kendi iç özellikleri değil birbirleriyle ilişkileri derinlemesine araştırılacak “assemblage”lardır.

- De Landa (2006) “assemblage”ların tek başına durabilen ve dışarıyla ilişkisi olan bölümlerden meydana geldiğini ve bir bölümün koparak başka bir bölüme eklenebileceğini ya da bir bölümün başka bir “assemblage”ın da parçası olabileceğini vurgulamaktadır. Yine kentsel ulaşım bir assemblage olarak düşünüldüğünde özel araç kullanıcıları, yaya toplutaşım kullanıcıları gibi farklı özellik gösteren alt bölümlerin kullanıcıları farklı bir alt bölümün parçası da olabilir ya da bir alt gruptan kopup başkasına eklenebilir.

- De Landa herhangi bir ölçekteki “assemblage”ı kavramsallaştırırken, açıklamaların diğer düzeylerdeki “assemblage”larla ilişkiler gerektirdiğine vurgu yapar. Bu da yine tez çalışmasında önerilen altta yatan dinamiklerin ortaya çıkarılması için önerilen çok düzeyli araştırma yöntemi önerisi ile örtüşmektedir.

Kentsel Girişimcilik ve Kentsel “Assemblage”ların kentsel ulaşım gelişimini açıklamada önemli katkıların bazılarına kısaca değinilmiştir. Daha geniş tartışmalar tezin içerisinde yer almaktadır. Tez toplumsal gelişmelerin altında

yatan esas dinamiğin sermaye birikim süreci olduğunu kabul eder. Politik ekonomik dinamiklerin altında yatan etmenleri ve aktörlerin görevlerini açıklarken ilişkisel yaklaşıma ihtiyaç duyulmuş, bu çerçevede Kentsel Assemblage ve Kentsel Girişimcilik yaklaşımları ilişkilendirilebilecek güncel yaklaşımlar olarak tezin alan çalışmasındaki dinamikleri, gelişmeleri ve etkili grupları kavramsallaştırmakta kullanılmıştır.

Bölüm 3: Ulusüstü Dinamikler ve Gelişmekte olan Ülke Konumunda Türkiye

Bu düzeyin "assemblageler"ı yabancı ülkelerin devletlerini, uluslararası organizasyonlar, çok uluslu şirketler be kredi kuruluşlarıdır. Bunların ulusal düzeye etkileri, ülkenin küresel ekonomideki gücü ile ilişkilidir. Uluslararası örgütler farklı ülkelerin oluşturduğu "assemblage"lar olarak değerlendirilebilirken, kar odaklı bileşenlerinin aktivitelerini kolaylaştırma görevine sahiptirler. Çok düzeyli kredi kuruluşları ise diğer ülkelerin devletleri ile ilişki kurarak yine belli grup kar amaçlı kuruluşları desteklerler.

Uluslararası organizasyonlarda yer alan ulusların bu "assemblage"lara katılan ülkeler ve üye olmayan ülkelerle farklı nitelikte ilişkileri bulunmaktadır. Türkiye merkezi yönetiminin bu kurumlarla ilişkileri ise ülkenin küresel ekonomide gelişmekte olan ülke konumuna göre şekillenmektedir. Uluslararası politikalar, ekonomik dinamikler, stratejik kararlar, rekabetler ve işbirlikleri her ülkenin küresel ekonomide konumunu belirlemektedir. Daha az ekonomik sınırlamaya sahip gelişmiş ülkeler kentsel ulaşım alanında sürdürülebilirlik konularına odaklanabilmektedirler. Diğer yandan Türkiye gibi gelişmekte olan ülkelerin gündeminde öncelikle ekonomik büyüme olduğundan sürdürülebilir gelişme gerekleri göz ardı edilebilmektedir. Bu farklılık Türkiye'nin geç sanayileşmiş niteliğinden ileri gelmektedir.

1980'lerden bu yana benimsediği dış bağımlı süreçte ulusal yönetimler yerelde karayolu odaklı kentsel ulaşım yapısı gelişimni desteklemişlerdir.

Diğer yandan Türkiye yerel yönetimleri yüksek maliyetli kentsel ulaşım sistemleri kurmak için dış borçlanmaya başvurmuşlardır. Ancak bu borçlanmalar gelişmekte olan ülkelerin ekonomisinde önemli sorunlar yaratmıştır. Güler (2006), borçlanılan bu kurumların 1980 öncesinde IMF ve diğer yabancı devletler olduğunu belirtmiş ancak borçlanma kaynakları 1980'den sonra ticari bankalar ve uluslararası para piyasalarında borçlanıldığına işaret etmiştir. 1980 sonrası süreçte yerel yönetimler bu kredi kaynakları doğrudan ilişki kurmakta başka bir kuruma ihtiyaç duymamaktadırlar. Daha önceki bölümde bahsedilen kentsel girişimcilik teorisinde olduğu gibi uluslararası sermaye talep eden ülkenin ilgili sektörleriyle doğrudan ilişki kurmaktadır. Ankara'daki ilk raylı sistemlerin yapılışında ve otobüs sistemlerinin geliştirilmesinde 1990-2007 yılları arasında iç kaynaklar yerine yabancı kaynaklardan borçlanılmıştır (Güler 2006).

Tez ulusüstü tüm "assemblage"ları detaylı olarak açıklamayı hedeflememektedir. Çünkü tezin ana odağı kentsel ulaşım assemblage'larıdır. Etkili ulusüstü assemblage'lar, Ankara ulaşım sisteminde ve diğer bazı Türk kentlerinde kentsel ulaşım alanında yaptıkları somut katkılara değinilerek ele alınmıştır. Bu "assemblage"lar iki başlık altında ele alınmıştır:

- Ulusüstü Ekonomik Organizasyonlar ve Uluslararası Finans Kurumları: OECD, Birleşmiş Milletler Kalkınma Programı, Uluslararası İmar ve Kalkınma Bankası (Dünya Bankası), Avrupa Birliği, Avrupa Yatırım Bankası

- Çok Uluslu Şirketler ve Kurumlar: Petro ve inşaat sektörü ile ilişkili şirketler

Bölüm 4: Kentsel Ulaşım Sistemlerini Etkileyen Ulusal Politik ve Ekonomik Dinamikler ve Ulusal Düzey "Assemblage"lar

Bu bölümde kentsel ulaşım sistemlerini etkileyen ulusal düzey "assemblage"ları, merkezi yönetimin ekonomik ve politik kararları, uluslararası düzeyden gelen ekonomik sınırlamalar ve politik eğilimler göz önünde bulundurularak değerlendirilmiştir.

Türk kentlerinin kentleşmesi ve kentsel ulaşım yapılarının şekillenmesi ekonomik kısıtlar ve merkezi yönetimin politik eğilimlerinin etkisi altında gelişmiştir. Merkezi düzeydeki yaşanan siyasi değişimler, bütçe açıkları, dış borçlanma politikaları vb. ekonomik –politik eğilimler tarihsel incelendiğinde bu değişimlerin, ulusal düzeyde kentsel ulaşımla ilgili yasal ve kurumsal çerçevenin şekillenmesinde ve yerel yönetimlerin kentsel ulaşım alanındaki uygulamaları üzerinde doğrudan somut etkileri olduğu görülmüştür. Kentlerde yaşanmakta olan ulaşım sorunlarının birbiriyle ilişkili iki yönü vardır Birincisi sınırlı kaynakların öncelikli ekonomik gelişmeye aktarılmasını desteklenmiş bu da geleceğe yönelik büyük ulaşım yatırımlarını engellemiştir. İkincisi ise sınırlı kaynaklar ulaşım problemini hafifletecek projelere aktarılmamş, aksi şekilde sıkışıklığı arttıran karayolu yatırımı projeleri benimsenmiştir. Ayrıca sınırlı kaynakların ekonomik gelişmeye ayrılması ve merkezi yönetim düzeyinde benimsenen özel sektör odaklı politikalar kentsel düzeyde toplutaşım hizmetlerinin de devlet aracılığıyla değil özel sektör tarafından verilmesi ihtiyacını doğurmuştur.

Ulusal düzeydeki kurumlar ve kuruluşlar “assemblage”lar olarak hem kendi içlerinde hem de diğer düzey “assemblage”larla etkileşim içindedirler. Mekânsal yapılanmaya yön veren merkezi yönetim kurumlarının en etkili “assemblage” olması beklenirken, tarihsel süreç incelendiğinde en etkili dinamiği aslında ekonomik ve politik dinamikler olduğu görülmüş bu doğrultuda yasal kurumsal çerçeve de şekillenmiştir.

İncelenen yasal çerçeve ve kılavuzların sürdürülebilir ulaşım açısından birçok olumlu yönü olsa da bunlar uygulama için çok genel önerilerdir. Olumlu genel stratejilerin uygulanmasında sorumlu birimleri ve uygulama yönetmelikleri tanımlanmamıştır. Ayrıca ulusal düzeydeki yasal çerçevenin kentsel ulaşım konusunu bütüncül olarak ele almaktan çok uzak olduğu görülmektedir.

Hem yerel hem de ulusal düzeyde kentsel ulaşım ile ilgili işlevler kurumların ilgili sorumluluk alanlarına yakınlığıyla ilişkili olarak farklı kurumlara dağıtılmıştır. Bu durum kararların tek bir yönetim birimi tarafında yürütülmemesi sonucunu doğurmaktadır. Evren’in (1999) de belirttiği gibi kentsel ulaşım farklı işlevleri için birçok sorumlu kurum görev yapmakta olsa da aslında Türk kamu yönetiminde kentsel ulaşım sahipsiz gibidir. Ulusal düzeyde kentsel ulaşım politikalarının ve uygulamaların bütünlüğünü sağlayacak, yatırımların dengeli dağıtımını yönetecek, istatistiki bilgilerin belediyelerden toplanması ve analiz edilmesini işini yürütecek bir yönetim birimi veya kurum eksikliği dikkati çekmektedir.

Ulusal Düzey “Assemblage”lar: Ulusal düzeyde politikaların şekillenmesinde etkin olan assemblage’lar aşağıda sıralanmıştır. Bunlar tezde daha geniş bir şekilde açıklanmıştır.

- Merkezi Yönetim

- Merkezi Yönetim Birimleri ve Bürokrasi
- Politikacılar
- Ticari Çıkar Sahipleri
- Otomotiv Endüstrisi ve Çevresi

Kentsel Ulaşım Planlama ve Uygulamalarını Şekillendiren Yasal ve Kurumsal Çerçeve: Kalkınma Bakanlığı beş yıllık planlarla kentsel ulaşım gelişmelerinin temel çizgilerini belirlemektedir. Ulaştırma ve Haberleşme Bakanlığı ve Çevre ve Şehircilik Bakanlığının da kentsel ulaşım yapısının genel çerçevesini belirlemeye yönelik planları, stratejileri bulunmaktadır. Yasal kurumsal analiz kapsamında aşağıda belirtilen merkezi ve yerel yönetim düzeyindeki kurumların yapılanması ve kentsel ulaşıma ilişkin yasal çerçeveleri incelenmiştir.

- Kalkınma Bakanlığı
  - Beş Yıllık Kalkınma Planları ve Yıllık Programları
- Ulaştırma ve Haberleşme Bakanlığı ve Kentsel Ulaşım Alanındaki Politikaları
  - Stratejik planlar
  - Yıllık Raporlar
- Çevre ve Şehircilik Bakanlığı
  - Kentsel Gelişme Stratejisi (KENTGES)
  - İklim Değişikliği Eylem Planı
  - Plan Hazırlama Prensipleri (1985) ve Mekânsal Plan Hazırlama (2014) Yönetmelikleri
- Belediyeler ve Büyükşehir Belediyeleri
  - Belediye Yasaları
- Valilikler, İl ve Bölge Trafik Komisyonları

5. Bölüm: Ankara Kentindeki Assemblage'lar, Yerel Düzeyde Politik ve Ekonomik Değişiklikler ve Bunların Eskişehiryolu Koridorunda Etkileşiminin İncelenmesi

Türk merkezi yönetimi dünyadaki birçok ülke gibi 1980'lerde neo-liberal kalkınma politikalarını benimsemiştir. Cumhuriyetin ilk yıllarından beri süre gelen ülkenin geç endüstrileşmiş karakterin etkileri, merkezi yönetim birimlerinin birçok alanda sürdürülebilir gelişme çerçevesini benimsemesine engel olmuştur. Önceki bölümde görüldüğü gibi yasal kurumsal çerçevede halen birçok ciddi boşluk ve çelişkiler mevcuttur. Kentsel ulaşım alanında, belediye uygulamalarına ve planlarına rehberlik edecek ve uygulamaları denetleyecek bir üst düzey birim veya yasal çerçeve bulunmaktadır. Karar verilmemiş alanlar, çakışan yetkiler, belediye yönetimlerinin uygulamaları kendi siyasi görüş ve eğilimlerine göre yönlendirmesini neden olmuştur. Bu nedenle yerel yönetimler neo-liberal uygulamaların yoğunluğunun belirlenmesinde önemli etkiye sahiptir. Özellikle seksenli yıllardan sonra yerel yönetim ve nerkezi yönetim politik eğilimleri ile çatışmaması Ankara kentinde girişimci kentsel ulaşım uygulamalarını güçlendirmiştir.

Bu bölümde öncelikle Ulaşım Sistemi gelişiminde etkili "assemblage"lar tanımlanmış, daha sonra Cumhuriyetin ilk yıllarından bu güne kadar ulaşım yapısının gelişiminde etkili olan kente özgü politik ve ekonomik değişimler beş politik dönem altında incelenmiştir. Her döneme ilişkin kentsel büyüme ve kentsel ulaşım sistemi gelişimi ilgili dönemler altında anlatılmıştır. Ardından Kentsel "Assemblage"ların etkisinin ve etkileşimini değerlendirilmek için seçilen Eskişehir Yolu Koridorunda detaylı kurumsal araştırmalar yapılmıştır. Ankara kent planlama ve kentsel ulaşım planlama çalışmaları Eskişehir Yolu Koridoru gelişimine yönelik kararlar dikkate alınarak incelenmiştir.

Bu bölümün son alt başlığında Eskişehir Yolu Koridoru üzerinde faaliyet göstermekte olan toplutaşım sağlayıcı ve toplutaşım kullanıcı grubu temsilcileri ile derinlemesine görüşmeler yapılmıştır. Belediye birimleri ile yapılan görüşmelerdeki temel amaç "assemblage"ların uygulama kararlarına etki ve katılımını değerlendirmek, toplum yararı ve ticari çıkarların çatıştığı noktada tutumlarını değerlendirmektir. Kullanıcı kesimini temsilen Hacettepe Üniversitesi Öğrenci İnisiyatifi ile görüşülmüştür. Öğrenciler özellikle Çayyolu Metrosunun açılışı ve Üniversiteye hizmet eden otobüslerin bütünleşme amacıyla kaldırılmasından sonra ortaya çıkan ulaşım sorunlarını duyurmak için kurdukları sosyal medya grubuyla yaşadıkları sıkıntıları kamuoyuyla paylaşmaktadırlar. Bu organize olmamış sivil toplum oluşumu Eskişehir Yolu Koridorundan etkilenen tüm toplu taşım kullanıcılarını temsil etmese de Eskişehir Yolu üzerindeki Hacettepe Üniversitesi duraklarında yaşanan aşırı kalabalıkları açıklamakta ve Çayyolu Metrosu genel hizmet kalitesi ile ilgili önemli bilgiler sağlamaktadır. Son iki görüşme özel toplutaşım hizmeti sağlayıcılarının temsilcileri ile yapılmıştır. Bu görüşmelerle hedeflenen koridorda Özel Halk Otobüsü (ÖHO) ve Özel Toplutaşım Aracı (ÖTA) ve minibüs hatlarının gelişimini tanımlamak, bu işleticilerin Belediye kararlarına etkileri ve belediyeyle ilişkilerini değerlendirmek ve Çayyolu Metrosunun hizmete başlamasına yönelik memnuniyetlerini anlamaktadır.

Yerel Düzey "Assemblage"lar

- Ankara Büyükşehir Belediyesi:

Belediye en güçlü "assemblage"lar arasındadır. Kentsel Ulaşım sistemi belediyenin planlı ve plansız müdahaleleri, işletime yönelik kararları tarafından şekillendirilir. Belediyelerin kamu refaha ve ticari çıkarlar arasında dengeyi sağlamak görevi olsa da çoğunlukla merkezi devlet politikalarından ve farklı düzeylerdeki ticari çıkarlardan etkilenirler. Belediye görevlerini sınırlı

bir bütçe içerisinde gerçekleştirmek zorundadır, ancak Ankara örneğindeki gibi belediyenin başlattığı Çayyolu Metrosunun tamamlanabilmesi için merkezi yönetim tarafından yasal imtiyazlar ve mali destekler sağlanabilmektedir.

- Arsa Spekülatörleri ve İnşaat Firmaları:

Kapitalist sistem tüketimi belli seviyede tutmak için mekânsal saçılmaya ihtiyaç duymuştur. Bu doğrultuda yönetimlerin en önemli aracı spekülatif eylemler olmuştur. Merkezi ve yerel yönetimler sağladıkları birçok kolaylıkla (imar plan değişiklikleri, krediler be vergi kolaylıkları, vb.) özel kesimi desteklemiştir. Spekülatif aktiviteler Sawer'ın da belirttiği gibi kapitalizmin ayrılamaz bir parçasıdır ancak kentsel ulaşım hizmetleri ve yatırımları karlı olmadıkları için, yerel ve merkezi yönetimler tarafından sübvanse edilmektedirler. Arsa spekülatörleri ve inşaat firmalarını kapsayan bu "assemblage" tezde detaylı olarak incelenmemiştir çünkü tez Eskişehir Yolu üzerindeki Toplutaşım hizmetlerine odaklanmaktadır.

- Kamu ve Özel Toplutaşım İşleticileri:

Tez alan çalışması kapsamında derinlemesine görüşmeler ve erişebilinen istatistiki bilgilerle detaylı olarak incelemelerin yapıldığı "assemblage"dır. Ankara Belediyesi altındaki EGO Genel Müdürlüğü kentsel toplutaşım hizmetlerinin kamu sağlayıcısıdır. EGO önceleri otobüs işletmesi olarak yapılandırılmış ancak daha sonraları belediyenin tüm ulaşım hizmetlerinin yürütüldüğü bir birim haline gelmiştir.

Kentsel ulaşım tüm kentli kesimlerine eşit olarak dağıtılması gereken bir hizmet olsa da belediye meclisinde ve hatta ulusal mecliste yer alan iş çevrelerinin meydana getirdiği koalisyonlar özel çıkarları öne çıkaran ve çoğu zaman kamu yararını göz ardı eden uygulamaları desteklemektedirler. Diğer

yandan belediye denetiminin yetersizliği özel sektörün kamu refahı ve hizmet kalitesi standartlarını göz ardı etmelerine neden olmaktadır

Ankara toplutaşım sisteminde özel sektör tarafından işletilen hizmetler; Özel Halk Otobüsleri, Minibüsler, Özel Toplutaşım Araçları, Servis Araçları ve Taksileri içermektedir. Bunlar fiziksel, yasal ve işletime yönelik (güzergâhlar, fiyatlandırma sistemi, duraklar vb.) özellikleri gibi konularda farklılaşmaktadır

Tezde özel işleticilerin Ankara Belediyesinin eylemleri, işletim, yatırım kararları üzerinde önemli etkiye sahip olduğu iddia edilmektedir. Farklı ölçeklerde kurumsallaşan özel işleticilerin çıkarlarının korunması amacıyla yapılandırılmış meslek odaları tıpkı assemblage teoride olduğu gibi farklı ölçeklerde faaliyetlerini yürütmektedir.

- Halk

Bunlar kentsel ulaşım sistemi değişikliklerinden doğrudan etkilenen gruptur. Kentlilerden oluşan bu en büyük grup engellileri, çocuklu aileleri ve otomobil sahibi olmayan aileleri, yaşlıları, gençler ve çocukları içine almaktadır. Toplutaşım hizmetlerinin iyileştirilmesi ile beraber özel araç kullanımının sınırlanması toplum üzerinde güvenlik ve sağlık koşullarının iyileşmesi, toplumsal dışlanmanın azalması, birlik ve eşitliğin sağlanması gibi önemli olumlu etkilere neden olmaktadır (Litman, 2014). Ancak Türkiye gibi ülkelerde kısa dönemli ekonomik kaygılar sosyal faydaların önüne geçmektedir.

Toplum önemli büyüklükte bir kesimi hatta politikacılar büyük ve maliyeti yüksek çözümlerin kentsel ulaşım sorunlarını çözmede ve oy kazanmada daha etki olduğunu düşünebilmektedirler. Bu yanlış anlaşma politikacıların yüksek maliyetli hatta sürdürülemez nitelikte yatırımları (büyük katlı kavşak

projeleri ve yol genişletme çalışmaları gibi) hayata geçirmeye çalışmalarına neden olmaktadır.

Seçimlerden başka toplumun istek ve ihtiyaçlarını dile getirebileceği diğer bir temsiliyet kanalı sivil toplum kuruluşlarıdır. Türkiye Mimar ve Mühendisler Odaları Birliğine bağlı Şehir Plancıları, Mimarlar ve Çevre Mühendisleri Odaları gibi birçok meslek odası ve Tüketiciler Birliği bu kapsamdadır. Bunlar, kamu yararını korumak göreviyle belediyenin ulaşım kararlarını ve eylemlerini yakından takip etmektedirler. Ancak bunların kamu yararını gözeterek açtığı ve odaların lehine sonuçlanan davalar yerel yönetimin merkezi yönetim tarafından desteklenmesi ile çoğu kez uygulamaya geçmemektedir.

Ankara Kentsel Gelişimi ve Kentsel Ulaşım Yapısı Gelişiminin Politik ve Ekonomik Değişimler ile İlişkisinin Değerlendirilmesi:

Kentsel Ulaşım sisteminin gelişmesi farklı politik eğilimlerin hâkim olduğu beş dönemde incelenmiştir. Her döneme ait önemli ekonomik kararlar, politik değişimler özetlenmiş bunun paralelinde kentsel ulaşım yapısının gelişimi ele alınmıştır. Eskişehir Yolu Koridoru gelişimi 1980'lerden sonraki döneme denk gelse de, geçmişten gelen ulaşım yapısında gelen kısıtlarını anlamak için Cumhuriyet tarihinden bu yana politik ekonomik değişmeler ve kentsel ulaşım sistemi ilişkisi incelenmiştir. Her döneme ait önemli olaylar aşağıda kısa özetlenmiştir.

Ankara'nın İlk Yılları (1923-1972): Tek parti döneminin hâkim olduğu bu yıllarda yerel yönetimler merkezin uzantısı konumundadır. 2. Dünya savaşından ve Türkiye'nin geç sanayileşmesinden kaynaklanan ekonomik sınırlamalar en etkin dinamiklerdir. Merkezi yönetim finansal kaynakları kentleşme yerine sanayinin geliştirilmesine aktarmayı seçmiştir.

Gecekondulaşma ve kırdan kente göçün bu dönemlerde hız kazanması, ulaşım talebini önemli miktarda arttırmış ve plansız olarak gelişen yeni konut alanlarına erişim sorunları oraya çıkarmıştır. 1950'ye kadar Demokrat Partinin politikalarının etkin olduğu tek partili sisteminin toplutaşım sistemi üzerinde en belirleyici etkisi toplutaşıma haklarının belediyeden küçük işleticilere aktarılması olmuştur. İlk minibüs işletmesi merkezi yönetim kararıyla hizmete başlamıştır. 1960 darbesi sonrası yönetime gelen ilk seçilmiş belediye başkanı merkezi yönetimle aynı partiden olması nedeniyle belediye yine merkezi yönetimin uzantısı olarak işlev görmeye devam etmiş. Kararları yerelden değil merkezden yönlendirilmesi kentsel sorunların bütünsel olarak ele alınmasını engellemiştir. Küçük işletici merkezli kentsel ulaşım sistemi gelişimi 1970'lere kadar devam etmiştir. Bu dönemse belediye tarafından işletilen otobüslerin yolcu taşıma oran %30 kadar düşmüştür. Bu dönemde başlayan minibüs üretimi de küçük işletici odakları politikaları desteklenmiştir. Taksi ve otobüs işleticilerinin saylarının aşırı artması sonucunda sayıları dondurulmuştur. Ancak belediye hizmetinin buna paralel olarak arttırılmaması yolcuların erişim problemleri yaşamasına neden olmuştur.

Çatışan Politik Yaklaşımlar Dönemi (1973-1980): Bu dönemde Ankara Belediyesi "Sosyal Belediyecilik" yaklaşımı benimseyen sol parti tarafından, merkezi yönetim ise önce askeri yönetimin uzantısı olarak işlev gören sağ partiler tarafından yönetilmiştir. Bu dönemde Ankara Belediyesi çatışan siyasi eğilimler nedeniyle finansal sınırlamalarla karşılaşmıştır. Belediye bu dönemde sosyal belediyecilik yaklaşımını belirlemiş, önceki dönemden farklı olarak hedef grubu sadece küçük girişimci ve esnaf değil halk olmuştur. Artan ulaşım sorunlarına kolaylıkla uygulanan az maliyetli "ulaşım talep yönetimi" uygulamalarıyla çözüm bulunmaya çalışılmıştır. Otobüs yolları, otobüs sistemi iyileştirmeleri, yayalaştırma uygulamaları, toplutaşım da zirve saat

sıkışıklığının yayılmasına yönelik ücretsiz otobüs uygulaması gibi birçok olumlu örnek proje bu dönem hayata geçmiştir. Ancak askeri yönetim ile göreve gelen sonraki belediye yönetimi bu olumlu uygulamalara davam etmemiş zamanla uygulamalara son verilmiştir.

Kentsel Girişimcilik Politikalarının İlk Kentsel Uygulamaları (1980-1994): Askeri darbeden sonra merkezi yönetimin liberal politikalar benimsemesi önceki dönem halk odaklı uygulamaların kaldırılmasına ve yerine yatırımcı ve özel girişimciyi destekleyen uygulamaların hayata geçmesine neden olmuştur. İlk yıllarda hâkim olan ekonomik stabilizasyon kararlarının etkisiyle artan toplutaşım ihtiyacına cevap verebilmek için ÖHO'lerini devreye sokulmuştur. Bu dönemde belediye yönetimine 1989-1994 yılları arasında sol belediye yönetimi görev yapmış olmasına rağmen genel liberal eğilimler altında büyük maliyetli yatırımlar desteklenmiş ve kentsel ulaşım alanındaki uygulamaları 1970'lerdeki sosyal belediyecilik uygulamaları kadar olumlu etki yaratmamıştır.

Girişimci Kent Yönetimi Uygulamalarının Yoğunlaşması (1994-2015**):** 1994 yerel seçimlerinde muhafazakâr sağ politik partiden Ankara Büyükşehir Belediye seçimlerini kazanan Gökçek beşer yıl arayla yapılan sonraki dört yerel seçimi de kazanmasıyla başkanlık süresi 25 yıla kadar uzamıştır. Görev süresi boyunca kısa kesintiler dışında merkezi yönetimin siyasi tutumuyla çatışmaması ve desteklenmesi, benimsediği kentsel gelişme politikalarının devamlılığını sağlamıştır. Ayrıca yerel ve ulusal "assemblage"larla yakın ilişkileri Gökçek'in siyasi gücünün temelini oluşturmaktadır.

Bu dönemde kontrolsüz kentsel yayılma ve saçılma metropoliten alanın ihtiyaçlarını değiştirmiştir. Belediye yönetimi bu dönemde sadece karayolu temelli ulaşım sistemi iyileştirmelerini hayata geçirmiştir. Kentsel ulaşım

alanındaki bu yaklaşımı kentsel büyüme alanındaki kar odaklı gelişme stratejisi ile uyumlu olarak değerlendirilebilir.

Bu dönemde kent merkezinde de inşa edilen katlı kavşak projeleri Gökçek döneminin bir sembolü haline gelmiştir. Bunların bir çoğu meslek odaları tarafından kamu yararına aykırı olduğu gerekçesiyle dava edilmiş, durdurma kararı alınmışsa da belediye uygulamaları değiştirilmemiştir. Yıllar içine de katlı kavşaklar ve diğer yol alt yapısı iyileştirmeleri daha fazla motorlu taşıt yolculuğunu teşvik etmiş trafik sıkışıklıklarını eskisinden daha üst düzeylere taşımıştır.

Gökçek'in otomobil odaklı ulaşım politikaları, otomobil sahipliliğine ve kullanımına özenen yeni orta sınıf, kent yoksulları ve çalışan grupları da içeren geniş kentli kitlesi tarafından kabul görmüştür. Bu durumda Gökçek'in daha çok katlı kavşak, üst geçit ve diğer altyapı projelerini hayata geçirmesini desteklemiştir. Ancak bu inşaat projeleri yayaları, yaşlıları çocukları ve çocuklu aileleri, engellileri de içeren geniş kitleyi yani halkın çoğunluğunu olumsuz etkilemiştir. Bu uygulamalarla kentsel yaşam geri dönülmez bir şekilde değerlerini kaybederken, karayolu inşaat firmaları arsa spekülatörleri ve kilit belediye yöneticileri bu inşaat yapım projelerinden fayda sağlayan kesim olmuştur.

Diğer yandan görev süresi sırasında herhangi bir bütüncül toplu taşım iyileştirme çalışmasında bulunmamıştır. Daha önceki dönemde projesi yapılan ve inşaatı başlayan Ankaraya ve Metro Raylı Sistemleri Gökçek döneminin başlarında hayata geçmiştir. Bunun yanında 2004 seçimleri öncesinde 3 yeni metro hattının inşaatına başlanmıştır. 2009 seçimlerinde Belediye yönetimi hatların hemen seçimlerden sonra bitirileceğini duyurmuşsa da bu projeleri bitiremeyen Ankara Belediyesi ile Ulaştırma

Bakanlığı arasında yapılan protokolle bu projelerin tamamlanması Bakanlığa devredilmiştir ve 2014 seçimleri öncesi Bakanlık tarafından bu üç hattan ikisinin eksik sayıda vagonla, mevcut toplutaşım sistemiyle bütünleşme çalışması yapılmadan açılmıştır. Aceleyle ve yetersiz ön hazırlıkla yapılan açılış sık yaşanan arızalara ve aşırı kalabalıklara, aktarma noktalarında uzun bekleme sürelerine ve dolayısıyla toplutaşım kullanıcıları açısından koşulların kötüleşmesine neden olmuştur.

Gökçek yönetimi öncesinde yapılan ve bu yönetimin göreve gelmesinden hemen sonra Ankara Ulaşım Ana Planı onaylanmıştır. Yirmi yılı aşkın süredir görevde olan yönetim bu planla çelişen birçok uygulamayı hayata geçirmiştir. Bunun yanında Gökçek yönetimi 2013 yalına kadar yeni bir kentsel ulaşım ana planı hazırlamamış. 2013 yılında başlanan ve 2015 başında bittiği açıklanan yeni ulaşım ana planı 2015 Ekim ayında hala onaylanmamış ve ya kamuoyuyla paylaşılmamıştır.

Merkezi yönetim tarafından desteklenen belediye yönetiminin bazı "assemblage"ların faydalarını ön plana alarak şekillendirdiği popülist uygulamalar kentte yaşayan çoğunluk için gerçek çözüm üretmemiştir. Çayyolu Metrosu açılışının gecikmesi, açılışından sonra yaşanan sorunlar ve toplutaşım "assemblage"larının ilişkilerine odaklanılarak Eskişehir Yolu Koridorunda detaylı olarak incelenmiştir.

Eskişehir Yolu Koridoru Gelişimi ve Kentsel Ulaşım "Assemblage"larının Etkileşimi

Eskişehir Yolu üzerindeki ilk kentsel gelişmeler 1982 yılında onaylanan 1990 Kentsel Gelişim Planı'yla başlamış ve bu planla bugünün makroformu şekillenmiştir. Eskişehir Yolu üzerinde ulaşılan ilk konut alanları 1985 yılı

sonrasında gelişmeye başlamıştır. 1987 yılında hazırlanan yapısal plan ise bu alana dair gelişme ilkeleri içerse de detaylı ve somut önerileri içermemektedir. 2015 Planı onaylanmadığı için buna dair 1/1000 uygulama planları da hazırlanamamış ve bu alan üzerinde önemli gelişme baskıları yaratmıştır (Altaban, 1998). İlerleyemn yıllarda parçalanmış yatırım ve uygulamalar çok sayıda kısmi planla hayata geçmeye başlamış, makroformu da önemli ölçüde zedelenmiştir.

Yeni gelişme alanlarına ilk yıllarda yalnızca Eskişehir Yolu ile erişim sağlanmıştır. 1987'de hazırlanan ancak 1994'te yapılan revizyonlarla yasallaşan Ulaşım Ana Planına göre Çayyolu Metrosunun 2000 yılına kadar hayata geçmesi planlanmıştır. Ancak Ankara Büyükşehir Belediye yönetimi inşaat çalışmalarına ancak 2002 yılında başlamıştır. Bu yıllar arasında belediye tüm kentte yürüttüğü karayolu yatırımı projelerini Eskişehir Yolu'nda da hayata geçirmiş ve yolun şerit sayısı 2X2'den 4x4 e yükseltilmiştir. Ayrıca Eskişehir Yolu'na paralel Sakıp Sabancı Bulvarı açılmıştır. Çayyolu Metrosu'nun ise 2004 ve 2009 seçimleri hemen sonrasında açılacağını duyurmasına rağmen 2010 yılında bu metronun yerel kaynaklarla bitmesinin mümkün olmaması gerekçesiyle, projesetatamlanmak üzere Ulaştırma Bakanlığına devretmiştir. 2014 Mart ayında, seçimlerden hemen önce eksik vagonla ve diğer türlerle bütünleşme çalışması yapılmadan açılan Çayyolu Metrosu, vagon yetersizliğinin neden olduğu aşırı doluluk ve sürekli yaşanan arızalarıyla kullanıcılara eskisinden daha zor bir toplutaşım imkânı sağlanmıştır.

Eskişehir Yolu üzerinde etkileşim içinde olan toplutaşım türleri detaylı olarak incelenmiştir. Bunların gelişimi, birbirleriyle ilişkilerini tanımlamak ve aralarındaki dengeleri anlamak için Büyükşehir Belediyesinden toplutaşım türlerinin gelişimini ortaya koyacak EGO, ÖHO, minibüs ve ÖTA türlerine ait

hat ve güzergâh bilgileri (yıllar itibariyle aylık sefer ve yolcu sayıları) talep edilmiştir, Ancak belediye 1980 başlarında başladığı ve 1999 yılına kadar devam ettirdiği toplutaşım sistemine yönelik istatistik veri toplama ve değerlendirme işlevini 2000 yılında bırakmış olduğu öprenilmiştir. 2000 yılından 2015 yılına kadar bu bilgiler toplanmamıştır. Eskişehir Yolu üzerinde işletilen toplutaşım türlerinin Çayyolu Metrosu öncesi ve sonrası halini karşılaştırmak için talep edilen hat, günlük sefer sayısı ve güzergâh bilgileri dahi (2014 Mart) istatistiki ve ulaşım sistemi bilgileri saklama ihtiyacı duymadıkları için temin edilememiştir. Metronun açılışı öncesine ait veriler resmi olmayan internet ticari internet sitelerinden elde edilerek değerlendirmeler yapılabilmiştir. Belediyenin istatistiki bilgi toplama, saklama, analiz etme işlevini 2000 yılı sorası bırakması, ulaşım planlamaya ve bilimsel çalışmalara verdiği önem konusunda da ipuçları vermektedir. Belediyeden analiz yapma konusunda etkin bir şekilde veri temin edilememesi üzerine alan çalışması belediye birimleri, özel işleticiler ve toplutaşım kullanıcı gruplarıyla yapılan derinlemesine görüşmeler üzerinden devam ettirilmiştir. Bu görüşmeler belediyenin ulaşım “assemblage”ları ilişkisini, karar verme süreçlerini anlamaya önemli miktarda ışık tutmuştur. Tezde ayrıntılı olarak ele alınan “assemblage”lar aşağıda kısaca sıralanmıştır.

- Kamu tarafından işletilen Çayyolu Metrosu: 2000 yılına kadar işletmeye açılması planlanan metro hattı, 15 yıla yakın gecikmeyle projenin ancak Ulaştırma Bakanlığına devri ile tamamlanabilmiştir. Projenin 15 yıl gecikmesi arazi kullanım yapısında aktarma alanlarının plan tadilatlarıyla nitelik değiştirmesi ile arazi kullanımdan kaynaklan olumsuzluklar yaratmıştır. Ayrıca bu koridorda verilen yetersiz ve düşük kaliteli toplutaşım hizmeti nedeniyle ve yeni yol altyapısı yatırımlarıyla otomobil sahipliliği arttırmış ve kullanım alışkanlıkları bu

yönde değişmiştir. Çayyolu Metrosu'nun açılısındaki eksiklikler aşağıda sıralanmıştır.

- Çayyolu Metrosunun test sürüşleri gerektiğinden kısa sürede bitirilmiş. İşletmeye başlamasıyla birçok arıza ve aksaklık yaşanmış kullanıcılara zirve saatlerde büyük zaman kayıpları yaşatılmıştır.

- Metro planlandığından eksik olarak 6 yerine değil 3 vagonluk dizilerle işletmeye başlamıştır. Belediye eksik setlerin hizmete başlayacağını duyursa da, 2015 Mayıs ayında belediye birimleriyle yapılan görüşmelerde araç ihalesinin iptal edildiği ve yeni vagon ihalesinin henüz yapılmadığı öğrenilmiştir.

- Çayyolu Metrosu mevcut toplutaşım hatları ile herhangi bir bütünleşme çalışması yapılmadan hizmete açılmış. Metronun açılışından 5 ay sonra bir bütünleşme çalışması uygulamaya konmuşsa da bu düzenleme birçok kere değişikliğe uğramış ve j-halen değişiklikler devam etmektedir.

- Özel Halk otobüsleri, Özel Toplutaşıma Araçları ve Minibüsler yeni açılan Metroya bütünleştirilmemiştir. Belediyenin özel işleticilere, kendi işletmesinde farklı olarak bir ayrıcalık tanıması sonraki bölümlerde tekrar tartışılacaktır.

- Kamu Tarafından İşletilen Toplutaşım Otobüsleri (EGO): Çayyolu Metrosu açılışı öncesi ve sonrası EGO hatları, güzergâhları sefer sayıları, ayrıntılı olarak incelenmiştir. Ancak Belediyenin istatistiki bilgileri saklaması nedeniyle karşılaştırmalar Belediyeden alınan

güncel veriler er ve özel internet sitelerinden (www.yoltarifi.com ve www.otobussaatleri.net) elde edilen Metro öncesi döneme ait bilgiler arasında yapılabilmiştir. Ayrıca 1980 - 1999 yılları arasında EGO otobüs işletmesi ve diğer toplutaşım türlerine ait bilgiler değerlendirilmiş ve ulaşım sistemi genelinin gelişimine yönelik analizler yapılmıştır.

Bütünleşme kapsamında yalnızca EGO hatları yeniden yapılandırılmıştır. Bu kapsamda hatlar; açılan yeni EGO hatları, Çayyolu Metrosuna hizmet etmek üzere kısaltılan EGO hatları ve iptal edilen EGO hatları olmak üzere üç grupta incelenmiştir.

Çayyolu Metrosunun otobüs sistemiye bütünleştirilme düzenlemeleri tüm toplutaşım türlerini kapsamamakta sadece EGO otobüs hizmetine yönelik düzenlemeler içermektedir. EGO otobüslerinin bu kapsamda Eskişehir yolundan geçen tüm hatları kaldırılmıştır. Ancak özel işleticilerin hatları değiştirilmemiştir. Yalnızca EGO hatlarının Eskişehir yolundan kaldırılmasıyla zirve saatte geçen toplutaşım aracı sayısı %57-%66 arasında azalmış görünse de bu azalma kısa sürede altyapının teşvik ettiği yeni özel araçlarla doldurulmuştur. Tez araştırması süresince gözlendiği kadarıyla trafik sıkışıklıkları ve seyahat süreleri metronun açılışından önceki dönemi aşmıştır. Ayrıca yapılan bütünleşme düzenlemesiyle Eskişehir Yolu üzerinde yer alan Hacettepe Üniversitesi gibi önemli seviyelerde yolculuk yaratan bazı odaklara hizmet veren ancak Eskişehir Yolunu kesmeyen hatlar da kaldırılmıştır.

- Özel Kesim Tarafından İşletilen Ara Toplutaşım "Minibüsler": İlk organize özel toplutaşım hizmeti olan Minibüsler merkezi yönetim

kararıyla hizmete başlamışlardır. Bu özellikleriyle diğer özel işleticiler arasında ÖHO'lerinden sonra ikinci en güçlü ve kararları üzerinde en etkin özel işletici grubu olarak değerlendirilmektedirler . Belediye görevlileriyle yapılan görüşmelerde belediyenin hat düzenlemelerinde minibüs hatların karlılığını düşürmemeyi göz önünde bulundurduğu ifade edilmiştir. Bu doğrultuda Eskişehir yolunda geçen hatlar çok uzun olmasına rağmen bunlar üzerinde hiç bir değişiklik yapılmamıştır. Belediye çalışanlarının da belirttiği gibi bunlar bir seferde en yüksek sayıda yolcu taşımak hedefindedirler. Günlük sefer ve yolculuk sayıları hakkında ise belediyeye herhangi bir bildirim yapmamaktadırlar, belediye tarafında denetlenmemektedirler.

- Özel Kesim Tarafından İşletilen Halkı Otobüsleri (ÖHO): 1980 yılında merkezi yönetimin liberal politikalar benimsediği dönemde merkezi yönetim kararıyla göreve başlamışlardır. Hem yasal statülerinin kökleri hem de servis standartları diğer özel toplutaşım araçlarının üzerindedir. Kendilerinin de belirttiği gibi belediye yönetimi ile yakın ilişkileriyle düzenlemelerde öncelik sahibi işleticilerdir. Bu özel işletici grubunun da hatları bütünleşme çalışmaları kapsamında değiştirilmemiştir. Görüşmelerde belirtildiği üzere Çayyolu Metrosunun sefere başlaması ve Metroda yaşanan sıkışıklıklar ve kaldırılan EGO hatlarıyla birlikte ÖHO'lerine olan talep artığı yapılan görüşülmelerde belirtilmiştir. Ayrıca Eskişehir Yolundaki hizmetleri kaldırılmadığı gibi önümüzdeki aylarda bu güzergâhta hizmetlerinin arttırılması (sefer sayısı artırılışı, araç büyümesi) yönünde hazırlıklar yaptıkları yapılan görüşmelerde öğrenilmiştir.

- **Sözleşmeli Toplutaşım Araçları (ÖTA)**

Toplu Taşıma Araçları farklı taraflarla yapılan görüşmelerde en güçsüz ve belediye kararları üzerinde en az etkili işletici olduğu belirtilmiştir. Özel Toplu Taşıma Araçları 1995 yılında belediyeyle yaptıkları sözleşme doğrultusunda hizmete başlamıştır. On yıllık sözleşmeleri bitiminde belediyeyle çatışmaları ve toplumda yarattığı huzursuzluklar nedeniyle hizmetlerine son verilmiştir. Ancak oy kaybı kaygısıyla ile belediye bu işleticilere seçimler öncesinde araçlarını küçülterek ve araç sayılarını azaltarak (kısaca pazardaki paylarını düşürerek) tekrar işletme hakkı vermiştir. Ayrıca ÖTA'ların çalışmadığı dönemde Eskişehir yolu üzerinde çalışan ve daha önce ÖTA tarafından işletilen "Konutkent" hattı, ÖTA güzergâhı olarak belirlenmiştir. Belediyenin güçlenen ÖTA'nın lisanslarını iptal ederek önce sistemden çıkarması ve bir süre sonra bu "assemblage"ın oy potansiyelini de göz önünde bulundurarak kendi kısıtladığı koşullar altında hizmete sokması, aradaki dönemde yüksek talebe sahip Konutkent hattını ÖHO güzergâhı olarak belirlemesi belediyenin "assemblage"lar arası dengeyi kendi ilişkileri ve çıkarları doğrultusunda yeniden şekillendirebildiğini göstermektedir. Diğer yandan ÖTA'ların hizmet kalitesi, yolcu şikâyetleri, maddi ve manevi hasarlı trafik kazaları göz önünde bulundurulduğunda belediye ve özel işletici "assemblage"ları arası ilişkileri kentli yararına çalışmadığı görülmektedir.

BÖLÜM 6: SONUÇ

Ankara kentinin başkan Gökçek döneminde kamu kaynaklarının etkin olarak kullanılmadığı girişimci bir dönem geçirmiştir. Ancak bu sürdürülemez ve çelişkili gelişmeleri yalnızca başkanın kişiliği ve ilişkileri ile açıklamak yetersiz olacaktır. Liberalleşen uygulamaların temelinde üst düzey dinamiklerin ve "assemblage"ların etkileri de mevcuttur. 1970'lerde başlayan planlı dönemden bugüne, özellikle 1990'lardan sonra kentsel ulaşım merkezi yönetim düzeyinde kapsamlı olarak ele alma, politikalar, standartlar eğilimi ortadan kalkmıştır. Hazırlanan kalkınma planı kentsel ulaşım konusu sadece bir kaç belli başlı projenin bitirilmesine indirgenmiştir. Diğer yanda belediyelerin ulaşım uygulamalarını denetleyecek, standartlaştıracak bir yönetim yapısı ve ilişkili yasal çerçeve bulunmamaktadır. Kentsel ulaşım alanı belediye başkanınının kişisel eğilim ver tercihlerine bırakılmıştır. Bu doğrultuda Gökçek yönetimi assemblagelar arası iilişkileri düzenlemede takındığı tutum ile sürdürülemez uygulamaların düzeyini arttırmıştır

Eskişehiryolu Koridoru arazi kullanımı ise çok çeşitli kentsel "assemblage"lar tarafından şekillenmiştir. Bunlardan, tezin odağını oluşturun toplutaşım "asemblage"larının gelişimi ve birbirleriyle ilişkileri incelendiğinde özel işleticilerin kısa vadeli kazanımlar elde etmesi için özellikle toplutaşım yolcularını içine alan geniş kitlenin sosyal, fiziksel, ekonomik yarar/zararları gözardı edilmiştir. Raylı sistemin eksik araçla devreye girmesi ve özel işleticilerin bütünleştirilmesi nedeniyle koridorda toplutaşım iyileşmesinin getireceği faydalar sağlamnamamıştır. Trafik sıkışıklıkları raylı sistemin açılışı öncesinden daha üst düzeylere çıkmıştır. Başkan ve diğer assemblageların etkileriyle şekillenen karayolu odaklı ve özel araç kullanımını destekleyici odaklı uygulamalar çıkmaza girmiştir çünkü bunlar ekonomik, çevresel ve sosyal bakımdan sürdürülümez niteliktedir.

APPENDIX H. TEZ FOTOKOPİSİ İZİN FORMU

ENSTİTÜ

Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü ☐

Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü ☐

Uygulamalı Matematik Enstitüsü ☐

Enformatik Enstitüsü ☐

Deniz Bilimleri Enstitüsü ☐

YAZARIN

Soyadı: Öncü Yıldız
Adı : Mevlüde Ayça
Bölümü : Kentsel Politika Planlaması ve Yerel Yönetimler

TEZİN ADI (İngilizce) : Politics of Urban Transportation; Local National and Onternational Dynamics, Case of Ankara and Eskişehir Road Corridor

TEZİN TÜRÜ : Yüksek Lisans ☐ Doktora ☐

1. Tezimin tamamından kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir. ☐
2. Tezimin içindekiler sayfası, özet, indeks sayfalarından ve/veya bir bölümünden kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir. ☐
3. Tezimden bir bir (1) yıl süreyle fotokopi alınamaz. ☐

TEZİN KÜTÜPHANEYE TESLİM TARİHİ: