

SMALL ENTREPRENEURS IN URBAN BUS PUBLIC TRANSPORTATION IN
ANKARA: GOVERNMENT FAILURE OR MARKET FAILURE?

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ABSTRACT

SMALL ENTREPRENEURS IN URBAN BUS PUBLIC TRANSPORTATION IN ANKARA: GOVERNMENT FAILURE OR MARKET FAILURE?

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The presence of small entrepreneurs who fill the urban transport service gap created by local governments, which cannot provide services against the rapidly growing and concentrated population in cities, has revealed a private sector entrepreneurship that has already had priority status since pre-neoliberalism period. The definition of private sector-oriented services introduced by neoliberal policies pursued since the 1980s enabled private sector entrepreneurship to continue to exist. Due to lack of resources, city administrations could not develop public transportation systems that would provide increasing urban transportation needs. In the face of this insufficiency, the informal and irregular transportation solutions that have developed spontaneously in the society and have finally evolved towards a continuing public transport service concept with the privileged private entrepreneurs. Since small entrepreneurs providing private urban transportation services will lead to the development of a business type that suits their characteristics and conditions, it makes the decisions and regulations of urban transportation important for the control and audit of urban transportation services. All kinds of regulations and urban transport decisions put forward by local authorities within their authority have the potential to generate and

distribute a transport rent. This situation causes the regulated private service providers to influence regulating institutions and to generate rent through interest groups formed among themselves. The main purpose of this study is to reveal the state and market failures in the provision of urban public transport services. In addition, the aim is to reveal how private urban entrepreneurs are involved in urban decision-making mechanisms and the role of regulations in this participation by the effect of neo-liberal urban policies in the provision of urban transport services. In addition, the main objective is to determine the effect of the elements that may be perceived as technical aspects such as line route and vehicle type selection, but in fact the initiators of the transportation rent process.

Keywords, Private Urban Public Transport, Urban Entrepreneurship, Urban Decision Making Process, Ankara

ÖZ

ANKARA ŞEHİR İÇİ OTOBÜS TOPLU TAŞIMA HİZMETİNDE KÜÇÜK GİRİŞİMCİLER: HÜKÜMET BAŞARISIZLIĞI MI PİYASA BAŞARISIZLIĞI MI?

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Hızla büyüyen ve kentlerde yoğunlaşan nüfusa karşılık hizmet sağlayamayan yerel yönetimlerin meydana getirdiği kent içi ulaşım hizmet boşluğunu dolduran küçük girişimcilerin varlığı, zaten neoliberalizm öncesi dönemden beri öncelikli statüye sahip olan bir özel sektör girişimciliğini ortaya çıkarmıştır. 1980’lerden itibaren izlenen neoliberal politikaların ortaya koyduğu özel sektör odaklı hizmet tanımlaması ise özel sektör girişimciliğinin varlığını devam ettirmesini sağlamıştır. Kent yönetimleri kaynak yetersizliği dolayısıyla giderek artan kent içi ulaşım gereksinmesini sağlayacak toplu taşıma sistemlerini geliştirememiştir. Bu yetersizlik karşısında toplumda kendiliğinden gelişen kayıt dışı ve düzensiz ulaşım çözüm yolları, son olarak imtiyaz sahibi özel girişimcilerle devam eden bir toplu taşıma hizmet sunum anlayışına doğru evrilmiştir. Özel kent içi ulaşım hizmetlerini sağlayan küçük girişimciler kendi özelliklerine ve koşullarına uygun bir işletme türünün gelişmesine neden olacağından, kentsel ulaşım hizmetlerinin denetimi ve kontrolü açısından alınan kentsel ulaşım kararlarını ve regülasyonları önemli hale getirmektedir. Yerel yönetimlerin kendi yetkileri dâhilinde ortaya koydukları her türlü regülasyon ve kentsel ulaşım kararı, bu alanda rant meydana getirme ve bu rantı

dağıtma potansiyeline sahiptir. Bu durum regülasyona tabi özel hizmet sağlayıcılarının kendi aralarında birleşerek oluşturdukları çıkar grupları aracılığıyla regüle eden kurumları etkilemeye çalışmasına ve rant yaratma faaliyetlerine neden olmaktadır. Bu çalışmanın temel amacı, kentsel toplu taşıma hizmetlerinin sağlanmasındaki devlet ve piyasa başarısızlıklarını ve kentsel ulaşım hizmetlerinin sağlanmasında neo-liberal kentsel politikaların etkisiyle özel kentsel girişimcilerinin, kentsel karar alma mekanizmasına nasıl dâhil olduklarını, bu katılımı regülasyonların rolünü ve hat güzergâh ve araç tipi seçimi gibi belki de teknik hususlar olarak algılanabilecek ancak esasında ulaşım rantı sürecini başlatan unsurların otobüs ulaşım hizmetleri üzerindeki etkisinin belirlenmesidir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Özel Kent İçi Toplu Taşıma, Kentsel Girişimcilik, Kentsel Karar Alma Süreci, Ankara

To my leavened dough, puppy gazelle and love

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT	IV
ÖZ	VI
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	IX
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	X
LIST OF TABLES	XIII
LIST OF FIGURES	XIV
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.....	XV
CHAPTER	
INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1 RESEARCH AIMS AND OBJECTIVES	3
1.2 RESEARCH QUESTIONS	4
1.3 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY IN BRIEF.....	10
1.4 RESEARCH STRUCTURE.....	15
METHODOLOGY AND RESEARCH DESIGN.....	18
2.1 IDENTIFYING THE RESEARCH AREA	22
2.2 THE FOCUS: ANKARA WESTERN PLANNING ZONE	25
2.3 SOURCES OF THE DATA AND DATA COLLECTION PROCESS.....	26
2.4 STUDY DESIGN AND SAMPLING	28
THEORETICAL DISCUSSION.....	31
3.1 CONCEPTION OF PUBLIC SERVICE IN TURKEY	34
3.2 THE EMERGENCE OF GOVERNMENT REGULATION ON PUBLIC SERVICES: MARKET FAILURE OR GOVERNMENT FAILURE	44
3.3 THEORIES OF REGULATION	47
3.3.1 Public Interest Theory of Regulation	47
3.3.2 Private Interest/Special Interest Groups Theories of Regulation.....	49
3.3.3 The Capture Theory of Regulation	55
3.4 REGULATING PUBLIC SERVICES THROUGH ALTERNATIVE METHODS.....	57
3.4.1 Regulating Through Public Ownership	59
3.4.2 Regulating Through Mixed Public-Private Partnership.....	62
3.4.3 Regulating Through Contracts	63
3.5 POLICY AND DECISION-MAKING PROCESSES IN THE PUBLIC SERVICES	65
3.5.1 Actor Structure of Local Decision-Making Process	70
3.5.2 Decision Making Mechanism of Local Public Services	75

3.5.3 Decisions Types and Contents of Local Public Services.....	78
HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF URBAN TRANSPORTATION IN ANKARA.	83
4.1 NATIONAL PERSPECTIVE: GOVERNANCE AND REGULATION IN THE URBAN BUS TRANSPORT SYSTEMS	84
4.1.1 Urban Bus Transportation in National Planning.....	88
4.1.2 Urban Bus Transportation in the Laws on Local Governments	97
4.1.3 Conclusion	99
4.2 A LOCAL PERSPECTIVE: AN ATTEMPT OF PERIODIZATION ON THE PATH FOLLOWED BY URBAN PUBLIC TRANSPORTATION SERVICES IN ANKARA	101
4.2.1 Public Interest-oriented Approach to Urban Transportation Service Provision (Pre-1980 Period)	106
4.2.2 Managerial Approach to Urban Transportation Service Provision (1980-1994)	111
4.2.3 Entrepreneurial Approach to Urban Transportation Service Provision (1994-2018)	114
4.2.4 Conclusion	121
EMPIRICAL FINDINGS.....	126
5.1 INTRODUCTION	126
5.2 REGULATION OVER DIFFERENT LINES AND ROUTES	126
5.2.1 Analysis of the West Planning Corridor of Ankara	129
5.2.2 Regression Analysis to Estimate the Impact of Private Public Buses on Bus Journey Time.....	133
5.2.3 Regression Analysis to Estimate the Impact of Private Public Buses on Bus Line Length	135
5.3 THE DECISION MAKING PROCESS IN URBAN BUS TRANSPORTATION COORDINATION	138
5.3.1 Actor Structure of Ankara Urban Bus Transportation Decision Making Process.....	139
5.3.1.1 The Role of Metropolitan Municipality in Urban Bus Transportation Coordination	139
5.3.1.2 A Local Public Authority: EGO.....	142
5.3.1.3 Transport Coordination Center (UKOME) as a Key Actor in Urban Transportation Decision-Making Process	146
5.3.1.4 Chambers and Associations of Urban Public Bus Owners	150
5.3.2 Decision Making Mechanism of Urban Bus Transportation Coordination	154
5.3.3 Decision Types and Contents of Urban Bus Transportation Coordination	160
CONCLUSION.....	168
6.1 KEY ARGUMENTS AND SUMMARY	168
6.2 EMPIRICAL FINDINGS.....	170

6.3 THEORETICAL FINDINGS	172
6.4 POLICY RECOMMENDATION.....	175
6.5 LIMITATIONS OF THE RESEARCH AND ALTERNATIVE FUTURE RESEARCH QUESTIONS	177
REFERENCES.....	178
APPENDICIES	
A. CIRRICULUM VITAE	194
B. TURKISH SUMMARY / TRKE ZET	197
C. THESIS PERMISSION FORM / TEZ İZİN FORMU	208

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: ÖTA Transportation Lines and Number of Vehicles Operated	116
Table 2: District Private Public Transport Vehicle Numbers by Ankara Districts ..	120
Table 3: Numbers of Private Public Transport Vehicle by New ÖTA Lines	124
Table 4: Number of Private Bus and Vehicles in Ankara Urban Transportation	128
Table 5: Descriptive Statistics by 2. And 5. Transportation Zones	129
Table 6: Independent-T Test by Transportation Zones	129
Table 7: Descriptive Statistics of 2. Zone Neighborhoods by Journey Time	130
Table 8: Levene Test for 2. Transportation Zone Districts	131
Table 9: Anova Test for 2. Transportation Zone Districts Of Ankara	132
Table 10: Descriptive Statistics of 5. Transportation Zone Of Ankara	132
Table 11: Results of Regression Analysis to Estimate the Impact of Private Public Buses on Journey Numbers	134
Table 12: Results of Regression Analysis to Estimate the Impact of Private Public Buses on Bus Line Length	136
Table 13: The Participants of UKOME Decision Making Mechanism	148
Table 14: Urban Transportation Oriented Artisan Chambers By Interest and Service Areas	151
Table 15: Specialization Commission Decisions on Change Requests of ÖHO, ÖTA and Dolmuş	159
Table 16: Types of UKOME Decisions	160
Table 17: Change Requests for Bus Lines and Routes 2012-2018	164

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Bus Transport Lines and Routes of Ankara West Planning Zone	12
Figure 2: The Structure of The Thesis	16
Figure 3: Historical Evolution Of Urban Bus Transportation in Ankara	19
Figure 4: Urban Zones of the 2023 Capital Ankara Master Plan	24
Figure 5: Urban Zones of the 2023 Capital Ankara Master Plan	26
Figure 6: Sub-District Bus Operating Departments Of EGO	28
Figure 7: Policy Cycle for Urban Transportation Public Policy Analysis	67
Figure 8: Staging and Distribution of Tasks of Master Plan Bureaus	89
Figure 9: Urban Transportation Periods in Ankara	104
Figure 10: A Bus in Front of Old Parliament Building in Ankara in 1935	106
Figure 11: Büssing Municipal Buses, First Purchased by EGO in 1951	109
Figure 12: A Private Public Bus (Blue Bus) Served in The Second Directorate of Transportation Bus Operations	112
Figure 13: A Double-Decker Public Bus in 2000s	115
Figure 14: A Private Public Transportation Vehicle (ÖTA) Known As White Bus Served in the Fifth Directorate of Transportation Bus Operations	117
Figure 15: A New 12-Meter Blue Private Public Bus	123
Figure 16: Journey Time by Bus Line Type in the 2nd Zone	131
Figure 17: Organization Schema of Ankara Metropolitan Municipality Transportation Management	141
Figure 18: EGO Organizational Schema	144
Figure 19: Ankara Metropolitan Municipality Transportation Coordination Center (UKOME) Organizational Schema	152
Figure 20: Members Participating in Transportation Coordination Commissions and Committees	154
Figure 21: Distribution of UKOME Decision Types by Years	161
Figure 22: ÖHO and ÖTA License Cancellations by Years	161
Figure 23: Change Requests For Bus Lines and Routes to UKOME Decision Mechanism	165
Figure 24: Requests For Bus Stops to UKOME Decision Mechanism	166

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AHOK	Ankara Public Bus Cooperative
AMM	Ankara Metropolitan Municipality
ANKMO	Ankara Chamber of Minibuses
ASKİ	Ankara Water and Sewerage Administration
CKO	Double-Decker Buses
CSB	Republic of Turkey Ministry of Environment and Urbanization
EGO	General Directorate of Ankara Electricity, Gas & Bus Services
GIS	Geographical Information System
IBB	Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality
İSKİ	İstanbul Water and Sewerage Administration
ITMP	Istanbul Transportation Master Plan
İZSU	İzmir Water and Sewerage Administration
ÖHO	Privately owned Public Buses (Blue Buses)
ÖTA	Private Bus Transportation Vehicles (White Buses)
SBB	Presidency of Turkey, Presidency of Strategy and Budget
SİNMO	Sincan Chamber of Minibuses
TBB	Union of Municipalities of Turkey
TMMOB	The Union of Chambers of Turkish Engineers and Architects
TOSF	Turkey's Automobile Drivers Federation
UAP	Transportation Master Plan
UKOME	Transportation Coordination Center

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Urban transportation service plays a significant role in the city services. An urban bus transit service is usually a key service in any provision of urban transportation service. Moreover, one of the most significant tasks faced by local governments is selecting the most effective form of urban bus system organization. Therefore, urban bus service organization has to be managed with a system of private ownership controlled over with regulation as well as public ownership. This necessity is natural consequences of the participation of public sector in local economic activities in response to the rise of the insufficiencies, operating, setting and need for subsidies. Such general regulations make decisions over public vs. private ownership, number of concessionaires, and the regulation types more significant.

Since the 1980s, public and private sector, which are in the search for more efficient and effective practice in terms of the organization of urban public transport, exhibit that sharing responsibilities in urban transportation services. Adjusting the optimal degree of government intervention in the delivery of urban transportation services has become one of the most important issues for decision makers. This perspective is particularly evident in bus transportation services, which is the largest and most effective urban mode of transport in developing countries, since over 40 percent of all journeys of home to work are done by urban buses in low-income or middle-income economies according the data published by the United Nations (2001).

The main element of accessibility, which is the most important factor in the rapid population growth, urbanization and urban growth process in recent years, is the transportation network and the decision-making process in the creation of this network. Urban transportation planning and the choice of vehicles of transportation are shaped within the framework of the institutions and regulations originating from the central and local governments under the influence of both economic trends and

political preferences. In terms of the reproduction of labor-power, the procurement of collective consumption services required by the capital and demanded by the public often require non-profit attempts in the capitalist mode of production, and the state is obliged to transform them into marketable production objects. The state, which cannot respond to the urban services and investments requiring great financing, chooses the way of privatization and commodification of urban services in order to either avoid the potential problems and contradictions that may arise or solve them in a short term. This privatization process also leads to the transformation of urban transportation services. The working class depends on the vehicles of public transport in order to overcome the path between where he lives and where he works. Public transport vehicles have become the only urban services that provide the inter-space circulation and the regularity of related section which also make the public transportation to have an important position in urban decision-making processes. The state, which is insufficient in urban collective consumption processes where capital is the determinant, has tried to provide urban public services through private capital organizations. In order to provide urban public transport service, which is one of the most important urban services, the state has enabled small local entrepreneurs to participate in urban decision-making as actors. At this point, the list of arguments emphasizes the relationship between the distribution of urban transportation actors and the distribution of rents on transportation corridors in the city. The impacts of regulations and interest groups that focus mainly on privately-operated buses may be included into the list of arguments. The list is extended by adding new decision makers on the transportation policies of the local government of Ankara.

The transition from a labor-centered urbanization period to a capital-centered urbanization in Turkey from the pre-1980 period to the present has led to the emergence of urban entrepreneurship. The public service concept, which was accepted in favor of the city poor in previous periods, was abandoned, and the strategy of making a profit and not providing services under its cost was started. However, involvement of the private sector actors in the decision-making has ceased public authorities to be the only structure that undertakes all public services. After the regulation and privatization practices which transfer the provision of public services from public authorities to private sector actors, a new public service concept

has emerged, which greatly altered the relations between citizens and public authorities which are responsible for public services. Together with the services provided by private sector actors, cities have turned to rent seeking and speculative gains, and urban entrepreneurship has become popular.

1.1 Research Aims and Objectives

Examining the government and market failures in the provision of urban public transport services is the main purpose of this study which reveals how private urban entrepreneurs are involved in urban decision-making and the role of regulations in this participation. Specifically, line, route and vehicle type selection are perceived as technical aspects of urban transport services but in fact, they may turn into an initiation of transport rent on bus transportation services. This initiation encourages small urban entrepreneurs to involve in urban decision-making mechanisms which led them to be dominant actor over the regulatory agencies. Resulting situation maximizes the significance of government regulation which produce and enforce the laws on private entrepreneurs.

The departure point of the thesis is that local governments, which have failed to provide transportation services to the rapidly growing and concentrated population in the cities, have caused a service gap in the urban transportation service, and the small entrepreneurs filled the urban transportation service gap and became a part of the service. All of these have led to reveal that priority status of the private sector entrepreneurship since pre-neoliberalism period. In the post-1980 period, the semi-formal, unregistered and difficult-to-control private entrepreneurship, which emerged under the influence of neoliberal policies, evolved into privileged enterprises. The private entrepreneurs who took their place in the public transportation service provision along with the public sector brought a business understanding specific to their own characteristics and conditions. This profit-oriented and difficult-to-control private business approach have made regulation and decision-making processes important to the functioning of the audit and control mechanism on the private entrepreneurs. All kinds of regulation and every transportation decision have the potential to generate rent and to distribute this rent in the urban transportation area. This regulation process, which has the characteristic of creating and distributing rent,

attracts the attention of small urban entrepreneurs who work together to influence the process with the interest groups formed by themselves. The problems experienced in urban transportation services are actor-based problems in urban decision-making processes due to the changing public service definition along with the urban entrepreneurship approach. Furthermore, the expectations and interests of the private urban entrepreneurs involved in the decision-making mechanism in the provision of urban transport services together with the influence of the neo-liberal urban policies create different forms of urban transportation. Consequently, urban services turned into a service which are difficult to control and supervise, profit-oriented, a private monopoly and has disruptions with the private sector practices carried out in urban transportation services.

1.2 Research Questions

The focus of the study consists of two main themes. One of which is to find out the relationship between bus network, line and route arrangement, selection of bus type which are one of the important variables in urban bus transportation and decision-making process and actors to take part on the bus transit mechanism. This study intends to ascertain how the arrangement of variables such as line, route and bus type in the bus operating system in Ankara affect the distribution of urban transport actors to the transportation corridors in the city and the distribution of transport rent. The second is to find out the impact of both local governments and private operators involved in decision making on bus transit decisions. The thesis also aims to ascertain what the role of private entrepreneurs (hence transport-oriented interest groups) involved in decision-making and local governments in urban transport decisions in Ankara. Within this context, the analysis has been carried out under these two main areas of research.

The first part of the analysis is designed to find out the rise of privately-operated buses as an alternative urban transportation practice. For this purpose, I seek answers to the question of why local governments have involved private entrepreneurs and operators in providing urban transportation services. The returns of scale in bus transit is continued to be a subject of debate among transportation analysts. From a public policy perspective, returns of scale in production or service may relevant to

many policy areas such as the types of transit service, the number of bus journey, bus line length, number of stops, duration and organization of the line and route of the buses in the city. Empirical studies conducted during the past decade have generated conflicting results. Some studies of the economic characteristics of the urban bus transit show that economies of scale in production of urban bus transportation are not important (Albalade et al. 2012:85). Series of empirical papers in the field of urban bus transportation have shown that, on average, returns to scale are constant, and that some large firms in the sector even exhibit decreasing returns to scale (Matas & Raymond 1998; Filippini & Prioni 2003; Farsi et al. 2007). In contrast, the findings of some recent econometric studies indicate economies of scale over a wide range (Viton, 1981; Williams and Dalal, 1981; Berechman, 1983). If there are rising returns of scale in production, the classic dilemma which is the participation of private firms and the difficulty of choosing who will provide the service appears in the provision of public services. In contrast, decreasing and increasing returns to scale have all been reported (Oum, 1979; McGillivray et al., 1980, Viton, 1981; Williams and Dalal, 1981; Berechman, 1983). The aim of the study is to emphasize the importance of variables such as bus network, line and route arrangement, selection of bus type which determine political and economic value of urban transportation service in decision-making mechanism and for decision-making actors. In this manner, is it suitable to separate the urban transit network into different routes and lines and to privilege them to different concessionaires? If there is no structure that increases production and reduces the cost without ignoring the public service features, why are the private entrepreneurs and operators given concessions? How does the existence of both public and private firms at the same time in the urban bus transport affect the decision-making process in service delivery?

The second part of the analysis is designed to search for answers about decision-making mechanisms in the provision of urban transportation services and evaluation of actors involved in these mechanisms. Because of the change in the public service concept, today, the change in the quality and quantity of public services undertaken by the state has allowed the public sector to be effective and the market economy dominated by the private sector. This change is not a change that completely

abolishes the state's power over public goods and services, but has played an important role in the development of effective control and intervention mechanisms (regulatory institutions) of the state. At this point, it is of great importance which public services, by whom and how to present. The decision-making mechanisms in public service provision and the actors involved in these mechanisms are the elements of consideration. In this context, there are several questions stand out as part of the study. One of which is how the small entrepreneurs in urban transport are involved in the decision-making process and another one is how they affect the decision-making process by examining both legal and administrative structures.

Another question also arises whether the privately-operated buses providers follow to the creation of rent and rent-seeking activities, and how and by whom urban transportation services are decided. With the changing nature of Public Administration which is largely nurtured by private sector service delivery, the entrepreneurs in the city who have a say in the urban transportation area feel themselves to be involved in decision-making processes as they are directly affected by public regulation. Regulatory service providers are merged among themselves to form interests and associations in the form of associations and foundations, and these lobbying institutions try to attract experts who are responsible for implementation and to engage in rent-making and rent-seeking activities. Thus, every service company that has the power to influence the state institutions has the chance to control the regulations. The use of the private sector in the provision of public services and the inclusion of private entrepreneurs in decision-making mechanisms do not remove the state responsibility in the provision of public service. Rather the government continues not only to take part in the process through effective supervision but to response mechanisms as well. Despite the fact that government has an important role, it is of great value to reveal which public services by whom and how to be presented. The mechanisms of decision-making in the provision of public services and the actors involved in these mechanisms are the elements that should be examined in defining public service and determining public preferences.

If we look deeper into the problem particularly in Turkey, market-led operating systems in public transport have caused to competition through regulations on the

urban public transport market, the privatization of public utilities or public–private partnership contracts in 1980’s. Even though some form of regulation is the norm among developing countries, Public monopoly was common in the developed world until 1980’s. In the period after 1980, there is an increasing trend of moving to market-led operating systems in public transport introducing competition through privatization and deregulation in both the industrialized and the developing world. Several public services such as mass transportation, health, housing and education have been opened up to competition through regulations on urban public services, the privatization of public utilities or public–private partnership contracts. In Turkey, market-oriented reforms in service sector took place in the mid-1980s. The urban public transport services have not been completely privatized or deregulated but government regulations let private bus entrepreneurs to enter the market (Sutcliffe, 2004:5). With the acceleration of urbanization, urban administrations could not develop public transportation systems which would increase urban transportation needs due to lack of resources. In the face of this inadequacy, the self-developed solution of society has been the privately operated public transportation (Türkiye Ulusal Rapor & Eylem Planı, 1996:62-63). The state has adopted a competitive tendering process for public and private sector organizations who want to get a better investment opportunity so as to value their money. Thus, privately-operated city buses were let to operate in urban public transport in metropolitan cities (Sutcliffe, 2004:5).

As seen on the example of realization of urban transport services by small entrepreneurship, the organization of urban transport were also forced to stay reliance on small entrepreneurship. Private public transport companies have organized several lines in the city over the years. In time, vehicles used in urban transportation have replaced by from minibuses to midibuses, and lastly to privately owned buses which took place instead of midibuses. Private entrepreneurs, who have become important actors in the provision of urban transportation services, are organized in form of the tradesmen associations, cooperatives and chambers (Türkiye Ulusal Rapor & Eylem Planı, 1996:62-63). These organizational forms have also brought some management problems, as in most of the self-developed solutions. Most of the time in profitable lines, private public transport providers which are

competitors to municipal transport systems, reduce the revenues of municipal lines. As an organized pressure group, private public transport providers do not operate on the low demand lines and prevent the increase in the number of vehicles operating on profitable lines. Furthermore, by creating entry barriers, the private public transport providers create plate rents against their rival firms (Türkiye Ulusal Rapor & Eylem Planı, 1996:62-63).

Today, urban transportation statistics shows that 61.2% of the total transportation traffic in Ankara is made by public transport in 2017, which also includes the study area. While 13,9% of the bus trips are made by EGO buses, 28,7% of them are made by private public bus, private public transport, minibuses and midibuses (Ankara Kalkınma Ajansı, 2017:110). In cities that have grown over one or several development corridors, such as Ankara, buses are usually the most important public transportation vehicles that provide flexibility in the operation of public transport services due to the diffuse development of population and structure density along these corridors. According to the numbers released by EGO, the number of people using public transport during the day in Ankara is higher than the number of people using private vehicles. In public transport, the most used public transport vehicle is the private public transportation vehicles engaged in urban transport. In Ankara, 728.000 passengers are transported by EGO buses, and 1.5 million passengers are transported by private public buses, private public transportation vehicles, minibuses and midibuses (EGO, 2019). The high share of private entrepreneurs in the public transportation services provided by the buses that have an important place in Ankara city transportation makes them to be an important actor in the decision-making process of public transportation.

However, no comprehensive research has been fulfilled to demonstrate how small entrepreneurs are involved in the urban transit sector and integrated into the decision making process. The regulations regarding the urban transportation, the length of the line, the route selection and the selection of the bus type are not detailed in the modern literature which may effective in determining the decision-making mechanism and the actors involved in the urban transportation. Also the scope of

research carried out to examine whether trades associations, cooperatives or chambers composed of small entrepreneurs is narrow.

Generally, solutions to the failures of urban public transportation are defined as design, road distribution and access forms, vehicle road types and public transportation technologies in the literature. However, it requires the examining of decision-making mechanism, actor structure and decision content. In this context, the contribution of the study to the existing science and management approach is summarized under four main headings;

Developing a statistical model for the problems in the foreseen urban transportation bus services: Regression analyzes are developed in order to address the rise of private urban entrepreneurship in response to government failures in this study, which transfer the provision of urban transportation services to private sector actors and reveal the main purpose of privatization practices. With these analyzes, the impacts of Public-Private Public Buses on the bus travel time and the line length are estimated. These estimations reveal that the variables seen as technical subjects are in fact shaped by the influence of the private urban entrepreneurs involved in the decision-making mechanism.

Geographic Information Systems (GIS) based mapping of urban transportation corridors, rent sharing and actors in urban transportation bus services: On the transportation corridor designated as the sample area, the basic elements causing differentiation in the urban transportation bus services provided by different vehicles and actors are mapped.

Effects of Legal Changes and Regulations on the Variety of Actors and Decision Making Process: This study examines the effect of service area changes, regulations and legal changes in the historical process on the involvement of private sector entrepreneurs as actors in local decision-making in urban transport bus services. The results of the study have a great scientific contribution in terms of eliminating the shortcomings in the literature.

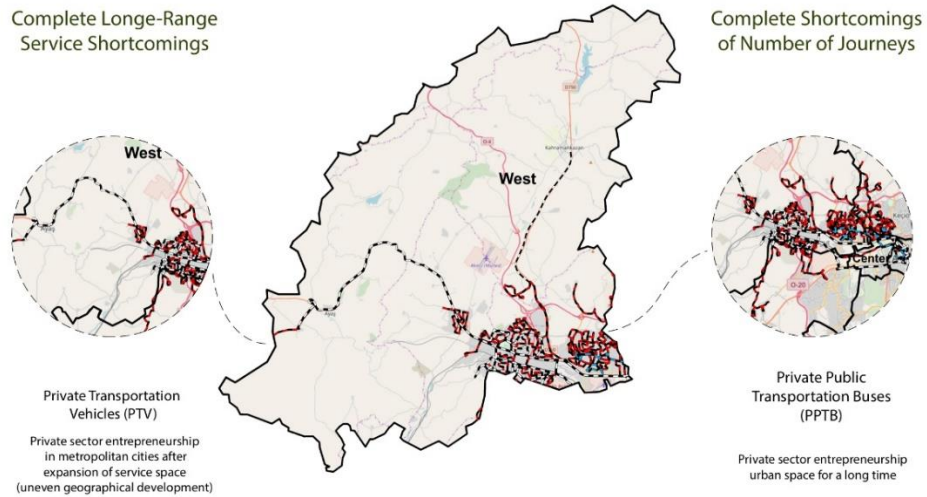
Local Actors and Their Roles in the Local Decision-Making Process: Decisions are in everyday business and they are dependent on the output of the different actors in every phase of life. Triple lack; lack of support, lack of interest and lack of information of the key actors could lead to a failure in the decision making process. Thus, the role of public and private actors in the decision making process of urban bus transit will be analyzed. Results of the study show not only the process of being involved but the impact on the decision-making process of interest groups gathered around certain common interests as well.

In short, the thesis focuses on the issue of urban public transport along with attaching special importance to buses owned by individuals or private companies in Ankara. The main purpose is to reveal the content, priorities, institutional and organizational structure of the decision-making complex which is both the producer and the implementer of the transportation problems that urban public transport policies try to solve. The results of the study shed light on the failures of the provision of urban public transport services and how the neo-liberal policies add up new actors to the decision making process in the city. Furthermore, there exists detailed discussion which may give rise to further scientific evaluation on the regulation processes that are valid in urban transportation decisions, the relations between the decision makers, the parties and the stakeholders, the expectations from the decisions, the interests and the effects on the decisions. The involvement of private urban entrepreneurs in the urban decision-making mechanism with the effect of neo-liberal urban policies in the provision of urban transportation services will be discussed in the case of Ankara western planning corridor, which is the main development point determined by Ankara Master Plan.

1.3 Research Methodology in Brief

The methodology of the thesis describes the reasons for different urban transport areas and transport interest groups, decision making mechanisms, actors and decisions on urban transportation in Ankara in different transportation zones underpinning to the research method by including qualitative and quantitative methods. First of all, the sample area of the thesis is one of the best transportation corridors where we can see the institutional structure of these urban bus

transportation services, the areas of rent generated, and the expansion of the service area caused by the regulations and the public transportation vehicles that differ according to the service purpose. Sampling area of the study becomes important as it has a transportation corridor that accommodates different private transportation vehicles, different transportation rent areas, lines and routes with the regulations put forward in the historical process. The connections between Ankara public transportation vehicles (which are the main theme of the study) are generally provided through the city center. Transferring through the city center leads to a longer travel time due to the fact that it has widespread residential areas with the new legal arrangements¹ and so, the transportation service area of the city covers all the city borders. Some distance between transportation areas is short and some transportation areas are outside the metropolitan area. Over time, the expansion of the transportation service area has caused some transportation regions to be close to the city center and others to be far from the city center. The distance between the transportation zones has brought together the urban transportation vehicles and transportation interest groups for different purposes.



¹ The Municipal Law No. 6360 on “The Establishment of Fourteen Metropolitan Municipalities and Twenty-Seven Districts and Amendments at Certain Law and Decree Laws

Figure1: Bus Transport Lines and Routes of Ankara West Planning Zone

Ankara urban transport decision making mechanism has included different public transport vehicle operators to the decision-making process in consequence of the having areas with a narrower but denser transport area and wider and more dispersed transport area (Figure 1). In order to protect their own interests and benefits, urban public transport operators serving different transport zones with different characteristics, although they are located in the same development corridor, have gathered under different craftsmen associations. These different transportation zones with different characteristics, lines and routes bring different transport rents, interest groups and organizational structures at the local level. The most important factor in the emergence of this difference is the regulations regarding the urban public service area. In this context, the western corridor is chosen as the sample area of the study which is one of the two main development corridors of Ankara to show this relationship network.

Western corridor has been selected for the elimination of urban transportation problems such as traffic related air pollution and congestion of the city in the Ankara Master Plan prepared in 1970s. The basic policy of the Master Plan is to ensure that the continuation of gradual rotation from the north-south direction due to a main corridor going out of the topographic bowl. Thus settling areas in the main corridor would be less air polluted. the Master Plan Bureau was able to initiate the development dynamic that would allow large residential and industrial areas to settle west of the city. In this context, important zones such as Mass Housing Areas of Batıkent and Eryaman, and Sincan Industrial Zone have been planned and developed; and the city has mainly been directed to Istanbul Road (2023 Başkent ANKARA Nazım İmar Planı, 2013). The western corridor, which is the main development point was determined by the 1990 Master Plan. As part of the plan, the topographic structure in the shape of the bowl changed in Ankara, includes the district centers of Yenimahalle, Etimesgut, Sincan, Kazan Corridor and Ayaş Districts. Observations show that 80% of the residential and work areas proposed by the Metropolitan Area Master Plan of 1990 are implemented in Ankara (Altaban, 2002), and which plays a very important role in shaping the macro form of the

province of Ankara. Due to all these characteristics, the sampling area is one of the best urban transit corridors where we are able to see how are the rent fields formed, how is the service area expanded and how are the public transportation vehicles differed in the same planning zone.

In the examination of the area of study were based on the urban sections of the 2023 Capital Ankara Master Plan. West planning zone as being the sampling area of the study is one out of 6 different planning zones in the 2023 Capital Ankara Master Plan. Ankara has been also divided into different transportation service regions as urban zones. Ankara Metropolitan Municipality Electricity, Gas and Bus Operation General Directorate (EGO) has 5 sub-district bus operating departments which are responsible for the urban transportation services within municipal service area in Ankara. Within the western planning zone determined as the sampling area in the study, the second and the fifth directorate of Transportation Bus Operations are responsible for the urban transportation services. With the information provided from the EGO map website, the Public Transport Map of the workspace has drawn using the Google Earth and ArcGIS programs. The programs allow analyzing Western Corridor of Ankara Urban transportation data and provide geographic knowledge to examine relationships of the number of bus journey, bus line length, number of stops, journey duration of EGO, privately owned public buses (ÖHO) and privately owned public transportation vehicles (OTA).

The research has been carried out on two sets of data. The first data contains information about the relationship between bus networks, lines of buses and arrangement bus route, selection of bus type as well as the differences at the provision of services and actors in the sample area. Related urban transportation data and information are mainly collected from the Ankara Public Transport Bus Stop and Route Geographical Information System. The EGO Urban Transportation Information System provides the number of bus journey, bus line length, number of stops and duration information of all public transportation types used in Ankara city transportation. Almost all of the transportation information listed in the EGO Urban Transportation Information System has been collected from the field and transferred to GIS environment. The sets of obtained information has formed a base both for the

preparation of Ankara Public Transport Map and for the web-based software, which enables the preparation of various queries related to bus lines and stops. In accordance with the study objectives, collection of data set has been done by quantitative approach. All quantitative data sets including the number of bus journey, bus line length, number of stops and duration of EGO, ÖHO and ÖTA buses are collected from the EGO Urban Transportation Information System. According to the website, the public transport bus map of the West Planning Zone is drawn by the Google Earth and ArcGIS software. Population numbers of districts and neighborhoods according to administrative division of Ankara province are obtained from Turkey Statistical Institute in order to demonstrate the relationship between the density of transportation lines in the western planning zone and the population densities of residential areas serving in the zone.

The second type of data is used to find out the relationship between decision-making mechanisms in the provision of public services and the actors involved in these mechanisms in the sample area. The allowance of the private entrepreneurs to delivery urban public bus services does not eliminate the state responsibility for the provision of public service but rather the government continues to take place in the process with effective supervision and intervention mechanisms. At this point, it is of utmost importance which public services are to be provided by whom, how much and how. Decision-making mechanisms in the provision of public services and the actors involved in these mechanisms are the elements that need to be examined both in defining the public service and in determining public preferences. In this context, the decisions of the General Assembly of Ankara Metropolitan Municipality Transportation Coordination Center from 2004 to 2018 shows how private public transport actors are involved and what is their role as well as their impact in to the process. Categorization has been carried out on the decisions of the UKOME including the requests for the selection of lines, routes and bus stops, the penalties for and cancellations of the license of private public transportation vehicles. Above mentioned categorization has made it possible to examine the UKOME decision mechanism, the structure of the commission that influences the decision, the decision makers and the changes in the decisions according to the transportation regions and the areas of rent affected by the decision.

1.4 Research Structure

The study consists of six stages of analysis. At the first stage, the theoretical terms, the current literatures and academic works on government regulation of urban bus transit services are presented. Moreover, influences of government regulation on urban transit, regulatory cycle, regulatory capture and rent seeking in private urban bus transportation services are included into this first stage. Several theoretical approaches that help explaining how regulation arises, develops and performs are added to understand why many states and sectors have been adopted regulations.

The second stage is based on decision making process of urban bus transit service. The questions about whom, how and what are presenting in terms of urban public transportation have been answered in detail.

The change in urban service planning and decision-making process are analyzed at the third stage. Along with the change in the concept of public service in the historical process, and in this process, a comprehensive periodization has made about the urban transit bus services as a means of transportation in Ankara. Historical development of urban transportation planning and the urban transit bus services have covered in terms of sample world cities and the province of Ankara.

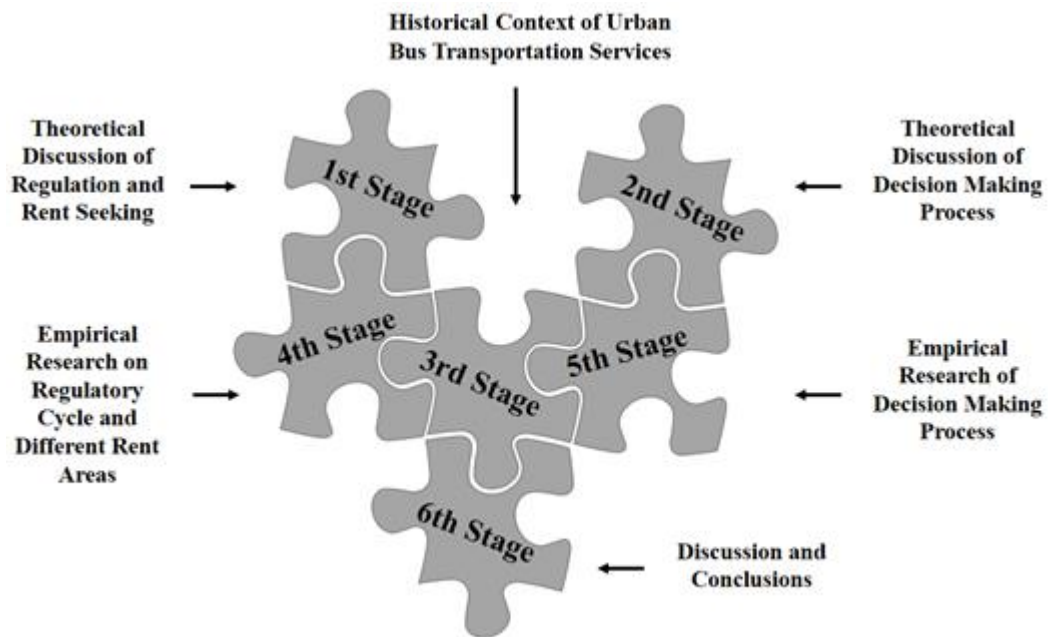


Figure 2: The Structure of the Thesis

At the fourth stage of the study, based on the regulation theories mentioned in the literature, the legal regulations affecting the urban transportation services in the city of Ankara have discussed along with whether the regulations have a city-specific cycle. Again, there exists a detail explanation of how private entrepreneurs involved in urban transportation service which are organized in different interest areas within the city by several variables such as number of lines, routes, stops and type of vehicles.

In the historical process, how rent areas were willingly or unintentionally made by regulations in Ankara transportation services, and how operators hold their place in the city with this rent are chronologically explained. In order to reveal this analysis, a mapping of the study area, belonging to this stage, are done and a quantitative analysis are made on variables such as line, route, bus stop and bus type included in the map.

After mentioning how the private entrepreneurs get involved in the urban bus transportation service and provide services in different rent areas of the city in the fourth stage, entrepreneurs involvement in transportation decision-making process besides providing transportation services are mentioned in the fifth stage. In the process of providing public transportation in the city, the main components such as intensive routes and lines, service distance and the compliance with the control mechanism of the government, which affect the interests of small entrepreneurs, are mentioned within the decision-making process. In order to present this analysis, the decisions on public bus transport of Ankara Metropolitan Municipality Transportation Coordination Center are examined.

Finally, the results of analysis of hypotheses and the outstanding problems identified in the thesis are presented in the final stage of the study. On one hand, the hypotheses generated from the research questions of the study are empirically examined and validated from the open source databases, on the other hand a spatial database infrastructure has provided a geographical and visual information of the space. The final stage has briefly summarized the overall conclusion of the qualitative and

quantitative data analysis based on the aim of the thesis. The study explains the significance of the primary finding to understand the organization of urban bus transportation practice.

CHAPTER 2

METHODOLOGY AND RESEARCH DESIGN

Under the influence of the neoliberal policies pursued since the 1980s, the new public management concept began to dominate instead of the traditional public administration concept and a new public service definition focused on the private sector emerged. The most important development in providing the transition to neoliberal economic policies in Turkey has been demonstrated by economic decisions taken in 1980. Numerous legislative arrangements have been made with the aim of minimizing the direct intervention of the state to the economy with the long-term objective of making economic decisions effective in the free market economy. However, the development of neoliberalism in Turkey is not enough to explain emergence and the continuity of existence of urban transport services provided by private entrepreneurs. This statement is also departure point of my thesis. The rapid urbanization has started in the pre-1980 period. The local administrations that could not provide services against the increasing population, and the small entrepreneurs filled the urban transportation service gap and became a part of the service. All of these has led to reveal that priority status of the private sector entrepreneurship since pre-neoliberalism period. Although the public sector's share in public transportation has been high since the years when public transportation services started to be provided, local governments have failed to meet the demand for public transportation, and small entrepreneurs emerged to provide urban transportation as a self-generated solution. The necessity of supervision of the private entrepreneurs in the transportation sector and the ability of regulation to generate and distribute rent have made decision-making processes significant. Small entrepreneurs gathered under the roof of associations, chambers and cooperatives through their special interests. This successive historical evolution led to a new form of management in which the private sector plays an active role in the decision making process of urban transportation (Figure 3).

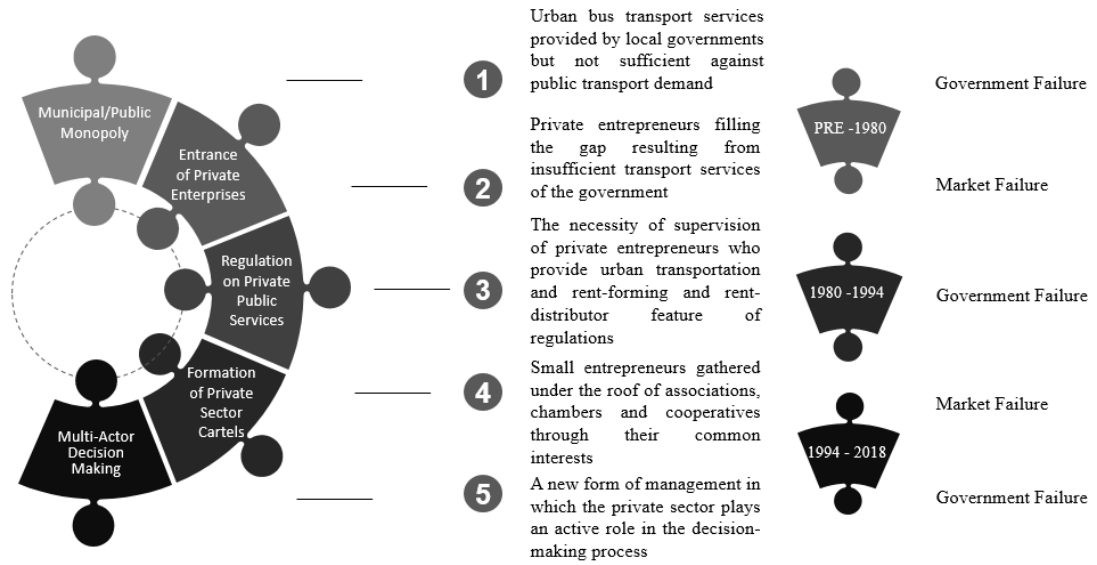


Figure 3: Historical Evolution of Urban Bus Transportation in Ankara

There are many successive steps regarding the questions that the thesis intends to answer about private sector entrepreneurs involved in the urban transport service process. The starting point of the successive steps is existence of a public monopoly on public bus transport services. Urban bus transport services were mainly provided by the local government. However, this service was not sufficient to meet public transport demand. Local governments that could not provide services for the rapidly increasing population After World War II, especially in the metropolitan cities, tried to solve and / or postpone the problem of urban transport service gap by including of small entrepreneurs into the market. When the change in the understanding of public service is combined with inadequate urban transport services, the involvement of small entrepreneurs in the city is inevitable. However, with the entry of the private sector to bus transportation service, it turns into a service, which is difficult to control and supervise, as well as inclined to be profit oriented to form a private monopoly in urban bus transportation services. Since private public buses providing urban transportation services lead to the development of a business type that is appropriate to characteristics and conditions of private initiations, the decisions and regulations of urban transportation becomes important for the control and audit of urban transportation services. Another factor that increases the importance of regulations and urban transportation decisions is that any regulation and urban transportation decisions that is to be put forward by local administrations within the

scope of their own authority have the feature of creating and distributing the transportation rent. There is an inverse relationship between the increase in the regulations applied by local administrations and the profitability of private mass transportation services, that is, the existence of private sector. In other words, any regulation of urban bus transport (such as determining the number of buses or number of stops, line and route selection) is becoming the reason of existence rather than an element of profit and loss for small entrepreneurs. At this point, it has become an important authority and responsibility to regulate the factors such as the number of buses, number of stops and line and route selection, which are the determining factors in the delivery of urban transportation services by local governments.

Local governments have regulated small entrepreneurs in lines to place the urban transportation service provided by private public transportation on a legitimate ground. The local government regulations make them a compact group who wants to be act together. Therefore, it is seen that small entrepreneurs who usually come together on certain lines and routes are organized in the form of associations, cooperatives and umbrella chambers. Chambers, associations or cooperatives advocate the interests of entrepreneurs against the municipality's transport regulators. Entrance of private bus entrepreneurs into associations should be viewed as a gradual rent seeking process and a means of facilitating entry to the urban transportation services. The urban common interest groups formed by gathering of bus tradesmen not only involve into and become part of it but affect the transportation decision-making process as well. The umbrella chambers, which emerge with the gathering of small entrepreneurs, are involved in the decision-making mechanism of the urban transport policy process as a new actor. Thus, the transition from traditional government structure to governance approach through multi-actor structuring also manifests itself in the decision-making process of urban public transport services.

To reiterate, the main objective of the thesis is to assess the impact of regulation, interest groups mainly focused on privately-operated buses and decision makers on the transportation policies of the local government of Ankara. Under the main objective consists of two main themes, one of which is to find out the relationship

between bus network, line and route arrangement, selection of bus type. These are defined as the important variables in urban bus transportation and decision-making process and actors to take part on the bus transit mechanism. This study intends to ascertain how the arrangement of variables such as line, route and bus type in the bus operating system in Ankara affect the distribution of urban transport actors to the transportation corridors in the city and the distribution of transport rent. The second theme is to find out the impact of both local governments and private operators involved in decision making on bus transit decisions. As I pointed out earlier, the role of private entrepreneurs (hence transport-oriented interest groups) involved in decision-making and local governments in urban transport decisions in Ankara are analyzed, and these two became the two focus points of the research.

In order to prove the historical evolution of urban bus transportation, which contains the assumptions put forward by the thesis (as described above), I have developed statistical models in order to show the position of the private urban entrepreneurs by the difference in purpose-based transportation service area. The aim is to emphasize the importance of variables such as bus network, line and route arrangement, selection of bus type which determine political and economic value of urban transportation service in decision-making mechanism and for decision-making actors. With these analyzes, the impacts of private public buses on the bus travel time and the line length are estimated. The variables seen as technical subjects are concluded to be significant factors on the grounds of the production and the distribution of rent with the private entrepreneurship in different regions and in different transport structures and mechanisms.

Another analysis has been designed to search for answers about decision-making mechanisms in the provision of urban transportation services and evaluation of actors involved in these mechanisms. As a result of the change in the public service concept, today, the change in the quality and quantity of public services undertaken by the state has allowed the public sector to be effective, and the market economy has been dominated by the private sector. This change is not a change that completely abolishes the state's power over public goods and services, but supports the development of effective control and intervention mechanisms (regulation

institutions) of the state. At this point, it is of great importance which public services, by whom and how to present. The decision-making mechanisms in public service provision and the actors involved in these mechanisms have been examined to find out a regulatory cycle exists with the inclusion of the regulations in the provision of urban transportation services as well as showing the negative consequences of the state regulations and interventions. Moreover, the provision of public services by private sector entrepreneurs and the problems that arise after the provisions are also the part of the aforementioned regulatory cycle.

2.1 Identifying the Research Area

In cities that have grown up on one or more development corridors, such as Ankara, population and structure density along these corridors are generally high. Therefore, the close relationship of population and density variables with urban form is one of the most important factors affecting decision-makers in the selection of public transportation systems. Ankara, which has a wider and more dispersed form with the new metropolitan city law, does not have a form that can support high-capacity public transport options. Buses are the most appropriate option to provide flexibility in the operation of public transport services. Likewise, bus systems are the transport system that offers the most effective service flexibility to such areas (Tekeli, 2009). In parallel with the growth of the service area of the municipality, the increase in the number of the population has led to an increase in the supply of urban public transport. In response to the ever increasing demand for services in the context of Ankara, municipal buses that were well below the demand had to be supported by private public transport. In other words, urban transport demand was met by the supply of public entrepreneurship and small entrepreneurs.

The realization of urban transportation within the public and with small entrepreneurship brings together a division of labor against public transportation between these two sectors. Small entrepreneurs use route choices on lines in areas where demand is high (like routes on the western corridor of Ankara) while the burden of serving on other lines is over the public sector. It is seen that small entrepreneurs who are organized on certain lines and routes usually form interest groups through associations, cooperatives or umbrella chambers. These

organizations, on the one hand, defend the interests of entrepreneurs as representative of the municipality's transport regulators, on the other hand organizing the services offered by their members. In this context, it will be emphasized that state regulations, service types offered by regulations and the mechanisms of decision-making mechanisms in order to understand the emergence and existence of private urban transportation entrepreneurs in Ankara and their impact on the decision-making process.

As the natural bowl in which Ankara is located and the corridor where the city can grow at minimum cost without damaging the natural and environmental values, the development dynamics that will enable the settlement of large residential and industrial areas to the west of the city has been tried to be established with the Ankara 1990 Master Plan (1970-2006 period). The development of prominent residential areas such as Batıkent, Eryaman, Sincan and important focal points such as Sincan Organized Industrial Zone in the western corridor was planned and the city was directed to the axis of İstanbul Road (Özkazanç, 2016: 89). Over time, the expansion of the transportation service area has caused some transportation regions to be close to the city center and others to be far from the city center in Ankara. The distance between the transportation zones has brought together the urban transportation vehicles and transportation interest groups for different purposes. The existence of different urban transport providers within the same planning region provides an important sampling area for analyzing how the transport planning of that region is regulated, how different public transport vehicles are organized and how the decision-making mechanism works.

The Western planning region is one of the unique areas where the practical expression of the regulations concerning the urban transportation services in the historical process. Furthermore, the region is a type of sampling area which has the different types of transportation services such as private urban transportation vehicles, municipal buses, dolmuş and private public buses. The western corridor of Ankara, which is chosen as the study area, has been planned to host and to get developed the areas of storage, urban work, industry and housing areas as in the 2023 Capital Ankara Master Plan and in the transportation service planning. The study

area has determined by the consideration of the urban sections of the 2023 Capital Ankara Master Plan. With the planning practices carried out in the context of macroform development of Ankara City, the city was divided into zones and the development trends of the settlements within these zones were examined in the 2023 Capital Ankara Master Plan (Ankara Büyükşehir Belediyesi, 2019). 2023 The Capital City Development Plan for Ankara is a top-scale reference framework for all research, planning, design and implementation studies in Ankara.

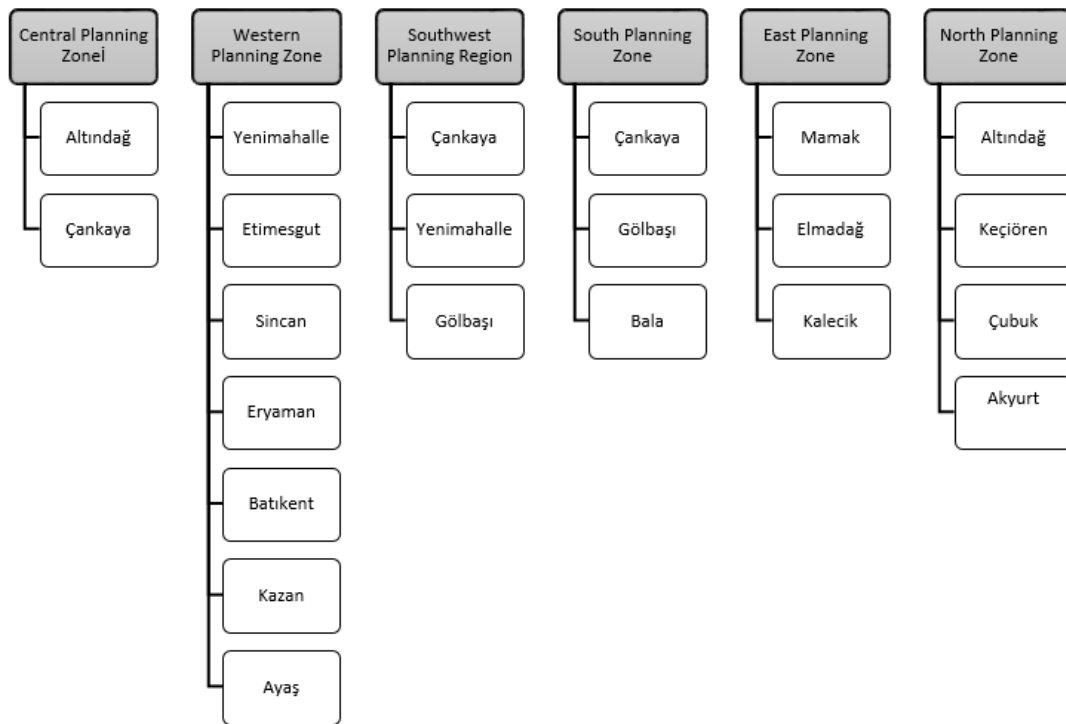


Figure 4: Urban Zones of the 2023 Capital Ankara Master Plan

2023 Capital Ankara Master Plan aims to identify the planning regions that are differentiated within the urban area through a holistic approach and to use these planning zones in the whole of the analysis, evaluation and plan decisions. Figure 4 shows the new borders of the Metropolitan Municipality as Central Planning Zone (Altındağ and Çankaya Districts), Western Planning Zone (Yenimahalle, Etimesgut, Batıkent, Eryaman, Sincan Organized Industrial Zones, Kazan Corridor and Ayaş District), Southwest Planning Region (Eskişehir Road as the main backbone, Çankaya, Yenimahalle and Gölbaşı Districts), South Planning Zone (Çankaya, Gölbaşı and Bala Districts), East Planning Zone (Mamak, Elmadağ and Kalecik

Districts) and North Planning Zone (Altındağ, Keçiören, Çubuk and Akyurt Districts).

2.2 The Focus: Ankara Western Planning Zone

2023 The Capital City of Ankara Master Plan is divided into 6 different urban zones (Ankara Büyükşehir Belediyesi, 2019), and the Western Planning Zone from these regions covers the area of Istanbul Road and the neighborhoods that have connections with this route which are the sampling area of this study.

The West Planning Zone is located on the Ankara's Western Corridor, which covers Yenimahalle, Etimesgut, Batıkent, Eryaman, Sincan, close to the city center and the Kazan Corridor and Ayaş districts which are defined as rural areas. In other words, the West Planning Zone which is formed in line with the strategy of the city to open to the western corridor, consists areas at the immediate periphery of the center and areas where more rural and natural characters are preserved. As such, the development of the zone, which includes urban and rural areas, follows a dual structure.

The West Planning Zone, defined as the Western Corridor of the 1990 Ankara Master Plan, contains the public housing areas such as Eryaman, Batıkent, Fatih, Etimesgut and Sincan settlements which foreseen as part of the urban development of the whole metropolitan city. The West Planning Zone is also planned to develop mainly in the areas of storage, urban work, industry and housing areas in 2023 Capital Ankara Master Plan.

With the Law No. 6360, adopted in 2012, the boundaries of the metropolitan municipality have been extended to the provincial borders in order to create a holistic structure. However, equalization of the borders of metropolitan municipality with the provincial boundaries adversely affect the efficient delivery of services to the settlements away from the center (Koyuncu and Köroğlu, 2012: 4; Gözler, 2013: 43; İzci and Turan, 2013: 149). The municipal administrations make private sector entrepreneurs involve in order to provide efficient services to the settlements far from the center, in particular urban transportation.

Ankara Metropolitan Municipality provides the transportation service at the corridor which covers storage, urban work, industrial and residential areas. Due to the large service area, the Ankara Metropolitan Municipality also permits private public buses and private public transport vehicles, which are operated by private and legal persons for the Western planning zone transportation services. As shown in Figure 5, Private public buses, also known as blue buses, serve the immediate surroundings of the city center while private public transport vehicles serve more remote areas.

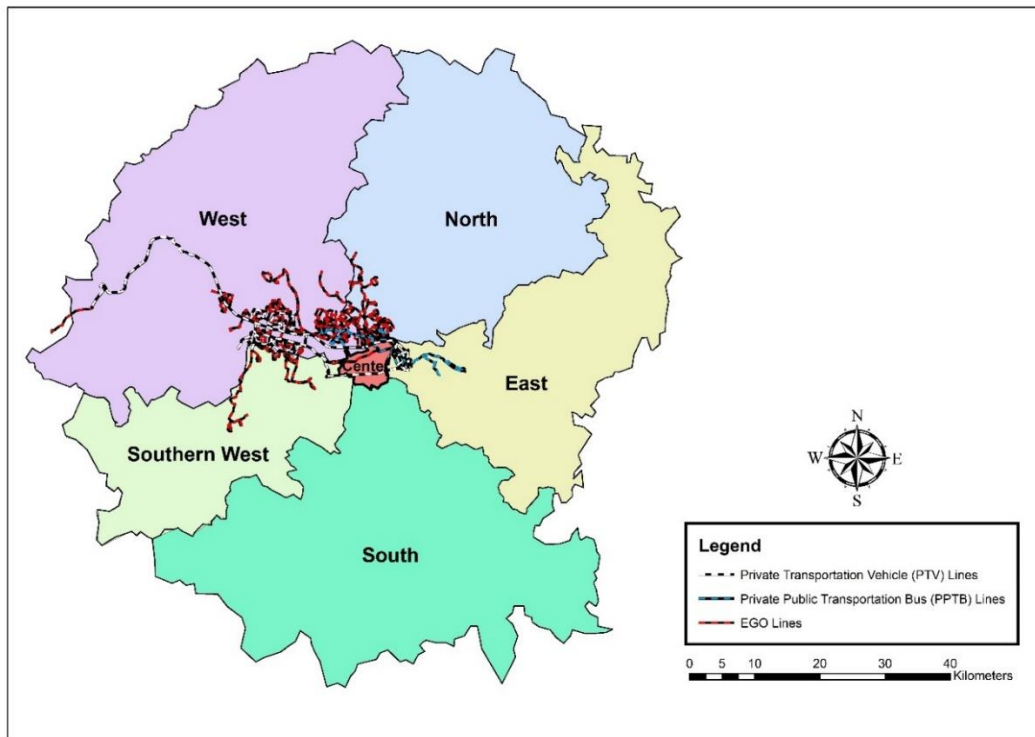


Figure 5: Urban Zones of the 2023 Capital Ankara Master Plan

2.3 Sources of the Data and Data Collection Process

In this study, Ankara Urban transportation data and information are mainly collected from the Ankara Public Transport Bus Stop and Route Geographical Information System. The EGO web page (<http://map.ego.gov.tr>) provides the number of bus journey, bus line length, number of stops and duration information of all public transportation types used in Ankara city transportation. The transportation information listed in the web page was collected from the field and transferred to GIS environment. The information obtained was used both for the preparation of Ankara Public Transport Map and for the web-based software, which enables the preparation of various queries related to bus lines and stops.

EGO map software, which is prepared as web-based, was used as an indirect source for the preparation of the public transportation map required for the sample area of this study and to investigate its the number of bus journey, bus line length, number of stops and duration relations. With the information provided from the EGO map website, the Public Transport Map of the workspace is drawn using the Google Earth and ArcGIS programs. The programs allow analyzing Western Corridor of Ankara Urban transportation data and providing geographic knowledge to examine relationships of the number of bus journey, bus line length, number of stops and duration of EGO, ÖHO and ÖTA.

In this study, first, quantitative approach was applied to collect the relevant data-based in accordance with objectives. All quantitative data of the number of bus journey, bus line length, number of stops and duration of EGO, ÖHO and ÖTA buses were collected from EGO map website (<http://map.ego.gov.tr>). According to the website, the public transport bus map of the West Planning Zone is also drawn using the Google Earth and ArcGIS programs. Demonstration of the relationship between the density of transportation lines in the western planning zone and the population densities of residential areas serving in the zone, population numbers of districts and neighborhoods according to administrative division of Ankara province was done based on the information obtained from the Turkey Statistical Institute.

Second, qualitative approach was applied to collect the relevant data-based in order to examine the coordination of urban bus transportation service. 2626 decisions of UKOME, have been taken from 2004 to 2018, were analyzed in depth. UKOME does not only make decisions regarding the coordination of urban bus transportation, but decisions taken by the Center include traffic regulations, license plate changes of commercial vehicles, line and route arrangements, stops and parking arrangements as well. In this section, decisions that affect the urban bus transportation processes, which constitute the main theme of the study, have been examined within the 2626 decisions of UKOME General Assembly, which has been shared by Ankara Metropolitan Municipality to date. The structure, decision making mechanism, its actors, types and contents of decisions taken are important in understanding the issues, on which the transport coordination center operates, the regulation process

and the role of private public transport providers in this process. Three main types of UKOME decisions that affect the interests of private bus public transport entrepreneurs are the decisions on the demand for change of lines and routes, the demand for bus stops, and the enforcement of fines imposed on private urban transport providers.

2.4 Study Design and Sampling

Even though, Ankara has been divided into different transportation service regions called urban zones in the 2023 Ankara Master Plan, the General Directorate of EGO has 5 sub-district bus operating departments. Within the western planning zone, the second and the fifth directorate of Transportation Bus Operations are responsible for the urban transportation services (see figure 6 below).

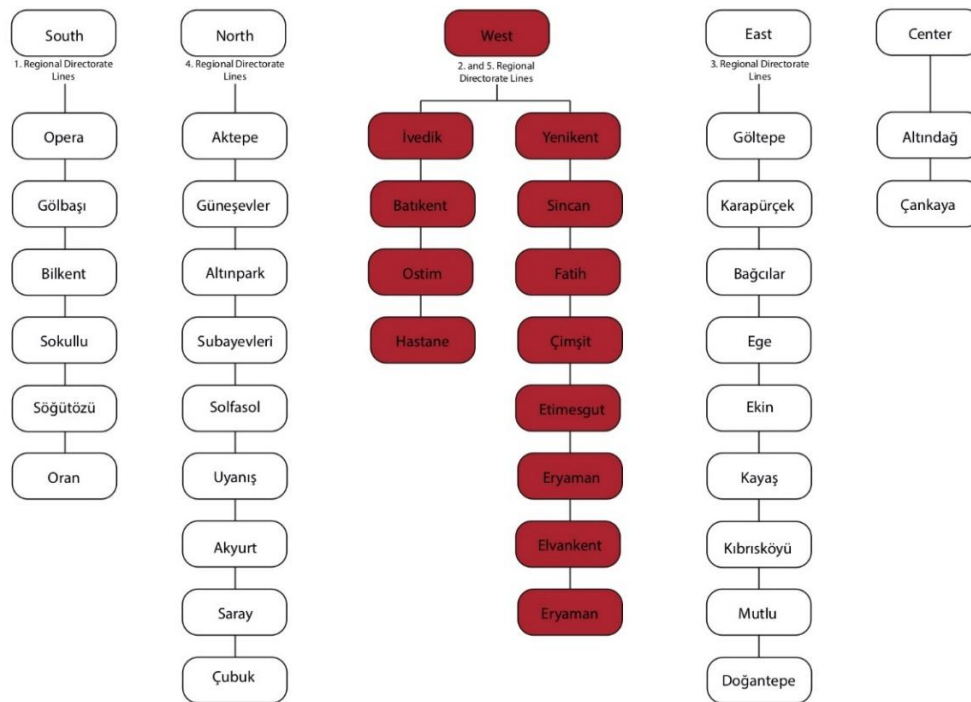


Figure 6: Sub-District Bus Operating Departments of EGO

Area of interest of the second directorate of Transportation Bus Operations covers the İvedik, Hastane, Ostim and Batıkent neighborhoods within the borders of the western planning zone, which is the sampling area of the study. In the fifth urban

transportation service zone, the neighborhoods of Yenikent, Sincan, Fatih, Kazan, Etimesgut, Elvankent and Eryaman are in the borders of the western planning zone as well. Various tables, graphs, images and maps have been produced from the data collected over the research area. Collected information over the research area was also subjected to the analysis at the computer programs such as Statistical Program for Social Science (SPSS) and E-Views. Finally, the results of the analysis have been presented in forms of maps, figures and pictures along with interpretation as well as the numbers therein.

As stated above, the precise boundaries of the study area were determined with the help of geographic information system. General intention here was to show boundary conditions digitally on a map which is also summarizing foundation of the hypothesis. By addressing to the interventions of urban transportation due to macroform development of Ankara City, a definitive answer is provided to the first questions that would come to mind in order to confirm the hypotheses of the study. Meanwhile, the research design gives us a chance to illustrate that private sector entrepreneurs involved in urban transport services create different rent focuses in the same development region.

The UKOME general assembly resolutions, which constitute the qualitative data of the study, were used to the examination of the operation, actors and content of the Ankara transportation decision mechanism. UKOME, which makes decisions on the regulation of transportation and traffic, the determination of passenger transportation fees and the lines and routes of public transportation vehicles, connects all transportation service providers within the boundaries of Ankara province. UKOME decisions forms a unique dataset in terms of revealing the regulations, the differences of the provision of transportation service and the factors that cause it.

In the framework created to fill the gap in the literature, a periodization of the experience of urban transportation in Ankara has been made to investigate the emerge of an evolution of private transport entrepreneurs and how to get involved in the decision making process of Ankara urban transportation policies. The basic elements of the need for a periodization in the stage of revealing the urban transportation experience of Ankara are regulations in the provision of urban

transport services, unfavorable results of government interventions and private sector involvement in public services. Moreover, regulations to control problems arising from private service providers and the presence of interest groups formed by private service providers that influence the decision-making process in their own interests should also exist within the list of elements counted. Different management approaches throughout the history have shaped the urban transport policy processes which reinforce the involvement of private sector entrepreneurs in urban transport and impact on decision-making. At this point, the periodicity of administrative differences that determine the urban transport policies, actors and decision-making process in Ankara provides a strong basis for the assumptions of the thesis as the historical periods; public interest oriented, managerial and entrepreneurial approaches.

CHAPTER 3

THEORETICAL DISCUSSION

The major problem of the big cities is still related to the questions of who will provide urban transport services, how to provide them, how to have mechanism and actor structure. Government and market failures at different times throughout the historical process have shaped the urban transport policy processes which reinforce the involvement of private sector entrepreneurs in urban transport and impact on decision-making. Different management approaches preferred in service provision despite the failures in providing transportation service have brought new mechanisms and actors. The historical evolution of urban transportation in Ankara compels us to analyze government and market failures, the new public service concept that gives priority status to the private sector, new service types, regulation and decision-making processes. Examining the historical transformation of this transportation service concept helps us to understand the issues of the emergence of private urban transportation entrepreneur, their reasons for existence and their impacts on the decision-making process in Ankara.

In developing countries, the state cannot keep up with the demand for traditional mass transportation services due to the rapid urbanization and concentration of the majority of the population in the city centers (Feibel, 1986: 1–2). This situation generates a gap between supply of state public transportation services and public demand. The resulting gap is generally filled by private mass transportation services due to the presence of the high population of low income (Feibel, 1986:3). In other words, there is a huge demand for services that private and public transport do not/cannot respond. Transportation vehicles such as private buses, minibuses and taxis are a natural response to this demand by the free market (Susilo, 2010: 294). Unbalance of supply and demand of public services, especially in favor of supply, is feeding the entrepreneurial spirit of the private sector. One of the basic

characteristics of entrepreneurial spirit is that entrepreneurs see the demand and fill the gap (Demirelli, 2018:5). This argument applies to all types of private transport initiatives, including taxi, taxi-dolmuş², minibuses, private public transport buses.

According to Tekeli (1977a), Privately owned/operated public transport vehicles, becoming more common in urban transportation in 1950's, such as minibuses and dolmuş are products of Turkey's underdevelopment. In response to the rapid urbanization in metropolitan cities such as Ankara, İzmir and Istanbul and, the insufficient transportation services of the state cause to form semi-formal public transportation vehicles such as taxi-dolmuş, dolmuş, minibuses and midibuses. However, this partial description of the emergence of private public transport does not sufficiently explain the reasons for existence (Tekeli, 1977a: 11). In other words, the elimination of the factors that create private public transport (and the increase in the state's supply of transport services) does not be enough to bring about the end of private public transport (Demirelli, 2018:5). The main factors of the existence of semi-formal public transportation vehicles can be listed as quality, cost and political pressure. First, the differences in quality between private public transport and local government transport services becomes obvious in time. Then, the state's effort and motivation to reduce the cost of the process by outsourcing the cost of the services reflected to the private entrepreneurs or passengers. Finally, small entrepreneurs form politically active interest groups. These are seen as either consecutively or simultaneously occurring factors of the existence of semi-formal public transportation vehicles that are difficult to regulate (Tekeli, 1977a: 12-15). These new urban transportation actors are rapidly organizing into a group of interest and surviving. In addition, local administrations incline to regulate private public transportation vehicles by lines and to carry their urban transportation services to a legitimate ground (Tekeli, 2009: 12). At this point, it has become an important authority and responsibility to regulate the factors such as the number of buses, number of bus stops, line and route selection, which are the determining factors in the delivery of urban transportation services by local governments. Service providers under regulation unite among themselves to form interest groups in the form of

² Taxi-dolmuş is a shared taxi, is one of the most widely used transport options in big cities like Ankara and İstanbul in Turkey since 1960-70s.

associations, cooperatives or craftsmen chambers, and these groups engage in the activities of creating rent by affecting the regulating institutions.

In the context of Ankara urban transportation services, as consequences of not to be met the ever-increasing demand for services, dominance of urban transportation vehicles had shifted from municipal buses to minibuses that emerged in the early 1960s and rapidly increased their share in urban transport. However, private public buses which has high passenger capacity in the 1980s has taken place of minibuses. Private public bus services are generally dominated and organized by small entrepreneurs (Susilo, 2010: 294–295). It is seen that small entrepreneurs are usually organized in the form of associations, cooperatives and chambers on certain lines and routes. Both Chambers and Cooperatives defend the interests of entrepreneurs, as representatives, against regulators of the municipal transport (Shimazaki & Rahman, 1995: 56). The main determinant of urban transport is the profit and rent generated as a result of the decisions of central and local government bodies in line with the interests of small entrepreneurs (Demirelli, 2018:410). All kinds of urban transport decisions to be taken by the central and local administrations within their competence regarding urban transport have “rent-generating and rent-distributing” characteristics (Tekeli,2009: 18–19).

As a result, with the effect of the neoliberal policies followed since the 1980s, instead of the traditional public administration approach, a new public service definition has emerged with the new public management approach. The most important developments in Turkey as well as enabling the transition to neoliberal economic policies was economic decisions taken in 1980. As parallel to that, numerous legislative arrangements have been made with the aim of minimizing the direct intervention of the state in the economy with the long term aim of making economic decisions effective in free market economy. However, the development of neoliberalism in Turkey is not enough to explain emergence and the continuity of existence of urban transport services provided by private entrepreneurs which is departure point of the thesis statement. The rapid urbanization has started in the pre-1980 period. The local administrations that could not provide services against the increasing population, and the small entrepreneurs filled the urban transportation

service gap and became a part of the service. All of these has led to reveal that priority status of the private sector entrepreneurship since pre-neoliberalism period.

In short, it is necessary to emphasize the changing nature of Public Administration which is largely nurtured by private sector service delivery, state regulations and the institutional design of decision-making mechanisms in order to understand private urban transportation entrepreneurs' emergence, continuity and impact on the decision-making process of urban transportation services in Ankara. When the change in the understanding of public service combines with inadequate urban transport services, it becomes inevitable to have an involvement of small entrepreneurs in the city. Since private public buses providing urban transportation services always incline to the development of a business type that is appropriate to their characteristics and conditions, the decisions and regulations of urban transportation will eventually become important factor for the audit and control of urban transportation services. Another factor that increases the importance of regulations and urban transportation decisions is their feature of rent creator and distributor. The theory of the functioning of the new public service concept, state regulations, the service forms offered by the regulations and the decision-making mechanisms that complement each other become a base to the study questioning the private sector entrepreneurs' involvement in the urban transport service process.

3.1 Conception of Public Service in Turkey

At the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, the concept of public service, which was an objectivist, had a transition in the historical process towards the concept of subjective public service. In the understanding of absolute civil service; some activities were considered public service only because they were so important for social life, that is, their nature and qualities. The rigid nature of this understanding has been criticized for the inability of adaptation of public services to the changing conditions of community life and for not complying with the basic achievements of modern democracy. Thus, there was a shift towards a subjective public service concept. (Eser, et.al., 2011:210).

In terms of being a solution formula for the crisis in the economy, the concept of welfare state which came into prominence especially in the 1960s has become dysfunctional with a minimal-entrepreneurial state approach that includes the neo-liberal state concept after 1980's. As a result of this, the functions of the state were subject to re-questioning, and the process of restructuring the public administration system and the change of the public service understanding came to the agenda. Thus, the state has adapted a strategy of leaving from socio-economic activities that cause waste of resources, abandoning these activities to market economy and passing to the envisaged, limited and neo-liberal state concept (Demirel, 2006:109; Eser, et.al., 2011:209).

Today, necessity of opening the third party sectors and supporting the local administrations and the markets shows the reducing of centralization in public goods production and service delivery. In practice, the state has transformed itself in a fast paced manner from an organization producing goods and services into a structure that controls those who produce these services (Kettl, 1993:21-22). In a new liberal perspective, it is argued that public services can be commercialized and offered by ordinary commercial enterprises. It has become widely accepted that private entrepreneurship can perform many public services more effectively than public enterprises (Acar & Gül, 2007:265-266). Concepts such as efficiency, auditability, decentralization, customer orientation, market-based, liberal economy, business administration lead to a new paradigm shift in public administration (Arslan, 2010:29).

Today, the quality and quantity of public services undertaken by the state have changed as a result of changing the concept of public service. The state has no longer a responsibility of restructuring of all public services. Instead, the state produces the services that the private sector does not want to produce or delivery. All services other than the public needs are provided through private sector entrepreneurs (Avcı, 2014:134). Changes in the concept of public service in Turkey show parallelism with the development in Europe and the world. In the UK, the government's activities have narrowed down, and the individuals in the economy have strengthened, and their contributions to the economy have increased due to the regulations and

privatization practices aimed at transparency in state organs. As a result of the regulation and privatization practices, a new public service concept that completely changes those responsible for public services and the relations between the individual and the state has emerged (Denhardt and Denhardt, 2007:53). The public service is considered to be a service consumed by the individual, which has been privatized and placed under the scope of the customer (Karahanoğulları, 2002:17). The relationship between the public service providers and the individual has been tried to be likened to the relations determined by the contract and its parties. Due to these regulations and privatization practices, the services provided by the state have shrunk, and therefore it is thought that the state can realize its responsibilities more effectively and economically (Leyland and Woods, 1997: 22-24).

Parallel to the changes in the understanding of public service, countries such as New Zealand, Sweden and the United Kingdom have made regulations for the transfer of public services from the public bureaucracy to the private sector. In this transformation which involves the transfer of public services to the private sector in general, it should not be forgotten that the regulation and supervision function of the state has gained importance. Withdrawing the state from the field of public services and leaving the individuals to the hands of the market economy dominated by the private sector has made the development of effective control and intervention mechanisms important (Avcı, 2014:125).

What does it mean to fulfill the public sector functions by the public or the private sector? Does the non-fulfillment of the service by the state mean that the state is not responsible for the service? In here, necessity of well defining public goods and services has arisen in order to answer these questions. Had the concept of public service been defined as short and comprehensive as possible; the public service is the whole of the agent and financial instruments assigned by a public legal entity to carry out a task (Kavruk, 1993: 141). From a materialist view point, the public service is defined as the activity that fulfills the public and social needs. In terms of its form, the public service is defined as the activities carried out by public legal entities or private enterprises under the supervision of state in order to meet a public need (Giritli, 2011:1016). Public goods and services are divided into two as pure public

services and semi-public services. Pure public services are the services that create the public sector. They cannot be left to the market for economic-technical reasons although there needs to be left to the market. Releasing a service to the market, the service must be divisible, can be sold, and those who do not pay the price for the service should be excluded. General acceptance shows that services other than defense services, which are the only examples with these qualities, are shifting towards semi-public service providers (Karahanoğulları, 2002:12). Generally, pure public goods, such as justice, compulsory education, defense, security, are the responsibility of the state and are actually expected to be fulfilled by the state. However, the public services such as education, health and transportation, as commonly seen, can be delivered by private firms in cities (Uluatam,1997:35). The provision of semi-public services by the private sector also refers to state intervention in public service. At this point, the spread of state regulation is a matter of concern (Uluatam,1997:34).

Today, the new role in the state has not been the undertaking of the activities related to the social life, but a kind of arbitration in social life, and the regulation function becomes very important under this new role (Ulusoy, 2003:21-26). In addition, by means of regulation activities, the state has become a form of law enforcement activity by leaving its position of providing public services directly. In fact, it is possible to consider the regulation activities carried out by the regulatory bodies as law enforcement and partly public service activities (Avcı, 2014:126). The institutions that carry out regulation activities during the public service delivery stage have the authority to regulate and impose sanctions on the related activities (Günday, 2011: 569-570).

At this point, public services, where state intervention is most felt, are the services defined in the literature as "service prone to be a public service", "virtual public service" and "activities with the ability to become a public service" (Özay, 1986:34). The concept of public service was born from the conclusions of the French State Council in its two decisions of 1944 and 1948 (Karahanoğulları, 2002:267). The concept of virtual public service refers to activities that are seen as private, though they are of public interest, and possible public services. While the relations of the

private persons carrying out these services with the administration are based on the permission, the authority has the supervisory authority and intervention control (Tan, 1991:236). Virtual public service is not defined exactly as public service by the political authority. The public interest at the private sector activities is provided within an audit that exceeds the authority's law enforcement authority. However, the administration has the power of interfere to the service provider as a follower of the public service (Yılmaz, 2008:1220). From a different perspective, almost every private undertaking activity can be transformed into a public service, whereby the private enterprise can be fully controlled by the administration. However, this result is not an appropriate result in the liberal democratic system (Çapar et.al., 2015:372). A criticism to the concept of virtual public service is that the understanding carries on a risk to deform the public service concept. There is a risk that the administration, which performs similar activities with the private sector, may start to perform public service making obtain a profit like private entrepreneurs (Çal, 2009:25).

The example of urban public transport carried out by private sector entrepreneurs is one of the best examples of activities that carry the state of being a virtual public service or activities carrying out public service status. The decisions of minibuses operating license made by the Council of State in Turkey reveals that the concept of virtual public service is adopted by the state (Tan, 1991:236). According to the result of the case opened on the regulation of the activities of the minibuses that would operate within the boundaries of Ankara Municipality, Urban public transport services carried out by the private sector and subject to municipal supervision have been accepted as virtual public service activities (Özay, 1986:34). Regarding the legal regulations on the subject in Turkey, Metropolitan Municipality Law No. 5216 has given the responsibility of provision of the urban transportation services through the private sector to metropolitan municipal administrations. All responsibility and authority of making and implementing a metropolitan transportation master plan to determining the number, timetables, lines and routes of all kinds of public transport services are belong to the metropolitan municipalities. As a result, in metropolitan cities in Turkey has authorized the local governments in conducting all kinds of public transport services. The local administrations can create public institutions and organizations for the use of this power, or they can deliver the provision of the public

transport service through the private sector. At this point, it is seen that the municipality, which is in the regulation activities during the stage of providing public transportation services, has the power to regulate and impose sanctions on related activities.

The transformation of public services can now be understood with reference to a reform program summarized into a set of policy measures such as liberalization, marketization, privatization, managerialism, entrepreneurialism, deregulation, competition and governance. Components of the reform program has transformed public services as a concrete field of activity of the state and the practices in the framework of these principles have become more effective with the help of private sector. In the processes of presentation of new public service concept, there are several issues such as government and market failures to provide goods and services, state intervention to markets and state regulation activities. These issues have been explained through the theory of public interest based on the welfare of society and the theories of regulation based on the axiom of special interest.

The provision of public services by contractors is one of the most significant subjects in the contemporary public sector administration in the world cities. The outsourcing at the public services is related to the transformation of competence, in favor of private sectors, in activities that do not constitute the basic services of public administration. Provisions of the public services in the urban service areas in the world are provided by actors such as public monopoly and private firms, aforementioned actors apply various provision techniques in services. As generally accepted in the World, the concept of public service provision is the service provision made by the private company subject to state regulation. The provision of public services was provided by the public monopoly in developed countries, however in the developing countries mostly the private sector was the one who provides the services. In any case, the provisions were subject to some state regulation (Gómez-Ibáñez and Meyer, 1997:17). Since the mid-1980s, a number of service areas were gradually opened to competition through privatization of public goods and services, public-private partnerships and service contracts (Pina and Torres, 2006:177).

When we look at the development of urban bus services in the world in the historical process, In the past three decades, nearly all urban bus public transport services were provided with a little or no competition by monopolistic public companies in most of the European countries, North America and Canada (Gómez-Ibáñez and Meyer, 1997:19). Pina and Torres (2006) have analyzed the effect of privatization and deregulation on the technical efficiency of bus services in 73 cities from EU, Eastern Europe, Oceania, Australia, New Zealand, Canada, United States, Latin America, Middle East, Far East, Africa and Japan. According to their study, the urban transport service at 43 of the 73 cities has been delivered by local government owned firms, at 11 cities has been franchised, at 12 cities has been delivered by public-private operators, and as a last part, the urban transportation service has deregulated at 7 cities.

In this process, many European cities have made crucial changes in the provision of bus services under the auspices of the European Commission. On one hand, France, the United Kingdom and Spain have opened a free market for public service through privatization. On the other hand, other hybrid structures also gain significance such as public-private partnerships and public and private institutions who coexist in the same service areas in either public monopoly or free-markets. (European Commission 2005:7).

Among the industrialized countries, urban bus services have provided through processes such as nationalization, deregulation and privatization throughout history. At EU level, in an important number of cities with more than 500,000 inhabitants the bus service is carried out by private operators (Torres & Pina, 2001, 2002), the delivery of the service shows diverse initiatives and different results. In Sweden, since 1989, most public transport services have been competitively contracted out, and in Copenhagen the Danish parliament enacted mandatory competitive contracting for the public bus service (Cox & Love, 1991:28). In the United Kingdom, according to Colson (1996:311), after ten years of local bus route deregulation and the privatization of some operators, there is still an intense debate about the success of the process. Buses have become one of the leading players in the UK's public transport system. Especially in London, bus transport is supported by a

heavy subsidy that accounts for about 45 percent of operator revenue (Butcher, 2013:1). The bus franchising system, an attempt to regulate and to manage UK local bus networks, has been used since 2004 with commercial freedom and competitive procurement in bus services. Urban bus transportation services are competitively performed by one of the two regional regulators, using contracts that include all discounts and additions to be made with additional incentives (Van de Velde, 2003:4). Bus transport in London is regulated by Transport for London, a local government body responsible for the transport system in Great Britain. Transport for London has the power to sign contracts with private bus operators, set public transport fares and the bus routes (Wilcox and Nohrová, 2014).

Although urban bus services were provided by private firms in American cities in the 1950s, transportation fee tariffs, line and routes were subject to a specific state regulation. Many American cities started to subsidize bus transport services to prevent cutbacks. The private companies had been implementing fare adjustments as a solution to increasing of costs, rising of car ownership and falling of bus ridership in the 1960s (Gómez-Ibáñez and Meyer, 1997:19). In the United States, providing urban public transport with a contract to private firms, which is widely used method among local governments today, became more popular in 1970s. According to a national survey in the United States, in 1985, more than 300 public agencies across the United States have concluded contracts for more than 400 separate public transport services (Teal, 1988). In California alone, there are more than 200 transportation services currently provided by private operators with contract. Bus transit authorities in Texas, Illinois, Washington and Virginia signed contracts with private operators for large transportation services. In the U.S., the Urban Mass Transportation Administration (UMTA) declared private sector policies which encourage local transportation agencies to utilize urban transit service delivery system in 1984 (Teal, 1989:1). In other words, UMTA provides urban transportation services with private sector practitioners by adopting competitive policies.

One of the best ways establishing a business in Africa and getting connect to free market actors is to become a small entrepreneur in the urban transport sector. The increase in transportation demand with the rapid increase in the population, the

inadequacy of the passenger transportation by the governments and the fact that private public transportation companies transport at a lower cost than the public were the factors that enabled private bus management to grow in African cities (Mwase, 1989:4). Although some African countries such as Tanzania and Zambia have publicly owned urban public transport companies, in most other African countries does have urban transport services provided by private transport operators (Mwase, 1989:5-6). The urban bus transport systems in African cities rely heavily on large buses and minibuses. African cities have adopted different approaches to large bus transport services since the early 1990s. With the end of colonialism and getting independence of colonies in many African countries, traditional bus companies were nationalized. However, they failed and went out of business. Some African cities (Accra, Dar Es Salaam, Kampala, Kigali, and Lagos) have an urban public transport consist of unofficial minibuses and private bus management (Kumar and Barrett 2008:3). Given the shortage of financing and budget and the need to increase functional and administrative efficiency in the transportation sector, many governments around the world provide public services by means of the private sector. Successful Public-Private Partnership (PPP) examples exist in urban public transport in Latin American cities. With the success of private bus transportation companies in Colombia, Curitiba, Brazil and Bogota, Colombia, private bus transportation services have become an increasingly popular business approach as they provide urban mobility and profit (Rodriguez and Mojica 2009:561). Hidalgo and Graftieaux (2008) discussed the management of urban bus transportation services in the cities of Bogotá and Pereira, Colombia; Curitiba, Brazil; León and Mexico City, Mexico; and Quito and Guayaquil, Ecuador. The cities considered in the study need an appropriate regulatory framework and as much as revised regulations and newly established institutions (Hidalgo and Graftieaux, 2008:82). In addition, the decision of allowing unregulated buses to urban transit by the local government in Sao Paulo shows the controversial relationship among public and private sector. The unregulated buses, which have been carrying millions in the city every year, have changed the provision of city bus transportation as an alternative to public transportation in Sao Paulo. Many years, the growing bus lobby that operated their buses without having mandatory regulations has prevented the government

from setting up a legal urban transport system. Although unregulated buses have been legalized and regulated by the local government of Sao Paulo, the buses are still operated by, so to speak, criminals in mafia style. The bus owners have organized in parallel to transportation management system to in order to prevent accession of the one who involved in organized crimes to having license to operate a bus (Sherlick and Vassoler, 2007:149-150). A similar regulatory capture has been also imposed in Santiago Bus transit system, the most significant transportation type in Santiago, another Latin American city with 8,000 buses running in 380 lines. These 8,000 buses were operated by approximately 4,000 firms consist of 2,500 bus owners with a bus, and 1,000 bus owners with 2 or more buses. There were only 3 companies with more than 50 buses (Gschwender, 2005:3). Prior to 1975, bus lines, routes and fare tariffs were regulated by the local authority. The operators had not been allowed to introduce changes and the bus system was highly inflexible. Afterwards, a process of deregulation began in the industry. There was no actual competition in fares or service quality, because after the government stopped regulating the industry, a cartel of operators took over the control of the activity (Gschwender, 2005:3).

As a result, a number of service areas were gradually opened to competition through privatization of public goods and services, public-private partnerships and service contracts in many countries in the World since the mid-1980s. Public transport services in the city as well as other local public services have been among the goods and services that have opened up free market through the provision of public services by private sector since the 1970-80s. The first example of urban public transport provided through the private sector began to be implemented in the United States in the 1950s; however, providing urban public transport with contracted private firms became more popular in 1970s. The provision of urban transportation services by the private sector providers has never eliminated the regulation and control power on the determination of the costs of bus travel, the number of lines and routes, as well as the number of vehicles. Government and market failures at different times throughout the historical process have shaped the urban transport policy processes which reinforce the involvement of private sector entrepreneurs in urban transport and impact on decision-making. Different provisions of service despite the failures in providing urban transportation service have brought new mechanisms and actors.

3.2 The Emergence of Government Regulation on Public Services: Market Failure or Government Failure

Regarding the scope, type and purpose of urban transport services, formal regulations and supervision of local governments on private entrepreneurs are generally kept loose in the developing country cities, including the sampling area of the study. The reason for this is that there is an inverse relationship between the increase in formal regulation, and profitability and even existence of transport services such as minibuses and private public buses (Demirelli, 2018:410). Increasing the controls applied in the field of urban transport will result in the withdrawal of entrepreneurs from unprofitable lines and routes. This will make the lines with high transportation rent target of private public interest groups, while the municipal buses provide transportation service on the lines with low profit margins. Urban transportation services provided by a municipality that has budgetary and financial problems and whose vehicle fleet is not sufficient will result in failure in the lines of low profitability, as well as urban transportation services provided by unregulated small entrepreneurs on high profitability lines will fail because it cannot meet the middle class transportation demand. This situation represents a mutual failure that puts the failure of both the market and the government at the same time.

Some public goods and services are neither not supplied in a sufficient and desired manner, nor produced by the market economy. Time to time market economy fails. Failure of market economy is due to not having competition in. Under this consideration, the state needs to develop and to support competition for the sake of markets, therefore market interventions and regulations are inevitable. However, the consequences of state interventions may not always be as desired. Moreover, the structure and functioning of the political decision-making process can inevitably lead to the negative consequences of the government's regulations and interventions such as rent seeking activities of interest and pressure groups, and rent creation and allocation possibilities of urban transport decisions. In other words, in theory, the state will eventually fail in fulfilling expectation of providing service as a result of the excessive growth of its functions and its unlimited power (Aktan, 2019).

Although the share of public transportation vehicles in total vehicle transportation was 70% (Tekeli, 2009: 122) until the 1970s, inadequacy of the supply of EGO buses especially in the city center has led to the emergence of new types of small entrepreneurship. Nevertheless, small entrepreneurs started to dominate in urban transport. Small entrepreneurs first increased their market share by increasing their numbers and then started to create institutionalized rents by restricting the entry of new small entrepreneurs into the sector. However, in the late 1970s, public entrepreneurship and new municipal buses had put into service in the face of the problems caused by the dominance of small entrepreneurs in urban passenger transport. Subsequently, inadequacy of EGO buses put into service let private public buses to be included in urban transportation services in the early 1980s. In 2000s, Ankara Metropolitan Municipality, which cannot provide sufficient service in response to expanding urban transport service area by integration of municipal service areas with provincial territorial boundaries, tried to compensate for the failure by including private public transport vehicles to the transportation area of responsibility. In short, although the demand for urban transportation is provided by public and private entrepreneurs, the public resources of metropolitan cities of developing countries such as Ankara have always been scarce. The provision of urban transportation services by public and private entrepreneurs reveals a service provision against the Public. Small entrepreneurs naturally want to serve the central regions where demand is high, while municipal buses are obliged to serve the regions where demand is low. As mentioned above, urban transportation services provided by local governments will eventually end up having financial problems, and meanwhile not having enough buses will cause a failure on the low profitability lines. Likewise, unregulated small entrepreneurs on high profitability lines, providing urban transportation services, will also fail because of not satisfying the middle class transportation demand. Overall, resulting situation represents a mutual failure for the market and the government at the same time.

In the last 40 years, the term “regulation” has a significant role among the concepts of affecting, operating, directing and managing all kinds of public transport services by governments. Many social and political scientists have drawn a concept and a theoretical framework for the term regulation which has fundamental place in

balancing between the government, producers and consumers after the spread of regulatory reforms across Europe, America, Asia and developing countries in the world. Generally, there is an explanation of making a new regulation in accordance with reason or logic except in some cases that politicians want to make arrangements for some selfish or unreasonable reasons such as winning the next election. Considering the reasons for the arrangements made, it is emphasized that the factor causing the regulation is 'market failure' (Korotana, Muhammed, 2017:615). The main ground is that the unregulated and uncontrolled market does not have social consequences which are aligned with the public interest. However, the most important point to emphasize here is that market failures are in everywhere, and therefore it cannot be asserted as a theory of explaining the emergence of regulation (Korotana, Muhammed, 2017:616).

To re-emphasize, the regulation requirement arises when there is a failure in the market (Baldwin and Cave, 1999:16-22). Market failure can be expressed as a situation where private interests cannot be maintained, resources are not used effectively and that goods and services are not distributed fairly among individuals in the society (Weimer and Vining, 1992:13). In other words, market failure means that a particular market fails to produce appropriate outcomes for the public interest (Baldwin and M. Cave, 1999:16-22). With this concept, it can be stated that goods and services offered to society cannot be allocated effectively by free market instruments. (Cooter, 1996:947). More simply, there is an unfair market area that prevents an effective output. However, an efficient market will make participant better-off, while someone else worse-off. The reason for the market failure approach emerged as a response to how the state should play its role in the market. Identifying public goods and services, what services the state should provide, and how individual or company organizations should be regulated for their market activities were the questions to be answered (Zerbe and McCurdy, 1999, 559). In this manner, the market failure approach has emerged as a standard base in which all these decisions can be taken. (Korotana, Muhammed, 2017:620).

The main aim of traditional regulation is to solve market failures. However, it is generally expected that the regulation alone will achieve efficiency and social

welfare, justice in the distribution of income, and less rational or non-rational objective, such as deciding the most effective solution for individuals with a statist approach (Telser, 1969: 939; Ogus, 1994: 51). Specifically, the regulatory process is expected to be a machine, a panacea, and a machine (deus ex machina), which is expected to solve all the problems at once (Peltzman, 1976:211). However, following questions may lead us to a common ground what the regulations are or are not. First, are the regulation theories only created in the public interest? Second, are there mechanisms in place to bring the public interest to the forefront in the process of creating regulation policies? Finally, do some mechanisms prevent the public interest? (Tokatlıoğlu, Ardiyok and Ilıcak, 2003: 144).

3.3 Theories of Regulation

In the literature, theories of regulation are generally examined under two headings. One of which is the public interest theory and other one is the special interest theory. They examine the regulation of state activities in terms of achievements (Aktan, 2016b; 317-320). As public regulations are considered as a matter of state intervention in the markets and role of state in the economy, theories describing public regulation are shaped according to the views of economic approaches on the state. Public interest theory, therefore, deals with public regulation in terms of market failures and their compensation, while special interest theory deals with interest groups and rent-seeking activities (Çevik & Demir, 2005: 252). In fact, these theories are derivative of each other. However, the reason we consider them as separate theories is the nature of the questions they respond to. Why are regulations needed in the market economy? Who are regulated by the interests and policies of regulatory? Therefore, it is useful to examine the regulation theories in depth.

3.3.1 Public Interest Theory of Regulation

The definition of the public interest approach for regulation is based on hypotheses that unimpeded markets often fail due to the complications of monopolies and externalities, and the market failure that comes to the fore is regulated and healed by the governments' interventions through regulations. In fact, the explanation of the theory about regulations shows parallelism to the explanation of what democratic

countries do and what they should do. According to the public interest theory, governments control prices and monopolies, compel safety standards, regulate duties and issuance of securities and so on (Shleifer, 2005:440). The theory of public interest regulation has become the mainstay of modern public economy analysis of leftist politicians and socialist thinkers. Moreover, it has been used to justify the success of public ownership and regulations in the provision of public goods and services throughout the twentieth century (Meade, 1948; Lewis, 1949).

Public Interest Theory emphasizes welfare losses will occur in the market if there is no public regulation. In addition, the regulation realizes the stability of the market and the market sustainability (Akça, 2007: 61). Put it differently, regulation is the arrangement that increases social welfare, and the outcome of cost benefit analysis after the healing of market failure. Public interest can also be expressed as the efficient use of scarce resources and fair distribution among individuals in the provision of goods and services either individually or collectively. The distribution of scarce resources is largely regulated by the free market mechanism in Western countries. According to the public interest theory, the distribution of resources is dictated by the market mechanism is optimal under certain circumstances (Arrow, 1985:108). However, these circumstances are often not met in practice, therefore the distribution of resources is not always optimal. This situation is defined as market failure (Hertog, 2010:5). Overcoming market failure, requires methods to straighten the distribution of resources. Government regulation is one of the most appropriate method to achieve efficiency in the distribution of resources (Arrow, 1985).

The public interest theory emphasizes requirement of control over the powerful market firms, which are in the imperfect competitiveness, in the free market. General recommendation for natural monopoly industries are to reduce prices, to increase production, and to avoid violent competition in oligopolistic industries. Maintaining the availability of certain goods and services requires regulation for the firms as emphasized by the theory as well. The firms providing such goods and services are generally licensed through the lease, operation and concession agreements, which prevent competition over the service areas. Regulatory agencies allow firms earning a service price above the average cost so as to overcome market failure. Allowing

firms to earn a price above the average is generally a reasonable and guaranteed justification for improving and healing the market (The Open University of Hong Kong, 2019).

The public interest theory, which explains the regulation as an effective solution to market failures, has been criticized in many ways. Criticisms are mostly focused over the theory of market failure itself, the empirical invalidity of the effectiveness of government regulation, the inability of the public interest to be tested and the lack of public interest theory (Hertog, 2010:18). On the basis of all these criticisms, there is the view that the market can eliminate emerging inefficiencies without the need for state intervention and a limited state approach. According to this approach, the best state is the one which obeys the rules of law. Excessive interventions of the state to the market economy create serious economic, political and social problems in the functioning of the market economy. (Aktan and Yay, 2016b:84).

3.3.2 Private Interest/Special Interest Groups Theories of Regulation

Private interest theories do not accept the assumption that politicians and regulatory authorities are acting in the public interest. On the contrary, the theories emphasize that all actors in the market are considering their own interests in order to maintain their rent positions and the transfer of wealth in a rational manner (Asquer, 2017:23). According to the private interest theories, regulation is aimed to follow the targets of powerful industrial actors rather than protecting the consumers from monopolists and preventing socially unwelcome results. Firms in the free market are trying to convince and influence politicians and bureaucrats in the decision-making mechanism in order to make regulations and pass legislations for the benefit of their own interests and to take decisions that protect dominant incumbency of existing actors (Asquer, 2017:23). The main basis of the relationship between the politicians, bureaucrats and firms in the market is that the business owners provide financial and public support for the election campaigns to policy makers who need a vote. Moreover, after the expiration of their duties, the regulatory authorities are interested in to be re-appointed, employment security under the sponsorship of the relevant companies and consultancy of the relevant firms (Asquer, 2017:23).

The Theory of Special Interest Group stresses that individuals form groups by lobbying induce authorities to make regulation to look after their interests. The groups that come together around special interests refer lobby, pressure, advocacy and interest groups. These groups might be companies, firms, consumers, regulators and unions (Moosa, 2015:14). The influence of the political power increased with the intensification of the political pressure ensures the financial efficiency. Theorists of special interest groups claim that multiple groups, including consumers and regulators, compete to control the activities of the sector concerned. According to the theory, strong groups to bring rules and regulations that will protect their interests in their areas of business struggle to steer the government's compelling power (Moosa, 2015:13).

In Ankara, which is the sampling area of the thesis, local administrations regulated small entrepreneurs according to the lines and routes allocated to them in order to carry the urban transportation service provided by private public transportation vehicles to a legitimate ground. It is seen that small entrepreneurs who usually come together on certain lines and routes are organized in the form of associations, cooperatives and umbrella chambers. Turkish Drivers and Automobile Operators Association is an umbrella chamber which consists of tradesmen chambers covering all cities in Turkey including Ankara. The western planning corridor, which constitutes the sampling area of the thesis, is within the scope of the effective tradesmen chambers within the borders of Ankara central area. Chambers, associations or cooperatives, on the one hand, defend the interests of the entrepreneurs in Ankara Transport Coordination Center where the municipality's transport decisions are taken, on the other hand organizing the services offered by its members. Entrance of Private bus entrepreneurs into associations should be viewed as a gradual rent seeking process and a means of facilitating entry to the urban transportation services. The urban interest groups formed by bus tradesmen gathering around common interests are involved in and influence the transport decision-making process. One of the members of the Transport Coordination Center, where urban transportation decisions are taken, is the representative of the relevant chamber to be assigned by the Turkish Drivers and Automobile Operators Association. The association as an umbrella chamber assigns specialized tradesmen chambers in order

to represent common interests of small bus entrepreneurs in the urban transport decision-making mechanism. Ankara Union of Tradesmen and Craftsmen Chambers which benefits the interests of both taxis and private public transport vehicles, is generally chosen as a representative in the Ankara Transport Coordination Center. Chambers representing tradesmen who come together on certain lines are usually members of subcommittee or specialized commissions in the decisions taken on private public transportation vehicles.

Macey (1988:1276-1277) claims that organized interest groups, in which politicians and bureaucrats get their support to preserve their current position, struggle in the political arena, just like politicians. He specifies that in political arena, political parties who struggle for political survival need support in order to be successful in this process. (Macey, 1988:1278). The most important point that this theory contributes to the literature is that strong and organized interest groups are effective in policy makers to provide political support. In response to the support provided by interest groups during the election, politicians and bureaucrats in the decision-making mechanism make regulations to protect the interests of these groups. Macey finally specifies that unlike public opinion and ideology, the special interest of certain groups are more trustworthy predictors of regulatory results (Macey, 1988:1292).

The special interest groups theory has been criticized in many ways. First of all, finding out who is benefiting from the regulations and who is financing the costs is not enough to explain the reason for the regulations. The special interest groups theory does not give importance to incentive and attitude of political actors and actor relations within the process of regulation (Moosa, 2015:14).

Another approach within special interest theories is the interest group approach. The emphasis on the relationship network, which is the basis of this theory, is actually the same as the emphasis on the interaction between the actor groups and the regulatory authorities, which are the basis of special interest theories. Bernstein (1955) discusses the theory of the regulatory process in life-cycle which he develops upon the argument that regulators' behavior and characteristics are constantly changing. The regulation is intended to protect the society against unwanted activities

politically. According to Bernstein (1955: 74–95), the stages of the model that he presents as a life cycle are the establishment of the regulatory body, outmaneuvering of the regulator over the inexperienced regulatory body, paying more attention of the regulators to the needs of the regulated ones, becoming the regulatory body less entrepreneurial, and finally giving much importance of the regulations to the public interest.

In *The Politics of Regulation*, Wilson (1984) emphasizes that the regulation depends on the intensity of the benefits and the cost of regulation. Concentrated benefits and outspread costs occur when regulation is required. When the interest groups struggle with the allocation of concentrated benefits and intensification of costs, interest groups politics emerge. Regulation is rooted in majoritarian politics when both costs and benefits are widely spread. Entrepreneurial politics is likely to result if benefits of regulation are widely spread while costs are concentrated. Conditions are matured for interest-group politics when both costs and benefits are tightly condensed, and client politics is more likely to emerge if costs are widely allocated and benefits are concentrated. (Wilson, 1980:367-370; Shepsle, 1982:218; Asquer, 2017:25). In Wilson's regulation theory, it is seen that regulatory instruments are used in various political and market conditions.

One of the leading representatives of the Chicago School of Economics, George Stigler, was the turning point in his theory of regulation in his article, “The Economic Theory of Regulation”. According to George Stigler (1971), regulation is carried out according to supply and demand principles. The interest groups demand the regulations for wealth transfer. It is the other parts of the society that offer wealth. In this system where the state acts as a tool, the regulations are made for the interests of certain groups instead of public interest (Oğuz, 2005:255). In his article, Stigler distracted the attention from the theory of public interest and focused his efforts and efforts on sharing public rent by influencing the regulation policies of interest groups. The main actors in their analysis are business people and politicians and their personal interests are in the forefront of public interest. Business people do not hesitate to spend their personal resources in order to make decisions that will

benefit their interests. Businesses support regulations that prevent competition and create economic rent (Stigler, 1971: 3).

There are three main arguments put forward by this theory: Firstly, regulatory practices and groups with low organizational costs will obtain higher rates of rent than others. Secondly, the result of the regulation will likely be cross-subsidies which means compensate for the loss in a production area of a company that produces more than one product with its profit in another production area. Finally, rent will be divided between parties with a certain power (Oğuz, 2005:255). In the provision of urban bus transportation services discussed in the study, we witness small entrepreneurs who come together as cooperatives, chambers and associations on certain lines and routes as a result of regulations. These interest groups are effective in all decisions related to private sector entrepreneurs on their own lines and routes in the decision-making process. Regulations that generate and distribute rent determine the areas of transportation and who will serve in these areas.

Stigler seeks an answer to the question of why regulation exists, and he considered this question as a demand and supply goods in the market. Accordingly, while the interest groups demand the regulation for their interests, the politicians who want to be elected or re-elected have to supply these goods. Thus, regulations are a means of transferring wealth in society (Akça, 2007: 76, Oğuz; 2011: 99-100). As a result, regulations will be a legal tool for the struggle between those who want to transfer wealth to themselves and those who wish to prevent their own wealth being transferred to others (Aktan and Yay, 2016b,86).

James M. Buchanan (1991), one of the founders of the Virginia School of Political Economy, and Public Choice economists pointed out the relations between rent-seeking activities and regulation. The concept of rent-seeking defines the activities of individuals and / or interest groups to obtain an unpaid wealth transfer (Aktan, 2003: 20). According to Public Choice economists, the efforts of rent-seeking in social or political life are the result of public regulation. Government interventions or regulations direct individuals and special groups to rent-seeking activities. As a result of the state interventions, special interest groups lead their resources to eliminate or

influence any regulation that falls within the scope of the regulation and to use them in line with their own interests (Aktan, Ay & Çoban, 2007: 223-224).

According to the rent-seeking theory of the Public Choice approach, efforts to obtain monopoly through regulation lead to waste of resources. Companies or groups that want to create a monopoly over the state are wasting resources that can be used more effectively to achieve their goal. These efforts for the creation of artificial rents lead to additional costs for those who wish to obtain these rents and those who wish to prevent such transfers. When the rent-search activities of regulators that provide the transfer of these rents are added in addition to these costs, the wasted resources are growing (Oğuz, 2005:256).

Another approach that brings an economic explanation to regulation in recent years is the New Institutional Economics. This approach sees regulations as a complex process network between politicians. regulation changes the rules of the game (market) and creates new incentives. If these motives work well to the structure of the market, the regulations will be effective (Oğuz, 2011: 247-254).

One of the most important issues in terms of regulation is contracts. the complexity, lack or manipulation of contracts that are absolutely necessary for a good social order, which are first discussed by Thomas Hobbes, prevent the success of public regulation (Çevik & Demir, 2005: 255). Therefore, in order to achieve the success of public regulation, the complexity of the treaties must be eliminated, completed and the interest groups should not manipulate the contracts (Aktan and Yay, 2016b,87).

One of the ideas developed within the New Institutional Economics is that the historical dimensions of public regulation should not be neglected. According to this approach, public regulation should be considered as a historical phenomenon and state intervention should be shaped by historical factors. Because the regulation and the targets that we want to achieve in the future also depend on the position in the past. (Çevik and Demir, 2005: 255). Considering how the economies evolved over time, the idea of explaining today with the help of history has led to the emergence of New Economic History approach within the New Institutional Economics (Uzun, 2001: 83).

3.3.3 The Capture Theory of Regulation

The regulatory capture theory is the most remarkable approach within the private interest theories. The theory of regulatory capture is fundamentally related to the economic regulation of George Stigler, who claimed that: *“As a rule regulation is acquired by the industry and is designed and operated primarily for its benefit”* (Stigler 1971:3). The regulated market is interested to affect the regulatory bodies in order to gain a “regulatory rent” (Asquer, 2017:23).

According to the theory of public regulation proposed by the leading economists of the Chicago School of Economics, only interest groups who seized regulation institutions that determine regulations benefit from the regulations. This situation is defined as regulatory capture theory in literature (Aktan and Yay, 2016b,85). Accordingly, the firms that have reached a certain size and volume benefit from the regulations, while the other small firms that have not reached this level cannot benefit sufficiently from these regulations and are even negatively affected. Large firms organized in the direction of lobbying have become dominant because they have the ability to control the arrangements to be made against small companies which are not well organized and they can determine all the regulations according to their own interests (Shleifer, 2005: 441; Brown & Jackson, 1994: 49). At this stage, tradesmen cooperatives, unions and chambers (Kapani, 1989: 200-201), which are gathered around common interests to protect and develop the interests of individual and small firms on the basis of property ownership on service vehicles, emerge as an important form of organization. Tradesmen and craftsman unions, cooperatives and chambers who are created to protect their professional interests are kinds of interest groups that come together to have the power to directly or indirectly influence political power (Aktan and Karaaslan, 2009:82-83). According to the theorists of regulatory capture, well organized groups will benefit much more than unregulated organized groups (Aktan et al., 2007:216). As a result, individual and small firms are obliged to create organized group structures so that they can regain their own benefits.

Regulatory decisions are not always made by directly regulatory authorities. Indirectly, decisions can be taken under pressure from local interest groups for their

special interests of a particular area. Firms representing special interest groups can influence decision making by encouraging regulators with incentives. The incentives provided by the companies to the regulators are the most important instruments that the companies use for the regulatory capture. In the case of incentives, the money provided to finance a political campaign, the bribes, political payments, or the promise of employing the regulator in the future can be understood (Piechucka, 2016:129).

Another point that the School of Public Choice draws attention is that the public sector employees are more rational individuals who try to maximize their own interests, as they do in the market, rather than the bureaucrats who consider the public interest. For this reason, representatives of the School of Public Choice argue that public employees should be considered entrepreneurs, not bureaucrats. According to Downs, social welfare economists have been disinterested in this area by neglecting the collective decision-making process, although they have established appropriate roles to ensure social welfare for the state and bureaucracy. In fact, according to Downs, the government does not directly consider the well-being of individuals and deals with the votes of individuals in the first instance. Like other individuals, bureaucrats consider maximizing their personal benefit. Accordingly, social welfare is not the aim, but the result of the behavior of politicians and bureaucrats (Downs, 1957: 18). At this stage, it will not be wrong to define politicians and bureaucrats as political entrepreneurs who maximize votes for private entrepreneurs trying to maximize rent in the provision of public goods and services. It is evident that in democratic systems of governance, the majority needs a vote to gain power, and it is evident that the holder of this vote has executive power (Tullock et al., 2002:3). In order to be successful in this process, the political powers that need voting to gain power enter into relations with pressure and interest groups who want the decisions in the political decision-making process to be concluded in their favor. At the end of the process, instead of the public interest, we are faced with the provision of public goods and services that maximizes the interests of the party administration and its supporters (Öztürk, 2018:16). Even if it is not in the public interest, interest groups to support them follow policies that are in line with their preferences.

Since politicians gain political power or extend their term of power depends on the support of voters, they want to increase their votes by supporting sectors for the benefit of voters who are subordinate to them or have a high capacity to influence them (Öztürk, 2018:17). One of the major advantages of the analysis of public choice theory is that it uses an approach that treats all political managers as selfish individuals trying to maximize their benefits within limits. There is no difference between the entrepreneur trying to maximize profits and the political manager who wants to stay in office for a long time (Schnider, 1992:28).

What role does regulatory capture play in designing regulatory contracts? Firms try to influence the contents of regulatory contracts in their favor by offering incentives to regulators. Bureaucrats with the authority to regulate may want to use this power in a continuous manner and choose regulation contracts that take the interests of certain interest groups to ensure this continuity. From the standpoint of the municipalities, politicians wishing to obtain the city administration by re-election may find arrangements in favor of the interests of interest groups who contribute to their campaigns to maximize their votes in the elections. (Piechucka, 2016:129).

Many developing countries have a tendency to transfer their authority to decide on regulatory functions for public services to local government units. Traditionally, local administrations are involved in the provision of local public services, usually through full public firms or municipal departments (Asquer, 2017:117). Private sector actors have become important actors in the provision of public services through a changing public service provision in recent years, which has led local governments to prefer different models in regulating public services such as public-private partnerships, municipally-owned companies and public services contracts.

3.4 Regulating Public Services Through Alternative Methods

In Turkey, public service delivery methods vary according to public service carried out by public or private legal entities. An exemplary "escrow method" may be given for the execution of public service by public legal entities while exemplaries of common escrow, licensing, concession and build-operate transfer methods may be given for the execution of public service by private legal entities. Escrow method is a

method of a public service delivered by the government or other public legal entities with the personnel of the administration itself. (Günday, 1999: 233). It may be given as the example of the transportation service (EGO) that the municipality provides with its own vehicles and personnel.

One of the execution of public services by private legal entities is common escrow method. The method is, a method of having a private person who pays for a certain fee on income, with the costs, damages and losses of a public service belonging to the administration. However, Common escrow has been abandoned for today (Günday, 1999: 234).

Another method used in performing public services is the build-operate transfer model. The Build-Operate-Transfer procedure, which is frequently applied especially in the 1980s, envisages the establishment of a public service facility by the private enterprise by covering the expenses. It is a method that enables the capital to be operated for a period of time for the purpose of depreciation and making a certain profit and then transferring it to the related administration free of charge. According to the 18th article of the Municipal Law No. 5393; the municipal council will decide whether to grant concessions on behalf of the municipality and to make municipal investments through a build-operate or build-operate-transfer model (Günday, 1999: 239).

The licensing procedure is to provide the public service by private persons with the unilateral permission of the administration. In the urban public transport services subject to the thesis, no contract shall be concluded between the administration and the private legal entity. The natural or legal person of the private law who wishes to work in the field of activity whose provisions have been determined applies to the administration. Thereupon, with the permission of the administration unilaterally, a certain public service shall be made available to the real or legal person of private law. The issue of whether the permission can be granted is within the discretion of the administration (Günday, 1999: 233). The powers of municipalities to inspect and impose penalties on private public buses in public transport are various aspects of the authority of the administration over public services granted by issuing licenses.

In accordance with the contract of the administration with a private person, the concession method is the procedure for the establishment or operation of a particular public service by a private person. The expenses, profits and losses of a particular public service belong to the private person (Polatkan, 1997:6). Provision of municipal public transport services by concession is stipulated in Article 15 of Law No. 5393. In the decision of the Council of State on the subject³; it was decided that the Council of State's opinion and the decision of the Ministry of Interior had to be taken in order for the municipal council to lease public transport services by concession.

Throughout most of the twentieth century, public ownership often was the main approach to regulating infrastructure and utilities firms: electricity, gas, railways, postal and other nationwide public services were provided by state-owned enterprises; water distribution and sewage, local public transports and urban waste collection services were delivered by municipal companies. Instead, since about the 1980s, many countries reformed the infrastructure and utilities services by pursuing policies that included privatizing state-owned enterprises and municipally-owned companies, liberalizing access to infrastructure and utilities and adopting various forms of regulation (Asquer, 2017:35).

The design of regulatory institutions posed various kinds of challenges, including the provision of laws and norms to enable regulators to act independently from both the executive and the regulated firms, the definition of sound and transparent administrative procedures, and the development of a professional bureaucracy for managing the regulatory system.

3.4.1 Regulating Through Public Ownership

The government-owned utilities, which was the popular service delivery concept of the social democrat and socialist regimes, became an undesirable service delivery with the market-oriented neo-liberal management approach. The new institutional and industrial structure that emerged after privatization, liberalization and legal arrangements in many countries around the world brought the service concept largely

³ Decision E: 2007/1861, K: 2008/2875 of the 8th Chamber of the Council of State.

carried out by private firms. However, although the concept of service provided by the private sector dominates the service market, especially water, natural gas, urban waste storage and disposal and urban public transportation services are still provided by the government owned entities. Why the government has entities to provide urban public services?

On the one hand, some government owned entities showed up after the expropriation of private firms or the municipalization of local public service providers in Italy and the nationalization of electricity and water services in Bolivia in the 2000s. On the other hand, government-owned public service providers, such as various undertakings of UK municipal institutions, have been established by public authorities from the very beginning. Even in the period when many public sector assets and services were privatized, publicly owned services survived in some countries and still operate against strong private sector competitors. Besides, the provision of public service by the government units, such as the re-municipalization of water services taken from the private sector in cities such as Paris and Grenoble, has been an important issue (Asquer, 2017:36).

The persistence of state-owned public service organizations shows that there must be good reasons for them to be considered as an appropriate form of ownership for monitoring public policy and industrial objectives. For example, Mountain and Littlechild (2010:5790) argue that public ownerships are advantageous because the government attaches importance to both monetary and non-monetary aspects of performance. As an entrepreneur, the government needs to design a provision of service model and establish a regulatory framework that ensures the flow of income while as a public authority, the government needs to be interested in providing valuable and affordable public services, possibly in connection with welfare-oriented policies. Three main reasons for the existence of state-owned public institutions have been widely proposed in the literature. The first is the obligation of the state to provide public services at the most cost effective. This proposition shows that publicly owned services have the characteristics of natural monopolies such as economies of scale, externalities and high barriers to entry (Baumol 1977:809-810). Under such industrial conditions, no market mechanism creates competitive pressure

for the monopolistic service provider to provide cost-effective services. If governments target to provide public services in a cost-effective manner, they need consider the net benefits of owning the service units and regulation of public services (Asquer, 2017:37). According to Coase (1998, 1992), governments have chosen a method for government service delivery rather than being offered by private firms, because they generate less transaction costs. For various reasons, the transaction costs of tenders for public services are relatively high according to in-house provisions. In his work, Williamson (1973, 1979) demonstrated, in general, that transaction costs arise mainly from information asymmetry between the parties, environmental uncertainty and limited rationality. Under these circumstances, interest groups benefit from opportunities arising from contractual deficiencies with opportunistic behavior. Within an organizational context, publicly owned and regulated services are able to overcome such deficiencies by internalizing transactions.

Second, government owned utilities is seen as a strategic justification for preserving real options in the development of public services, such as the possibility of making decisions about existing and future investments in increasing production capacity or diversifying into new business areas (Asquer, 2017:38). The real options mentioned here refer a theoretical approach that explains why strategic decisions are made. The point of the argument put forward here is that when appropriate environmental conditions are provided for investments, firms should try to increase the option values of their future decisions. At this point, firms should never give up the options they will need in the subsequent decision processes. The fact that the government has public service provider units means that it creates a portfolio of real options for the investments of the state. Depending on the future changing circumstances of the environment, such as changes in demand or technology, the government will maintain the possibility of making strategic decisions that will not be possible if the public service is provided by the private sector. For instance, the government may decide to give instructions to publicly owned service providers in order to pursue the government's commercial or geo-political goals at a future date, to take preventive actions against the unwanted entry of a competitor into the internal market, or to invest in a new and relatively risky technology (Asquer, 2017:38). All of these

possibilities will make the entry of private sector providers risky and even impossible into the market.

Finally, the fact that the state has institutions and organizations to provide public services will be able to cope with the conflicts that arise between the various stakeholders in the public service sectors. Many scientists stress that public service policies have important ideological connotations that appeal to contradictory political views and preferences (Bös 1986; Lawson 1994). While Marxists see state owned enterprises as a means to the abolition of the capitalist class, socialists see state owned enterprises as a way of directing the economy and thus achieving social goals. While nationalists see state owned enterprises as an obstacle to the damage that foreign entrepreneurs can cause to the country, others see these enterprises as a practical approach to pursue political goals from a more pragmatist perspective (Asquer, 2017:38).

3.4.2 Regulating Through Mixed Public-Private Partnership

Another form of public service delivery is public-private partnership (PPP). In order to regulate privatized infrastructure of public services in the context of liberalization, an agency from the government and an entrepreneur from the private sector come together and create a public-private partnership to provide public goods and services.

Public private partnership companies are shared among public authorities and private sector entrepreneurs. In public private partnership companies, regulations might give the public authorities right to veto the decisions on the assignment of chief executives and to direct the behavior of infrastructure and utilities firms. Public-private partnerships try to meet private and public oriented expectations of maximizing both profits and social welfare. At this point, the expectation of the public-private partnership to serve both social and business goals at the same time is the greatest handicap of PPP service delivery (Matsumura, 1998:473-474). The presence of more than one shareholder with different objectives will result in a performance that will not satisfy the public and private sectors in terms of business management or social welfare. Some research argues that there is no clear evidence that PPP is better or worse than purely public or private service providers (Gupta

2005:988-989) while others argue that PPP's performance is inferior to service providers operating under completely private or public authority. (Albalade, Bel, and Fageda, 2014:314-315).

3.4.3 Regulating Through Contracts

Another approach of the provision of public service is the contract procedure that allows the private persons to be provided the public service with the unilateral permission of the administration. In other words, regulation by contract, which is equivalent to the use of public procurement, is a way to deliver related public services with a private sector firms. In this regulation, the contract is the most important factor for the control and organization of public service provision. The contract includes the type of service, pricing, tariffs, service provider's obligations and penalties. There are various contracts for the provision of public services, such as management contracts in which the public authority pays a fee to a firm to administer the public service for typically two to five years, concession agreements in which a company pays a fee and delegates its authority for typically 15–30 years, or concession agreements in which a firm grants certain rights to provide related public services (such as local public transport or railway services) for several years (Asquer, 2017:43).

Legal definitions and conditions governing the provision of public services vary from country to country. However, when determining the procedures of public services, important issues to be arranged for each government such as selection criteria of business firms, uncertainties that relate to incompleteness of concession contracts, the asymmetry of information between the public and private sector providers and ownership of the enterprise providing the public service remains in the hands of the private or public sector (Asquer, 2017:44-46).

In his article, Stigler distracted the attention from the theory of public interest and focused his efforts on sharing public rent of interest by influencing the regulation policies. The main actors in their analysis are interest groups and politicians. For these actors, their personal interests are in the forefront rather than the public interest. Interest groups do not hesitate to spend their personal resources to influence the

authorities in order to make decisions that are in their best interests (Stigler, 1971: 3). Regulatory theories have sought to answer the question of why regulation exists, and this question is considered as a demand and supply in the market. Accordingly, while the interest groups demand the regulation for their interests, the politicians who want to be elected or re-elected have to supply this goods and services. Thus, regulations are a means of transferring wealth in society (Oğuz, 2011: 99-100; Akça, 2007: 76).

Entrepreneurs in the city feel themselves to be involved in decision-making processes because they are directly affected by public regulation. The service providers subject to the regulation merge among themselves and form interest groups in the form of unions, cooperatives and chambers. These interest groups regulate the renting and rent-seeking activities by trying to attract regulators. Thus, every firm that has the power to influence the state institutions has the right to control the regulations. On the other hand, it is possible that public officials, who are appointed or elected, carry out activities aimed at expanding their domination or multiplying their wealth. Regulated firms can use some of their resources to ensure that these regulators remain in office, and incumbent bureaucrats provide specific benefits to the respective firms in response to their benefits and advantages (Carlton & Perloff, 2000: 652; Aktan & Karaaslan, 2009: 84).

In short, public services, which are offered through an organization in which private sector entrepreneurs are involved, are produced according to the preferences of interest groups (not the preferences of the citizens) occurring in this process as a result of a public-private collective decision. In particular, the use of the private sector in the provision of semi-public services does not eliminate the state responsibility in the provision of public service, and this responsibility continues to take part in the process through effective control and intervention mechanisms of the state. At this point, it is of great importance which public services, by whom and how to present. The mechanisms of decision-making in the provision of public services and the actors involved in these mechanisms are the elements that should be examined in defining public service and determining public preferences.

3.5 Policy and Decision-Making Processes in the Public Services

The first step in determining public policy is to identify and analyze the issues that need to be resolved (not solved) in public authorities (Bayırbağ, 2012). In other words, defining what the government chooses to do or not to do. Projects and the political agenda to solve the problem would be shaped around this analysis. The multi-scale nature of decision-making institutions, participation of non-governmental organizations and market actors in decision-making processes, and the differentiation of the organizations according to the changing system are the new changes in the public policy process of the capitalist state. This change brought an anti-bureaucratic, anti-positivist, and anti-hierarchical structure against traditional public management with it.

The new public management structure has been built on a system that is tailored to private sector policies, carried out through private companies, and carried out with a decentralized structure. When we look at urban policy process from this perspective, local firms, informal cooperation and business association that capital employs play an important role in the re-scaling process of the capitalist state over cities. At the point of service delivery, Local actors, local coalitions and local governments act jointly, many responsibilities and financial burden are transferred to them and more importantly, this system is institutionalized. Each coalition sets its specific accumulation strategies and hegemonic projects. Urban governance has become one of the areas that are actively involved in the recycling process. As can be seen, the management paradigm called “new public administration” has strengthened the character of urban governance, while the urban management system which is founded on firms, informal cooperation and business associations, has also led to an evolution from governance to urban entrepreneurship. The role of various social forces shaping state spatial strategies and how local allied groups communicate with and are influenced by these re-scaling processes are important points to understand the orientation of the state to the cities.

The readjustment of urban management has been identified by Harvey (1989) as a switch from urban “managerialism” to urban “entrepreneurialism”. The analyzing of the notions of spatial selectiveness of the state makes our work to explain re-scaling

process of the capitalist state with the rise of local entrepreneurialism easier. In this shift from governance to urban entrepreneurship, urban policy implementations give priorities to economic growth, territorial competitiveness, labor market flexibility, lean administration and market discipline. In particular, regulation, privatization and public-private partnerships as one of the most important tools of urban entrepreneurship in the post-1980 period represents the process of building local urban policies and programs in cooperation with public and private sectors (Pierre, 1998:5).

In this sense, it is important for the theorization of the urban policy process to address a decision-making process put forward through a decision-making network established with different policy actors instead of a single policy maker and its affiliated policy practitioner. A public policy process has been introduced that prevents direct intervention in economic/social relations and leads civil society and local private actors to institutionally involve in the decision-making process.

Today, the functioning of the public policy mechanism is a very complex and cyclical process, and it is seen that there are many actors from different circles and different sectors in the process of forming public policies. Some of these actors are involved in the determination of public policies, directly in the decision-making mechanism, while others try to take part in this process by influencing decision makers (Yıldız and Sobacı, 2013: 19). The most important factors affecting this policy process are a multi-scale decision-making mechanism, institutionalization of market actors' participation in decision-making mechanisms, and differentiation of decision-making process with the inclusion of interest-representation organizations in the mechanism (Bayırbağ, 2013:47).

The content of the decisions taken regarding the solution of the problems or the continuation of the status quo is determined as a result of calculations and evaluations of political, administrative, financial, etc. However, decision-makers have to act under certain constraints. First of all, they should work with other public institutions and organizations. These other institutions with decision-making and enforcement authority and possibilities determine the limits of the decision-makers' range of action and the extent of their ability to implement their decisions. Moreover,

institutions that determine or implement public policies operate under the pressure and supervision of organized social groups and interest groups, which may be exposed to the costs / benefits of decisions to be taken. Therefore, the construction and implementation process of public policies consists of conflicts and negotiations.

Public policy formation and implementation is not an activity that starts or ends at a specific time and place; is continuous. Therefore, the public policy process is a chain of decisions and actions that work with feedback and are made up of different stages. According to Bayırbağ (2017:428-429), the public policy process can be resolved around the emergence / perception of the problem, policy mobilization, policy agenda, institutional area of the agenda production, policy package, the process of converting the policy package into legal texts, rules sets, policy implementation process, policy outputs and policy results (Bayırbağ, 2013: 56-57).

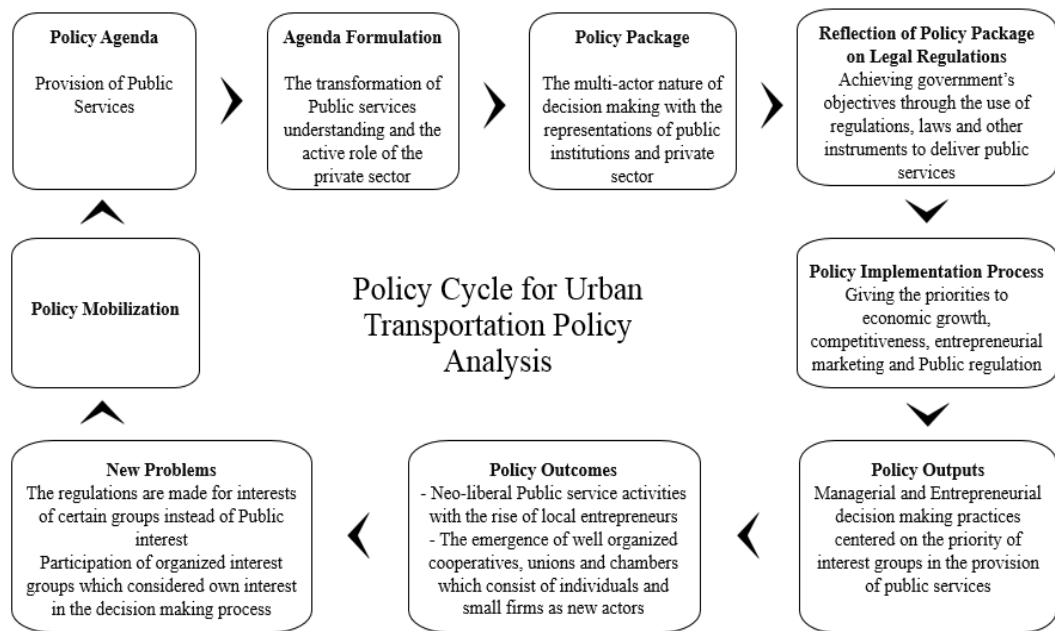


Figure 7: Policy Cycle for Urban Transportation Public Policy Analysis⁴

Considering that urbanization has accelerated on a global scale, the urban problems and the rapid urbanization dynamics produce new problems, it is inevitable that urban politics would gain importance as a public policy field. According to Bayırbağ

⁴ This figure, which contains the components of the public policy process, was inspired by the figure that Bayırbağ (2017) produced for public policy analysis.

(2017: 429-430), practitioners' knowledge on the field, the presence of more than one public actor, and the influence of organized social groups and interest groups such as professional chambers, non-governmental organizations on the decision-making process are important.

The “figure 7” is a public policy cycle on public service that shows what kind of challenges the developing countries with transforming of public service understanding bring for the theorization of the urban policy process. The policy cycle includes setting public policy agenda, policy package, policy formulation and policy sub-systems formulation, the decision making process, translating policy into action, policy outputs and outcomes in different phases of an urban public policy cycle following basic concepts of public policy analysis. Political agenda of policy cycle on public service is the whole of the issues about public service delivery that government officials, individuals and interest groups give importance to. The agenda-formulation stage is to designate what the government's problem is about the provision of public service and how an understanding would be accepted to provide public services. The policy package points to a policy mechanism that has turned its decision-making character into a multi-actor structure with the representation of different public institutions and the private sector.

The next stage is the reflection of policy package on legal regulations. The main aim of this phase is achieving government's objectives through the use of regulations, laws, and other instruments to deliver public services. Some of the basic laws adopted in accordance with the changing public service approach are the implementation of different rules, contracts and concession agreements in terms of the production of sub-rulesets for the implementation and public service delivery. The policy implementation process is shaped around the priorities to economic growth, competitiveness, public regulations and entrepreneurial marketing activities.

The policy outputs of the public policy cycle on public service is centered on the benefits of interest groups in the provision of public services with managerial and entrepreneurial decision making processes. The policy outcomes would be neo-liberal public service activities with the rise of urban entrepreneurs. Well organized interest groups such as chambers, cooperatives and unions of craftsmen which are

seeking maximum benefit from regulations emerge as new actors. One of the biggest handicaps of this new public policy at the point of public service delivery is that the regulations are made for the interest of certain groups instead of public interest. Individuals and small entrepreneurs are obliged to create organized group structures so that they can maximize their benefits from delivery public services. There is a risk that the private sector entrepreneurs involved in public policy decision-making will be able to manipulate the process in line with their own interests.

In his study, Bayırbağ (2017: 435-436) draws attention to the instrumentality of urban policy, the policies produced and implemented by the local authorities and the increasingly urbanized public policies in the definition of urban policy. At this stage, the presentation of public transportation services in the city, which is the subject of the thesis, is more compatible with the definition of policies produced and implemented by the city-based or established public and/or semi-public authorities.

Here, policies inevitably produced and implemented by municipalities and policies mainly produced around urban rent and shaping urban space within these bundles of policies are the main areas of interest of the thesis. It is also the starting point of the thesis that what public authorities are doing and implementing policy, what kind of policies they produce and implement, the analysis of their division of labor and possible policy coordination mechanisms.

Especially in the case of metropolises, the rapid expansion of urban areas compared to demographic growth, urbanization becoming more and more widespread, and the rapid transformations in the area of transportation make the quantitative and qualitative boundaries between urban and rural areas unclear. It is harder to find out where the city starts and where it ends. The wall phenomenon between the city and the countryside, which can be seen as a gray area, is no longer an exception and becomes a reality. With the Law No. 6360, which integrates the administrative boundaries of metropolitan municipalities with the provincial administrative boundaries in Turkey, this situation becomes even more complicated. Then, an administrative structure designed to provide urban services is now obliged to serve both urban and rural areas at the same time.

Direction of short-term and narrow-focus solutions in urban policies is not solely due to individual political interest calculations of decision-makers. There is a great influence on the structural reasons, namely the neoliberal character of the urbanization processes of the near term, and the public management thought that dominates the practice of public administration in this context. The most important feature of the multi-scale policy ecology emphasized by the Public Management is that the market actors along with the public institutions in almost all service areas are also participating as legitimate partners in the policy making and implementation processes. In this context, one of the most important things that should be done when attempting policy analysis is to draw up a corporate map of the policy networks (Bayırbağ, 2013:59). At this stage, it is the determination of the legislative framework defining the public and private actors of related to the public institutions in different scales. In addition, which authority / actor should respond to the question of which expectations and objectives are involved in these networks? When these questions are answered, the nature of the relationships between those involved in the network will become more evident, and at what stages of the policy process, what responsibilities are assumed.

3.5.1 Actor Structure of Local Decision-Making Process

In the political decision-making process, the supply and demand of public goods and services are formed and shaped. It is the political power and bureaucracy that regulates the supply of public goods and services (Aktan et al., 2007:201). In the literature addressing the issue of participation in decision-making mechanisms regulating the supply of public goods and services, local governments are particularly addressed as the target organization. The most important reason for this is that local administrations are the closest to the citizen within the governing structure as the lowest-level administrative units, and the areas of duty include the most basic public services that citizens face in everyday life (Akay, 2015:4).

Local governments serve in various fields as the most important branch of the welfare state in providing public services (Razin 2000:19). With challenges of meeting increased demand for public services after the expansion of urban areas and increased population, local governments have been expected to be more

entrepreneurial and competitive management units that would provide economic growth (Jessop & Sum 2000:2288-2289). Local governments have been privatized its functions, engaged in public-private partnerships, enabled society to provide urban public services autonomously to respond to these expectations (Haus & Heinelt 2005:12-39), use new public management models (Hood 1991:3-19) and provide public service more through the private sector agents instead public sector. Within this political role of the urban areas in neoliberal era, urban managers and private sector agents play a significant role in the decision making process. According to Harvey (1989), urban areas adopt market-oriented and entrepreneurial principles in recent years. In this sense, the city's public policies are directed towards capital interests rather than meeting the needs of citizens.

The first step to take in any decision-making process, is to identify the actors. Policy actors are those individuals and groups, both formal and informal, which seek to influence the creation and implementation of these public solutions. Public policy actors consist of the official actors such as Congress (or city council), the president (or mayor), executive agencies, and the courts and the unofficial actors such as political parties, interest groups, consultants, and the media (Cahn, 2012:199-200). The role each actor plays, and the relationship between actors, is what determines policy outcomes (Cahn, 2012:199-200). institutional actors can be basically defined as appointed bureaucratic actors, elected political actors.

The most emphasized non-institutional actors are the special interest groups that influence the decision-making process. The non-institutional policy makers are people who do not possess legal authority to make binding policy decisions. They do not occupy formal public positions or political offices. They are not in government but they derive their relevance and policy-making roles from government and the official policymakers. The non-institutional policy makers are generally interest groups who do not have legal authority to make public policy decisions however these groups are tended to meet their interests with affecting the official decision makers to include their interests into the policy making process (Popoola, 2016:50). Öncü (2007) emphasizes the existence of local, national and international actors in the local decision-making processes in the context of adaptation of a multi-actor

participation model. The participatory urban planning concept is composed of managers, politicians, technocrats, urbanists, NGOs, professional chambers, media, producers and operators at local level; it adopts a multi-actor participation model consisting of relevant government institutions such as politicians, state planning organization, Ministry of Transport, Maritime and Communication, Ministry of Environment and Urban Planning at the national level, and international organizations providing credit, grants, technology and know-how at international level in Turkey (Öncü, 2007:69-71).

Undoubtedly, the strongest actors are the municipal administrators in the local public service provision. The urban management system is shaped according to urban development plans, unplanned interventions and operational decisions. Local authorities have the authority to make the final decision on investments and arrangements to be made with local resources. In the projects requiring national financing, local authorities are the initiators and directors of the process of investment processes (Yıldız Öncü, 2016: 579). The municipality is effective and affected by the political environment at both the local and central scale. The effectiveness of municipalities in decision-making processes has been strengthened or weakened by the political support they received from the central government in the historical process (Öncü, 2009:16-18).

The mayor is the head, representative and executive body of the municipal administration. The mayor's presiding over the parliament and the council brings him to be the most influential person in the municipality. Powers such as representing the municipality in government departments and ceremonies, as plaintiffs or defendants, or as representatives in the judiciary, are the most important characteristics that strengthen the mayor in terms of representation. The mayor, who is also the head of the city council, also determines the municipal council agenda (Sezik, 2017:72).

The Municipal Council is the most competent decision-making body of the municipality. Its members are elected directly by the population through a proportional representation method every four or five years in many countries in the world. Within the municipality's decision-making mechanism, the city council has a wide range of tasks, from the determination of wages of services, to accepting

conditional donations, from taking a decision to borrowing, to accepting the municipal development program to negotiating (Keleş, 2006:240).

Municipal committee, which is one of the decision-making bodies of the municipality, is also an advisory body. The mayor presides over the municipal committee as well as the Municipal Council, and the mayor determines the meeting agenda of the municipal committee. The members of the board are composed of elected members and public officials (Sezik, 2017:72).

In metropolitan cities, district municipalities are the institutions involved in the decision-making process as well as metropolitan municipalities. Many district municipalities were established to inside of the borders of the metropolitan municipality with the implementation of the two-stage model of metropolitan governance in Turkey. Thus, some local public services are provided by district municipalities and common public services are provided by metropolitan municipalities. Many issues such as transportation, infrastructure, zoning and budgeting are under the supervision and coordinating authority of the metropolitan municipality. In addition to the "administrative tutelage" power of the central administration over the district municipalities, metropolitan municipalities have been granted some form of local administrative tutelage to be used on district municipalities in Turkey (Kavruk and Yaylı, 2008: 27).

Professional Chambers and Civil Society Organizations at the local level are also important actors in the local decision-making process. As mentioned earlier, professional interest groups are organizations that are created by individuals and/or organizations of the same or similar profession to protect their professional interests. At the local level, chambers, unions and cooperatives can be active actors who are able to vote in the decision-making mechanism, and are included in the decision-making process as knowledgeable organizations about the issue called to the meeting.

The main themes of the thesis are that the urban transportation bus service is under the responsibility of metropolitan municipalities in metropolitan cities and the insufficient urban transportation service provided by local administrations in these

cities are significant factors in determining the actors providing urban transportation service and the formation of decision making mechanism. On the one hand, factors such as the number of buses, number of stops, line and route selection, which are the determining factors in the delivery of urban transport services, are regulated by the local administrations, on the other hand, the transportation service providers subject to regulation are formed by interest groups in the form of associations, cooperatives or craftsmen chambers for rent-generating activities through influencing regulation institutions. As mentioned earlier, all kinds of urban transport decisions to be taken by the central and local governments within their own authority regarding urban transport have “rent-generating and rent-distributing” characteristics (Tekeli, 2009: 18–19). This process is another important issue that brings together urban transportation-oriented interest groups that try to be integrated into the decision-making mechanism. As a result, with the effect of neoliberal policies followed since the 1980s, a new public administration approach began to dominate and a new public service-oriented form of private sector emerged. However, establishing a connection between transition to urban transport services provided by private entrepreneurs and the development of neoliberalism in Turkey will not be enough to understand the reason for the emergence and existence of private entrepreneurs, which is the departure point of the construction of the thesis statement. Since the pre-1980 period, the rapidly growing and concentrated population in cities, the inability of local governments to provide transportation services for this population and the continuity of the existence of small entrepreneurs filling the urban transportation service gap have revealed a private sector entrepreneurship that has had priority status since pre-neoliberalism period. The private sector entrepreneurs, who had a say in the urban transport sector before 1980, were also directly or indirectly members of the decision-making mechanism of transportation in the city in the historical process.

The scientific approach adopted in the thesis is theoretically justified on the basis of regulation and decision-making theories. Issues regarding the private sector entrepreneurs involved in the urban transport service process in Ankara that the thesis intends to answer the questions are how to emerge private urban transport entrepreneurs, what the reasons for their existence, what the role of regulatory agencies is and how urban transport entrepreneurs influence the decision-making

process of urban transportation. These questions and the answers to be given are based on a theoretical basis related to the new public service concept, state regulations, the forms of service provided by the regulation and the functioning of decision-making mechanisms.

In short, the thesis will be focused on buses owned by individuals or private companies in terms of the urban public transport. The main objective of the thesis in the first stage is to reveal how private public transport entrepreneurs emerged and how they could survive; in the second stage is to reveal the content, priorities, the institutional and organizational structure of the decision-making complex of urban bus transportation in Ankara. The failures of the provision of urban public transport services and how the neo-liberal policies add up new actors to the decision making process in the city. To analyze the involvement of private urban entrepreneurs in the urban decision-making mechanism with the effect of neo-liberal urban policies, the provision of urban transportation services in the case of Ankara western planning corridor will be the best research area due to the fact that it has a busy transportation area, different bus service types, different transportation lines and routes.

3.5.2 Decision Making Mechanism of Local Public Services

Analyzing decision-making mechanism is a primary concern in political systems. Therefore, research in this area should explain how local government decision-making mechanisms work. Three fundamental models have been presented in political science to understand decision making mechanisms of public policies. First, the rational model emphasizes a decision-making mechanism in which all options are dealt with and those who best meet the organization's objectives are selected (Simon, 1957). Secondly, Lindblom and Braybrooke describe the decision-making mechanism as a multiple-step process in which political decisions are adjusted over time in the theory of the increasing changes they put forward (Braybrooke & Lindblom 1963; Lindblom, 1965). Lastly, the theories advocating pluralism (Dahl, 1961) put more emphasis on the environment around the decision-making mechanism. Pluralists emphasize how different actors and interests can shape public service decisions and become part of the process in a decision-making mechanism. The pluralistic understanding nurtured by governance theories emphasizes the effect

of multiple actor structure in the decision making process as well as its implementation.

Decision making mechanisms of urban areas have changed from being the regulators of collective goods and services provision to being economic promoters within the open market policy. At this stage, in particular, local public managers are seeking for the cooperation of the private sector to provide public services to the cities. The concept of governance has emerged at this point to explain the cooperation between public and private actors. The understanding of service delivery by the cooperation of public and private actors has become a new form of management in which the private sector plays an active role in the decision-making process (Miro, 2011:3).

A review of all factors affecting the decision-making processes at the local level, namely elected or appointed local government managers, corporate governance and private sector actors involved in the local government decision process (Keleş, 2006:107). There are three basic structures representing local governments in countries such as those of Turkey. These; municipalities, special provincial administrations and villages. Since the provision of urban transportation services are under the responsibility of metropolitan municipalities, other local government structures were not included in this chapter. As a matter of fact, with the local government law no. 6360, adopted in 2012, legal entities of special provincial administration, village and many municipalities with fewer populations were terminated and metropolitan municipalities became the only local governmental structure to provide main local public services. Thus, the excess number of institutional actors was reduced and the central administration's resource transfer and local financing problems were reorganized. In other words, metropolitan municipalities carry out important functions in meeting local needs and occupy a dominant place in the Turkish local government system. In this context, the urban transportation services are also under the responsibility of the metropolitan municipalities. Municipalities can provide urban transportation services directly under their own control, as well as private enterprises. Undoubtedly, the social and moral responsibilities of private sector actors have become increasingly important in recent years. Because private sector operators may develop attitudes appropriate to

lobbying from time to time in the performance of public services. In this respect, the private sector, which uses privatization methods in the provision of local public services, should be sensitive to social conditions when making decisions about service provision (Farnham and Horton, 1996: 30).

In Turkish local government system, decisions regarding the budget, accounting, zoning plan, fee tariffs and municipal immovables are taken by the Municipal Assembly as the decision making mechanism of the municipal administration. The main tasks and decisions taken by the Municipal Assembly are to discuss and accept the strategic plan, investment, working programs, to accept the budget and final account, to discuss and approve the zoning plans of the municipality. To make and implement metropolitan transportation master plan, and planning and coordination of transportation and public transportation services are among the responsibilities and duties of the metropolitan municipality (Article 7 of the metropolitan law no. 5216).

The metropolitan municipality council is the decision-making body of the metropolitan municipality and consists of members elected. The mayor of the metropolitan mayor is the chairman of the metropolitan council, and the mayors of other municipalities within the metropolitan are natural members of the metropolitan council ((Article 12 of the metropolitan law no. 5216). The mayor of the metropolitan municipality has the right to veto the decisions of the municipal council which he deems unlawful.

One of the most important decision-making bodies in municipal administration is specialized commissions. The metropolitan council may establish specialized commissions of at least five and at most nine members to be elected from among its members. Specialized commissions are formed by proportioning the number of members of each political party group and independent members in the metropolitan municipal council to the total number of council members. It is obligatory to establish commissions related to reconstruction and public works, environment and planning and especially transportation (Article 15 of the metropolitan law no. 5216). Transport Coordination Centers are established to ensure coordination of public transport services. The center consists of the municipal bureaucrats and the representatives of public institutions, organizations and Turkey's Automobile Drivers

Federation. In addition, representatives of chambers of the transportation sector related to the issues on the agenda are invited to the transportation meetings.

Above mentioned the changing structure of the decision making mechanism has become more complex with the interaction between different actors. In particular, urban public transport decision-making mechanisms have been transformed into a structure that includes representatives of different institutions, local government bureaucrats and chambers, associations and organizations representing small entrepreneurs in transportation. The multi-actor structure of decision-making mechanisms has become a new form of management in which the private sector plays an active role in the decision-making process.

3.5.3 Decisions Types and Contents of Local Public Services

States have the authority to regulate public services, but many states have delegated this authority to local governments at least for local public services. Generally, local authorities have a large degree of autonomy to control a broad range of services in relation to housing, zoning planning and landscaping services, municipal police and license inspection services, fire, disaster and emergency management, water and sewerage services, infrastructure coordination services and transportation coordination services. There are many types of decision about public services made by local authorities. The content of each decision changes the type and process of decision making.

If we give a few examples of the decisions taken by the municipalities in line with their responsibilities, metropolitan municipalities became significant decision makers on housing. Based on the impact of neo-liberal policies and the revitalizing effect of the housing sector on the economy and employment, central government has provided a significant transfer of power and authority to local governments. This has made municipalities important actors in housing production and has led municipalities to consider dealing with housing policies within their duties and responsibilities (Hintzsche, 1998:808). The decisions of local governments on housing policies covers many areas such as urban planning, encouraging the

production of housing, subsidies, housing benefit, providing land for housing construction, creating suitable credits (Kılıç & Özel, 2006:214).

In local governments, decision-making is particularly geared to more strategic choice levels that tend to be associated with land use, planning and zoning. In fact, states have the authority to regulate land use, planning and zoning, but many states delegate their powers to local governments to a large extent. In countries devolving powers from central government to local governments, local authorities have largely autonomy to control land use. States generally authorize municipalities to pass ordinances and regulations if they do not contradict with other laws. Moreover, all central governments give local authorities the power to enact zoning regulations (OECD, 2017:221). Consequently, Local governments can initiate community economic planning efforts, building on their critical role in shaping community growth and determining land use.

Water and sewerage services, which play an important role in the local development of a city, are a type of service that requires a connected network system. Therefore, it has been necessary to establish special units for such technical infrastructure services. In the provision of water and sewerage services, municipalities can directly provide these services as well as through special purpose public organizations. In many cities such as Ankara, İstanbul and İzmir, special purpose public organizations such as ASKİ, İSKİ and İZSU have been established as water and sewerage administrations (Keleş, 2012:2). In the cities that became a metropolitan municipality by a law enacted in 1984, water and sewage management became the responsibility of municipalities. According to the article 7 of the metropolitan law no. 5216, metropolitan municipalities are responsible for undertaking water and sewage services, constructing and operating dams and other plants. Therefore, the decisions of local governments on water and sewage services include not only the city center but also the villages and other settlements in rural areas with the expansion of the service area of metropolitan cities.

At large cities such as Istanbul and Ankara, dense, crowded and unplanned city structures have led to an increase in demand for utilities services and financial resources of local governments used for the transportation, construction and other

infrastructure services. Coordinated planning and operation of transportation and infrastructure is of great significance. In the World and accordingly in Turkey, as a reflection of policies towards expanding the authorities of local administrations' duty to coordinate transportation and infrastructure works was assigned to metropolitan municipalities which provided for the establishment of transportation and infrastructure coordination centers. Centers became institutions which are responsible for providing citizens, infrastructure and transportation services.

In accordance with Article 7/3 of the Law No. 3030, Infrastructure Coordination Center "AYKOME" and Transportation Coordination Center "UKOME" were established in the metropolitan area in order to carry out the infrastructure and transportation services in metropolitan cities with high coordination. The coordination centers are formed by the participation of the representatives of the relevant public institutions and organizations under the chairmanship of the mayor of the metropolitan municipalities. The participation of representatives of related institutions in the decision-making process of transportation and infrastructure coordination was evaluated as a positive development in the context of local participation (Eke, 1985: 54). In the new Metropolitan Municipality Law no. 5216, which entered into force in 2004, UKOME and AYKOME formations continued to exist together with some changes.

In addition to the decisions taken by the municipalities in line with the responsibility areas of the decision mechanisms, the ways in which decisions are taken are also important. There are some ordinances adopted at municipal levels over such services as urban transportation. Central governments give powers and authority to local governments in order to regulate subjects and pass local ordinances for urban planning, urban transportation, fire department, municipal police, infrastructure, water and sewage decisions. Local ordinance follows a 3-step path. Firstly, notifications that need to be disclosed to the public must be made public. Secondly, Secondly, experts are consulted on the subject of the decision in accordance with the consultation procedure. Finally, the ordinance ratified by the city council and the mayor (Understanding the Basics of Local Agency Decision-Making, 2009: 37).

Resolution is a legal process run by the municipal council, which is the decision-making body of local governments, such as service pricing, fining, and decision-making on the agenda. In other words, resolution refers to the will of the local authorities accepted by voting. Compared to ordinances, resolutions are local decision-making processes with fewer procedures. Decisions are accepted with only one meeting instead of three different stages.

In some countries, citizens do not only vote to elect local authorities, they also vote as actors of decision-making mechanisms. The process of citizen voting in the decision-making process is complex. During this process, they vote by taking advice from political consultants and lawyers to avoid devious steps. If citizens voting in the decision-making mechanism are against a law adopted by elected officials, they may submit a petition for the voting of the law by all voters. This process is called a referendum as the petition submitted to the law to all voters to vote again. Local authorities have two options in this case. First, they can abolish the law, so there is no need for a referendum. The second is to ensure that the law is re-voted by the public. (Understanding the Basics of Local Agency Decision-Making, 2009: 37).

The most important type of decision-making for elected local government officials is to decide how to allocate public funds for public goods and services that need to be produced. The budget is one of the most important factors affecting the decision of local decision-makers on how revenues will be allocated to finance local public goods and services. The decision to spend on certain goods and services is a kind of appropriation authorized by the city council consistent with the budget (Understanding the Basics of Local Agency Decision-Making, 2009: 37).

There are many types of decisions made by local authorities on public services. The content of each decision makes a difference in the type of decision making, mechanism and actors. Generally, local authorities make decisions on a broad range of services in relation to housing, zoning planning and landscaping services, municipal police and license inspection services, fire, disaster and emergency management, water and sewerage services, infrastructure coordination services and transportation coordination services. The decision-making process of all these services, which are within the responsibility areas of each local government's

decision-making mechanisms, varies. Local ordinances, resolutions, referendum and decisions to spend money are the most common types of decisions.

The variables such as the decision-making mechanism, decision-makers and the type and content of the decisions mentioned in this section play an important role in the analysis of urban transport decision-making processes. Decisions to be taken by local government units with different decision-making mechanisms, actors and decision types are also different. The content resulting from the decisions taken is in a position to affect all transport policies.

In the fourth chapter, the urban transportation policies of Ankara in the historical process are discussed in the context of changing public service concept, regulations and decision making processes.

CHAPTER 4

HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF URBAN TRANSPORTATION IN ANKARA

It is possible to define three different urban transport periods in Ankara regarding the post-Republic period by considering the reflections of market and government failures on urban public transport practices and their effects on decision-making processes. In the first period, Ankara tries to meet the rapidly increasing demand for urban public transport by Public Interest-Oriented entrepreneurship. However, the local government cannot keep up with the demand for traditional mass transportation services due to the rapid urbanization and concentration of the majority of the population in the city centers. This situation led to the transition from the Public Interest-Oriented urban transport service approach of the period to the Managerial Approach that the problem of transportation is tried to be solved by small urban entrepreneurs and the municipality manages it as an institution that supervises and organizes the process. In the post-1980 period, the use of private sector management techniques in the state and the transfer of government functions to the private sector have started to be brought to the agenda as a product of the new public management approach. The provision of urban bus transportation services finally evolved towards a continuing public transport service concept with the privileged private entrepreneurs. Increasing the impact of small entrepreneurs on urban bus transportation makes the decisions and regulations of urban transportation significant for the control and audit of urban transportation services.

The provision of urban transportation service plays an important role in the municipal services. Urban bus transit services are usually a key service in any provision of urban transportation services. In many cities in the developing countries, buses are the only urban public transport that is favored by the majority of the population and the urban poor. In 1980, around 600 million passengers were

transported daily by buses in the cities of developing countries, while the number of passengers doubled in the 2000s (World Bank, 1987:20).

Historically, public transport vehicles and systems in developing cities have failed to keep pace with the rapidly growing demand for urban transport services in recent years. In particular, as a consequence of being failed to meet the demand, publicly owned bus services generated a gap at the urban transport. To some extent, closing the urban transport gap is possible by the addition of new actors with small entrepreneurs.

In many cities, the privatization has first emerged as the disposal of state-owned small enterprises in competitive markets, followed by the provision of public services through private entrepreneurs. Although the way, scale and actors of privatization differ considerably between and within different continents, so far, public services have been the main target area of privatization worldwide. Obviously, there are particular difficulties in identifying international trends in the provision of municipal services. Especially, in the provision of urban transport services, there are differences between countries in constitutional, institutional and structural contexts.

Historically, the different service provisions related to urban public transport at national and local levels in Turkey were in consideration to emphasize the differences in the legal, administrative and structural aspects in the same processes. The understanding of public service provision, which is different in the historical process in the context of Ankara, plays an important role in our understanding of different forms and organizations of public transport, service actors and public transport vehicles.

4.1 National Perspective: Governance and Regulation in the Urban Bus Transport Systems

Although the problem of urban transportation has emerged with the cities growing up as a result of industrialization, it has become widespread in the west after World War II and after 1960s in our country. The problem of urban transport first appeared as traffic congestion along with the increase in vehicle supply. Later, urban decision-

makers attempted to solve this through new roads or road expansion. The problems have been overcome one by one as they have become prominent. This may have been considered as a fragmentary approach. The fragmentary approach, which handles the problem in small pieces such as from street to street or from intersection to intersection, has led to the creation of more technical solutions in areas where traffic jams are present (Elker, 2012:253). In the 1950s, the roads opened up in urban cities in Turkey are indicators of the beautification efforts for the era.

In the 1950s, a transition from a fragmentary approach to a systematic approach was achieved. However, useful methods were limited to short-term solutions as the emergence of journeys was not based on explanatory causal ties. After the rapid urbanization and population growth that started post 1950s, large streets started to be opened up especially in big cities in order to solve the problems arising in urban traffic. The opening of Vatan and Millet Street in Istanbul was realized in this period (Kılınçaslan, 2012: 230).

In the 1960s, long-term planning in transportation has gained importance, and models have been developed for the estimation of future transportation demands and the relationships between the urban behavior and the behavior of roads. The traditional method of transport planning, which is based on a sound theoretical foundation, has been started to be used widely by urban planners since the second half of the 20th century. In this method, journeys to different regions of the city, lines and routes used, distribution of lines by regions, transportation types and vehicles are interpreted statistically. Since the second half of the 20th century, the traditional method of transport planning has been widely used by urban planners because it is based on a sound theoretical foundation (Evren, 1995).

In the 1970s, the first transportation planning activities, which were short-term and narrow-scope, were initiated by foreign experts in Istanbul and Ankara. Determining the necessity of the Bosphorus Bridge, which is an important transportation investment, and examining the general transportation structure of the city, coincide with this period (Öncü, 1993). In the same period, a comprehensive study was held in Istanbul to be used in transportation works. Between 1970 and 1985, transportation planning activities were discussed within the scope of master development planning.

After transportation planning groups were established in Istanbul, Ankara and Izmir Master Plan Offices, and land use and transportation surveys were conducted by these groups (Kılınçaslan, 2012: 230). There has been a significant increase in the number of urban transport planning activities in the post-1985 period. These studies have been prepared as a prerequisite for projects related to rail public transportation systems especially in Ankara, Istanbul and Izmir provinces (Özalp and Öcalır, 2008:74-75). It is noteworthy that the study, which covers the city and all its sub-structures, is only carried out in 4 big cities such as Istanbul, Ankara, Izmir and Bursa. (Öncü 2005).

Municipalities and metropolitan municipalities in the country are responsible for urban transports and decisions concerning cities. Metropolitan municipalities establish Transport Coordination Centers in order to render, in coordination, any transport services within its boundaries. Decisions taken by the Center regarding public transport bind all municipalities and public institutions and organizations. As a result of the regulation, the metropolitan municipalities have been preparing “Transport Master Plans” since 2004. Association of Turkish Municipalities, which all municipalities in Turkey are natural members of, prepares “Transport Planning Studies and Transport Master Plan Preparation Guide” in order to guide municipalities and share their experiences across the country. Assessment of the current situation, future goals and recommendations regarding urban transport are provided in “Turkish Transport and Communication Strategy” published in 2011 (Habitat III National Report, 2014: 11).

In 2013, 11th Transport Forum was held, and goals were set regarding urban accessibility under the Urban Transport section, such as, providing integration of urban transport plans with local plans, developing public transport systems, making rail systems common and increasing local share and improving accessibility standards for different urban transport modes. Besides local administrations, central administrations are also, either directly or indirectly, associated with urban transport (Habitat III National Report, 2014: 11).

In 2014, Ministry of Transportation, Maritime Affairs and Communications prepared “National Smart Transport Systems Strategy Paper (2014-2023) and Action Plan

(2014-2016)”. The paper and plan support empowering urban accessibility through technology (Habitat III National Report, 2014: 11).

Urban accessibility has been increased in many cities primarily in metropolitan municipalities through investments such as multi-level interchanges, tunnels and bridges which enhance land vehicle mobilization, and through smart transport and traffic management models such as Traffic Electronic Inspection System. With Metrobus Project in Istanbul with a length of 52 km, a high-volume and speedy transport system was established (Habitat III National Report, 2014: 11). Besides, important rail system projects were implemented in urban transport, and practices increasing the share of maritime transport and making bike use widespread were adopted; and in some city centers, pedestrianisation projects were put into practice. In order to ensure active participation of disabled people in urban life, “Law on Disabled People” was issued. In the scope of this law, it became a legal obligation to make all buildings, roads, sidewalks, pedestrian crossings, open and green spaces, playfields and similar social and cultural infrastructure sites along with public transport services accessible to disabled people till the end of 2015 (Habitat III National Report, 2014: 11).

As a result, at the national level, the problems related to urban transportation were first being perceived as traffic congestion caused by vehicle excess. Then this perception led urban decision-makers in 1950s to produce technical solutions such as new roads or road expansion. Although long-term planning in transportation became an important element in the 1960s, the number of urban transport planning activities increased after 1980s. In addition, these urban transport planning activities were mostly related to rail public transportation systems especially in Ankara, Istanbul and Izmir provinces.

In terms of decision-making processes of urban bus transportation services, Transportation coordination centers, which have the authority to control and regulate transportation in metropolitan cities are important institutions. Decisions taken by the Transportation Coordination Center bind all district municipalities, public institutions and private firms regarding urban public transport. As a result of the regulation, the metropolitan municipalities have been preparing “Transport Master Plans”.

Furthermore, the decisions of license cancellation and of the determination of their routes and lines within the boundaries of metropolitan cities are taken by Transportation Coordination Centers. Therefore, legislative amendments on national basis have left the authority to take decisions on urban transportation to local institutions.

4.1.1 Urban Bus Transportation in National Planning

Pre 1970 studies are the short-term and narrow studies carried out by foreign experts who have neither experience in transportation planning nor awareness of urban transport planning in Turkey. The studies in this period were carried out in order to determine and defend the necessity of a certain transportation investment such as the Istanbul and Ankara subways and the Bosphorus Bridge rather than the city's general transport structure. (Özalp, 2007:41).

In 1958, the Ministry of Development and Housing was established by Law No. 7116 and, was in charged with planning of districts, cities, towns and villages, dealing with housing policy, arranging urban infrastructure and relations with municipalities (Altaban, 2002:32; Çevre ve Şehircilik Bakanlığı, 2019). In fact, as an early attempt, in 1958, Istanbul Directorate of Planning and Settlement was established under the Ministry, but closed right after the military coup in 1960. With the new Constitution adopted in 1961, important institutional arrangements were made for the restructuring, democratization and development of the country. In this context, with a law published in 1965, the Ministry of Development and Housing has been designated to determine the duties of the establishment of Master Plan Bureaus in İstanbul, Ankara and İzmir and to make the necessary changes in the legislation for the implementation of these plans by the municipalities. Istanbul, Izmir and Ankara Metropolitan Area Master Plan Bureaus were established respectively in 1965, 1968 and 1969. The leveling of the Nazım Plan Bureaus in the first stage of establishment was as shown in Figure 8 (Altaban, 2002:33).

During the period of Metropolitan Area Master Plan Bureaus, while there was a focus on traditional master plan production in Istanbul, in Ankara main focus was the

planning experience based on system approach and cooperation with actors (Keskinok, 2002:25; Altaban, 2002:34,37).

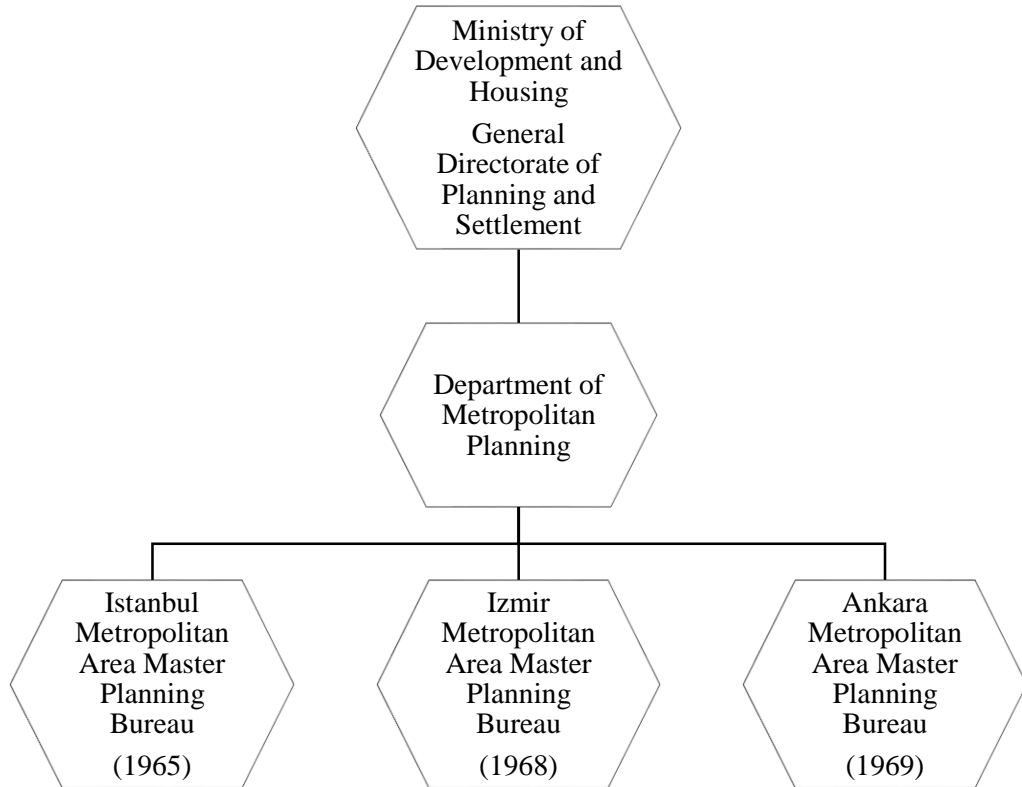


Figure 8: Staging and Distribution of Tasks of Master Plan Bureaus

Prior to the State Planning Organization, a series of plans and researches were conducted and published by the Regional Planning Department within the Ministry of Development and Housing. With the establishment of the State Planning Organization, sectoral planning first gained importance during the process and the Regional Planning Department was neutralized. When the Regional Planning Department was completely abolished by Law no. 3194, both the regional planning activities carried out by the Ministry of Development and Housing and the contribution of the Master Plan Bureau to urban research were terminated. However, both the Master Plan Bureaus and the Ministry of Development and Housing have contributed greatly to the increase in quality and quantity of urban and regional research. With the enactment of Law No. 3194, there was an interruption in the work

with the question of when the offices were terminated (Beyhan, 2008:153). In a study conducted in Turkey Sciences Academy, it is determined that the planning unit of municipalities gave importance neither research nor producing scientific outputs after the closure of the Master Plan Bureaus (Eraydın, 2003:36). In this respect, the closure of the Bureaus, Turkey has been a huge loss in terms of maturation of planning practice.

The institutional dispute between the Ministry of Environment and the Ministry of Development and Housing regarding the organization by which the environmental management plans should be undertaken led to provincial environmental management plans materialized on a different scale. Pursuant to paragraph 3 of Article 7 of the Decree Law No. 644, the metropolitan municipalities make the environmental management plans within the boundaries of the metropolitan municipalities. In non-metropolitan cities, the Ministry makes and approves the environmental management plans. In addition, the Ministry has responsibility of making, planning and approving the national and regional physical plans. Therefore, the environmental management plans to be prepared and approved by the metropolitan municipalities must comply with the decisions of the regional environmental plans prepared and approved by the Ministry (CSB, 2019).

The effects of high-scale plans such as zoning plans, master plans and environmental management plans on urban transport solutions indirectly affect public transport decision-making processes. As a matter of fact, in the 2009 Istanbul Provincial Environmental Management Plan report, emphasized that the transportation decisions should be developed in line with the Environmental Management Plan decisions, and the priority would be to provide transportation and the establishment of a public transportation-oriented transportation system. In 2011, the Istanbul Metropolitan Area Urban Transportation Master Plan emphasized the improvement of public transport infrastructure and compliance with the transportation objectives of the environmental management plan. In line with the objectives and analysis of these plans, some urban transportation projects such as Haliç Metro Crossing Bridge, Eurasia Crossing and Marmaray have been created and integrated to the transportation plan (Alpay and Altay, 2015:275). The main purpose of the

transportation planning studies in the 1980s was to test the transportation dimensions of the development scenarios and land use decisions put forward during the high-scale planning studies for the city in the Master Plan Bureaus (Özalp, 2007:42). Up to 1985, transportation studies and planning work had been done only for the cities of İstanbul, İzmir and Ankara. In parallel with the work of the master plan offices in these years, the transportation studies carried out in Samsun, Bursa and Erzurum with local experts and resources, and simple estimation methods were used in a much narrower scope (Öncü, 1993).

In the post-1985 period, a large number of studies were prepared on the basis of the urban rail system project alone. It is noteworthy that in more than thirty-five years, transportation studies and planning studies have been carried out for the cities of İstanbul, Ankara, Bursa, Gaziantep, Antalya, Kayseri, Konya, Eskişehir and Trabzon (Özalp, 2007:45). Since 1960, accelerating economic, social and cultural development, harmonization of policies implemented, harmonious orientation of social and cultural transformation and preparation of Development Plans to ensure rational public intervention in the economy were adopted in Turkey. The preparation of Development Plans has been finalized to achieve economic, social and cultural development through democratic means with the 1961 Constitution. In line with these objectives, the State Planning Organization was established on 30 September 1960 and 9 Five-Year Development Plans have been implemented since its establishment (Strateji ve Bütçe Başkanlığı, 2019). Although it was perceived as an extension of the national transportation problems in the city until the Fourth Five-Year Development Plan (1979-1983), in the Development Plans, urban transportation planning and urban bus transportation in particular became important issues in parallel with the population growth in large-scale cities in the 2000s. The importance of the Transportation Master Plan in terms of urban transport has been reflected in national policies and has become obligatory with some legal arrangements put into effect with five-year development plans. In the third five-year development plan (1973-1977), the problem of urban transportation and the improvement of urban service standards were mentioned, especially as a result of the rapid increase in population due to rapid migration in large cities (SBB, 1972). In the fourth five-year development plan (1979-1983), the problems caused by the transportation policy

based on oil and private vehicles in urban transportation with the effect of the oil crisis in 1970s were emphasized. Under a separate sub-heading, urban transport policies are adopted regarding urban transportation policies of encouraging public transport systems in urban passenger transport in cities, beginning of final construction of subway or light metro projects in Ankara and Istanbul, making prevalent of private bus routes (SBB, 1978). In the fifth five-year development plan (1985-1989), it is stated that the transportation plans to be prepared for the cities should be integrated with the zoning plans. (SBB, 1984).

In the seventh five-year development plan (1996-2000), cooperation and coordination between central and local institutions in terms of planning, implementing, setting standards and financing of urban transport infrastructure projects were emphasized. It is stated that urban transportation master plan studies that will solve the transportation need in accordance with the master plan decisions should be accelerated, and public transportation systems based on the priorities determined in the plan should be focused on. It is emphasized that preparing and implementing the Urban Transportation Master Plan to realize the policy of increasing the share of maritime and rail transport systems by reducing the weight of the road in urban transportation in Istanbul, and implementing similar plan studies for other metropolises when necessary (SBB, 1995).

Articles from 1693 to 1721 are on urban transport planning under the heading of urban transport in the eighth five-year development plan (2001-2005). In these articles, it is stated that urban transport policies are not evaluated effectively and oversight of large-scale urban transport investments (SBB, 2000:177). It is aimed to realize an urban transportation structure in line with the plans of the city. It is aimed to develop the bus management of the city, to adequately control the private public transportation and service vehicles and to ensure the rational use of the intermediate public transportation types and to take the necessary measures in order to make more efficient use of maritime transportation in urban transportation (SBB, 2000:177). In the report of the Sub-Commission on Urban Transportation, under the title of sharing authority and responsibility in urban transport, the Municipalities were held responsible for carrying out zoning and transportation planning activities within their

borders. Therefore, municipalities also have the responsibility to ensure coordination between these plans (Çürüksulu, 2017:47-48; TBB, 2014:9; SBB, 2000:177).

Articles from 443 to 452 are on urban transport planning under the heading of urban transport in the ninth five-year development plan (2007-2013). In these articles, it is emphasized that urban transport policies can be established with a comprehensive national strategy that is binding on the public sector, directing the private sector. The plan drew attention to the direct and indirect problems caused by rapid and unplanned urbanization in urban transport, and stated that public transport services could not be improved, especially in large cities due to high costs and insufficient financial resources (SBB, 2006:80-81). Article 448 of the Plan emphasizes that public transport operates as a system that does not compete within themselves. In the Article 452 under the heading of urban transport, regulations that clearly define the duties, powers and responsibilities of the units which are responsible for decision, policy, implementation and supervision of urban transport at national and local level (Çürüksulu, 2017:48 and TBB, 2014:9).

In the “Urban Transportation Planning Problems, Strategies and Actions” section of the 10th Transportation Council held in 2009, failure to implement sustainable transportation planning approaches in cities is defined as a problem. In the title of Strategies, obligation to make the Transportation Master Plan (UAP) was emphasized. In the title of the actions, Transportation Master Plan will be prepared for every city with a population of 100,000 or more and it will be updated every five years (TBB, 2014:9).

In the 11th Transport Maritime and Communication Forum held in 2013, the integration of urban transportation plans with urban development plans, improvement of accessibility standards of transportation types and ensuring integration between different transportation modes in terms of routes, infrastructure, toll payment systems and timetable are emphasized (11th Transportation Maritime Affairs and Communications Forum, 2013:27).

Until today, Transportation Master Plan (1983-1993), Transportation Master Plan Strategy (2005-2015) and the National Transport Master Plan (2017-2021) were

prepared at the national level in Turkey. In the Transportation Master Plan prepared for the period 1983-1993, emphasized that the relation between urban development plans and urban transportation plans, which include land use decisions, should be established, handled and integrated (SBB, 2006). The Transportation Master Plan covering the period 1983-1993 took its place on the shelf as a study which was prepared for the first time on a national basis but could not be implemented. The principles and policies set out in the Transport Master Plan could not go beyond the proposal. In the Sixth and Seventh Five-Year Development Plans, targets have been set for the development of transportation modes; however, no statements regarding the necessity and preparation of the Transportation Master Plan are included in the planning texts (Yıldız, 2008:40).

In the Transportation Master Plan Strategy, which includes the period 2005-2015, the urban transport has been widely covered, although it is a strategic study at the national level. In particular, the relationship between urban planning and transportation planning is emphasized, and the situation in practice is criticized. The strategies consist of the changes to be made in the transportation infrastructure and the projects to be implemented should be realized in accordance with the main plans of urban transportation with a holistic approach (SBB, 2006).

In the National Transport Master Plan, which includes the period 2017-2021, the strategic objectives section emphasizes a holistic transportation system that will help the development of the country to cover the targets of 2023 and the vision of 2035. Similarly, it mentions that a holistic transportation system will also create employment in the transportation and logistics sector, and will be safe, export-oriented and environmentally sensitive. In the workshop held on 7 November 2017 within the scope of the National Transportation Master Plan Project financed under the Operational Program of the Pre-Accession Assistance (IPA) I period (2007-2013), stakeholders were presented with a guide for the preparation of the Urban Transportation Master Plan (Ulaştırma ve Altyapı Bakanlığı, 2019).

In 10. Transportation Forum, Transportation Master Plan which becomes mandatory for each city with a population of 100,000 or more is emphasized as the significant planning basis in terms of studies on urban transportation conducted in Turkey. The

Transport Master Plan should cover all provincial property boundaries in metropolitan areas and cover municipal boundaries and contiguous areas in other municipalities with a population exceeding 100,000. Transportation Master Plan is first of all approved by the Ministry of Transport, Maritime Affairs and Communications, General Directorate of Infrastructure Investments (GDII). Following the approval of the GDII, the plan comes into force upon approval of the Transport Coordination Center (UKOME) in the Metropolitan Municipalities and city councils; and only city councils in the municipalities (TBB, 2014:15).

While it was difficult to speak of a holistic plan for metropolitan cities such as Istanbul, Ankara and Izmir until 2004, the authority limits of metropolitan municipalities were met with the Metropolitan Area by the law No. 5216 in 2004. Thus, a single plan was made for the whole province border and the problem of coordination was tried to be solved. As a matter of fact, the Istanbul Transportation Master Plan (ITMP), which was prepared by the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality for the entire urban area for Istanbul, started in 2006 and was completed in 2009. The ITMP was also revised as a result of the revision of the 1/100,000 scale Istanbul Provincial Environmental Management Plan in 2009 before the ITMP study was completed (IBB, 2011:1).

The first transportation planning study for Izmir, which is the Turkey's third largest city, is İzmir Transportation Study made in June 1974. Following this study, a new study was carried out solely on the regulation of the city center transportation structure in 1976. In August 1980, the Nazım Plan Bureau conducted a study to improve the public transport system. In 1992, İzmir Transportation Master Plan was prepared for the realization of urban rail system project with the financial support of a company (Özalp, 2007:78).

İzmir Transportation Master Plan which is the basis of transportation planning in the city was completed and approved in 2009 as a result of research, analysis and synthesis studies that started in 2006 and lasted for 3 years. It includes urban transportation types, routes, integration, integration, stages and implementation calendar based on the projection of 2030 (Topal, 2017:6). In addition, Environmental Management Plan (1/100.000) which includes Manisa-Kütahya-İzmir Planning

Region was approved by the Ministry of Environment and Forestry in 2009; however, was canceled in 2012. In 2014, Environmental Management Plan (1/100.000) which includes Manisa-İzmir Planning Region was approved by the Ministry of Environment and Urbanization only by taking the province of Kütahya out of the plan boundary. Surprisingly, the Environmental Management Plan, which should be the constitution of the city, is subject to changes on average twice a year in İzmir (Ankara Yerel Yönetimler Raporu, 2019:2)

From past to present, transportation demands have been differentiated in Ankara depending on urban development and plan decisions. It is important to examine the change of the transportation plans and policies of the city, which were put forward to meet these demands in the historical process in order to reveal the transportation structure of the city. Although the Lörcher Plan (1924-1932 period) was attempted to shape the city's macroform for the first time, the population projections of the Jansen plan (1932-1957) made following to Lörcher were insufficient for Ankara, which received immense migration (Özkazanç, 2016: 86). The growth of the city as in the case of oil stains on water necessitated access to new development areas by motor vehicles. In the years of rapid urbanization, newcomers are surrounded by shanty zone generations due to lack of employment, housing and urban infrastructure. As a result of these morphological transformations and changes, Yücel-Uybadin Plan (1957-1970 period) was put into practice in order to control urban development. According to the plan, Ankara has been designed as a single-center, slum-free, highly dense and relatively homogenous city with 750.000 population. The basic prediction of the Yücel-Uybadin plan in the context of shaping the urban system and the macroform is the Konya-Samsun ring road, which constitutes the main transport backbone of the city (2023 Capital Ankara Master Plan (2019:64).

In the mid-1980s, the Transportation Study, which examines the modernization of public transport and the infrastructure of subway construction in order to solve the transportation problems in the city, was carried out in cooperation with a French company. However, this project was rejected by the State Planning Organization on the grounds that the proposed technology would bring dependence on French technology (Öncü, 2009). The development dynamics that will enable the large

residential and industrial zones to settle in the west of the city are tried to be established with the Ankara 1990 Master Plan (1970-2006). The development of important focal points such as Batıkent, Eryaman, Sincan and Sincan Organized Industrial Zones in the western corridor is planned and the city is directed to the axis of Istanbul Road (Özkazanç, 2016: 87-91).

The 1970s became a landmark in the rapidly growing city. Failure to meet the demand for travel in cities has made it necessary to carry out more comprehensive and planned transportation studies. Urban transport planning has been carried out since 1970 with Ankara City Transportation Study (1970-1972), Ankara Urban Rail Transportation Project (1978-1980), Ankara Railway Public Transportation System Feasibility Study (1980-1984), Ankara Urban Transportation Study (1985-1986), Ankara Transportation Master Plan (1992-1994), Ankara Traffic and Transportation Improvement Study (1998) and Ankara Transportation Master Plan (2013). The Ankara Transportation Master Plan, whose target year was moved to 2025, was approved by the decision of Ankara Metropolitan Municipality Council and approved by the Ankara Transportation Coordination Center (TCC) (Çubuk, and Türkmen, 2003:133-134). However, Ankara still does not have a current transportation master plan. The lack of a main transportation plan of the city leads to the creation of solutions through fragmentary projects. Transportation policies that are not produced in accordance with a higher plan adversely affect urban and intercity transportation. Although “2038 Transportation Master Plan” which was prepared in recent years and presented to Metropolitan Municipality in 2015 was a draft filled with technical deficiencies and inaccuracies, suggestions of this draft have been processed and approved indirectly in the 2038 Environmental Management Plan which was approved in 2017. This contradictory situation eliminates the validity of both plans while the lawsuits filed against the Environmental Management Plan continue (Ankara Yerel Yönetimler Raporu, 2019:30).

4.1.2 Urban Bus Transportation in the Laws on Local Governments

Legal arrangements concerning the sharing of tasks and responsibilities of urban transport in Turkey dates back to the early years of the Republic. According to the

Municipal Law No. 1580, which was enacted in 1930 and was valid until 2004, the municipalities were given the responsibility for the organization of urban transport (Municipal Law No. 1580, 1930).

The privatization of local services was particularly focused on municipalities, and after 1984, actual privatization practices were introduced using various privatization methods. The new regulations made by the Metropolitan Municipality Law No. 3030 also played a role in this matter. Article 6 of the Law has given the opportunity to the privatization of some of the services of the municipalities by expressing them with the words “construct”, “operate”, or “let others to construct or operate” (Municipal Law No. 1580, 1930). Based on this article, the metropolitan municipalities may transfer the establishment and operation of the necessary facilities to the private sector to carry out public transportation services within the boundaries of the metropolitan municipality. Municipalities may provide privileged services to private companies. The concession method is based on various articles of Law No. 1580. According to Article 19, Paragraph 5 of the Law, municipalities have the right to operate buses, minibuses, trains and funiculars within the municipal boundaries which are decided by the municipal council and approved by the Ministry of Interior.

According to Law No. 1580, the municipal council has the authority to decide on concession agreements. In parallel with this authority and the change and transformation experienced in our understanding of public service, public transport services by bus are also transferred to private individuals through tenders.

One of the most commonly used services for the tender method is transportation and rail system. In the early 1980s, 22 urban transportation activities were carried out in 7 major cities by tender to private companies in Turkey. Seven of these transportation systems were realized in Istanbul, four in Ankara, two in Izmir, Adana, Bursa, Konya and Kayseri and one in Eskisehir. Nowadays, all metropolitan municipalities and some provincial municipalities tend to offer some or all of the urban transportation services to private companies (Dördüncü Toplulařım Kongresi. 1992:163-164).

The Municipal Law No. 1580 was repealed by the Municipal Law No. 5272 enacted in December 2004. According to Law No. 5272, establishment of urban transport infrastructure is considered as one of the main duties of the municipality. Municipalities do public transport; for this purpose, they are authorized to install, operate and have it operated all kinds of public transport systems. In 2005, the Constitutional Court annulled Law No. 5272 in terms of form contrary to the Constitution. Law No. 5393 has been put into force in order to eliminate the legal gap arising from the cancellation. However, there has been no change in the duties, powers and responsibilities of the municipalities regarding public transport (2007/5 Sayılı Anayasa Mahkeme Kararı).

Law No. 3030 on the Management of Metropolitan Municipalities was repealed with the Law on Metropolitan Municipality No: 5216 enacted in July 2004. Law No. 5216 is important in terms of being the most explicit legal regulation that considers transportation planning among the duties of an institution. With the Law; make and implement the metropolitan transport master plan; planning and coordination of transportation and public transportation services, establishing and operating facilities for public transportation are among the duties of the metropolitan municipality. Law on Greater/Metropolitan Municipality, numbered 5216, stipulates that the duties and responsibilities given to the Metropolitan Municipality shall be carried out within the framework of the decisions of the Transportation Coordination Center. As can be seen, the most important legally binding document on urban transport planning is the Law No. 5216, which entered into force in 2004 (Özalp, 2007:40).

Articles 8 and 9 of Law no. 5216 have imposed important duties on metropolitan municipalities in order to carry out infrastructure and transport services in a coordinated manner. In order to carry out all kinds of public transportation services in coordination in the metropolitan area, a transportation coordination center will be established under the chairmanship of the metropolitan mayor.

4.1.3 Conclusion

The provision of urban public transit services by private sector is one of the most crucial practices in the contemporary public sector management in the world. Since

the mid-1980s, a number of service areas were gradually opened to competition through privatization of public goods and services, public-private partnerships and service contracts in terms of urban public transportation.

As a result of investigation of transportation planning studies prepared for cities in Turkey, in general, it was concluded that no urban transport plan was conducted in the extent and depth expected (Özalp and Öcalır, 2008:90). It is seen that in a few studies, transportation problems are analyzed with methods based on scientific foundations, and solutions to these problems are developed within the framework of contemporary and sustainable policies.

From 1965 to 1969, Metropolitan Master Plan Bureau was established by central government to find a solution for inability of urban planning of municipalities. Metropolitan Area Master Plan Bureaus established in Istanbul, Ankara and Izmir to make development plans in their metropolitan service areas. Main tasks of these bureaus were preparing zoning plans of current and prospective urban areas in the related metropolitan municipalities. The main purpose of transportation planning activities in this period is to test the transportation dimensions of land use decisions and development scenarios during the high-scale planning studies for the city in master plan bureaus. This approach is considered an important development in terms of the relationship between transportation planning and master plan.

In the Development Plans, urban transportation problems were perceived as the extension of national transportation problems in the city until the Fourth Five-Year Development Plan, and suggestions were made based on this perspective. Since the Fourth Plan, the priority has been given to the construction of rail systems and bus transportation in metropolitan cities, and making a transportation master plan in line with land use decisions. However, the implementation of these principles has been limited due to the lack of authority and responsibility for these issues and lack of resource use and adequate coordination.

Since 2004, the Environmental Management Plan, which has been made compulsory especially for metropolitan cities, and the establishment of Transport Coordination Centers responsible for urban transport management and regulations show that the

legal administrative dimension of urban transport planning process will be regulated through local actors. In other words, the most important legal regulation regarding urban transport planning is the law on metropolitan municipalities. After the law entered into force in 2004, the decisions of the Transportation Coordination Center became decisive in the urban public transportation.

As a result, change in the understanding of transportation service delivery and urban transport planning in the world cities and approaches to urban transportation in Turkey demonstrate parallelism. The different transportation management models that emerged with this change and the regulations that form the basis of this process provide a general perspective in terms of the analysis of the case study of Ankara. However, a more specific and in-depth analysis of the bus routes, lines, stops, bus types and private sector participation is required for the analysis of the management process and actors of urban bus services which constitute the main theme of the thesis.

4.2 A Local Perspective: An Attempt of Periodization on the Path Followed by Urban Public Transportation Services in Ankara

The main purpose of this section is to make a periodization of the experience of urban transportation in Ankara and to reveal the main differences of each period. In the transition from the public service approach (in the form of meeting the common and general needs) to the governance approach (the private sector management techniques as the product of the new public management approach formed by the effect of economic globalization), it is aimed to put this experience on a theoretical basis, to reveal and understand the different stages of this sharp transition in the historical process. In this context, the study's intention is contributing to the literature in order to serve as an example to Turkey's overall capitalist urbanization practices in terms of the Ankara's urban transport experience and determining its place in the general theoretical framework.

Today, the quality and quantity of public services undertaken by the state have changed as a result of the change in the understanding of public service. The state is no longer an organization that undertakes all public services. However, the state

produces the services that the private sector does not want to do and that the public needs. Private sector entrepreneurs can provide all other services as long as they are profitable. Since the state withdrawal from public services to a large extent, leaving individuals in the hands of the market economy dominated by the private sector may cause various problems. Especially in developing countries, the development of effective supervision and intervention mechanisms of the government (regulation institutions) becomes more of an issue.

The changes in the concept of public service in Turkey, which show parallelism with developments in Europe and the World, also demonstrate itself in local public transport provision. The important point here is that all these changes are an indicator and extension of the differentiation of management understanding in historical periods. The public service approach, which was aimed to meet common and general needs until the 1950s, evolved into a governance approach using a wide range of private sector management techniques and leading to a public-private sector comparison in the provision of many public services.

The basic elements of the need for a periodization in the stage of revealing the urban transportation experience of Ankara are; Regulations to eliminate market failures in the provision of urban transport services (1), negative consequences of government regulations and interventions (2), responding to the provision of public services by private sector entrepreneurs (3), controlling the problems that arise after this presentation by the government regulations (4) and the existence of interest groups trying to influence the decision-making process according to their own interests in all the process of making these regulations (5).

The point that this study will shed light on the literature is that public service techniques, regulations, audit and control mechanisms produced within this cycle differ in the periods (Public Interest-oriented approach, managerial approach and entrepreneurial approach) indicated in the study. The three periods identified as the breaking point in this study ensure the permanency and continuity of the historical analysis of Ankara's transportation service planning due to the fact that the material practices of these periods were fully revealed and the periods had reached the end of the historical process. As Hegel said, “The owl of Minerva spreads its wings only

with the falling of the dusk.”. The truth is a whole, and it cannot be named before anything is over. Historical periods can only be understood when their material practices are fully revealed and out of date. In this case, the periodization attempt is expected to contribute to the understanding of the different stages of urban transport service processes and the transition between them in a theoretical framework in the case of Ankara.

As Şengül (2009: 101) stresses in his study related to periodization on the path of urbanization in Turkey, each periodization effort foresees breaks between periods. However, these breaks do not mean that certain continuities do not continue. Even in the most radical ruptures, it is possible to see the remains of previous periods. This also applies to the periodization set forth below. Although Ankara's transport services processes are defined in a separate logic and divided into three periods, it is not possible to say that each period completely eliminates the actors and structures of the previous period. Instead, the study argues that there is a dialectical relationship between the structures and actors of different periods. What is meant by this; the structures and actors of a given period are born in the previous period and put an end to the sovereignty of certain actors and structures rather than eliminating them completely (Şengül, 2009: 101).

It is possible to define three different urban transport periods in Ankara regarding the post-Republic period by considering the reflections of market and government failures on urban public transport practices and their effects on decision-making processes (see figure 9).

Public Interest-oriented Approach

Urban public transport service is defined as the activity that meets the public needs and meets a social need in this period. In this period, the state has moved away from the socio-economic activities that caused waste of resources and the change of public service understanding has come to the agenda.

1980-1994

Entrepreneurial Approach

The main goal of this period is to rise close cooperation between urban governments and urban entrepreneurs. According to entrepreneurial approach, there are mutual strong dependencies between urban authorities and private entrepreneurs emerging as new actors.



Pre-1980

Managerial Approach

In this period, the inclusion of private entrepreneurs in public transportation public service provision and thus the development of effective control and intervention mechanisms (regulation institutions) have gained importance.

1994-2018

Figure 9: Urban Transportation Periods in Ankara

Ankara was a city which has a population of approximately one hundred thousand and the proportion of vehicle journeys to total trip was about 15 percent in the 1930s (Tekeli, 2009:119). Now, Ankara has transformed into a city which has five and a half million inhabitants and the proportion of vehicle journeys to total trip is up to 90 percent. Under this transformation, Ankara tries to meet the rapidly increasing demand for urban public transport by small entrepreneurs and limited public entrepreneurship.

Municipal Bus Administration which was established in order to provide transportation services in the city of Ankara in 1935 became an institution with added budget under the name of Ankara Bus Operation Administration, and joined the “General Directorate of Ankara Electricity, Gas and Bus Operation Organization (EGB) in 1950. In the 1950s, the share of public transport in transportation services decreased to 50-60 percent when the number of vehicle journeys in Ankara increased rapidly (EGO, 1973). In this period, the service offered by minibuses and dolmuş⁵ started to differentiate according to social classes (Tekeli, 2009:125). The 1980s was

⁵ In their book "Dolmuşun Öyküsü", İlhan Tekeli and Tarık Okyay described Dolmuş as a modified vehicle which is operated by small entrepreneurs, an alternative vehicle to public transport systems and that sets off when its passenger is full with a flexible understanding of transportation without a tariff (Tekeli and Okyay, 1980: 8-9).

a period dominated by small entrepreneurs in urban transport. Small entrepreneurs first expanded their market shares by increasing their numbers and then began to create institutionalization rents by restricting new small entrepreneurs. These rents have begun to find their expression as market value in plate sales (Tekeli, 2009:125). In the 1970-80 period, no significant progress was achieved in public transport.

Finally, in the post-1980 period, the use of private sector management techniques in the state and the transfer of government functions to the private sector have started to be brought to the agenda as a product of the new public management approach formed by the spread of new right thinking and the effect of economic globalization (HeyWood, 2007:516-518). From this point on, as emphasized by the regime theory, which is the most important representative of the difference in approach in the pluralist paradigm (Şengül, 1999a: 14), it is useful to focus on the semi-formal networks which are formed by actors who combine their resources for a certain agenda and common objectives, and which continue to influence itself in the decision-making process (Uzbek and Dinçer, 2009, 270). We also see examples of semi-formal networks and private sector entrepreneurship in Ankara urban public transport services. During this period, there have been significant changes in the small entrepreneurship segment, and the municipality has opened domestic passenger transport to “privately owned public buses” (Gülan, 1988:158). Thus, while the share of small entrepreneurs in urban transportation developed after 1980, the restructuring took place towards larger vehicles in urban transportation. In today's Ankara urban transportation services, it is possible to talk about the urban transportation system, which is differentiated according to the types of public transportation vehicles and the urban areas where the social base is concentrated.

The dates that constitute the breaking point of the periods revealed in the study also emphasize the differences in service approaches before and after Melih Gökçek, who served as the mayor of Ankara Metropolitan Municipality from 1994 to 2017. The municipal administrations of Gökçek period, which have different urban transportation management approaches in their own, are in parallel with the differences in the management and urban transportation service approaches in general. In this context, three different urban transportation periods in Ankara, which

are intended to be presented in the study, reveals the historical differences of public service based management.

4.2.1 Public Interest-oriented Approach to Urban Transportation Service Provision (Pre-1980 Period)

In the first years of the Republic, Ankara is a city with a population of around 25.000 inhabitants. Transportation to very few residential areas on the periphery of the city center is carried out by means of special vehicles (Tekeli, 2009:119). With the increasing population at the beginning of the 1930s, urban public transport services have become an important urban service. Transportation services with the 12 lines departing from “Ulus District”, which is accepted as the city center, to other residential areas were provided by the municipality in the city in 1930s (Tekeli, 2009:120). In this process, the rapidly increasing public transport demand has been tried to be met by a limited public entrepreneurship that is not organized in the same rapid pace. Increasing motor vehicle travel demand has tried to meet with the buses which are called-carryall operated by the small entrepreneurs in 1935.



Figure 10: A Bus in front of Old Parliament Building in Ankara in 1935.
From an Old Parliament Building. Bus in front. Ankara Turkey by American Colony.

Photo Dept, photographer, 1935, Retrieved from the Library of Congress,
<https://www.loc.gov/item/mpc2010002223/PP/>.

Tekeli (2009:120) has stated (as cited in Öncü, 1979) that until 1935, the only investment the state made for urban transportation in Ankara was the commencement of suburban trains between Ankara and Kayaş district in 1929, and indirectly accelerated the production of housing on the relevant route. According to Article 19 of the Municipal Law No. 1580, amended by the Law No. 2571 dated 5.7.1934, the concession of public transportation vehicles such as electric trams, minibuses and buses used in urban transportation has been transferred to municipalities. On October 1, 1935, the administration was established under the name of “Ankara Municipality Bus Operation” by means of urban transportation, and the public transportation service was started by importing 100 buses from the Soviet Union. (EGO, 2018). Buses financed by foreign loans received by the USSR under the First Five-Year Industrial Plan, implemented with the technical and financial assistance of the USSR, demonstrate the role of external financing support in the decision-making processes of a borrowing that can be called the first urban transportation investment in Ankara (Tekeli, 2009:120). Thanks to external financing, the city management was able to respond to the excess supply in Ankara regarding urban public transportation. In 1935, the share of trains and municipal buses in total number of motor vehicles exceeded 60%. (Tekeli, 2009:122). Buses that cannot be used due to failure to provide replacement parts shortly after World War II and, to close this gap, only 7 out of 30 buses from Switzerland in service have become unable to respond to the rapid urbanization and population growth (Tekeli, 2009:122). In 1944, the Bus Administration was converted into an annexed budget and it was renamed as "Ankara Bus Operations"; however, the operation could not be improved. In order to overcome the problems in this period, “taxi-dolmuş” used by small entrepreneurs has emerged as the solution. The demand for public transport was met by carrying more passengers with fewer vehicles. In those years, the share of public sector in public transportation was still around 70 percent (EGO, 2019). High share of public sector in urban transportation shows that the urban transport sector was not profitable to attract private sector entrepreneurs and Public Interest-oriented approach has been adopted by the municipality in that period.

Ankara Bus Operations faced a difficult situation in urban transport due to burning of nearly a half in total of EGO's bus fleet (EGO, 2019). In 1946, five of the six Ford buses, which were supplied from America, were sent to Ankara by İETT to support the Ankara Bus Administration, response to the bus fire (Dünden Bugüne İETT Otobüsleri, 2014). In addition, Ankara municipality purchased nearly 40 buses from Germany. (EGO Faaliyet Raporu, 2015:27). The share of the public in the urban public transport, which fell to 50% after the fire, was tried to be increased by also setting up the trolleybus line-Ulus-Bakanlıklar-Dışkapı with 20 trolleybuses (Tekeli, 2009:123).

According to the Article 3 of Law No. 5363 on 1 January 1950, the Company participated in the General Directorate of Electricity, Gas and Bus Administration participated in EGO General Directorate. (EGO Faaliyet Raporu, 2015:27). In 1950, a total of 21 municipal bus lines, 13 of which are Ulus, 3 of which are Bakanlıklar, 2 of which are Cebeci and 2 of which are Samanpazarı centered, perform urban transportation services (Tekeli, 2009:123). The number of trolleybuses reached to 33 with the purchases of 13 trolleybuses in 1952. No trolleybus purchase was made except 33 trolleybuses purchased in 1961. Between 1951 and 1962, 308 Bussing buses were purchased. (EGO Faaliyet Raporu, 2015:28).



Figure 11: Büssing municipal buses, first purchased by EGO in 1951

From Antoloji Ankara, <https://twitter.com/AntolojiAnkara/status/1049560906240352256>

An attempt to increase the number of buses and trolleybuses purchased by the public sector shows that traditional public service values (public interest, equality in public services, provision of services by the state, etc.) have continued to be adopted. The government continues to adopt an understanding of undertaking duties in order to provide services to meet social needs.

In 1950-1960, new types of small entrepreneurship with minibuses carrying 11 passengers started to work in the Bahçelievler, Dörtüol, Aydınlıkevler and Çankaya lines with 330 vehicles (Ankara Ulaşım Ana Planı Araştırma Raporu, 1995; Yıldırım, 2013:2). Tekeli (2009) emphasizes that the number of minibus operators, which are small types of entrepreneurship in Ankara, was 315 minibuses in 1961 whereas this figure was 1127 minivans in 1975 (Tekeli and Okyay, 1981:228). These minibuses are public transportation vehicles that usually serve low-income classes working on Ulus and Kızılay-based radial lines. According to Tekeli and Okyay (1981: 47), was a common to give a service with an unregistered and unauthorized way through pre-

established lines with taxis and / or minibuses before the permission of the Municipality in the regions where public transportation is needed. In other words, taxis and minibuses were the harbinger of the new line.

In order to overcome this bottleneck in urban transportation in the same years, Ankara Public Transporters and Chauffeur Association's requests for regular taxi and dolmuş line were accepted by Ankara Municipality (EGO, 2019). Taxi-minibuses first started to work in the lines of Ulus-Cebeci, Cebeci-Sıhhiye and Ulus-Bakanlıklar. (Tekeli, 2009:123). In 1961, due to the prohibition of the operation of the minibuses between Çankaya, Dışkapı, Cebeci and Bahçeli districts by the municipality, taxis and minibuses started to provide service on the line and then 17 other lines. The number of minibuses serving in Ankara increased from 18 in 1961 to 330 in about 3 years (Tekeli & Okyay, 1981:226). The minibuses have started to provide transportation services to the periphery of the city by replacing the dolmuş with new lines and vehicles. Since the vehicles they used were different, the route and lines they provided transportation service changed and thus differences of opinion and interest were formed, minibuses created the Chamber of Minibus Drivers. Although Ankara metropolitan municipality that does not allow the minibuses to serve in the city, it has been a conciliatory decision-making process with the municipality since the day it was established. (Tekeli & Okyay, 1981:227). Moreover, article 5 of "the Regulation on the Changing of the Minibus Regulation of the Municipality of Ankara", published on 25 November 1979, emphasizes that the minibus routes, lines, stops and number of minibuses in this region are determined by a council formed within the Municipality (Resmî Gazete, 25 Kasım 1979). However, the municipality is not authorized for the number and licensing of the Dolmuş within the boundaries of the municipal service area (Tekeli and Okyay, 1981:230). In this relationship, the increase of Dolmuş organizations and differentiation of means of transportation vehicles, as well as the determination of the number of working licenses and number of Dolmuş by Provincial Traffic Commission stand at an important point.

Between 1960 and 1975 in Ankara, the population was 2.6 times more than the previous period, and the number of urban transport vehicles (bus and trolleybus)

increased by 1.5 times (Tekeli & Okay, 1981:109). EGO has made great progress by purchasing more than 700 buses and expanding its bus fleet from the early 1970s to the end of the 1990s (EGO, 2019). However, the increase in the number of transport vehicles was not sufficient to meet public transport demand.

To summarize this period briefly, Ankara Municipality has tried to provide urban transportation services with high cost due to the size of the budget to be allocated to the number of buses to meet the demand for public transport. During this period, the problems of the municipal administrations such as budget problems, purchasing the vehicles from abroad, the fire in the bus station and need of spare parts of imported buses made it impossible for the administration to carry out the urban transportation with the municipality's own resources. This situation led to the transition from the Public Interest-Oriented urban transport service approach of the period to the Managerial Approach that the problem of transportation is tried to be solved by small private entrepreneurs and the municipality manages it as an institution that supervises and organizes the process.

4.2.2 Managerial Approach to Urban Transportation Service Provision (1980-1994)

In the post-1980 period, there has been a shift from an understanding of local governments as a constituent part of the presumed nation-state to an understanding of local governance with its multi-actoral structure which is sensitive to capital demands. The most important element of this shift is that local governments, which consider themselves a provider of collective services, have been replaced by a local government that attaches importance to growth and becomes sensitive to capital demands (Şengül, 2009:84). This new multi-actor structure which formulates and executes collective actions among the local state, local investors, local entrepreneurs and local civil society is called local governance (Pierre, 1998:112). The new structure involves the actions of informal networks, interest groups, business associations and new entrepreneurs in certain lines of business as well as the direct and indirect actions of formal institutions at the local level in the context of collective decision making process on the provision of local public services (Shah and Shah, 2016:2). The function of the state in this new structure is largely an

arbitration among the actors that has ensured to be regulated by and involved in the decision-making process.



Figure 12: A Private Public Bus (Blue Bus) served in the Second Directorate of Transportation Bus Operations

<https://mini.donanimhaber.com/>

In the example of the urban transportation of Ankara, the transition between the period of 1980-1994 and the understanding of the previous period can be expressed as the transition from a labor-centered urbanization period to a capital-centered period. The military regime played a major role in this transition. However, the practices of the military administration regarding the cities are not only aimed at ensuring urban order and public order. According to Şengül (2009:139), the first precursors of urban entrepreneurship that will dominate the next period were put into practice in this period (as cited in Keskinok, 1986). In the early 1980s, with a change that could be considered as a milestone for small entrepreneurs in the area of transportation in Ankara, the Municipality opened its public passenger transportation to private public buses (Günel:1980). For the application of the private public bus, which was started to be implemented on December 25, 1981, the EGO General Manager of Ankara Municipality sent a proposal to the Chamber of Minibus Drivers

in Ankara. On this offer, the president of the association bought 106 new buses for this application and 30 of them were able to meet municipal transportation services (Milliyet Gazetesi, 1981). In 1982, the number of private public buses was increased from 8 to 30 to provide urban transportation. This number was increased to 200 after one year (Tekeli, 2009:128). When Private public buses (ÖHO) first started the urban transportation service in Ankara, they were scheduled for the purpose of elimination of deficiencies in the public transportation services and playing complementary roles. At the end of 1983, it has reinforced its position in transportation surplus, including the high margin lines such as Atatürk Boulevard and Çankırı Street (Tekeli, 2009:128). In this period, the provincial traffic commission forbids the transfer of the Station-Dolmuş from the urban public transportation services increased the price of private public buses. In 1983, minibus licenses were given to minibus owners to prevent the grievances that would be caused after the provincial traffic commission banned stationary minibuses (EGO, 2018). The vehicle transport limit has been increased from 11 to 14 and the quota of the minibus used for urban public transportation has been increased to 1901 (Tekeli, 2009:128). As a result, by the end of the 1980s, it was observed the inclusion of private buses for public transportation services in the city, the increase in minibus transportation limit and vehicle quota and the access of small entrepreneurs with large vehicles to transportation decision-making processes. In other words, as the attempt to meet the housing demand in the big cities corresponding to the same periods with the slums and the legitimacy of the slums, the urban public transport tries to be met by small entrepreneurs' transport vehicles that are irregular, non-tariffed and difficult to control due to the scarcity of public resources. In fact, intra-city public transportation services, which is one of the most important municipal services in public services, has become a service carried out together with the private sector through small entrepreneurs. In addition, it has been observed that entrepreneurs who want to hold in this sector tend to maintain their rent by organizing over time. The reason for being described as small entrepreneurs who have urban public transportation vehicles is that they cannot become large corporations within the sector and therefore the rates of profit are low. This is also to weaken the hand of small entrepreneurs in the urban decision-making process.

4.2.3 Entrepreneurial Approach to Urban Transportation Service Provision (1994-2018)

As Harvey (1989:4) states that the managerialism approach that emerged in the 1960s paved the way for entrepreneurship and initiating movement forms in the late 1970s and early 1980s. Starting from the end of 1970, small entrepreneurs were given great support and the close relationship between the local government and the private sector became evident, and new entrepreneurs were encouraged for the local scale businesses. In the early 1980s, city governance is increasingly characterized by a focus on entrepreneurial activities concerned with economic development and issues of production and provision of city services. With privatization of public service provisions, contractual procedures and public private partnerships, urban governance changed its dimension to urban entrepreneurialism with the passing of the weight of local government authorities to local private entrepreneurs in some European countries (Salet, et al. 2003:30). The broad character of this shift from managerialist to entrepreneurial politics is particularly evident in European larger cities. While doctrines of urban managerialism favored the creation of overreaching metropolitan authorities with key roles in areas such as urban transportation until 1980's, such ideas were abdicated after 1980 (Salet, et al. 2003:30). The city managerialism that characterized the pre-1970-80 period was replaced by urban entrepreneurship (Harvey, 1989:4). The main target in urban entrepreneurship is to increase close cooperation between city governments and local business entrepreneurs. According to the model of entrepreneurial city, there are mutual robust dependencies among public authorities and private actors (Stone, 1989). This process of change has shown itself in the example of Turkey 10-15 years after the change in some European countries in the provision of urban transportation services.

The first approved Transportation Master Plan of the city of Ankara, targeting the year 2015, was made between 1992-1994. Towards the end of the target year, a new Transportation Master Plan for 2028 was initiated within the scope of a joint service project with Gazi University and Ankara Metropolitan Municipality EGO General Directorate (Vural, 2016: 21). Except for the transportation study carried out with the aim of benefiting from the Japanese Government grant provided by the World Bank

in 1998 (Öncü, 2009: 11), the Transportation Master Plan was not taken into consideration in the first phase of Melih Gökçek who served as the mayor of Ankara Municipality from 1994 to 2017. For the solution of urban transportation problems, the intersections built on the main roads in the periphery of the city and in the center have been symbolic transportation solutions of this period. In the first years of the Presidency of Melih Gökçek (1994-1999), the temporary relief of public transportation was continued with the continuation of the construction of Ankaray and Batıkent Metro, which was initiated in the previous period. The new rail system lines and bus routes and the expansion of the bus fleet, which are public transport projects that will ease the city transport and direct the city to a healthy structure, have not been intentionally initiated in spite of the existing plan. The multi-lane roads identified with the Gökçek period have been the most significant transportation project of this period (Ankara Rapor, 2018:116).



Figure 13: A Double-Decker Public Bus in 2000s.

<https://mini.donanimhaber.com/>

In 1997, Ankara Metropolitan Municipality started to provide services to the leased lines with “Green Public Buses” and “Double-Decker Public Buses” (EGO, 2019). EGO has opened lines for 400 Solo-type bus and 95 double-decker buses to cover the deficit of municipal buses and meet the increasing demand for urban transportation

in 1997 (Firat, 2003:182-183). However, the contracts of “Green Public Buses” and “Double Storey Public Buses” operated by small operators were not renewed after 10 years' operation period and removed from Ankara transportation system in 2007. The Mayor of Ankara stated that there were 4 thousand 202 reports in 2004 and 4 thousand 983 criminal reports about Green Public Buses and Double Storey Public Buses in 2005. In addition, total 18 license cancellations were made between 2014-15 (memurlar.net, 2006). However, Gökçek has also stated that the green and double-decker bus owners, who were not renewed and withdrawn from public transportation, would be provided a chance for urban transportation services with a (C) plate (Hurriyet Gazetesi, 2007). As a matter of fact, according to UKOME's decision 2007/49, 222 mini-buses started to provide transportation services to Sincan Region in 2008. In the lines and numbers specified in table 1, the request for the operation of Private Public Transportation vehicles was openly voted and unanimously accepted by the UKOME General Assembly.

Table 1: ÖTA Transportation Lines and Number of Vehicles Operated

<i>Line No</i>	<i>Line Name</i>	<i>Numbers of ÖTA</i>
505	Sincan-M. Aksoy-Sıhhiye	10
508	Sincan-Sıhhiye 12.Cadde	30
510	Sincan-Sıhhiye	26
511	Sincan-Bakanlık	28
512	Sincan-Bakanlık 12.Cadde	30
515	Fatih-Sıhhiye	40
517	Fatih-Bakanlık	30
520	G.O.P –Sıhhiye	28
	Total	222

Resource: No. 2007/49 UKOME Resolution of General Assembly, retrieved from <https://ego.gov.tr/dosya/indir/1300>

In 2007, UKOME General Assembly Decision No. 2007/49 stated that, 444 green buses operating in different districts of Ankara between 1997-2007 removed from public transportation. 2 green buses were replaced by 1 white bus, and 444 buses were reduced to 222 white private public transportation vehicles (ÖTA) given to the Sincan district for 10 years (UKOME General Assembly Decision No. 2007/49). Furthermore, although EGO had purchased 450 buses between 2005 and 2007, the service gap due to the termination of contracts for green and double-decker buses could not be closed. In other words, although EGO buses run on these vacant lines, it

seems that EGO buses cannot meet the urban transportation demand. For this reason, in 2011, 67 of these vehicles started to serve to the third zone transportation lines (Mamak, Ulus, Ege Mah., Karapürçek, Mutlu Mah.) and 155 to the fifth zone transportation lines (Sincan District) (EGO, 23.07.2019).



Figure 14: A Private Public Transportation Vehicle (ÖTA) known as White Bus served in the Fifth Directorate of Transportation Bus Operations
www.baskentgazete.com.tr/

In addition, the purchase of 450 buses shows the size of the municipal budget allocated to the public transport sector. It gives us a clue that the municipality has a budget to purchase vehicles to substitute private public transportation vehicles at any time. Moreover, in 2007, it was an application that questioned the decisions of the local government, not to extend the contract of the buses on the line, but then to allow different private public transport services to serve on the same line. This makes us question about decision making process and the existence of private public buses and vehicles in the urban transportation services in Ankara.

Another development in 2007 is related to the transfer of the responsibility of transportation service from city center to Ankara district and first-tier municipalities, which are included in the municipal service area after 2014 local elections. In 2007, UKOME general meeting was decided on the use of private vehicles instead of

public transport with municipal vehicles with the decision of UKOME 2007/14. The transfer of municipal buses, contracted private public bus stops, lines, routes and quota or public transport conditions are also determined in the decision.

In this context, it was decided to use private public transport vehicles instead of EGO buses from city center to the municipalities in the north direction, Çubuk, Sirkeli, Kalecik and Akyurt, in the east direction, Elmadağ, Hasanoğlu, Lalahan, Yesildere and Kutludüğü, in the south direction, Bala, Kesikköprü, Karaali, Bezirhane, Selametli, Karagedik and Oyaca, and the west direction Ayaş, Sinanlı, Çanılı and Kazan.

Publicly owned urban buses, which serve to the Sincan district municipality and the first level municipalities participating in the boundaries of the Ankara Metropolitan Municipality within the framework of the law numbered 5216, failed to meet urban transportation demand due to financial and budgetary inadequacies. Within the boundaries of the Ankara Metropolitan Municipality, transportation services were continued by private public buses. EGO buses and private public transport vehicles, which serve to the regions that had metropolitan district status with the law numbered 5216. According to the special public transport contract with 10 years working period signed with ÖTA owners in 2007, under the supervision of EGO, private public transportation vehicles started to operate only on designated lines from metropolitan districts to the city center. However, in the course of time, municipal buses were also put into service on the lines where special public transportation vehicles carrying passengers due to the intense demands of the people of the region. The operation of municipal buses in the lines where private public buses operate has been a factor that significantly reduced the rent of the relevant lines for the private sector. As can be seen in table 2, during the revision of the ÖTA contracts in 2018, the number of ÖTA in the districts with low transport rent value was reduced, and the status of transport vehicles that were not previously controlled by the municipality was converted into private public transport status and included in the municipal regulation mechanism.

In a metaphorical example in his study, Öncü (Ankara Rapor, 2018: 116) argued that the transportation improvement studies in Ankara during the Gökçek era would

provide temporary relief, such as a new hole drilled in the belt of an obese patient, and that obesity was not treated by new investments, and it exacerbated.

With the tendering processes carried out in a pool established with certain firms, transportation investments were directed to some groups. Therefore, it was too late for investing on the subway lines which are going to be made years later. This caused uncertainty in terms of transportation future of the city. The EGO bus fleet is no longer an essential element of transportation in the city and is directed to individual and small interest groups such as private public buses and private public transport. In this process, the number of passengers and profitable lines have become the area of interest and work of individual operators (Ankara Rapor, 2018:117). As Tekeli (2009:218) emphasizes, this period is a period in which the share of public buses in the urban transport developed against municipal buses.

From 1994 to 2002, the process of planning for the Melih Gökçek period carries traces of the periodic variability of the local government. After the AK Party came to power in 2002 and getting over 40% of the votes in the 2004 local elections, Ankara underwent a comprehensive planning process and faced major projects that were tendered to interest groups with the raging urbanization of neoliberalism in urban planning. According to the Ankara Rapor (2018: 140) prepared by the Chamber of Architects of Turkey Ankara Branch, there were failures to comply with the planning hierarchy. The 2023 Master Plan, was approved in 2007, has been changed thousands of times until today. That also shows the adoption of a fragmented planning that is far from integral decisions that are comply to the upper-scale plan (Ankara Rapor, 2018:140).

The neo-liberal economic policies in Turkey closely affected to urban public transportation. The second generation of neoliberal policies began to be implemented after the AK Party came to power in 2002 and won the local elections in 2004 in Ankara. This process has accelerated with the legal regulations on zoning and transportation that directly affect urban transportation services. Gokcek period of Ankara Metropolitan Municipality administration has become a symbol of the realization of this political perspective in local administrations parallel to the central administration (Ankara Rapor, 2018:134).

Table 2: District Private Public Transport Vehicle Numbers by Ankara Districts* **

Line Name	Numbers of District ÖTA (2007)	Numbers of District ÖTA (2018)
Elmadağ-Ankara Line	40	19
Hasanoğlan-Ankara Line	36	13
Çubuk-Ankara Line	80	59
Akyurt-Ankara Line	37	37
Kalecik-Ankara Line	20	20
Lalahan-Ankara Line	16	16
Bala-Ankara Line	18	19
Kazan-Ankara Line	35	30
Oyaca-Ankara Line	8	8
Sirkeli-Ankara Line	22	12
Ayaş-Ankara Line	14	7
Kutludüğün-Ankara Line	15	-
Selametli-Bezirhane-Karagedik Line	8	-
Beypazarı Line	-	30
Nallıhan Line	-	3
Güdül Line	-	12
Kızılcahamam Line	-	53
Çamlıdere Line	-	6
Evren Line	-	2
Haymana Line	-	12
Total	349	358***

Resource: No. 2007/14 and 2018/13,31-38,51 and 97 UKOME Resolution of General Assembly retrieved from <https://ego.gov.tr/dosya/indir/1300>

Instrumentalized planning processes have turned into an approach that will provide private rent to interest groups instead of a process consisting of public needs. In such a period in which the public benefit was left to privatization, social planning was on

* Within the scope of Law no. 6360, the boundaries of Ankara metropolitan municipalities were defined as provincial territorial boundaries, "D4 Authorization Certificates" issued by the Ministry of Transport to vehicles operating in Polatlı, Beypazarı, Kızılcahamam, Nallıhan, Haymana, Güdül, Çamlıdere, Evren districts have been started to be issued by the Ankara Metropolitan Municipality under the name of "Temporary Activity Certificate".

** Within the Law No 5747 on the Establishment of a District within the Boundaries of the Greater Municipality, entered into force in 2008, First Stage Municipalities of Bezirhane, Karagedik, Oyaca and Selametli in Gölbaşı District, Kutludüğün in Mamak District and Sirkeli in Pursaklar district were closed and connected to related districts.

*** Although the number of ÖTA is determined for each line in their contract, the fact that private transport service providers experience license cancellations due to their acts contrary to traffic rules and regulations causes a difference in the number of vehicles.

the shelf and the public perspective was abandoned, there was more privatization in the history of transportation planning and urban transportation services than ever before.

4.2.4 Conclusion

It is possible to talk about the urban transportation system in Ankara, which differs according to the type of public transportation vehicles and urban areas where service delivery is concentrated. The result of such a presentation system is the private sector entrepreneurship which is shaped according to the number of passengers, the distance to the center, the type of vehicle and the city form. Moreover, the semi-formal networks created by these entrepreneurs by combining their resources within the framework of common objectives play an important role in Ankara urban transport services.

Another factor that should be emphasized is that the new regulations in the metropolitan law and the overlapping of the municipal service areas with the provincial boundaries have expanded the service area of the municipalities and increased their transportation responsibilities. The failure of metropolitan municipal administrations to provide services to the expanding area of responsibility has led private sector entrepreneurs to dominate the urban transport lines extending from the center to the periphery. In particular, the transportation network of small entrepreneurs with limited resources providing access to a certain part of the city obliged the provision of services that depend on the change of the city form (Tekeli, 2009:130).

Currently, it is seen that the interest network formed by regulated private sector entrepreneurs come together and affect the decision making processes in the city and try to spread to the whole city. However, this will harm the interests of different private sector groups within the urban transport network.

The history of urban transport in Ankara shows the successive different service management transitions of the semi-official interest groups that come together with common interests in the same sector. In response to the demand for public transport,

in addition to the midibuses that emerged in the 1940s, private public buses in the early 1980s, green and double-decker buses in the late 1990s and private public transport vehicles were included in the transportation sector since 2008. All public transport vehicles involved in the urban transport sector remained almost the same, but the service provisions differed. Regulation, expansion of service area, fail to respond to transport service demand are the factors that cause differences in the provision of Ankara urban transport services. The structural and administrative transformations in the municipal service area with the changes in the local government laws in the historical process enabled the private operators to be added to the transportation service. In particular, the EGO bus fleet in Ankara was no longer the main component of transportation in the city and was directed to individual enterprises such as privately owned public buses and private public transport vehicles (Ankara Rapor, 2018:117). The share of private buses is developing against municipal buses in urban transportation.

With the expansion of the municipal service area, the increase in the demand for transportation vehicles and the increase of the quota of privately owned public buses within the urban transportation vehicles will increase the government's loss of regulatory role in urban transportation and the bargaining power of the privately owned buses that become free market elements. At this point, privately owned public buses will be able to force the development of a mode of operation that suits their characteristics and conditions in the central residential areas with profitable lines and high number of passengers (Tekeli, 2009:219). The organization of private public buses by small entrepreneurs will result in a low quality of transport service. The logic of private transportation operating under strict municipal control and regulation does not seem sustainable as can be understood from the decisions of the Transportation Coordination Center. Almost 90% of the decisions taken are related to the solution of problems such as traffic and speed penalties, lack of timely duties, route and line tracking of privately owned public buses and private public transportation vehicles. While a small portion of the decisions is fines, a large part of them is realized as license cancellation (discussed in detail in the fifth chapter). Thus, the increase of audits can only lead to the withdrawal of the entrepreneurs with the cancellation of their licenses or to block to the emergence of small entrepreneurs who

wish to enter the line. This will make the lines with high transport rents the target of different private public interest groups, while the other lines will have to be provided by municipal buses. On the one hand, a municipality with a low budget, financial problems and vehicle shortage will fail to provide transportation services to low-profit lines. On the other hand, the service provided by unregulated transportation vehicles operated by small entrepreneurs on high profitability lines will also fail, especially since it cannot meet the demand of middle class transportation. In this context, privately owned public buses and private public transport vehicles will effort to intervene in the decision-making process as small entrepreneurs gathered under the roof of associations, chambers and cooperatives through common interests.



Figure 15: A new 12-meter Blue Private Public Bus
Retrieved from ulasimplatformu.com

The new 12-meter blue private public buses, which replace the white midibuses known as the ÖTA (as members of Ankara Public Bus Cooperative (AHOK)), which have been providing public transportation services to Sincan and Fatih districts in Ankara for many years, have started to serve in Gölbaşı, Çankaya, Mamak, Keçiören and Altındağ (Yılmaz, 2018). In other words, in addition to the Sincan and Fatih districts, ÖTA started to serve also in 7 new lines in Ankara. With the tender, 71 buses were put into service in the lines which double-decker and green buses were provided transportation services before. 71 vehicles were delivered to these new lines

while nearly 100 buses, 14 vehicles per line, were delivered to Sincan, Etimesgut, Eryaman and Elvankent (see table 3). 71 out of a total of 170 ÖTA's started to serve in these new lines and the remaining is continuing to serve 7 lines in the Sincan Region as revising the 2007 UKOME decision (see Table 3) for ÖTA's to serve only 8 lines in Sincan district. On the one hand, the UKOME decision expanded the area of influence of the ÖTAs in their own region by spreading private public transport vehicles, stuck in the Sincan and Fatih neighborhoods, to neighborhoods with a high passenger capacity such as Eryaman, Elvankent and Etimesgut within the 5th transportation region, on the other hand, the rent shares of the vehicle owners were increased as reducing number of vehicles in the 5th region.

Table 3: Numbers of Private Public Transport Vehicle by New ÖTA Lines

<i>Line No</i>	<i>Line Name</i>	<i>Numbers of Vehicle</i>
188-5	Keçiören – Oran	8
163-5	Konutkent – Bakanlık – Ulus	9
417-5	Aktepe – ODTÜ	8
322-5	Karapürçek – Sıhhiye	12
338-5	Ege Mahallesi – Sıhhiye	9
351-5	Boğaziçi – Sıhhiye – Ulus	10
105-5	Gölbaşı – Kızılay	15
	Total	71
510-3	Sincan – Sıhhiye	14
511-3	Sincan – Bakanlıklar	14
512-3	Çimşit – Bakanlıklar	14
521-3	Fatih – GOP – Bakanlıklar	14
530-3	Etimesgut – Ulus	14
532-3	Elvankent – Bakanlıklar	14
541-3	Eryaman – Bakanlıklar	15
	Total	99

Resource: No. 2018/49 UKOME Resolution of General Assembly, retrieved from <https://ego.gov.tr/dosya/indir/1300>

In addition, the new 7 lines, all of which are in the city center, will cause problems in the sharing of rent in the related lines due to the increase in the number of private transportation vehicles with more passenger capacity in these transportation regions. All these changes, on one hand, question the role of the mayor of Ankara Metropolitan Municipality as a former Mayor of Sincan⁶ to the role of the Sincan

⁶ President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan requested the resignation of the mayor of Ankara due to the process of innovation in the party, which he considered as “metal fatigue”. About one and a half years before

buses in serving Ankara in general. On the other hand, it exposes the problem of whether it will turn into a transportation management problem in the future due to the possibility of damaging the interests of the Dolmuş and ÖHO serving on the same lines and difficulties on regulation.

The protest organized by the Ankara Chamber of Minibus (Dolmuş) Drivers against the new tender⁷ which allows the Private Public Transportation Vehicles to provide transit services to the city center settlements. The protest demonstrates that different vehicles serving on profitable lines will cause conflicts in the transportation sector. Dolmuş operators objected to the tender which permits ÖTA to provide transportation service from city center to the district municipalities of Pursaklar, Çubuk, Gölbaşı, Çankaya, Mamak, Keçiören and Altındağ (Koç and Terzi, 2018). The main reason for possible conflicts of interest is the increasing profitability from the periphery to the city center. Therefore, the district public transportation vehicles, ÖTA, ÖHO and Dolmuş operators try to involve in the decisions and affect regulations on urban transport. This part of the study, which is a historical periodization initiative focused on urban bus transportation in Ankara, reveals the backward-looking government and market failures in the field of urban transportation. It also emphasizes the domination of the logic on operating buses that rely on the benefit of certain interest groups instead of the public benefit at the high-profit lines and routes. Small entrepreneurs entering the urban bus transportation services in Ankara are organized simultaneously by reactional responses to results of serving on the lines. Likewise, bus operators serving on different bus lines determine the type of buses according to the failure of the government on the relevant lines. Effecting the line, route and vehicle type decisions leads to the initiation of rent process and determining who will benefit from this rent. In this context, the findings of the study examine how variables such as line, route and vehicle type within the study area are determined and the place of the private sector in service delivery.

the 2019 local elections, after the resignation of Gökçek, who was the mayor of Ankara Metropolitan Municipality for 23 years, Mustafa Tuna, Mayor of Sincan District Municipality, served as the Mayor of Ankara until 31 March 2019 elections.

⁷ Pursuant to its decision dated 06.07.2018 and numbered 2018/67, it was decided to operate 59 Private Public Transportation Vehicles between Çubuk and Ankara City Center by the EGO General Directorate in the UKOME General Assembly meeting.

CHAPTER 5

EMPIRICAL FINDINGS

5.1 Introduction

To reiterate, the main objective is to determine the effect of the elements that may be perceived as technical aspects such as line route and vehicle type selection, but in fact the initiators of the transportation rent process. Therefore, the formation of interest groups mainly focused on privately-operated buses, the impact of regulations on the selection of service delivery, actor and decision makers on the urban transportation policies of Ankara. Under the main objective, two main themes are addressed. The first is to find out the relationship between bus network, line and route arrangement, selection of bus type which is one of the important variables in urban bus transportation and decision-making process and actors to take part on the bus transit mechanism. This study intends to ascertain how the arrangement of variables such as line, route and bus type in the bus operating system in Ankara affect the distribution of urban transport actors to the transportation corridors in the city and the distribution of transport rent. The second one is to find out the impact of both local governments and private operators involved in decision making on bus transit decisions. The thesis aims to ascertain what the role of private entrepreneurs (hence transport-oriented interest groups) involved in decision-making and local governments in urban transport decisions in Ankara. Within this context, the analysis has been carried out under these two main areas of research.

5.2 Regulation over Different Lines and Routes

The first part of the analysis is designed to find out the rise of privately-operated buses as an alternative urban transportation practice. For this purpose, answers to reasons why local governments have private entrepreneurs and operators involved in providing urban transportation services. The issue of returns of scale in bus transit continues to be a subject of debate among transportation analysts. From a public

policy perspective, returns of scale in production or service may relevant to many policy areas such as the types of transit service, the number of bus journey, bus line length, number of stops, duration and organization of the line and route of the buses in the city.

The purpose of the first part of the analysis is to emphasize the importance of variables such as bus network, line and route arrangement, selection of bus type which determine economic value of urban transportation service in decision-making mechanism and for decision-making actors. In this manner, this chapter offers answers to the questions about why regulators separate the urban transit network into different routes and lines and privilege them to different concessionaires, why are private entrepreneurs and operators given concessions, and how the presence of both public and private firms in urban bus transport affect small entrepreneurs.

The main objective of this section is to determine how different private public transport services serving in the same planning region split the rent of transportation in the region without any conflict of interest and how the local government regulates this division by quantitative methods. With the regulations came into force in the historical process and the expansion of the municipal service area, new urban transportation lines and routes have been added to the city transportation network. However, as discussed in the previous sections, the local government fails to meet public transport demand of these new transportation areas due to financial and budgetary problems. The process started with the entering of around 200 private public buses the transportation services in 1981 and continued with double-deck and green buses in 1997 (they were taken out of transportation service because their contracts were not renewed in 2007) and finally included private public transport vehicles in 2008. As it can be seen in Table 4, 200 ÖHO and nearly 100⁸ ÖTA are currently in service in the western planning region, which is the study area of the thesis.

⁸ From 2007 to 2018, 222 white private public transport vehicles (ÖTA) served only the district of Sincan. In 2018, 71 out of 222 buses were put into service in the lines which double-decker and green buses were provided transportation services before.

Table 4: Number of Private Bus and Vehicles in Ankara Urban Transportation

Numbers of Vehicles	1. Region	2. Region	3. Region	4. Region	5. Region	Total
ÖHA Numbers	44	56	43	57	-	200
District ÖTA Numbers	27	-	66	124	164	381
ÖTA (Sincan) Numbers	-	-	-	-	99	99
AHOK Numbers	31	-	21	19	-	71

Source: EGO Website: <https://www.ego.gov.tr/dosya/indir/13883.pdf>

The main purpose of the hypotheses put forward in this chapter is to reveal how different transportation regions within the western planning region in the 2023 Capital Ankara Master Plan generate and distribute transportation rent to private public transportation providers.

There are two sub-district bus operating departments which is responsible for the urban transportation services in the western planning zone. The second and the fifth directorate of Transportation Bus Operations provide urban transportation services in their area of responsibility. The study emphasizes that the different bus types and lines have different effects in the same planning zone. This leads to my first hypothesis: There is a significant difference between the duration of the second and the fifth urban transportation service zones.

After the general hypothesis which I expected an important difference between the duration of the 2nd and 5th urban transportation service zones, four different models were used to estimate the effects of EGO, ÖHO and ÖTA on journey time and on bus line length. In this context, the second and third hypotheses for the 2nd and 5th urban transportation service zones are that the number of journey decreases as the line length increases. The fourth and fifth hypotheses for the 2nd and 5th urban transportation service zones are that the number of journeys increase as the line length decreases.

5.2.1 Analysis of the West Planning Corridor of Ankara

The first hypothesis is that there is a significant difference between the duration of the second and the fifth urban transportation service zone.

$$H_0 : \mu_{2.bölge} = \mu_{5.bölge}$$

$$H_1 : \mu_{2.bölge} \neq \mu_{5.bölge}$$

Table 5. Descriptive Statistics by 2. and 5. Transportation Zones

		<i>Bus Route Numbers</i>	<i>Bus Journey Time</i>	<i>Std. Dev.</i>	<i>CV</i>
<i>Dependent Variable Bus Journey Time</i>	2. Zone	48	44,2292	32,42946	73,32
	5. Zone	90	93,1444	32,07560	34,44

According to the descriptive statistics, as shown in Table 5, the average time of bus journey in the second urban transportation service zone is approximately half of the average time of bus journey in the fifth urban transportation service zone. Despite this, the standard deviations are quite close. This is an indication of the differentiation in the time of bus journey of the fifth urban transportation service zone.

Table 6: Independent-t Test by Transportation Zones

	<i>t</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>Sig. (2-tailed)</i>	<i>Mean Difference</i>	<i>Std. Error Difference</i>
Bus Journey Time	-8,500	136	,000	-48,91528	5,75481

Independent samples were analyzed by t test to examine whether there is a significant difference between the bus journey time intervals of the transportation zones. According to the results presented in Table 6, the H_0 hypothesis was rejected and a statistically significant difference was determined between the two transportation zones' bus journey times with $\text{Sig}=0,000<0,05$.

One-way ANOVA test was used to determine whether the zones have a statistical difference in terms of their bus journey time.

Table 7: Descriptive Statistics of 2. Zone Neighborhoods by Journey Time

<i>Variable</i>	<i>Obs</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>Std. Dev.</i>	<i>CV</i>	<i>Min.</i>	<i>Max.</i>
İvedik	8	42,5000	10,04277	23,63	26,00	56,00
Hastane	17	46,1765	21,57034	46-71	20,00	75,00
Ostim	11	37,0909	41,60638	112,17	14,00	160,00
Batıkent	12	49,1667	45,75197	93,05	17,00	145,00

In the second urban transportation service zone, the İvedik, Hastane, Ostim and Batıkent neighborhoods are the neighborhoods within the borders of the western planning zone, which is the sampling area of the study. The standard deviation of the duration of bus journey of Ostim and Batıkent neighborhoods is much higher than in other neighborhoods. The reason for the high number of bus journey time is the difference in the duration of the buses in the second urban transportation service zone.

Ostim and Batıkent, which have the greatest coefficient of variation, are the neighborhoods with the largest differentiation. As can be seen from the graph 1, Ostim and Batıkent neighborhoods have a higher number of bus journey time than those districts in the second urban transportation service zone. The difference of bus journey time between the neighborhoods is due to the private public buses in the lines of the Ostim and Batıkent neighborhoods. Although the number of private public buses is few, the journey time of private public buses is much higher than EGO buses. So, I hypothesize that there is a significant difference between the journey time of ego buses and private public transportation buses in the second transportation service zone.

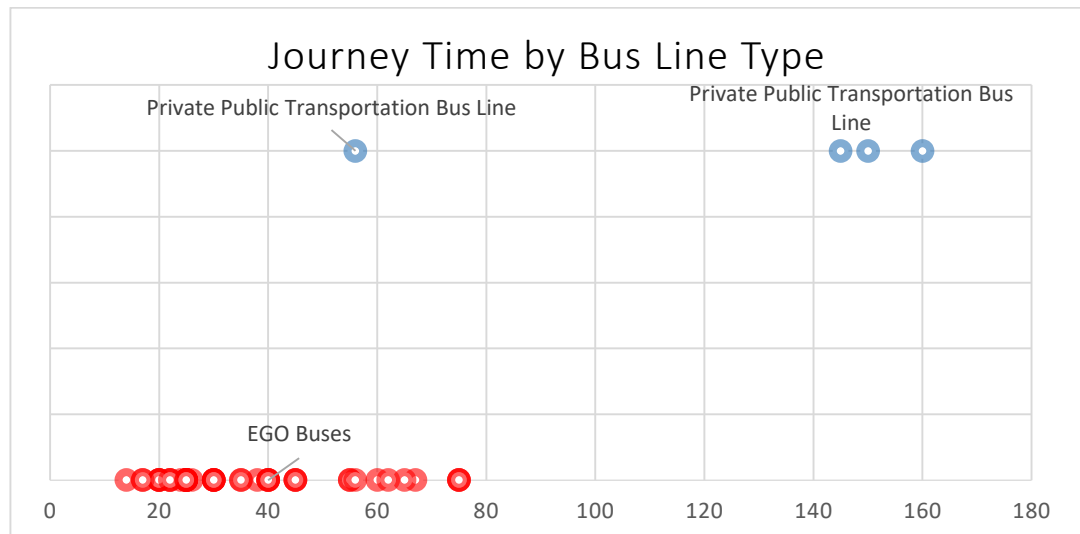


Figure 16: Journey Time by Bus Line Type in the 2nd Zone

Figure 16 proves this hypothesis. As can be seen from the graph 1, the lines with the most journey time are private public bus lines in the total of 48 lines. 3 of 4 private public bus lines in the second transportation service zone have the maximum journey time.

ANOVA test was used to understand whether the neighborhoods are different than each other. The prerequisite for the ANOVA test is to ensure homogeneity of the variances. The Levene test result must therefore be considered. Because the value of "Sig." is $0.112 > 0.05$, It can be said that "the homogeneity of the groups is homogeneous with 95% confidence".

Table 8: Levene Test for 2. Transportation Zone Districts

<i>Levene Statistic</i>	<i>df1</i>	<i>df2</i>	<i>Sig.</i>
2,112	3	44	,112

According to the Levene test results, ANOVA test results can be interpreted.

Table 9: ANOVA Test for 2. Transportation Zone Districts of Ankara

	<i>Sum of Squares</i>	<i>Mean Square</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>Sig.</i>
Between Groups	941,433	313,811	3	,285	,836
Within Groups	48487,046	1101,978	44		
Total	49428,479		47		

When the ANOVA table is examined, H0 hypothesis for one-way analysis of variance is accepted because the value of "Sig." is $0.836 > 0.05$. In other words, "There is no statistically significant difference between the averages of the groups with 95% confidence."

Table 10: Descriptive Statistics of 5. Transportation Zone of Ankara

	<i>N</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>Std. Deviation</i>	<i>CV</i>	<i>Min.</i>	<i>Max.</i>
Yenikent	7	120,4286	24,98571	20,74	69,00	140,00
Sincan	21	97,6667	29,72933	30,44	53,00	135,00
Fatih	20	97,2500	34,77730	35,76	56,00	187,00
Kazan (Çimşit)	8	104,3750	23,82038	22,82	70,00	125,00
Etimesgut	7	68,5714	25,44836	37,11	50,00	125,00
Elvankent	8	91,8750	29,51241	32,12	60,00	130,00
Eryaman	19	78,6316	31,60733	40,20	34,00	140,00

Test of Homogeneity of Variances

<i>Levene Statistic</i>	<i>df1</i>	<i>df2</i>	<i>Sig.</i>
,864	6	83	,525

ANOVA

	<i>Sum of Squares</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>Mean Square</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>Sig.</i>
Between Groups	15228,106	6	2538,018	2,759	,017
Within Groups	76339,016	83	919,747		
Total	91567,122	89			

There is a statistically significant difference between the averages of groups with 95% confidence. Respectively, Eryaman, Etimesgut and Fatih are the neighborhoods

with the largest differentiation in the fifth transportation zone in Ankara. This difference is due to the high number of vehicles parallel to the high number of neighborhoods which are the most remote ones.

5.2.2 Regression Analysis to Estimate the Impact of Private Public Buses on Bus Journey Time

In the study, over 4 different models, regression analyses were performed to estimate the impact of private public buses (ÖHO) and private public transport vehicles (ÖTA) on journey duration and on bus line length. The models were estimated by the least squares' method. The coefficients of determination indicate that the dependent variables are sufficiently explained by independent variables. The fact that the F statistic values are greater than the Significance value is evidence that the models are meaningful as a whole. The fact that the Durbin-Watson values are around 2 reveals that there is no autocorrelation problem. Therefore, the estimation results obtained can be interpreted.

The number of bus journey for the second transportation zone is taken as a dependent variable. Bus line length, number of stops and journey durations are included as dependent variables. In addition, for determining the effect of private public buses on the number of journeys, the variable of the private public buses (ÖHO) was added to the model as a dummy variable. The model obtained is as follows;

$$\text{SefSay}_{2.\text{bolge}} = b_0 + b_1(\text{HatUz}) + b_2(\text{DurSay}) + b_3(\text{SefSüre}) + D1(\text{OHO}) \quad (1)$$

The number of bus journey for the fifth transportation zone is taken as a dependent variable. Bus Line length, number of stops and journey durations are included as dependent variables. In addition, for determining the effect of private public buses on the number of journeys, the variable of the Private public transport vehicles (OTA) was added to the model as a dummy variable. The model obtained is as follows;

$$\text{SefSay}_{5.\text{bolge}} = b_0 + b_1(\text{HatUz}) + b_2(\text{DurSay}) + b_3(\text{SefSüre}) + D1(\text{OTA}) \quad (2)$$

Table 11: Results of Regression Analysis to Estimate the Impact of Private Public Buses on Journey Numbers

Dependent Variable: Bus Journey Numbers								
	Constant	Bus Line Length	Number of Stops	Journey Time	OHO	R ²	F	Durbin-Watson
2. Zone	10.895 (0,16)	-3.595* (0,003)	1.575* (0,006)	0.297 (0,38)	83.579** (0,000)	0,71	26,74 (0,00)	2,14
	Constant	Bus Line Length	Number of Stops	Journey Time	OTA	R ²	F	Durbin-Watson
5. Zone	13.760 (0,38)	-0,61** (0,000)	0,075 (0,46)	0.338* (0,008)	67.375** (0,000)	0,66	41,37 (0,0001)	2,09
P<0.001** P<0.05*								

First Model

The variables of the private public transportation buses (ÖHO), bus line length and number of stops are statistically significant. The first regression model indicates that the number of journey decreases as the line length increases. Accordingly, one-unit increase in the line length caused a decrease of -3,595 units in the number of journeys. In addition, in every per increase the number of stops caused an increase of 1,6 units in the number of bus journeys.

The model also demonstrates that the presence of the private public transportation buses on the line caused an increase of 83,6 units in the number of bus journeys. There are high number of journeys in the transportation areas where the private public buses provide urban transportation services. This situation allows small entrepreneurs to make more profits with more journeys, and the municipality to integrate a private public bus into the neighborhoods where more journey is needed.

Second Model

The private public transport vehicles (ÖTA), bus line length and journey time are statistically significant. The second regression model indicates that the number of journey decreases as the line length increases. Accordingly, one-unit increase in the line length caused a decrease of -0,61 units in the number of bus journeys. In

addition, in every per minute of the journey time increase caused an increase of 0,34 units in the number of journeys. The model also demonstrates that the presence of the private public transportation vehicles (ÖTA) on the line caused an increase of 67,4 units in the number of journeys. There are high number of journeys in the transportation areas where the private public buses provide urban transportation services. This situation allows small entrepreneurs to make more profits with more journeys, and the municipality to integrate the private public transport vehicles into the remote neighborhoods where more journey is needed.

5.2.3 Regression Analysis to Estimate the Impact of Private Public Buses on Bus Line Length

The bus line length for the second transportation zone is taken as a dependent variable. The number of bus journey, number of stops and journey duration are included as dependent variables. In addition, for determining the effect of private public buses on the bus line length, the variable of the private public buses (ÖHO) was added to the model as a dummy variable. The model obtained is as follows;

$$\text{HatUz}_{2.\text{bolge}} = b_0 + b_1 (\text{SefSay}) + b_2(\text{DurSay}) + b_3(\text{SefSüre}) + D1(\text{OHO}) \quad (3)$$

The bus line length for the fifth transportation zone is taken as a dependent variable. The number of bus journey, number of stops and duration are included as dependent variables. In addition, for determining the effect of private public buses on the bus line length, the variable of the Private public transport vehicles (ÖTA) was added to the model as a dummy variable. The model obtained is as follows;

$$\text{HatUz}_{5.\text{bolge}} = b_0 + b_1(\text{SefSay}) + b_2(\text{DurSay}) + b_3(\text{SefSüre}) + D1(\text{OTA}) \quad (4)$$

Table 12: Results of Regression Analysis to Estimate the Impact of Private Public Buses on Bus Line Length

Dependent Variable: Bus Line Length								
	Constant	Number of Journey	Number of Stops	Journey Time	OHO	R ²	F	Durbin-Watson
2. Zone	-1.852** (0,04)	-0.051** (0,003)	0,398** (0,000)	0.103** (0,007)	-1,539 (0,59)	0,96	311,1 (0,0)	2,27
	Constant	Number of Journey	Number of Stops	Journey Time	OTA	R ²	F	Durbin-Watson
5. Zone	4.882 (0,19)	-0.20** (0,000)	0.142** (0,01)	0.421** (0,000)	14,54** (0,008)	0,74	63,40 (0,0)	1,93
P<0.001** P<0.05*								

Third Model

In the transportation zone, the variables of bus line length, number of journeys and number of stops are statistically significant. The third regression model indicates that the number of journeys increase as the line length decreases. Accordingly, one-unit increase in the number of journeys caused a decrease of -0,051 units in the bus line length. In addition, in every per increase the number of stops caused an increase of 0,398 units in the bus line length. Also, when the buses increase their journey time by 1 minute, the bus line length decreases as 0.421 unit.

The variable of the private public transportation buses is not statistically significant in the second transportation zone. In other words, there is no effect of the presence of the private public transportation buses on the bus line length. It shows that buses are usually used for transfer purposes and serve short distances.

Fourth Model

In the fifth transportation zone, the effect of independent variables of the private public transport vehicles (OTA), bus journey time, number of journeys and number of stops on the bus line length is statistically significant. The fourth regression model indicates that the number of journeys increase as the line length decreases. Accordingly, one-unit increase in the number of journeys caused a decrease of -0,20

units in the bus line length. In addition, in every per increase the number of stops caused an increase of 0,142 units in the bus line length.

The model also shows that the presence of the private public transportation vehicles (ÖTA) on the line caused an increase of 14,54 units in the bus line length. The municipality integrates the private public transport vehicles into the remote neighborhoods when the bus line length is too long.

As a result, the local government, that cannot respond to urban transport service demand after expansion of service area and population increase, separates the urban transit network into different routes and lines and privilege them to different concessionaires. The presence of both public and private firms in the same urban bus transport lines and routes negatively affect small entrepreneurs. However, to circumvent this situation, the number of stops and journeys in the areas close to the city center (2. transportation zone) and the number of lines and journeys in the areas far from the city center (5. transportation zone) were kept high.

In particular, the excess number of ÖHO serving the residential areas in the city center has to provide superiority over the EGO buses serving on the same lines. Small entrepreneurs in the field of urban transportation, which are motivated by gaining profit, can only compete with the rent in the number of lines and routes that EGO serves intensively. The Western planning zone is divided into transport zones 2 and 5. In these zones ÖHA and ÖTA do not share the same lines and routes with each other. It is an indication that different private public transport vehicles in the same planning region share the transport rent without any conflict of interest.

The fact that the areas where ÖTA serve are more distant from the city center compared to the ÖHA service areas differentiates the method of gaining profit in the urban transportation area of two private transportation vehicles. When we look at the 5th Transportation Region within the Western Planning Region, the number of ÖTA serving the region increases as the line extends. This naturally led to an increase in the number of ÖTA bus stops and the duration of the journey. It shows that the residential areas far from the city center are obliged to ÖTA. As will be mentioned in the next analysis section, the concentration of ÖTA penalties decided by Ankara

transportation decision mechanism shows the service quality and understanding of ÖTA in these areas.

5.3 The Decision Making Process in Urban Bus Transportation Coordination

The second part of the analysis is designed to search for answers about decision-making mechanisms in the provision of urban transportation services and evaluation of actors involved in these mechanisms. As a result of the change in the public service concept, today, the change in the quality and quantity of public services undertaken by the state has allowed the public sector to be effective and the market economy dominated by the private sector. This change is not a change that completely abolishes the state's power over public goods and services, but has played an important role in the development of effective control and intervention mechanisms (regulation institutions) of the state. At this point, it is of great importance which public services, by whom and how to present. The decision-making mechanisms in public service provision and the actors involved in these mechanisms are the elements to be examined. In this context, one of the main problems that the study tries to find out how the small entrepreneurs in urban transport are involved in the decision-making process and how they affect the decision-making process by examining both legal and administrative structures.

Article 9 of Law No. 5216 imposed important duties on metropolitan municipalities in order to carry out transport services in a coordinated manner. The metropolitan municipalities started to provide these services through transportation coordination centers. In this part of the study, 2626 decisions of UKOME, which is responsible for coordination of urban public transport, have been taken from 2004 to 2018. UKOME does not only make decisions regarding the coordination of urban bus transportation. Decisions taken by the Center include traffic regulations, license plate changes of commercial vehicles, line and route arrangements, stops and parking arrangements. In this section, decisions that affect the urban bus transportation processes, which constitute the main theme of the study, are examined within the 2626 decisions of UKOME General Assembly, which has been shared by Ankara Metropolitan Municipality to date.

Emphasis is placed on the decisions under which public transport is controlled and regulated by UKOME. At this point, the UKOME decisions, which sets out the penalties for vehicles that do not comply with the established rules, constitutes the most important legal legislation. The content of the decisions affecting the urban bus transportation processes taken by UKOME which are examined in the study reveals the effect of the actors on the decision making process, the decision mechanism and the interests of the urban public transport operators.

5.3.1 Actor Structure of Ankara Urban Bus Transportation Decision Making Process

Legal basis, managerial structure and decision-making process are the basic elements that should be examined in order to reveal the actor structure and effect of private sector operators involved in urban bus transportation as an actor in Ankara. In general, with the change in local government laws, especially in 2004, local authorities have become the most prominent actors with expanded duties and powers related to urban transport. Ankara's bus operation logic, which is planned through an intricate and complex relationship network, brings various laws that complement each other. UKOME, which is fully authorized in the coordination of urban transport with Article 9 of Law No. 5216, has been involved in the process through the regulation stating its duties, powers and responsibilities. Prior to this, however, the regulations of the Metropolitan Municipality's Department of Transport and the EGO responsible for the bus operation of the municipality should be examined and their role in urban transport coordination should be expressed. When we examine the regulations describing the duties, powers and responsibilities of the Metropolitan Municipality's transport unit, EGO and UKOME, should clarify the actor structure and management scheme related to the delivery of Ankara city bus services.

5.3.1.1 The Role of Metropolitan Municipality in Urban Bus Transportation Coordination

Regarding the legal regulations on the subject in Turkey; according to the paragraph f of Article 7 of Law no. 5216, making and implementing a metropolitan transportation master plan; planning and coordinating urban transportation and public

transport services; determining the number, timetables, lines and routes of all kinds of public transport services; identifying and operating or leasing stops are among the duty and responsibility of the metropolitan municipalities. According to paragraph 7 of Law no. 5216, it is among the responsibilities of the metropolitan municipality to carry out public transportation services within the metropolitan area, to establish, to operate the necessary facilities for this purpose and to license public transportation vehicles within the metropolitan area. Again, regarding the public transportation lines within the metropolitan area; distance to the city center, population, and the decisions on the operation of public transportation services are within the responsibilities of metropolitan municipalities. According to the Article 9 of Law no. 5216, under the headship of metropolitan mayor or a person appointed by the metropolitan mayor, Transport Coordination Center was established with representation of public institutions and organizations determined by regulation and the related chamber assigned by Turkey's Automobile Drivers Federation (TOSF). In addition, by this law, the planning, coordination and route identification of the traffic services are under the responsibility of the metropolitan municipality and the authorities related to the public transportation vehicles are used by the transportation coordination center instead of the provincial traffic commission within the metropolitan boundaries.

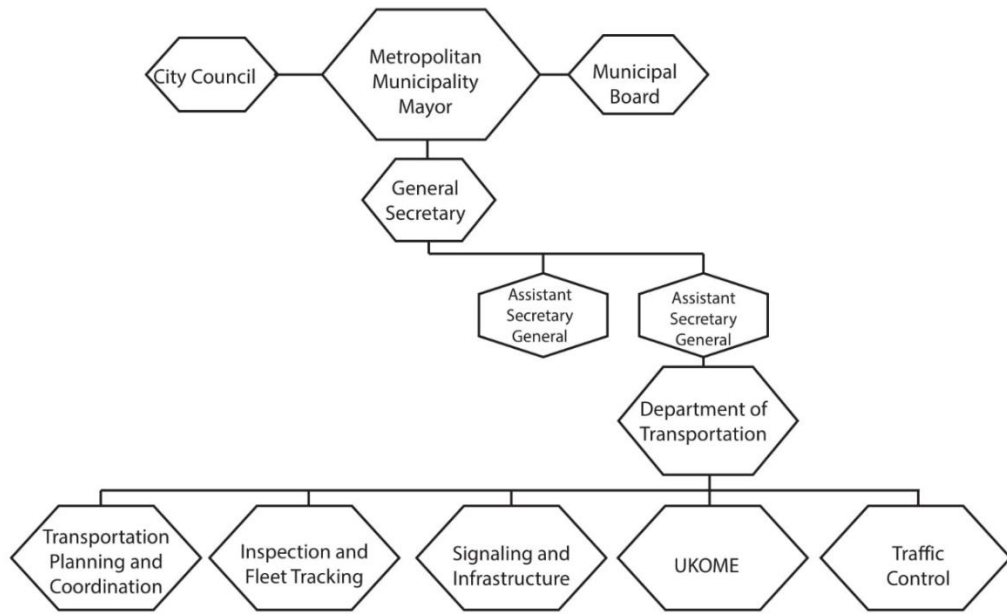


Figure 17: Organization Schema of Ankara Metropolitan Municipality Transportation Management

One of the most important units of the metropolitan municipality in urban transport planning is the Department of Transportation. Until 2016, the Department of Transportation, which was a unit of EGO, is the session chair of UKOME meetings. The Department of Transportation, which joined EGO in 2007 in order to ensure the order and organization of Ankara city transportation, was taken into the structure of Metropolitan Municipality on 15 August 2016 with the decision dated 09.06.2016 and numbered 1075 (EGO, 2019). Continuous change of the institution to which the Department of Transportation is affiliated shows that there is a conflict between the municipality and EGO in terms of control of urban transport regulations.

The Department of Transportation carries out its activities with five branch offices consisting of transportation planning and coordination, supervision and fleet tracking, signaling and infrastructure, UKOME and traffic control.

According to the article 6 of Regulation On Duty and Working Principles and Procedures of the Transport Department, the main purpose of the Department of Transportation is to determine the current and future transportation characteristics of Ankara and to realize the plans and projects related to traffic that will direct the measures and investments required by the transportation demands. To follow the

routes and speeds of buses with fleet tracking and management system of Metropolitan Municipality and EGO service vehicles as well as to issue a permit to all the commercial vehicles belonging to individuals and companies operating within the boundaries of the Metropolitan Municipality as a result of the decisions taken by UKOME are among the aims of Department of Transportation. It is also the duty of the transport agency to ensure that the UKOME subcommittee meets and assess requests from citizens.

The Department of Transportation Planning and Coordination under the Department of Transportation is responsible for determining the minibuss lines and routes and examining the suggestions and complaints coming from the institutions and individuals related to public transportation problems in the city of Ankara. Another branch office under the Department of Transportation is the UKOME Branch Office. The duties of the UKOME branch office include conducting secretarial services of UKOME, preparing the agenda of the UKOME meeting, organizing the meeting minutes and voting of UKOME resolutions, writing, signing and sending to the relevant authorities and contacting the institutions and organizations sending members to UKOME meetings.

In short, the transport department is one of the most important actors representing the metropolitan municipality at UKOME after the mayor. The Department of Transportation Planning and Coordination and UKOME Branch Offices are in some way the secretariat of UKOME. All secretarial duties such as requests, complaints, communication with the relevant institutions, writing, signing and announcing decisions belong to these offices.

5.3.1.2 A Local Public Authority: EGO

Municipal Bus Administration which was established in order to provide transportation services in the city of Ankara in 1935 became an institution with added budget under the name of Ankara Bus Operation Administration, and joined the “General Directorate of Ankara Electricity, Gas and Bus Operation Organization (EGO) in 1950.

EGO is a legal entity that is managed according to the provisions of private law. Article 1 of Law no. 4325 clearly states that EGO has legal personality. Accordingly, EGO has a separate legal entity from Ankara Metropolitan Municipality. While the law states that it has legal personality, the absence of a “Public” statement raises the question of whether EGO is a public legal entity. The expression "EGO is governed by the provisions of private law", suggests that EGO is a private law person. However, EGO is undoubtedly an organization that meets the requirements of public legal entity. EGO is a public legal entity, which is established by a special law, the property of which is in the possession of state property, and its duties are public officials (Law No. 4325, Articles 12-16).

The loyalty requirement for EGO to be considered as a local public institution is proved by the provision that it is bound to Ankara Metropolitan Municipality in the law numbered 4325. In addition, bus management was added to the EGO's field of activity in 1962, and the authority to establish transit services, operate buses and have bus operate is proof that it is a local public institution. Pursuant to Articles 5, 7 and 9 of Law no. 4325, EGO has its own budget, its own decision-making bodies and its own staff (Gözler, 2018: 468-470).

Although the UKOME decision-making mechanism is the main actor in the decision making process of the bus public transport, EGO is the executive authority of the special public transport regulation. The main issues such as determination of the lines and routes to be operated, changes in lines and routes, determination of transportation fee, the inclusion of new vehicles in the lines and the numbers of private public transportation vehicles are made with the recommendation of EGO and the approval of UKOME General Assembly (Özel Halk Otobüsleri & Özel Toplu Taşıma Araçları Yönetmeliği, Articles 5, 6, 7, 24). EGO is responsible for determining the daily private public bus schedule, checking the costume of the personnel of the private public buses, checking the technical, insurance, traffic documents and payment of the vehicles.

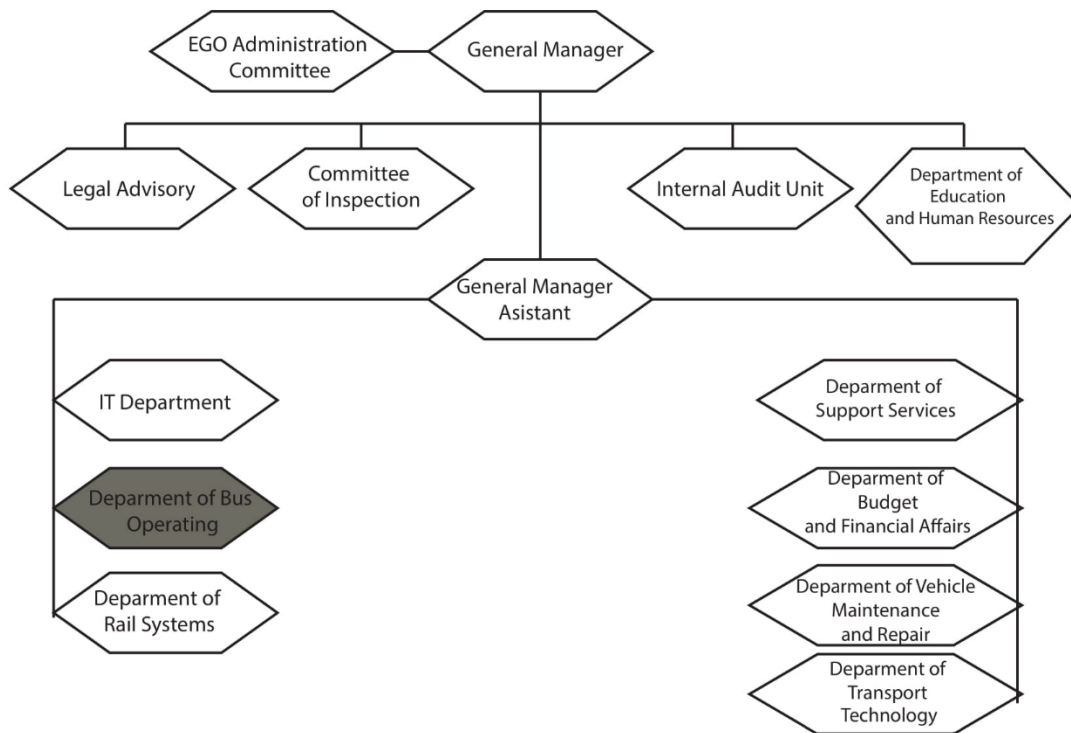


Figure 18: EGO Organizational Schema

EGO General Manager, Assistant General Managers, Heads of Transportation and Bus Operating Departments and unit supervisors are EGO personnel with the authority to audit. Besides, a commission established by UKOME provides opinions on fines and cancellation of licenses of private public transport vehicles in the cases contrary to the regulations. However, according to Article 25 of the Private Public Transport Regulation, EGO General Manager, Assistant General Managers and Heads of Transportation and Bus Operating Departments may impose parking fines on vehicles without taking a commission decision. In addition, each year after being checked by EGO, the operating license is granted to private public transportation vehicles. According to Article 19/2 of the Private Public Transport Regulation, the decision to cancel the license to be taken by the Commission shall be submitted to UKOME. If the cancellation of license is accepted from UKOME, operators cannot claim any rights from EGO.

The UKOME decision results show that EGO has an impact on both the commission and the UKOME plenary. As a matter of fact, EGO, which takes place in both commission structure and UKOME decision-making mechanism, has a position that

makes the request for the decision, constitutes the infrastructure of the decision, takes the decision and ensures the execution of the decision and also controls the operation during the provision of transportation services. Until 2016, the Department of Transportation was the session chair of UKOME meetings as part of EGO. The Department of Transportation, which joined EGO in 2007 in order to ensure the order and organization of Ankara city transportation, was taken into the structure of Metropolitan Municipality on 15 August 2016 with the decision dated 09.06.2016 and numbered 1075 (EGO, 2019). Continuous change of the institution to which the Department of Transportation is affiliated shows that there is a conflict between the municipality and EGO in terms of control of urban transport regulations.

In addition, the Department of Bus Management, a division of EGO, is one of the UKOME actors. As mentioned in Article 17 of the Metropolitan Municipalities Coordination Centers Regulation, expect representatives of district municipalities, government agencies and the related chamber assigned by Turkish Drivers and Automobile Association, there are no more than eleven persons to be appointed including representatives of departments, businesses and affiliates of the Metropolitan Municipality regarding transportation and investments. Although EGO lost the head of Transportation Department, as an important actor/representative, to the metropolitan municipality in 2016, the head of the EGO Bus Operation Department is also one of the eleven responsible representatives appointed by the municipality.

EGO management, whose main purpose is to meet the public transportation needs of the public within the boundaries of Ankara Metropolitan Municipality, is managed by the administrative committee consisting of General Manager, Assistant General Managers, 1st Legal Counsel and Head of Department. The administrative committee has the authority and responsibility as the top decision-making body of the organization to make decisions and to implement the decisions made.

5.3.1.3 Transport Coordination Center (UKOME) as a Key Actor in Urban Transportation Decision-Making Process

With the Law of Metropolitan Municipality numbered 5216, which entered into force in 2004, the effective and efficient coordination element was brought to the forefront and a new administration was started to be adopted in local governments in accordance with new public administration approaches. The need of efficient and economical use of resources and effective planning and coordination in providing local services has emerged. In this context, coordination factor in metropolitan city administrations is an important element in the production, provision and supervision of local services (Alıcı, 2017: 260).

"Coordination" means making decisions that affect all participants without losing the independence of an institution and without being under the control of an executive, and it seems to be considered in three elements of "harmonious union", "cooperation" and "encouragement" (Tortop, et. al., 1999: 147-155). Along with the new local government laws, the fact that significant coordination authority within the city limits was given to metropolitan municipalities led to the establishment of coordination centers for the regulation of transport and infrastructure for the rapid adoption and implementation of decisions.

Firstly, in accordance with Article 7/3 of the Law No. 3030, Infrastructure Coordination Center "AYKOME" and Transportation Coordination Center "UKOME" were established in the metropolitan area in order to carry out the infrastructure and transportation services in metropolitan cities with high coordination. The coordination centers are formed by the participation of the representatives of the relevant public institutions and organizations under the chairmanship of the mayor of the metropolitan municipalities. The participation of representatives of related institutions in the UKOME and AYKOME decision-making process was evaluated as a positive development in the context of local participation (Eke, 1985: 54). In the new Metropolitan Municipality Act, which entered into force in 2004, UKOME and AYKOME formations continued to exist together with some changes.

The legal basis of the UKOME is Article 9 of the Metropolitan Municipal Law No. 5216. According to the article 9, UKOME takes decisions about urban transport arrangements and regulations, urban traffic coordination, urban public transport fees and determination of routes and lines of transportation vehicles which are private and public enterprises. Before the Metropolitan Municipal Law Numbered 5216, 14 metropolitan municipalities, including Ankara (except Kocaeli and Istanbul), had been serving their duties within 20 to 50 km radius in the direction of their population. After the new Metropolitan Municipal Law, the transportation services within the borders of the metropolitan municipality were transferred to the metropolitan municipalities and the duties of the provincial traffic commissions were transferred to the Transport Coordination Center (UKOME). With the law numbered 6360, the authorities expanded to provincial borders, and the authorities of the Transport Coordination Centers (UKOME) expanded to provincial boundaries. In other words, the authorities of the District and the Provincial Traffic Commissions also came to an end and transfer its authority to the UKOME's.

The duties and authorities of UKOME is explicitly stated in the Article 18 of the Regulation of the Metropolitan Municipal Coordination Centers. UKOME has the authority to make high-level decision-making, implementation and enforcement on transportation, traffic and public transportation issues in order to ensure coordination of all kinds of transportation services in the city. UKOME is responsible for taking the necessary precautions to ensure traffic safety in accordance with local needs and conditions. UKOME is subjected to taking the necessary decisions and measures to implement and enforcing the metropolitan transportation plan. UKOME is authorized and responsible for all kinds of services includes public transports, taxi numbers, ticket fees and tariffs, time and routes of bus, taxi, minibus and shuttle and determining of bus taxi and minibus stops. UKOME is responsible for making a guiding decision on the application of the transportation, public transportation and traffic legislation within the boundaries of the metropolitan municipality.

Table 13: The Participants of UKOME Decision Making Mechanism

Decision Year	Chairman	Number of Participants of Member Institutions			
		Members of AMM	Central Government Institutions	District Municipalities	Associations, Cooperatives, Professional Chambers
2004	EGO General Manager	3	5	8	–
2005	EGO General Manager	4	5	8	–
2006	EGO General Manager	4	5	7	–
2007	Head of Traffic Department	7	8	11	–
2008	Head of EGO Transportation Department	7	7	7	–
2009	Head of EGO Transportation Department	7	7	11	–
2010	Head of EGO Transportation Department	5	7	12	–
2011	Head of EGO Transportation Department	7	7	8	–
2012	Head of EGO Transportation Department	8	5	–	2
2013	Head of EGO Transportation Department	8	7	9	1
2014	Head of EGO Transportation Department	8	7	–	1
2015	Head of EGO Transportation Department	8	8	1	1
2016	Head of AMM Transportation Department	8	8	–	1
2017	Head of AMM Transportation Department	8	8	–	1
2018	Head of AMM Transportation Department	8	8	1 – 10	1

According to the Article 17 of the Regulation of the Metropolitan Municipal Coordination Centers, the meetings of the Transport Coordination Centers are chaired by the mayor of metropolitan municipality or a person appointed by the mayor. UKOME meetings are held with, the participation of a representative from Ministry of National Defense, Gendarmerie General Command, Security General

Directorate, Coast Guard Command, Undersecretariat for Maritime Affairs, General Directorate of Highways, General Directorate of State Railways, General Directorate of Land Transport, General Directorate of Railways, Ports and Airports Construction, General Directorate of State Airports Authority and maximum ten branch managers from Metropolitan Municipality (TBB Ulaşım Çalışma Komisyonu, 2014: 3). The district and the first-degree municipalities of the metropolitan cities are also able to participate as members in the meetings of the Transport Coordination Centers when discussing issues related to their municipalities. All members participating in the UKOME meeting are eligible to vote. The representatives of universities, trade associations, foundations, organizations are also able to be invited to UKOME meetings to contribute to the resolution of any problems about related cities without voting rights.

When examining the number of representatives attending the UKOME meetings and the institutions they are affiliated with, it seems that a maximum of 10 branch managers of the Metropolitan municipality represented the majority of the meetings. UKOME meetings have been chaired by EGO General Manager, head of Traffic Department or head of EGO Transportation Department appointed by the mayor from 2004 to 2018. Although not included in all meetings, district municipality representatives are members with the highest number of participants. The chairman of UKOME meeting has been the head of transport department as well as heads of departments from Ankara metropolitan municipality have been also the members of UKOME meetings. The representatives of Ankara Union of Tradesmen and Craftsmen Chambers and Ankara Chamber of Commerce were the participants of UKOME meetings in 2012. After 2012, Ankara Drivers and Chauffeurs Chamber became a permanent participant of UKOME meetings up to the present.

According to UKOME regulation, UKOME has to report to the Ministry of the Interior about the need to transport within the bounds of the metropolitan area, considering population growth and the city's transportation plan. UKOME has also to inform the Ministry of Interior about matters related to the traffic related country or which require legislative amendments. This reflects the influence of nation-state institutions on local governments. The nation-state is involved in local service

provision with the obligation of both participation and informing, even if it is a matter of controlling of the local governments and only concerns the localities.

Among possible participants of UKOME meetings, Coast Guard Command and Undersecretariat for Maritime Affairs do not participate in the meetings in the cities like Ankara that does not have sea in its borders. In addition, if there is no relevant issue with the district or the first-degree municipalities of the metropolitan cities, no one from these municipalities participates in the meetings. Although universities, trade associations, foundations and professional organizations provide participation, they do not have voting rights.

5.3.1.4 Chambers and Associations of Urban Public Bus Owners

Among the participants of UKOME decision-making, the participation of a representative of the related chamber assigned by Turkish Drivers and Automobile Association is an important member in the context of the involvement of the private sector in decision-making processes in the course of the execution of local public services. This perspective draws attention to the increased involvement of the private sectors in service delivery and strategic decision-making.

The Turkish Drivers and Automobile Association is an umbrella organization in terms of scope and interest and is not an institution that directly defends private public bus interest areas. But here is the interesting point about the chambers assigned by the Turkish Drivers and Automobile Association. Ankara Union of Chambers of Artisans and Craftsmen and Ankara Chambers of General Drivers and Automobile Drivers are usually chosen as a representative of the federation. The relationship of the heads of the relevant institutions with the ÖHO and Dolmuş vehicles in Ankara bus transportation services indirectly lets private bus operators to vote in the decision making process of UKOME.

Table 14: Urban Transportation Oriented Artisan Chambers by Interest and Service Areas

Urban Transportation Oriented Craftsmen Interest Groups	Interest Areas	Service Areas
Private Transportation Vehicle and Bus Chambers regarding the Metropolitan District Municipalities		
Sincan Chamber of Urban Public Bus Owners	Private Public Transportation Vehicles (White Buses)	Sincan, Etimesgut
Ankara Chamber of Urban Public Buses	Private Public Transportation Buses (Blue Buses)	Yenimahalle, Mamak, Altındağ, Pursaklar
Private Transportation Vehicle Chambers regarding Other District Transportation Services		
Akyurt Chamber of Drivers and Automobile Owners	District Private Public Transportation Vehicles	Akyurt
Ayaş Umum Chamber of Drivers and Automobile Owners		Ayaş
Bala Chamber of Drivers and Automobile Owners		Bala
Beypazarı Chamber of Drivers and Automobile Owners		Beypazarı
Çamlıdere Chamber of Transport Services		Çamlıdere
Çubuk Chamber of Drivers and Automobile Owners		Çubuk
Elmadağ Chamber of Drivers and Transporters		Elmadağ
Gölbaşı Chamber of Drivers and Automobile Owners		Gölbaşı
Güdül Chamber of Drivers and Automobile Owners		Güdül
Haymana Chamber of Drivers and Automobile Owners		Haymana
Kahramankazan Chamber of Drivers and Truckers		Kahramankazan
Kalecik Chamber of Drivers and Automobile Owners		Kalecik
Kızılcahamam Chamber of Drivers and Automobile Owners		Kızılcahamam
Nallıhan Chamber of Drivers and Automobile Owners		Nallıhan
Polatlı Chamber of Drivers and Automobile Owners		Polatlı
Ş.Koçhisar Chamber of Drivers and Automobile Owners		Ş.Koçhisar

Private public transport chambers in Ankara, affiliated to the Turkish Drivers and Automobile Association, are shown in table 14. When we look at the chambers of bus tradesmen representing the private public transportation vehicles within the study area of the thesis, we see that there are chambers of bus tradesmen created by small entrepreneurs who use the same routes and lines, have the same vehicles, in short, the

same field of interest. However, we cannot say that all vehicles serving on the same line and route are united under the same formation.

Some ÖTA owners who have been providing public transportation services to only Sincan district started to serve in 7 new lines in the metropolitan districts; Gölbaşı, Çankaya, Mamak, Keçiören and Altındağ which double-decker and green buses were provided transportation services until 2007. These ÖTA owners are already the continuation of the green buses. The densely populated settlements with these new lines have led to the change in the vehicle types of ÖTA owners. Hereby, the white midibuses replaced by the new 12-meter blue private public buses to provide public transportation services to these new lines. UKOME decision 2018/68 taken in 2018 has been a pleasing change to ÖTA owners due to working on lines that have high demand for transportation and working with vehicles that can carry more passengers. In addition, the ÖTA owners who have been providing public transportation services to only Sincan and Fatih districts and gathered under the Sincan Chamber of Urban Public Bus Owners started to serve in the new lines as members of Ankara Public Bus Cooperative (AHOK).

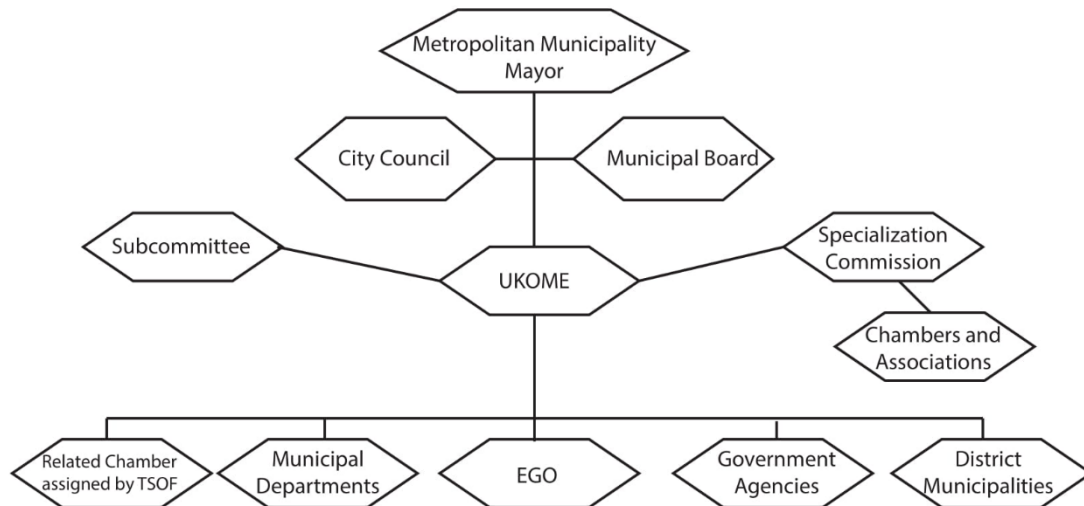


Figure 19: Ankara Metropolitan Municipality Transportation Coordination Center (UKOME) Organizational Schema

Another important factor seen after the review of UKOME resolutions was the role of the specialized commissions and subcommittees of UKOME to answer EGO, ÖTA, ÖHO bus lines and routes change requests and evaluate the regulation

violations of private public transport vehicles. UKOME subcommittees and Specialization Commissions generally consist of members of the institution representatives appointed by the Bus Management Department of EGO and Transportation Department of Ankara Metropolitan Municipality (AMM), Gendarmerie Regiment Command, Traffic Police Department and representatives of Chambers of Craftsmen. According to Article 15 of Law No: 5126, the UKOME Specialized Commission is composed of at least five and at most nine persons among the members of the Metropolitan Municipal Assembly, with the ratio of the number of members of each political party group and independent members in the Metropolitan Municipal Assembly to the total number of members. Expert persons may also be employed in the work of the Commission. Regarding the issues on the agenda; Chambers and / or associations participate in the meetings of the specialized commission and give opinions without the right to vote. When UKOME private public transport line, route and quota changes requests are examined, it is consulted and received the opinion by the representatives of ÖTA (Private Public Transportation Vehicles (Green)), ÖHO (Privately owned Public Buses (Blue)), CKO (Double Decker Buses), ANKMO (Ankara Chamber of Minibuses) and SİNMO (Sincan Chamber of Minibuses (White)).

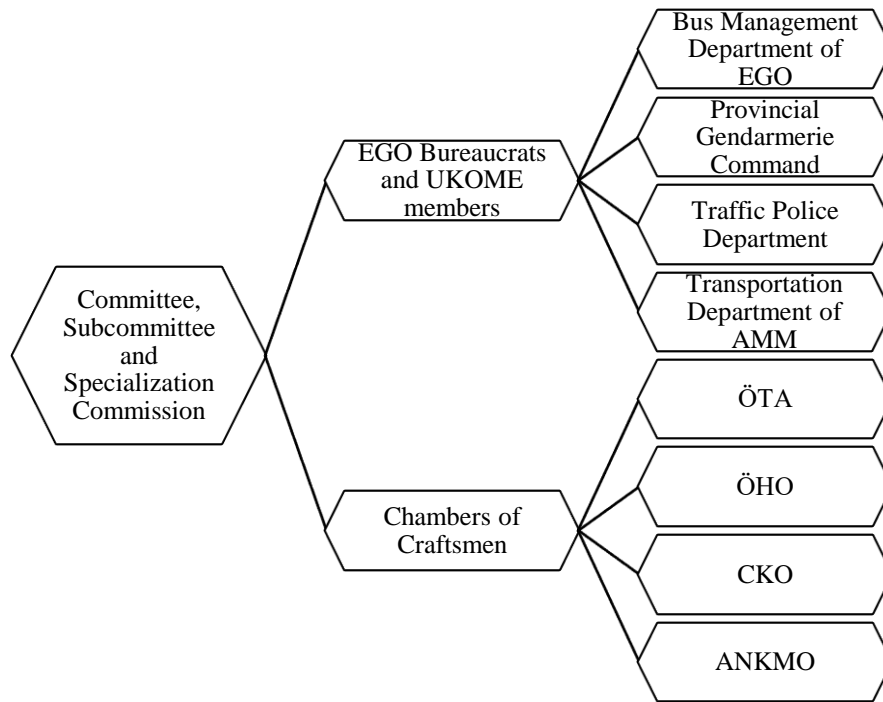


Figure 20: Members Participating in Transportation Coordination Commissions and Committees

As a result, on one hand, the chambers assigned by the Turkish Drivers and Automobile Association have obtained the vote right in the decision making process of UKOME, on the other hand the private public transport chambers, included in the specialized commissions and subcommittees for the purpose of giving opinions, obtain the position to influence UKOME decisions. In addition to the department of transportation of AMM, EGO and UKOME members, subcommittees and specialized commissions are key actors in the decision-making process.

5.3.2 Decision Making Mechanism of Urban Bus Transportation Coordination

In the Article 7 of the Metropolitan Law No. 5216, duties and responsibilities of metropolitan municipalities related to urban bus transportation are expressed as drawing up and implementing the metropolitan transport master plan and coordinating transport and public transport services. Transport Coordination Centers establish to coordinate urban bus transport services in the metropolitan area. Decisions of the transport coordination center enters into force upon the approval of the metropolitan mayor. The working principles and procedures of the transport coordination centers and the representation of public entities in such centers are laid

down in a regulation issued by the Ministry of Interior. In this context, regulations for private public transport vehicles and buses have entered into force.

Decisions on urban transport are taken at the UKOME general assembly. In the UKOME decisions taken from 2004 to 2018 regarding bus transportation services, decision makers are privileged in responding to requests. Any request of change on bus lines and routes are examined, the line and route changes requested by the General Directorate of EGO are deemed appropriate by the sub-committee. However, demands from citizens, neighborhood and village headmen, different associations and communities have been not approved by the commission. In addition, negative decisions are taken by the UKOME general assembly against these requests. This shows the impact of EGO and committee members on UKOME decisions.

The operators who did not comply with the provisions of the regulation were imposed penalties for withdrawal from parking, money and exclusion from transportation. Although these violations were punished with a fine, the repetition of the violation 3 or 5 times depending on the nature of the violation caused the cancellation of the license. In the renewed ÖTA and ÖHO regulations, the number of violations has gradually been increased from 3-5 to 10-25, which shows the effect of private public transport operators on the regulations and thus the decision-making process.

The violations that lead to the cancellation of the licenses of ÖHO, ÖTA and double decker buses are stated in the related regulations. According to the violated articles, it was seen that the licenses of buses were canceled after the operator did not fulfill the obligations in the operator contracts and regulations specified in Article 19. In the last paragraph of Article 19 of the Regulation on Private Public Buses of Ankara Metropolitan Municipality, entitled "Cancellation of License"; It is stipulated that the license cancellation decisions to be taken by the commission will be submitted to UKOME and the operators cannot claim any rights if the cancellation of the license is accepted by UKOME. The repetitions of the penalties causing the cancellation of the license are as follows:

- Cancellation of the license of the vehicle which receives more than twenty-five fines in one operating year due to fines or offenses with parking penalties,
- Cancellation of the license for vehicles that do not comply with the rotation program at their own stop 5 times,
- Cancellation of vehicles license after ten times of non-compliance with daily movement program within one year,
- Cancellation of license of vehicles after non-payment of stop shares

When the decisions are examined, the cancellation decisions taken by the commission are submitted to UKOME. If UKOME accepts the cancellation of license, the operators are banned from transportation service.

Another important factor seen after reviewing UKOME decisions is that all decisions taken at the meetings were taken unanimously. UKOME meetings are held with the participation of members listed in article 17 of UKOME regulation. Votes shall be held in the form of open voting. Decisions are taken by the simple voting of the majority of those who present. However, the fact that the decisions are taken by open voting and absolute majority do not explain why the decisions were taken by consensus. According to Sartori, this would be appropriate for decision-making in the form of a commission, in which the members hoped that they would be compensated in one vote for another. This is only possible if the activities of the commission are continuous and the issues submitted for voting are not always in the interest of the same members. (Sartori, 2014:283). The commissions establish sub-commissions, in particular on matters requiring investigation. Establishing a subcommittee allows for a more specialized expertise, since it allows to move away from strict method rules. Since the committees and the General Assembly are large committees which are subjected to method rules, they may not be easily express their opinions. Sub-commissions have great advantages in this respect. Because it is easier for a small number of people to get together for more frequent and longer periods of time.

In fact, a decision-making body can make decisions because the preferences of its members are not as intense in every issue. It is a small group in which the members of the Commission interact with each other and establish face-to-face relationships

with each other. The fact that the members of the commission are a group in which they influence each other is that the committee consists of at least three members (Sartori, 2014:283). As a matter of fact, according to Article 15 of Law No. 5216, municipalities may establish specialized commissions composed of minimum five and maximum nine persons. Another feature of the commissions is that they are continuous and institutionalized. Every individual involved in this institutionalized group makes decisions that the group will always continue. Another important feature of the commissions is the flow of decisions. When the decisions that come before the commission to be taken come in waves and series, the decision group starts to make serial and similar decisions (Sartori, 2014:283).

Commissions almost never work on the basis of majority rule. They usually don't vote for decisions. Even if they do, they usually put it formally, that is, by raising hands to get into the record. UKOME decisions are taken unanimously. This does not mean that all commission members agree. The main reason for the unanimous agreement of the commissions is that each member of the group expects to compensate for its concession on another matter. Since this is an implicit agreement, it can also be called a working principle. The motto "I give that you may give back" (Do ut des) is the essence of this working principle. The most important factor supporting this principle is the lack of veto rights of commission members (Sartori, 2014:284).

As a result, despite the multiple actors involved in decision-making, EGO as a legal entity and subcommittees and specialized commissioners are more effective in the decision-making process. In the decision-making process, the demands of citizens and institutions related to urban transportation were almost never responded positively. The decision-making process has become a decision-making process within the municipality and EGO's own elements. In line with UKOME decision 2012/36, it was decided that the changes regarding the public transportation carried out by ÖHO and ÖTA within the boundaries of Ankara Metropolitan Municipality should be made with the consent of EGO General Directorate and the issue has been resolved at the UKOME meetings. UKOME has become a decision mechanism which just ratify EGO's decision on many issues related to urban bus transportation

such as change of lines and routes, selection of bus stops, determining the number of vehicles and transportation fees.

Besides, we should not underestimate that the views of the specialized and sub-committee are also effective in UKOME decisions. For instance, according to 2005 Specialization Commission decisions related to ÖHO, ÖTA and EGO buses, the requests from the citizens were answered negatively while the demands of private transport vehicles and privately owned public busses were answered positively. Another point that draws attention is the positive decisions of the Association representing the ÖHO were in line with the demands accepted by the UKOME general assembly even though chambers and associations do not have the right to vote (see in table 15). UKOME specialized commission evaluated requests for change of route and lines of ÖTA, ÖHO and double-decker privately operated public buses. When we examine the decisions of UKOME, we see that the opinions of the Chamber and the Association are entirely on the interests of the ÖTA and ÖHO lines and routes. In response to the citizen's request for the opening of a new line, the chambers emphasized that if a new line is opened, the lines will overlap and this will cause infighting between the private bus owners. Therefore, the request was not approved and was not accepted by the UKOME general assembly (Decision 2005/4b).

Table 15: Specialization Commission Decisions on Change Requests of ÖHO, ÖTA and Dolmuş

No	Petitioner	Region	Chambers and Association Opinions					UKOME Decision
			ANKMO	ÖTA	ÖHO	ÇKO	SİNMO	
2005/4-b	Ankara Auto Artisans Chamber	1. Region	No Opinion	Not Suitable	Suitable	No Opinion	No Opinion	Not Approved
	Çayyolu Associations Board	1. Region	Not Suitable	Not Suitable	Suitable	No Opinion	Not Suitable	Not Approved
	Ata Bilge Apartment Management	2. Region	Not Suitable	No Opinion	Not Suitable	No Opinion	No Opinion	Not Approved
	Ankara Chamber of Minibus Tradesmen	4. Region	Suitable	No Opinion	Suitable	No Opinion	No Opinion	Approved
	Some Metropolitan Municipal Council Members	1. Region	Not Suitable	No Opinion	Suitable	No Opinion	No Opinion	Not Approved
	Some Metropolitan Municipal Council Members	3. Region	Not Suitable	Not Suitable	No Opinion	No Opinion	No Opinion	Not Approved
	Some Metropolitan Municipal Council Members	3. Region	Not Suitable	Not Suitable	Suitable	No Opinion	No Opinion	Not Approved
	Ankara Metropolitan Municipality	City Center	Not Suitable	Not Suitable	Not Suitable	No Opinion	Not Suitable	Not Approved
	A Citizen	5. Region	Not Suitable	Not Suitable	Suitable	No Opinion	Not Suitable	Not Approved
	Head of İlkbahar neighborhood	1. Region	Not Suitable	No Opinion	Suitable	No Opinion	No Opinion	Not Approved
	A Citizen	5. Region	No Opinion	Not Suitable	Suitable	No Opinion	Not Suitable	Not Approved
	A Citizen	5. Region	No Opinion	Not Suitable	Suitable	No Opinion	Not Suitable	Not Approved
	Kavaklı Village (Altındağ) Association President	City Center	Suitable	Not Suitable	Suitable	No Opinion	No Opinion	Not Approved
	Some Metropolitan Municipal Council Members	4. Region	Not Suitable	No Opinion	Suitable	No Opinion	No Opinion	Not Approved
	Ankara Chamber of Minibus Tradesmen	City Center	Suitable	No Opinion	Not Suitable	No Opinion	No Opinion	Not Approved
	A Citizen	City Center	Not Suitable	Not Suitable	Not Suitable	No Opinion	No Opinion	Not Approved
	Gölbaşı District Municipality	1. Region	Not Suitable	Not Suitable	Suitable	No Opinion	No Opinion	Approved
	A Citizen	5. Region	Not Suitable	Not Suitable	Suitable	No Opinion	Not Suitable	Not Approved
	1st Directorate of Bus Department	1. Region	No Opinion	Suitable	Suitable	No Opinion	No Opinion	Approved
	2 Heads of neighborhoods	3. Region	Not Suitable	Suitable	Not Suitable	No Opinion	No Opinion	Not Approved
	Head of Eryaman neighborhood	5. Region	No Opinion	Not Suitable	No Opinion	Suitable	No Opinion	Approved
2005/4-a	1st Directorate of Bus Department	1. Region	No Opinion	Suitable	Suitable	No Opinion	No Opinion	Approved
	Heads of neighborhood	3. Region	Not Suitable	Suitable	Not Suitable	No Opinion	No Opinion	Not Approved
	Citizens	3. Region	No Opinion	Not Suitable	No Opinion	No Opinion	No Opinion	Not Approved
	Fatih University Hospital	4. Region	Not Suitable	Suitable	No Opinion	No Opinion	No Opinion	Approved
	EGO Bus Department	4. Region	No Opinion	Suitable	No Opinion	No Opinion	No Opinion	Approved
	Chamber of Ankara Private Public Buses (ÖHO)	5. Region	No Opinion	Not Suitable	Suitable	No Opinion	No Opinion	Approved

5.3.3 Decision Types and Contents of Urban Bus Transportation Coordination

The types and contents of decisions within the decision-making mechanism are important in understanding the issues on which the transport coordination center operates the regulation process and the role of private public transport providers in this process. From 2004 to 2018, in general, 10 UKOME general assembly meeting were held each year until 2014. After 2014, the number of meetings increased considerably. Almost all of these decisions were made in response to requests for bus stops, line and route changes, license cancellations and penalties of private public transportation buses and vehicles, transportation fees, commercial Vehicle “C” plate arrangements and taxi parking and stop quota arrangements. The three main types of UKOME decisions that affect the interests of private bus public transport entrepreneurs are the demand for change of lines and routes, the demand for bus stops, and the enforcement of fines imposed on private urban transport providers.

Table 16: Types of UKOME Decisions

<i>UKOME Decisions Types Regarding EGO, ÖTA and ÖHO</i>
Decisions on Requests for Bus Stops
Decisions on Change Requests for Bus Lines and Routes
License Cancellations and Penalties of ÖTA and ÖHO
<i>Other Types of UKOME Decisions</i>
Decisions on Transportation Fees in Urban Public Transportation
Decisions on Regulation for Traffic and Parking
Decisions on Regulation for Commercial Vehicle “C” plate
Decisions on Regulation for Service Vehicles
Decisions on Regulation for Taxi Plates and Stops Quotas

In particular, the UKOME decision of more than 100 in 2018 is not seen as a rational number for a municipal administration that changed in the same year. Although the number of meetings seems small, the demands and penalties collected under certain headings are voted on and voted separately at one time. The number of UKOME plenary sessions was between 2 and 5 until 2014, up to 30 in the following years. The decrease in the number of meetings in 2017 is not a problem in which transportation coordination is experienced in itself, but the effect of the dismissal of the mayor of that period.

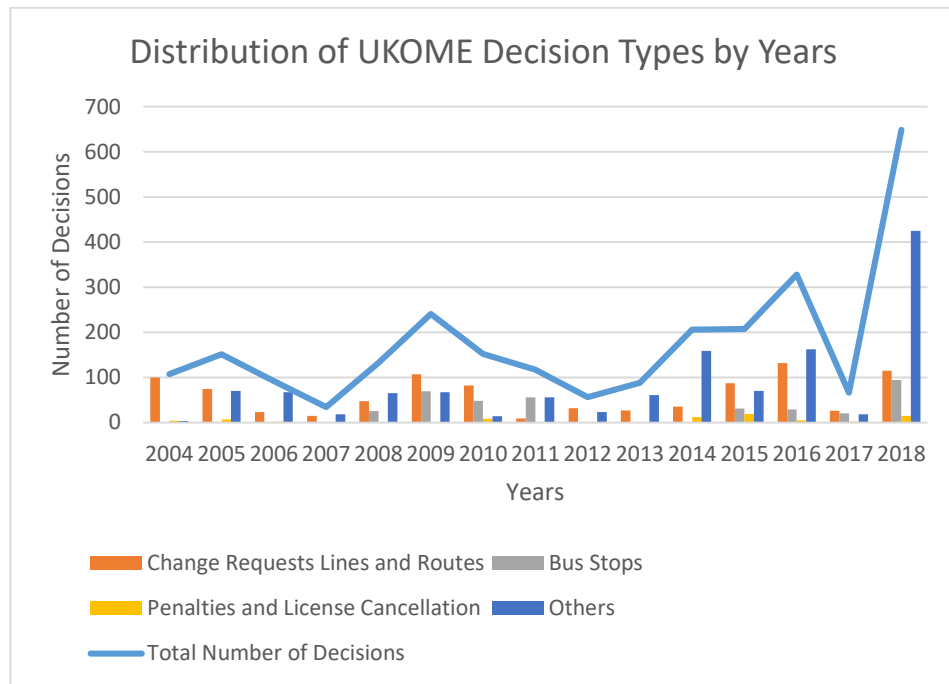


Figure 21: Distribution of UKOME Decision Types by Years

According to figure 21, most decisions are about line and route change in the three main types of UKOME decisions. Another noteworthy element in Figure 21 is a fluctuating decision-making process that increases in local election times and decreases in other times. License cancellations, which are a vital regulatory element for private bus transport providers, need a more in-depth consideration.

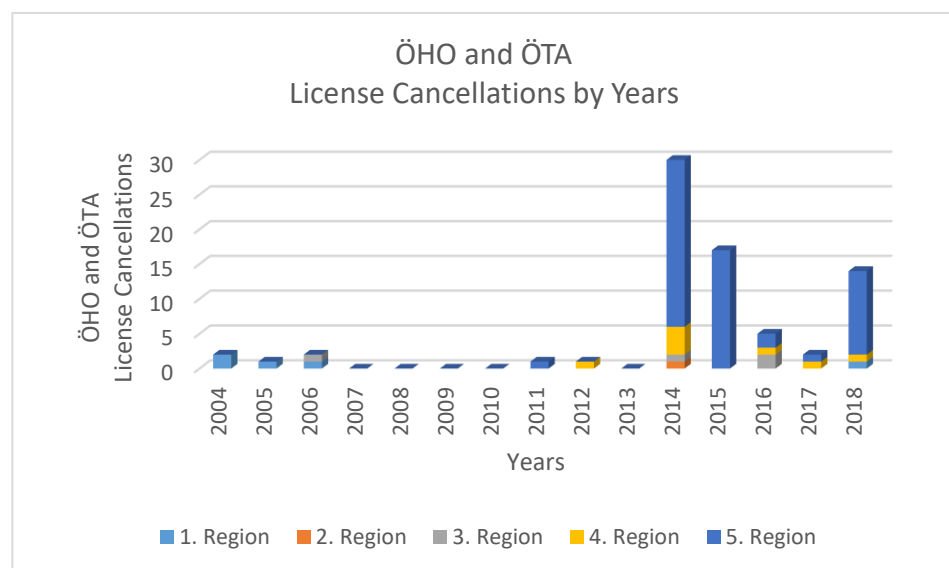


Figure 22: ÖHO and ÖTA License Cancellations by Years

When the penalties for ÖHO and ÖTA are examined between 2004 and 2018, 17 of these were given to ÖHO, while 60 were given to ÖTA. 14 of the fines imposed on the ÖHO are fines until 2007, when the service contracts for green and double-decker buses expired. Except for 3 penalties in 2014, it is seen that the UKOME decisions did not impose penalties on ÖHO. Almost all of the penalties imposed from 2010 to 2018 are ÖTA penalties. According to Figure 15, the license cancellation decisions are related to private public buses serving in Region 1 in the first years since 2004. The withdrawal of green and double-decker buses, whose contract was not continued in 2007, is directly proportional to the decrease in the number of cancellation decisions from that date until 2011. In 2007, instead of green and double-decker buses, private public transportation vehicles, which are planned to serve only in the 5th Region, started to also serve in the 4th Region in 2011. This ÖTA line and route layout increased the decision number of license cancellations in both 5th and 4th Regions (Figure 22). The number of cancellation decisions, which reached the highest number in 2014, continued in a higher number compared to previous years. The decrease in the cancellation decisions in 2017 is directly proportional to the decrease in the total number of all decisions. The dismissal of Melih Gökçek, the mayor of the period in 2017, affected the number of decisions on transportation coordination. This shows how effective the mayor is in the decisions of the UKOME general assembly. Another interesting element is that no significant decision has been made concerning the cancellation of the license for private public buses (ÖHO) serving in the second transport zone. On the other hand, private public transportation vehicles serving in the 5th transportation region caused violations in UKOME regulation and led to the cancellation of license decisions.

A noteworthy regulation of the 5th transport zone in 2009 was also mentioned in the 2015 Turkish Court of Accounts report. When we examine the 2015 public administrations audit report published on the website of the Court of Accounts, a problem has been dealt with the issue of 222 Private Public Transport Vehicles on 8 Separate Lines between Sincan and Ankara city center which has been tendered by EGO General Directorate for 10 years since 2009. Immediately after 222 Private Public Transportation Vehicles started working on the lines in the Sincan region, EGO could not remain indifferent to the intense demand from the citizens living in

the region and started to provide public transportation services to this region by its own buses.

According to the regulation in Article 22 of the agreement signed with Sincan private public transportation vehicles; EGO may additionally run municipal buses or add new private public transport on the lines. The decision makes upon the proposal of the three-person detection commission consisting of EGO Bus Department, Transportation Department of AMM and the relevant Chamber of Tradesmen. On the other hand, according to the paragraph 5 of Article 13 of the Special Public Transport Regulation, the participation fee of the bus stop is 1,500 full tickets per month. Since the buses working on the lines are under 3 years of age, the buses paid 750 full tickets (half of the participation fee of the bus stop) in 2009-2010-2011. since the vehicles are older than three years in 2012, The participation fee of the bus stop was 1,500 full tickets per month. The owners of ÖTA stated that they had suffered great damage due to the operation of EGO buses on the lines where they only should work. In addition, they could not even pay for fuel and drivers salary and the participation fee of the bus stop. Therefore, they requested that the EGO buses be withdrawn from the lines of the contract or their participation fee of the bus stop to be reduced or distributed ÖTA to other lines in Ankara. According to 2015 Turkish Court of Accounts report, the participation fee of the bus stop was collected as 500 full tickets. ÖTA, which has started to serve in the region in 2011, started to serve the city center areas where green and double-decker buses were served. Legal steps intended regulations redistribute welfare. Interest groups offer political support in response to regulatory action in their favor. As a matter of fact, the bus chambers representing ÖTA in Sincan lines, which promised to provide political support before the 2009 local elections and the 2011 general elections, requested regulation in return. Chambers of Bus Tradesmen/Craftsmen as interest groups are formed by individuals, and the size of the marginal benefit of these individuals determines the effectiveness of the group in the political process. at this stage, regulation argues that, by its very nature, it is demanded by companies that want to be protected from competition, and that it is a process that works in favor of the regulated company. The Chambers of Bus Tradesmen/Craftsmen, one of the three actors in the decision to add municipal buses or new private public transportation vehicles to the ÖTA

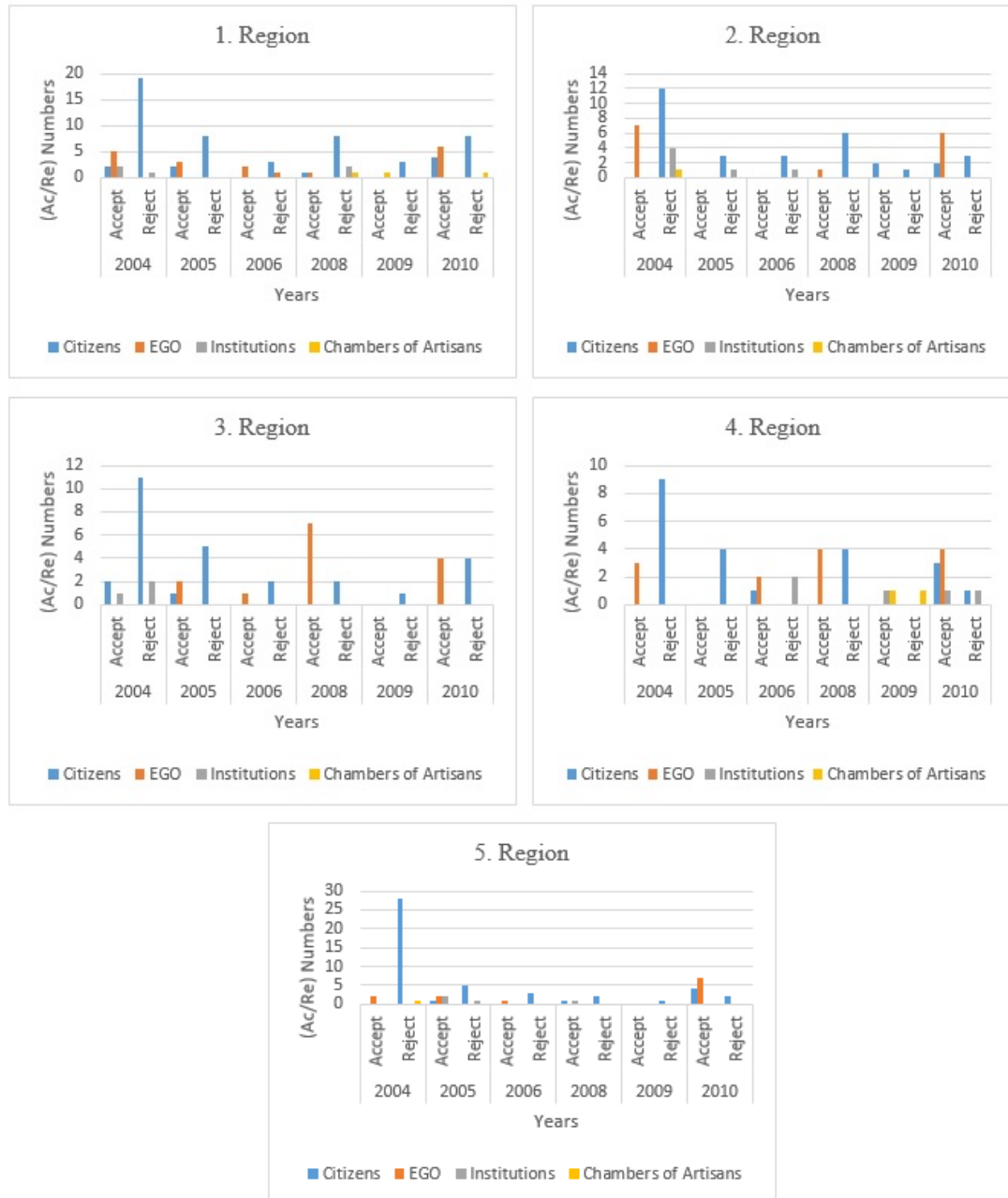
lines, have become the only actor to defend the interests of private urban transport service providers.

According to Figures 23 and 24, it is observed that EGO makes requests for the lines and routes of 2. and 5. transportation regions through the decision making process of UKOME. The number of requests for change of lines and routes of the craftsmen chambers of the private urban transport providers is quite low compared to the demands of citizens and EGO. Although the aim of the establishment of UKOME is to facilitate the control of the service provided to the public, to learn the demands of the people and thus to develop local democracy, it is observed in Figures 23 that the demands of the citizens for line and route changes are not taken into consideration. EGO's effective position is observed both in line and route changes and in determining bus stops in the figures 23 and 24.

Table 17 : Change Requests for Bus Lines and Routes 2012-2018

Year	Decision No	Petitioner	Region	Number of Decision
2012	2012/46	EGO	All Regions	34
2013	2013/23	EGO	All Regions	24
2014	2014/03	EGO	All Regions	29
2015	2015/02	EGO	All Regions	56
2015	2015/37	EGO	All Regions	16
2016	2016/04	EGO	All Regions	32
2016	2016/09	EGO	All Regions	18
2016	2016/22	EGO	All Regions	26
2016	2016/32	EGO	All Regions	24
2016	2016/41	EGO	All Regions	11
2016	2016/54	EGO	All Regions	5
2017	2017/08	EGO	All Regions	26
2018	2018/16	EGO	All Regions	32
2018	2018/46	EGO	All Regions	7
2018	2018/84	EGO	All Regions	13
2018	2018/116	EGO	All Regions	41
TOTAL				394

Figure 23: Change Requests for Bus Lines and Routes to UKOME Decision Mechanism*



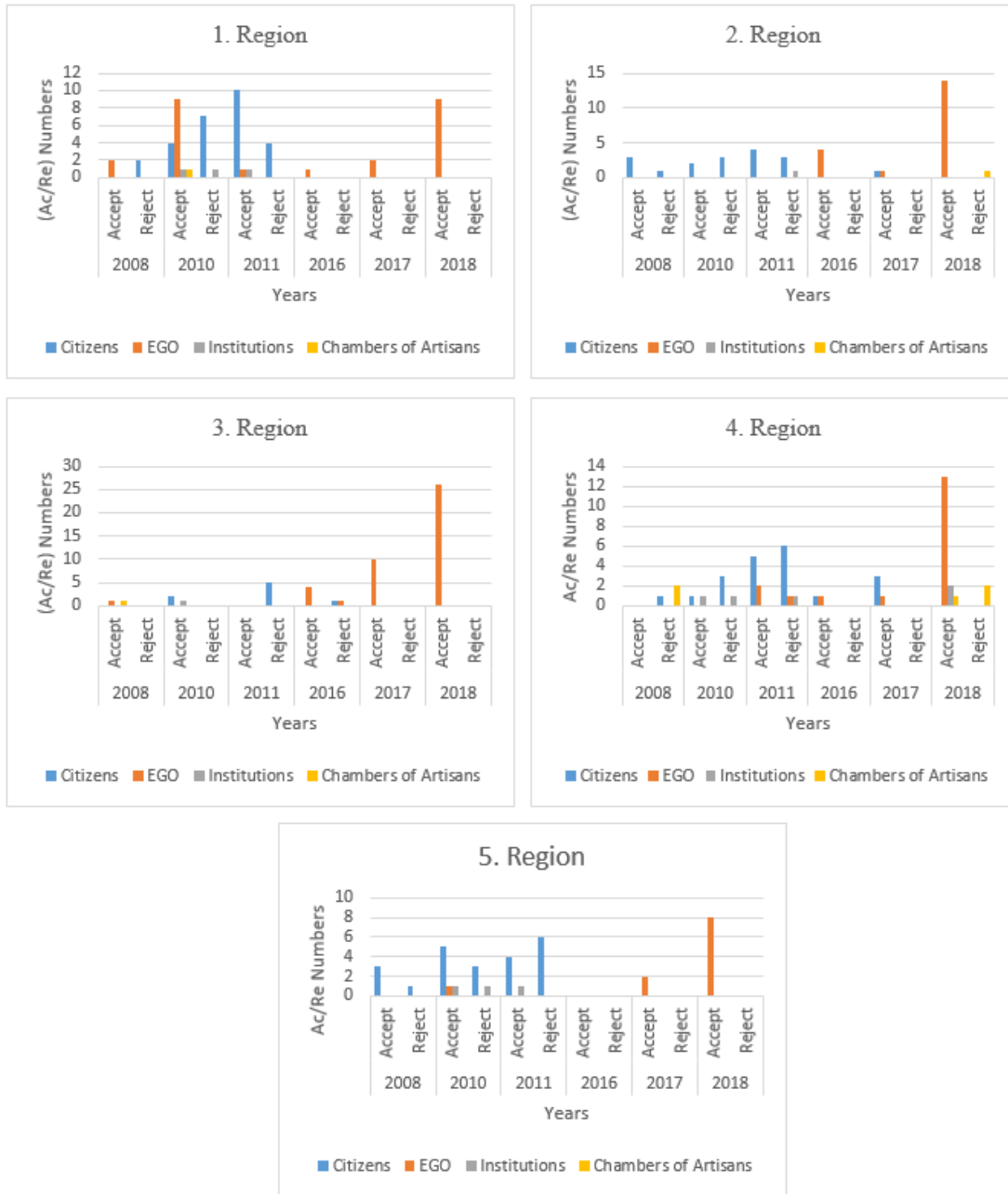
* Citizens represent individual applicants and the headmen of the neighborhoods on the relevant lines and routes for which changes are requested.

EGO represents the General Directorate of Electric Gas Bus is an affiliate of Ankara Metropolitan Municipality which provides transportation services in Ankara.

Institutions represents Gendarmerie Schools Command, Ministry of Interior Civil Defense Directorate, district municipalities and Atatürk Forest Farm Directorate.

Chambers of Artisans cover Chamber of Urban Public Bus Owners (Blue Buses), Chamber of Minibus Drivers (Dolmus) and Sincan Chamber of Urban Public Bus Owners (White Buses)

Figure 24: Requests for Bus Stops to UKOME Decision Mechanism*



* **1. Region** covers Çankaya, Gölbaşı, Dikmen, METU and vicinity; **2. Region** covers Yenimahalle, Demetevler, Oncology Hospital, Ostim Organized Industry, Serhat, and GİMAT; **3. Region** covers Elmadag, Yesildere, Karapürçek, Kırkkonaklar, Asağı Ayrancı, Mamak, Elmadag, Hasanoglan and Lalahan; **4. Region** covers Kecioren, Altındag, Aktepe, Awakening, Officers' Houses, Altınpark, Pursaklar, Cubuk, Akyurt and Kalecik and **5. Region** covers Etimesgut, Sincan, Kazan, Kızılcahamam, Ayaş and vicinity.

In line with UKOME decision no. 2012/36, it was decided to make changes regarding Private Public Transportation in Ankara with the approval of EGO General Directorate and to settle the issue at UKOME meetings. Following this decision in 2012, no information has been provided about the elimination phase of requests submitted to the UKOME general assembly. Without the opinion of the sub-committee or specialized committee on the subject, EGO's approval was submitted to the general assembly and accepted. In this context, 394 bus lines and routes were changed from 2012 to 2018 (see in table 17). All these requests for change were submitted to the UKOME plenary after EGO approval and all were accepted by the board. The fact that the Department of Transportation, which has an important role in coordination of urban transport in 2009, was taken from EGO and became a unit under the mayor of the metropolitan municipality may be perceived as a step towards breaking the superiority of EGO in the decision-making process of Ankara Metropolitan Municipality.

As a result, on the one hand there is a local government that has difficulty in providing urban transport services, and on the other hand there are small entrepreneurs involved in the provision of services, but trying to obtain the rent of the desired value. The transportation unit of the Metropolitan Municipality, EGO and UKOME General Assembly are the main actors in Ankara's bus operation decisions. Chambers and associations of privately owned bus operators are interest groups that try to articulate this decision-making process. Since privately owned bus services are often managed and organized by small entrepreneurs, the interests of small entrepreneurs are often advocated as associations, cooperatives and chambers on specific lines and routes. In this context, it is necessary to analyze and examine the delivery of urban transport services not by the subjective structure of small capital initiatives, but by their forms of organization.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

6.1 Key Arguments and Summary

The thesis focuses on the issue of urban public transport along with attaching special importance to buses owned by individuals or private companies in Ankara. The main purpose here is to reveal the content, priorities, institutional and organizational structure of the decision-making complex which is both the producer and the implementer of the transportation problems that urban public transport policies try to solve. The results of the study shed light on to identify the failures of the provision of urban public transport services and how the neo-liberal policies add up new actors to the decision making process in the city. Furthermore, there exists detailed discussion which may give rise to further scientific evaluation on the regulation processes that are valid in urban transportation decisions, the relations between the decision makers, the expectations from the decisions, the interests and their effects on the decisions.

The main objective is to determine the effect of the elements that may be perceived as technical aspects such as line route and vehicle type selection, but in fact the initiators of the transportation rent process. Therefore, the formation of interest groups mainly focused on privately-operated buses, the impact of regulations on the selection of service delivery and actor and decision makers on the urban transportation policies of Ankara. The main objective consists of two main themes. One of which is to find out the relationship between bus network, line and route arrangement, selection of bus type which are one of the important variables in urban bus transportation and decision-making process and actors to take part on the bus transit mechanism. This study intends to ascertain how the arrangement of variables such as line, route and bus type in the bus

operating system in Ankara affect the distribution of urban transport actors to the transportation corridors in the city and the distribution of transport rent. The second is to find out the impact of both local governments and private operators involved in decision making on bus transit decisions. The thesis also aims to ascertain what the role of private entrepreneurs (hence transport-oriented interest groups) involved in decision-making and local governments in urban transport decisions in Ankara. Within this context, the analysis has been carried out under these two main areas of research.

EGO, ÖTA and ÖHO, serving on the same line and route, constitute an obstacle to profit maximization of private transportation vehicles. For this reason, the lines to be rented to private entrepreneurs should either have private public transport services only or the lines to be serviced together with municipal buses should have high rent value and transportation demand lines. At this stage, regulations related to the choice of lines, routes and bus stops are the reason of being, not just a profit making tool for private sector entrepreneurs. For Ankara Metropolitan Municipality, which is inadequate in responding to the demand for urban transportation, private transportation has become a necessity. Therefore, urban transportation, which is an important local public service that cannot be left to itself, is a service that must be subject to strict regulation and supervision by local governments. The fact that many regulation elements such as which type of vehicle will serve on which line and route, how many vehicles will serve, which stops to use, how much will the transportation fee and compliance with traffic rules are the factors that encourage private sector entrepreneurs to be included in the decision-making process.

In addition, although it is in the same planning region, the municipality organizes various privately operated urban buses in the different transportation regions to deliver the service. Over time, the expansion of the transportation service area has caused some transportation regions getting close to the city center and others getting far from the city center in Ankara. The distance between the transportation zones has brought together the urban transportation vehicles and transportation interest groups for different purposes. The existence of different urban transport providers within the same planning region

provides an important sampling area for analyzing how the transport planning of that region is regulated, how different public transport vehicles are organized and how the decision-making mechanism works. This shows that regulations have a feature that creates and shares transport rent. As public regulations are considered as a matter of state intervention in the markets and role of state in the economy, theories describing public regulation are shaped according to the views of economic approaches on the state. Public interest theory, therefore, deals with public regulation in terms of market failures and their compensation, while special interest theory deals with interest groups and rent-seeking activities.

6.2 Empirical Findings

Historically, public transport vehicles and systems in developing cities have failed to keep pace with the rapidly growing demand for urban transport services in recent years. In particular, as a consequence of being failed to meet the demand, publicly owned bus services generated a gap at the urban transport. To some extent, closing the urban transport gap was possible by the addition of new actors with small entrepreneurs.

In the case of Ankara, problems such as the burning of the bus fleet, failure to timely arrive buses ordered from abroad, spare parts problem due to the overseas origin of buses in the pre-1980 period, have interrupted the urban transportation services that are intended to be provided by the public sector. During this period, although there was no private sector incentive, unregistered and unauthorized transportation vehicles of entrepreneurs tried to fill the service gap in urban transportation by itself. This uncontrolled initiative has been ignored for this period by the government. Even, they were allowed to increase in number and serve on different lines in the late 1980s. Similar to the emergence of *gecekondus* (informal means of housing which built overnight in Turkey), private public transportation buses spread to the city like a mushroom. The government allowed entrepreneurs due to meet the demand for urban transportation services and to control this unregistered and unauthorized transportation method. This situation turned into an opportunity for the strengthening and organization

of urban public transport entrepreneurs. Small entrepreneurs, who increased their share in the transportation services market in the city, created transportation vehicles and line rents in the urban transportation sector over the plate sales values of public transportation vehicles.

Small entrepreneurs entering the urban transportation field in Ankara are organized simultaneously by reactional responses to results of serving on the lines. Likewise, small entrepreneurs serving on different lines determine the type of buses according to the failure of the government on the relevant lines. The bus owners who start to serve in different lines and routes go to the vehicle type arrangement according to the transportation demand of the line they have changed. Although there is a transport rent on the lines, the rate of profit is not very high. At this point, the fines imposed on buses through regulations are of great importance. The application accuracy of the regulation weakens from the periphery to the city center. In other words, there is a high frequency applications of regulation on lines that do not have high transport demand.

Local governments have become the most prominent actors with expanded duties and powers related to urban transport. Ankara's bus operation logic, the Metropolitan Municipality's transport unit, EGO, UKOME General Assembly, chambers and associations of urban public bus owners are the responsible actors delivering urban bus services in Ankara. The Chambers of Bus Tradesmen/Craftsmen, one of the three actors in the decision of adding municipal buses or new private public transportation vehicles to the private bus lines, have become the only actors who defend the interests of private urban transport service providers. In other words, since private public bus services are generally dominated and organized by small entrepreneurs, the interests of small entrepreneurs are usually defended in the form of associations, cooperatives and chambers on certain lines and routes. In this context, it is necessary to analyze and examine urban transport service delivery not through small capital initiatives, but through forms of organization. The emergence and continuation of the private sector initiative in urban transport, and even its role in the change in public service

understanding, necessitates the examination of the decision-making mechanism, actor structure and decision content.

6.3 Theoretical Findings

In metropolitan cities in Turkey has authorized the local governments in conducting all kinds of public transport services. It can be seen that the local administrations can create public institutions and organizations for the use of this power, or they can provide the provision of the public transport service through the private sector. At this point, the municipality, which is in the regulation activities during the stage of providing public transportation services, has the power to regulate and impose sanctions on related activities. Reducing the role of central government in the administration and delivery of urban public transport services supports an orientation towards increasing the role of so-called voluntary organizations in the third sectors and private sector. The examples in the world shows that although the provision of urban transportation services can be transferred to the private sector, the administrative structure has become an indispensable element of local governments in nation-state structures. However, all kinds of urban transport decisions to be taken by the local governments within their competence regarding urban transport have “rent-generating and rent-distributing” characteristics.

With the effect of the neoliberal policies followed since the 1980s, instead of the traditional public administration approach, a new public service definition has emerged with the new public management approach. The most important developments in Turkey as well as enabling the transition to neoliberal economic policies was economic decisions taken in 1980. As parallel to that, numerous legislative arrangements have been made with the aim of minimizing the direct intervention of the state in the economy with the long term aim of making economic decisions effective in free market economy. However, it would be incomplete and incorrect to describe the existence of private urban entrepreneurship in urban transport services only through neoliberal policies. The local administrations could not provide services against the increasing population, and the

small entrepreneurs filled the urban transportation service gap and became a part of the service. All of these has led to reveal that priority status of the private sector entrepreneurship since pre-neoliberalism period.

The provision of urban transportation services by public and private entrepreneurs revealed a service provision against the Public. Small entrepreneurs want to serve the central regions where demand is high, while municipal buses have to serve the regions where demand is low. As mentioned above, urban transportation services provided by local governments that have financial problems and not enough buses will result in failure in the lines of low profitability, as well as urban transportation services provided by unregulated small entrepreneurs on high profitability lines will fail because it cannot meet the middle class transportation demand. This situation represents a mutual failure that puts the failure on both the market and the government at the same time.

Although the demand for urban transportation is provided by public and private entrepreneurs, the public resources of metropolitan cities of developing countries such as Ankara have always been scarce. The provision of urban transportation services by public and private entrepreneurs reveals a service provision against the Public. Small entrepreneurs naturally want to serve the central regions where demand is high, while municipal buses are obliged to serve the regions where demand is low. As mentioned above, urban transportation services provided by local governments will eventually end up having financial problems, and meanwhile not having enough buses will cause a failure on the low profitability lines. Likewise, unregulated small entrepreneurs on high profitability lines, providing urban transportation services, will also fail because of not satisfying the middle class transportation demand. Overall, resulting situation represents a mutual failure for the market and the government at the same time.

In order to examine and analyze all the process mentioned above, it is necessary to emphasize the changing nature of Public Administration which is largely nurtured by private sector service delivery, state regulations and the institutional design of decision-making mechanisms. The literature guided the thesis with a strategic and theoretic path

in order to understand private urban transportation entrepreneurs' emergence, continuity and impact on the decision-making process of urban transportation services in Ankara. When the change in the understanding of public service combines with inadequate urban transport services, it becomes inevitable to have an involvement of small entrepreneurs in the city. Since private public buses providing urban transportation services always incline to the development of a business type that is appropriate to their characteristics and conditions, the decisions and regulations of urban transportation will eventually become important factor for the audit and control of urban transportation services. Another factor that increases the importance of regulations and urban transportation decisions is their feature of rent creator and distributor. The theory of the functioning of the new public service concept, state regulations, the service forms offered by the regulations and the decision-making mechanisms that complement each other become a base to the study questioning the private sector entrepreneurs' involvement in the urban transport service process.

The regulatory capture theory is the most remarkable approach that enables us to understand the local public service decision-making process and private sector entrepreneurship. Regulatory capture is such a government failure which takes place when a regulatory unit, established for providing public interest-oriented services, instead serving to special interest groups in their areas of business to protect their interests. Individual and small firms are obliged to create organized group structures so that they can regain their own benefits. Firms representing special interest groups can influence decision making by encouraging regulators with incentives. The incentives provided by the companies to the regulators are the most important instruments that the companies use for the regulatory capture. In this context, studies focusing on the concept of regulatory capture provide an opportunity to examine and analyze the decision-making processes of any local public service provision.

6.4 Policy Recommendation

As well as its problematic transportation service concept, small entrepreneurs in the urban transport sector reduce the revenues of municipal lines by competing with the transport systems of the municipalities on profitable lines. Private public bus owners, which have become an organized interest group through associations, cooperatives and chambers, do not work on lines with low demand and prevent the increase in the number of vehicles working on profitable lines. It can create plate rents against the potential bus transport service providers by creating entry barriers. This brings about a process that questions the private sector initiative in the provision of urban transport services.

The thesis considers urban public transport as one of the basic public services that should be offered to citizens on a reasonable basin. It is clear that in the 47th article of the Constitution, the term public service is used in the sense of activity. Accordingly, in order for an activity to be considered as a public service, it must be subject to the civil service legal regime, that is, public administration procedures. In addition, as emphasized in Article 128 of the Constitution, the thesis argues that the essential and permanent duties required by urban transportation services should be seen by public officials. At this point, local governments should be the regulatory and producer organization of the ideal urban transport service. Urban transportation service to be provided with the understanding of public interest should be provided by the public administration with service locality principle. This makes local governments the sole service regulator and producer. However, there is a situation in the transportation market for private entrepreneurs who can provide the same services when local governments do not have the resources to meet the demand for transportation.

It is inevitable to produce a solution with preconditions of local governments failing to provide urban transport services and multi-actor structure in response to this failure. In this context, a Municipal Economic Enterprise may be established in which the principles of conducting the personnel and service are determined by the municipality. According to the 26th article of the Metropolitan Municipality Law No. 5216, the

Metropolitan Municipality may establish capital companies in the fields of duty and service given to it in accordance with the procedures specified in the relevant legislation. Urban transportation services can be provided through these semi-commercial organizations with a separate legal entity and budget, and worked under the local government. In this context, a Municipal Economic Enterprise may be established to provide urban transportation services in order to prevent the transportation rent created by the current regulations and the interest groups trying to capture the regulations. This enterprise must be an enterprise with at least fifty percent of its capital owned by the municipality. Priority should be given to private public bus owners among other shareholders of this undertaking. Bus owners may also use their own buses as capital in accordance with the conditions specified in the relevant regulation. However, the right to use the buses must belong to the municipality. Thus, the Municipal Economic Enterprise will also be supervised and supported by the owners of the capital. In other words, Municipal Economic Enterprise will be under the auditing and supervision of the Court of Auditors, independent supervision by the Public Oversight Institution and private public bus owners as well.

The board of directors established by the municipality is required to delegate the entire management authority (without prejudice to the non-transferable powers) to a CEO, responsible for the entire operation of the company. In this way, there will be a CEO who tries to maximize profits on the one hand, and there will be a management structure provides urban transport activities with priority for public interest on the other hand. A municipal transportation company that is far from politics, competing with the market and having professional management will introduce a transportation system that complies with the traffic rules, carrying capacity, daily schedule and integrated into the municipal buses and rail system. Fixed income to be provided to the shareholders will eliminate the lines defined as high or low profit rates, and all lines in the city will be organized in accordance with the demand for transportation, not according to the rent value. In addition, credit opportunities offered by private banks to capital companies can be utilized, and new sources of income will be created. With this initiative, which may

be requested by the municipality for transportation services, it will also have the chance to return some of the public funds to private entrepreneurs to the municipality through the transportation service it provides. Consequently, in the public service trend from the urban transport provided by the municipality to its privatization, municipal companies are the last exit before the bridge.

6.5 Limitations of the Research and Alternative Future Research Questions

The relationship between the spatial organization and transportation is widely acknowledged, because the spatial organization determines which transport relations occur and how voluminous these are. The spatial organization of Ankara shows a form of compact city. The planning and urban design of Ankara promotes relatively high residential density with mixed land uses. It is based on an efficient public bus transport system. In this respect, the study may not be applicable to cities that are not so dependent on public bus transport. Since the geographic focus is the city structure with transportation corridors, the study might create handicaps in adapting the sample area of the study to the universe. Interactions such as decision-making process, inter-actor relationships, creating rent and benefiting from rent are more prone variables of qualitative research methods. The fact that the members participating in UKOME meetings varied both by years and by subject and content made it impossible to contact the relevant people and exchange in-depth information. This lack of access forced the study to analyze this relationship network through quantitative data. Qualitative research methods can provide more in-depth information in decision-making mechanisms, that can be examined more closely, where the actors are more accessible, and the transport network is narrower.

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A. CURRICULUM VITAE

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EDUCATION

Degree	Institution	Year of Graduation
MS	University of St. Thomas Political Science	2014
BS	Kırıkkale University International Relations	2009
High School	Kaya Bayazitoğlu Anadolu High School, Ankara	1999

ACADEMIC EXPERIENCE

Year	Place	Enrollment
2016- Present	Kastamonu University	Research Assistant
2016-2017	Kastamonu Police Vocational School	Lecturer

WORK EXPERIENCE

Year	Place	Enrollment
2019- Present	Kastamonu City Council	Member of the Executive Committee
2017- Present	Kastamonu University	Erasmus Faculty Coordinator
2016-2017	Governorship of Kastamonu	Institution Responsible for Commission of Provincial Growth Strategy

TEACHING EXPERIENCE

Year	Place	Course
2017- Present	Kastamonu University	Urbanization and Housing Policy
2017- Present	Kastamonu University	Environmental Policy and Law
2017-2018	Kastamonu University	Urban Sociology
2016-2017	Kastamonu Police Vocational School	Administrative Structure of Turkey

SCHOLARSHIPS AND AWARDS

Year	Place	Scholarships and Awards
2017	METU	Graduate Course Performance Award
2014	University of St. Thomas	MLA Summer Tuition Award
2013	Turkish Coalition of America	Washington, DC Summer Internship
2011-2014	Ministry of National Education	MoNE-YLSY Scholarship Program

PUBLICATIONS

National Publishing Book Section

Aktepe, E. and Guloglu Y. (2018) “What If Kastamonu Becomes Metropolitan Municipality? Problematic of Participation of Forest Villages in Metropolitan Municipalities”, Research and Development on Social Sciences, 33-38.

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Publications in Refereed Journals

Aktepe, E., M. Tekdere ve A. Ş. Gürbüz (2017). " An Evaluation on the Ahıska Turks Placed in Erzincan Province of Turkey in the Context of Social Harmony and Integration, The Journal of Migration Studies", Journal of Migration Studies, No: 3 (2), s. 138-169.

Publications in Conference Proceedings

Guloglu, Y., N. Belkayalı ve E. Aktepe (2017), “The Factors Affecting the Determination of Immovable Property Value in Expropriation Processes in Turkey: The Case of the Kastamonu University Campus Area”, 2nd International Conference On Economics Business Management and Social Sciences, 10-14 May 2017, Belgrade/SERBIA

Belkayalı, N., Y. Guloglu ve E. Aktepe (2017), “The Role of Protected Areas in Sustainable Development: The Case of Kure Mountains National Park”, 2nd International Conference On Economics Business Management and Social Sciences, 10-14 May 2017, Belgrade/SERBIA

Turan, E., S. Çevik ve E. Aktepe (2017), “Subjective Prosperity and Satisfaction in Local Public Services in Turkey”. Büyükçekmece 1st International Congress of Local Governments: The Future of Municipalities and New Approaches, 14-15 Mayıs, İstanbul/TÜRKİYE.

- Turan, E., A. T. Şen ve E. Aktepe (2016). "Bosnia and Herzegovina Public Sector Reforms and Transformation of Public Management System After Independence", International Human and Nature Sciences (IHANAS): Problems and Solution Seeking Congress, 07-09 October, Sarajevo/BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA.
- Aktepe, E. (2016). "Illusion of the Sister City Relationship of Local Governments: Rescaling of the State at the Local Level in the Context of Globalization Process", International Human and Nature Sciences (IHANAS): Problems and Solution Seeking Congress, 07-09 October, Sarajevo/BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA.
- Aktepe, E. (2016), "Presentation of Urban Public Transportation Services in the Context of Urban Crisis and Centralization of Local Decision Making Processes", METU 8. National Sociology Congress, 1-3 December, Ankara/TURKEY.
- Odabaş, H., M. Tekdere, E. Aktepe (2016), "Potential Effects of Localization of Educational Services: Applicability in Turkey", 3. International Economy Conference, 1-3 February, Barcelona, SPAIN.

B. TURKISH SUMMARY / TRKE ZET

Hızla büyüyen ve kentlerde yoğunlaşan nüfusa karşılık hizmet sağlayamayan yerel yönetimlerin meydana getirdiğı kent içi ulaşım hizmet boşluğunu dolduran küçük girişimcilerin varlığı, zaten neoliberalizm öncesi dönemden beri öncelikli statüye sahip olan bir özel sektör girişimciliğini ortaya çıkarmıştır. 1980’lerden itibaren izlenen neoliberal politikaların ortaya koyduğu özel sektör odaklı hizmet tanımlaması ise özel sektör girişimciliğinin varlığını devam ettirmesini sağlamıştır. Kent yönetimleri kaynak yetersizliği dolayısıyla giderek artan kent içi ulaşım gereksinmesini sağlayacak toplu taşıma sistemlerini geliştirememiştir. Bu yetersizlik karşısında toplumda kendiliğinden gelişen kayıt dışı ve düzensiz ulaşım çözüm yolları, son olarak imtiyaz sahibi özel girişimcilerle devam eden bir toplu taşıma hizmet sunum anlayışına doğru evrilmiştir. Özel kent içi ulaşım hizmetlerini sağlayan küçük girişimciler kendi özelliklerine ve koşullarına uygun bir işletme türünün gelişmesine neden olacağından, kentsel ulaşım hizmetlerinin denetimi ve kontrolü açısından alınan kentsel ulaşım kararlarını ve regülasyonları önemli hale getirmektedir. Yerel yönetimlerin kendi yetkileri dâhilinde ortaya koydukları her türlü regülasyon ve kentsel ulaşım kararı, bu alanda rant meydana getirme ve bu rantı dağıtma potansiyeline sahiptir. Bu durum regülasyona tabi özel hizmet sağlayıcılarının kendi aralarında birleşerek oluşturdukları çıkar grupları aracılığıyla regüle eden kurumları etkilemeye çalışmasına ve rant yaratma faaliyetlerine neden olmaktadır.

Bu çalışmanın temel amacı, kentsel toplu taşıma hizmetlerinin sağlanmasındaki devlet ve piyasa başarısızlıklarını ve kentsel ulaşım hizmetlerinin sağlanmasında neo-liberal kentsel politikaların etkisiyle özel kentsel girişimcilerinin, kentsel karar alma mekanizmasına nasıl dâhil olduklarını, bu katılımda regülasyonların rolünü ve hat güzergâh ve araç tipi seçimi gibi belki de teknik hususlar olarak algılanabilecek ancak esasında ulaşım rantı sürecini başlatan unsurların otobüs ulaşım hizmetleri üzerindeki etkisinin belirlenmesidir.

Kentsel ulaşım hizmetlerinde yaşanan problemler, kentsel kamu girişimciliği yaklaşımı ile birlikte değişen kamu hizmeti tanımı nedeniyle kentsel karar alma süreçlerinde oyuncu-temelli problemlerdir. Ayrıca, kentsel ulaşım hizmetlerinin sunumunda karar alma mekanizmasına dahil olan özel kentsel girişimcilerin beklenti ve çıkarları, neo-liberal kentsel politikaların etkisiyle, farklı kentsel ulaşım biçimleri yaratmaktadır. Sonuç olarak, kentsel hizmetler, kontrol edilmesi ve denetlenmesi zor, kar odaklı, özel bir tekel olan ve kentsel ulaşım hizmetlerinde yürütülen özel sektör uygulamalarında aksamalara neden olan bir hizmete dönüşmüştür.

Kamu hizmetlerinin sağlanmasını kamu makamlarından özel sektör aktörlerine aktaran düzenleme ve özelleştirme uygulamalarından sonra, kamu hizmet anlayışını büyük ölçüde değiştiren özel sektör odaklı yeni bir hizmet anlayışı ortaya çıkmıştır. Özel sektör aktörlerinin sağladığı hizmetlerle birlikte şehirler hizmet işletmecilerini rant arayışı ve spekülasyon kazançlarına yönelmiş ve kentsel girişimcilik popüler hale gelmiştir.

Tezin teorik kurgusunun çıkış noktasını oluşturan özel kentsel girişimciler tarafından sağlanan otobüs ulaşım hizmet anlayışına geçiş, neoliberal politika anlayışı ile bağlantılı olsa da, neoliberal politikalara geçiş öncesi dönemden itibaren sahip olunan yoğun nüfus ve bu nüfusa karşılık ulaşım hizmeti vermekte yeterli olamayan yerel yönetimlerin, kent içindeki ulaşım hizmetleri ile ilgili boşluğu kendiliğinden dolduran küçük girişimcilerin varlığı ve varlığını devam ettirmesi sağlayan anlayış; zaten önceden beri öncelikli bir statüye sahip olan özel sektör girişimciliğine vurgu yapmaktadır.

Kısacası, tezin temel amacı, kentsel toplu taşıma politikalarının çözmeye çalıştığı ulaştırma sorunlarının hem üreticisi hem de uygulayıcısı olan karar alma kompleksinin içeriğini, önceliklerini, kurumsal ve örgütsel yapısını ortaya koymaktır. Çalışmanın sonuçları, kentsel toplu taşıma hizmetlerinin sağlanmasındaki yerel yönetim ve piyasa başarısızlıkları ve bu başarısızlıkları aşmakta ortaya konulan politika paketinin kentteki karar alma sürecine nasıl yeni aktörler eklediğini belirlemeye ışık tutmaktadır.

Tezin araştırma ve örnekleme yönteminin odak noktası iki ana temadan oluşmaktadır. Bunlardan biri şehir içi otobüs taşımacılığındaki önemli değişkenlerden biri olan otobüs

ağı, hat ve güzergâh düzenlemesi, durak seçimi, otobüs tipi seçimi ve dolayısıyla otobüs ulaşım mekanizmasında yer alacak aktörler arasındaki ilişkiyi bulmaktır. Böylece, Ankara'da otobüs işletim sisteminde hat, güzergâh ve otobüs tipi gibi değişkenlerin düzenlenişinin kentsel ulaşım aktörlerinin şehirdeki ulaşım koridorlarına dağılımını ve ulaşım rantının nasıl bölüşüldüğünü tespit etmeyi amaçlamaktadır.

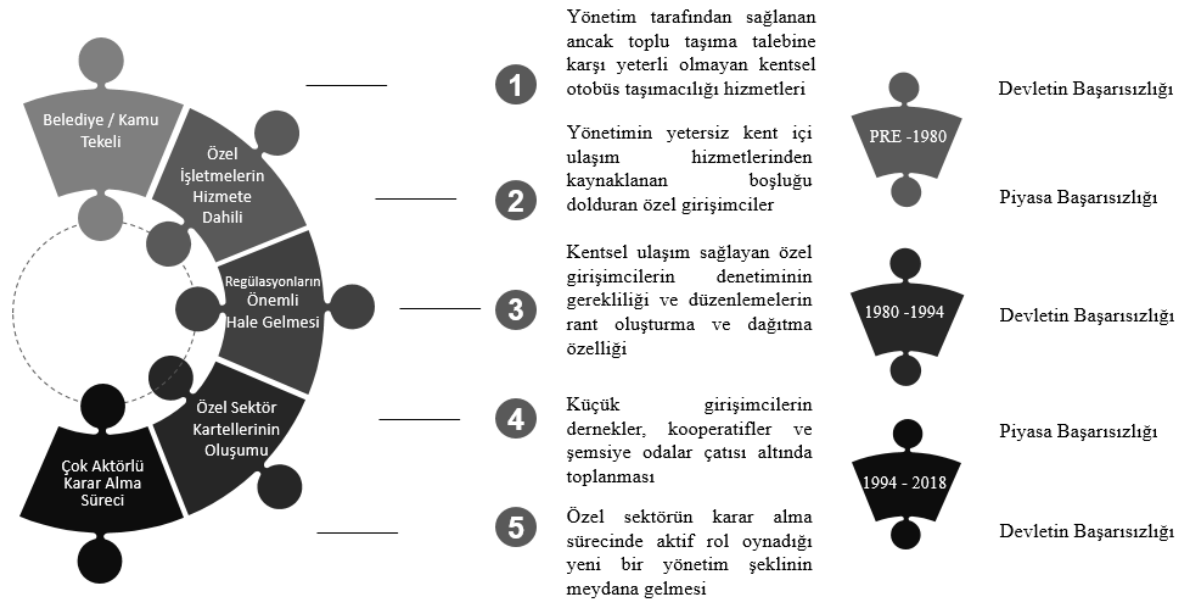
İkinci odak noktası ise, yerel yönetimlerin ve karar vermede yer alan özel operatörlerin kent içi otobüs ulaşım kararları üzerindeki etkilerini bulmaktır. Yani, Ankara'da kentsel ulaşım kararlarında özel girişimcilerin (dolayısıyla taşımacılığa yönelik çıkar gruplarının) karar alma süreçlerindeki rolünün ne olduğunu bulmayı amaçlamaktadır.

2023 Ankara Başkenti Ana Planı, 6 ayrı kentsel bölgeye ayrılmıştır. Tezin örneklem alanı olan Batı Planlama Bölgesi, farklı kentsel ulaşım araçlarını ve dolayısıyla farklı ulaşım çıkar gruplarını bir arada görebileceğimiz yegâne çalışma alanlarından birini oluşturmaktadır. EGO ulaşım hizmetleri başkanlığı ise 5 farklı ulaşım bölgesi üzerinden otobüs hizmetlerini sağlamakta ve yönetmektedir. Çalışmanın örneklem alanında 2 farklı ulaşım bölgesi mevcut olması yine çalışmanın ortaya koymaya çalıştığı ilişki biçimlerini görmemizde uygun bir çalışma alanı sunmaktadır.

1980'lerden itibaren izlenen neoliberal politikaların etkisiyle kamuda geleneksel yönetim anlayışının yerine, yeni kamu yönetimi (new public management) anlayışı hakim olmaya başlamış ve bu anlayışla birlikte özel sektör odaklı yeni bir kamu hizmet tanımlaması ortaya çıkmıştır. Türkiye'de de neoliberal iktisat politikalarına geçişi sağlayan en önemli gelişmeler 1980'de alınan ekonomik kararlar gösterilebilir. Uzun dönemli amacı devletin ekonomiye olan doğrudan müdahalesini en aza indirerek serbest piyasa ekonomisine işlerlik kazandırmak olan ekonomik kararların yürürlüğe girmesiyle birlikte bu amaca yönelik çok sayıda mevzuat düzenlemesi yapılmıştır. Ancak tezin kurgusunun çıkış noktasını oluşturan özel girişimci tarafından sağlanan kent içi ulaşım hizmeti anlayışına geçiş ile özel girişimcinin ortaya çıkışı ve varoluş nedenin anlaşılması noktasında, neoliberalizmin Türkiye'deki gelişimi ile kurulan bağlantı yeterli olmayacaktır. 1980 öncesi dönemden başlayarak sahip olunan hızlı büyüyen ve

kentlerde yoğunlaşan nüfus ve bu nüfusa karşılık hizmet veremeyen yerel yönetimlerin, kent içi ulaşım hizmet boşluğunu dolduran küçük girişimcilerin varlığının devamlılığını sağlaması, zaten neoliberalizm öncesi dönemden beri öncelikli statüye sahip olan bir özel sektör girişimciliğini ortaya çıkarmıştır. 1940'ların ortalarından bu yana her ne kadar kamunun toplu taşımacılıktaki payı yüksek olsa da, toplu taşıma talebine karşılık vermekte yetersiz kalmış ve bu soruna çözüm küçük girişimciler tarafından kendiliğinden bulunmuştur.

Ankara özelinde ortaya çıkan özel kentsel ulaşım girişimcilerinin ortaya çıkışı, varoluş nedenleri ve karar alma sürecine etkide bulunmaları gibi hususların anlaşılabilmesi için tezin ortaya koyduğu methodoloji, birbirini tamamlar nitelikte yeni kamu hizmet anlayışı, devlet regülasyonları, regülasyonların sunduğu hizmet şekilleri ve karar alma süreci mekanizmalarının işleyişinin vurgulandığı bir sirküler yapıdır.



Şekil 1: Ankara Kent İçi Otobüs Ulaşım Sunumunun Tarihsel Evrimi

Kentin ulaşım hizmeti sürecinde yer alan özel sektör girişimcileri hakkında tezin cevaplamak istediği sorularla ilgili metodolojik kurgu peş peşe birbirini tamamlayan adımlar üzerine kurulmuştur. Ardışık adımların başlangıç noktası, kent içi otobüs

taşımacılığı hizmetlerinde bir kamu tekeli anlayışıdır. Şehir içi otobüs taşımacılığı hizmetleri çoğunlukla yerel yönetim tarafından sağlandı. Ancak, bu hizmet toplu taşıma talebini karşılamak için yeterli değildi. 2. Dünya Savaşı sonrası hızla artan ve özellikle metropol kentlerde yoğunlaşan nüfus ve bu nüfusa karşılık hizmet veremeyen yerel yönetimler, kent içi ulaşım hizmet boşluğunu küçük girişimcilerin piyasada dahil olması ile çözmeye çalışmış ve/veya sorunu ötelemiştir. Kamu hizmet anlayışında yaşanan değişim, daha önceden gelen yetersiz kentsel ulaşım hizmetleri ile birleştiğinde kentteki küçük girişimcilerin sürece dâhil olması kaçınılmazdır. Bununla birlikte, özel sektörün otobüs taşımacılığı hizmetlerine girmesiyle, hizmet anlayışı şehir içi otobüs taşımacılığı hizmetlerinde özel bir tekel oluşturmaya meyilli, kontrol edilmesi ve denetlenmesi zor, kar odaklı bir hizmete dönüşmüştür. Kent içi ulaşım hizmetlerini sağlayan özel halk otobüsleri kendi özelliklerine ve koşullarına uygun bir işletme türünün gelişmesine neden olacağından, kentsel ulaşım hizmetlerinin denetimi ve kontrolü açısından alınan kentsel ulaşım kararlarını ve regülasyonları önemli hale getirecektir. Regülasyonların ve kentsel ulaşım kararlarının önemini artıran bir diğer unsur ise kentsel ulaşım için yerel yönetimlerin kendi yetkileri dâhilinde ortaya koyacakları her türlü regülasyon ve kentsel ulaşım kararının bu alanda rant meydana getirme ve bu rantı dağıtma özelliğinin bulunmasıdır. Yerel yönetimlerin uyguladığı regülasyonların artışı ile özel toplu ulaştırma hizmetlerinin kârlılığı, yani nihai aşamada varlığı arasında ters orantı bulunmaktadır. Diğer bir deyişle, kentsel otobüs taşımacılığı ile ilgili her hangi bir regülasyon (otobüs sayısı veya durak sayısı belirleme, hat ve güzergâh seçimi gibi) küçük girişimciler için kar-zarar unsuru olmaktan çok bir varlık sebebi haline gelmektedir. Bu noktada, kentsel ulaşım hizmetlerinin sunumunda belirleyici faktörler olan otobüs sayısı, durak sayısı, hat ve güzergâh seçimi gibi faktörlerin yerel yönetimler tarafından regüle edilmesi önemli bir yetki ve sorumluluk haline gelmiştir. Yerel yönetimler, özel toplu taşıma araçlarının verdikleri kent içi ulaşım hizmetini meşru bir zemine taşımak için küçük girişimcileri hatlaştırmakla regüle etmiştir. Genellikle belirli hat ve güzergâhlar üzerinden bir araya gelen küçük girişimcilerin dernek, kooperatif ve şemsiye odalar biçiminde örgütlendikleri görülmektedir. Oda, dernek veya kooperatifler bir yandan temsilci sıfatıyla girişimcilerin çıkarlarını belediyenin ulaşım regülatörlerine

karşı savunurken, diğer yandan üyelerinin sundukları hizmeti örgütlemektedirler. Özel otobüs girişimcilerinin derneklere üye olması kademeli bir rant arama süreci ve kentsel ulaşım hizmetlerine girişi kolaylaştırmanın bir yolu olarak görülmelidir. Ortak çıkarlar etrafında toplanan otobüs esnaflarının oluşturduğu kentsel çıkar grupları ulaştırma karar alma sürecine dâhil olmakta ve karar verme sürecini etkilemektedir. Küçük girişimcilerin bir araya gelmesi ile ortaya çıkan şemsiye örgütlenme nitelikli esnaf odaları, kentsel ulaşım politika sürecinin karar alma mekanizmasında yeni bir aktör olarak yer almaya başlamıştır.

Ankara kent içi ulaşım tarihine baktığımızda, aynı sektör içerisinde ortak çıkarlar üzerinden bir araya gelen yarı formel çıkar gruplarının, servis araçlarından kapasitesi daha fazla olan özel halk otobüslerine (yeşil ve çift katlı otobüsler), özel halk otobüsü işletmeciliğinden sadece belirli bir bölgede merkezden çepere hizmet veren özel toplu taşıma araçlarına ve tekrar daha fazla kapasiteli halk otobüsleri ile kentin tamamına hizmet verme gibi birbirini takip eden geçişlerine tanık olmaktadır. Tüm bu geçişlerde, yerel ulaşım sektörü içerisinde aktörler hemen hemen aynı kalırken tarihsel süreçte yaşanan hükümet ve piyasa başarısızlıkları ve buna karşılık devlet tarafından ortaya konan regülasyonların neden olduğu farklı kent formları, ulaşım ağları, ulaşım araçları ve türleri Ankara kent içi ulaşım hizmetinin sunumunda da farklılıklara neden olmuştur. Tarihsel süreçte yerel yönetim kanunlarında meydana gelen değişiklikler ve buna bağlı olarak belediye hizmet alanında yaşanan yapısal ve yönetsel dönüşümler, yerel yönetimlerin başarısızlıkları ile birlikte kentteki özel ulaşım işletmecilerinin bir şekilde ulaşım hizmetine eklemlenmesini sağlamıştır. Bu bağlamda, özel halk otobüsleri ve özel toplu taşıma araçlarının yapmak istedikleri hizmet sunumu, kent içindeki küçük girişimcilerin ortak çıkarlar üzerinden bir araya geldikleri dernek, oda ve birlikler üzerinden karar alma süreçlerine çıkarları doğrultusunda müdahil olma çabasına dönüşmüştür.

Ankara özelinde EGO otobüs filosu kentteki ulaşımın asıl unsuru olmaktan çıkarılmış, özel halk otobüsleri ve özel toplu taşıma araçları gibi bireysel işletmeciliğe yönlendirilmiştir. Bu süreçte yolcu sayısı fazla olan ve karlı hatlar bireysel işleticilerin ilgi

ve çalışma alanı haline gelmiştir (Öncü, 2018:117). Yeni düzenlemeler ve ulaşım araçları sayılarına baktığımızda, gün geçtikçe halk otobüslerinin kent içi taşıma payı belediye otobüsleri aleyhine gelişmektedir.

Çalışmanın Ankara kent içi otobüs ulaşım odaklı tarihsel bir dönemleme ortaya koyduğu 4. bölümde, kent içi ulaşım alanında geriye dönük hükümet ve piyasa başarısızlıklarını ortaya koyarak, karlılık oranı yüksek hat ve güzergâhlarda kamu yararı esasına dayanmayan aksine kendi çıkarlarını ön planda tutan belirli çıkar gruplarının yararına dayanan bir otobüs işletme mantığının hâkim olduğunu vurgulamaktadır.

Ankara kentinin aynı gelişim koridorundan bulunmasına rağmen farklı özelliklere sahip farklı ulaşım bölgelerine hizmet eden kent içi toplu taşıma operatörleri, kendi çıkar ve menfaatlerini koruyabilmek adına farklı esnaf birlikleri altında toplanmışlardır. Bu farklı özelliklere, hat ve güzergâh planlamasına sahip farklı ulaşım bölgeleri beraberinde yerel ölçekte farklı ulaşım rantları, çıkar grupları ve örgütlenme yapılarını getirmektedir. Bu farklılığın ortaya çıkmasındaki en önemli unsur kentsel kamu hizmet alanına ilişkin regülasyonlardır. Bu bağlamda, bu ilişki ağının en iyi tahlil edilebileceği alan olan Ankara'nın batı planlama bölgesi çalışmanın örneklem alanı olarak seçilmiştir.

Özellikle kent merkezi içindeki yerleşim alanlarına hizmet veren ÖHO'ların sefer sayısındaki fazlalık, yine aynı hatlarda hizmet veren EGO otobüslerine karşı üstünlük sağlama mecburiyetindedir. Kazanç elde etme motivasyonu ile hareket eden ulaşım alanındaki küçük girişimciler, EGO'nun yoğun olarak hizmet verdiği hat ve güzergâhlarda ancak sefer sayısındaki fazlalık ile rekabet edebilmektedir.

ÖTA (Özel Toplu Taşıma Araçları / Beyaz Otobüsler) araçlarının hizmet verdiği alanların ÖHA (Özel Halk Otobüsleri / Mavi Otobüsler) hizmet alanlarına göre kent merkezine daha uzak olması iki özel ulaşım araç tipinin kent içi ulaşım alanında kazanç elde etme yöntemini farklılaştırmaktadır. Batı Planlama Bölgesi içindeki 5. Ulaşım Bölgesine baktığımızda, hat uzadıkça bölgeye hizmet veren ÖTA ulaşım araçlarının sayısı artmaktadır. Bu durum doğal olarak ÖTA durak sayısı ve sefer süresinde de artışa neden olmuştur. Kent merkezine uzak olan yerleşim alanlarının ÖTA'na mahkûm

bırakıldığını göstermektedir. Yine bir sonraki analiz bölümünde bahsedileceği üzere Ankara ulaşım karar mekanizmasının verdiği cezaların ÖTA’larda yoğunlaşma bu alanlardaki hizmet kalitesi ve anlayışını göstermektedir.

Aynı hat ve güzergâhta hizmet veren EGO, OTA ve OHO, özel ulaşım araçlarının kar maksimize edilmesinde engel teşkil ediyor. Bu nedenle, özel girişimcilere kiralanacak hatlar ya sadece özel toplu taşıma hizmetlerine sahip olmalı ya da belediye otobüsleri ile birlikte hizmet edilecek hatlar yüksek rant değerine ve taşıma talebine sahip hatlar olmalıdır. Bu durum oy-rant maksimizasyonu çatışmasında yer bulamadığı için otobüs sefer sayısına ilişkin bir düzenleme rant sağlamak için bir alternatif yol sağlamıştır.

Bir diğer rant aracı otobüs hattı uzunluğu üzerindeki düzenlemelerdir. 5. ulaşım bölgesi, Ankara Büyükşehir Belediyesi'nin servis alanının genişletilmesinden sonra önemli bir ulaşım alanı haline gelmiştir. 5. bölgede OTA ile aynı hat ve güzergâhta hizmet veren EGO otobüsleri otobüs hattı uzunluğunun aynı olması nedeniyle ÖTA’ların kar maksimizasyonuna engel teşkil etmektedir. Bu nedenle, OTA, hat uzunluğu yerine otobüs sefer sayısı üzerinden karını maksimize etmektedir. Bu, aynı planlama bölgesindeki ulaşım hatlarının farklı çıkar alanlarına göre organize edilmesine neden olmuştur. Nitekim bu hatlar üzerindeki otobüs işletmecileri farklı dernekler üzerinden örgütlenme yoluna gitmiştir.

Ankara’daki kent içi ulaşım kararlarının alındığı Ankara Büyükşehir bünyesindeki Ulaştırma Koordinasyon Merkezi (UKOME) kararlarını incelediğimizde, toplantılarda alınan tüm kararların oybirliği ile alındığı görülmektedir. Bu durum, UKOME Genel Kurulunun aldığı kararlarda hiçbir şekilde çoğunluk kuralına göre hareket edilmediğini, oya sunulan kararların sadece tutanağa geçmesi için el kaldırma yöntemiyle alındığı görülmektedir. Tarihsel süreçte artan UKOME toplantı ve alınan kararların sayısı, karar akışının dalgalar ve seri halde alındığını bunun ise rutinleşen ve oy birliği ile sonuçlanan bir karar alma sürecine dönüştüğünü göstermektedir. Genel Kurul üyelerinin kanun belirlendiği üzere çoğunluğu Belediye bürokratları ve ildeki kurum ve kuruluşların temsilcileri olduğundan süreklilik ve kurumsallaşmış bir yapının oluşmasına neden

olmuştur. UKOME kararları, şehir içi otobüs taşımacılığı ile ilgili birçok konuda EGO'nun aldığı kararları onaylayan bir karar mekanizması haline geldiğini göstermektedir. Bu bağlamda, EGO Genel Müdürlüğü tarafından talep edilen hat ve güzergah değişiklikleri oluşturulan alt komite ya da ihtisas komisyonları tarafından incelenmektedir. Bu da, alt komite ve ihtisas komisyonlarının çoğunluğu oluşturan özel toplu taşıma araçlarını temsil eden odaların UKOME kararlarında etkili olmasına neden olmaktadır.

2004 yılından 2018'e kadar kararlara genel olarak bakıldığında, 2014'e kadar her yıl 10 UKOME genel kurul kararı alınmış, bu kararların tamamına yakını EGO hat ve güzergah değişim taleplerine karşılık alınan kararlar ve özel toplu taşıma araçlarının yönetmeliğe aykırı davranışları nedeniyle verilen cezalardan oluşmaktadır. 2014 yılından sonra karar sayılarında hatırı sayılır bir artış görülmektedir. UKOME genel kurul oturumlarının sayısı 2014 yılına kadar 2 ile 5 arasında iken, sonraki yıllarda 30'a kadar çıkmıştır. Kararların çoğu hat ve rota değişikliği ile ilgilidir. Yerel seçim zamanlarında artan ve diğer zamanlarda azalan dalgalı bir karar verme süreci söz konusudur. Bu durum, oy-rant maksimizasyonu çatışmasında özel toplu taşıma araçlarının ve UKOME genel kurulunun davranış biçimini ortaya koymaktadır.

Özellikle 2018 yılında 100'den fazla alınan UKOME kararı, aynı yıl değişime giden bir belediye yönetimi için rasyonel bir sayı olarak görülmemektedir. Her ne kadar toplantı sayısı az görünse de belirli başlıklar altında toplanan talep ve cezalar tek seferde her biri ayrı ayrı olmak üzere oylanıp karar alınmaktadır. UKOME kararlarının başlıklarına tez ana teması bağlamında baktığımızda, Otobüs durak değişimi talepleri, Otobüs hat ve güzergâh kotası talepleri ve cezalar ile özel toplu taşıma araçlarının lisans iptalleri öne çıkan kararlar olduğunu görülmektedir. Özel toplu taşıma araçları ve Özel halk otobüslerinin ÖTA ve ÖHO yönetmeliklerine aykırı davranışları incelendiğinde, 2007'ye kadar kent içi otobüs ulaşım hizmetlerinde önemli bir yere sahip olan yeşil ve çift katlı otobüslerin yönetmelik ihlallerini, ilçe Özel toplu taşıma araçlarının ihlalleri, özel halk otobüsü ihlalleri ve 2007 sonrasında ise yoğunlukla Özel toplu taşıma araçlarının ihlalleri görülmektedir. Kararlara bakıldığında, yönetmelik hükümlerine

uymayan işleticilere parka çekme, para ve taşımacılıktan çıkarılma cezaları uygulanmıştır. Ancak bu ihlaller para cezası ile cezalandırılmasına rağmen ihlalin niteliğine göre 3 veya 5 kez tekrarlanması ruhsat iptaline neden olmuştur. Yenilenen ÖTA ve ÖHO yönetmeliklerinde, yıllara göre kademeli olarak ihlal sayıları 3-5'ten 10-25'e çıkarılmış, bu durum da özel toplu taşıma işletmecilerinin regülasyonlar ve dolayısıyla karar alma süreci üzerindeki etkisini göstermiştir.

ÖHO ve ÖHO ruhsatlarının iptal edilmesine neden olan ihlaller ilgili yönetmeliklerde ifade edilmiştir. İhlal edilen maddelere göre, ÖTA ve ÖHO yönetmelikleri ruhsat iptali başlıklı 19. Madde belirtilen işletici sözleşmelerdeki ve yönetmeliklerdeki yükümlülükleri yerine getirmemesi sonrası otobüslerin ruhsatlarının iptal edildiği görülmüştür. Bu durum, piyasanın kent içi ulaşımı sağlama noktasında yaşadığı başarısızlığı göstermektedir.

Kendi kaderine bırakılamayacak kadar önemli bir yerel kamu hizmeti olan kentsel ulaşım, yerel yönetimler tarafından sıkı düzenleme ve denetime tabi olması gereken bir hizmettir. Hangi araç türü, hangi hat ve güzergâhta hizmet verecek, kaç araç kullanacak, hangi duraklarda çalışacak, ulaşım bedeli ne kadar olacak ve trafik kurallarına uygunluk özel sektör girişimcilerini teşvik eden faktörlerdir ve bu nedenle regülasyonlar karar alma sürecine dahil olma noktasında küçük girişimciyi motive eden en önemli etkidir.

Aynı planlama bölgesinde olmasına rağmen, belediye hizmeti sunmak için farklı ulaşım bölgelerinde özel olarak işletilen çeşitli şehir içi otobüsler düzenlemektedir. Zamanla, ulaşım hizmet alanının genişlemesi bazı ulaşım bölgelerinin şehir merkezine yaklaşmasına, bazılarının ise Ankara şehir merkezinden uzaklaşmasına neden olmuştur. Ulaşım bölgeleri arasındaki mesafe, kentsel ulaşım araçlarını ve ulaşım çıkar gruplarını farklı amaçlar için bir araya getirmektedir.

Farklı hat ve güzergâhlarda hizmet veren otobüsler için hizmet verdikleri hattın taşıma talebine ve rant değerine göre araç tipi düzenlemesine gidilmektedir. Bu noktada, yönetmeliklerle otobüslere uygulanan para cezaları çok önemli bir değişken olarak karşımıza çıkmaktadır. Düzenlemenin uygulama oranı, çevre birimlerinden şehir

merkezine doğru zayıflar. Başka bir deyişle, yüksek taşıma talebine sahip olmayan hatlarda yüksek sıklıkta düzenleme uygulamaları vardır.

Kentsel ulaşım ile ilgili genişletilmiş görev ve yetkilere sahip yerel yönetimler en önde gelen aktörler haline gelmiştir. Ankara'nın otobüs işletme organizasyonu, Büyükşehir Belediyesi ulaşım birimi, EGO, UKOME Genel Kurulu, şehir içi otobüs sahiplerinin odaları ve dernekleri Ankara'da şehir içi otobüs hizmeti veren sorumlu aktörlerden oluşmaktadır.

Özel otobüs hatlarına belediye otobüsleri veya yeni özel toplu taşıma araçlarının eklenmesi kararındaki aktörlerden biri olan Esnaf ve Sanatkarlar Odası, özel şehir içi ulaşım hizmeti sağlayıcılarının çıkarlarını savunan yegâne aktör haline gelmektedir. Başka bir deyişle, özel halk otobüsü hizmetleri genellikle küçük girişimciler tarafından yönetildiğinden ve örgütlendiğinden, küçük girişimcilerin çıkarları genellikle belirli hat ve güzergâhlardaki dernekler, kooperatifler ve odalar şeklinde savunulmaktadır.

Bu bağlamda, kentsel ulaşım hizmeti sunumunu küçük sermaye girişimlerinin öznel yapısıyla değil, örgütlenme biçimleriyle analiz etmek ve incelemek gerekir. Kentsel ulaşım da özel sektör girişiminin ortaya çıkması, devam etmesi ve hatta kamu hizmeti anlayışındaki değişimin rolü, karar alma mekanizmasının, aktör yapısının ve karar içeriğinin incelenmesini gerektirmektedir. Bu anlamda, çalışmanın analiz düzeyi, araştırma ve örnekleme yöntemleri kent içi ulaşım hizmet sunumunun karar mekanizması hakkında kapsamlı bilgi sağlayan ve bu alanda yaşanan sorunları çözme potansiyeline sahip nitelikli bilimsel çalışmalara katkı sağlamaktadır.

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