THE POLITICS OF URBAN PLANNING
IN ANKARA BETWEEN 1985 AND 2005

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ABSTRACT

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This thesis analyzes the inherent informal political relations embedded in urban planning process in the city of Ankara between 1985 and 2005. It has been argued that, urban planning process is -by nature- a political process and micro level political interactions in urban political sphere can be observed by looking at it. The urban planning process, as a political process interacts with existing political mobilization mechanisms and their spatial reflections. Such an interaction may cause emergence of informal political networks interested in derivation of urban land rent. The emergence, sustenance and persistence of these networks are related with the opportunities and legitimization potential of urban planning process. For the verification of hypothesis of the research the city of Ankara was taken as the subject of case study. A methodology consisting of a two phase research is devised to analyze the nature and the dynamics of these networks In the first phase a conventional statistical analysis the research universe consisting of all the all urban development plans and modifications realized in Ankara between 1985 and 2005 was realized. Then, in the second

phase based on the patterns explored in the research universe, a specific example of urban planning process was chosen, which represents the patterns of the research universe. This example, Çayyolu 907 Parcel, then subjected to social network analysis. The results of the research has shown that, when the structure of the local political structure changes altogether as a result of for example local elections, the structure of existing informal political networks and the way they exploit urban land rent changes. In these periods the number of urban development plans and urban development plan modifications increase, while the size of the area covered by these plans tends to decrease and mostly confined to prospective areas in central business district and residential areas. Yet, by the time passes, new and diverse political relations are established congruent with the existing political mobilization mechanisms. This time, although the number of plans decreases, the size of the area covered by plans increase and mostly, vacant land in the fringe of the urban macro form become the target of these networks. Although these networks involve a hierarchy in it, extensive brokerage and patron client relations sustain them.

Keywords and Phrases: Political mobilization, urban development plans, urban land rent, clientelism, informal social networks.

ÖZ

ANKARA'DA 1985 VE 2005 ARASINDA
KENT PLANLAMANIN SİYASETİ

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Bu tez, kent planlama sürecine içkin enformel siyasal ilişkileri Ankara Kenti örneğinde 1985 ve 2005 yılları arasında incelemektedir. Kent planlama sürecinin doğası gereği siyasal bir süreç olduğu ve kentsel siyasal alandaki mikro siyasal etkileşimlerin bu sürece bakılarak gözlemlenebileceği savlanmıştır. Siyasal bir süreç olarak kent planlama süreci var olan siyasal mobilizasyon mekanizmaları ve bunların mekansal yansımaları ile etkileşmektedir. Böylesine bir etkileşim kentsel rantın elde edilmesiyle ilgilenen enformel siyasal ağların oluşmasına sebep olabilir. Bu ağların ortaya çıkışı, yaşamlarını sürdürmeleri ve sürekli hale gelmeleri kent planlama sürecinin fırsatları ve meşrulaştırma potansiyeli ile ilişkilidir. Araştırmanın savlarının doğrulanabilmesi için Ankara Kenti alan araştırması için seçilmiştir. Bu ağların doğasının ve dinamiklerinin analizi için iki aşamalı bir araştırma kullanılmıştır. Birinci aşamada Ankara Kentinde 1985 ve 2005 yılları arasında gerçekleştirilen tüm imar planı ve imar planı değişikliklerinden oluşan bir araştırma evreninde alışılagelmiş istatistiksel analizi yapılmıştır. Daha sonar, ikinci aşamada, araştırma evreninde bulunan kalıplara

dayanılarak araştırma evrenindeki kalıpları temsil eden özel bir kent planlama süreci örneği seçilmiştir. Bu örnek, Çayyolu 907 Parsel örneği sosyal ağ analizine tabi tutulmuştur. Araştırmanın sonuçları, yerel siyasal alanın yapısı tamamen değiştiğinde (örneğin yerel seçimler sonucunda), var olan enformel siyasal ağların ve bu ağların kentsel rantı sömürme biçimlerinin değiştiğini göstermektedir. Bu dönemlerde imar planlarının ve imar planı değişikliklerinin sayısı artmakta, bu planların kapsadığı alanlar küçülmekte ve planlar daha çok kent merkezi ve etrafındaki değerli kentsel arsalar için yapılmaya başlamaktadır. Ancak zaman geçtikçe, var olan siyasal mobilizasyon mekanizmaları ile uyumlu yeni ve çeşitli siyasal ilişkiler kurulmaktadır. Bu kez, yapılan plan sayısında düşme görülmekte, planların kapsadığı alan büyümekte ve kentin çeperindeki boş alanlar bu ağların hedefi halini almaktadır. Bu ağların kendi içlerinde bir hiyerarşi olsa da yaygın aracılık ve patron-adamı ilişkileri bu ağları yaşatmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler ve İfadeler: Siyasal mobilizasyon, imar planları, kentsel arsa rantı, kollamacılık, enformel ilişki ağları.

To My Wife Betül
and
To Our T(wins), Erdem and Sudem

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Mayor of one of the middle sized cities of Turkey had a call from an influential businessperson. He was asking a favor regarding the preparation and approval of an implementation plan modification necessary for legitimization of the new warehouse he has just build in the vicinity of the city on farmland in return for his support in local elections. In this warehouse, textiles were to be manufactured at relatively lower costs. The businessperson was trying to reduce transportation costs of the workers, which he pays as compensation since the location of the warehouse was close enough to the housing neighborhoods of the most of the workers. Such a reduction in the costs of transporting workers across the town would probably increase his chance to compete with the Chinese manufacturers across the globe. On the other side, a real estate specialist obtained inside information from the planning officer about the planning process concerning the warehouse and the purpose of the businessperson. He then asked one of the local notables of the city who was also the rival of the mayor in the passing local elections that such a planning process may provide increase in the land prices in the housing neighborhood next to the warehouse and even need for rental housing would climb up. A piece of land is bought adjacent to the warehouse and entrepreneur had a private planning bureau to prepare a planning proposal that both transforms the agricultural land in to housing use and set building rights higher than the surrounding settlements in order to build high rise apartments. A housing cooperative was built to further legitimize and organize the situation. The head of the planning commission in the municipal council also became a member of the cooperative and with the help of him the proposal became approved. Few years later, the surrounding area became full of high rise apartment buildings yet, the warehouse is no longer there because the businessperson bankrupted as a result of the fluctuations of the national economy caused by the global financial flows.

The businessperson this time transformed warehouse into a middle sized shopping mall for the service of the people living in high rise apartment buildings. It is quite likely that little attention was paid to the impact of such planning modification on the overall structure of the city. The mayor was concerned with his support from such an influencial actor and the entrepreneur was concerned with his economic benefits.

Despite some changes, urban planning processes are still deemed to be fully technical issue which should be left to the experts, namely urban planners. Yet any planner, like the author of this study, after spending a short space of time in a planning office in a municipality would come to realise the political nature of the planning. In a way, this is a correction to the technicist view and one should also recognise that intervention of the political forces in the planning processes is necessary to create a democratic planning processes. However, the kind of interventions mentioned above could not be considered as a suitable way of overcoming the democratic deficit. In most cases, such particularistic interests and interventions, often using such informal mechanisms as clientelism and bribery serves to the weakining of the democratic values and relibility of the authorities involved in such processes. Therefore study of such mechanisms in planning processes is important with regards to improvement of relibility of planning processes and the authorities responsible from it.

The main objective of this study is to unfold the ways in which such formal and informal mechanisms of interests representation works at the micro level in the case of planning processes by carring out a detailed case study involving the development plan and plan modification decisions in Ankara in the post-1985 period.

Therefore, the main point of departure and hypothesis of this study is that, urban planning practice is not a solely technical procedure immune to the political influences, but on the contrary a predominantly political process by its nature. This political process is closely related with the dominant political mobilization mechanism and its reflection in space. This hypothesis is supported by six other hypotheses. These are:

Supporting Hypothesis 1: Urban planning process occurs through interweaving informal and formal social and political relations. Different actors and institutions involved in urban planning process are in affiliation to varying degrees based on these formal and informal relations.

Supporting Hypothesis 2. Throughout urban planning practice; urban planners, urban managers, bureaucrats, politicians, land developers, landlords, entrepreneurs, professionals and other related citizens might be amassed by a significant individual among them and organized into a loose (slack) network of individuals pursuing particular interests especially at urban land (development networks).

Supporting Hypothesis 3. The operation and dynamics of these development networks are shaped and constrained by the historical and spatial characteristics of the metropolitan area and the current planning laws and regulations.

Supporting Hypothesis 4. These development networks are not monolithic structures. They involve convergent and divergent sub- hierarchies, networks, cliques and components.

Supporting Hypothesis 5. These development networks operate within an institutional environment circumscribed by formal rules and relationships. However, sub- hierarchies and networks conglomerate around specific nodes where informal relationships and practices emerge in pursuit of particularistic ends.

Supporting Hypothesis 6. These development networks might involve patron-client relations, incubating growth machines, coalitions, and partnerships and may be engaged in corruption, bribery, nepotism, clientelism, favoritism, populism etc. The specific mix of activities is determined by the specific history and conditions of that metropolitan area.

Throughout urban planning literature, there had been numerous attempts to sketch out the general outlines of urban planning practice and political relations embedded in it at micro level. Some scholars used interviews, storytelling and formal network analysis techniques to derive verification for their hypothesis, focusing rather on actors and political relations than the planning process. On the other hand, some other scholars emphasized procedural aspects of urban planning practice and its reflections on existing political relations. Yet, both kinds of inquiries often lack comprehensive evidence necessary to attest the relevancy of the theories about political dimension of the urban planning practice. Obviously, a more generic methodology is needed to get a clearer picture of political relations within urban planning practice at micro level combining

inductive and deductive styles of both approaches. Such an effort could not only provide a better understanding of political relations at micro level but also contributes to the urban planning theory, provided that a top-down and network analysis are to be realized together.

The unit of analysis was chosen as the process of realization of urban development plans and urban development plan modifications in the city of Ankara and the research universe covers of all urban development plans and modifications realized in Ankara between 1985 and 2005 involving around five thousand separate urban development plans and modifications. This study is in fact a study of the research universe itself since apart from the uniformly distributed urban development plans and modifications that were eliminated because of insufficient data within the scope of the study, the study examined around four thousand of these urban development plans and modifications in detail.

Throughout this study, a consecutive two-phase analysis is used. In the first phase, a conventional analysis of the urban planning processes of the city of Ankara, the capital city of Turkey, between years 1985 and 2005 is realized. In the conventional analysis, all the aspects of urban planning process, especially political features was to be comprehended and certain patterns of behaviors and relations are tried to be explored.

Based on these patterns, the second stage involves a in-dept study of one of those plan modifications in the development corridor of the city After the selection of this case, a social network analysis of the relations between various actors involved in the urban planning practice was realized to test the hypothesis of the thesis. Within social network analysis, network characteristics, which suited best to the patterns explored in the first phase, were subjected to further in – depth network analysis.

The selection of the period and the case is based on three important justifications. First, the city under scrutiny, Ankara, displays a clear historical contrast between planned development and uncontrolled urban development. Ankara is a city, where there is an urban planning tradition from the early republican period to the beginning of 1990's. Yet, projection of the last official upper scale master plan was 1990. From that time on, urban development in Ankara has been manipulated through partial planning activities and modifications of existing development plans in an incremental way involving

various actors and institutions for more fifteen years. Secondly, this study also relates to a unique local government experience at metropolitan scale. In 1985, the law numbered 3030 was enacted in Turkey, through which a two-tier system has been introduced. With these law metropolitan municipalities has been established in several large cities of Turkey, one of which was the capital city of Ankara. A special division of duties and responsibilities between metropolitan and district municipalities has been identified. According to this division, metropolitan municipalities have been given the responsibility of preparing and approving master development plans whereas district municipalities have been given the responsibility of preparing local development plans under loose supervision of metropolitan municipalities. This experience ended in 2004 with a new law numbered 5216. With the new law, metropolitan boundaries were expanded to a 50 kilometers radius around provincial governorship taken as the centre. Moreover, planning duties and responsibilities of metropolitan municipalities were increased to restrict most of the planning responsibilities of district municipalities. Lastly, in the last two decades; pressures of globalization together with structural adjustment policies at macro scale, neo-liberal turn and efforts to reform both central and local governments, rising Istanbul as both an antithesis and global city left Ankara in the middle of a struggle for its reputation and its hinterland. Diminishing industrial and economic activities together with changes in state structure bring land speculation and housing production to the fore as the main economic activities. To sum up; the capital city of Ankara became one of the most interesting cities of inquiry to portray the political relations in planning practice in terms of conjuncture, planning history and local government experience between 1985 and 2005.

The main body of this study consists of five chapters. In Chapter two, a theoretical foundation of this study is established. In Chapter three and Chapter four urban planning and urbanization history of the city of Ankara was set out in a vein to follow the change of variables defined in Chapter two such as changing forms of political mobilization, changes in the form, function and structure of the social processes concerning urban planning process. Whereas in Chapter three such a historical account was based on the general recollection of the studies about the planning of Ankara, in Chapter four, a new elaboration of the urbanization of Ankara and political transformations related with it was introduced. Chapter five and Chapter six constitute the description of the methodological structure of the study in detail and presentation of the findings.

The aim of Chapter two is to lay down all considerations about theoretical foundations using conceptions of power and spatial practices, especially the urban planning practice of various schools of though together with informal political relations. To do this, after a brief description of the shock of social sciences concerning the emerging socio-spatial practices in the last two decades, first changes in representation, space, scale and governing of power in urban politics after the Second World War are outlined. Then the relationship between clientelist practices and urban planning is put forward with reference to latest contributions to social theories concerning clientelism such as the dynamics of clientelist relations in urban areas with respect to elections, voting patterns, provision of public goods and most important of how urban planning process was relized. It is aimed that at the end a clear theoretical account of the clientelist relations in urban planning practice and its various facets are to be presented.

In Chapter three, the interaction between political mobilization strategies and dynamics of spatial practice is presented up until 1980's, since it is the argument of this study that after 1980's the overall patterns changed. Since the city of Ankara as the Capital of Turkey displayed a planned urban development till the second half of 1980's, it was seen as necessary to present a historical account of the significant political relations related with the implementation of the plans made for Ankara. It is assumed that the sharp contrast between pre- and post-1980 periods could be followed in Chapter four. In Chapter three, it is narrated that how land speculation and land based interests have always been influential in the planning and development of the city through political mobilization mechanisms of the nation-state project and the later political projects. The chapter goes through the emergence of squatters, their spread based on structural changes in Turkish society and changes in state-market-society relations in response to them, especially emergence of planned economy and political fluctuations in the central political arena.

Chapter four, on the other hand, provides an in-depth review of the relationship between urban planning process, changing structure of political scale and local politics, increasing prominence of urban political sphere on central political arena and reflection of all these factors on urban space. The fundamental difference of post-1980 era is to be presented in this chapter. Although the urban development plans and urban development plan modifications were realized with respect to an all-encompassing upper scale development plan and the peace-meal plans and modifications were the means for

changing that upper scale plan in order to get particularistic gains before 1980 within an institutional framework under tutelage of the central government, after 1980's decentralization of very important responsibilities including the ones including urban planning and the reluctance of local governments to realize an urban development framework in the form of upper scale development plans, urban development plans and modifications became the sole means of legitimizing urban development without any reference to an overall strategy. This chapter tries to elaborate upon this striking change and present it in accordance with the changes in local politics and political mobilization mechanisms.

Chapter five includes the story of an attempt to construct a new and elaborate methodological structure that provides best explanatory tools to examine the hypothesis and the arguments provided in Chapter three and Chapter four about the case under examination. In this chapter, the two phases of the methodological structure are explained in detail. Definitions of all the variables are made and assumptions about them and their limitations are put aside. In addition, a flowchart of the methodology is provided giving special reference to the qualitative and quantitative research techniques and the statistical tools used in this study. The structure of the methodology is fully presented to show how the premises and reasons for carrying out a research in the city of Ankara concerning the urban development plans and urban development plan modifications as indicators of micro level political relations inherent in them are justified.

In Chapter six, all the results and findings of the case study are presented through a conventional and social network analysis of the patterns and actors within the urban planning practice experience of the city of Ankara in the last two decades. First the general tendencies and patterns of all the urban development plans and modifications explored through descriptive statistics and interpretations of these findings are provided based on the arguments set in Chapter two, three and four. Then certain patterns are introduced that are used to select the Çayyolu 907 Parcel case, which is subjected to social network analysis in order to reveal the structure and dynamics of the network of informal social relations inherent in the urban planning process.

In the conclusion, whether or not or to what extent the hypotheses set at the beginning and through the study are justified is tried to be presented together with a brief evaluation

of the methodology used in the study. The study ends with an overall evaluation of the dynamic social relations revolving around urban planning process and their repercussions for the political system and urbanization under capitalism. Recommendations for further studies and points to be covered in future work are also put at the end.

CHAPTER 2

POLITICS, CLIENTELISM AND
URBAN PLANNING PROCESS

2.1. Introduction

Throughout human history, power and politics have been defined with respect to nearly anything and everything. Various definitions of politics and political relations not only shaped the way the social world is perceived but also the way the social world is shaped. Among these definitions, there has always been a connotation of space, be it in the dominancy of the agricultural land as a source of feudal power, in the quest for colonial power base or in the influence of urban social movements on the general structure of the political relations etc. Saunders' (1983:21) use of the "upturned soap-box at Hyde Park Corner as a highly significant symbol in British political life" can be taken as a naïve metaphorical exemplification of the relationship of the politics with space.

However, it can be said that in the last two decades; transitions, transformations, metamorphoses or, one can say the revolutions that have been continuously taking place in cities, drastically altered how the relationship between politics and space is perceived. As Davis (2004:5) noted, "For the first time the urban population of the earth will outnumber the rural. Indeed, given the imprecision of the Third World censuses, this epochal transition may already have occurred". The urban reality have become so transcendent over other realms of life that there is nearly nothing left which is not happening in cities or in one way or another not related with what is happening in them. From the mp3 player produced in shanty warehouses of Hong Kong to the fashion week of Paris, from the *basmati* cultivating farmers of India to the GM food research laboratories of Britain, from political motivations of squatter residents in Ankara to the extravagant entertainment centers in Las Vegas etc. nearly all seemingly apart realities

became different facets of an in some ways incredibly chaotic and in some other ways startlingly orderly continuum of the urban world. Taylor and Lang (2004) effectively summarized this radical shift in their review of the hundred new concepts in social sciences to describe recent urban change.

Most of these new concepts either emphasize the emergence of a new spatial form like "penturbia" (Lessinger 1987), "technoburb" (Fishman 1987), "edge city" (Garreau 1991), "limitless city" (Gillham 2002) etc. or appeared as a part of an effort to capture the true nature of urban space under the influence of the phenomenon called "globalization" like "world city network" (Baelward 1982), "cross border network of global cities" (Sassen 1999), "global urban network" (Short and Kim 1999) "transnational urbanism" (Smith 2001) etc. Yet, few of these recent contributions directly point out to the underlying power structures or the political relations which constitute a very important level in changing essence of everyday spatial processs. Although there are modest contributions about the changing nature of political processs in urban realm, underlining the supremacy of the neo-liberal thought summarized in terms like "governance", "partnerships", "coalitions", "participation", "communicative action" etc. a major difference between the scholars of the urban sociology till 1980's and after, who especially dealt with the power in urban scene should be noted. The former seems to get and idea of what the power *is* in urban realm through his exploration of the grand forces that rule the whole society. Whereas the latter seems to be rather more interested in a limited fashion about what power *ought to be* with regards to the continuing transformation in global and local levels. Furthermore, the former seems to be mostly framed by the limitations of the political system and studied for instance the voting patterns, institutional structures, political cleavages in urban areas etc. within predominantly western societies, but the latter preferred to focus on deviations and distortions in political structures and political relations with reference to ethnicity, gender, informality, race and other cultural factors.

Yet, the fundamental age-old question about the relationship between politics and space remain resolved in the discussions of whether and how spatial practice in realized as a political resource. Why certain groups of people and certain classes are more involved in the decision making processes than others and how? Here it is necessary to look back to some of the fundamental discussions about the use of power and decision making concerning political action and inaction, interests and causality in political relations.

According to Saunders (1983), such questions can be answered looking into how various scholars positioned themselves while providing an account of the relationship between politics and decision – making. First of all, behind political action there should be substantial political resources. Yet, although these political resources, some of the most important of whom was the material ones, are important prerequisites but not sufficient to explain the wide spread political inaction in advanced capitalist societies. The political resources for political action does only create a potential for political action. Similar questions can also be posed with respect to the spatial practices. Most of the people living in cities choose to remain indifferent to the fundamental changes in urban space even if those changes fundamentally influence their daily lives.

The problem with the political inactiveness of the people living in cities is three fold. First of all, the non-decision making mechanisms of the existing powerful interest groups prevents citizens to raise issues to the public agenda. Secondly, the inevitable difference between the preferences and interests of the people living in cities create a gap between the definition and formation of the collective good and legitimization which led to prove existing representation mechanisms insufficient. And last, effectivity of the channels of these representation mechanisms and political action for the realization of individual interests is relatively lower than the use of direct establishment of the informal political relations and informal political relations in order to get particularistic ends without going into exhausting mechanisms of political action.

Therefore, it can be said that while trying to understand the inactivity of the people in participating in the decision making mechanisms of the urban areas in which they live, it is crucial to understand the other more practical faces of power and political processs, which provide outlets of satisfying personal interests like patron-client relations. That necessitates an examination of representation, space, scale and governing power together with the informal politicial sphere shaped through network structures. Through such an inquiry, the very essence of the nature of micro level political processs and their relationship with the existing channels of representation could be understood.

2.2. Changes in Representation, Space, Scale and Governing of Power in Urban Planning Process after the Second World War

Urban studies has long been an interdisciplinary field, drawing from, among other disciplines, anthropology, geography, history, planning, political science, and sociology (Martin, McCann and Purcell, 2003). Geographers in urban studies are distinguished first and foremost by a tradition of sustained explicit attention to spatial patterns and processes. Early research in the 1950s and 1960s proceeded largely in the human ecology and neoclassical economic traditions, examining the effect of spatial segregation on human organization, and the relationship between land use and land value (Berry & Kasarda, 1977; Harris & Ullman, 1945; Muth, 1961). That work was challenged in the 1970s and 1980s by Marxist geographers and sociologists concerned with understanding the underlying social processes that produced urban space (Castells, 1977; Cox, 1984; Dear & Scott, 1981; Harvey, 1973; Smith, 1984). The Marxist approach has itself been challenged by a range of perspectives that seek to avoid the economism of the early Marxist work. The result in geography has been an enriching proliferation of perspectives and themes in the study of the city and urban politics. While more traditional political·economic examinations of growth politics, urban regimes, and global restructuring have continued, they have been joined by feminist research (England, 1991; Hanson & Pratt, 1991), examinations of race/racism (Jackson, 1989; Peake & Kobayashi, 2002), and studies of sexuality (Bell, 1995; Valentine, 1993). The reaction to economism has introduced diverse post·structural and postmodern approaches to the city, and so questions of identity, difference, and representation have received increasing attention over the past 10 to 15 years.

The fundamental spatial nature of the capitalist economy was delineated by David Harvey (1973, 1985). He drew on Marx, who argued that capital investments are always geographically uneven. Inputs in one place or region reach a state of maturity, fostering disinvestments in those sites and new infusions of capital in alternate locations. However, space is not an even, undifferentiated plain on which investment unfolds. It is rather a complicated set of interlocking physical and social relations, patterns, and processes (Harvey, 1985; Lefebvre, 1991; Massey, 1984, 1994; Smith, 1984; Soja, 1989). Space is an unavoidably social product created from a mix of legal, political, economic, and social processs and structures (Lefebvre, 1991). While it has a material

reality as environment, it is also experienced and conceptualized through the organization of social life (Massey, 1992).

Urban conflicts between residential land uses and commercially oriented development, for example, can be seen as spatial conflicts characterized by different ideas about what urban space is and what it should become (Purcell, 1997, 2001). Further, analyses that recognize different meanings of space—from its physical organization in land use planning, human attachments to specific locations, and idealized images—highlight areas of contradiction, tension, or difference in the urban sphere. In McCann's (1999) examination of racial conflict in Lexington, Kentucky, for example, he demonstrates how editorial cartoons foster racialized knowledge about the city, such as when African Americans are confronted and questioned in downtown areas because they are seen as out-of-place (Cresswell, 1996).

A spatial perspective on urban issues is evident in Logan and Molotch's (1987) characterization of the difference between use and exchange value of land. Viewing urban conflict through a lens of space, rather than one focusing on purely economic calculi, opens the analytic framework to a broader range of understandings and explanations for different approaches to urban land. In the case of memorials such as the World Trade Center site in New York, for instance, characterizing the value of the space as one based on use, and in contrast to reuse of the land for market exchange, does not fully capture the significance of the site itself within the urban and national psyche. A spatial analysis—particularly one recognizing the social production of space, as in Lefebvre (1991)—recognizes the inherent and multiple social meanings of space and the spatiality of all human activity (Martin, McCann and Purcell, 2003).

One key element in understanding space and investigating spatial dynamics in urban politics is specifying the scale of analysis. In urban politics, it may seem that the appropriate unit of analysis is local government. However, social, political, and economic spheres that are manifest in locally bounded spaces also interact and have expression at much broader scales. In recognizing this, geographers have engaged in an ongoing attempt to theorize about the politics of scale. Scale in geography has long been important methodologically in terms of how research is framed. Inquiry framed at local scales yields different results than inquiry at larger scales, and geographers have debated the strengths and weaknesses of the various methodological approaches. In addition to

such methodological questions, recent work in urban political geography has taken scale as itself an object of inquiry; it has examined how social processes are characterized by particular scalar arrangements(Martin, McCann and Purcell, 2003).

The bulk of this new attention in geography has been aimed at understanding the recent profound shifts in global political and economic order. The upshot of this work has been an argument that globalization has involved a very specific rescaling. Formerly the national scale was the dominant scale at which political and economic power was coordinated. Increasingly, there is a greater role for supra-national scales and sub-national scales (such as the urban scale). In the case of the state and governance functions, for example, this shift involves a transfer of authority and responsibility from a national-scale state both to supra-national governance forms (such as the EU or the WTO) and to sub-national forms (as with the much discussed devolution of state functions over the last several years) (Staeheli, Kodras, & Flint, 1997). This scalar shift has been termed a process of glocalization—a simultaneous globalization and localization of the global political economy (Swyngedouw, 1992).

The sub-national aspect of this rescaling is most relevant to urban politics and policy. It involves local states and governance institutions accepting more responsibility and authority as nation-states devolve control from the national scale to the local and regional scales. National states are increasingly transferring responsibility to urban governments for tasks such as economic development, social services, and the provision of infrastructure (Painter, 1995; Peterson, 1995; Stewart & Stoker, 1995). The augmented responsibilities of local governing institutions have been accompanied by a shift in their policy orientation. Having been set adrift to a degree from the protection of the national state and its economy, local and urban governments have become more responsible for ensuring that the local area can compete effectively in the wider global economy. Therefore, the literature argues, the main policy shift in cities has been toward competitiveness: because capital is much more able to shift investment from place to place, newly independent local governance institutions are increasingly concerned to ensure that their region remains economically competitive so that it can attract and retain investment (Cerny, 1997; Harvey, 1989b; Jessop, Peck, & Tickell, 1999; Swyngedouw, 1996). The literature argues that economic competitiveness and attracting and retaining capital investment have taken on much greater importance for local policy-makers. Urban policy has become much more neoliberal in its orientation and the structure of the

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policy making apparatus has become increasingly complex (Martin, McCann and Purcell, 2003).

The complexity and dynamism of the contemporary policy arena is captured in the interest of geographers and others in the rise of new forms of urban governance (Box, 1999; Goodwin & Painter, 1996; Harvey, 1989b; MacLeod & Goodwin, 1999; Stone, 1989; Ward, 1996). Generally, the term governance is used to indicate "a shift from centralized and bureaucratic forms of decision·making [generally referred to as 'government'] to a plurality of coexisting networks and partnerships that interact as overlapping webs of relationships at diverse spatial scales, from the neighborhood to the globe"(Hubbard, Kitchin, Bartley, & Fuller, 2002, pp. 175–176). Scholars have been careful to note that this characterization of a transition from government to governance does not indicate a complete disjuncture. Rather, their intent is to identify recent changes in the organization of the state and society while acknowledging the continuing influence of established policy models in certain contexts. Identifying the rise of governance affords insight into larger changes in the organization of contemporary society. Neoliberal ideals of competition and market·led social policy are argued to be manifest in cities in ways that constitute both changes in the "external environment" within which government functions and the "changing internal structure of the state, as the responsibility for some of its functions [are] rescaled, licensed out to non·elected agencies or simply rationalized"(Ward, 2000, p. 173; see also Brenner & Theodore, 2002). Thus, questions of how decisions about contemporary cities' social and economic futures are made, where they are made, which institutions or actors are empowered to make them, and in whose interests, are central to a great deal of contemporary writing in urban, political, and economic geography (Martin, McCann and Purcell, 2003).

These questions drive research on the ways in which the importance of the spaces and institutions of the national state have changed in relation to the politics of economic development and social welfare provision (Brenner, 1998; Jessop, Peck, & Tickell, 1999). This has, in turn, informed the study of how certain cities and city·regions are emerging as powerful nodes in sub·national and supra·national political economies (Scott, 2001; Storper, 1997; Taylor, 2000). At the same time, there is an ongoing engagement with the various ways in which public·private coalitions and novel forms of decision·making are reshaping the political and physical landscapes of cities (Cox &

Mair, 1988; Harvey, 1989b; Jonas & Wilson, 1999; McCann, 2001; Saint-Martin, 1998; Woodmansee, 1994).

Much of this work touches on two more connecting themes in the urban governance literature: 1) the analysis of how social processes operate both within and without formal political institutions and 2) the study of how these processes work in an uneven distribution across space and in the specific context of interlinked geographical scales, rather than on the head of the proverbial pin. For instance, "[w]hen I speak of urban politics," writes Harvey (1989a) I do not mean the mayor or the city council, though they are one, important form of expression of urban politics. Nor do I necessarily refer to an exclusively defined urban region, because metropolitan regions overlap and interpenetrate when it comes to the important processes at work there. The urban space with which I propose to work is fixed only to the degree that the key processes I shall identify are confined within fixed spaces. To the degree that the processes are restlessly in motion, so the urban space is itself perpetually in flux (p. 127).

As research has built upon these themes, many have argued that a key aspect of the politics of urban governance is the power to discursively represent the spatial, social, and ideological bounds of the city as an object to govern; to temporarily fix the limits of governable urban space for certain political purposes (Jessop, 1997; Jonas & Wilson, 1999).

The attention by geographers to representation, rhetoric, and discourse parallels that of scholars in other disciplines who have questioned a transparent relationship between material reality and the languages that we use to represent it (Foucault, 1970; Marcus & Fisher, 1999; Barnes & Duncan, 1992). Scholars have drawn upon the work of linguistic structuralists in recognizing the social production of the world, and the limitations of language to describe the material world separate from its social meaning (Derrida, 1976; Foucault, 1970, 1972; Saussure, 1974). This questioning of meaning gives rise to attention to discourses, or "frameworks that embrace particular combinations of narratives, concepts, ideologies and signifying processs, each relevant for a particular realm of social action"(Barnes & Duncan, 1992, p. 8). Discourses include linguistic representation as well as social processs.

This scholarly attention to representation and discourse takes two main forms: 1) a questioning of the ability of research to discover truths about the world, and 2) an examination of representation and discourse as an analytical framework for understanding social processes. The questioning of truths represents a disciplinary examination of epistemology, investigating means to knowledge and suggesting alternative frameworks for research. In geography, these analyses focused on the difficulty of accurately representing the world outside of its social meaning, in particular cultural contexts (Barnes & Duncan, 1992; Cosgrove & Daniels, 1988; McDowell, 1994). McDowell (1994), for example, argued that knowledge is multiple and positional, so there cannot be a single, unitary meaning of a given place, neighborhood, or city (Martin, McCann and Purcell, 2003).

The second form of attention to representation and discourse focuses on social difference and power relations in empirical research. This type of discourse analysis has become common in urban research. It includes, for example, research examining media portrayals of urban places and the ways that they contribute to popular perceptions of inner cities as unsafe with deviant residents (Burgess, 1985; Martin, 2000; McCann, 1999). Other scholars have examined the policy process, demonstrating how particular rhetorical strategies, such as emphasizing growth in local economic development, prioritizes certain policy choices over others (McCann, 2002; Throgmorton, 1993). This examination of underlying values in political conflict highlights how the interests of some groups can be rhetorically cast as the interest of a whole community, obscuring alternative interpretations of policy choices. Cox and Mair's (1988) examination of local dependence represents such a strategy, wherein the health of a given locality is defined in terms of its ability to attract new firms away from other places, with less attention paid, for example, to such firms' labor processs. Finally, some scholars have investigated the ways that certain places are represented in public discourse as ideals, challenging any sort of land use change to those sites. Purcell's (2001) research on homeowners' associations in Los Angeles demonstrates how values about neighborhoods can be used in public policy to question growth that increases, for example, multi -family residential or commercial uses in suburban areas. In addition, Escobar (2001) suggests that the idea of the local has been used as a defensive strategy against global economic growth, such as along the Pacific coast of Columbia.

Representation and discourse are increasingly important analytical lenses for urban politics, as these concepts provide a framework for examining the role of values, stories, and ideals in shaping the social world, and reflecting change and conflict. Scholars of urban studies have drawn upon these concepts to examine multiple perspectives and meanings of places, as well as the values and ideals of material and ideal landscapes. Some of the articles in this special issue undertake a geographical analysis of representation and discourse, examining the portrayals of space and scale that reinforce particular urban policies, and manifest conflicts among parties within the urban sphere.

It is clear that, the conception and the reality of the urban political process became proliferated and complex with respect to the political processs at micro level. The scale of political relations became incumbent upon the existing channels of representation and emerging channels of participation. Yet, it is still necessary to have a close look on how the informal side of the urban political sphere is at work at micro scale with respect to political action and the distribution of resources.

2.3. Clientelism and Spatial Practices

2.3.1. The Relation of Patron-client Relations with State and Society

The most important aspect of patron-client relations is their existence in different cultures and nations. Social scientists are always interested in how they exist together with formal institutions of modem life and why they do not disappear like some other traditional types of relations did. In this section my purpose is to find an answer to these two questions. To do this I will examine two broad approaches, "evolutionist" and "articulation" approaches, examining how and why patron-client relations persist together with formal institutions of modem life.

The "evolutionist" approach perceives any type of patron-client relation as a transitional step towards group or class based political participation, within an evolutionary pattern. All variants of patron-client relations are transitional stages within the transformation path to the modem types of political participation. The main assumption behind this approach is that patron-client relations continuously adapt and transform under changing socio-economic and political conditions. Some authors like Boissevain (1966), Powell

(1970), Weingrod (1968), Silverman (1970), Loizos (1979), Mouzelis (1978), Li Causi (1981), Littlewood (1980), Bodeman (1980), and White (1980) have referred to patron-client relations as a stage in political development. However, paradoxically it is apparent that, the personalistic and particularistic ideology of patron-client relations is a real challenge to the ideas of this approach and the evolutionist approach fails to provide the evidence to distinguish why patron-client relations evolve to modem forms of political participation instead of challenging or conflicting with them.

Boissevain (1968), Powell (1970), Weingrod (1968) and Silverman (1970) studied patron-client relations with reference to the concept of "nation-state". Within the process of nation building, at the beginning, the relation between centre and periphery is limited, the level of political consciousness is low and political participation is limited. When a nation-state is founded, sometimes, traditional patron-client relations are co-opted to control the periphery and local sphere. Because especially in developing countries, before the nation-state mostly the political culture is based on traditional type of relations and the easiest way to build a hierarchical control of nation-state over society is through adapting these traditional relations. The imposition of modem forms of political participation takes time. New political party organizations are built upon or absorb patron-client relations while they are expanding their organization to geographical and political periphery. In feet, patron-client relations provide a limited hierarchic order, which links geographical and political centre to the periphery. Yet, the logic of patron-client relations challenges the ideology of nation-state (Güneş-Ayata,1990). The ideology of patron-client relations is based on particularism and personalism whereas the ideology of nation-state involves universalism and egalitarianism. As a result of this co-optation of traditional patron-client relations traditional patron-client relations transform to "clientelism" and "brokerage" as defined earlier. According to Güneş-Ayata (1994b), clients become voters and their relative bargaining power within the relation increases. In the end, both the integrity and harmony of the new order of nation-state with the society is realized and masses are mobilized. According to evolutionist approach transformation of traditional patronage relations to clientelism can be taken as a transitory step towards increasing political participation (Boissevain 1966).

When the nation-state is introduced with increasing state intervention in every sphere of society, the nature of patron-client relations changes dramatically. With increasing state intervention, instruments and organizations of state apparatus replace traditional patron-

client relations in many spheres such as directly buying and marketing agricultural products, providing technical assistance, establishing education, judiciary and social security systems. Yet, the newly emerging organizational structure is mostly too complex or distant from individuals. There is also a lack of political culture about how to use these complex mechanisms to reach substantial resources. In this case, newly adopted forms of patron-client relations became widespread as a bridge between formal organizations and individuals, like brokerage. Furthermore, after the foundation of a nation-state, former mechanisms of patron-client relations may become a reliable base for the newly emerging political system and political parties because there is usually no class base for modern forms of political participation. Güneş-Ayata (1994a), in Turkish case and Lemarchand (1981) in Africa gives examples of this. Lemarchand also stress that, when patron-client mechanisms are used as a means of unifying same or all ethnic entities and adapting them to state during the foundation of nation-state (Lemarchand 1972).

On the other hand, some authors like Lemarchand and Legg (1972), Zuckerman (1977), Barnes and Sani (1974) and Schneider (1972), argue that patron-client type of relations are not transitional stages to modernization and democratization On the contrary, is argued that they prevent direct participation of individuals in the political system and the diffusion of universalistic standards of behavior. In developing countries, industrialization and the market economy can be established rather fester than political system and organizational structures. Economic growth can be realized much earlier than changing of political culture from a culture based on traditional values to the one based on modern values. In particular, the over-formal, complex and sophisticated state bureaucracy may turn out to be an obstacle rather than a means for political change. Moreover, Lemarchand and Legg (1972) argue that patron-client relations cause inequalities to increase in society. They strengthen existing power differences since the resources are distributed through patron-client relations.

According to authors coming from the Marxist tradition like Mouzelis (1978), Li Causi(1975) and Littlewood (1980), patron-client relations are basically exploitation relations. Yet, patrons do not always belong to the corresponding classes in Marxist terminology. A patron may not necessarily be a capitalist but he is accepted as a representative of the dominant class and ideology (Güneş-Ayata 1994b). Some of the characteristics of the patron-client relation like reciprocity and voluntarism soften

and legitimize the exploitation involved in the relation. Li Causi and Littlewood also argue that patrons create an ideology and a social security to guarantee the necessary conditions for the reproduction of the labor force. Mouzelis, on the other hand, sees patron-client relations as a form of political coercion, through which the state prevents class struggle of the masses by keeping pre-capitalist relations alive. In brief, Marxists expect the fading and disappearing of patron-client relations with the emergence of class-consciousness. The emerging labor class would create its own style of organization. Mouzelis (1978) and White (1980) note examples of such a change.

On the other hand, some authors like Güneş-Ayata (1994b), Davis (1977) and Lande (1976) argue the possibility of coexistence of various patron-client relations together with some modern forms of relations. The "articulation approach" is well identified by Lande in his widely accepted definition of patron-client relations as an "addenda" to the formal relations and structures. For them, patron-client relations and modern relations and organizations are "compatible" with each other. Actually, Lande (1976) argues that patron-client relations can never exist by themselves without an institutional framework. An organizational vacuum can never exist except for initial periods of revolutions. They argue that patron-client relations have a latent function. Patron-client relations fill the gap where an institutional mechanism fails to meet the needs of individuals and groups. For example, in circumstances where the organizational structure is over complex and sophisticated, patron-client relations are likely to be used to gain access to necessary services.

One important question about the compatibility of patron-client relations to the formal institutions is whether patron-client relations are addenda to formal institutions as it is the only way of "survival" for them or they coexist with formal institutions because of their "strength". If the patron-client relation is largely based on the resources of formal structures it can be argued that the coexistence is the only way of survival for them. On the other hand, if the patron-client relations are not so dependent on formal structures but fill the gap when formal institutions fail to work efficiently, it can be said that they exist because of their strength. However, all types of patron-client relations include both aspects to a varying degree since they are not substitute to formal structures.

Subsequently on some other authors argued that, the persistence of patron-client relations is not only due to its internal dynamics but also due to deficiencies of modern

democracies to provide accessible channels of participation to individuals (Güneş-Ayata 1994b). Without giving any importance to the individual and his needs, bureaucratic universalism is built upon "indifference" resulting in helplessness and hopelessness. Because, the modern notions of "universality" and "equality" tend to denote and even strengthen inequalities in the society. Gaining access to the resources in a modern society is either to complicated or necessitates too much effort. Moreover, especially in developing countries, formal institutions of modern life fail to deliver resources and services they meant to the citizens. The assumption that democracy strengthens people and provides them access to resources is opposed by the fact that, people are not always able to mobilize themselves and could not gain access to necessary resources (Roniger 1994a).

So far the place of patron-client relations in society and their relations with the formal structures have been examined. It would appear that under various circumstances, patron-client relations persist and perpetuate. Patron-client relations are addenda to the modern organizations and formal relations. Often they emerge as a "symbiotic" or "shadow" type of relation existing together with formal relations and having a mutually exclusive interaction with them. Sometimes they even provide a latent legitimacy for formal relations and modern organizations, because they fill the gaps where formal mechanisms fail to work.

Scott and Kerklivett (1976) summarized the structural reasons behind persistence of patron-client relations. According to them: 1. The persistence of market inequalities of wealth, status and power, 2. The relative absence of impersonal guarantees accompanied by the growth of semi-autonomous local leaders and 3. Inability of kinship or other traditional bonds to serve the needs of individuals are the three basic reasons for the persistence of patron-client relations. Actually the third reason might better be asserted as inability of modern relations and mechanisms to serve the needs of the individuals.

In fact, according to Scott (1976), patron-client relations themselves display a structural dimension and we can define "patron-client structures". Scott defines two distinctive patron-client structures. "Patron-client clusters" refers to a patron and his clients that are directly linked to him. Whereas, a "patron-client pyramid" refers to a network involving a supreme patron at the top, brokers at the middle and the clients at the bottom of the hierarchy.

A patron-client pyramid represents a broader scene of patron-client relations. It may include many patron-client clusters. In a patron-client cluster the position of a patron is absolute in character with respect to his clients. But, in a patron-client pyramid only the position of the supreme patron on the top is absolute. All the other patrons' and clients' positions are relative to each other. Usually traditional forms of patron-client relations tend to be in cluster forms. However, in modern settings, patron-client pyramids emerge because brokerage emerges and the relative bargaining power of the clients increases. In some cases, like in the case of the dictator Suharto in Indonesia, the president of the government may become a supreme patron.

In the next section, before elaborating on the relation of patron-client relations with spatial processs the other important aspects of patron-client relations will be examined, basically the patron-client relations in the urban sphere.

2.3.2. Patron-client Relations in Urban Sphere

One of the most widely accepted statements about the political attitudes in urban areas claims that urbanization makes a "positive" contribution formation of formal political participation and modern political attitudes. It is argued that with increasing urbanization, there comes increasing political participation (Milibarth 1965). This happens because of the dense networks of communication, proximity to centers of power and increased social interaction. In fact, this view follows the assumption that urban life occurs in a modern participatory atmosphere and that those living in urban areas tend to be more active in elections and modern political life (Gormez 1997, Kalaycioglu 1986). Different studies focusing on the relationship between urbanization and political participation have reached different conclusions. For instance, Ozbudun (1976), in his study about participation in elections in metropolitan areas of Turkey, concluded that voting level is lower than rural areas. On the other hand, Karpat (1976), in his work stated that, among newcomers, political participation has increased. Works of Kartal and Kalaycioglu also give clues about increasing tendency of participation in urban areas among migrant populations (Kalaycioglu 1983, Gormez 1997). Unfortunately these studies focus on voting levels and could not make a significant contribution by showing the nature of this increasing participation. But in her work, Chubb (1981a) showed that especially migrant populations and the urban poor tend to use patron-client relations as a

mechanism for political participation rather man formal mechanisms in urban areas. We may conclude that the increasing participation in urban areas does not occur through modern channels of participation but also clientelism and brokerage. In this section it will be tried to show that patron-client relations are very influential and they gain a new dimension in the urban sphere. To do this brokerage activities in the urban sphere and who the strategically important groups of patrons and clients are in cities will be defined.

hi the past, mostly in analysis of patron-client relations, rural areas and traditional patron-client relations have been chosen for case studies. Therefore, there is a tendency to see that patron-client relations are unique to rural areas, or solely rural. But, comparative studies of clientelism in various countries have shown that, patron-client relations can be observed also in urban areas (Chubb 1981a,b, Cornelius 1972). Moreover, in urban areas, traditional patron-client relations transform into different forms of patron-client relations like clientelism and brokerage.

Although the reasons for the existence of patron-client relations like limited class based political activity, scarcity of resources, competition between individuals and groups over the allocation of resources etc. are the same with rural patron-client relations, patron-client relations in urban areas have some unique features. The characteristics of the patron-client relations are congruent with the uniqueness of the "urban" itself. Specialization, dispersion of powers, extensive division of labor, concentration of capital in urban sphere, heterogeneous structure of middle classes and impoverished residents of the urban areas constitute the main reasons for the differentiation of patron-client relations in urban areas. The peculiar characteristics of urban areas cause important transformations in patron-client relations. The character of relation, patrons and clients change a lot. Because the rural types of patron-client relations are no longer compatible with the formal structures in urban areas, they transform to urban forms of patron-client relations.

One of the most important factors leading to the transformation of patron-client relations in urban areas is the increasing specialization of economic activities in urban areas, which mean that different people control different resources. Thus, a patron for someone who is looking for survival resources like money or food is not necessarily the same as for someone, who is looking for job advancement or a political favor. This is also true from the perspective of the patron (Norris 1984). The bureaucrat who can help someone

get medical service but cannot help get work for someone or a position in school for a child is an example of patron-client specialization in urban areas (Chubb 1981a). The shopkeeper can provide credit but cannot provide job security. Each resource tends to have a different person controlling it. As such, urban patron-client relationships, while potentially an important survival or mobility aid, are not an exclusive source of either. In addition, specialization can lead to the dispersal of patron-client ties into networks. Patron-client clusters transform into patron-client pyramids. Brokers emerge who mediate between supreme patrons and clients in a cltentelistic network, which is organized in a pyramidal structure.

Specialization of activities in urban areas results in dispersion of resources, positions and limitations of controls over resources, which in turn causes multiple dependencies to emerge. A migrant or an urban poor is likely to be involved with various patrons because, every patron has a limited control over positions, resources and services. Also, together with suffrage, the bargaining power of the client increases and a competition between patrons and brokers emerges to get the support of the clients. The inequality between patrons and clients decreases. However, the high level of specialization of activities and division of labor also cause patrons to search for being monopoly over the resources to become supreme patrons. Basically, these kinds of patrons stand at the top of the patron-client pyramids. Especially in developing countries, patrons who have ultimate control over strategic urban resources mostly become supreme patrons in urban areas. On the other hand, urban migrants and urban poor, whose bargaining power is relatively low, constitute the clients for these patrons. For instance, in Turkey, the speculative and commercial entrepreneurial class, whose capital accumulation is based on urban land rents, constitute a class of supreme patrons. They constitute majority of the local government councils and dominate local political arena (Koksal and Kara 1990, Tekeli 1976). Consequently, it can be argued that with respect to patron-client relations the most important sections of urban population are speculative entrepreneurial classes as patrons and migrants and urban poor as the clients.

Furthermore, brokerage in urban areas is more widespread than in rural areas. In most cases, brokerage functions as a bridge between clients and supreme patrons in a network of patron-client relations. "Cacique" in Latin America and "Gecekondu ağası" in Turkish case appear as outstanding figures of brokerage in urban areas. Cornelius (1972), Purcell (1981) and Guasti (1977) observed strong caciques among low-income urban groups in

Latin America. Cornelius (1972) argued that the power of brokers increases with increasing urban character of the settlements.

The unique features of urban patron-client relations cause some interest groups to become more significant. Chubb (1981a,b) distinguishes and categorizes these interest groups into four. The first one of these groups is "local commercial or speculative entrepreneurs". These groups mostly looks for privileges and excess profits through speculation of scarce resources. They are mostly involved in the economic sectors like construction industry and real estate market, for this purpose. Mostly they do not prefer sectors, which are highly competitive and getting a privilege or excess profits is difficult in them. They avoid making large-scale investments since they prefer using their resources for patron-client relations instead. Especially productive sectors become increasingly dependent upon public investment in the form of both direct investment and programs of incentives and subsidies for the private sector. For this respect, the public intervention about urban planning and building regulations become very important. Usually collusion occurs between local governments and powerful speculative interests. The result is the destruction of the agricultural land and its replacement with squatters, illegal buildings and buildings with low aesthetic, health and public service standards. Urban expansion itself in most cases becomes an important source of resources for patron-client relations (Chubb 1981b).

The second of these groups is "public employees". The case of public employees is relevant to the resource theory of patron-client relations, which assumes that the key to the success of political machines and clientelistic networks is their influence over public treasury and large scale distribution of public resources, primarily in the form of patronage. In her study in Palermo Chubb (1981a) argued that, where a stable and secure job is a rare commodity, employment in the public sector has become an aspiration as it brings a regular salary, fringe benefits and security. Under these circumstances, a job in public sector becomes the primary resource of patron-client relations. Especially in local government bureaucracies, political linkages are widely perceived as a way of getting a secure job. In most cases their domination in local politics provides necessary freedom for local politicians to use local employment opportunities in local governments as a means of patron-client relations. For this reason, politicians often provide jobs as favors.

The third and fourth groups are the traditional middle class and the urban poor. As in Chubb's (1981b) example of the Naples, bureaucratic intermediation of the political party, politician or a person of power is the most important favor for these groups who often require intervention in the procedures of the bureaucracy. In most cases the bureaucratic apparatus is an inefficient, slow moving mechanism with much red tape. However, the personal intervention of an influential person can yield immediate results. Thus, the impersonal and unresponsive structure of the bureaucracy serves unintentionally as a highly efficacious means of generating and maintaining political support. Ordinary citizens and urban poor, disadvantaged by their illiteracy or lack of experience in dealing with bureaucratic institutions, are constrained to seek assistance from a higher status patron, who can intervene directly on behalf.

To conclude, patron-client relations in urban areas differ a lot from rural areas. The important aspects of urban patron-client relations can be summarized as; specialization, dispersion of powers and resources, extensive division of labor; increasing importance of public employees, commercial and speculative entrepreneurial classes, traditional middle class and urban poor and migrants, dispersion of patrons' powers and diversification of patrons and increase of relative bargaining power of clients. In fact, patron-client relations in urban areas can be interpreted as a sub-branch of patron-client relations in modern conditions. Yet, in urban sphere, the density and complexity of the relations involved with the clientelist relations increase and to some extent gained the quality of social network of relations.

Recently, a new wave of clientelism studies emerged mostly focusing on the operational issues related with the process of clientelist relations in urban sphere. These efforts could be categorized in three distinct branches. Authors like Komito (1984), Villaon (2003), Papakostas (2000), Vallença (1995) and Hallin and Papathanassopulos (1996) tried to posit clientelism in a global context, questioning the emerging new forms of clientelist relations. On the other hand, a handful of scholars preferred to go deep into the relationship between clientelism and existing formal programmatic and retrospective political mobilization mechanisms especially in cities like Martin (1997), Brusco and Nazareno (2002), Keefer (2002), Wantchekon (2003), Robinson and Verdier (2003) and Remmer (2007). A third group of scholars on the other hand preferred to investigate the relationship between clientelism and other forms of informal political relations such as Khan (2000) and Maiz (1999).

Yet, in most of these authors there appears to be a common conclusion that although mostly clientelism is identified with private benefits provided to the clients by the broker or the patron in the form of material exchange, public goods and public services became increasingly related with the sustenance of the relationship. Since as Paker (2001) notes, the rent-seeking activity became one of the most important part of the clientelist relations. It can be said that, rent seeking activities in urban areas became inherently related with the clientelist processs, which in turn co-opted by the existing political systems and political mobilization mechanisms. One of the most significant of these rent seeking activities are related mostly with land and land speculation, which is the foremost scarce source of rent in cities.

According to Hillier (2000:35); Hughes, John and Sasse (2002:400) land became a resource through which complex networks of informal relations could be established. Because, the rent derived from land and the persistence nature of these rents provide a stable basis for the network to flourish at micro level. Although it is not quite easy to capture methodologically the nature of these networks, it becomes also possible to inquire such endeavors through investigating such networks related with land based processs like urban planning process. For this reason it can be said that, the effective combination of certain political mobilization mechanism and their reflection in spatial practice with the rent seeking activities gains clientelistic relations a new fashion. Clientelistic pyramids became more complex and three dimensional, gaining a network character. Instead of a one way representation of the clientelist relations, now it is possible to represent them in a much more complex structure allowing the borkers and patrons to change roles easily based on the potentials provided by the network itself.

In the following chapters, based on the conceptualization of the political structure of the clientelist mechanisms and their relationship with the political mobilization mechanisms and spatial practice mechanisms, the urban planning history of the city of Ankara will be presented including an in depth case study of the historically defined last twenty years of the city. Such and investigation will be finalized in the form of a social network study, trying to uncover such a clientelistic network persisted on the urban land and urban land rent.

2.4. Conclusion

Throughout this chapter, the relationship of the conception of power with space and informality is reviewed with special reference to the provision of public services such as urban planning. It is shown that, the conception of power became affiliated with space, scale and representation especially after the Second World War. Especially the spatial practices helped compensate deficiencies of representation in various scales and help certain political relations to become persistent over time. Especially the informal political relations are sustained through co-modification of space alongside formal mechanisms. For this respect, continuous regulation and re-regulation of spatial structure through formal mechanisms of urban planning is not only a means for redistribution of income but also reproduction of certain informal political relations. Such a mechanism is embedded in the political mobilization mechanisms of various hegemonic projects that mobilize masses based on provision of urban land and urban land rent. The following two chapters are to show how this mechanisms operated throughout history for the city of Ankara.

CHAPTER 3

THE INTERACTION BETWEEN POLITICAL MOBILIZATION STRATEGIES AND SPATIAL PRACTICES IN ANKARA UNTIL 1980'S

3.1. Introduction

An in-depth scrutiny of urban planning history of Ankara provides strong evidence to suggest that there was an interaction between forms of political mobilization strategies and the reflection of these strategies on various sectors and especially the ones involving spatial practice. Nevertheless, it is not easy to corroborate that the interaction between these two strategies are not mere contingent affairs. That is because when one recommends the existence of such an interaction, mostly the interaction itself is not a result of an overall strategy linking the political sphere with the spatial one, but because of concurrent strategies or actions of different actors or groups. Mostly, the concurrence of political mobilization strategies and spatial practices together provided suitable circumstances for certain political mobilization mechanisms to flourish through certain groups taking advantage of opportunities created, while sometimes completely altering, distorting, displacing, refracting the foreseen spatial structure which in turn re-shape political mobilization strategies. All of these dynamics could be seen in the process of planning process.

The intervention, interaction or embeddedness of political relations and political mobilization strategies in urban planning process is a well-conceptualized phenomenon throughout urban planning literature. However, the influence of politics on urban planning process at micro level is a relatively unexplored area of inquiry. This could be ascribed to the ambiguous nature of the relations at micro level and some methodological problems concerning the difficulties of studying certain types of relations established

side-by-side urban planning process. Yet, in any case, an inquiry into configuration of interplay between the public authority, urban planner, landowner, entrepreneur, politicians and other actors helps understanding how political mobilization strategies and particular interests are reflected in space through urban planning process.

Planning history of Ankara has proved a unique case for this respect. The interplay between political mobilization strategies and spatial practice has manifested itself in the sphere of politics throughout a change from nation building and political co-optation to clientelism and patron-client pyramids. It has also become visible in spatial practices in a change from a belief in comprehensive planning producing plans that later distorted by particularistic changes to a conglomeration of partial plans becoming the media for an incrementalist configuration of spatial process. The aim of this chapter is to constitute the first part of the very ground of this drastic venture in the city of Ankara.

3.2. 1920-1928: To Create a Capital out of Nothing despite Land Speculation

The City of Ankara's destiny turned towards progress again just after its proclamation of the capital of the new Turkish Republic in 1923 just after the Independence War. The reason for Ankara's proclamation as the capital has been regarded with various instances by various authors. For Tankut, Ankara's proclamation was a clear first step of both repudiation of the old and a move towards a nation-state through creation of an inland capital nearly out of nothing that becomes the symbol of the modern nation of Turkey away from the primate city (Tankut, 1993:45-46). This attempt was similar to some other nation building efforts like in Canberra of Australia, Brazil of Brasilia and Islamabad of Pakistan. Yet, Ankara's proclamation was functionally distinct from others. The Turkish case was both a continuum and a breakthrough in tradition and history (Tekeli, 2000:317). According to other authors, proclamation of Ankara was functional. In military terms, it was the one that is easiest to defend (Arar, 1969: 31; Akgün, 2000:221), it was in the center of gravity for the development of Anatolia in economic terms (Arar, 1969:32; Tankut, 1993:47-48), and administratively through proclamation of Ankara possible competition between other relevant candidates were avoided (Atay, 1980:419). Some even argued, "Ankara was not chosen, it was just stayed in" (Tankut, 1993:47).

In fact, after the foundation of the Republic, the remaining military cadres and civil servants of the old capital Istanbul were carried to the new capital Ankara, Remnants of the old empire constituted the new political centre. Together with the efforts to build, a new nation state there was also the effort to shift the political centre from Istanbul to Ankara. A political restructuring of the country happened, involving a shift from a rather decentralized Ottoman system to a centralist one symbolized in the shift of political centre from Istanbul to Ankara. This shift took some time but the dichotomy of Ankara – Istanbul has remained (Şahin, 2001:81).

The change of the capital city from renowned Istanbul to Ankara resulted in never ending dispute in national, local and as well as in international arena though change of the capital city as a solution for the problems of Ottoman Empire has long been discussed for more than a century both in favor of and against Ankara (Şimşir, 2006:58). As a result, Ankara has become the symbol of both Turkish modernization and Turkish Nation at a specific moment in history (Şimşir, 2006:247). All further steps of modernization should be realized and modeled in Ankara to create a pioneer of modernization for remaining parts of Anotolia. Indeed, this was a clear reflection of the modernist ideology that has been adopted by the Turkish intellectuals for more than several decades. On the other side in the local as well as in the international arena, there were opposing ideas against Ankara becoming the capital. In fact, until the abolition of Caliphetship in 1924, Turkey had been a country with two governments and two capitals for more than three years (Cengizkan, 2004:15; Yavuz, 1952:12). This was seen as an opportunity by the ones asserting the capital to stay in Istanbul, especially the ones still advocating Sultanate and the foreign countries seeking an opportunity to use the Istanbul government for their imperialistic strategies (Cantek, 2003:71). Making Ankara the capital of Turkey even has been pejoratively named an impossible task in the western newspapers like New York Times in those days (Koloğlu, 2003:19). Şimşir (2006:260) and Sarıoğlu (2001: 28) noted that for a long time foreign countries have shown their uneasiness with the change of capital by showing their reluctance or refusal in carrying their embassies from Istanbul to Ankara even though they were given land free of charge. An interesting mix of all these views and ideas and inherent contradictions of these frameworks become visible later in spatial processs of Ankara.

Tekeli classifies the purposes of proclamation of Ankara as the capital city in three groups (2000:321). Firstly, by proclamation of Ankara as the capital city some achievements on the international level were aimed at like; breaking the imperialist control of Europe's dominant powers which has been established through dependent

economies of port cities, disavowing Ottoman heritage and image, to symbolize nation state and creation of a new national bourgeoisie and its life style based on the cultural elements to be created in and around Ankara. Secondly, choosing Ankara as the new capital was the first step towards reconfiguring spatial organization at national level through which various regional economies in Anatolia would be incorporated into a national economy and inter-regional disparities could be diminished through development of inner Anatolia. Lastly, among the purposes of proclamation of Ankara as the capital city there were also objectives at local or urban level. These can be listed as; to build a city in which modern, contemporary and western life style could flourish, to develop in this city the life style of national bourgeoisie of the Republic as an archetype for the other Turkish cities and symbolizing achievements of Republic in Ankara. Although it is not possible methodologically to determine whether these objectives are achieved, according to Tekeli, Republican Cadre was successful concerning second and third set of objectives until the beginning of multi-party political system (2000:323-329).

In order to relate such objectives with daily and spatial processs, Cantek, citing Vale, asserts that founders of a nation try to create feeling of a national identity using manipulative power of a built environment (2003:17). Since, creating a built environment is also manipulation of what to be remembered and what to be forgotten (Yalım, 2002:161). Capital cities in modern nation states are the living space of modern/rational citizens. For this reason, modern urban planning is based on order and functionality. Axes, boulevards and all other elements of a modern city plan could be well used in the establishment of the spatial language of a new nation-state (Balibar, 1993:118). Yet, although creation and planning of a capital city may be initiated and manipulated by the founding notables, the interaction between the ones who envisages and the ones who plans or draw the lines may become blurred in history. When other sections of the population begin forcing their preferences, the plan itself becomes an instrument of pursuing interests other than a blueprint for molding a nation by means of a capital city (Rivkin, 1965:67).

The most prominent figure of the young Turkish Republic, Mustafa Kemal, repeatedly worded the spatial strategy of the new Republic as the emancipation of the body through putting it in healthy, clean and beautiful places. Within this strategy, Ankara was the bearer of a special mission of being the modern, pioneer model city for all other Anatolian towns. As Tankut put it, "Ankara was not only a capital city, but a school for

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the development of entire Anatolia (Tankut, 2000: 303). Ankara was not only a model for urban development but also a generator of model Turkish citizen and his life style. It is rather easy in Ankara to reach such an aim than in Izmir or Istanbul since in those cities there were established cosmopolitan cultures and economies (Cantek, 2003:42; Bozdoğan, 2002:24; Şengül, 2001:69).

Reconstruction and development of Ankara did not start with its proclamation as the capital but before. Between 1920 and 1928, the main priority of the government was to re-normalize the living conditions and economical circumstances, resettlement of refugees and restructuring and provision of physical conditions of health, industry and educational institutions (Cengizkan, 2004:13). For the government, main problems of Ankara were; reorganization of the municipality, lack of an appropriate city plan, sewage, water, enlightment, housing, road network, intra city passenger and material transportation, telephone communication and budget (Tekeli, 1980:51; Tankut, 1993:42-50). Therefore, it can be said that the main priority was to create a solid base that can be planned, before trying to build up a planning strategy for the new capital. Yet, this turned out to be the generator of the main factor disrupting later planning efforts. Since, the period between 1920 and 1928 passed in a struggle between government's attempts to provide infrastructure in a planned manner and various speculative movements some of which were manipulated by the *yerliler*(indigenous people of Ankara) and some of which were the speculative movements of *dışarlıklar*(new comers) overlooked by the government.

Even before proclamation of Ankara as the new capital, there was a rush towards Ankara by soldiers, civil servant candidates and those seeking job. Just after the establishment of the National Assembly, Ankara become overcrowded and existing living conditions did not suffice to support increasing population. Within seven years between 1920 and 1927 population of Ankara was nearly tripled, rising from around 25 000 to 75 000 (Toprak, 1991:57). As a result, rehabilitation and rebuilding of the urban facilities and infrastructure in Ankara became the foremost priority. The young capital had to develop, discipline and plan its development immediately (Cengizkan, 2003:15). Yet, the urge to provide infrastructure and appropriate living conditions and putting various faces of a modernity project into operation immediately hindered planning efforts for several years (Tekeli, 1991:30; Canlı, 1991:67).

After Ankara's proclamation of the capital city, housing and land prices increased rapidly because of increasing demand for housing and public offices for the new government. Local notables started speculation on old parts of the city and they formed an interest group against incoming politicians and bureaucrats (Sarıoğlu, 2001:33).

Soon after the proclamation, a law proposal concerning reorganization of Ankara came to the agenda of the Board of Ministers. The proposal enacted in 1924 and "şehremaneti" (municipality) system of Istanbul transferred to Ankara with some changes. Şehremaneti of Ankara was under tutelage of the ministry of internal affairs and it was consisted of an appointed "şehremini" (mayor, or governor) and appointed council members. In Istanbul, the condition for becoming a member of the şehremaneti council was to be among property owning highest tax-paying citizens, whereas, in Ankara case this condition was abolished. Tankut, quoting Tekeli (1980) argued that this was a result of the immediate necessities since the foremost priority of the Republican Cadre was not bringing about a plan but establishing a new authority for public works (1993:49). Recent historical findings have shown that the establishment of Ankara Şehremaneti and some other public works that had been realized just after the proclamation was a result of a report prepared by the Ministry of Exchange, Reconstruction and Resettlement (Cengizkan, 2004:17).

In the case of Istanbul, clearly, wealthy landowners were assumed some power in the decisions concerning development of the city. This meant also transfer of urban land rent to those landowners. The condition of being chosen as a şehremaneti council member was changed since in the case of Ankara as; if it had remained, the same local Ankara people would be manipulating the urban decisions instead of non tax-paying Republican Cadre. According to Tankut, through this change in şehremaneti legislation, later on the city of Ankara developed out of old city and land rent could be transferred to the bureaucrats and politicians of young Republic (1993, 50). Yet, this was heavily criticized in the National Assembly arguing there is no need for such a system while a law of municipalities had been being prepared. Şehremaneti have been legitimized by the Republican Cadre stating that there was heavy tutelage on şehremaneti and Ankara's success will be Republic's success (Tekeli and Ortaylı, 1978:38). However, this change helped newcomers to succeed on urban land rent over local Ankara people and created a never-ending expectation about land rents. Therefore, it can be said that at the very

beginning, the political mobilization strategy of the young Republic went hand in hand with its spatial strategy based on distribution of urban land rent.

In fact, as Cengizkan noted, the idea of establishing a new capital based on land rent is not something emerged with the Republic (2004:28). Cengizkan shows how Ismail Ziya and Chester Company's attempts prepared the conditions for the comprehension of the land rent by the founding cadres of the new Republic. Ex-parliamentarian Ismail Ziya had applied to Prime Ministry in 1921 with a proposal of building a new modern capital city within a very short time period through a development company that will be funded by the value increase in the land and some privileges in public works tenders. As a result, the new capital would have been established to virtually no cost to the new government. Similarly, An American Company called Chester, Colt and Woodhouse Co. offered preparing a plan, building necessary infrastructure and public buildings for the new capital in exchange for deriving privileges in Musul Oil and Anatolian ore-beds while constructing railroad. Chester initiative even proposed a city plan for Ankara in 1923. Yet, neither of these two proposals has been put into process, though historical documents show that the new Republican government was interested in these proposals and realized official procedure for their evaluation. All the same, these two proposals and their reflections in the public opinion of Ankara and Turkey raised expectations about increasing land prices and consequently land rent through establishment of a new city out of the existing one in Ankara. Later on, these expectations both became the source of ideas for government in creation of a national bourgeoisie though land rent and the source of struggles over land that turned out to be the main obstacle in implication of plans.

It can be inferred that government's proposals for Ankara were fed by these kinds of initiatives. In 1924, a 1/4000 scale updated map of Ankara was produced in order to direct the infrastructure works that had been going on for some time (Map 1). Through this map, some planning decisions were realized as well for the old city and ongoing infrastructure investments were planned. Cengizkan states that, for some respects the map was closer to a plan and shows a transition of period's mentality towards a real plan directing a city's future (Cengizkan, 2004:21).

The idea of establishing a new city out of the existing one embraced sincerely by the founding cadres of Republic and bureaucrats against the speculative movements of the

local notables. After foundation of Şehremaneti, when reconstruction and resettlement activities started, the contradiction between Republican Cadres and indigenous people gained a new fashion. Local notables, who collected considerable amount of land and housing, were claiming that investments should be done for the old city and the new capital should develop around the old city. Whereas, politicians and bureaucrats of the new Republic were arguing that the old city should be left to its own development path and modern capital city should be established out of the old city and land should be acquired for this purpose (Sarıoğlu, 2001:36; Ünsal, 1989:73-74)
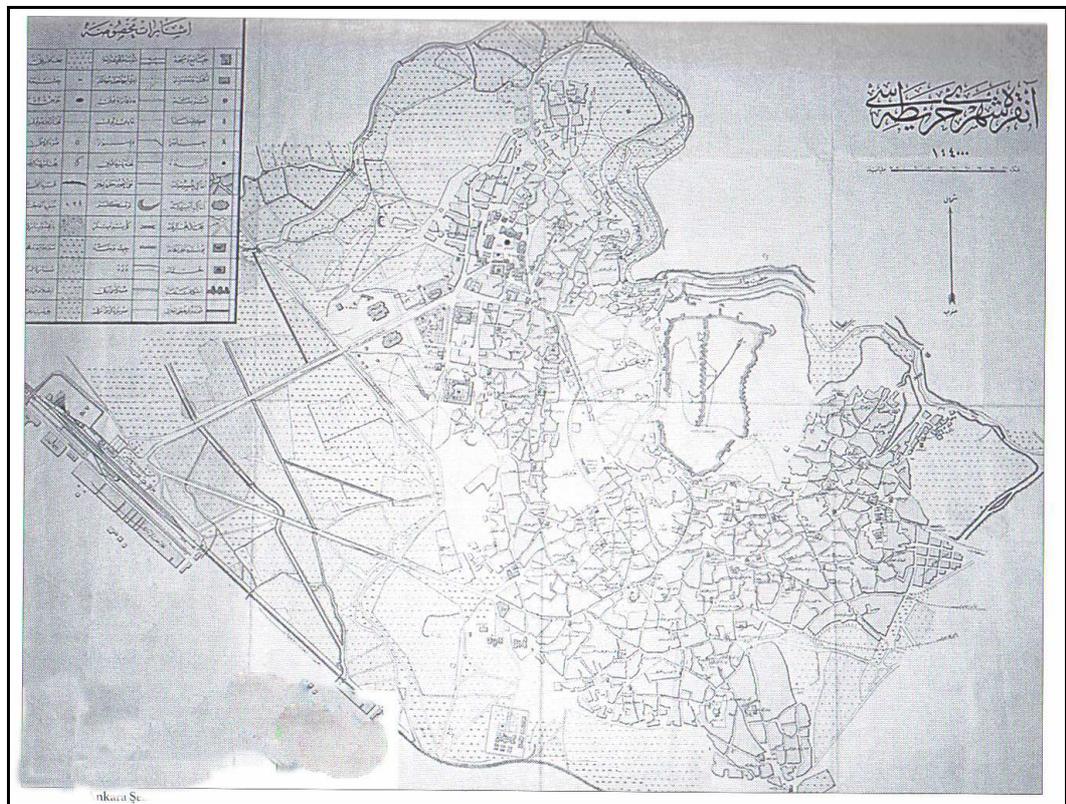
(Cengizkan, 2004)
Map 1. 1/4000 Scaled Map used for Infrastrcture Facilities in the Early Republican days

Historical documents of the period and newspapers shows that between 1920 and 1928 all aspects of developing a new capital city had been discussed widely among press and parliamentarians together with ongoing construction of infrastructure and buildings. Internal contradictions and objectives of Republican Cadre and their ideology for the

establishment of a nation had to come to terms with the existing conditions and sometimes compromise with the struggling interests on land rent. However, government made a deliberate choice on behalf of the "new" population of Ankara in order to constitute a bourgeoisie in Ankara to replicate the western life style. Yet, these new citizens of Ankara did not constitute a monolithic group but a stratified one according to income (Cantek, 2003:113). The benefits of the new capital were for upper income groups rather than the middle or lower middle-income group bureaucrats or workers and there were no mechanisms to balance this.

With a law proposal of expropriation of a large amount of land out of the old city just south of the railroad line in 1924 shows that all of these arguments and discussions about the establishment of a new capital and to whom land rent is to be distributed came to a certain compromise. In this proposal, the decision of Mustafa Kemal to stay in Çankaya and the construction of a road between Ulus and Çankaya were also influential. The proposal was foreseeing expropriation of 400 hectares of land for the establishment of a new city. During discussions of proposal, interesting points were brought to National Assembly. First of all, the opposition party, Terakkiperver Cumhuriyet Fırkası, challenging the essence of the law, argued that there was no need for expropriation and state property in the old city should be used instead. Secondly, the price paid for expropriation was discussed heavily. The proposal was proposing the pricing of the land to be expropriated on tax value despite the rule of constitution about the acquisition of private property on market price. Moreover, during the sessions of the proposal in National Assembly it caused dispute about whether the value increases in urban land to be given to the landowner or the public. At the end, the proposal had been enacted with minor changes and 400 hectares of land was expropriated of which ¼ of expropriated land to be left to landowners.

In a way, the Expropriation Law and the discussions about it were very important since the law has manifested a clear break point of a preferences and negotiations on behalf of creation of the bourgeoisie of the new Republic through land speculation. Obviously, the government had chosen the speculation of bureaucrats and politicians instead of local notables. That is why the expropriation, one of the greatest measures to create a modern city failed as the expropriated land was left to the hands of speculators and şehremaneti could not get necessary revenues and results out of this expropriation (Sarıoğlu, 2001:38; Tankut, 1993:51). The expropriation also determined the prototype of the future Ankara

of a dual structure divided by railroad from east to west (Sarıoğlu, 2001:38; Baydar, 1994:48).

All these attempts to build a new capital city were not solely based on arbitrary decisions. A cadastral sketch within the annex of the expropriation law proposal that were distributed to the parliamentarians of the time shows that there were some preliminary considerations of a plan when the law was introduced to the parliament (Map 2). Indeed, as Cengizkan unveiled recently, this sketch was drawn by looking at the decisions of a plan that was prepared by a German architect named "Lörcher" (Cengizkan, 2004). For a long time, it was assumed that the first plan of Ankara was Jansen's plan, which was obtained through a limited competition held at international level as there was contradicting information about the destiny of Lörcher plan in the literature. It was accepted that, şehremaneti had a private company owned by a person called Heussler to prepare a plan for Ankara along with the directives of the Ministry of Exchange, Reconstruction and Resettlement and that plan was given to the entrants of the later planning competition. Cengizkan revealed that, although Lörcher plan had been very influential in formation of the new capital, because of the turbulent conditions of the period between 1923 and 1928 neither şehremaneti established a proper archive of the documents about the plan nor were the conditions appropriate for the Lörcher plan to be adopted. Furthermore, the underrating of Lörcher Plan might be taken as an indication of both the pressures of the speculative forces that was at work and the planning understanding of the time. Şehremaneti had a company to prepare a plan and directed development of the city alongside this plan but Lörcher Plan was not fully publicized in order to avoid unwanted speculation.

Lörcher envisaged a garden city for Ankara in which successive green areas and town squares on main boulevards frame low density housing units and other zones (Map 3-4-5). For him, citadel was the most prominent feature of the Ankara linking past and present and it should be taken as the main reference point while considering and establishing Yenişehir. The main axis linking citadel and the Yenişehir area should be arranged in such a way to realize appropriate zoning decisions one of them, which involves constitution of a district for ministries (Vekaletler Mahallesi). Cengizkan revealed how decisions of Lörcher plan put into process, influenced Jansen plan later, and proved an interesting tension in the plan making process of the early Republican era. Unfortunately, although Lörcher plan was put into process to some respect, it was

heavily criticized and completely abandoned later. Cengizkan, quoting Falih Rıfkı Atay, renowned writer and spokesman of the Republican era, claimed that the main reason for Republican Cadre to give up on the Lörcher plan was related with the land speculation that was intensified after the implementation of expropriation law that later on caused emergence of rather artificial urban environment inhabited by mostly upper income groups which in turn gave the impression of an unplanned development at all (2004, 53). Through the end of 1920's, Lörcher plan completely lost its sanction as a plan and Şehremaneti started to search for a new plan for the capital city. Above all, the most important problem for the Lörcher Plan and its implementation was the commitment for implementation and legitimacy of the plan itself. For this reason, Lörcher Plan remained as a "plan document which was implemented at points where found suitable by some actors and which was forgotten where they found unsuitable" (Cengizkan, 2004:54).
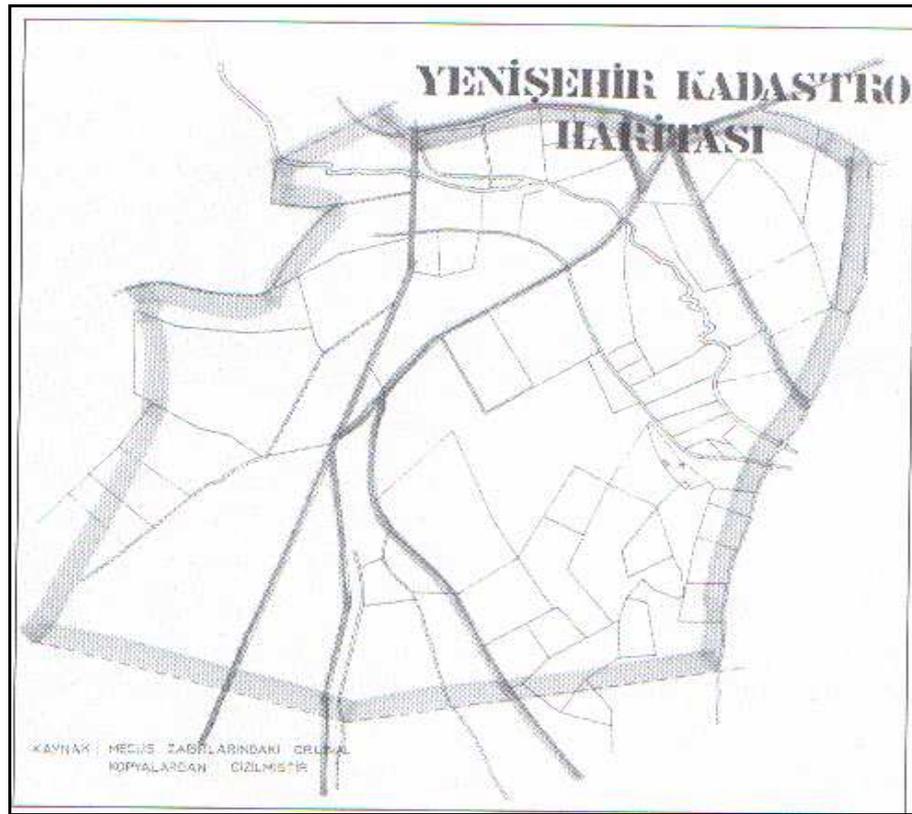
(Cengizkan, 2004).
Map 2. Cadastral Sketch of the Expropriation Area Distributed in the National Assembly

(Cengizkan, 2004).
Map 3. Lörcher Plan of Ankara
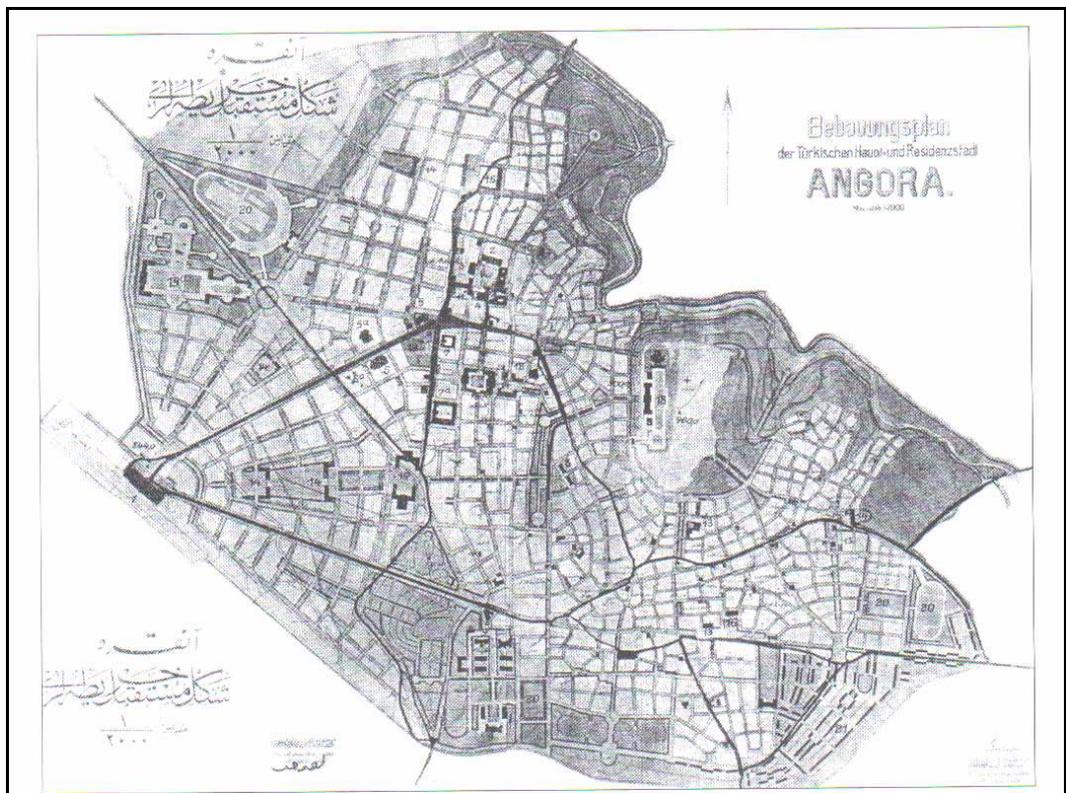
(Cengizkan, 2004).
Map 4. Lörcher's Plan for the Old City of Ankara
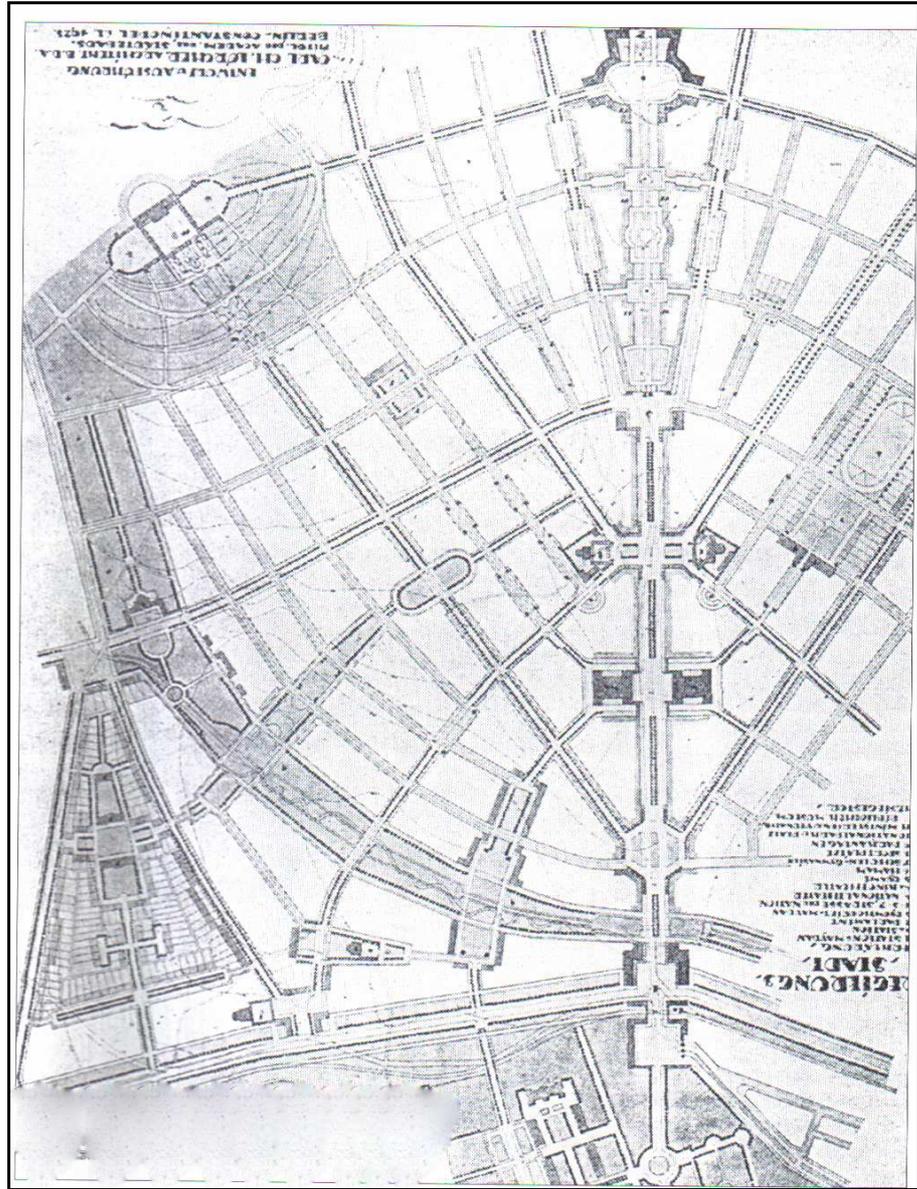
(Cengizkan, 2004).
Map 5. Lörcher's Plan for the Yenişehir

Followed by the expropriation and opening up of the boulevard from Ulus to Çankaya and constructions in Yenişehir area, a rapid speculation wave began on both sides of the Boulevard. The prices of land around Boulevard and Yenişehir increased dramatically. Moreover, cooperatives, choosing their land out of the plan boundaries in order to avoid high land prices, were using their influential members for their land to be involved in the plan area. Through, the end of 1920's most of the old and new ministers,

parliamentarians and bureaucrats and wealthy people of Ankara become owners of the land in Yenişehir (Yavuz, 1953:19).

These speculative activities of local notables and Republican Cadre also created a new tendency towards distortion of plans and planning decisions on behalf of implementation. These distortions became most visible in Jansen Plan. According to Cengizkan, although Jansen used most of the decisions of Lörcher Plan, he deliberately distorted, displaced, skewed or fractured squares, districts or roads envisaged by Lörcher (2004:107). Later on Lörcher sued Jansen for copyrights of his plan. The changes introduced by Jansen in the spaces foreseen by Lörcher were legitimized by şehremaneti through providing him necessary documents to get the court decision on his behalf (Tankut, 1993:56; Cengizkan, 2004:112). Yet, this was in a way legitimization of the distortions themselves as the major means of reconfiguring spatial structure. As will be shown in the following section, Jansen's Plan shared the same destiny with Lörcher Plan. It was distorted for some other reasons.

Lörcher plan and its implementation was a very important experiment for the new Republic, strengthening and maturing the consciousness and awareness about necessity of planned development and plan discipline in urban development. Discussions revolving around Lörcher Plan and its implementation were especially important since it was a reflection of all internal contradictions of the new Republic between local notables and incoming Republican Cadre; between Republicans and advocates of sultanate; between various fractions of the Republican Cadre and between the ones devoted to modernization and the ones pursuing speculative gains out of land rent. In fact, with Lörcher Plan spatial strategies of the new Republic were crystallized for the first time and after Lörcher Plan, internal contradictions of the new Republic become much more embedded in spatial practices and reconfigurations through which political mobilization strategies become visible in space. In addition, not only "plan" emerged as a major tool for development but also distortions introduced in planning decisions became a part of various actors' spatial strategies congruent with their political mobilization strategies and their interests.

3.3. 1928-1946 A Glimpse of Planned Development before Squatter Rush

After five years of turmoil in international, national and local arenas, Turkish Republic and its new capital came to a new era in which Republican experience of nation state evolved into a new phase. Transformation of state-society relations brought about a much clearer path for the modernization project of the Republican era because necessary infrastructure was provided through post-war efforts of Republican Cadre. There were at least certain means of communication, facilities to sustain state apparatus through which much more significant steps of modernization process could be realized. After a period of muddling through in all areas of life, including building a capital city and realizing modern urban life, Republican Cadres became aware of the need for a more sophisticated framework for the order they realized.

During the service of the third Şehremini of Ankara, Asaf Bey, under these political and socio-economic circumstances, reflection of Republican ideals to Ankara city and investments of infrastructure had gone on full-fledged. Ankara was adorned with the monuments, statues and public buildings that symbolized nation state ideals designed by foreign architects. This point needs special attention since after 1927 most of the designs of the architectural monument were assigned to foreign architects, though most of the public buildings were designed by Turkish architects before (Sarıoğlu, 2001:52). Rapidly flourishing construction works were being carried on all over Ankara. Yet, the result of these constructions created a scattered spread over Yenişehir, which has displayed schemes far away from the claim of creating a capital city renowned worldwide. As a result, awareness emerged about the necessity of programming urban development and constructions citywide, creation of an internal coherency in settlement pattern and use of rational decision-making techniques for urban development. Karaosmanoğlu, one of the renowned thinkers of the Republican Cadre narrates the situation in agony (1972:99):

> In areas lying across front of Taşhan to Saman Pazarı, from Saman Pazarı to Cebeci, from Cebeci to Yenişehir, from Yenişehir to Kavaklıdere apartment buildings, houses, public buildings were rising as if they were spurting out of ground. Although each of them took certain shapes and colors respective of the knowledge of the one who builds it and taste of the one who had it built, for a careful eye it is obvious that the exotique style which is dominant nearly in all of them jars. (Translated by the author).

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In this period, Şükrü Kaya's appointment as the Minister of Internal affairs was especially influential in selection of foreign architects and specialists for the planning of Turkish cities since he had some foreign architects plan some parts of İzmir while he was the mayor (Sarıoğlu, 2001:53). Similarly, Asaf Bey was aware of Canberra, planning of which started in 1912 and he was keen on planning of Ankara not as an ordinary town but as a capital city (Cengizkan, 2004:99-100). Public opinion was sensitive to urban environment in those days. Members of the parliament were holding discussions on urban aesthetics and press was directing harsh criticisms about urban development of Ankara since appearance of Ankara was seen as something very closely related with how rooted Republican ideals had been. For Tankut this sensitivity erodes by the time passes as most of the politicians and bureaucrats became landowners as well (Tankut, 1993:59). Şenyapılı quotes a newspaper article by Turkish architect Arif Hikmet Koyunluoğlu in order to emphasize such awareness (Şenyapılı, 2004: 61-61):

> For development of a city first of all a specialist is to be brought and a city plan is to be made. All the things that are done without a city plan are nonsense…I describe reconstruction works in Ankara as with contrasting material and in an utterly messy situation. This is not development but disgrace [Translated by the author].

Under these circumstances, new initiatives were started in order to obtain a comprehensive plan of Ankara. First, Şehremaneti had two Swiss architects, Dubois and Faverger prepare preliminary plans and projects for Ankara and some parts of Ankara. Yet, their projects were not welcomed with consent because of unrealistic and partial nature of the projects. Secondly, in May 1927, Şehremaneti of Ankara sent a committee to search for a specialist, who will be given the task of preparing the plan of Ankara. Committee had a meeting with Professor Ludwig Hoffman arranged by Turkish Ambassador in Berlin. However, Hoffman recommended J. Brix and H. Jansen instead, arguing his old age. Having agreed with Brix and Jansen, Committee returned Ankara and decided to open a limited invitation international planning competition after adding French architect L. Jausseley to the list. For Tankut, Şehremaneti and Committee appointed by it were inexperienced and the idea of opening up a competition and details of it were determined throughout all the events resulting in acquisition of Jansen's plan (1993:67; 2000:304).

While competition procedure was going on, several very important changes in institutional framework were realized. First, İmar İdare Heyeti, a special administrative

board was established alongside Şehremini Asaf Bey's recommendations in 1928. Its members were appointed by the ministry of internal affairs. İmar İdare Heyeti directed all the development activities in the city of Ankara effectively until 1960's (Cengizkan, 2004:100). Second, in 1928 the law concerning establishment of Ankara İmar Müdürlüğü (Ankara Directorate of Development) was enacted in order to bring about a refreshed approach towards development of Ankara. Considering reconstruction and development of Ankara Şehremaneti was away from being successful and discussions about its capacity resulted in establishment of a new organization under central government. As quoted by Tankut from Minutes of Budget Committee of National Assembly, "Reconstruction of Republic's Capital is not a concern for a city municipality, but a concern for state itself" (translated by the author) (Tankut, 1993:72). Ankara İmar Müdürlüğü a semi autonomous organization under the ministry of internal affairs, entitled to preparation and approval of base and development maps of the city and controlling building permissions, supported by central funds and local sources (Tekeli and Ortaylı, 1978:42). Within İmar Müdürlüğü, İmar İdare Heyeti was responsible for directing planning and supervising implementation. While the competitors' proposals were being examined by jury of the competition, head of the İmar İdare Heyeti was Falih Rıfkı Atay, renowned philosopher and author famous for his ideas and belief in development of Ankara in a modern way, who was also effective in keeping excitement about planning of Ankara fresh through his writings in newspaper columns. Yet, apart from Robert Oerley, who was technical advisor of İmar İdare Heyeti, both İmar Müdürlüğü ve İmar İdare Heyeti lacked necessary technical skills and experience. Large financial sources and power enjoyed by İmar Müdürlüğü caused it to be criticized heavily. Later on failure of planning and all development related problems resulted in accusation of İmar Müdürlüğü. Last, in 1930 with the law numbered 3030, şehremaneti turned into municipality. Actually, all these changes in institutional sphere denotes to a trend in national politics from a more pluralist structure to a centralist one. In fact, in 1930 short-lived attempts to create a multi-party system paved the way to a statist model. Yet, between 1927 and 1932 although the economic understanding stayed liberal, in all governmental structures, including bodies concerning planning of Ankara, a more centralist stance could be seen legitimized with the argument that local bodies were not experienced enough to realize vital tasks. Later, centralist understanding turned into a statist approach (Sarıoğlu, 2001:65; Boratav, 1982:30). This was also the beginning of a turn in political mobilization strategies, from a more ground based co-optation to an elite based co-optation. Strategies aiming at creation of a national bourgeoisie through land

speculation and economical privileges resulted in transfer of power to direct spatial practices closer to the centre.

Centralist tendencies and inexperience of İmar Müdürlüğü reflected in formation and composition of the competition jury as well as evaluation of the proposals. Competition jury evaluated competition projects and it was formed in three stages. At the first stage, three members of İmar İdare Heyeti had been appointed as a preliminary jury and these three members later determined a larger jury of 26 members. Fifty percent of the larger jury consisted of parliamentarians and the rest from bureaucrats. This larger jury assigned evaluation of competition projects to a technical sub-committee of six members selected out of it. In selection of the technical sub-committee, apparently, technical knowledge to read a plan and knowing a foreign language, either French of German were selection criteria. Tankut notes that there were three important uncommon processs in the formation of the jury and evaluation of the projects (1993:77). First of all, although the competition was an international one and in those years, there were foreign architects in Ankara, the whole jury consisted of local members. According to Sarıoğlu (2001:62), this was a result of an effort to keep impartiality. On the other hand, for Sahil, jury of the competition consisted of the close vicinity of Mustafa Kemal (1986:74). Second important point was the announcement of the jury six months after the delivery of the competition projects. Lastly, one week prior to the announcement of jury decision competition projects were exhibited in the building of Republican People's Party headquarters, articles and criticisms about the projects have been published in the newspapers. Especially in the Hakimiyeti Milliye, unofficial voice of the Republican Cadre, positive views appeared about Jansen's plan. Six member technical sub-committee evaluated the projects based on a fifteen item criteria and chose Jansen's plan as the winner of the competition. Tankut argues that, the evaluation was rigorous and the final decision was incisive (1993:77). Nevertheless, it is ambiguous about whether the jury was influenced by the exhibition of the projects and articles appeared in press prior to the evaluation. Consequently, it can be said that, centralist tendencies and political-ideological system created by Republican Cadres undermined technical considerations. It can also be argued that the evaluation and selection of the winning project was a result of collective decision making of the Republican Cadre led by its elite. Atay's[1] narration of Mustafa Kemal's examination of the projects together with the jury could be taken as a clear reflection of this attitude (Şimşir, 2006:520). Republican Cadre's approach was

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[1] Atay, F.R. Çankaya. Second Volume p. 374 – 390. Dünya Yayınları. Ankara.

modest and realist. It matched well with Jansen's plan which fore sought a balanced future between old Ankara and the new Ankara unlike Jausseley's fundamentalist proposal and Brix's conservative approach. Obviously, world economic crisis and fiscal problems of the Republican government were also influential in this decision (Sarıoğlu, 2001:64, Tekeli, 1982:62).

Jansen's winning project brought about a plan that postpones the problems of the old city, handles Yenişehir not as a new city but a conglomeration of new districts and diminishes investment needs. Major ideas of the plan lacked a systematic approach and they could not be taken as planning principles. Main predications of the Jansen Plan brought about some preferences like; assuming the role of city crown for the castle with regards to urban aesthetics and determination of it as the main reference point for all the major axis in the city, keeping roads as short and as straight as possible for urban land economy and public health; improving pedestrian circulation system integrated with green and open areas, improvement of public health through green and open spaces, keeping building flat numbers and building density low. Having altering, distorting, and developing the spatial practice foreseen by Lörcher from time to time, Jansen's plan became Ankara's first officially approved and publicly accepted plan (Map 6).
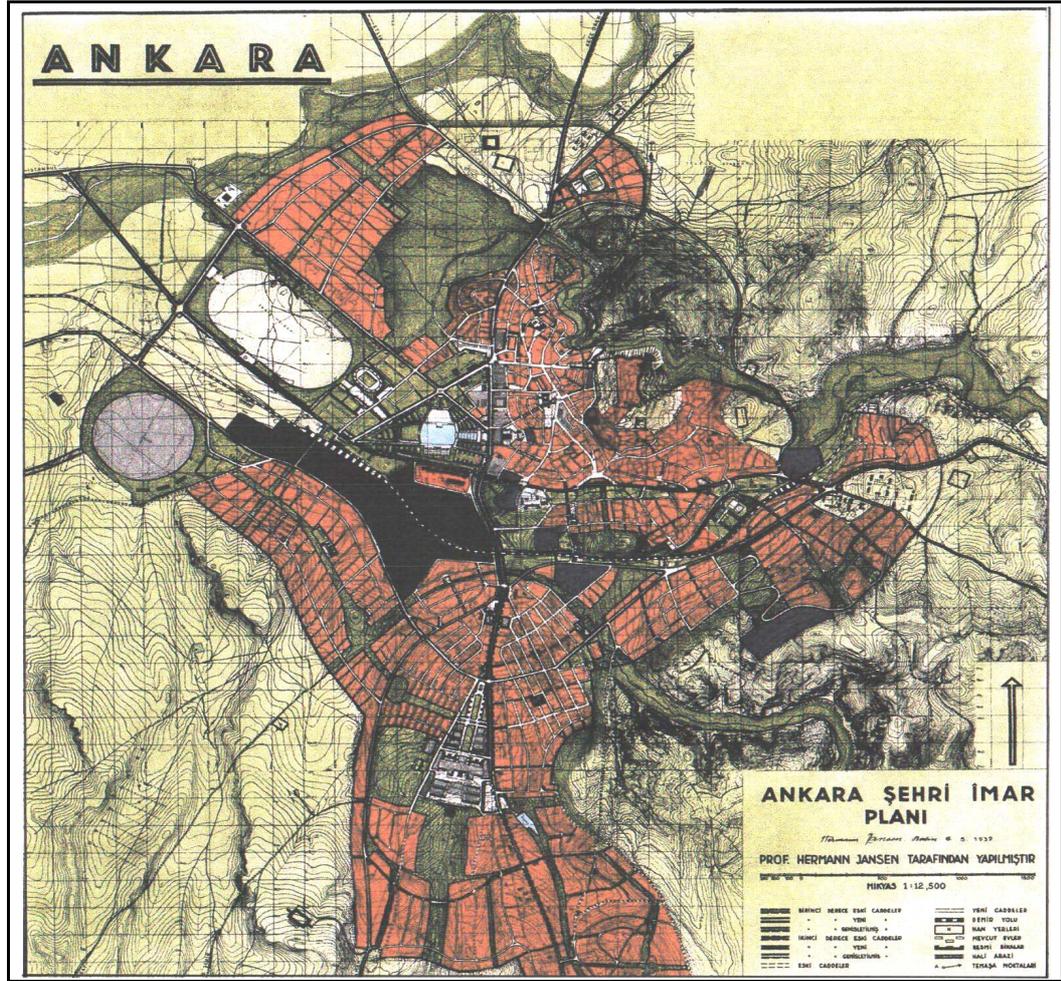
(Chambers of City Planners, 2002).
Map 6. Herman Jansen's Plan of Ankara

In 1929, just after the finalization of the planning competition, Jansen's plan put into process since urban development was continuing with rapid pace in an uncontrolled fashion, although Jansen's plan was only in its preliminary form. Until the approval of the final plan in the middle of 1932, preliminary plan was implicated which later on caused problems and deficiencies results of which are nearly impossible to reverse. Tankut and Sarıoğlu called this three and a half year period passed until the official approval and acceptance of the Jansen Plan's finalized form as "Preliminary Implementation Phase" (PIP) (1993:91; 2001:66). Although PIP provided an initial response to uncontrolled spread and development of Ankara, it also brought about with it a numerous problems. Most of these problems are the results of not only technical, legal, financial difficulties but also the results of conjuncture of the period (Tankut, 1993:111).

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Throughout PIP, although economic strategy remained within liberal boundaries, policies towards protection of the market economy started and political system began to shift from pluralism to centralism. In political arena, statism had been widely discussed but, in spite of increasing state intervention to the economy, the definition and content of the type of statism to be implemented remained ambiguous. On the other hand, political stability could still not be maintained. Because of the effects of fiscal crisis as a result of world economic crisis and failures of Republican Cadre to constitute a solid economic ground for Republic, experiences with political parties to boost organization of the political opposition failed through the end of 1930's (Tankut, 1993:112; Yetkin, 1983:18; Timur, 1997:164). As a result, wide spread dominancy of Republican People's Party (RPP) started, statism and centralism had begun to climb up (Koçak, 2005:150).

Transformations in political and economical understandings reflected in restructuring on Ankara as well. Tankut (1993:113) exemplifies; Expropriation Law in 1925, factories of construction materials and electricity established by Şehremaneti, establishment of Emlak ve Eytam Bankası to provide long term housing credits, rent aids to civil servants (Tekeli, 1980:57) etc. as reflections of rising statist-protectionist approaches. Nevertheless, state's intervention to the development of Ankara as capital city remained in the form of support rather that direct intervention especially in the housing sector. Housing investments were left to the auspices of private petty entrepreneurs.

On the other hand, a more rigid centralism was at stake concerning political system and development of Ankara. İmar Müdürlüğü that had comprehensive authority in the restructuring of Ankara was subordinate to the ministry of internal affairs. Municipal mayors and provincial governors could be the same person and both of them are appointed by the ministry of internal affairs. In fact, there was heavy tutelage on local government. The head of the İmar İdare Heyeti, having substantial authority in making decisions about planning and restructuring of Ankara, was the undersecretary of the ministry of internal affairs. Moreover, after 1930's, one-party rule became an addenda to the centralist structure, constituting an extra pressure on İmar Müdürlüğü and municipality. However, despite all this centralist structure, supervision and tutelage, effective control on planning and development of Ankara could have never been realized (Tekeli, 1980:66; Tankut, 1993:114).

When PIP started, regulations to instruct development and planning of a modern city was lacking. Available laws and regulations were formerly developed for Istanbul from the second half of nineteenth century onwards and they did not involve principles of modern city planning apart from opening up of roads and restructuring after fires. In addition, according to current laws and regulations municipal council hold the power about some certain rent formation means like determination of flat order, increase of flat number etc. Members of municipal council were both property owners and tax-payers and for Tankut, laws and regulations of the time was an instrument, legitimizing derivation of the urban rent by wealthy elite (1993:117). With some minor changes, current laws and regulations were directly processd in the early years of the Republic in Ankara, and this caused partial parceling and restructuring efforts before planning of the capital in turn. Although some regulations were enacted by İmar İdare Heyeti at the beginning of 1930 in order to direct restructuring, laws and regulations necessary for the solution of ownership problems and implementation of the plan to the ownership pattern were lacking (Tankut, 1993:119).

Some technical and fiscal inconveniences also affected success of PIP deeply. Above all, cadastral maps of Ankara were not ready, partial and survey maps were not adequate and making planning efforts difficult. Indeed, cadastral maps of Ankara could not be completed until 1939 and this was used as a reason for political dispute. On the other hand, world economic crisis deeply affected restructuring efforts of Ankara. Government policies to cope with economic crisis through savings and reductions caused İmar Müdürlüğü to act hesitant towards expropriation, development plan modifications and changes in property borderlines. Furthermore, on account of the fact of decreasing purchasing power, some principles of the plan were altered and densities were increased, processs not in accordance with the plan decisions were legitimized just before the implementation of the plan (Tankut, 1993:125).

Throughout PIP, administrative controversies and communicative problems caused struggles and disputes among plan's employers, planner and bureaucrats all of whom tried to realize implementation of the plan. Because of unfamiliarity of the planning administration with the "plan" concept, administration's communication with the planner through a translator from a considerable distance, planner, based on his professional knowledge and İmar Müdürlüğü based on its legal authority caused communication problems to turn into substantial disputes. From the perspective of Jansen, modifications

in his plan and intercourses with other foreign professionals by-passing him out of his knowledge; from the perspective of İmar Müdürlüğü, being unable to establish control on Jansen and Jansen's intercourse with third parties bypassing İmar Müdürlüğü through his correspondence with Robert Oerley created the sources of major disputes. Although Jansen had been backed up by people like Falih Rıfkı Atay, a keen advocate of the planned urban development, Jansen was criticized all over, from his wage to his independent attitude. Similarly, Jansen himself was not contended with implementations and plan modifications realized by İmar Müdürlüğü out of his knowledge. As a result, communication problems and disputes between a planning administration unfamiliar with planning and planning implementation and Jansen, trying to use autonomy and discretion provided by his professional knowledge disturbed PIP. Planning administration's inclination to act independently used by speculators who tried to get best out of planning efforts and Jansen's professional concerns diminished possibility of plan to be implemented and decreased its realistic quality.

All these problems determined mainstream directions of the period on conjunctures of the spatial strategies regarded by various actors on their own contexts and political mobilization strategies of the period. For this respect, three major group influencing implementation of the plan; employers of the planning of Ankara i.e. central government and parliamentarians, local government and planning administration, planner himself and users of the plan i.e. people of Ankara, had substantial effects on PIP. To some extent, interaction between these various actors established spatial processs and planning processs. Yet, a clear separation between actors producing political mobilization strategy and actors determining spatial strategies could not be made. Actors existing in scales responsible for production of the political mobilization strategy could also intervene in spatial processs or actors responsible for realization of spatial process could also make significant contributions to the formation of political mobilization strategies through various channels. The relationship between political mobilization strategies and spatial processs are contingently determined ideologically and become crystallized in interaction between various actors. For instance, Cantek (2003:117) notes Mustafa Kemal's order of buying a vineyard in Çankaya with credit and Şimşir (2006:518) quotes from Atay about Mustafa Kemal's conversations with Jansen about content and layout of the plan. Similarly, Cantek argued that users of the plan, bureaucrats, politicians and local Ankara people occasionally tried to influence planning authority and central government in issues directly and indirectly effecting urban development in Ankara.

Between 1929 and 1932, weight of public institutions in the planning of Ankara continuously increased. In the name of central government, parliamentarians, in the name of planning administration, İmar İdare Heyeti and the Municipality of Ankara in the name of local government directed implementations. All three parts of the planning administration undertook various tasks. National Assembly enacted necessary laws for planned urban development, evaluated the reconstruction and planning of Ankara and approved budget of İmar Müdürlüğü. While İmar İdare Heyeti was administering all aspects of planning implementation, municipality realized necessary infrastructure investments and provided municipal services. Although an increasing tendency towards centralism was at stance, each and every actor participated in spatial and planning process from his position.

Parliamentarians and opposition, which were the prime actors within national assembly, posed severe criticisms about planning and reconstruction of Ankara. First of these criticisms was about budget and requisiteness of İmar Müdürlüğü. In parliament meetings, it has occasionally been argued that the wages paid to the foreign professionals and İmar Müdürlüğü's staff could be spared through transferring planning administration's responsibility to municipality. Secondly, lack of necessary infrastructure and low quality of urban environment of the old city was criticized and it had been argued that reconstruction works had not been realized in the old city where impoverished sections of the population live. Lastly, criticisms were put forward by parliamentarians about the length of time that preparation of the plans take, about late provisions of building permissions and excessive bureaucracy. According to Tankut, these criticisms were closely related with a considerable part of the parliamentarians being land owner or land owner candidate in PIP. Advocating private interests together with the influences of pressure groups and speculators created a negative atmosphere against İmar Müdürlüğü and İmar İdare Heyeti, and it has often been argued that transfer of all responsibilities of planning and implementation to the municipality could provide solution to all problems of urban development. For Falih Rıfkı Atay, parliamentarians criticized İmar Müdürlüğü as they could not penetrate into the works of foreign specialists with bribes and personal influence and they could not put their demands about reconstruction into process that were contradicting planning principles (Tankut, 1993:93). However, it could be said that, the efforts to create a national bourgeoisie

through land rent started to contradict with the method found suitable to create a model capital city.

Planning Administration of Ankara was consisting of İmar Müdürlüğü, İmar İdare Heyeti, bureaucrats and local and foreign professionals. Members of İmar İdare Heyeti were appointed by the Ministry of Internal Affairs and İmar İdare Heyeti was the decision making board of the whole planning process. It had the authority to make plans, approve modifications of the plan and control reconstruction efforts and constructions. Throughout PIP, all members of İmar İdare Heyeti worked voluntarily. In this period, the head of İmar İdare Heyeti was Falih Rıfkı Atay, a spokesperson and philosopher devoted to planning development and Republican ideals. In addition, technical consultant of İmar İdare Heyeti was Robert Oerley who made considerable contribution in providing the missing link between planning administration and Jansen. Together, Atay and Oerley contributed in consistent reconstructions with the plan. Yet, still, final version of the plan was not available, couldn't standing still against pressures, İmar İdare Heyeti directed development and gave building permits in accordance with preliminary plan. Pressures were even so heavy that from the beginning of 1930's planning and decision, making process was nearly frozen and principles were developed to avoid modifications in approved partial plans on account of the assumptions that ownership patterns should not be disturbed and because of fiscal problems. Yet, although once a partial plan was approved, it was not changed later on throughout PIP, Jansen produced partial plans ignoring totality of the plan and scale hierarchy in direction with planning administration's demands and these plans were implemented after approval of the Ministerial Board. On the one side, these partial planning efforts provided the conditions necessary for speculative pressures and on the other hand, these partial plans could not be changed later because of the principle of planning administration about not changing plans. Consequently, flexibility of the implementation was not available when necessary. Lacking necessary technical knowledge and a vision for the development of Ankara, İmar Müdürlüğü was pushed towards a controversial approach. Sometimes plans were modified easily, but sometimes they were being implemented rigorously (Tankut, 1993:97). In this period, İmar İdare Heyeti was also influenced by other foreign architects that were in Ankara. For example, military social building (orduevi) designed by Austrian architect Holzmeister was built 5 meters closer to Atatürk Boulevard against Jansen's plan. Later on, pressures arguing vested interests pushed İmar Müdürlüğü to determine distance of all the buildings across Atatürk Bolulevard as 5 meters.

Local government actors, especially Nevzat Tandoğan, who became a significant figure as both the governor and the municipal mayor, influenced on planning and reconstruction of Ankara. As a prominent and successful mayor, Tandoğan paid all debts of municipality and creating financial resources, realized successful investments in a vast array of services. Yet, trusting his reputation, he continuously tried to intervene on planning administration since, municipality and planning administration were separate entities. Although he could not be influential within planning boundaries, out of planning boundaries, within municipal boundaries he ignored unplanned and drifting buildings and reacted to Jansen's planning decisions. It could be said that, Tandoğan's considerably marginal reactions and his position was an embodiment of the reaction of the Republican Cadres against control of their speculative demands by a foreign professional together with a nationalistic stance. Şimşir (2006:522 – 524) quotes Falih Rıfkı Atay's interpretations about the situation as follows:

> We hold a planning commission. I was the head of it. Deceased governor and Mayor Nevzat Tandoğan was also a member of the commission. From the beginning, he reacted against being a mayor that had been able to do nothing out of what a foreign specialist said. Customarily, he took a position of continuous sabotage since he could not openly oppose. …Deceased Nevzat Tandoğan was replying, "I built roads in Malatya on mountains. How come could Jansen teach me to make streets in city? In addition, to show off he was spending most of his money to garnish the roads that Atatürk always pass through against planning discipline [Translated by the author].

Building under constraints of a plan was a new phenomenon for peoples of Ankara, who were the users of Jansen's plan. In order to Overcome these constraints, to get their share from speculation in an Ankara with increasing population and to smoothen their disposal on their land, people of Ankara tried to conflict pressure on planning administration. İmar Müdürlüğü's unfamiliarity with planning increased these pressures. Pressures were mostly about particularistic demands on parcel scale and seeking for changes in parcel size, location, barter, subdivision etc. Despite of the modifications brought about as a result of the pressures at parcel scale, between 1929 and 1932 number of building permits decreased respective of the former years. Decreasing number of building permits was also a result of the bureaucratic processed came together with Jansen Plan (Tankut, 1993:109). In the face of increasing pressures, planning administration took a controversial stance. While on the one hand plan discipline was tried to be protected, on the other hand interests of individuals were tried to be protected on building and parcel scale. Emergence of apartment buildings in the old city and pressures towards increasing

densities in the Yenişehir region become affiliated with bribery and corruption and reflected in the press of the period.

In Tankut's terms in PIP,

> …relations between individuals and planning are condense, impetuous but protecting private interests. On the other side, İmar Müdürlüğü was passing through its most inexperienced period and planner and planner's opinion was referred for each and every problem, decision and incidence (Tankut, 1993:113).

Indeed, PIP was very vulnerable to speculation and pressures since nearly all of the decision makers are involved with speculation in one way or another. PIP provided necessary ground for institutionalization of both planning administration and methods to benefit from land speculation and clientelistic mechanisms. Planning administration, government and users of the plan created necessary mechanisms for the planning and reconstruction of a modern city as well as the ways to exploit those plans. Circumstances of the period helped these two mechanisms to flourish.

In the middle of 1932, Jansen's plan was officially approved and implementation of the plan started officially and systematically. Tankut called the six and a half year period till the early 1939, ending with Atatürk's dead and Jansen's dismissal as "critical period" (CP) in terms of planned urban development (1993:127). This period has a coherency of its own in which plan implementation were realized to a certain extent. In 1933, Ankara was divided into seven-problem area and a seven-year planning program was constituted involving objectives, budget, and a programming tradition. Although within CP most rigorous implementation of the plan and planned development were realized, a considerable amount of unplanned development and actions against principles of Jansen plan were carried out and planning tradition emerged together with the tradition of disturbing the plan itself. Disturbance of planning principles later constituted main causes of problems appearing. For these reasons, Tankut must have named the period as "critical".

It can be said that throughout CP political system and economical conditions gained continuity to a certain extent. Beginning With 1930's one party rule of the Republican People's Party (RPP) became deep rooted and with the party program announced in the party congress held in 1936 party and state became interwoven with each other. In

addition, with a series of laws enacted in parliament a period of Statism began officially (Yetkin, 1983:131; Boratav, 1982:105; Timur, 1997: 28; Tankut, 1993:156). Soon, effects of party-state integration have reached to local sphere and started to influence planning and reconstruction of Ankara directly. Nevzat Tandoğan, who was both governor and the municipal mayor at the same time, became provincial head of the RPP with a circular distributed in 1936 and he became the head of both İmar Müdürlüğü and İmar İdare Heyeti with a law enacted in 1937 through which İmar Müdürlüğü and İmar İdare Heyeti were obliged to be tied under municipality. Nearly constituting an administrative power monopoly, all the jurisdictions, responsibilities concerning planning and reconstruction of Ankara were combined in the hands of one man. However, in spite of this monopoly over planning power, statist and centralist applications could not be effective and influential in Ankara's planning just like in PIP. While the state was indifferent to emerging squatters and illegal buildings and constructions, unlike PIP, it avoided protectionist interventions and could not find substantial solutions to housing problem other than promotion of housing cooperatives. There were still a wide spread belief that housing problem could be handled by private sector especially through housing cooperatives (Tankut, 1993:157). Though certain proposals were developed to foster housing cooperatives through support with construction materials, land and credits, these proposals could never been put into process.

On the other hand, Ankara's social structure was changing dramatically. Population of Ankara, which was composed of mainly civil servants and local Ankara people till the beginning of 1930's, started to change with the migrants coming from close vicinity. Migrants coming to a city which could not solve its housing problem, started to build early squatter settlements of Ankara around Castle and Altındağ, though Castle and its surrounding hills was defined in Jansen's plan where building is to be avoided. Yet, Jansen and planning administration ignored the issue. Furthermore, in CP private sector began openly pursuing its interests and it started to constitute patron-client relations or confront planning administration in order to get land rent. Consequently, development rights were increased, open and green areas were decreased, base areas of buildings were enlarged, building regulations were altered and distorting Jansen's low density, low traffic pattern a new settlement pattern emerged in a tendency to increase land rent and that forces the relationship between infrastructure and superstructure (Şimşir, 2006:525; Tankut, 1993:159). In reality, as a result of political monopoly and political mobilization

strategy of the Republican era, plan and planning discipline lost their instrumentality at the end of CP and replaced by modifications made on plan. In these modifications, clientelistic relations were in charge (Şimşir, 2006:527).

Laws and decisions of Ministerial Board having force of law, enacted during also profoundly influenced planning process. Interestingly enough, most of these decisions were enacted because of the pressures for increasing building densities. Probably, private sector and land owners, among whom there were parliamentarians and bureaucrats, tried to get most of land rent that they could not get through regular channels through decisions of the ministerial board.

Fiscal and technical difficulties of the PIP also continued in CP, but in a rather more serious fashion than former period. Troubles and problems caused by the lack of base and survey maps were still continuing. Moreover, planning modifications, buildings and reconstruction efforts realized by public and private sectors without asking permission of the planner and not in accordance with the principles of the plan were kept at the expense of disturbance of the plan. On the other hand, like in PIP, shortage of financial resources under the effect of world economic crisis and upcoming world war were putting stress on reconstruction of Ankara. Because of tightness of the budgetary resources, Jansen's payments were delayed, necessary technical personnel could not be hired, either expropriation decisions could not be made or prices of expropriated properties were paid late. Planning administration even used alternative methods like property barter in order to avoid expropriation costs or sometimes modifications in plan were realized to decrease the area of private property to be expropriated.

The biggest problem of the CP was housing problem. Housing crisis together with economic crisis created impediments on acquisition of housing by civil servants and migrant populations. The main causes of housing shortage were increasing land prices as a natural result of land speculation and limitations brought about by unfamiliarity of average Ankara people with long bureaucratic procedures of construction on housing supply. Under these circumstances throughout CP, illegal and illegitimate buildings and building extensions spread in and out of planning boundaries. While illegal and illegitimate buildings out of planning boundaries emerged in an unplanned and arbitrary fashion, illegal and illegitimate building activities within planning boundaries distorted planning principles and decreased the quality of urban environment (Tankut, 1993:172).

İmar İdare Heyeti ignored, or left the responsibility to the municipality and administration of land registration about demands for subdivision, partial planning and building permits out of planning boundaries. Towards the end of 1933, together with the enlargement of the existing planning boundaries of Ankara to municipal boundaries illegal and illegitimate reconstruction and building activities increased out of the planning boundaries. Because of ignorance of İmar Müdürlüğü, unplanned development that spread in an uncontrolled fashion became nearly insoluble after going under the authority of İmar Müdürlüğü. Although some parts of the reserve, area foreseen by Jansen's plan was still empty and vacant, districts emerged in unplanned areas and the city started to spread in an uncontrolled way (Tankut, 1993:173).

On the other side from unlicensed premises of buildings to illegitimate and illegal buildings were spreading within planning boundaries as well. Illegal and illegitimate buildings and demolition decisions of İmar İdare Heyeti about them, which were seen first in the quarters of the old city at the beginning of the CP started to spread out to Yenişehir in the years to follow. Although İmar İdare Heyeti rigorously held decisions of demolition without concession for illegal and illegitimate buildings at the beginning, throughout following years, the number of demolition decisions did not increase as much as the number of illegal and illegitimate buildings. Towards the end of the CP, most of the decisions were not put into process but replaced by fines or the decisions were transferred to sub committees. As a result, developments out of the planning boundaries caused city to spread unnecessarily and illegal and illegitimate buildings within the planning boundaries distorted planning process and plan itself. According to Tankut, behind these problems were Jansen's tolerance for housing cooperatives, ignorance, inexperience of municipality and planning administration and their unfamiliarity with planning process and intricacies of it (1993:178). Ignorance was simply a result of clientelistic relations that were established between politicians, bureaucrats and people living in Ankara. While on the one side, planning process getting difficult because of reflection of belief in planned development into a heavy bureaucratic procedure, was used as a reason for increasing pressures on municipality and planning administration, planning process constituted the very ground of clientelistic and informal relations based on spatial processs at the same time.

The period between 1932 and 1939 was a unique in terms of actor's behaviors and interactions among them. While Politicians and bureaucrats who became familiar with technical problems of urban development and planning to a certain extent in PIP, landowners and speculators that learnt bureaucratic procedures concerning building and planning regulations, were configuring basic dynamics of planning process they at the same time devised methods to exploit them. The determination and will to create a national bourgeoisie based on land rent through certain spatial strategies as a means of political mobilization strategies were replaced by the natural excursion of this interaction. Together with the weakening of planned urban development, towards the end of CP the main reference for the planning process started to be the coalitions and clientelistic relations established between various sections of the people living in Ankara and the pressure they exerted on the municipality and planning administration. The plan is no longer perceived as a bounding and compulsory legal document but a document that can be distorted, perforated, adopted, bent and even broken when a certain amount of pressure is exerted above a socially determined pressure on planning administration and municipality.

With regards to planning of Ankara, harsh debates were recorded throughout budget reviews in the National Assembly. Planning efforts and planning administration were heavily criticized by opposing views and cliques. The main points of criticisms revolved around the reason for the existence of İmar Müdürlüğü, its budget and autonomy. It was argued that İmar Müdürlüğü did not fulfill its tasks properly, was late in giving building permits, did not pay expropriation prices on time, and its expenditures were unnecessary. It was even argued that planning and reconstruction of Ankara came to an end and İmar Müdürlüğü should be tied to the municipality. İmar Müdürlüğü was also accused about control and limitations of planning regulation and squatters illegal and illegitimate buildings, extensions and premises. Indeed, squatters were rapidly spreading and İmar Müdürlüğü standed by. Nevertheless, according to Tankut, although some of these criticisms might have had some truth in them there were also desires of land owners and speculators, among whom there were also parliamentarians and bureaucrats, to get rid of all limitations and act freely. The Ministry of Internal Affairs protected İmar Müdürlüğü against criticisms in the parliament. However, after a while, İmar Müdürlüğü was tied to the municipality, though its responsibilities and jurisdictions were kept. Nevertheless, administrative modifications of this sort did not help solution of any problem. Towards the end of CP, planning discipline was completely interrupted, illegal and illegitimate

buildings spread with uncontrolled urban development. As a matter of fact, reluctance in renewal of Jansen's contract prepared the conditions for the ending of CP and the first experiment with planned urban development for the capital of Turkey came to an end.

In the first urban planning experience of the Turkish Republic, the concept of public interest was not emphasized as much as planned development and balance between private and public interest could not be maintained. Thus, while on the one hand the struggle to use planning power climbed, pressures exerted by private interests increased on the other hand. To say the truth, the two seemingly opposite processes were closely interrelated. Being influential in the distribution of urban land rent is an important means to take control of planning power and necessitates favoring private interests. Yet, the result was a planning administration, whose main aim was to perpetuation of itself, central and local politicians continuously struggling to capture planning power and a plan no longer applicable and valid but only a loose and weak reference point (Tankut, 1993:144).

From the beginning of CP to its end, as a result of pressures of private interests, derivation of higher development rights on smaller parcels of land and building and planning permits increased on parcels of land that were inappropriate for construction either because of plan decisions or property relations (1993:145). By the time passed, Jansen's plan was proved invalid since its principles could not be put into process. Tendencies, emerged within processs of daily life, vested and acquired interests constituted their own pattern of urban development out of the order foreseen by the planner and plan. Basic reference point was not Jansen's plan any more. Plan, modifications in it and decisions held by individuals in the voids of the plan altogether constituted and interesting dynamic that was taken as an ever changing reference point defined mainly by interaction between various actors of the plan. This complex totality fed speculative expectations and clientelistic relations and current situation became the very grounds of planning process rather than a designed future. Jansen's low-density settlement structure was replaced by barracks, illegal and illegitimate buildings, continuously increasing storey numbers and shrinking green and open areas.

Various authors related implementation of Jansen's plan, which was still influential till 1950's, with various denominators. Bademli (1985:107), Tankut (1993:184), Şenyapılı (2004:76) and Tekeli (1982:64) emphasized the effect of population increase above

expectations because of migration from surrounding areas and rural areas. In addition to population increase, Şengül (2001:75) focused on the impact of limited state intervention in urban space. In fact, erosion of Jansen's plan and its implementation could be linked with important transformations in political economic and social arenas. These transformations not only eroded Jansen's plan but also determined the contours of urbanization and intervention in it after the Second World War.

In the economic arena, tendencies towards interventionist and protectionist approaches caused state to enter into production sectors significantly during the Second World War (Boratav, 2004:339). Yet, increasing intervention of the state was mostly in industrial sector and necessary resources could not be transferred to urban development. Consequently, emerging middle classes or national bourgeoisie struggled with the state to share urban land rent. Eroded planning, together with fractured structure of ownership patterns, left urban space to the control of small and vast number of actors' preferences. It is a very important question about how these small and petty actors reached such influence together with political bureaucratic structures. In reality, loose organization of these petty actors developed alongside with the planning process and existed as an addendum to the existing planning system. The more the planning institutionalized and bureaucratized the more networks of relations established between petty actors become complex in order to get their share of urban land rent and together with the formal sphere of planning a shadow, an informal sphere emerged. This sphere is constituted an order knitted with exceptions formed by patron-client relations, clientelism, patronage, nepotism and bribery. Incidences of this structure became the main reference point for the daily spatial processs of people in Ankara and formal processs were seen as a restrictive framework rather than a facilitator of the best solution for all and for public interest.

Lastly, significant changes in the composition of population could be observed. As a result of increasing migration, population of Ankara increased more than any other city of the period with an average increase of 6 percent per year and alongside with housing deficit, problems of squatters and barracks emerged as the most important phenomena of the CP (Tekeli, 1982:65; Diker and Toprak, 2005: 173). As a consequence of the state intervention in agriculture and industry and economic recession of during the Second World War, rural populations migrating to the capital city to find prosperity in the flourishing sectors of construction, commerce and services caused exceeding of the

population target dictated to Jansen and increase of squatter settlements. Although there were decisions for lower income groups and working classes in the Jansen Plan like the district of workers, because of increasing land prices and budget deficits, housing problems of the migrants could not be solved. Local and central governments, which could not produce novel solutions to the problems of squatters and housing, preferred to ignore and overlook the problem of squatters. Thus, squatters emerging at the outskirts and out of the planning boundaries, derelict and empty places of the old city at first, started to become permanent settlements at the end of the Second World War (Duyar and Kienast, 2003:35).

To sum up, between 1929 and 1946, when the first planned institutional urban development experiment was lived through, interesting experiences could be observed with respect to transformation of planning and implementation processs by the spatial reflections of political mobilization strategies. Planning experiment started with an intention to constitute a modern and model capital city in congruent with the framework of Republican nation state project and the strategy to create a new middle class and a national bourgeoisie of a new life style through land rent in the emerging capital provided the necessary conditions for the institutionalization of both planning and the means of exploiting land rent and speculation on the other hand. Efforts to integrate emerging middle classes and local notables with the centralist one-party rule through patron-client relations and state intervention in spatial strategies were slowly replaced by a complex network of relations established between innumerable petty actors under the influence of the world conjuncture and economic recession. Although this set of relations had to exist alongside with the formal planning system, from time to time it disabled the formal structure and forced its preferences on it. As a result, state's intervention in spatial practice was diminished, even pushing it to a marginal position overlooking the problem of squatters. The period between 1929 and 1946 could be described as the period in which planned urban development is undermined by itself through political mobilization mechanisms and their reflections in planning process and under the influence of the world conjuncture, structure of the political system and economic recession of the time.

3.5. 1946 – 1960: The Age of Innocence for Squatters under Multi-party Political Rule

On the planning and reconstruction of Ankara, transition to multi-party politics, which was argued to be one of the break points in the political history of Turkish Republic, had profound effects. Multi-party political life, first steps of which were paced under the influence of changing circumstances of the post Second World War era, transformed the way urban planning and urbanization is perceived and the meaning ascribed to planning and reconstruction of Ankara. Changes in political trends and economic policies not only gave way to further liberalization in both politics and economy, but also re-defined critical problems and conditions of planning of Ankara like Ankara – Istanbul dichotomy and the problem of squatters. It can be said that, transformations in political realm and economic conditions reflected in political mobilization strategies and spatial practices in a new fashion.

In the multi-party politics of 1950's, patronage became more widely used than in the single party period. As a consequence of the nature of multi-party politics and policies of DP, political life became a system of mutual deals and bargains. Prestige was no long enough for local political leaders, because the state was providing benefits to persons who have potential to derive political support. With liberal policies of DP, capitalist economy started to develop with increasing integration of agricultural sectors to the market, resulting in an increasing need for state intervention in the agricultural sector, in the forms of modernization and modern inputs. Increasing state intervention to the agricultural production through credits, fertilizers, subventions and new modem inputs brought about new resources and opportunities for political mobilization. Together with Marshall Aid, large amount of investments were made on road network, especially in order to realize transportation of agricultural products to markets. Traditional patrons and a newly emerging broker class, wanted to use these opportunities and resources to widen their resource base for patronage. In fact, these new group of patrons pioneered for the formation of the widespread patronage system of DP. In a way, it can be argued that they participated in the initiation of the decentralization and diffusion of political parties into rural periphery through a widespread patronage system.

Between 1946 and 1960, under the rule of the DP, the centralist structure of the formal institutions set by RPP changed gradually. At the early stages of the DP rule, some limited deconcentration efforts were realized to organize the distribution of credits, fertilizers and technical supervision of peasants in agricultural sector. Moreover, with the emergence of a new broker class and further diffusion of patron-client relations into the society in the form of patronage and clientelism, the relation between Ankara and the periphery became less centralized. Especially in Istanbul and in some other big cities some local initiatives emerged with the help of limited industrial capital accumulation. Formal structure became slightly less centralist when compared to the early Republican era. On the other hand, the informal political structure became more involved in local political activity with the emergence of brokerage and new type of patrons. This period can be identified as an era when political decentralization occurred to a certain extent. Yet, through the end of this period, again centralist and oppressive tendencies emerged within both the state and DP because of the failure of economic policies of DP.

The political party representatives in the centre were no longer the representatives of the state, but the representatives of a political view, ideology or government (Güneş-Ayata 1990). In such a political atmosphere, peasants' and urban dwellers' expectations from representatives of the parties increased a lot. Politicians had to respond to the needs and expectations of the peasants to derive necessary political support. On the other hand, as a result of the integration of the agricultural production to the capitalist economy, there emerged a problem of marketing agricultural products of peasants. The number of items purchased by peasants has increased. The town merchants who provide short-term solutions to the needs of peasant gained importance. Therefore, the town merchants became a new class of notables since they gave short-term loans and credits and market the products of peasants. In peasants' view, the town merchant was an insurance mechanism for his needs, from health problems to wedding expenses. The patron-client relationship constructed by the town merchants attracted the attention of the political party in power since merchants had a significant number of followers. At the end, a patron-client pyramid was constructed between the political party in power, local notables and peasants and voters. The town merchant, as a result of his close relationship with the central government, had the chance to increase the number of his followers and derive some privileges.

On the other hand, although it seemed that the period between 1946 and 1960 was based on a predominantly rural development movement, planning, administration, supervision, monitoring, financing of the agriculture production was realized mostly in cities. This caused a new type of specialization and intensified interaction of merchant class with the urban life. Moreover, this intensification resulted in investment of surplus revenues in cities in the form of real estate and housing. Increasing accumulation of capital coming from agricultural production was not only caused changes in the structure of the socio-economic life of the urban areas but also triggered migration from rural areas to urban areas creating excess accumulation of unskilled labor force.

As a result, rapid urbanization paced up with an increase in urban populations more than 6% throughout nearly all urban areas. Yet, neither institutional nor technical capacities of the state apparatus and local administrations proved insufficient for handling such a transformation. Solutions to problems created by rapid urbanization were produced while muddling through as buffer mechanisms by both administrations and people alike. At the end, squatter belts emerged around urban areas; dolmuş emerged as a solution to transportation problems and huge infrastructure problems turned lives of citizens into full of problems. From these times on typical Turkish urban structure has been characterized as a dual structure displaying scenes of both planned development, modern life style and squatter settlements, unplanned spread and rural alike life style (Tekeli, 1998:13). Although it seems like the new dominant social structure created by squatter residents undermined middle class project of urbanization, middle classes remained as significant actors in land market and urban planning process and they became role models for squatter residents, in terms of urban environment, life style and ways at maximizing urban land rent. (Şengül, 2001:78)

According to Şengül (2001:77), this was also a result of the minimal intervention and investments of the state to the urban areas. Lack of necessary investments caused a shift from a middle class oriented urbanization to a rather local community oriented urbanization in which different localities produced their own solutions to the problems of urbanization. Yet, to a certain extent middle and upper class policies of the state was continuing and to a certain extent community based solutions of squatters created sharp contradictions with the ongoing middle class model.

Yet, under the effect of the political circumstances, instead of state constituting systematic solutions for the problems like housing created and deepened by migration, an expectation emerged that all the problems created by migration and urbanization could be solved through market mechanisms. For this respect, housing compensation payments to civil servants were abolished for instance. However, as a consequence of preferences towards municipalities providing housing supply instead of solutions like rental housing supply and housing credit systems, solutions provided for the problems created by urbanization like housing, worked mostly for middle and upper income groups. Whereas housing supply produced by market mechanisms were in the form of increasing densities in cities as high rise apartment buildings, which later resulted in the emergence of flat ownership tenure. Such like one or two storey housing unit with a garden became the symbol of Republican ideal, high rise apartments, flat ownership and increasing densities in urban areas became the face and symbol of changing spatial organization. This can be followed in the novels and newspapers of the period.

Changes in the urban sphere also reflected in the legislature and administrative structure. Together with the enacting of Urban Development Law numbered 6785, municipalities with more than population of 5000 were given the responsibility of preparation of urban development plans. This could be taken as the fist step towards the decentralization of planning authority in the planning history of the Turkish Republic. Yet, research has shown that, most of the municipalities did not realize urban development plans (Şenyapılı, 2004:182). Two other separate regulation introduced by the Law on the other hand opened the way to unplanned urban devel0opment in both Turkey and Ankara. The first of these was regulating the municipality's authority to give the temporary building permits out of the planning boundaries. The second was allowing opportunity to realize settlement units in areas adjacent to the municipal boundaries.

According to Şenyapılı (2004:180), changes in legislation reflect the accumulation of land rent in the hands of landowners as a consequence of the liberal political understanding of the era. In a way, in a period when capital accumulated in the agriculture is transferred to real estate and construction investments, the spatial reflection of the political mobilization strategy of Democratic Party was to renew the distributive mechanisms of the land rent in favor of the actors making this capital accumulation. Another important feature of these changes in legislation was that, although some legislation concerning the urban development of the capital city still in force, the city of

Ankara became subjected to the same political mobilization strategy and distribution of urban land rent like any other city in the Anatolia.

Parallel to the transformations in the economic structure, social structure of the urban areas also changed dramatically. Squatter residents, who were formerly constituting the marginal population of the city and perceived as people who does not make any real contribution to the city but distort city structure and corrupt urban culture, started to gain certain legitimization and permanency against the planned sections of the city. Moreover, squatter residents began to enjoy certain bargaining power in political arena since they became source of cheap labor force for the industrialization that was fed by foreign capital and technology. This new population with political bargaining power was first explored by Democratic Party. According to Şenyapılı (2004:187), incidents of trading votes and registration to Party in exchange for title deeds for squatters and infrastructure investments were common processs and could be seen in the newspapers of the day. As a consequence, in urban areas, squatter residents that were organized in the neighborhood scale, was mobilized by Democratic Party through infrastructure investments, housing and property guarantee.

Integration of squatter resident to the political system brought certain legitimization and increase in the spatial quality of the squatter settlements. Squatter construction process became well organized and squatter settlements started to spread, constituting ever growing neighborhoods. This tendency not only caused squatter settlements to spread throughout city but also caused an informal real estate market to emerge as a result of the increasing quality of squatters and squatter residents moving towards apartment buildings in the vicinity of the city. Within this market a new type of actor emerged who became monopoly by controlling land, construction material and construction process. These people were called *Gecekondu Ağaları* and successfully mobilized by Democratic Party. Through Gecekondu Ağaları, urban land rent is distributed in squatter settlements. Yet, for Şenyapılı (2004:193), it was not only Gecekondu Ağaları behind legitimization of squatter settlements rather easily, but also the pressure exerted by organized capital, who used squatter residents as source of cheap labor, on city administration.

On the other hand, another new entrepreneurial class emerged by whom flat ownership, middle classes and housing credit mechanisms to work together. These new entrepreneurs were called yap-satçı as petty builders who have the knowledge and

courage to maintain and organize building process from beginning to end. In order to maximize their profit, they exerted pressure on local governments and planning administrations to increase building densities and to change urban development plans (Tekeli 1982:70).

Spatial reflections of the political mobilization strategy of the period was also subjected to wide spread discussions concerning certain Laws in the National Assembly. In a populist understanding, Democrat Party carried the issue of giving out title deeds to squatter residents to the agenda. Especially with the Law numbered 6188, for the first time in Republican history, a direct regulation concerning squatter settlement were introduced allowing land on which squatters and illegal buildings exist to be sold to the owners of these illegal buildings and squatter residents. According to Şenyapılı (2004: 202), discussions in National Assembly revolved around daily politics rather than socio-economic and structural conditions creating squatter settlements.

In fact, it is not easy to categorize emerging new classes as monolithic entities since the boundaries between these classes became blurred with the ongoing transformation. For instance a squatter dweller from Northern part of Turkey who has necessary know how to construct a building was first enclosing a piece of land to build a squatter and then starting to use his skills to both construct squatter units for others and to bring his family from the village. By the time passes when he has the necessary connections and capital accumulation he was opening a shop selling construction material and even becoming a petty builder. When his connections reach to certain level, he was using them to exert power on politicians and planning administration to increase building rights of the land he owns or he builds upon. Therefore, it can be said that roles and positions of the actors became so transient and continuous that, planning administration and the local government was under much heavier pressure than before.

According to Şengül, although the conditions were suitable for squatter residents to become radical and to develop a project for themselves to a certain extent in the face of poor services, infrastructure and spatial quality, such a movement did not emerge in 1950's and early 1960's since squatter residents have had limited power and they have consisted of heterogeneous fractured groups organized based on kinship (Şengül, 2001:80). Moreover, state could not properly respond to squatter problem, which

devastated the middle class urbanization and private property, except for some limited efforts to demolish squatters and completely ignoring them.

The dual political structure, created by multi-party political life, caused transformations on the spatial practice realized by the Republican Cadres. Against the city of Ankara that was planned and developed spatial reflection of the nation state and the Republican ideals, Istanbul, long forgotten and ignored capital of the Ottoman Rule, started to come to the fore as a new focus. The City of Istanbul emerged as a new spatial symbol for the Democratic Party and it's cadres, who has a critical stance towards Republican ideals and the position and perception of Ankara (Boysan, 1990:225; Geray, 1990:223). The reconstruction movement of Prime Minister Adnan Menderes in Istanbul could be easily interpreted because of this approach, as a trial to create a counter part of Ankara (Koloğlu, 2003:27; Çakmak, 200:101). This fundamental change in perception deeply influenced the position of Ankara. It was no more a sole symbol of the Republican ideals about one of the spatial centers in which agricultural surplus of the Anatolia was collected (Tekeli 1982:68).

Yet, unlike Ankara, Istanbul's reconstruction was not a planned movement but a collection of deconstruction in old quarters of city to build up wide boulevards and modern buildings as a symbol of both flourishing capitalism and political prominence, power and ideals of Menderes in an extremely centralist fashion. Nevertheless, reconstruction movement of Menderes became a symbol of changing discourse of modernization through populism crystallized in Menderes's personality and mythical actions. For Boysan, reconstruction movement was also a form of propaganda that was used to cover up for the failure of economic policies (Boysan 1990:237).

In this period, parallel to the socio-economic transformation of the Turkey, the City of Ankara has also changed. The surplus value that emerged because of the increasing production efficiency in the agriculture caused commercial, service and manufacturing sectors to improve. Especially while the share taken by agriculture in employment and gross national product was decreasing, the share, importance and scale of the sectors like general services, commerce, construction and manufacturing improved (Şenyapılı, 2004:178).

With the help of increasing attraction of the city of Ankara as a land of opportunities, migration from rural areas increased rapidly. Ankara became one of the most attractive cities after Istanbul for migrants since it was the capital city with increasing employment opportunities for the migrants as a result of improving service economy. Most of this migration came from surrounding provinces. Migration together with the structural changes in political and socio-economic spheres put Ankara in the middle of a turmoil of unplanned urban development and problems related with it.

Under these circumstances, urban development and the spread on squatter settlements came to a critical situation. While densities in the existing neighborhoods have increased rapidly, city macro form spread through east and north towards former fringe districts like Kayaş, Etimesgut and Keçiören. It was observed that in and around areas where urban macro form enlarged, squatter settlements spread also and treasury land was exploited. Most of the time, this enlargement was realized on natural thresholds that could not be inhabited through planned urban development.

As a result of urban development, breaking loose out of control and the pressures of the landowners expecting to gain new development rights a new international planning competition was opened for the planning of whole urban macro form of Ankara. For this time, competition was realized in a rather more professional fashion with a jury headed by English urban planner Sir Patrick Abercombie than the first competition. Jury prepared a terms of reference that demands determination of the planning boundaries of the city and programming of the areas within this boundary according to a million population, development and planning of the vacant land lying between existing settlements and outer settlements, determination of building right city wide, determination of functions development of a new city center around Anıtkabir etc. Yet, terms of reference of the Planning competition showed that, in a city evolving towards a metropolitan area problems emerging out of urban dynamics that became much more sophisticated are tried to be overcome through determining building rights and zoning.

Turkish architects, Nahit Yücel and Reşit Uybadin won the competition (Map 7). After realization of certain adjustments made on plan according to recommendations of the competition jury, plan was approved by Ministerial Board and came to force. Yet, because of some technical difficulties, it took two years till the plan started fully being implemented. This in turn, caused an emerging wave of speculation legitimized in the

hands of the same planning administration that opened the competition (Yücel, 1992:24). Though concentrated on the municipal boundaries and clang to the decisions of Jansen Plan, Yücel-Uybadin Plan pursued the same urban development direction towards north-south axis. Although Yücel-Uybadin Plan opened up new urban development areas, produced decisions for industrial sites, it could not provide solutions for especially squatter areas. The diffidence of the planning approach and decisions proves that the political will and ideals behind Yücel-Uybadin plan was much different than the ones behind Jansen Plan. Yücel – Uybadin Plan was not any more a plan for establishing and maintaining a modern capital city worthy of nation state, but a modest way of handling problems of increasing housing demand and urban development.
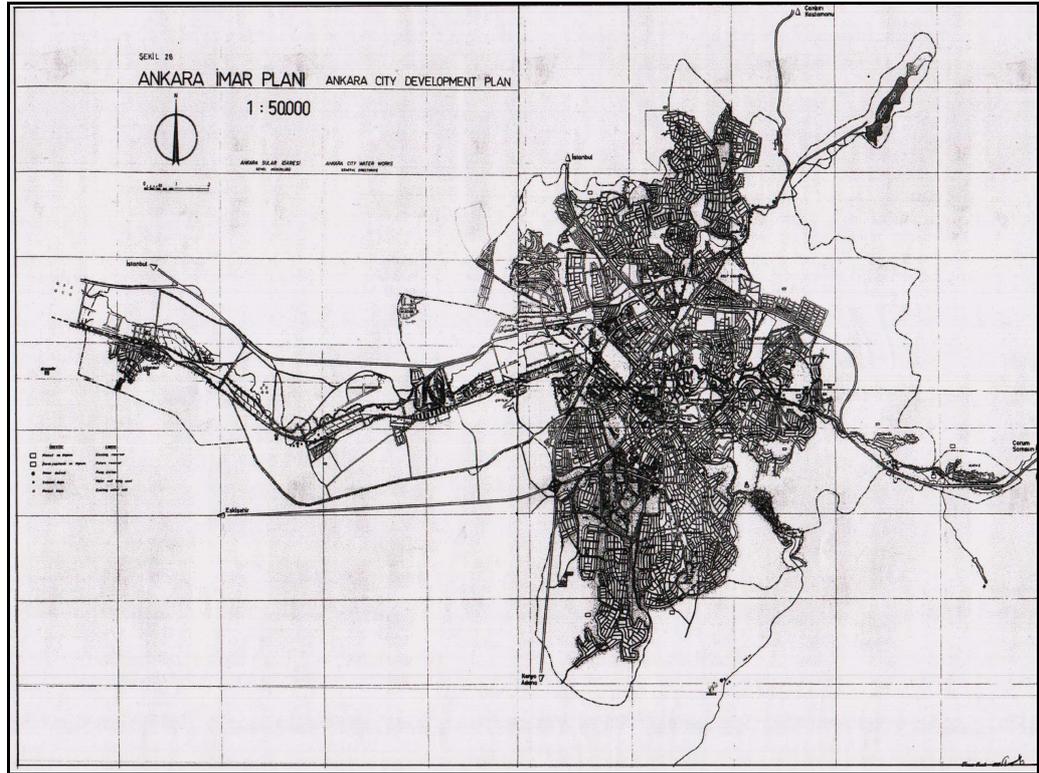
(Chamber of City Planners, 2002).
Map 7. Yücel-Uybadin's Plan for Ankara

Just after the approval of the plan, one of the authors of the plans, Nihat Yücel, appointed as consultant to the Planning Administration of Ankara. Yet he could not avoid

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distortions of the plan and its implementation. With the plan, not only boundaries of urban development but also land speculation were redefined and distortions starting in certain regions of the city diffused other regions of the city. The place and form of these distortions in plan and urban macro form was determined by characteristic and power of groups and their relations that constituted these distortions. In fact, while authors were finalizing the plans, such distortions emerged in the form of a regulation even shortly after the competition and approved by the İmar İdare Heyeti about the heights of buildings. The rush in realization of such decisions was an indication of the pressures on planning administration about increasing building and population densities (Yücel 1992:22).

First and foremost of these distortions introduced in the decisions concerning building and population densities reshaped by the introduction of Flat Ownership Law numbered 634. After the enacting of the Law, densities were redefined with a regional flat order plan (Bölge Kat Nizamı Planı) and 9 to 10 storey were determined for the buildings on and around boulevards, and six to more storey buildings for the streets behind main boulevards. This completely distorted the low density settlement structure ordered through building coefficients rather than number of flats. In spite of the heavy criticisms of Yücel Uybadin, Regional Flat Order Plan was approved by the municipal council and came to power. With this plan, the rush towards derivation of urban rents through increasing number of flats spread rapidly, gardens were appended to the buildings, penthouses were transformed into full flats, old buildings were demolished and new façade lines were set. As a result in and around the center of the city population and building densities increased dramatically, reducing the quality of urban space. Congruent with the liberal political understanding of the era, rent-seeking interest groups became more powerful forcing rapid and unplanned urban development and once again, urban development pattern disconnected from planning discipline became dominant which later in turn caused huge metropolitan problems like traffic and air pollution in the city of Ankara.

Another pressure on settlement structure came from spread of the central business district. As a result of the changing economic conditions, increasing commercial capacity resulted in increasing commercial uses in especially in the old city center of Ankara. Commercial uses has been intensified first in and around Ulus through increases in flat numbers, enlargement of buildings and further subdivision of commercial units.

Furthermore, increasing demands for commercial use caused spread of central business district functions towards Sıhhiye and Kızılay throughout Atatürk Boulevard. Formations of sub-centers emerged also within relatively old neighborhoods. In these sub centers and in some regions of the city manufacturing industry clustered. Interest groups pursuing rents out of the spread of commercial functions in the city exerted pressure on planning administration of Ankara.

Changes in the road system, green areas and open spaces also reflected influences of speculative interests in urban space. As a solution to the increasing needs for transportation network caused by increasing population and building densities, planning administration preferred to widen existing roads. As a part of the liberal ideology, automobile focused transportation policies were implemented and wide roads were opened in old sections of the city. On the other hand, green areas and open spaces constituted by the garden city understanding of the Jansen Plan started to be transformed into other uses rapidly lowering the quality of the urban life. Together with high rise apartments, widening roads and opening up of green areas into other uses showed that land speculation gained a new fashion. Speculation was not limited to one's own property any more but started to be used as means to derive rents trough transformation of the publicly owned spaces.

Throughout 1950's and 1960's both in Ankara and other cities, as a result of rapid urbanization and migration from rural areas and urban areas, a dual structure emerged in cities creating urban problems that were maintained through solutions produced not by state but local community. Changing and emerging new urban classes of squatter residents, petty builders and classes investing in real estate and construction sector was mobilized by Democratic Party in exchange for distribution of urban land rent created through increasing population and building densities in the existing urban areas, allowance of settlements out of planning and administrative boundaries legitimized through piece meal plans, distribution of title deeds and provision of basic infrastructure facilities to squatter settlements. Democratic Party also mobilized masses by a new modernization ideal symbolized in the reconstruction of Menderes to create wide boulevards in Istanbul. Clientelist relations prevailed and spread as a means for political mobilization. Yet, starting with the reconstruction movement of Menderes, failure of economic policies of Democratic Party and increasing pressure of the Democratic Party paved the way to the losing power of the party. In fact, reconstruction of Istanbul was

seen as a big show, a propaganda to renew the support to the Party. Yet, reconstruction also hindered clientelistic relations and violated the hopes and expectations of the classes formerly mobilized though urban land rent. Beginning with the middle of 1950's, Democratic Party started to lose its grounds.

Consequently, in the 1957 election, votes for the RPP increased, though not sufficient for it to come to power, whereas, votes of the DP continued to decline. In fact, the short-term, patronage based socio-economic policies of the DP were not successful enough to sustain economic growth, supported by foreign debt. Furthermore, the distribution of the economic surplus through patronage web, increased distrust towards the DP. Eventually, the first attempt to establish a competitive political system was interrupted by a military coup in 1960; The DP was closed after the coup.

To sum up, the transformation between 1946 and 1960 drastically affected political mobilization mechanisms and spatial practices in Turkey. The transition from an authoritarian one-party rule to a competitive multi-party system in 1946 has affected clientelistic patterns of Turkey in two different ways. One is the transformation of traditional patron-client ties through the introduction of party-patronage as an additional resource base for patrons. The other is the emergence of new party-directed patronage patterns independent of traditional patron-client ties.

The period was very significant concerning the urban planning experiment of the capital city of Ankara. Ankara was not any more the sole focus of attention but Istanbul re-emerged as a political and economic center. Not perceived as the spatial reflection of Republican ideals, Ankara was dragged along towards being a metropolitan area in which all accumulation of capital, no matter from which sector it comes, was invested in land and construction sector and land speculation became the dominant means for political mobilization.

3.6. The Impact of Contradictions between Planned Economy and Urban Political Machines on Ankara (1960-1980)

Between 1960 and 1980 military coups, there were two main changes in Turkish political life: increasing ideological differentiation and polarization of society by breaking up of

every institution into "left" and "right" and politization of daily life and rapid urbanization (Schuler, 1998:105). Ideological differences mostly resulted in terrorism and division of the society into different ideologically constructed camps. For some authors like Özbudun (1991) the domination of ideological concerns in political life as an indicator of the evolution from party patronage to modern party politics, based on horizontal type of relations, secondary and tertiary type of identities. On the other side, according to Sayan (1977), ideologies and programs of political parties were not sufficient to realize this kind of a transformation among the urban populations. As a result of the migration from rural areas to urban areas, urban migrants and the urban poor became the important elements of Turkish political life. The urban population increased to %60 in less than three decades. These migrant populations became most important sources of votes. However, among these populations primordial relations were still dominant. In this section, my aim is to outline the change of rural patron-client relations to urban clientelist relations.

With increasing portion of urban population, urban areas became the main arena of the political life. Political parties tried to mobilize urban populations, especially the migrant masses and urban poor. Since the urban poor tend to use primordial relations and vertical dependencies to reach necessary resources and services, the urban poor emerged as the main target of patronage activities and clientelism. Scott explains the mood of the urban poor as:

> Poverty narrows a person's time-horizon and maximizes the short-term material rewards. In a very rational way, this person is ready to accept a job, money or the promise of aid in time of need, in return for his vote. (Scott, 1989:284)

At this point, it is helpful to follow the political scene after the 1960 coup till the emergence of urban political machines in mid-1970's and see the circumstances under which urban clientelism appeared. After the coup, military rule had continued for one year and in that period a new constitutional law had been prepared, carrying fingerprints of new RPP program. The new constitutional law brought about a two chamber parliamentary system, proportional representation, a constitutional court and a state-planning organization, that marked the beginning of a planned economy. The new constitution also brought about some broad socio-economic concerns about reform in land tenure, free trade unions and the right to strike, a widespread social security system and health services based mainly on welfare policies.

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Together with 1961 Constitution, Leftist ideas became influential in Turkish political life, which later on changed both perception and handling of the problem of urbanization in a much more social justice and equity based understanding. Student movements in 1968 also strengthened this trend. Changing political atmosphere influenced the way that local and central governments handled the problems of urbanization and housing. Moreover, political mobilization strategies and their interaction with urban space changed fundamentally.

Although rapid urbanization continued in this period with a rather slowed pace than the beginning of mass migration from rural areas to urban areas in mid-1950's, migration slowed down gradually as a result of populist policies in rural areas to sustain small scale agricultural production and migration to western Europe as cheap labor force.

Yet, the characteristic or urbanization changed since dynamics of urban areas started to evolve into the complexities of metropolitan areas. The number of metropolitan areas increased and these metropolitan areas started to struggle with administrative, economic, social, cultural and environmental problems. Air pollution and traffic congestion became common problems. Municipal boundaries did not suffice to contain spreading cities and many small and middle sized municipalities emerged around metropolitan areas, causing urban problems to turn into complex administrative issues as well. In addition, first signs of suburbanization emerged with increasing production and use of automobiles (Tekeli 1998:16).

The Circumstances under squatter residents live and their political position also changed. It was assumed by modernist authors that migrant populations will embrace urban life style and values and integrate into the urban life when time passes. Yet, passing time has shown that such a transformation did not emerge even in second and third generations of squatter residents but instead, squatter residents developed new and better mechanisms to use opportunities of urban life and political system.

Planned development encouraged housing production through housing cooperatives instead of petty builders (yap-satçı) on the other hand, since housing supply provided by petty builders was expensive and inconvenient. Large scale social housing production on

large pieces of land realized through encouragement of capital owners and organization of housing demand carried this change one step further. Yet, such housing provision became feasible in 1970's. Not only housing but also industrial, educational and health functions tended to build on large areas in the form of campuses or clusters. As a result, urban areas started to grow not with individual buildings scattered around existing urban macro form but with large units of housing, industry or other functions added to urban macro form. Even squatter areas were organized and enlarged through Mafioso relationships in big chunks (Tekeli 1998:17).

Political mobilization strategy of the period was based on populist political tendencies that allow ones that does want to avoid high urban land rents and the ones that do want to maximize urban land rent they obtain. Opportunities of urban development in large areas allowed certain interest groups to but large areas outside the city where land rent was relatively low and then try to increase land rent through intensification of building rights. This tendency, together with a populist political understanding caused not only distortion of existing planning rules and regulations but also avoided development of systematic planning efforts.

Yet, in this period, planned economic development increased importance given to urban physical planning. Although first attempts to regional planning were realized, regional plans could have never been put into process because of the lack of necessary legislative framework. However, increasing importance of urban planning and institutionalization of economic and social planning together eased acceptance of comprehensive rationalist planning paradigm. Nevertheless, according to Tekeli (1998:18), comprehensive rationalist planning understanding of the period could not be sufficient to understand and respond to the problems of dynamic urbanization.

Although attempts to intervene into spatial structure through national and regional planning failed, top – down approaches were widely accepted as an indispensable part of urban planning. Alongside this understanding, metropolitan bureaus of planning were established by the Ministry of Reconstruction and Resettlement for Istanbul, Ankara and Izmir. Multi disciplinary teams organized in this bureaus for the first time and prepared metropolitan development plans using comprehensive rationalist planning techniques for these three cities.

Administrative structure and legislation concerning urbanization changed in this period also alongside changing spatial processs and political mobilization strategies. In order to overcome problems created by urbanization some changes were introduced in local government legislation. With the Law numbered 307, municipal mayors were started to be chosen directly by people based on majority rule. Yet, financial resources of municipalities have not been improved, resulting in increasing financial dependency of municipalities to central government. Transition to presidency system of municipal mayors created a new area of movement relatively autonomous for municipalities and municipal mayors as significant political level and actors. From this time on, political mobilization strategies were re-configured with respect to the increasing significance of mayors and municipalities in metropolitan areas. However, increasing significance of mayors and municipalities hindered by limited by limited political freedom defined for them by central political arena. Nonetheless, this did not stop prominent mayors as influential individuals to emerge like Vedat Dalokay in Ankara and under social democratic political tendencies; municipalities produced unique solutions to the problems of urban areas like in the social municipality movement of 1970's.

One of the most important other Laws enacted in this period was the Law of Squatters numbered 775. With this Law, not only squatter amnesty was accepted but also the existence of an alternative legitimization of spatial practice was accepted. Within this new framework of legitimization, conditions for rehabilitation amendment and avoidance of squatter areas were defined and became possible. Here, the main aim and tendency was to provide certain means of security for squatter residents. This in turn resulted in increase in the spatial and infrastructure quality through political patronage. As a result, for a certain section of urban population, perception of squatters transformed from being a shelter into a commodity through which urban land rent is derived using squatters as an investment opportunity. Soon the Law itself became a means for exploitation of treasury land by various groups used by populist political stance and political patronage (Bingöl 2006).

Together with import substitution based closed economic development model, the ignorance towards squatters started to turn into acceptance in 1960's. It has been argued in those years that squatters provide reproduction of labor force without using state intervention and capital. Such a view was also embraced by formal institutions of state like The State Planning Organization and put into Second Five Year Development Plan

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(Kartal, 1983:57; Şengül, 2001:81). Therefore, although it has never become an official policy, in political and socio-economic spheres, the relationship between problems associated with squatters become embedded with formal mechanisms and much more complex in 1960's.

However, the end of 1960's, demands and motivations of squatter residents started to transform. They have not being satisfied with certain improvements in tenure but started to search for ways of full legalization, taking their share from urban land rent trough full title deed and planning. Yet, although squatter settlement became one of principal denominators of the social dynamics and change, it has also become involved with contradicting social relations. These contradictions were also reflected in political system and political mobilization strategies of political parties. For this respect, political system became involved with two contradiction approaches wiz a vi squatters. On the one hand, an opportunist political stance in which votes were exchanged for urban services and amnesties became a common process and while on the other hand, especially among left wing politics approaches emerged, handling squatter problem as a problem of social justice and rights of citizenship. While The Justice Party became affiliated with the first, Republican People's Party and social democratic formations in it emphasized second, leading to the emergence of social democratic understanding in municipalities and social municipality movement. In short, while the first of these two different viewpoints approaches squatters as a phenomenon to emphasize urban rents and use value of urban values and resources, the second approach directed towards a strategy bringing the issue of social justice in handling the problems created by the dual structure of urban life and emphasized the dimensions like use value and virtues of living space (Şengül, 2001:83).

Between 1973 and 1980 RPP held power in metropolitan areas and started to develop systematic and large scale projects for urban areas. These projects were based on decentralization of power from centre to the locality or periphery, opening up of representation channels for all residents especially the ones living in squatters, focusing on use values rather than exchange values and collective use and collective provision of consumption goods. This new approach gained popular support from urban residents starting with squatter settlements. Yet, at certain level, patronage relations and mobilization of the votes of squatter residents were going on in exchange for urban land rent. Since, although on the one hand a middle class elitist local government movements was going on full flagged with certain tensions with the central political sphere,

including centre of RPP itself, the political processs affiliated with habits and experiences of the central political sphere tended to continue patronage and exchange based political mobilization strategies.

On the other side second and third generations of squatter residents were facing a new and completely different transformation. The first generation of squatter residents and middle classes were engaged in exchange relations on various areas like patronage, clientelism, second and third generations of squatter residents became radicalized under the influence of student movements. A new wave of social movements demanding much more radical changes beyond social justice found its base among youth of squatter residents and some squatter neighborhoods were announced "saved" (kurtarılmış) by radical leftist groups. (Şengül, 2001: 85) (Marcussen, 1982:127) (Aslan, 2004: 77).

Through the end of 1970's an interesting political structure emerged in the political structure of urban areas. Although middle class radicals still dominated political sphere, political agenda was set by squatter residents to a certain extent. While the first generation of squatter residents were establishing close acquaintances with RPP and the right wing political parties in the central government to secure and improve their living conditions and to derive urban land rent where possible, second and third generations of squatter residents took part in radical leftist youth groups. Interestingly, activities of squatter youth further legitimized and increased the power of demands and relationship between middle class radicals, rising leftist youth movement and first generation of squatter residents was weak.

Turkey was plunged into a crisis revolving around urban areas. The accumulation crisis of import substitution model under the effect of world oil crisis, and political instability pulled metropolitan areas into turmoil. While political instability caused struggle rises between terrorist actions of right wing groups backed up by right wing governments and radical left wing groups that was facing dividing into fractions and internal contradictions, economic crisis resulted in high inflation, unemployment and supply crisis.

At the beginning of 1980's two dramatic interventions were realized in order to solve economic and political crisis. Congruent with the demands of IMF, with decisions of 24 January, development strategy based on import substitution came to an end and

economic development policy opened up of internal markets to foreign markets. Yet, this further deepened political crisis since measures taken in economic area countervailed by working classes. Reactions of working classes prepared the conditions for 1980 coup for the solution of political crisis through martial law. Military took control of saved squatter neighborhoods, mayors of metropolitan municipalities were recalled and municipal councils were abolished. According to Şengül, 1980 coup not only put an end to political movements in urban areas as a part of the strategy directed towards political stability, but also paved the way for an urbanization in which capitalist classes prevail (Şengül 2001:86).

According to Güvenç (2001:81-82), between 1960 and 1980, Ankara developed under the same forces that affected development of Istanbul and Izmir in the same direction. New socio-economic policies together with squatter settlements and flat ownership oriented housing, transportation and commercial activities contributed to the dominancy of small scale production and oil leak style development. In this period, the city of Ankara lost its relative advantage in infrastructure and social facilities and became a city not so different from all other cities with respect to air and environmental pollution, urban quality of life, morphological characteristics and most important of all, the interaction between political mobilization strategies and their spatial practice. Yet, in Ankara, planning efforts provided opportunities for decentralization. For this reason, it would be appropriate to examine general trends influencing urbanization nation-wide and then the planning efforts in Ankara in order to fully grasp the nature of relations between strategies at political mobilization and spatial practice.

Till the beginning of 1970's population of Ankara exceeded over a million and the urban macro form spread over 14,000 Hectares of land. Yet, only a third of the population could have inhabited the planned section of the city envisaged by Yücel-Uybadin Plan. Rest of the population lived in apartment buildings emerged as a result of increasing population and building densities in and around the planned neighborhoods and in squatter settlements. In brief, between 1950's and 1970, rapid urbanization of Ankara has continued while planned sections of the city was continuing to be pulled down and reconstructed by petty builders, squatter settlements filled lands out of planning boundaries northbound and southbound in unsuitable areas for urban habitation (Altaban, 1986:134). Air pollution, environmental degradation and huge metropolitan problems like traffic, housing etc. prevailed.

Against these problems, Metropolitan Planning Bureau of Ankara, established by the Ministry of Reconstruction and Resettlement, developed a new planning method and produced a twenty year perspective Metropolitan Development Plan as a result of comprehensive analysis. Yet, the Metropolitan Plan produced by the Bureau was not an implementation plan but more of a framework. Most of the authors called it structural plan rather than a development plan (Bademli 1986:109). Yet, although Yücel-Uybadin Plan, 1968 Plan of Regional Flat Ownership, all the piece meal plans and modifications realized till that day were still in force, the new plan prepared by the Metropolitan Planning Bureau became a framework for evaluation of implementation of these plans and new proposals for urban development plans (Map 8).

Metropolitan Development Plan prepared by the Bureau was called *1990 Ankara Metropolitan Development Plan (1990 Ankara Nazım Planı)* (Map 9). According to Altaban (1986:137), the plan was based on three main policies: to control increasing densities of existing urban macro form, to develop city in western corridors, to foster the role of public in directing urban development and to create public land stock for this purpose. Clearly, the main aim of the plan was to present a solution for the problems of the metropolitan area caused by the structure of urban macroform and geographical layout and to control population and building densities.

Although, 1990 Metropolitan Development Plan of Ankara provided plausible objectives based on sound socio-economic analysis, because more than ten years passed between the establishment of the Bureau, a new and innovative planning method had to be developed by the Bureau to perform supervision and control of urban development. Bureau had to establish dialog with planning administration, municipality, ministry, universities, other public institutions and chambers in order to realize the congruency of piece meal plans and urban development plan modifications with 1990 Ankara Metropolitan Development Plan. Moreover, the Bureau beared the tasks of consultancy to municipality and other institutions related with planning, prepared detailed sketches and plans and participated in the preparation of such plans especially for the areas out of the planning boundaries of 1957 Yücel-Uybadin Plan (Bademli ,1986:110). Bureau's activities were not confined to such efforts but developing frameworks for such as pedestrianization in the city center, conservation of historical quarters, main structure and transportation structure projections. It has even contributed to the formation of social

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housing projects like Akkondu (Batıkent) and Eryaman and large green areas like Altınpark.

Map 8. 1970 Land Use of the Urban Macfororm fo the City of Ankara (Chamber of City Planners, 2002).
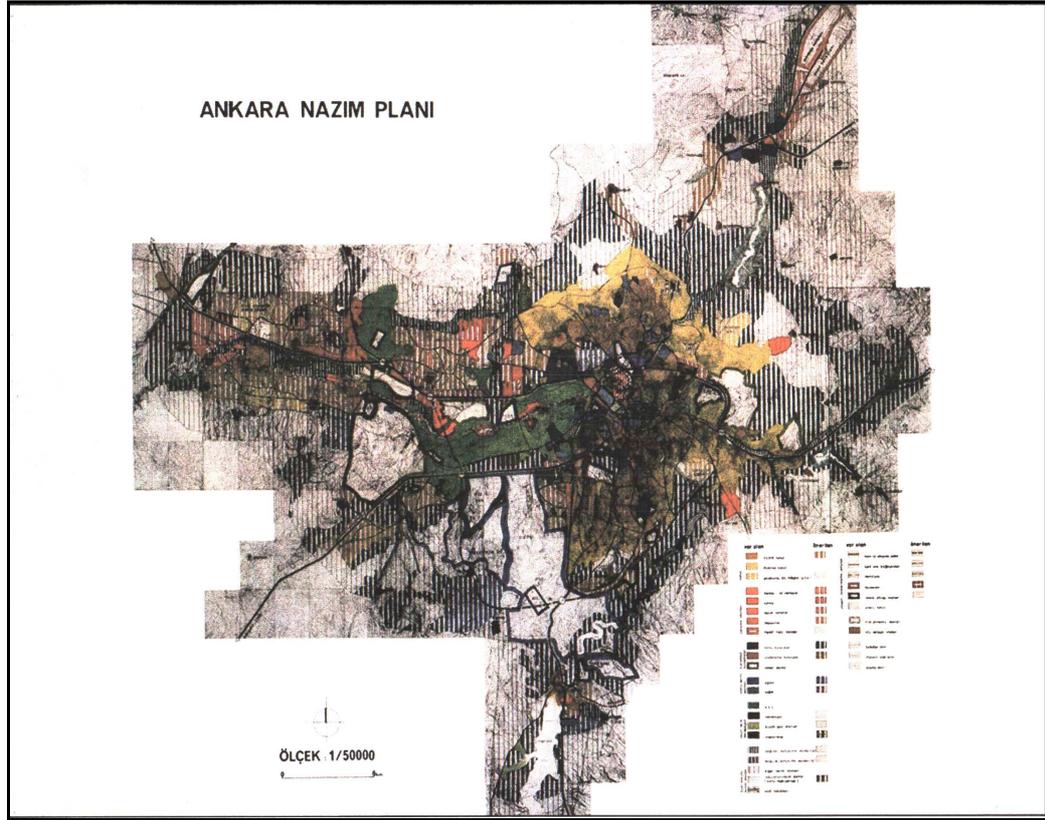
(Chambers of City Planners, 2002).
Map 9. 1990 Ankara Metropolitan Development Plan (1990 Ankara Nazım Planı)

Although the activities of the Metropolitan Planning Bureau could be seen as successful in terms of fulfilling the tasks defined by itself, some developments could not be avoided, middle class radicalism of the Bureau could not be successful in grasping and linking planning activities with grassroots. As a result by the time passes some unplanned development occurred and in areas where especially squatter settlements prevail, decisions of the plan could not be implemented.

The characteristics of the pressures on 1990 Metropolitan Plan and Bureau could be distinguished in two categories. First of all, according to Bademli (1986:110) one of the most important reasons for diminishing power of the plan was related with the Bureaus attitude towards speculation. Bureau was promoting direction of the use of private property through increasing land stock hold by public and realization of large for instance housing projects on these areas by public itself. Most of the land in the boundaries of new urban development became expropriated as a result of this understanding. Yet, use of private property and private investments could not be fully

directed by such a strategy since realization of the planning decisions on public land, lagged behind because of the lack of experience of public institutions for using such large areas and heavy bureaucratic mechanisms. For instance realization of the social housing projects like Batıkent took more than twenty years to realize. Nonetheless, implementation of 1990 Metropolitan Development Plan and efforts of the Bureau, thousands of Hectares of land was derived by public for various purposes, one of which was green belt. The green belt became after 1980's a target of speculative housing development and other uses since, it could not be fully realized and public could not have been very well informed about the necessity of it. Vanlı's (2004) description of the attitudes pf planning authorities and planning bureaucrats was a clear account of such deficiencies.

Holding of such amount of land in public ownership created enormous pressure on existing building stock and vacant land in and out of planning boundaries. While some large housing companies started to build luxury housing around prosperous neighborhoods like Çankaya and Gaziosmanpaşa, some of the housing cooperatives of civil servants and workers spread outwards towards western development axis together with speculative interests contrary to the decisions of the Plan. Moreover, although spread of squatter settlements slowed down, they continued to spread through north, east and south of urban macro form. Together with the squatter spread, a new way of land speculation emerged as the illegal subdivision of agricultural land contrary to planning decisions. On the other side, pressures on existing building stock gained a new fashion. In spite of the efforts of Metropolitan Planning Bureau, municipality and other government institutions responsible for planning, high-rise unlicensed building stock emerged in Demetevler and Yıldızevler devoid of all the necessary engineering and planning standards. According to Altaban (1986:138), only in Demetevler 22,000 housing units were produced and sold to middle and lower income groups in this way.

Till mid-1980's the urban macro form of Ankara changed drastically, based on the framework of planning developed by the Metropolitan Planning Bureau. The size of the urban macro form and population nearly doubled in a little more than ten years and dimensions of urban problems changed to anew. The urban macro form has decentralized towards western corridor especially through state buildings and housing cooperatives of middle and upper middle classes. On the other hand, urban macro form continued to grow east, north and south with squatter settlements, illegal subdivision of agricultural

land and some limited experiences of organized housing firms and cooperatives. Last but not least, increasing densities continued in planned neighborhood and illegal construction of high rise neighborhoods emerged in vacant land within urban macro form. As a result, although the city of Ankara has overcome some of its problems like air pollution through decentralization, slow mechanisms of public in realizing necessary projects and the growing distance and discontent between middle classes, planning bureaucracy and grassroots not only led to the increase in the pressures exerted on planning administration, resulting in abolishing of the Metropolitan Planning Bureau, but also provided the conditions for the exploitation of public land and emergence of informal networks in urban planning process, mediated by bureaucrats after 1985.

Between 1960 and 1980, the inreaction between political mobilization strategies and their reflections in spatial practices became much more sophisticated in Ankara with respect to changing social structure of the city, urban planning process and changing morphology of the urban areas. In terms of social structure, the city of Ankara became much more fragmented between middle classes and lower income groups. While on the one hand side, middle and upper income groups lived in planned neighborhoods and emerging suburban areas in the south of the railway that passes through the whole city of Ankara from east to west, lower income groups were located mostly in the north of railway in squatter settlements, slums and illegal buildings (Güvenç, 2001:84). For all income groups, exploitation of urban land rent through increasing building rights, constitution of illegal buildings and settlement units out of planning boundaries became a common process. Yet, the political mobilization strategies of political parties through these classes were mobilized based on urban land rent became very complex. While on the one hand side organized middle and upper income groups and first generation squatter residents were mobilized by both left wing and right wing political parties in exchange for legitimization of urban development contrary to the planning decisions and title deed, on the other side middle class radicals holding power in local governments in a way blocked patronage mechanisms and tried to realize projects emphasizing use value and social justice. Therefore, patronage, clientelist mechanisms proved unsatisfactory for all classes to a certain extent. Middle class radicals could not establish organic and durable relationships with the rising radical left movements backed up by second and third generation squatter youth which led to marginalization of social movements.

Thus, although clientelist mechanisms prevailed to a certain extent, not all the emerging classes could be mobilized and a gap emerged between state apparatus and grassroots. Such a gap caused certain patterns of exploitation at urban land rent going completely out of the framework of legal rules like in the case of Demetevler, where nearly a huge neighborhood of illegal high rise buildings were organized, built and sold by petty builders. Moreover, some signs of emerging large construction firms was seen that caused suburbanization out of and contrary to planning decisions.

On the other hand, an important network of relations between bureaucrats, entrepreneurs and landowners and know-how of relation building were established within urban planning process and the process became much more sophisticated. Increasing number of contacts between planning bureaucrats of central government and local governments created a networking capacity which later proved to be useful in realization of urban development plans and modifications in post-1980 period. Such a sophisticated network of relations and experience of establishing such relations constituted the very fabric of metropolitan relations which in following years to come, could be manipulated and exploited by rent seeking actors. This bureaucratic structure especially Metropolitan Planning Bureau provided the necessary accumulation of knowledge for not only urban planning of Ankara but also necessary urban projects for coming years.

It can be said that, the period provided the conditions for on the one hand intensification of clientelistic mechanisms between political parties, middle classes and first generation of squatter residents, and on the other side the dissolution and insufficiency of this relations causing later on polarization of urban social structure. In addition, the period set the grounds for a diverse experience of urban planning and local government processs which defined some of the key large projects drawing the framework of urbanization in 1990's and so on. These, together with changing global, national and local circumstances, paved the way for a political mobilization strategy based on mobilization of all the interest groups and classes through urban planning process. The process of urban development plans and modifications provided the conditions for urbanization of capital (Şengül, 2001) in an informal network of clientelist relations in a polarized fashion. In the next section this flourishing of certain forms of relations related with urban planning process will be examined beginning with 1985 and so on.

3.7. Conclusion

Till 1980's, although urban land speculation and pressures on urban planning authority caused changes in urban development plans for various reasons including establishment of a nation-state and import-substitute development policy etc., the urban planning process was said to be process of changing upper scale plans where necessary. In a way an upper scale plan was prepared and started to be implemented and while implementation was in progress the plan itself started to be changed which reflects to implementation in a different vein. The complex dynamics of a changing plan and its implementation created an administrative and judicial mix as a result of property rights. Such a complex dynamic is often reflected in complex bureaucratic and administrative processes that leaves nearly no space for planners to design better places but reserves open areas for brokers and politicians, whom like to use opportunities created by such a complex structure in order to grease up the political mobilization mechanisms.

Yet, after 1980's through both a wide spread decentralization movement and lack of an upper scale development plan giving direction to the urban macro form, this whole scene became much more market oriented and the urban development plans became a means for legitimizing certain investments in space and derivation of urban land rent through increase in development rights. Since there was nearly no tutelage on urban planning activities of municipalities and there was no real restriction on piecemeal planning activities, uncontrolled development and sprawl shaped the destiny of the city. Uncontrolled urban development and sprawl were realized through urban planning procedure and informal political relations established between various actors. This process has also had profound effects on not only local political sphere but also the central one. In the next chapter dynamics of how changing circumstances of urban planning influenced the political mobilization mechanisms and nature of micro level relations established between various actors within urban planning process.

CHAPTER 4

URBAN PLANNING PROCESS AS A NEW SOURCE OF INFORMAL NETWORK POWER IN ANKARA FROM 1980'S TO TODAY

4.1. Introduction

From the coup of 1980 till today, the urbanization pattern of the city of Ankara have shown unique features such that, although between 1940's and 1980 the characteristics of the urbanization of Ankara was similar to that of Istanbul and any other city in Turkey, after 1980's under the influence of neo-liberal policies and globalization, the spatial experience of the city of Ankara became closely affiliated with a struggle to keep its historical reputation and overcome identity crisis against Istanbul, which became a *world city.*

The history of the urban planning in Ankara after 1980 could be examined in five different periods. Between 1980 and 1985 the setting of the foundations of a new model of development open to foreign capital flows caused a parallel process of foundation for neo liberal political, socio-economic and cultural infrastructure in the capital city. This foundation period was followed by a creative destruction of the existing spatial practices through large scale projects between 1985 and 1989 under the auspices of conservative liberal government. The reactions to this creative destruction especially by working classes not only in Ankara but also in most of the metropolitan areas resulted in a revival of social democratic municipality experience which can be called as the *second* social municipality experience after 1970's. Yet, although social democratic experience provided a model restructuring in the city of Ankara for the whole Turkey, elitist approach of the middle and upper classes that constituted social democratic rule became apathetic to the transformation of middle and lower middle classes in especially squatter areas and settlements transformed from squatter settlements and in suburban areas.

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Throughout 1990's, working classes became much more conservative as a reaction to the values and virtues of the urban life that contempt them for not embracing "the modern life style" in the eyes of middle and upper classes. Under the influence of turbulent circumstances in central government level because of coalition governments, wide spread corruption, economic crisis, terrorist movements in south east Turkey and increasing conservatism and Islamic rise in political sphere caused political vacuums at local government, filled by the personalities of conservative figures like Melih Gökçek with the help of changing structure of political culture from cleavages to image politics. The reign of urban bosses became much more preponderant with the emergence of neo-conservative, Islamist governments that look for the further integration of Turkey into global system with respect to economic development policy and political structure. In 2000's the problems of the capital city of Ankara in the face of integration to the global network of flows against the so called "world city" Istanbul, caused it to become a vagabond capital, historical values and reputation of which was exposed to a new deconstruction movement, this time legitimized through the cooperation of central government, urban bosses and capitalist classes and global capital for the transformation of spatial practices in order to get best of exchange value.

These historical fluctuations and changes in the last two decades left its traces in the formation and use of urban space and especially in the urban planning process. Changes brought by neo liberal turn not only introduced a dramatic restructuring of the formal sphere of life but also in informal one. The informal political sphere has been widened and put into process through a new legitimization pattern which could also be seen in urban planning process and the relationships embedded in it. Although in general all these periods seem to be the part of a general trend in the use and exploitation of the urban space for exchange value and crisis in the political mobilization mechanisms and their reflection in spatial practices, it could be said that all of them have shown unique characteristics through which micro level relations concerning urban planning process could be understood. As a result of twenty years of neo-liberal process in local governments, more that five thousand partial plans and modifications determined the character of urbanization and urban planning character.

4.2. Building up of Neo-liberal Groundwork in Ankara between 1980 and 1984

The coup was realized from top to down in chain of command unlike former military interventions. After the coup, activities of civil society associations and unions were stopped, municipal and provincial councils were abolished, mayors were recalled, political activities were forbidden and all political parties were closed. The government established by the coup prepared a new constitution and laws congruent with it that limits democratic and political rights and re-defined the state-society relations in a nationalist-conservative manner. The new state-society relations defined by the coup government not only paved the way for a capital oriented development style, but also modified the nature of political mobilization mechanisms and their relationships with the spatial practices. In a way, the foundations of the emerging neo liberal trend were set by the authoritarian rule. It can be argued that above all other reasons, the scale and method of the military coup; duration and activities of military government was closely related with the level of urbanization and the role of urban problems in military intervention.

Alongside radical changes in the regime and the state-society relationships, economic development model and capital accumulation mode also changed radically. According to Şengül (2001:86) and Eraydın (1988:136) this radical change was towards a re-configuration of the relation between first and second cycles of capitalist production, i.e. between industrial production and areas like infrastructure, housing, transportation etc. Although such a change could not be solely ascribed to a capital oriented urbanization, it can be said that economic policies in favor of the logic of capital caused spatial practice to be defined and shaped around the logic of capital (Şengül 2001:87). According to Keskinok (1986:33), military government played an important role in transition from a labor oriented urbanization to a capital oriented one. This new trend on the one hand side directed investments in areas ignored in post-1980 period like sewerage system, public transport and housing and on the other hand, ended the dominancy of small scale capital investments and opened urban areas to organized capital. Between 1980 and 1985, the approach and activities of the military government prepared the conditions for the flourishing of the urban entrepreneurship later. Especially military officials appointed as mayors not only realized public order but also changed the logic of municipal investments. The preferences of using urban services in favor of urban poor were

abandoned in exchange for budgeting priorities and concerns like financial efficiency (Şengül, 2001:88 and 1993:127; Güler, 1992:41).

The intervention of Military Government to the urban space became much more significant with the two laws one concerning tourism and the other one concerning urban development amnesties. The Law of Tourism was enacted in 1982 by the Council of National Security providing certain fractions of capital privileged development rights contrary to the general planning and urban development decisions. This was also a sign of the changing understanding of economic development through second cycle of capitalist production. Secondly, the Council of National Security declared urban development amnesties for squatters, illegal and illegitimate buildings with the Law numbered 2805. Clearly, changing economic policies had been reflected in these two Laws which later became further emphasized by the coming Motherland Party. Moreover, a change in the constitution was realized that removed the obligations of the state for providing shelter to the needy. These Laws and more set the very grounds of upcoming neo-liberal wave and the conditions defined in these Laws were further elaborated on behalf of liberal economic principles later.

Another important consequence of the activities of military government and appointed mayor was the change of political base concerning central and local politics. Since military government perceived and justified their intervention as the upheavals in especially saved neighborhoods in squatters and the corruption in bureaucracy and political life, radical leftist groups and middle class radicals were detracted and imprisoned. It was anticipated that over three thousand people flee country (Akşin, 2004). Therefore, the second and third generation of squatter residents and as well as some important factions of the professionals and bureaucracy was repressed and their gap was filled with certain classes. Especially landowners and capitalist classes owning significant amount of capital to establish cooperation with military officers became influential. Although it was a predominantly covered period of history, later on it was argued that especially middle and lower-middle level military officials became landowners and entrepreneurs through the urban land rent and other privileges through urban development plan modifications (Bingöl 2006: 137). As a result, in cities, the very ground of the transformation of political mobilization mechanisms and their relationships with the spatial practices and urban planning process was set by the military government.

After the coup, Ali Dinçer, the municipal mayor elected before the coup was recalled and a general, Süleyman Önder was appointed as the mayor of Ankara Municipality. Önder, ruled Ankara Municipality until 1984 local elections, and acted in accordance with the understanding of the military government towards improvement of the urban infrastructure that have long been "ignored" by the irresponsible local government administration in the eyes of military. He has drawn an interesting profile and called *"atom ant"* of the municipality by the press in his term because of his livelong energy and performance. Yet, his attitude towards middle class radicals of the post-1980 period was strictly intolerant. For him, they were responsible for all the urban problems especially spread of squatters and poor infrastructure. The wide area of movement enjoyed by radical left movements in especially squatter areas was a result of the ignorance of former municipality cadres and this ignorance could be overcome through strict control and discipline. This could be observed in his attitude towards KENT-KOOP, which was an autonomous body for the organization of housing cooperatives and his regulations concerning taxi drivers and hawkers' uniforms and beards. From time to time he made declarations about illegal buildings and the implementation of the urban development amnesties. Moreover, under his rule, project development activities were realized for important infrastructure investments. For instance he made applied to World Bank for credit in order to solve the sewerage problem of Ankara and he opened the first mail center of Turkey in Ankara. His attitude towards planning and infrastructure investments paved the ground for later changes in planning authority and wide spread implementation of infrastructure investments in city. To sum up, it can be said that three years of military rule in municipality dissolved the power and reputation of planning bureaucracy to a certain extent and caused certain actors in planning bureaucracy to gain power with respect to their relations with military officers.

In 1981, because of its attitude towards traditional political activity and patronage, the military government closed all existing political parties and vetoed newly established ones arguing that the new parties were continuums of the ones which had been banned before. Yet, in the 1983 elections, military government itself pioneered the establishment of two new political parties and allowed establishment of another one, namely the Motherland Party (MP). MP, with its populist approach to the needs of people and its extraordinary character out of traditional bureaucratic tradition won the elections in 1983

with the support of the majority. In fact, although military government was reluctant in accepting the establishment of the MP, in a way it prepared the circumstances appropriate for the strengthening of the power base of MP. These circumstances were on the other hand congruent with the economic measure taken just before the coup and these measures were defined by Turgut Özal, who became the leader of MP.

According to Tekeli (Tekeli, 1998:20), MP made two other important strategic choices for further integration of Turkish economy into global system, other than opening up of economy through export oriented economic development. The first of these strategies was to provide necessary infrastructure, especially road network and communications technology to increase further integration to the outer world. The third one concerned establishment of organizational infrastructure necessary for integration to global economy. Foundation of market institutions, free trade and enterprise zones, reforms in banking system were important examples of these changes.

In reality, MP, by avoiding a widespread clientelistic network and big campaigns for membership, realized a much more different type of political mobilization strategy and political patronage. Led by Turgut Özal, it devised a new and strategic movement towards patronage and party organization. Especially in rural areas, MP used party directed patronage activities, such as promising districts to make them provinces, providing electricity and telephone facilities etc. Yet, while using party-directed patronage in the rural level, MP, instead of establishing vertical networks through party organization, preferred to establish concrete links with leaders of a newly emerging bourgeoisie. This newly emerging class consisted of large capital owners, who were very influential in their locality. These people later on became very influential in cities and metropolitan centers. MP's political support came mainly from these ambitious, competitive people, who were critical to traditional roots, abstention with political considerations, ideologies and open to new technology and changes. Another strategy used by the MP was to bring back educated professional Turkish people from abroad and put them in key positions. Moreover, the MP, parallel to its program based on a combination of four main tendencies in Turkish political life (nationalism, conservatism, social justice and liberalism), chose the middle and lower middle classes as a target group to be mobilized, Özal used the term "middle pillar" for these groups including artisans, civil servants who are upwardly mobile. In fact, these people were seen as

potential clients, who then would be mobilized by MP's patrons and brokers (Güneş-Ayata 1994a).

In brief, after deriving power at central government, MP started to constitute three main pillars of the neo-liberal stance: decentralization, privatization, and deregulation. Decentralization was realized through changes in the Laws of Local governments like the Law numbered 3030 for the constitution of greater municipalities. The second important Law for this respect was the Law of Urban Development numbered 3194, through which the authority of preparation and approval of the urban development plans were assigned to municipalities. In metropolitan areas a two tier system established in which the greater municipality had the authority to prepare and approve master development plans and approve implementation plans accepted by district municipalities. The same kind of distinction was drawn also between greater municipalities and district municipalities with respect to division of service authority. Moreover, with the Law numbered 3194, nearly all planning authority was handed in to municipalities. In fact, this was a clear reflection of the neo-liberal stance of MP, towards promotion of investments in the second cycle of capital with infrastructure and housing investments.

Another change in patron-client relations emerged in local political arena as a result of deregulatory and decentralist policies of the MP. As a part of its liberal approach, MP realized a decentralization attempt. Özal perceived construction sector, as the initiator of the economic development, because construction industry needs lots of ingredients from a variety of different industries. For this purpose, in 1983, all rights and responsibilities of urban planning were decentralized to municipalities. Indeed, the surplus produced by construction industry, helped other sectors to reach intended level of growth. At the same time a construction boom started with increasing urban rents. The housing production increased drastically by nearly %50. The resources created by construction boom and increasing urban rents created new possibilities of MP's patrons. Yet, the construction boom triggered the widening of informal political arena since the construction industry was mostly based on informal small firms and individuals who tried to get building rights using patronage relations. Local arena became more significant than ever. The local autonomy introduced by decentralization opened a new struggle area for patrons. Especially after 1990's the local-local struggle became much more significant to use the resources in the localities. Sometimes even some powerful figures tried to construct urban political machines.

The decentralization process realized by MP, transferred some important functions to local governments like provision of infrastructure, urban planning. These two important functions decentralized without giving any incentive to the local governments. Local governments started to realize these functions without the right to collect tax and creating their own resources. They were supposed to use grants given by central government bodies like "Bank of Provinces" (İller Bankası). But, they were given full control of these new functions. Especially the municipalities were given the full right to make and approve the urban plans themselves. This caused a very important change in the structure of Turkish Politics and patron-client relations. First of all, increased role of municipalities in provision of infrastructure and urban planning increased the competition between political parties in power and the political parties in opposition. The political parties who were not be able to hold power in central government focused on local governments and tried to use the new powers of local governments. But they did it in a new way. They preferred to use "urban political machines", through using powerful mayors to constitute urban political machines based on clientelism and populism. On the other hand, the lacks of necessary financial resources often used by municipalities to legitimize informal political relations like clientelism, political patronage or corruption. Mostly, informal relations established between local politicians and bureaucrats and other classes were reasoned with the lack of necessary resources.

In mid-1980's, the foundation of groundwork of neo-liberal winds, which has begun by the military government, completed by MP through at the same time laying the ground for proper political mobilization mechanisms congruent with its policies. While establishing partnerships with large capital holding private firms using the new depoliticized bourgeoisie, MP promoted construction sector and production of large amount of housing units out of the metropolitan areas and exploitation of urban land rent.

On the other hand, MP devised a populist strategy to mobilize squatter residents through in a way integrating them in the same strategy with organized capital. According to Şengül (2001:90-91), while emphasizing exchange value and urban land rent embedded in squatter areas and treating squatter residents a landowners and developers, MP succeeded in transforming squatter residents into rent-seeking entrepreneurs and inclusion of petty builders in this process through squatter amnesties. A series of Laws we enacted in a row showing the change of the logic of this integration (Tercan 1996:8).

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With the Laws numbered 2805, 2981, 3290, 3366 and 3414, nearly all kinds of squatters were legalized and the land on which squatter settlements were built was assigned to squatter residents through a special kind of plan called *squatter amendment and development plans*. With squatter amendment and development plans, nearly all the squatter settlements obtained the potential to transform into four storey apartment buildings. This strategic change turned all squatter residents into potential rent-seekers in collaboration with petty builders. Yet, since this potential was not yet profitable enough for petty builders, most of the squatter residents had to wait till the level of urban land rent makes it profitable enough, or demand increases in building rights in order to close the gap between. In a way squatter residents are organized through this Laws in order for them to be mobilized by MP by using formation of a complex network of relations at micro level between local politicians, squatter residents and petty builders.

Although historians do not fully accept 1983 general elections fair and legitimate, 1984 local elections has shown that, the political mobilization strategy of MP proved to be successful together with the circumstances created by military government both in central and local governments and additional efforts of MP holding power in central government. MP got 54 municipalities and had %45 of all votes in provincial parliaments proving that its neo liberal policies had its back up from grassroots (Tanör 2004:67). In all district municipalities of Altındağ, Çankaya, Keçiören, Mamak and Yenimahalle and in greater municipality of Ankara, MP won the local elections. Mehmet Altınsoy became the first mayor of the greater municipality of Ankara.

The result of 1984 local elections not only marked the emergence of a metropolitan administration with new actors and levels, but also defined a new framework for the planning of the city of Ankara. Previously, planning powers concerning Ankara was divided between the metropolitan bureau of planning as a representative of the ministry of reconstruction and resettlement, Ankara İmar Müdürlüğü and Ankara Municipality. First, Ankara İmar Müdürlüğü became a department in the greater municipality of Ankara. Later the Metropolitan Planning Bureau was closed and then merged into a department in the greater municipality (Altaban 2002:38). As a result, the metropolitan bureau, which had planning powers but not authority of approve them, Ankara İmar Müdürlüğü, which was ignorant of the planning problems though it had both planning powers, to approve them and to implement them and the municipality which was struggling to implement the plans in this circumstances merged into the planning

department of the greater municipality of Ankara (Bademli 1986:113). In a way, planning authority was decentralized to the municipality. According to Altaban (2002:38), reactions to the planning method of the Metropolitan Bureau was influential in these decisions since the Bureau was perceived as an obstacle for the projects of the actors and interest groups in housing and land market.

As a result, after the decentralization of planning authority a four level planning system was introduced. Within municipal boundaries of the greater municipality district municipalities and the greater municipality was responsible for planning and out of that boundary countryside municipalities and provincial governorship was responsible for planning. The urbanization and planning process of the city of Ankara was shaped through a complex set of relations established between brokers of the planning bureaucracy, organized capital involved through large infrastructure projects, squatter residents and petty builders who try to maximize their benefits from urban land rent through squatter amnesty and squatter amendment plans. Yet, although the scene in mid-1980's seemed to be extremely decentralized, centralist tendencies within the liberal government of MP was rising and involvement of organized capital within large infrastructure projects made politicians and bureaucrats from central government a natural component of the urban planning process.

4.3. Neo-liberal De(re)construction of the Capital City of Ankara between 1984-1989

Until the beginning of 1990's, the MP held power, getting support of the majority though with certain fluctuations in political and economic spheres. The political mobilization strategy of the MP together with the liberal economic understanding succeeded in gaining the support of the masses. Economic policies of the MP were based on radical transformation of the economy towards an open free market economy. With policy changes like free foreign exchange and important aids and credits to private sector, financed mainly by foreign capital, a rapid economic growth has taken place for a while. Yet, through the end of 1980's an accumulation crisis started to build up as a result of macroeconomic changes in export deficits and growing public debt and rising discontent with the neo liberal policies among working classes. Increasing corruption also triggered such a crisis. As a result of export based economic development policy, some important

favors like credits for export firms provided appropriate resource bases especially for corrupt activities and patronage. In its popular term *fictitious export* (hayali ihracat), which means basically getting export credits or rewards without exporting became a symbol of these corrupt activities. It can be said that between 1980 and 1990 patronage and clientelistic networks became more widespread and even transformed to some extreme corruption activities. Such changes in the golden age o neo-liberal policies also dramatically influenced spatial practices and urban planning process at micro level which later on especially in 1989 local elections proved to become a very important factor weakening neo-liberal legacy of the MP.

Yet, before getting into detail of the transformation in urban areas and local governments introduced by neo-liberal changes, it would be helpful to get an account of the neo-liberal policies applied by government of Turgut Özal between 1984 and 1991. In fact, especially in policies concerning income distribution and agricultural support the MP effectively used and widened the scope of neo-liberal policies introduced by the military government. Through passing years, support purchases of the agricultural products were diminished and support to the agricultural production decreased in general in favor of internal trade market. This caused an increase in the rate and volume of migration from rural areas to urban areas since the agricultural policies towards liberalization caused collapse of remaining middle and small sized family farms in the rural Turkey. On the other hand, although a recession was experienced in real wages because of inflationary policies of the MP, the MP made well use of the internal contradictions and weaknesses of the union movement and manipulated the income distribution in favor of the middle and upper income groups.

In financial system, financial means of investment became proliferated and wide spread with the relaxation of the limits upon the financial movements. From revenue sharing bonds to investment funds, from consumer credits to the introduction of credit cards, increased number of financial means not only increased also the investment choices of investors but also opened collective consumption goods and other conspicuous consumption to the financial market. All these developments in the financial sector relaxed the state control on financial markets. Moreover, in 1986 Istanbul stock exchange market was established and inter-bank money and currency markets were established through which financial system became an integrated whole and capital can easily flow from one sector from other and from state to market. The integration of

financial markets also helped integration with the global economy through exports and currency transfer. Liberalization in imports and very generous promotions in exports backed up with a flexible currency system concerning moderate reel devaluations. Although quotas and customs were relaxed to a great extent for the encouragement of imports, the protectionist economic policies for exports were replaced by promotions which in some cases resulted in fictitious export scandals. As a result, financial system became fully integrated to the global economy in which a consumer economy was promoted with loosening barriers on imports. In a way, it can be said that, changes in financial system became pone of the imperatives of the large investments realized by the government in local arena, in metropolitan areas. Establishing partnerships with the firms bringing foreign investment and imported goods from abroad, metropolitan areas became a medium through foreign capital is transferred and used.

In terms of public finance and public spending, it could be seen that although tax base of the public finance became unjust and narrow, limitations brought bout by the military government on public spending loosened and spending level heightened. On the one hand, some privileges and exceptions were introduced in corporate tax and a very important financial monitoring mechanism of wealth declaration was abolished. In addition with the introduction of taxes like value added tax, the tax base shifted from direct taxes taken from production to the indirect taxes of the consumers. Yet, this resulted in decrease of the share of the tax revenues in GNP and concessions in taxes in favor of the capitalist classes later on paved the way to the financial crisis. With respect to public spending on the other hand, under the rule of the MP, public spending increased dramatically till 1988 especially because of the transfer of financial resources to the local governments for municipal investments and investments in communication and energy sectors. The changes in the public finance system and public spending not only caused the emergence of infrastructure investments made in local sphere but also resulted in the emergence of a new middle class whose behavior and habits were based on consumption. The emergence of this new middle class later on has been further strengthened by the consumption policies of the following governments. This new middle class was formed around a certain life style based on suburbanization and values of emerging consumer society.

Another important denominator of the neo-liberal policies applied by the MP was about state economic enterprises (SEE). In 1980's prices of the goods and services provided by

SEE's were below the general prices and most important of all, state's contribution to the finance of SEE's were diminished. As a consequence, this led SEE's to take huge debt burdens inside and outside. In industrial sector, this debt crisis resulted in decreases in efficiency and slowed down in technological innovations. Retrogression of the SEE's provided sufficient ground for the privatization realized by the MP. Two important agencies, The Housing Development Administration (Toplu Konut İdaresi) and Public Partnership Administration (Kamu Ortaklığı İdaresi) were established as the first step towards privatization. The Housing Development Administration was realizing the transformation of public land into housing units whereas Publis Partnership Agency was realizing the preparation procedure for SEE's to be privatized. The MP's attitude towards SEE's and privatization had a very important consequence on urban areas. First of all retrogression of SEE's resulted in the erosion of the influence of public in all sectors especially in labor market. Once an important resource of employment, with the new policies SEE's lost this function. Consecutively, diminishing share of the SEE's in the labor market caused a decrease in the union power. The labor markets in urban areas left to the forces of capitalist logic together with increasing infrastructure investments realized by private firms and consortiums. Diminishing possibility of finding a job as a worker in labor market, especially lower income groups and urban poor have been manipulated and mobilized by the MP with policies out of labor market.

Mostly, lower income groups and urban poor were mobilized by a wide spread "corrupt" kind of populism. The main aim of the mobilization strategy of the MP was to create urban masses devoid of class consciousness and could be easily manipulated by the program and neo-liberal ideology of the MP. This strategy could be followed in one of the TV speeches of the Municipal Mayor of Keçiören, Melih Gökçek later:

> "Praise be upon him Mr. Turgut Özal loved giving speeches in front of crowds very much. Whenever he would like a very large crowd he called me since he had known that me Melih Gökçek could gather the largest crowds. I was going to squatter neighborhoods and other ones in order to gather such crowds. Even sometimes I myself could not believe the largeness of the crowd." (Speech taken from a TV interview in Kanal 7, March 1, 2001, captured and translated by the author).

Indeed, municipalities, most of whom was controlled by the MP after 1984 local elections, played a very important role in populist activities. The main strategy of the MP was to mobilize lower income groups through mechanisms out of the labor market and solving their problems out of the mechanisms defined by constitution. For this reason use

of urban land rent provided an important outlet. Title deed assignment certificates for squatter residents, urban development amendments and development rights devoid of a comprehensive understanding of urban planning resulted in the mobilization of squatter residents and urban poor by the urban land rent created. Yet, the expectations raised among lower income groups for urban land rent was so high that when they could not get the promised amount of return, they turned their back later on MP.

Moreover, processs like tax returns to paid workers and poverty funds carried solution of the problems of lower income groups out of labor market. Again, municipalities played a very important role in this expansion of solutions to the problems of lower income groups out of labor markets since the multiplier effects of the public investments in metropolitan areas created new but limited employment opportunities. The common approach to infrastructure investments was congruent with the populist applications. The *build-operate-transfer (yap-işlet-devret)* approach not only increased the capacities of private sector but also widened the employment opportunities provided by municipalities. With the increasing authority of the municipalities, use of local public authority to assign rents to certain groups also became a common process. The relations of municipalities with some illegal and illegitimate groups became organic for instance in public bids. The blurred area between local governments and the emerging informal sector provided endless opportunities for the establishment of such relations. In the film shot at those days, it was a common scene in which hawkers were chased by municipal officers, zabıta, or zabıta was bribed by hawkers or squatter residents in order to freely sell in streets or build a squatter. The corrupt activities became implicitly worded by the prime minister himself as "my civil servant knows what to do". In a way municipalities became a symbol of corruption.

However, one of the main arguments of the neo-liberal thesis on those days was that through further liberalization of the markets, informal economy and informal economical relations will diminish or disappear. It was assumed that, derivation of rents will diminish through further withdrawal of state from all areas of economy and especially production since corrupt activities and clientelism emerges out of the relationship of the state and particular interests. Yet, in reality, parallel to the further application of neo-liberal ideals, both the types of rents and spoils proliferated and scale of them became larger. Nearly most of the historians and social scientists agreed that between 1984 and 1989 one of the most corrupt periods of the political history of the Turkish Republic was

experienced. According to Boratav (2004:201), although some forms of corruption had existed before 1980's, it could be said that all kinds of corrupt activities became realized in a much more primitive form than before. This could be explained in the transformation of the priorities of the economic development policy of the period. Between 1960 and 1980 in import substitution period, both the scale of the rents and spoils had been limited because of limited capital accumulation and development policy had emphasized industrial production rather than service sector. The intricate and complex organization of the industrial production and corporate structure of the organized capital limited such activities to a certain extent. Nearly all corrupt activities were limited to derivation of privileges in a closed economic system. Yet after 1980's, with increasing focus on the second and third cycles of capitalist production, the possibilities of derivation of rents and spoils became nearly limitless. With a new middle class in pursuit of rents in sectors like tourism and other types of service activities, the scale and type of the rent to be derived became much more related with the land. Not only urban land rent became perceived as a sole means of income by itself for some interest groups, but also changing characteristic of the production from vertically organized type of production to a flexible one which organized horizontally caused to spatial location to became much more important. As a result, emergence of new and particularistic opportunities of derivation of rents in the areas like finance, building contracting, tourism and land speculation not only undermined neo-liberal ideals but also transformation of the capitalist classes. The ones having the capacity to adapt to the changes in state-market relations survived.

These changes in the state-market relations and the way populism and rent-seeking activities were manipulated by the political cadres pursuing neo-liberal ideals also affected political mobilization strategies of the period. While traditional white-collar working classes started to dissolve, a new middle class ideal started to be formed based on derivation of rents. This new middle class, devoid of class consciousness, were mobilized by the MP. Yet, this new middle class was heterogeneous and consisted of not only capitalists but also members of traditional classes and squatter residents who pursue short term gains without showing too much effort other than the effort necessary to establish certain relations. The importance of the relationships established between actors involved in rent seeking was that, the land has started to be perceived as the ultimate durable investment through which all the rents gathered in other sectors could be transferred into another type of rent that is durable and have the capacity to be a means

for investment. Therefore, the land and urban land rent became a medium through which a relatively durable network of relations from various sectors could be brought together.

All these changes in the nature of the state-society relations and state-market configurations could be observed in the city of Ankara. In fact, the neo-liberal winds of change caused the city of Ankara to deviate dramatically from the development pattern of urbanization in Turkey. Although the defining characteristics of the city of Ankara was being the capital city and a symbol of the nation state ideal formerly, after 1980's it has started to be defined by the advocates of the neo-liberal approach as the symbol of bulky state and bureaucratic affairs that prevented a healthy free market economy to emerge. Furthermore, changing economic development policy brought the city of Istanbul to the fore as the center of financial flows and the production center of the textile industry.

Between 1984 and 1989, the city of Ankara was defined by the intensive housing and infrastructure investments realized outside the existing urban macro form. Furthermore, rent-seeking activities of the newly emerging middle class mobilized by the MP caused increase in building rights in the central business district and central neighborhoods of the city. The rising consumer economy and imported goods resulted in increasing activities in Kızılay and Ulus, two central business districts of the City and these commercial boost resulted in the intensification of building rights to gather most of urban land rent. On the other hand, realization of social housing projects like Betoken and Drayman not only accelerated the pace of decentralization of the city congruent with the premises of 1990 Ankara Metropolitan Development Plan. These two seemingly contradictory development dynamics determined the dynamics of the relations established within urban planning process.

Till the end of 1980's, the planning department of the greater municipality of Ankara tried to implement the already prepared and approved development framework of the city of Ankara, 1990 Ankara Metropolitan Development Plan. Alongside with the decentralization decision of the plan towards western corridor, certain suburban developments were directly planned by the planning department. On the west, Batıkent and Eryaman and on Eskişehir Road Çayyolu Housing Areas were planned and substantial number of housing units were built in these areas. In addition, alongside Konya Road, a corridor development plan was realized. All around urban macro form,

development pressures of the housing cooperatives of middle and high income groups emerged. Moreover, some projects that had been formerly formulated by the social democrat municipality in 1970's like Altınpark, pedestrian regions in Kızılay etc. and some new projects like intercity bus station (AŞTİ), Dikmen Valley and Portakal Çiçeği Valley Projects etc. (Ağaçlı, 1999:13-17).

Although, the general framework of the 1990 Ankara Metropolitan Development Plan was preserved and applied, two other important developments in the planning system and process caused some important distortions and deviations in urban planning process to continue like in former periods. The first of these developments was the introduction of private planning activities as a part of the implication process of the 1990 Ankara Metropolitan Development Plan. Ağaçlı (1999:14), the first director of the planning department of the greater municipality of Ankara describes the situation as:

> …Again within the framework of this 1990 Metropolitan Development Plan a second way was embraced. That is, naturally the staff and the capacities of the municipalities were not sufficient for planning of everywhere. For this reason we followed such a way: It was told to private planning bureaus that "you prepare and bring, compromise with landowners, this is our planning standards, these are the parameters of urban planning, prepare accordingly and bring those to us". They have prepared both base maps and 5000 and 1000 scaled plans and then submitted to district municipalities and metropolitan municipalities for approval. We then examined and approved the proposals. That was the second way. I could not give the amount of privately planned areas within this five years (Translated by the author).

With private planning activities, a vast array of new actors was incorporated into urban planning process in a new process other than official channels. For the first time in the urban planning history of Ankara, private planners and actors pursuing particularistic interests in urban land constituted a second and very important channel for political mobilization strategies. From 1980's onwards, it became a common process to have private planning bureaus to prepare the urban development plans and urban development plan modifications out of the planning department of the greater municipality of Ankara. In most cases, plans prepared by private planning bureaus were closely related with particular interests that were not congruent with the premises of the plan in force. Moreover, architects and planners themselves started to become directly involved with the land speculation activities with such a planning process. The role of private planning bureaus in land speculation was reinforced with their involvement in the registration of the squatters according to the Laws of squatter amnesty. In a way, planning activities of

private planning bureaus started to constitute a new and systematic outlet for rent-seeking activities. In some cases politicians and bureaucrats themselves directed landowners to private planning bureaus to by- pass resistance of the planning technocrats in the planning departments. Private planning Bureaus, on the other hand interpreted particular interests concerning urban land rent into technical language of the planning and provided legitimization of such interests in technical terms. This new outlet, later on became one of the most important channels through which actors from various classes and interest groups pursue urban land rent. In passing year, congruent with the changes in circumstances these bureaus also transformed.

The second of these developments was squatter amendment plans that were started to be prepared contrary to the decisions of the 1990 Ankara Metropolitan Development Plan. In 1980's, nearly 63% of the all urban macro form was consisted of irregular and squatter settlements (Ağaçlı, 1999). With squatter amendment plans, prepared for the a 6-11 km. diameter belt around the center of Ankara, for a significant section of the urban macro form, population and building densities were increased three of four fold in a planning understanding devoid of all the necessary social infrastructure (Çamur, 1996:16). During preparation of squatter amendment plans, private planning bureaus were used for a limited period for the measurement and registration of the squatter buildings to determine the base areas of the squatters. This use helped certain relations to be established between squatter residents, planners and entrepreneurs, wishing to develop squatter areas.

Yet, although a significant portion of the squatter development plans were prepared between 1984 and 1989, the level of transformation of squatters into apartment buildings were slower than the expectations created by the MP among squatter residents. Because of the large housing projects and rent-seeking activities in central business district and planned neighborhoods promoted by the MP itself, till the beginning of 1990's transformation of squatter settlements could not be as profitable as expected. Limited capital accumulation of the petty builders was not sufficient enough to transform such a large area of squatter settlements without urban land rents below a certain level. Therefore small capital owners tended towards other emerging sectors like retail and tourism instead of transformation of squatter settlements.

Some very important infrastructure and transportation projects, realized under the rule of Altınsoy, also negatively influenced implementation of the 1990 Ankara Metropolitan Development Plan. For instance, in accordance with the automobile oriented transportation policy of the MP, some very important highway projects were started in the second half of 1980's. The highway linking Ankara with Istanbul as a part of Trans European Motorway, was planned, designed and some parts of the highway was built. While Kınalı-Sakarya section of the highway was being built, the planning department of the greater municipality of Ankara contacted directly prime minister Turgut Özal and recommended that the highway to be curled around the city of Ankara (Ağaçlı, 1999:15). Özal accepted this recommendation and an environmental highway was started to be built around the urban macro form of Ankara. Yet, this highway not only constituted a new threshold for the development of urban macro form, but also defined the new boundaries of land speculation. Speculative interests started to buy land on and between the route of the highway loop and existing macro form of the city of Ankara. This tendency was reinforced with the large social housing projects in and around the fringe of the macro form. As a result, some very important movements of urban land speculation was realized in the fringe of the urban macro form in the second half of 1980's, constituting first steps towards further suburbanization of the city and uncontrolled urban sprawl. Purchase of some land in the fringe of the macro form by housing cooperatives especially in the western development corridor and then having private planning bureaus to prepare piece meal plans for these areas became a very common process.

On the other hand, focus on project management in municipal administration rather than implementation of the plan and emphasizing exchange values against use values and community ideals resulted in municipality under Altınsoy rule to pursue some projects developed in 1970's and produce some more. Yet, definition and understanding of the term "project" by Altınsoy was completely different from the use of "project" term by the social municipality experience. The local government experience under the rule of MP emphasized exchange values and market values, whereas the social municipality experience of 1970's had been based on an understanding in which participation and embracing of the projects by especially lower income groups. Unlike 1970's, in 1980's the sole aim of urban projects was to create business opportunities for capitalist classes, for especially construction companies. For instance, one of the most important projects of the term, "Atakule" was designed as and urban project with build-operate-transfer

model. Atakule was designed as one of the first examples of shopping malls in Ankara and opened by Turgut Özal himself in 1989. Similarly, Altınpark, named after the mayor Altınsoy, was designed as one of the first examples of extravagant urban parks in this period. Realization of the design of such projects was done contrary to the premises of the 1990 Metropolitan Development Plan and in most cases they have been legitimized through urban development plan modifications. In addition, the spillover effects of these projects on the pressures of increasing population and building densities further distorted population and building densities set by approved urban development plans and especially 1990 Metropolitan Development Plan. In a way, these projects became means for rent seeking interest groups since land prices tend to increase around these project areas. Therefore, it can be said that, project management understanding of the period itself became a means for rent-seeking activities. These projects not only provided valuable investment opportunities for capitalist classes, but also provided opportunities for derivation of urban land rent for certain interest groups who were in close relation with the cadres of the MP.

Another important aspect of the period between 1984 and 1989 was large urban infrastructure projects and their finance influencing shaping of urban macro form. First of these infrastructure projects was the natural gas infrastructure, which was started as a solution to the ongoing problem of air pollution. In addition some very important projects of water and sewerage were realized. For instance Çamlıdere-Gerede water procurement projects and sewerage projects like BAKAY (Greater Ankara Channel Investment Program) and Tatlar purification facility were foreseen and projected in this period. An institutional and financial transformation happened for the realization of these projects. Second important urban infrastructure breakthrough was started in this period (Bademli, 1999:19). Special administrations were established like ASKİ (General Directorate of Water Works and Sewerage) and coordinating ad hoc bodies like AYKOME (Infrastructure Coordination Center) and UKOME (Transportation Coordination Center) formed to provide coordination and harmony between infrastructure building activities of central government and local government. For the finance of such large infrastructure projects credits from donor agencies like World Bank and from international credit giving institutions were used. This, on the other hand helped enlargement of the organized capital through infrastructure tenders which were financed by international credits under payback guarantee of the treasure. Moreover, provision of substantial infrastructure to the especially emerging suburban settlements

and transforming squatter settlements further stimulated urban sprawl and increase in population and building densities in the central neighborhoods of the city since increasing densities and urban sprawl were both legitimized to a certain extent with the existence of infrastructure facilities under circumstances in which the relationship between urban development and the costs of urban infrastructure could have never been perceived.

Nevertheless, the will to search for a comprehensive framework to direct changing institutional, political, economic and physical scene of the city of Ankara was still inherent in the activities of the greater municipality. The reason for that was the wideness of the infrastructure and transportation projects. These projects was so large and complex, the municipality searched for ways of incorporating separate activities together. One of these efforts was the preparation of 2015 analysis of the Middle East Technical University Group. An analysis was commissioned to METU group that will be used later for the constitution of transportation master plan. Using new comprehensive analysis techniques that have not been applied in Turkey before produced a structural plan (Bademli, 1999:22; Chambers of City Planners, 2002:15) that foreseen controlled decentralization of the urban macro form (Map 10). Yet, 2015 Development Proposal could not become an official plan directing urban development because of authority problem between Governorship, The Ministry of Public Works and Resettlement and the Greater Municipality of Ankara. In addition, during the preparation of 2015 structural plan proposal some very important investments, planning and urban development activities were realized undermining the premises of the plan proposal. The fate of 2015 plan was interesting to show that from that time on there will never be neither the will nor the belief in a comprehensive framework for urban development for the coming next twenty years following 2015 plan.

To conclude, it can be said that between 1984 and 1989, the city of Ankara witnessed a major break point in terms of application of neo-liberal policies in urban areas and with reference to changing characteristic of the interaction between political mobilization strategies and urban planning process. Although, 1990 Ankara Metropolitan Plan was implemented to a great extent especially in the large social housing projects at the fringe of the urban macro form, share of planning power with private planning bureaus and implementation of squatter amendment plans caused distortions in 1990 Metropolitan Development Plan. In addition, realization of large infrastructure projects and urban

projects realized with global capital helped organized capital to enter into second cycle of capitalist production in Ankara. Thus, nearly all fractions of the capital, especially small and middle sized firms of service sector became affiliated with short term gains from urban land rent. In a way, all the capital accumulated in service sectors started to be transferred into investments in land or land based rents. The capital accumulation emerged as a result of changing economic development policy was directed towards speculative activities in the fringe of the urban macro form of Ankara and central neighborhoods.
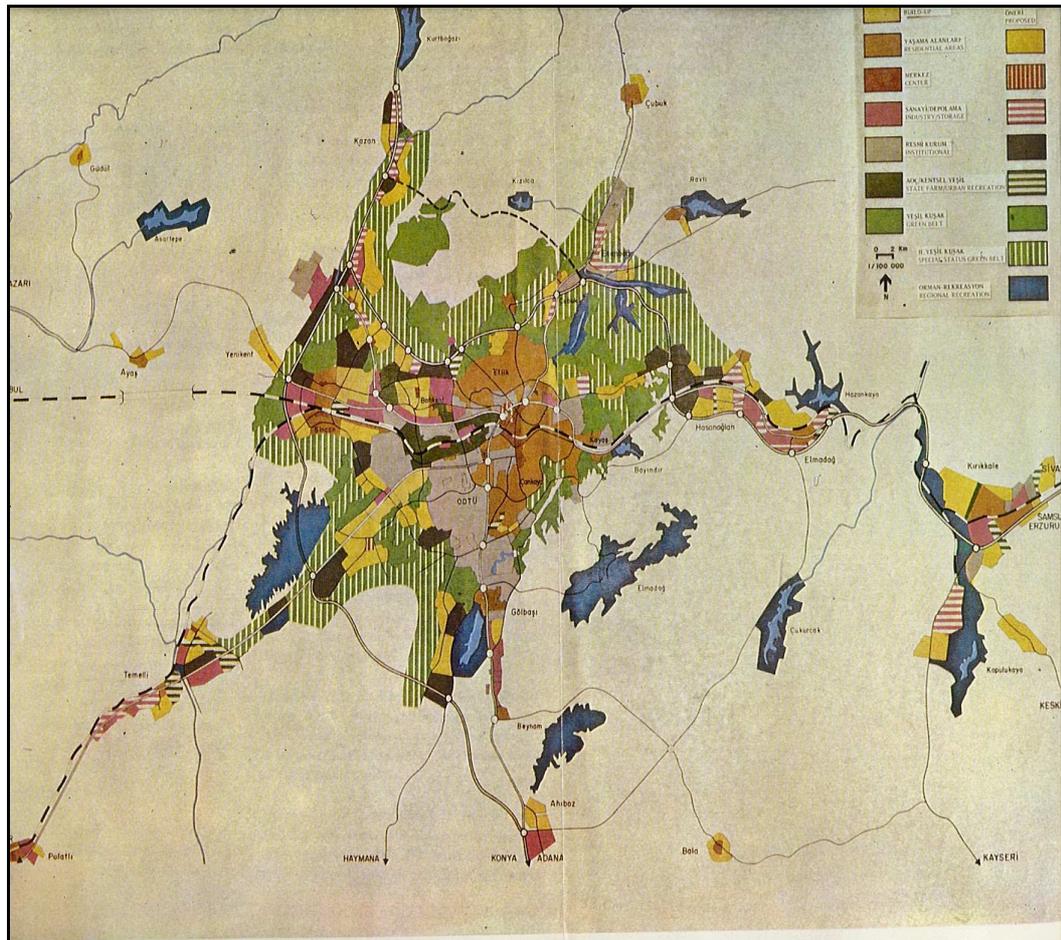
(Chambers of City Planners, 2002)
Map 10. 2015 Structural Development Schema Produced by METU Group

At the fringe of Ankara, other than social housing projects of municipality, housing cooperatives and housing settlements realized by large construction firms were legitimized by mostly piece meal urban development plans prepared by private planning bureaus. Other speculative interests tried to increase building rights in central business districts, where transformation from industrial production to service sector increased need for commercial uses and in central neighborhoods where land and housing prices was high. All these speculative activities were successfully mobilized by the municipality under MP rule. Yet, although squatter amendment plans were prepared and approved, such a mobilization strategy could not be that successful for two reasons since only a small portion of squatter settlement were transformed into apartment buildings where relatively urban land rents were higher. First, petty builders and market mechanisms, through which squatter areas were expected to be transformed, failed to transform a significant portion of squatter settlement consisting of nearly 60% of the macro form since either level of urban land rent was not as high as to attract petty builders to invest in transformation of squatters or petty builders used their capital accumulation in sectors like commercial activities where increasing activity provided different kinds of speculative rents. Second, realization of large social housing projects in the western corridor caused an important amount of housing to be produced which diminished the demand for housing for a while. Therefore, discontent has grown among squatter residents who could not get their share from urban land rent through transformation of squatter settlements into apartment buildings. Together with unrest caused by macroeconomic instability and distributive policies of the MP, the first neo-liberal experiment of the MP in local governments failed.

Although, in spite of the return of old politicians to the political arena as a result of a referendum and establishment of new political parties strengthening left wing politics and causing further division in right wing politics, the MP won the general elections in 1986 and 1987, in local elections of 1989 turned out to be a real defeat for the MP and a landslide victory for social democrats. Candidates of Social Democratic Peoples Party (SDPP) became mayors in more than half of the provinces. Transformation of wide spread populism and clientelism into open corruption and scandals concerning the family of Turgut Özal, together with the reactions towards neo-liberal policies of the MP directed from recovering union movement and strengthening social democratic wave resulted in such a defeat.

Defeat of the MP in local elections not only caused turmoil in central political arena for nearly a decade but also transformed the political mobilization mechanisms of the political parties based on the use of urban land rent. The second social democratic experience in local governments in Ankara was realized without the guidance of a general framework for development and under the effects of rising identity politics. Yet, through further integration of squatter residents, new and diverse set of actors entered into and became influential in urban planning process.

4.4. Revival of Social Municipality Experience as a Continuum of Neo-liberal Experience under the Influence of Identity Politics between 1989 and 1994

The period passed between the defeat of the MP in local government elections and another defeat of social democrats in 1994 local elections was a period of political turmoil in both central and local political spheres. In the central political sphere, although application of neo-liberal policies of the MP failed to a certain extent, influence of important figures of the party like Turgut Özal and Mesut Yılmaz, MP stayed as an influential but eroding political party in the power till 1991. On the other hand in the local political sphere, some very important new changes started to become prominent that, the effects of identity based politics caused not only decline of social democratic movement in the years to come but also resulted in the upheaval of a conservative life style in urban areas especially among migrant populations.

After the defeat of the MP in local elections, Turgut Özal was elected as the president of the Turkish Republic in 1989. Özal's presidency on the other hand, brought a new type of struggle into the central political sphere. Using all the authority defined in the constitution for the president and sometime more, Özal tried not only to control the state apparatus but also controlled the MP and its ruling cadre in government. In the formation of Akbulut government and in internal affairs of the MP, he became significantly influential. Some even argued that, Özal's presidency was a short term experience of de facto presidency system like in USA. In fact, diffidence of Akbulut government in the face of lots of incidences for example the "gladio" scandal in whole Europe and Özal's interventions in the administration of economic affairs, in the social life such as in the Zonguldak strike and coal mines and in the first of Gulf war has shown that the

presidency system was experienced de facto in Turkey under the presidency of Turgut Özal. Yet, Özal's influence on central government turned into a political struggle with the 1991 general elections in which MP lost its majority in the parliament.

The most important development in the central political sphere on the other side was happening in the structure and organization of political parties. Between 1987 and 1991 especially socialist political parties were established in the left wing but these parties were either closed by the constitutional court or became ineffective. On the other side, in the right wing with the return of Süleyman Demirel to his political career in True Path Party (TPP), the political base of the MP eroded to a certain extent. The centre of politics came to a balance between Social Democratic People's Party (SDPP) and rising TPP.

In fact, SDPP and TPP were actually continuums of RPP and JP respectively with respect to cadres and political philosophy. Both were having wide spread grass root organizations. TPP's hinterland was involving peasants and traditional local bourgeoisie, who were following DP tradition from 1950's on (Güneş-Ayata 1994). Yet, in urban areas TPP were very weak. In 1991 elections TPP joined the coalition government but its popularity decreased each year because it has failed to grasp the very nature of the urbanization process that was one of the most important denominators of the Turkish political life, establish a wide spread clientelistic network in urban areas like SDPP did.

On the other side, SDPP, political mobilization mechanisms as a continuum of the clientelistic networks established by Republican People's Party in urban areas before the coup of 1980, extended clientelistic networks further. Especially migrant populations are mobilized into the party organizations not only by clientelistic relations but also with ethnic features. These migrant populations became very active in resource distribution in derivation of urban rents, employment, and getting credits etc. In late 1980's and early 1990's, with increasing involvement of ethnicity and religious sect divisions (alevi-sunni), SDPP got the votes of urban migrants and urban poor. In the local elections of 1989, SDPP came to power in most of the local governments in urban areas. In fact, SDPP's success was a result of the decentralization process realized by MP and the discontent growing within squatter residents who could not get rents they had expected for. Urban rents constituted main base of patronage for SDPP.

The success of SDPP could be not solely ascribed to their use of ethnic features in politics but also to the changing circumstances of the global system and political philosophy in general. From late 1980's to the end of 1990's, a new political wind influenced whole world including Turkey. This new understanding was based on post-modern political philosophy on one hand and incorporation of conservative political flows within the neo-liberal ideals (Aksoy, 1995:162). While post-modern political philosophy emphasized rejection of traditional conceptions and categories of political life for the sake of relativity of the political reality, conservative values and entities brought traditional communal categories like, family, ethnic background, religious sects etc. Neo-liberal political understanding embraced for instance family, religious communities, ethnic sensitivity etc. as new categories of political mobilization. Instead of class based politics, a new form of politics emphasizing "identities" came to fore. Yet, the emphasis of identity politics by SDPP, caused it to loose its political base later on in the following years. The growing discontent of the public opinion with the overemphasis of identity based politics made a peak in an incident at the opening of the parliament in 1991, in which some Kurdish origin parliamentarians declared that they had oath under the pressure of constitution.

After 1991 elections, a decade of coalition governments started. First, TPP established a coalition with SDPP and political cadres of two political parties agreed upon a democratization package. The publics demands towards democratization and regulation of distributive policies in favor of working classes provided the very ground for the agreement of TPP and SDPP. Indeed, program of the coalition government created positive expectations, since there were comprehensive steps towards democratization of laws and constitution, change of the laws enacted by coup government, prevention of persecution, provision of judgment rights, realization of autonomy of universities, adoption of Union rights in accordance with ILO standards etc. Yet, together with changes in international circumstances and unexpected death of Turgut Özal, dynamics of central political arena and emerging separatist terrorist movements in south east Turkey did not allow such changes to be realized.

Although social democrats were a part of the coalition governments in this period, neo-liberal ideals policies were continued to be pursued albeit in a rather different fashion than 1980's because of the crisis of neo-liberal policies in Turkey. In this period, while on one side, distributive policies of the government turned towards populism because of

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increasing public debts, on the other side steps towards further integration of the Turkish economy was realized. These two tendencies created the conditions which made Turkish economy vulnerable to financial flows (Boratav, 2004:195).

In fact, breaking turn towards populism in distributive policies was initiated by the resurgence of union movement and strikes in the last years of the MP. These movements not only resulted in a improvements on behalf of working classes but also caused supportive purchases of the state in agricultural sector to become much more stable. Yet, this improvements could not be carried to private sector and de-unionization of the private sector workers spread. As a result of changes in the private sector from industrial production to service sector, working conditions of the working classes deteriorated in private sector. Moreover, some state economic enterprises started to use flexible employment forms like subcontracting, since increasing costs of wages could not be compensated with the increase in the taxes. This also deepened the financial crisis of the SEE's and provided legitimization for privatization efforts. In policies concerning public finance, currency and privatization, coalition governments of early 1990's followed the policy guidelines drawn by the MP. Yet, further opening of the economy into global market and increasing export deficits and increasing public debt resulted in economic crises in 1990's and 2000's.

The populist and corrective economic policies of the central government caused very important transformations in the urban sphere especially concerning large infrastructure projects and the changing socio-economic structure of the urban areas. Financial cutbacks in all spheres negatively affected the financial resources gives to the local governments for especially large urban projects. These cutbacks not only put local governments in a financial crisis and caused them to look for alternative sources of finance for the ongoing urban projects, but also caused municipalities to gain certain political autonomy separate from central government. Use of international credits for the finance of large urban projects and devising of project management techniques like build-operate-transfer was further elaborated and widely used by social democrat municipalities. Furthermore, municipal economic enterprises, firms established by municipalities for the realization of certain projects within market mechanism was widely used as a new form of project management, which also provided a free movement area out of the tutelage of the centre (Bayırbağ, 1999:43). According to Şengül (2001:111), a transformation emerged and became significantly institutionalized in

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1990's parallel to the changing local government experience in Turkey in the form of urban management. All processes related with local governments became affiliated with the notion "project" and handled in project management techniques.

On the other hand, this new trend in local governments together with macro political and socio-economic changes, local political arena started to become separated from central political arena. Metropolitan mayors, especially the ones ruling in greater municipalities came to fore and became significant political figures. Mayors started to be perceived as powerful figures capable of dialogue, conflict resolution and finance creation. As can be seen in the example of Murat Karayalçın, who became the mayor of the greater municipality of Ankara, they even searched for financial opportunities in international level and at the end became the head of their political parties. Such separation of the local political arena later on caused emergence of "urban bosses". The relations revolving around mayors involving international finance agents and firms, subcontractors, municipal firms and other actors involved in wide spread patronage created a new form of representation (Şengül, 2001:112; Köksal and Kara, 1990: 32). The İSKİ scandal in Istanbul for this respect became a symbol of wide spread corruption inherent in social democratic municipality experience in 1990's. General Publishing Director of Newspaper Hürriyet, Ertuğrul Özkök summarized the influence of such processs in his August 19th 1993 dated article as "The nonsense of only rightists could commit dishonesty, leftists are beings purified from sins is no more".

Although in the central government level populism became a wide spread phenomenon clientelistic relations became much more of an "urban" phenomenon closely related with construction sector. In the central government level distributive policies reflected populist strategies of the members of coalition governments, whereas widening local political arena became a means for further use of clientelistic mechanisms for both political networks forming around mayors through political party organizations. This could be followed in the occupations of the provincial representations of the SDPP. Nearly half of the provincial representatives of the SDPP was from construction sector.

On the other hand, populist distributive policies of the period caused emerging new middle class to further flourish in metropolitan areas. An increasing level of consumerism after 1980s as a result of economic policies, caused a homogeneous new life style to emerge (Öncü, 1997: 61), isolated from poverty, immigrants, crime etc. and

all other metropolitan problems. The housing market was easily adopted to produce idealized living spaces symbolized in the form of villa type residential settlements and shopping malls that promise to present living conditions similar to that of American life style (Ertuna, 2003:76). These prestige gated communities have been sold to businessmen and private sector managers as well as to the top names of the media and entertainment sectors whose welfare has increased considerably since 1980s.

On the other hand, as a result of emerging striking contrasts constituted between the vision and values of the new middle class and squatter residents, together with the polarization created by identity politics, among squatter residents a conservatist upheaval emerged. This conservatist movement was not only a reaction to the values of new middle classes. The squatter residents who derived necessary amount of capital accumulation from transformation of squatters to apartment buildings with the opportunities created through squatter settlements and from other sources of urban rents and service sector tried to integrate into the changing dynamics of the middle class life style. Yet, this integration has been realized in a conservative form, creating its values and vision. For these classes, it should be possible to embrace the living conditions of the new middle class but protecting one's self from the degenerative aspects of the new middle class through adherence to traditional values and so called Islamic life style.

Such a transformation in squatter settlements and apartment buildings transformed from squatter settlements was deepened by the implementation of squatter amendment plans in squatter neighborhoods. An emerging conservative class made well use of the rents created by the changing environment of the squatter settlements. Their demands heightened not only for further increases in building rights defined in squatter amendment plans but also for modifications in their environment congruent with their values and ideals. Increase in the number of mosques and külliye's was typical examples of these modifications as a sign of changing life style. Moreover, these conservative classes started to constitute their own model of capital accumulation and political organization backed up with financial accumulation of the Turks in Europe gathered through relations of various Islamic communities. This accumulation used in industrial production in some Anatolian cities like Kayseri and Konya.

The city of Ankara was among the urban areas in which these transformations became most visible. Even, it can be said that, with reference to the form and content of the

transformations in local government level and socio-economic dynamics, it has become a model second time again after the Republican period yet, this time in a less deliberate fashion. In early 1990's, an important debate among researchers in political science reflected in newspapers. This debate was related to the characteristics of the Republic (Uysal-Sezer, 1993). A group of authors involving Mehmet Altan, who took a critical stance against Turkish modernization, argued in numerous newspaper articles that, the Republic created by Turkish modernization movement had been devoid of some important democratic elements in early Republican days and such quality of the Republic must be discussed in detail in order to improve democracy in Turkey. Among these thoughts, the position of Ankara created as a by product of the nation state against Istanbul was widely criticized. For the advocates of *second Republic* debate, Ankara as a capital city was representing all the authoritarian aspects of the nation project against Istanbul. The cadres of Ankara could not bring democracy to the periphery but some inferior quality infrastructure and a belief that about the sacredness of the state to legitimize all undemocratic acts of the state. Therefore, Ankara was symbolized as the undemocratic, bureaucratic and authoritarian side of Turkish Republic throughout history against the democratic, colorful and pluralist structure of cosmopolitan Istanbul.

Although this debate was basically related with historical characteristics of the regime in Turkey, in the public opinion it has been interpreted as the increasing dominancy of Istanbul over Ankara. In fact, newspapers and media that have put such a discussion into the public agenda were located in Istanbul. On the other hand, such a discussion denoted for an important tendency. While cosmopolitan structure and dynamics of Istanbul together with the capital accumulation realized in it in industrial and service sectors, Istanbul started to become integrated into the global system further and further by the time passes. Whereas Ankara, as a capital city started to face sharp internal contradictions as a result of not being able to integrate into global system and changing character of the state. While political significance and intervention of the state diminished through passing time and *"Anatoly Kaplanları"* started to pull capital accumulation created in central Anatolia, Ankara started to struggle with an identity crisis. This crisis became much more significant in the following years. The diminishing capital flows attracted by Ankara resulted in decrease in commercial activities and flow of capital accumulation towards land speculation and construction sector rather than commercial activities and industrial production.

That is why; one of the most important elements of the vision drawn by Murat Karayalçın, mayor of the greater municipality of Ankara was concerning the identity of the city of Ankara.

> What kind of a city will Ankara be, that is of debate. It is clear that Ankara will not be predominantly industrial city. It is also clear that Ankara will need to give importance to service sector. It is possible that Ankara became a science center; at least it has such and infrastructure. (Karayalçın, 1993:6) (Translated by the author).

For Karayalçın, the way to constitute such an identity was possible using various identities existent in the city based on kinship. That understanding was a clear extension of the identity based politics of the period. Moreover, the vision of Ankara defined by Karayalçın envisaged increasing importance of industrial production and commercial activities. Yet, realization of such a vision was to be put into process through major infrastructure projects.

Karayalçın made well use of the intellectual accumulation of the city of Ankara and had a group of academicians developing a framework for the development of the city of Ankara. This framework was based of the incorporation of the two different faces of Ankara, squatter residents and planned sections of the city. Such and incorporation was to be realized through continuum of some of the major infrastructure projects and development of some new ones, together with development of public transport systems like subway and urban renewal and rehabilitation projects. Çankaya-Mamak viaduct became a symbol of this incorporation. According to the understanding of social democrats, provision of certain infrastructure and transportation facilities would allow an increase in the quality of the living conditions of squatter residents and induce acceleration in urban land rents that will help transformation of squatter settlements through market mechanisms. Another important aspect of this transformation was urban renewal and rehabilitation projects to be realized within the geographical bowl of Ankara. Some of these projects concerned transformation of squatter settlements that were established on valleys and air corridors into healthy urban environments like Dikmen Valley and Portakal Çiçeği Valley Projects, whereas some of them concerned increasing capacity of central business districts to attract trade and capital into Ankara like international Trade Center Project and Central Business Areas Project. It was expected that these projects will increase urban land rents in certain sectors of the city so that market mechanisms find it profitable to transform the area. Alongside this vision,

Karayalçın further promoted decentralization and tried to limit the increasing population density in planned sections of the city. Projects like Doğukent could be taken as an example of this understanding (Karayalçın 1993:14).

Karayalçın's vision was also showing that urban management and project management replaced planning itself. Even a new term project democracy was produced and applied in order to increase participation of the citizens in municipal projects. Yet, problems of Ankara, first and foremost, necessitated a comprehensive framework.

> Today's Ankara is a typical city of an underdeveloped country; with speculative development tendencies that went out of control, destructed natural balance, rapidly deteriorating historical values, insufficient technical and social infrastructure, legal neighborhoods that torn down and rebuilt in short periods becoming uglier and lost their local character and wide spread squatter areas that surrounds them. Air pollution; transportation problems; housing problem; worn out and over loaded water, sewerage and natural gas systems; complex ownership and infrastructure problems in squatter areas; footloose land speculation fostered because of reasons like high inflation and scarcity of investment opportunities; and most important of all policies of resource allocation together with problems of financial resources that prevents radical and permanent application of solutions are among urgent problems of Ankara that waits for solution. Undoubtedly, this is a common destiny for all great cities on underdeveloped countries that tends to be urbanized without industrialization and tends to consume more and live in better conditions without becoming rich through production. Yet, this destiny could change and should be changed (Bademli 1993:35) (Translated by the author).

As can be followed in the framework identified in Bademli's words, who became the head of the planning department of the greater municipality of Ankara a new fresh look into the urbanization of Ankara was introduced within early 1990's. Actually, a new breed of planners entered into urban planning and project design processes through Karayalçın's close contacts with the academy. These academicians not only assumed and committed very important tasks in the planning of Ankara but also in project development scenes of the large urban projects. Yet, as can be seen later on, intensive involvement of academicians created other problems, which hindered the success of second social democratic experience in local government.

In early 1990's, Ankara entered into a new era in which there was no approved framework for development. 1990 Ankara Metropolitan Development Plan's target year was exceeded and some other very important developments mentioned earlier undermined the very premises of the plan. Moreover, 2015 Structural Development Scene developed by the METU Group also became irrelevant to a certain extent because

of the planning and implementation activities of other public institutions, especially the provincial governorship. Suburban housing settlements that were formed with piece meal planning activities in Çayyolu/Beytepe and Gölbaşı and Organized Industrial Estate in Macun/İvedik region devastated the housing-workplace balances defined in 2015 scene. Moreover, further transformation of squatter settlements into apartment buildings through squatter amendment plans that were nearly completely incompatible with the foresights of both 1990 Plan and 2015 framework, highway projects realized by General Directorate of Highway Administration created unexpected effects on the urban macro form. Against changing circumstances, the planning department of the greater municipality started a new planning effort for the realization of a development framework for 2025. Yet, this study could only be completed more than five years later by a different municipal cadre under completely different policy preferences and circumstances. Nevertheless, planning activities of the greater municipality focused on promotion of healthy and planned decentralization of the urban macro form, together with renewal and rehabilitation of the existing macro form including historical quarters of the city, central business district and squatter settlements without increasing the population densities within existing urban macro form. For Bademli, realization of such a planning scene also necessitated re-organization of the planning department in order to realize full integration of upper scale planning function coming from the Metropolitan Planning Bureau of the Ministry of Reconstruction and Resettlement, lower scale planning activities coming from İmar Müdürlüğü such as preparation and implementation of 1/1000 plans and project development functions of the municipality (Bademli, 1999:20).

In order to fully grasp the influence of such preferences on the political mobilization mechanisms and urban planning process, it is necessary to elaborate upon two distinct developments in the dynamics of the urban macro form of Ankara. The first of these developments was the spread of suburban housing cooperatives and legitimization of these cooperatives through piece meal planning activities. The second one was transformation of squatter settlements to neighborhoods consisting of densely populated apartment buildings with low environmental quality. The two completely distinct phenomenon created enormous pressure of the planning department of the greater municipality. Although, the planning department tried to control and consolidate such developments, it failed to do so as a result of changing circumstances concerning political mobilization strategies and urban planning process.

In fact, the second development concerning the acceleration of transformation of squatters into apartment buildings became the important factor re-shaping political mobilization strategies and urban planning process. Since, with the emergence of the new middle classes, a certain section of the society became apathetic to the political processes and the urban planning process of these areas were mostly organized by a group of entrepreneurs and large construction firms mobilization of whom through clientelism mechanisms did not provide a firm political base. On the other side squatter residents and people living in apartment buildings transformed from squatters became involved with rent-seeking activities. With the decreasing significance of the city of Ankara in commercial activities, and increasing urban land rent in squatter settlements as a result of large urban projects and initial transformation of some sections of squatter settlements in late 1980's, squatter areas that was planned with squatter amendment plans started to be profitable for petty builders. Together with the increasing interest of the petty builders, some other factions of the capitalist classes started to become interested in squatter areas. Dündar (2001:392-393) quoting from Şenyapılı and Türel (1996:16-19) categorized such activities in three classes:

1. Large development firms were to enter the most advantageously located *gecekondu* areas in the centers of the cities, transforming them into large scale, high-rise prestigious residential neighborhoods. This was realized rapidly as large development firms had political influence and financial power to solve the very confusing ownership problems in *gecekondu* areas and the bureaucratic problems involved.
2. Small-scale developers who worked individually with a system called "built-and-sell" entered *gecekondu* areas which, although b-not located in or very near to the city centers, were still advantageously located, e.g. near prestigious residential neighborhoods or urban recreation areas. These developers functioned in especially the most accessible locations of such neighborhoods, transforming the existing stock into small-scale, four to five storey family houses in exchange for a few apartments which they obtained and eventually sold for profit.
3. In not so advantageously located areas and sections of *gecekondu* areas, the owners attempted to transform their *gecekondus* into small scale family apartment houses with their own savings or preferred to wait for the land rent to increase to levels that would attract small-scale build-and-sellers.

These entrepreneurs not only started to transform squatter settlements into apartment building in a much more accelerated pace but also started to demand changes in squatter amendment plans for various purposes. Large firms tried to change the building type and environmental design so that a prestigious urban environment with qualities congruent with the emerging new middle class could be realized. Whereas, petty builders tried to

increase their profits by demanding increases in the number of flats or building rights. Studies of Çamur (1996), Taşan (1996) and Dündar (2001) has shown that considerable amount of urban land rent was transferred to certain classes as a result of implementation of squatter amendment plans and modifications realized in these plans. In a way this process constituted a unique new way of urban transformation through urban development plans.

In this period, municipality also tried to use urban land rents as a means for improving the quality of urban environment through special urban transformation projects. Special organization, finance, participation and management methods were used for the realization of these projects. First of all for the initial finance of these projects, international credit opportunities were used. Later on, in cooperation with large construction firms and through providing participation of the squatter residents to the project, some important valleys like Dikmen Valley and Portakal Çiçeği Valley transformed into special project areas. Municipal firms took important roles in the organization and realization of these projects.

To sum up, it can be said that the experience of social democratic rule in municipality between 1989 and 1994, political mobilization strategies and their relationship with spatial practice radically changed. First of all with the emergence of Istanbul as a capital city, Ankara's role in commerce and other branches of service sector stagnated, causing capitalist classes to turn their attention to the urban land rent. Unlike former period, urban land rent and construction sector became a sole means of capital accumulation instead of investment of capital in land gathered in other sectors such as service sector. Emergence of a new middle class with a new life style, living in suburban areas and using shopping malls as a form of consumer identity further deepened such a tendency. Large capital owners organized this new middle class in housing cooperatives and constituted suburban housing settlements in the fringe of the urban macro form of Ankara. This new middle class was mainly formed and pioneered by the capitalist classes having significant gains from urban land rent. By the time passes, existing white collar classes of Ankara adopted to this process. This can be seen in the spatial movement of middle and upper income groups in the city. In the last two decades, classes working in government bureaucracy and service sector became residents of the suburban settlements in the western development corridor. Interestingly, these settlements were initiated in most cases by the housing cooperatives constituted by

bureaucrats themselves. The high percentage of judges, politicians and high level bureaucrats in these settlements has shown that the suburbanization process was resulted in a clear separation of certain middle and upper classes from the existing macro form of Ankara. Constitution of suburban settlements in the fringe was organized by the cooperation of certain brokers in the government bureaucracy and large capital holding construction firms. These relations established between capitalist classes and bureaucrats will later on help a network of informal relations to emerge in the following years. The urban planning process of the case examined within this study, Çayyolu 907 Parcel initiated under the rule of social democrats in 1992.

Between 1980's and 1995, the share of municipality, housing cooperatives and other public institutions in the production of housing and other buildings have fallen dramatically except for 1985, this share increased to a certain extent because of the realization of housing projects like Batıkent and Eryaman together with housing cooperatives. As a result of diminishing state subventions housing cooperatives became speculative organizations through which middle and upper income groups could derive urban land rent in especially western development axis of the urban macro form of Ankara. Moreover, most of the buildings have been built by private firms and petty builders (Çamur, 2001:94). However, the size and scale of these firms varies. From large scale housing firms to family partnerships and to petty builders, a wide array of private firms controls the construction market. The categories of the elements of this market are not stable but very dynamic. There is high transition between firms of different scale which was a direct indication of high returns from urban land rents. Mostly, realizing certain amount of accumulation, unregistered petty builders became family partnerships and then small sized construction firms. This transitory character of the construction industry in Ankara became one of the most important denominators of urban planning process since in order to realize certain level of capital accumulation, individuals, especially petty builders often tried to intervene into urban planning process to increase the building rights of the building they are to build or to secure the legitimacy of the building they build in the outskirts of the urban macro form.

Together with mayors as emerging new actors, causing local political sphere to become separated from the central political sphere, the large capital holders, realizing large housing settlements in the fringe and establish close cooperation with the municipality and municipal bureaucracy formed a group of followers around municipality, linked to

the politicians and high level bureaucrats with clientelistic relations. For the first time in Turkish Political history, urban land rent could not be directly used to mobilize masses, but urban land rent became a source of political power at local level. In such a transformation, the lack of emphasis in the programs and philosophies of the political parties about the dynamics of urbanization as well. Clearly, political parties and politicians at the center could not comprehend the emerging potential of urbanization for the creation of a separate local political sphere organized by local politicians themselves based on the distribution of urban land rent. This, later on caused the emergence of urban bosses and configuration of central political arena from the local arena itself. Since no policy, strategy or change in legislation gave as much opportunity to the politician at the central level to establish relations with the rent-seekers as the power given to the local politician about defining directly the building rights of any area. Beginning with early 1990's, for this reason, planners started to loose ground, and local politicians, mayors, municipal councilors became influential than ever in urban planning process.

On the other hand, transformation of squatter settlements into apartment buildings through squatter amendment plans strengthened classes deriving urban land rent. The influence of squatter residents themselves and petty builders on local politics increased. Especially in districts where low income groups and squatter settlement was predominant like Keçiören, Altındağ, Sincan and Etimesgut, a new life style became visible defining itself with Islamic values. The emphasis of identity politics helped some Islamic communities to mobilize them. Yet, the new conservative life style emerging in the former squatter settlements could not be mobilized by any of the members of coalition governments or by social democrats at the local government. Especially the emphasis of Karayalçın and social democrats about identity politics and the elitist approaches of the academician-planners in the municipal economic enterprises caused a discontent to grow among these conservative middle classes. Here it would be appropriate to quote part of an interview made with a planner in the planning department of the greater municipality about the difference of social democrats and the following period:

> "In the Karayalçın Period we were in Kızılay, at the city center near the Yeni Karamürsel building. Yet, although we were so accessible, we were not. When a citizen came to the department, the civil servants at the entrance of the building were stopping them, preventing them to go upstairs and reach us. Then he was telephoning us to ask whether or not to let him reach us. Similarly, we could not reach the social democrat cadres up stairs. However, after Karayalçın citizens pursuing their planning proposals started to go everywhere and even started to take away planning proposals drawn by us and important documents".

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Therefore, although the second social democrat experience realized very important projects for the city, especially one light rail system and a subway for the city of Ankara, in 1994 local elections an Islamist Party, Welfare Party (WP) won majority of the municipalities in local elections including Ankara. Kurtoğlu (2003) shows in her examination of kinship relations and ethnicity in the district of Keçiören that, emphasis in ethnic relations and kinship helped Islamic and conservative movements to flourish. These movements were successfully mobilized by WP in an extreme form of populism and clientelism. Domination of local political scene by a political movement of Islamic ideals not only resulted in emergence of urban political machines and urban bosses, but also carried central political arena to a position in which from that time on, the main axis of the politics sit upon a dilemma of secular-antisecular and discussion of the qualities of the regime. These changes fundamentally transformed the way local and central political arenas reproduced and the political mobilization mechanisms related with spatial processs, especially urban planning process.

4.5. The Establishment of Cities of Urban Bosses as Brokers of Political Mobilization in Metropolitan Areas between 1994 and 2002.

After the unexpected death of President Turgut Özal, Süleyman Demirel, an age old politician and the leader of the True Path Party (TPP), elected as the new president with the support of Social Democrats. Then, Tansu Çiller, was elected as the first woman leader of a political party and then the first woman prime minister of the Turkish political history. Later on, the leader of Social Democrats, Erdal İnönü left politics. While the main actors of the central political arena were changing, the whole country was dragged into turmoil with two important incidents. The first of these was the Sivas Massacre, in which more than thirty intellectuals were burned alive by fundamentalist Islamist groups in the city of Sivas in 1993. This incident was a clear and dramatic sign of the rising Islamic movement in cities among emerging conservative middle classes and urban poor. The second important incident was the first major economic crisis after the coup of 1980 in 1994, as a result of implementation of neo-liberal policies, budget deficits, increasing debts and populist policies. Collapsing of all the markets has deeply shaken the belief in the political parties involved in the coalition governments and their political mobilization strategies. These will later on lead to the erosion of traditional political parties and their

political mobilization strategies. This became much more apparent in the local elections of 1994, in which Welfare Party (WP) won the greater municipalities in Ankara and Istanbul and became the first party with respect to the votes it took. This was no surprise taking into account the erosion of the political parties in coalition and their political mobilization strategies devoid of necessary understanding of the changes in metropolitan areas. In fact, Welfare Party made well use of the opportunity created by this erosion and devised a political mobilization strategy based on the emerging conservative middle classes and Islamist movements among them in a very aggressive way. There are mythical tales of these mobilization strategies. For example, they were distributing pressure cookers without covers to squatter residents and telling them that the covers will be distributed after the elections if they succeed.

In the following general elections Welfare Party (WP), which was in Turkish Political life for nearly more than three decades, get the majority of the votes and established a coalition government with TPP. Later on some authors argued that the success of the WP was the result of a new way of mobilizing masses through a widespread grassroots organization (Şen, 1995; Çakır, 1994). Based on an Islamic sensitivity, WP established a widespread network. This network was based on mobilization of the migrant populations and urban poor, who were trying to adapt to the urban life through becoming more conservative and religious. Some authors like Çakır (1994) called this process as a way of modernization through using religion as a carrier. WP was also using a new class of entrepreneurs who were very keen on modernizing without losing their religious identities. These new entrepreneurs were making capital accumulation not based on speculation but industrial production financed by the capital collected from the migrant Turkish population in Europe. Especially using religion as a base for mobilization, WP established a widespread patron-client network, which was more diffused than the former ones. The grassroots organization of the WP was much more effective in mobilizing masses in urban areas. Because, it was based on direct mobilization of individuals themselves especially among urban poor and lower income groups through distribution of basic needs. Such a populist understanding became much more successful than mobilization strategies of other parties not only because of the commitment of the grassroots organization but also the failure of former strategies. Mobilization of masses based on expectations of speculative gains failed as in the case of the MP and Social Democrats. Whereas, political mobilization strategy of the WP at the beginning was not

involving mobilization of masses based on speculative expectations but giving direct tangible benefits to especially urban poor.

Clearly, the strategy of the WP was a break point in the political history of the Turkish Republic. For the first time in the political history of Turkey, a political movement became successful using direct mobilization of urban poor and emerging conservative middle classes in squatter settlements, based on Islamic ideals. This was an urban based mobilization strategy based on direct populism. After the domination of the two of the important metropolitan areas, Ankara and Istanbul by the WP, unique examples of this strategy was observed. For some authors, this movement was not only populist but also a counter movement against the virtues of the regime (Akşin, 2004). In their propaganda the members of the grassroots organizations of the WP did not promise to give away urban land rent but directly gave tangible benefits to the masses, such as food support. Yet, in municipal process, they continued this populist acts and made well use of urban development rights and a means for populism. Their approach was again completely different than the former periods though. Instead of using urban planning process as a means for the realization of large urban projects and also as a means for establishment of coalitions with large scale capital based on a general urban development framework congruent with the neo-liberal processs, they used micro changes as a direct instrument of populism and without giving reference to any framework, changes in urban development rights in single parcel scale became much more wide spread than ever.

For Şengül (2001:93), the Islamic groups in this upheaval were not homogeneous and because of urban social movements becoming local and scattered, the local political sphere itself became fragmented in 1990's. This was not only because of the divergence of actors in cities because of further urbanization and division of labor but also because of multi-layer structure of the local government experience and separation of the local political arena from the central one. From the beginning of 1990's the tendency that both the central government and the local governments were ruled by the same party came to an end. The political parties involved in the central government, greater municipality and the district municipalities may belong to completely different political parties and understandings. Yet, this fragmentation in local political arena and gaining of the local political arena some autonomy from the central political arena did not result in embracing of different understandings in process. The values and applications congruent with the capital logic were accepted nearly by all the different parts of this

fragmentation. Although in the surface, there seemed to be some differences with respect to the perception of secularism, sectarian differences or ethnicity, with respect to the spatial practice, exchange value of the urban space prevailed. Yet, the political mobilization strategies of each and every political actor in this scene took a seemingly different stance than the other for the constitution of a group of followers based on patronage and clientelism. Increasing significance of municipal mayors in this respect both created a political environment in which Islamic ideals were pursued by dome radical groups and opened up a new area of freedom for mayors and local politicians in which a personal mobilization strategy could be followed. It can be said that, this was the main reason behind the unlikely struggles between the local political actors belonging to the same political party and coalitions easily established between local political actors not belonging to the same political party after 1990's.

Although this fragmentation and diversity was reflected in the character and processs of the local politicians in different cities, between 1994 and 1998, within the time passed between the victory of the WP in local elections and its closure by the constitutional court, WP displayed an aggressive attitude against the values and constitutional principles of the nation state in Turkey. In the central political sphere WP established a coalition government with TPP and Necmettin Erbakan, leader of the WP became prime minister. Yet, the WP's attitude towards foreign politics and acts to put conservative-Islamist persons in key positions in bureaucracy raised doubts about the WP's commitment to the nation-state and regime. Especially Erbakan's contradictory character and speeches together with some scandals concerning the *Sheiks* of two religious orders, the Susurluk Incident which raised a demand for transparency in the state apparatus, the voicing of anti-Republican ideas of some of the parliamentarians of the WP, congregation of leaders of Islamic groups in the house of Prime minister in Ramadan and most important of all some processs in local governments resulted in a mild form of military intervention famously known as February 28th movement. Interestingly enough, the military cadres have shown their discontent with the government by passing a squadron of tanks through the main boulevard of Sincan, one of the metropolitan districts of Ankara, known to be one of the symbols of the rule of WP in local governments and the life style they try to brought upon.

The military's form of intervention was an indication of the even more aggressive attitudes of mayors and local politicians of the WP at local level. Although the WP came

to power in local governments and as a member of the coalition government through mobilizing conservative tendencies of the urban poor and the newly emerging middle classes through distribution of tangible benefits, changing character of the local political sphere caused mayors of the WP to become extremely autonomous in local affairs. Although mayors and local politicians of the WP was fragmented parallel to the heterogeneity of the Islamic movements and ultra-conservatist tendencies, their common characteristics was revival of some of the forms and applications of neo-liberal approach of the MP in a nearly caricaturized way and. Moreover, while mobilizing urban poor and squatter residents with direct tangible aids such as, food, coal etc. they started to constitute an informal network of followers mobilized through urban land rent. These followers were including high level bureaucrats, entrepreneurs of emerging conservative middle classes and local politicians. The political cadre of the WP used this formations and allowed mayors and local politicians to enjoy certain level of freedom, since they did not want to be perceived as a systematic movement because of the acts of municipalities. For instance, the incidence triggering the February 28th military intervention was a Jerusalem Night organized by the Sincan Municipality in which the will to change the regime to an Islamic order was openly declared. For this reason although the reign of the WP in the central government was short lived, the local politicians and mayor established a wide spread populist base and a concrete network of followers which helped them to last longer than the WP itself. These mayors and local politicians constituted a new breed of right wing local politicians which firmly stayed on power and later on even shape the central political arena itself.

When looked at Turkish cities, especially metropolitan areas in 1990's and after, it could be said that in spite of changing development paradigms, problems of urban areas continued, deepened and scale and content of the problems changed as a result of the transformations in different internal and external social variables. For instance, in 1970's the position and problems of the migrant populations in the labor market was perceived as the main problem. Whereas, in 1990's, survival mechanisms of the third and fourth generation of migrants came to fore rather than repercussions of migration on labor market. Similarly in the last two decades, the application of some of the neo liberal concepts like decentralization, deregulation, and privatization deepened the problems, for which they are offered as the panacea.

In 1990's the interventions made to everyday life in the urban political realm also changed significantly. The new configuration of urban political realm caused the nature of everyday life to become open to more and intensive interventions. For this reason, some very important processs related with everyday life become means of differentiating representation or participation channels or in other words political mobilization strategies. As a result, Perceivable transportation and landscape investments, social works which could be used as elements of propaganda came to fore. Yet, services, that could neither be realized nor perceived easily like planning or infrastructure investments are mostly ignored. Therefore, reproduction of everyday life in terms of changing characteristics of local government services became much more important than ever. As a result, the influence of interest groups and classes realizing these intellectual and logistic activities diminished in urban planning process since their activities do not have the qualities for being perceived or legitimized in everyday life. A planner's work for example can never be fully legitimized and accepted by wider public, since he has to present plausible solutions to urban problems contrary of which could also be presented any time by some other groups. This paralysis, strengthened by the influences of post-modernist trends, together with the decreasing belief in the virtues of instrumental rationality and systematic knowledge, led to the shift of production of the urban reality by some other actors holding local power.

A careful examination of the interventions made into everyday life in urban areas after 1990's has shown that, in these interventions, some personalities came to fore. Especially mayors became very active and significant. The intervention to the everyday life in cities not by the elements of state apparatus or certain processes but mayors themselves indicates not only to a change in the daily lives of cities but also to a fundamental change in the local political arena. In addition, the effectiveness and characteristics of these interventions has shown that, they were not only confined to physical change but also having impacts in manipulating and re-shaping of public opinion far beyond the interventions made in local sphere before.

On the other side, when the political background of these interventions was examined, it could be understand that, there has been no representation or participation that legitimizes such acts. Political parties, interest groups, alternative channels of participation or NGO's do not came to fore as the bearers or the means of these interventions. This new form of intervention has a relatively autonomous or less affected

structure against the influences of traditional representation or participation channels. This new structure is based on a network of influential actors gathered around the personality of the mayor in cities. That is why, after 1990's cities became named after their mayors such as "Gökçek's Ankara", "Erdoğan's Istanbul" (Şahin, 2003:146).

In such a development, changing character of politics worldwide was influential. In 1990's, congruent with the Thomas Inglehart's thesis of *post-materialism*, a new political process became apparent in which, social cleavages like class, interest groups, was not the meaningful categories. The important elements of the political mobilization became the ability to use media, personal charisma, leadership and the political reality produced as a form of image is nearly as important as the political reality produced as a result of political struggle. The mayors of the WP combined this new tendency with tangible populism and created a solid base for themselves in cities.

The transformation of socio-spatial structure of the urban areas also helped such a political mobilization mechanism to be successful. In 1990's, metropolitan areas in Turkey started to became increasingly fragmented with further modifications in urban space towards spatial practices congruent with the logic of capital. On the one hand side, the new consumerist middle classes formed large suburban housing settlements around the existing macro forms of the metropolitan areas. These classes became more and more disconnected from the urban reality itself as they started to experience social reality in city through socializing in shopping malls, entertainment centers, tourist attractions and while they were cruising towards these facilities. The urban experience of the new middle classes became an alienated one within a homogeneous social, cultural and spatial environment. The frequency of these groups to face other classes, especially urban poor in places like city centers start to drop dramatically. Yet, although these groups isolated themselves from the urban reality through suburban life style, consumption and automobile, the structure of urban areas in Turkey caused sharp contrasts and contradictions to emerge. The suburban areas and high rise residential settlements of the new middle class in most cases were adjacent to the squatter settlements or settlements transformed from squatter settlements. Or squatter residents and urban poor work in service sector in malls or suburban areas for minimum wage. Such encounters caused new middle classes to be alienated, skeptic and fearful against the "real" urban reality and gather around homogeneous gated communicates and life styles. These classes became apolitical and except for the factions of them, who make

capital accumulation out of land speculation and related sectors could not be mobilized based on urban land rent.

On the other hand, the urban poor and the squatter residents became more and more disintegrated from the urban reality through deterioration of the places where the urban reality could be experienced. With the dissolution of traditional type of solidarity mechanisms among third generations of the squatter settlements, these classes became extremely cut off from the urban space. There are numerous studies showing that individuals living in these neighborhoods are extremely isolated and especially woman see the city center every once a month or year. The deterioration of traditional political processs and replacement of traditional political mobilization mechanisms with direct populism left these groups no channel of representation. In fact, the political structure and election system of the local governments in Turkey could only provide a top-down approach of elections in which millions of citizens only elect one mayor practically. The structure of the local parliaments does not represent all the classes in the urban areas and clearly there has been a representation crisis in cities for more than a decade. Moreover, the conservative middle classes emerging in the settlements transformed from squatter settlements started to form their enclaves in which they create a new urban environment congruent with their beliefs. Yet, again these groups does not have appropriate local representation or participation channels to be mobilized except for clientelistic relations.

This vacuum started to be filled with personal charisma of mayors, their leadership abilities, their use of media and their control on the substantial resources in the metropolitan areas. Networks of clientelism constituted by mayors themselves provided opportunities for mayors to constitute personal mobilization strategies. Having qualities above the existing channels of politics, these networks involved bureaucrats, technocrats, politicians, and representatives of the private sector and respective of the character of these networks a new public personality, a public ego was formed around the mayor himself which in turn increase the power base of the mayor. On the other hand, the mayors continued on giving direct benefits to the masses, practicing a wide spread populism through giving out tangible benefits to especially urban poor. It is common process among mayors after 1990's to visit squatter settlements and distribute toys to the children or food and coal using municipal resources. Tayyip Erdoğan, former mayor of Istanbul, still continues such processs even after he became prime minister.

Such circumstances carries astonishing similarities with the concepts of urban boss and urban political machines used to describe the local political scene of the American cities at the beginning of the century. Urban bosses that are mayors who mobilize migrant populations with populist policies and constitute their personal power base and legitimization put their marks on urban political scene. Urban bosses were distributing thousands of free breads to migrants and organizing free circuses in Exchange for votes.

For this reason, beginning with the middle of 1990's till the 2000's the mayors who filled the vacuum of political mobilization with their personalities and populist policies could also be called as urban bosses. While being influential on the configuration of the local political arena through their interventions in everyday life, urban bosses used urban planning process as a means for legitimization and resource distribution successfully. Their strategies could be summarized concerning urban planning process as:

- Urban planning is a means for resource distribution, for political mobilization mechanism used through the Networks linked to the urban bosses.
- Urban planning process under the influence of urban bosses transformed into a superficial technocratic process.
- Urban planning process under the influence of urban bosses displays a structure producing partial and short term solutions.
- Urban planning process is oriented towards intervention into the everyday life and ownership oriented.
- Urban planning is not a means for urbanism, producing a healthy-regular city but legitimization.
- Not planning but projects came to fore and engineering solutions are attached more importance to.
- Extreme adherence to the neo-liberal processs is processsd and instead of existing municipal bureaucracy, private sector partnerships are used through subcontracting and municipal economic enterprises.

Between 1998 and 2002, the central political arena of Turkey was shaped by secular-anti-secular dichotomy, rising ultra nationalist movements, further integration to global system through integration to the European Union and economic crisis. Several coalition governments were established and ended in order to bring stability to the turmoil caused by these trends. Yet, none of the coalition governments or the Virtue Party (VP)

established by the cadres of WP could become successful in devising a mobilization strategy towards urban areas. The dominancy of urban bosses prevailed. Even the catastrophic earthquake in 1999 could not weaken their position.

On the other side, as a result of the structural adjustment policies of offered by IMF, Turkish economy became much more integrated and open to the global financial flows, neo-liberal policies became much more successfully applied. State economic enterprises were closed out step by step, unionization pressurized even below the level of pre-1960 period, support purchases and protectionist policies towards agriculture became limited, financial sector became much more deregulated and Turkish economy and government budget became increasingly dependent upon foreign capital. Turkish economy subordinated to the global economical actors. Moreover, as a result of policies towards integration to the European Union and economic instability Turkey became much more vulnerable and less autonomous in international affairs. Against such changes, no political party in the central political arena could develop policies and discourse emphasizing social justice, and protection of its citizens against negative aspects of globalization and could not offer a new way of political mobilization. In popular terms masses put "reaction" votes under the influence of changing circumstances and manipulated realities presented by the media.

The impacts of this turbulent period between 1994 and 2002 have been deeply felt by the city of Ankara. Not only its position against Istanbul gradually continued to degrade, but also it became one of the most important cities in which polarization of local political arena and fragmentation of socio-spatial structure become visible. The decentralization of urban macro form reached to such a level that existing administrative structure and boundaries proved unsatisfactory for the planning of the city. The political mobilization vacuum was filled with the populism and Melih Gökçek as an urban boss. Yet, these eight years could be classified and examined in two different stages, first when he was a member of the WP and the second when he was a member of the VP and became independent with respect to Melih Gökçek's political mobilization mechanism and the way he used urban space as a means for mobilizing an informal network changed.

The first stage could be defined as the period between his election and February 28th military intervention, in which he aggressively established the infrastructure of his power base. Melih Gökçek, who was coming from a ultra nationalist background, became the

mayor of the greater municipality of Ankara in 1994 local elections. Yet, there was not a clear program of him about local governments. When he came to power he used an incrementalist strategy based on the one side adopting values and ideals of the WP and Islam and on the other side pursuing neo-liberal policies in a much more committed way. According to Doğan (2005:132), at first, the strategies of the WP at local governments could be identified around some similar processs like decreasing staff expenditures through forcing them to be organized under right wing unions, re-organizing the aids to the urban poor under municipality or related corporate organizations formally or informally supported by the municipality, developing activities addressing traditional cultural values against western cultural activities. Although the WP itself tried to control activities of the municipalities, after a while mayors gained relative autonomy against the control of the party. Each mayor, or to say urban boss improvised his own way of using these processs with respect to their political career and the characteristic of the local political sphere. Melih Gökçek's experience in local government was shaped by his ultra nationalist origin and his ambition to establish close connections with the fractions of capital, especially of construction sector through further application of neo-liberal processs. Doğan (2005) calls his attitude as a radical return of neo-liberal policies and counter values of Kemalism in the form of "revenge". His revenge was revolving around opposition to labor and modernism.

Although the WP was not holding the majority of the seats in the municipal council, successfully establishing alliances with the members of other right wing political parties, Gökçek, constituted a political base in the municipal council. Having established such a base in the municipal council, he became extra dominant in the decisions of the parliament and even sometimes by-passed parliament and realized undemocratic processs. His famous act of taking hundreds of decisions within hours through "hands-up, hands down" method was an example of this process. Moreover, he discarded participatory processs developed by social democrats and isolated himself consciously from the formally organized sections of civil society, unions, chambers etc.

His attitude towards municipal cadre and municipal services were also harsh, partisan and displaying features of his "revenge" behavior. He realized a staff policy towards de-unionization or forcing municipal workers to organize under right wing unions which can be manipulated easier. The number of workers was decreased using extremely partisan processs and staff expenditures were diminished. On the other side, prices of

collective consumption goods and the share of private sector in the provision of these services were increased through subcontracting and further fragmentation of municipal services. In a way, instead of an approach based on public interest and social justice, he embraced an approach of administering municipality like a monopoly firm and opening services as wide as possible to the private sector. For Doğan (2005), this was clearly an extreme form of urban managerialism introduced by social democrats.

On the other side, while pursuing harsh neo-liberal processs in municipal services and increasing the cost of living for working classes, he continued on giving out tangible benefits and direct aids to the urban poor. The populist processs like distributing free bread, food and coal to the urban poor, providing free transportation in religious holidays, giving out meals in Ramadan and providing free water and coal to the Islamic schools and mosques could be taken as examples of this populist approach.

While regulating conditions of reproduction of the working classes through neo-liberal processs, he tried to establish alliances with the new middle classes emerging in the outskirts of the urban macro form. First, through increasing the budget allowances for the building and maintenance of roads and using these source to build roads that connects suburban settlements he not only established partnerships with the large construction firms but also served capitalist classes that builds suburban life style and produce automobiles. His strategy towards using automobile focused transport policies to provide acceptance of him by the new middle classes increased his popularity not only among these classes but also among urban poor and other working classes members of whom envy the life styles of the new middle classes and see automobile ownership as a sign of modernization and prestige. For this reason, ignoring majority of the population's transportation needs, public transportation and pedestrians, he built roads, tunnels, multi layered crossings in order to increase speed and velocity of the road traffic.

Gökçek, as member of the WP, used Islamic groups and served their needs to a certain extent, though because of his ultra-nationalist origin he took a relatively reserved position than other mayor of the WP, like Tayyip Erdoğan of Istanbul and Şüktü Karatepe of Kayseri. Yet, especially in Keçiören, where he was formerly district mayor and in Altındağ his policies helped emergence of Islamic enclaves and suburbs in which Islamic life style is displayed. Planning, for this respect, widely used to legitimize

transformations of public space into mosques, Islamic student hostels, külliye's and Islamic housing settlements.

This new life style was also reflected in Gökçek's understanding of aesthetics and landscape. An aesthetic perception carrying traces of Ottoman-Seljuk design elements and traditional features became dominant in the landscape design of the municipality. The changes in the perception of aesthetics became symbolized in the change of the symbol of the city from an age old Hittites symbol to a new one incorporating figures of the Kocatepe Mosque and Atakule, both of which was completed in Altınsoy's term. In fact, this was a clear reflection of him incorporating Islamic values and capital logic, or in other words incorporating different fractions of new middle class.

Gökçek's pragmatism, opportunism and populism directly reflected in his handling of the urban space and urban planning process. Urban planning process and distribution of urban land rent became a direct means of establishing alliances with the conservative middle classes and large capital holders. The number of urban development plans and urban development plan modifications increased to the highest number in his term. Some of the most important suburban developments and Islamic enclaves were legitimized in his term. For instance, the number of the green areas and open spaces transformed into mosques and religious facilities was highest in his term. Urban planning process was realized in an extremely incrementalist way, totally discarding the relationship between the development of the urban macro form and a general framework for development. Not only urban planning process was reduced to a mere contingent affair, but also some of the large urban projects were not continued in his term, especially the ones concerning the central business district and historical center. It can even be said that, the lack of a general framework for development was perceived as an obstacle in front of the populist, incrementalist urban planning process. For this reason, the planning department of the greater municipality lost its initiative and became a means where technical solutions were produced for the legitimization of partial development plans urban development plan modifications. Although a proposal for general framework of development was prepared by the planning department named "Ankara 2025", the proposal was not accepted by the public and not approved by the municipal council (Map 11).

Yet, while planning department lost its power and belief in the necessity of a general framework for development decrease because of Gökçek's attitude, the urban macro

form and socio-spatial structure of the city was going under a fundamental transformation. First of all, uncontrolled sprawl of the urban macro form and widening of the metropolitan area proved municipal boundaries to become disputed and inadequate for the changing needs of the metropolitan area. The municipalities adjacent to the metropolitan municipal boundaries started to allow speculative movements and prepare urban plans that will hinder the development of the macro form of Ankara and existing plans. Therefore, the municipal boundaries became a source of dispute and judiciary procedures. The multi-actor, multi-agency structure of the planning authority resulted in the distortion of the frameworks developed formerly. On the other side, speculative movements gained speed and became widespread all around the urban macro form. Not only in the western corridor but in all directions new housing settlements started to emerge. This development started to exert pressures on the eco system and natural resources around the urban macro form. In addition, as a result of polarization and socio-spatial fragmentation of the city and building of shopping malls, central business district started loose its quality of being a common space for all city. In a way, as a result of neo-liberal policies, planning lost its directing initiative and majority of the population of Ankara became rent-seekers.

(Chambers of City Planners, 2002).
Map 11. 2025 Metropolitan Development Framework by the Planning Department of The Greater Municipality of Ankara

Gökçek's aggressive behavior started to change after the February 28th military intervention and the closure of the WP. Although he was among the founders of the Virtue Party (VP) established as a replacement for the WP, slowly he started to break loose with the Islamic image and groups. Although, in the 1999 local elections most of the Islamic mayors lost their seats or detracted from the politics, Melih Gökçek won the local elections second time. His success was not only a result of the political base he established among new conservative middle classes and urban poor, but also fragmented structure of the politics in central arena. Gökçek pursued the same populist and clienteles policies in his second term, albeit in a different fashion. This time he tried to isolate himself from the values and image of the WP through establishing way stronger relationships with the large capital and secular sections of the new middle classes. Furthermore, in order to reinforce his image in the municipal affairs and as a political figure he started to establish organic relationships with media and turned all municipal services into a means for propaganda. This propaganda was towards changing his image from an Islamic conservative politician into a technicist, skillful and creative local

leader. While doing this, he consciously distanced himself from the Islamic politics and even act independently till the establishment of Justice and Development Party (JDP).

However, his political mobilization strategy to use urban planning process as a means for distributing urban land rent stayed the same. The direction of spread of the urban macro form of Ankara and the way its transformation managed became increasingly related with partial development plans and urban development plan modifications. The ambition to use urban planning process was so strong that, Gökçek tried to find weak points in urban development law and related legislations and did not obey the court decisions. He even devised a new planning scale, 1/2000 to by pass the planning authority of the district municipalities and to shorten the bureaucratic process. His dominancy over urban planning process helped him to establish durable informal networks with a limited influential group of bureaucrat, politicians, entrepreneurs and civil society leaders which will be elaborated upon detail later in this study. Although he even tried to take his chance in central political arena, his focus on local political sphere and his political career avoided him to go in such an endeavor.

The application of neo-liberal policies in Ankara aggressively by Melih Gökçek caused city to break loose from planned development with respect to a general framework and lose the cultural and socio-economic productivity. In fact, Gökçek's mobilization strategy created a vicious cycle. The more the city's economic structure became dependant upon neo-liberal policies and the more the municipal services became fragmented and privatized, them more the opportunities for the strategy of Gökçek strengthened. The erosion of the organized movements among working class against the privatization of collective consumption goods caused urban poor and lower income groups to become much more vulnerable to the changes in economic conditions which in turn proved populist policies of Gökçek successful. On the other hand, with the spread of clientelistic processs in urban planning process created variations in the use and exploitation of urban land. While on the top the decisions concerning urban planning process was monopolized by Gökçek himself, in the middle ground brokers of local politicians, bureaucrats and entrepreneurs proliferated and became much more influential. Incrementalist planning process and the lack of a vision and framework for the development of city became a source of speculation themselves for certain sections of society.

At the beginning of 2000's a new transformation in central political sphere initiated by some urban bosses of the WP changed all the dynamics of both central and local politics. While Turkey became opened to the forces of globalization on every sphere of life, the local and political spheres became united to a certain extent through the repetition of political mobilization mechanisms of the urban bosses in the central political sphere. The urban space and spatial practices not only became a means for mobilizing capitalist classes but also means for unrestrained forces of global capital to exploit the urban land rent produced in cities.

4.6. Deconstruction of a Vagabond Capital City Incapable to integrate into Global System between 2002 and Today

In 2002 general elections a newly elected political party, Justice and Development Party (JDP), won the majority of the seats in the parliament with a land-slide victory. The cadre of JDP was consisting of an amalgamation of the conservative elements of the MP, TPP, WP and VP led by the younger generations of the WP cadres. Among these younger generations former municipal mayor was influential. Especially, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, Istanbul mayor of the WP and a devoted politician of Islamic ideals, and his municipal cadre constituted the spine of this new movement. With personal charisma and leadership abilities of Erdoğan, JDP gained popular support among urban residents.

After winning elections, JDP established the second majority single party government after the MP in post-1980 period and started to apply neo-liberal policies towards further integration of Turkey into the global system in spite of the fears that it will close Turkey to the outer world and replace existing regime with a religious one. JDP successfully and adherently continued the structural adjustment policies of the IMF and realized reforms necessary for the integration of Turkey into European Union. Although some of the reforms made for the integration to the EU brought democratization to the country and strict application of the neo-liberal policies resulted in the decrease of inflation in one digit, further de-regularization of markets, abolishment of nearly all agricultural subsidies, private sectorization of the public administration for the diminishing of state's intervention into the economy and privatization of nearly all public assets including treasury land and profitable state economic enterprises resulted in opening up of Turkey to the exploitation of global capital. On the other side, dramatic changes in the geo-

political circumstances, especially the second Iraq War, brought Turkey in a position to be dependent on EU and USA in foreign politics.

Furthermore, the opening up of all state assets into capital with respect to exchange value, together with the processs of the JDP cadres towards use of land and land based assets at local level resulted in mobilization strategies to emerge based on the mobilization of masses in general scale through opening up of all forests, historical quarters and natural ecosystems to the exploitation. Famous example of such processs could be seen in the proposal to change 2-B item of the Forestry Law that brings selling of the land to the ones who invaded the forest areas and in the proposal that allows legitimization of illegal settlements in the coastal line. In addition some very important public services like health and education started to be privatized and served through public private partnerships.

Some other changes were introduced to local government legislation, realizing a new decentralization wave[2]. With the new laws of municipalities, greater municipalities and provincial administration, as a part of a general reform package that aims to restructure whole public administration, the authorities of the municipalities and provincial administrations increased. Especially the boundaries and authority of the greater municipalities increased and most of the local government power was monopolized in the hands of greater municipalities. Moreover, with urban transformation programs and a large program of housing production, squatter areas and the vacant land around the cities which could not be transformed because of the limitations of the planning legislation, started to be transformed into settlement areas started to be transformed into settlement areas by large capital holding firms and global real estate companies. The urban planning process became secondary to the direct derivation of urban rents through urban transformation projects. In a way, urban land rent distributed through petty builders and market mechanism started to be directly collected by partnerships between politicians and global capital.

Within two years passing from the victory of the JDP to the decentralization wave realized by them, the preliminary preparation period was realized by the JDP. This

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[2] The framework drawn in this study is limited to the beginning of these reforms since administrative, political and socio-economic conditions completely changed with the decenralization wave. Further studies may make a comparison of the relationship between political mobilization strategies and urban planing process before and after 2004.

period involved establishment of a network of relations between members of the JDP and members of capitalist classes and change of the bureaucrats with key individuals that could help sustain these relations. A very important part of these relations was established with media and large holdings. Also at local level, municipal mayors were mobilized using grants and favors given to them. As a result, a large but loose network of relations was established by JDP. The most important feature of this network was that, it was basically based on the type of investments and processs realized by the urban bosses of the WP in a larger scale. In addition to the direct distribution of tangible benefits and aids to urban poor by municipalities, government itself started to give out such aids and helped municipalities to better organize such aids. The urban transformation projects of the mayors become possible with the help of Housing Development Administration (TOKİ) and automobile oriented transportation investments were opened with the attendance of prime minister himself. In a way, the political mobilization strategy of the JDP was nothing more that a large scale application of the experience of the WP.

Yet, as a result of the policies of JDP not only Turkey became further open to the exploitative forces of globalization, but also the urban areas started to face problems of deterioration, degeneration and problems created by fragmentation. Uncontrolled urban sprawl and deterioration of city centers as a result of the emergence of shopping malls together with automobile oriented transportation policies and polarization urban areas started to face problems of basic infrastructure, crime, poverty, identity and democratic processs which are now some of the most important problems ahead of Turkey.

The vision set by JDP FOR Turkey as a member of the global community no matter what it takes also brought fundamental changes in the spatial practice of the country. The prominence of Istanbul became further pronounced by the cadres of JDP. Another reason behind this tendency was that cadres of the JDP were mostly from Istanbul. They even did not permanently settle in Ankara and preferred to shuttle between Istanbul and Ankara. In a way decreasing state's functions and intervention in economy and decentralization strengthened this tendency. For instance, JDP's strategies to carry Central Bank and some other Public Banks from Ankara to Istanbul could be taken as a sign of this tendency. Istanbul became defined as the "world city" of Turkey through which country has contact with the global finance, culture and economy with the cosmopolitan structure of Istanbul (Keyder 2001:74). The predominance of Istanbul as a

link to the global system created a problem of integration for the other cities and localities in Turkey. Like in all the examples of the world, cities started to become known for the opportunities they provide for capital in a competitive environment. Yet, the capital city Ankara, dragged into an identity crisis, since neither there has much potential nor the will to be successful in this competitive environment other than capital city functions and land speculation. Such an identity crisis defined Ankara's socio-spatial dynamics in 2000's.

On the other hand, not only in Ankara but in all metropolitan areas, the conservative enclaves started to transform into alternative environments of life style to the one established by the Republican Cadre. This transformation reached to such an extent that, it produced its aesthetical values, its organization and its capital accumulation mode. For instance the district of Keçiören became a social and physical example of this transformation. Turgut Altınok, the district mayor of Keçiören proudly declared in numerous time that he himself decides for the design of all the facades of the buildings to be built in Keçiören and he conditioned builders to use "traditional" motifs and a certain material. It is meaningful that even Tayyip Erdoğan himself chooses to live in this district.

After the victory of JDP, Melih Gökçek did not become a member of the party for a while, except for his last minute support to the party by distributing handouts in Kızılay. Between 1999 and 2002 both JDP cadre and Gökçek took some steps to establish a connection. While continuing with his populist and pragmatist processs, Gökçek tried a new mobilization strategy to be accepted into the party. Although he used urban land rent in small scale to mobilize capital holders till 2000, after 2000, he tried to mobilize interest groups related with JDP through tenders and subcontracting and opening up of large areas into settlement through planning in the fringe of the city. Therefore, in late 1990's and the beginning of 2000's in the western corridor of the urban macro form, partial development plans covering large areas including ecologically sensitive areas were tried to be realized at the outskirts of the urban macro form. Through such strategies he successfully established relationships with the cadres of JDP and became a member of the party. In 2004 elections, backed up by the popularity of JDP and Tayyip Erdoğan, he became the mayor for the third time with a land-slide victory. His program and projects was very interesting at this time. Heavily criticized by even some conservatists, he entered to the elections showing caricaturized extravagant projects of

fifty meter high sculptures in the entrances of the city and some other projects, which later he declared that those projects was just to show his imagination.

His influence in the party and state apparatus increased ever after. In the shaping of the all the legislation concerning municipalities he lobbied and tried to influence the law making process. He even dictated his versions of the items in Laws or Laws themselves. While the Laws of municipalities were being written, he and the government representatives openly declared that some parts of the Law were in fact written by him. Actually, such processs were not only confined to him. Because of the political mobilization strategy of the JDP and backgrounds of its cadre, it became a common process for municipal mayor to lobby for the Laws or directly offer law proposals to the government.

After 2004, a new and dramatic period started for Ankara. Backed up with the support of the cadres of JDP and using his personal mobilization strategies, Gökçek started to further aggressively apply neo-liberal processs and even targeted symbolic places of the Republican area. Transformation of urban space regardless of its historical and social context, solely for the exchange value and the potential for populism, propaganda and urban land rent became the most important agenda of the city. Planners, planning departments and advocated of public interest against this transformation succumbed to the pragmatic forces of this mobilization mechanism, no matter how hard it is tried to change this trend.

To sum up, it can be said that, a unique experience of urbanization and urban change in the capital city of Ankara resulted in dramatic changes in the political mobilization strategies of hegemonic projects and their use of urban land and urban land rent. Such use changed its form and content with further urbanization and growth of the city. In this process, the character and function of urban planning process changed from a controlling activity that allows capital to use land, to a legitimizing activity that legitimizes the use and exploitation of the urban space by the capital. Wide spread use of clientelism and constitution of patron-client pyramids by urban bosses and urban political machines not only devastated the citizen defined by the nation state but also consumed public land and public sphere and proved urban planning process ineffective in realization of a healthy and modern urban environment based on use value and virtues of living together (Tekeli, 2000).

Yet, the experience of Ankara has shown that, the urban land and the urban planning process realized for the use and exploitation of them, constitute by themselves a persistent resource for the establishment, survival and perpetuation of informal relations and networks based on these networks. Such networks, as the forms of the interaction between political mobilization mechanisms and urban planning process proved to be meaningful in understanding micro level of relations established within urban planning process. In the following chapters, urban planning activities between 1984 and 2004 in Ankara and the informal network of relations within these activities will be comprehended in order to see the general patterns of network power established between various patrons and brokers based on the use and exploitation of urban land at micro level.

4.7. Conclusion

In the last two decades of Ankara, with the absence of a general framework for urban development, various different factors affected urban development in Ankara. First, legalization of squatter settlements and illegal developments through legal amnesties avoided nearly all possible urban development strategies to be implemented in Ankara. Special amendment plans to transform squatter zones around the city hindered any planning attempt to realize controlled development. Renewal of squatter settlements through market mechanisms and petty builders created an urban environment, devoid of all necessary standards in infrastructure and facilities. On the other hand, under the influence of globalization, urban sprawl, gated communities and related life styles, polarization became major issues. Ankara has started to become an example of striking contrasts and inequalities between its north and south, between its so-called suburbs and squatter or post-squatter areas. On and around the development corridors and development nodes around the city on the west and south west, uncontrolled sprawl created an urban environment where shopping centers and high-income housing became dominant. However, on the north and east, starting just from the center around the historical castle there emerged a new lower middle and lower income group settlement among whom unemployment and other social problems are deeply rooted. These masses, which could not be integrated into urban life, became conservative and provide fertile grounds for neo-conservative and Islamic movements within Ankara. The city life in

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Ankara is characterized by this geographical and social contradiction in every aspect in the new millennium.

Yet, within this polarized spatial structure, the necessary means for political mobilization is lacking. The existing political system does not provide mechanisms for representation of the larger masses in the metropolitan municipal councils. Furthermore, the powers given to the metropolitan municipal mayor and local parliaments led to the emergence of strong municipal mayors. The lack of political accountability and available participation mechanisms also contributed to the city's turning into turmoil of debates, contradictions and disagreements. In addition, changes in the style of political mobilization from political cleavages to the image politics brought about "big projects" for the city that reinforces image of the political leaders. As a result, the city of Ankara became a complex geographical mix of squatters, squatter renewal areas, slums, retrogressing old city centers and industrial areas, shopping centers, high-tech innovation research, universities, high income proto-suburbs and sprawl, for all of which various different actors and institutions carry instincts to use urban planning process for various purposes.

Neo liberal policies towards renouncement of planning and state intervention in all areas resulted in demand oriented partial planning activities and development plan modifications in Ankara as well. Together with the lack of a metropolitan master plan, the last two decades of Ankara was shaped by partial planning efforts. These efforts involve various motives and relationships. Some of these partial plans were realized purely out of technical and social necessities like the plans prepared for infrastructure (electric transformers, natural gas regulators etc.) which were results of unplanned development and unexpected changes in technology and social conditions. Some others were results of demands for transformation of squatter settlements, slum areas and obsolescent planned neighborhoods by petty builders. Finally yet importantly, some of these plans were results of urban sprawl and land speculation, which has caused fringe of the urban macro-form to be transformed into suburban areas through partial planning.

As can be seen, in the last two decades, the capital city of Ankara has become a place where a unique mixture of various relations between different actors and institutions with various motives was put into spatial processs through these partial planning efforts. These partial plans have become the means for micro-level political relationships to form and to take shape in order to use urban land for different purposes. For this reason,

through examining these partial planning activities in the last two decades of Ankara, one could get a clear picture of how the political facet of urban planning process is formed. Yet, methodological structure of such an inquiry should be constructed carefully with respect to spatial, procedural and political characteristics of the urban planning process. This is what the next chapter about.

CHAPTER 5

METHODOLOGY OF THE ANALYSIS OF PATTERNS AND NETWORK OF RELATIONS IN URBAN PLANNING PROCESS IN ANKARA BETWEEN 1985 - 2005

5.1. Introduction: Adaptation of a Methodology for Handling Political Relations within Urban Planning Process at Micro Level

Throughout urban planning literature, there had been numerous attempts to sketch out the general outlines of urban planning process and political relations embedded in it at micro level. Some scholars used interviews, storytelling and formal network analysis techniques to derive verification for their hypothesis, focusing rather on actors and political relations than the planning process. For instance; Byun and Esparza (2005), Beard (2002) used interviews with the actors involved in urban planning process, Sager and Tavlum (2005), Frayne (2000) used secondary analysis and story telling, Pickvance (1982), Ambrose (1994), Blowers (1980), Kitchen (1997), Simmie (1981) and Judd (1973) used in-depth examination of significant cases and actors involved, Hillier (2000), Hughes, John and Sasse (2002) used formal network analysis . On the other hand, some other scholars emphasized procedural aspects of urban planning process and its reflections on existing political relations. Among them; authors like Watson (2002), Hoch (2002), Brisaulis (1997), Johnson (1997) and Goblar (2002) tried to draw conclusions about the existing power structure based on a single or several in depth case studies of urban planning process and its stages; whereas Pendall (2001), Brody (2003), Punter (1993), Adams (1992) and Campbell (2000) make use of a much more generic, though limited in scope, data about a city or a neighborhood without giving substantive

reference to the relation between the overall patterns of urban planning process and political relations at micro level.

Yet, both kinds of inquiries often lack comprehensive evidence necessary to attest the relevancy of the theories about political dimension of the urban planning process. Mostly, the data used to describe overall pattern of urban planning process in a given settlement unit fails to represent certain patterns of attributes in a given metropolitan area. Previous studies either preferred to focus on certain aspects of urban planning process having implications on the political relations within or had to suffice with a limited number of cases within a predominantly metropolitan spatial structure. Yet, though they provide fruitful insights for the understanding of political relations within urban planning process at the micro level, none could completely justify the elements of their hypothesis. On the other hand, other authors, choosing a much more actor-network oriented or in other words "agent" emphasized methodology, could not seem to escape from the pitfalls of subjectivity and the problem of representation of the greater whole, though improving means of formal network analysis provided the ways of isolating various aspects of the relational structure of the micro level of political relations.

Indeed, attempting to realize a study to scrutinize political relations within urban planning process in such a way to represent the political reality of a given metropolitan areas needs a careful clarification of the methodology, identification of the pitfalls and careful selection of the cases. Since, starting from a general theoretical framework and climbing down to the case study necessitates scrupulous selection and planning of the methodology of the research. Mostly, scholars using social network analysis to examine political relations at micro scale are accused of not adequately questioning the subjective side of their findings as a result of being mystified and sucked into the world of overrated new statistical methods and computer software. Social network analysts defend themselves arguing that information at micro level is nearly impossible to isolate from outer influences since the unit of analysis in the individual himself. After gathering information on relations between individuals, analyst make use of various social network analysis techniques to see the holistic nature of these relations and question the validity of information about individual and his surrounding political environment. It is at that point that social network analysis is used to ascertain the validity of the information obtained from individual. For instance, it may be impossible to provide solid evidence whether two individuals are involved in bribery or corruption solely looking at the

information provided by some individual observers or close associates. Yet, it may be possible to get closer to the nature sub-groups and the relations between them by using social network analysis techniques and have a clearer picture of the bribery network at micro level (Borgatti and Everett 1999, Borgatti and Everett 1989, Borgatti and Everett 1992). Nevertheless, the methodological power of this approach is not far-fetched. Unless supported with a comprehensive analysis of the whole universe of analysis of urban planning process at micro level and backed up with an analysis of certain patterns and attributes within them, social network analysis could not represent the whole reality, but give a closer look into the micro level of political relations in a more holistic fashion. As Hanneman puts it:

> While it is possible to describe network data as just a special form of conventional data (and it is), network analysts look at the data in some rather fundamentally different ways. Rather than thinking about how an actor's ties with other actors describes the attributes of "ego," network analysts instead see a structure of connections, within which the actor is embedded. Actors are described by their relations, not by their attributes. And, the relations themselves are just as fundamental as the actors that they connect (Hanneman 2001).

On the other hand, scholars trying to give a full account of the urban planning process with respect to planning procedure and its phases could not provide necessary insights to the political nature of urban political process at micro scale. Most of these authors choose to focus on one or more procedural aspect of urban planning process within part of a city or randomly selected samples. Although, having a rough idea about the general tendencies some inferences are made about the political relations by these authors, this kind of analysis is rather two dimensional than social network analysis.

Obviously a more generic methodology is needed to get a clearer picture of political relations within urban planning process at micro level combining inductive and deductive styles of both approaches. Such an effort could not only provide a better understanding of political relations at micro level but also contributes to the urban planning theory, provided that a top-down and network analysis are to be realized together.

In order to constitute such a methodology, one should carefully bring together favorable utilities of both approaches together to create a meaningful method that provides sound results for the analysis of political relations within urban planning process at micro level. Moreover, these two methodologies should be brought together under the circumstances

that, a proper and meaningful unit of analysis to be found, a proper and well – documented case to be chosen, and a meaningful period of analysis is to be justified throughout historical development process. A meaningful combination of all three of these elements could provide the concrete foundations of a new type of methodology that could bring conventional analysis and social network analysis together.

Throughout this study a consecutive two phase analysis is used. In the first phase, a conventional analysis of the all the urban planning process universe of the city of Ankara, the capital city of Turkey, between years 1985 and 2005 was realized. In the conventional analysis, all the aspects of urban planning process, especially political features was tried to be comprehended and certain patterns of behaviors and relations are tried to be explored. Based on these patterns, a unique urban planning process case was chosen, that reflects the characteristics of patterns to a great extent. After the selection of this case, a social network analysis of the relations between various actors involved in the urban planning process was realized to test the hypothesis of the thesis. Within social network analysis, network characteristics, which suited best to the patterns explored in the first phase, were subjected to further in – depth network analysis. The graphical representation of general structure of the methodology could be followed:
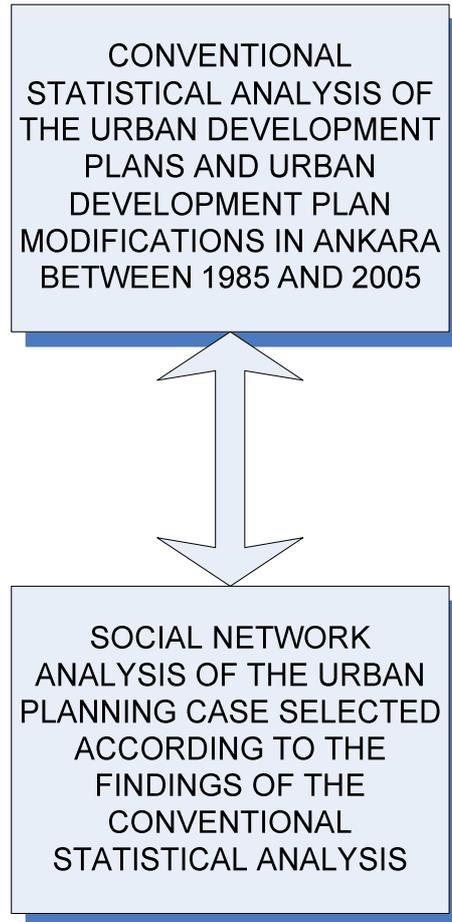
Figure 1. Basic Methodology of the Study

5.2. Defining Basic Characteristics of the Methodology

5.2.1. Selection of the Case and the Period

The aim of the study is to explore how the political relations has manifested themselves in the urban planning process at micro level through the relationships established between a vast array of actors in Ankara during the period between 1985 and 2005. The general patterns of urban planning process with reference to the interplay between spatial elements, urban planning procedure, formal and informal political structure; the relationships between various actors and their interaction on spatial practice of Ankara is the main concern.

The selection of the case and the period are based on a rationale with respect to four justifications. First of all the effects of globalization on the settlement hierarchy of

Turkey transformed all cities and especially the capital city, Ankara as a valuable object of inquiry considering political relations within urban planning process at micro level, since localities and local forces are blessed as the real bearers of the globalization phenomena and some local actors became much more powerful than ever before. In the last two decades; pressures of globalization together with structural adjustment policies at macro scale, neo-liberal turn and efforts to reform both central and local governments and rising Istanbul as both an antithesis and global city left Ankara in the middle of a struggle for its reputation, vision and hinterland. Diminishing socio-economic and cultural dynamism in the face of vibrant cosmopolitanism of Istanbul, Ankara became enclosed in an administrative and political enclave in the central Anatolia, in which local forces that could not integrate into the larger global whole like Istanbul are forced to constitute an intra- set of actors and relations. Having experience of being marginalized, these actors and institutions focused on a rather local resource still untouched by the forces of globalization: the land. These local actors became well aware of the potential resource to be drawn from land speculation and manipulated urban planning process ant micro level. To conclude effects of globalization on Ankara as a capital city made Ankara as a relevant laboratory for examining political relations at micro level especially the ones concerning land and its use.

Secondly, struggling both to cope with the results of globalization and the challenges in front of becoming a modern city, the problem of local political representation turned out to be a real source of crisis. Through further segregation of the city between middle and upper income groups living in the suburbs and lower income groups living in squatters of settlements rehabilitated from squatters, current political regulations and political processs could not provide opportunities for larger populations to participate in the local decision making process. Together with the erosion of local channels of political representation under the influence of changing socio-economic structure of the city and with the lack of proper participatory mechanisms helped patron-client relations and clientelism to flourish, facilitated by the short-term political mobilization strategies of the boss like mayors. Especially pseudo-suburbanization of the middle and upper-middle income groups and transformation of the squatter areas into apartment buildings have been legitimized through partial development plans and urban development plan modifications in which rent – seeking activities and land speculation became the sole means of spatial practices through clientelist mechanisms and patron – client relations. Even these partial planning processs became the means for the constitution of a loosely

networked patron-client pyramid lead by the mayor as a boss. The spatial structure, as a result became fragmented and fragile, losing its coherency and integrity, configured through around 5000 separate plans or plan modifications.

Third, the city under examination, Ankara, displays a clear historical contrast between planned development and incremental spread. Ankara is a city, where urban development has been predominantly tried to be directed through an integrated, hierarchical planning tradition with a belief in the virtues of planned urban development as a sign of modernization from the early Republican Period till the beginning of 1990's. Yet, this tradition came to an end after the second half of 1980's. Emerging neo-liberal stance towards liberalization of especially housing and land markets, privatization, deregulation and decentralization of virtually all spatial planning powers to municipalities resulted in increasing pressures of the market forces on the planning regulations to loose and undermined both the belief and the will to sustain hierarchical planning tradition. Beginning in early 1980's and becoming dominant after the passing of the projection date of the last official upper scale master plan in 1990, the city of Ankara started to spread without an overall urban planning hierarchy. All the urban development activities are legitimized through an incremental urban planning process in which the sole motivation was to legitimize the development activity rather than realization of planned urban development. From that time on, urban development in Ankara has been manipulated through partial planning activities and modifications of existing development plans in an incremental way involving various actors and institutions for more twenty years.

Last but not least, this study also relates to a unique local government experience at metropolitan scale related with all the points above. In 1985, the Law of Greater Municipalities numbered 3030 and the Law of Urban Development numbered 3194 were enacted, through which a two-tier system in metropolitan government was introduced and nearly all the planning powers were transferred to municipalities. With these Laws, metropolitan municipalities with significant planning powers have been established in several large cities of Turkey, one of which was the capital city of Ankara. A special division of duties and responsibilities between metropolitan and district municipalities has been identified. According to this division, metropolitan municipalities have been given the responsibility of preparing and approving master development plans whereas district municipalities have been given the responsibility of preparing local development

plans under loose supervision of metropolitan municipalities. This experience ended in 2004 with a new law numbered 5216. With the new law, metropolitan boundaries were expanded to a 50 kilometers radius around provincial governorship taken as the centre. Moreover, planning duties and responsibilities of metropolitan municipalities were increased to restrict most of the planning responsibilities of district municipalities. The study is restricted to the experience of the Law numbered 3030 since after the change of the Law the political relations established within urban planning process became much more monopolized and contradictions between two tiers of local government were diminished through increasing planning authority of greater municipalities. The experience between 1985 and 2005 provides more opportunity to examine political relations at micro scale since a much more evenly balanced power structure existed compared to the situation after 2005 and it is still early to infer the effects of the new Law fully-fetched.

To sum up; the capital city of Ankara became one of the most interesting cities of inquiry to portray the political relations in planning process in terms of conjuncture, socio-economic structure, planning history and local government experience between 1985 and 2005. All these factors have been reflected in the urban planning process in Ankara.

5.2.2. Selecting a Unit of Analysis that best represents the political Reality within Urban Planning Process

One of the most challenging problems in studying urban planning process at micro level and political relations within is about how to choose a meaningful unit of analysis. Since, urban planning process involves actors, institutions, legal processes and procedures. Is it meaningful to chose an influential group of actors like landowners, mayors, real estate agents, planning professionals etc., institutions holding planning power such as municipalities, ministries, independent boards etc. or processes involving plan making procedure, process of getting building permissions etc.? For, the aim of this study is to grasp the political relations at micro level, it would be relevant to choose a process rather than an actor or an institution, because the official processes are well documented concerning urban planning process and within the process the relations between actors and institutions became much more visible.

In this study, the unit of analysis is chosen to be the urban development plans and development plan modifications. Development plans and modifications are not taken solely as blueprint documents but processes of decisions making, starting from hand in of the proposals and ending up with the enactment of the proposal. The phases of urban planning process are taken as legal procedural steps, since political relations became visible on legal documents. The Urban Development Law, which was enacted in 1985, prescribes the preparation, ratification and implementation of all urban plans. According to the Law any activity involving use of land should first be defined within an urban development plan. Any attempt to use land for purposes predominantly other than the legal status necessitates changes in existing plans. If there is not a plan in the area, a plan should be prepared and approved concerning the proposed activity. Yet, although the Law strictly forbids unnecessary or particularistic modifications of urban development plans, the partial planning activities disconnected from the legal planning scheme and modifications on existing urban development plans became a very common process especially in Ankara. It can be said that, partial urban development plans and urban development plan modifications creates a rather informal and buffer mechanism for certain types of relations to flourish. But, these relations are documented in the form of planning decisions and they leave their traces in official documents.

For these reasons, the unit of analysis for this study to examine the political relations within urban planning process between 1985 and 2005 is chosen to be the urban development plan enactment process. For Ankara, this choice is extremely meaningful since between 1985 and 2005 around 5000 separate urban development plans and urban development plan modifications were enacted. A conventional analysis of these plans and modifications may reveal all the necessary relations and micro political structure related with urban planning process.

5.2.3. Setting Assumptions about the Circumstances around the Case

5.2.3.1. The Unique Macro-form of Ankara with respect to Political Relations Embedded in Urban Planning Process

Currently, although recent developments around the fringe of the western and southern corridors shows the signs of suburbanization and urban sprawl, the macro-form of Ankara shows a uniform structure, developed on and around main transportation axes

within the highway-belt. The east, north and south of the urban macro-form is surrounded by geographically unsuitable locations for settlement, leaving only west corridor viable for expansion of the metropolitan area. New suburban developments and urban sprawl are mostly located on western and southwestern corridors, on and around Istanbul, Eskişehir and Konya intercity highways sections.

In the last two decades, when partial planning efforts were examined, it can be seen that, partial planning efforts in and around the central business district, in planned neighborhoods were mostly aimed at obtaining extra development rights more than the development rights specified in the official plans, or for legitimization of illegal developments through modifications in development plans in especially single plot scale. On the other hand, in the belt, surrounding planned parts of the macro-form from the north, east and south, where there are squatters or neighborhoods emerged as a result of amendment plans, a different picture come to fore. At these areas, especially on the fringes of Keçiören, Altındağ and Mamak Districts, partial planning efforts were formed around a range of different motives from gaining extra development rights to projects aiming at transformation of squatter settlements to the conservative groups trying to form their own communal space. In these parts of the city, sometimes a nationalist-conservative social structure and a new life style other than the one foreseen with the republican era has begun to form neighborhoods clustered around Külliye's and Cami's of various Islamic groups.

On the western corridor of the urban macro-form, a different scheme could be seen. Starting with the decentralization of some of the government buildings to the both sides of the Eskişehir intercity highway, a new trend emerged for upper-middle and high income groups to form proto-suburban settlements on the same road. Later on this development spread to the surrounding villages. The land prices increased drastically and some parts of the former green belt, which has been foreseen in the Ankara 1990 Master Plan, were transformed into high-income housing settlements. Some parts of the green belt, which was consisting of valuable public land, has been transferred to high-income groups and turned into such housing settlements.

Map 12. Spread of Ankara City Macro form and urban development plans

5.2.3.2. Legal-Institutional Settings

Between 1985 and 2005 there were three operative Laws concerning institutional structure of the municipalities and urban planning process. The Law on Greater Municipalities and the Law of Municipalities determined how the municipalities operate within given institutional boundaries. Although, the most important Law concerning urban planning process seems to be the Urban Development Law, because of the lack of detail and procedure sometimes other Laws on municipalities and other institutions could be manipulated well. For instance, although members of municipal councils do not have a legal right to make technical urban planning decisions, in most cases urban planning decisions are shaped by them since there is no clarity concerning the rights and responsibilities of the urban planner neither in the Law nor in its related code, regulations and resolutions. Thus, it can be said that legal framework for urban planning process in Turkey is far more complex and blurred than one might expect.

The Urban Development Law numbered 3194, which was enacted in 1985, clearly explains the definitions, preparation, ratification and implementation of all urban plans and authorized institutions. According to sixth article of the Urban Development Law, "plans should be prepared according to the size of the area they cover, plan goals and objectives. Within the Law development, plans are categorized into two major types: Master Development Plans and Local Development Plans. Master development plans determine general land use, main zoning types, future population density of sub-regions and building densities if necessary, the size, direction and principles for the growth of different settlements, the transportation system consistent with the decisions of regional and environmental physical plans if they exist. Master Development Plans are to be prepared at scales of 1/2000 and 1/5000 with a detailed plan report in order to constitute a base for local development plans. Local Development Plans are to be prepared at a scale of 1/1000 consistent with the decisions of the master development plan. They determine the building lots in each zone and their density together with the road system, stages of implementation.

Within the Law different types of development plans are also identified, which are realized when there is a need to revise or modify existing development plans. These are "Revision Development Plan", "Additional Development Plan", "Partial Development Plan" and "Development Plan Modification". Revision development plans are the plans, which revise the entire or a large portion of a master or local development plan when existing plan cannot respond to the needs, or implementation creates problems. Additional development plans are prepared when the coverage of the existing plans are not sufficient. They are adjacent to the existing plan and consistent with the main land use and transportation pattern. Partial development plans are prepared outside the boundaries of existing development plans coherent in itself when existing plans could not sufficiently satisfy the needs of a settlement. Lastly, development plan modifications are the plans, which bring local modifications in size, location, and density and transportation system within the boundaries of an existing development plan of any scale without hindering main decisions of the existing plan.

Though the urban development law and its regulations bring about restrictions against misuse and exploitation of it, the last type of development plan alterations, the development plan modifications became nearly the sole means for reflections of various

demands on urban space in Ankara. Development plan modifications are used to legitimize particularistic gains (Ünlü, 2006).

Within the time limitations of this study, there were several authorities identified in specific laws for preparation, ratification and approval of development plans. In "The Law about the Administration of Metropolitan Municipalities" numbered 3030; the responsibility for preparation and approval of master development plans and the authority to ratify and approve local development plans were given to the metropolitan municipalities, whereas district municipalities were given the responsibility to prepare local development plans. Other than municipalities, several other central government agencies like the Ministry of Public Works and Resettlement, Ministry of Tourism, Special Environment Protection Association, Administration of Privatization etc. are also responsible for preparation and approval of master and local development plans (Ersoy, 2000a, 2000b, 2005).

During the period between 1985 and 2005, these different types of plans and various planning authorities of different agencies became a means for pursuing particularistic land interests in Ankara. Although it is not easy to reach out a judgment about which interest is related with what kind of plans and authorities, the overall picture displays influences of informal political relations within the planning process.

Yet, although the institutional and jurisdical framework of planning responsibilities change, basically the process of enactment of an urban development plan proposal consists of a basic procedure in which development plan was presented to the municipal council via planning department after fulfilling all the necessary documents and views. This process can be schematized as:
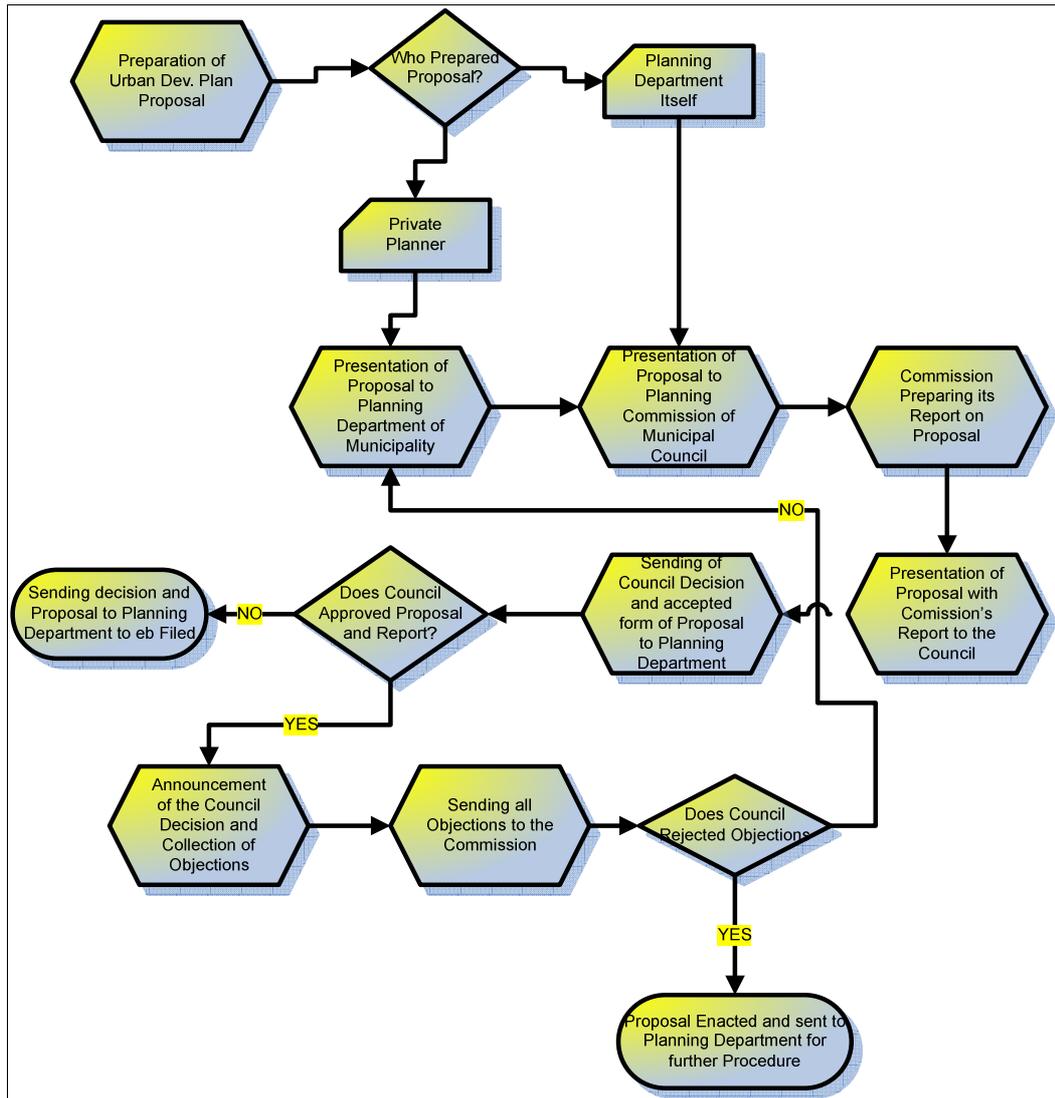
Figure 2. Enactment Process of an Urban Development Proposal

5.2.3.3. Urban Political Structure of Ankara

The period, which was taken as the main focus of the study between 1985 and 2005, have witnessed two neo-liberal trend that has been put into process both in central and local government levels at the beginning and at the end. Indeed, the neo-liberal transformation that has brought changes in the institutional structure at the local level was influential in determining the period under scrutiny. The period between these two neo-liberal phases was period of turmoil involving coalitions in central government that were sometimes in contradiction with the local governments. It is important to explore

the general political trends and structure in determining the nature of the relationships that has been established through partial planning efforts since various authoritative agents are used by various political interests in the central government and local government levels. For this reason, it is important to have a close look on the general political scheme.

Just as the beginning of the period of inquiry, in 1984 local elections, at majority of the local governments, The Motherland Party and its neo-liberal policies came to power when it was also holding power at the central government level. Motherland Party, holding power at both central and local levels, realized important transformations towards decentralization of responsibilities to local governments and deregulation. Most of the laws and regulations concerning local governments and urban planning were enacted within this period. The general trend of the period was towards further liberalization, deregulation and decentralization. Local governments, supported by central government started major infrastructure projects in especially metropolitan areas. Between 1984 and 1989, Mehmet Altınsoy was the mayor of Metropolitan Municipality of Ankara. He started some of the major big infrastructure, and transportation projects that some of them still shape the urban macro form in Ankara. Partial planning efforts in this period were shaped by these major projects and corporate interests of large capital owners and partisan affiliates looking for land rent. This was also the period when amendment plans were started to be prepared and implemented for squatter zones surrounding the urban macro form from north, east and south based on the squatter amnesty law enacted in 1984.

However, mostly due to the growing discontent with the poverty and increasing inequalities brought by neo-liberal policies, social democratic people's party came to power in municipalities formerly held by motherland party including Ankara. This discontent reflected into the relationship between central government and local governments of large metropolitan municipalities in the hands of social democrats. In this period, mayor of Ankara, Murat Karayalçın, continued carrying on major infrastructure projects including light rail transport and a metro system. Yet, focus on infrastructure projects rather than social projects for the poor in squatter areas, and pressures of development on transforming squatter areas and new development corridors in west and south west, together with the elitist and top-down planning approach of social democrats in power, not only caused corporate capital to settle in urban space

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through specific partial planning efforts but also brought to an end to social democratic rule in the following elections. Neglected squatter areas became much more conservative and started to be mobilized by conservative, Islamic groups. This was the period in which Ankara 1990 Master Plan has started to loose the power of its imperatives and particularistic interests took part through partial plans. The motives behind partial planning efforts started to change from technical necessities to development gains all around the urban macro-form. The clear example of a partial planning effort in this period was transformation of a green plot or kindergarten into a housing or commercial plot.

In 1994 local elections social democrats lost and Melih Gökçek, the candidate of an Islamic party, The Welfare Party win. Melih Gökçek also won the elections in the following two consecutive ones. The Welfare Party also increased its votes dramatically and became the first party in national parliament in the general elections in following year. In years between 1994 and 2002, several coalition governments ruled the country, supported by anti-Islamic interests within the state. Although ruling under two different parties and independent for a while, Melih Gökçek, in his first period, started build up a patron-client pyramid together with various fragments of conservatives and Islamic communities especially in squatter areas. Together with a populist understanding, he focused on investments about private car ownership, rather than major public transport investments, and direct popular aids to poor rather than wide spread social programs and investments. Within this structure he nearly became an urban boss with a wide spread network of followers. The lack of available channels for representation and participation also helped this kind of a political mobilization to emerge. In the first and second periods of him, most of the partial planning efforts become affiliated with such a populist understanding, letting especially former squatter owners to enjoy extra development rights. On the other hand, coalitions emerged in order to transfer valuable public land that was reserved for green belt in the west. Therefore, the partial planning efforts under Melih Gökçek's rule was an amalgamation of organized interests to capture and transfer valuable urban land to high-income gated communities and patron-client networks to transform squatter settlements into conservative neighborhoods.

In 2002, a conservative Islamic party, The Justice and Development Party (JDP), which was both a descendant of the former Welfare party an a new formation in the centre of right wing politics, came to power with majority in the National Parliament. In addition,

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in 2004 Melih Gökçek won the local elections for the third time this time as a member of the JDP. Together with JDP's neo-liberal program to integrate Turkey into European Union and global system, partial planning efforts in Ankara gained a new fashion. Melih Gökçek found a chance to manipulate all the new reforms concerning local governments and urban planning on behalf of himself and his followers. Beginning with the year 2005, new laws and regulations were enacted and all the partial planning activities were started to be realized accordingly. That is why the year 2005 is taken as the breakpoint of the inquiry of the study. It would be interesting for further studies to make a comparison of the former periods of Melih Gökçek and the period after 2005 when nearly all the legislation regulated in favor of greater municipalities and planning powers far greater than ever were tried to be given to the local governments.

In order to understand how the organized interests settle in urban space through partial planning efforts and in which relations and forms, it is necessary to have a close look at the political conditions and how they relate and reflect to the local level. For this reason, political conditions at micro level will be carefully examined throughout this study.

5.3. Research Design and Methodological Structure

5.3.1. The General Framework and Assumptions of the Methodological Structure

Throughout this study, based on the previous assumption of a consecutive two phase analysis of the case, a combination of various research techniques have been devised to both realize a conventional cross sectional analysis of the aggregate data about all plans and plan modifications realized in Ankara between 1985 and 2005 and to carry out a formal network analysis of a selected case from the universe.

In general the first phase of the research, i.e. the conventional statistical analysis of the plan and plan modification universe of the Ankara between 1985 and 2005, started with a general tendency analysis with respect to spatial characteristics of the plans, political conditions and political relations in each plan and procedural aspects of urban planning process in each plan. For this purpose, data collected from mostly official documents and archives of the Greater Municipality of Ankara and eight district municipalities linked to

it and an archive study has been realized. The archive study took fours years covering not only the archives of departments of planning but also the archives of municipal councils and related ministries. Notes taken throughout this four year study and interviews hold with the staff of planning departments and municipal council members was also used in classifying the material gathered from archives.

After gathering information from archives, a fundamental dataset was formed including various attributes of each plan and plan modification proposed and enacted in Ankara between 1985 and 2005. Data is collected for 5000 separate plan and plan modification but, 1045 of the cases have been eliminated from the analysis because of either insufficient data or incoherency of the official data sources. Yet, another important analysis technique is used to further classify the data about plans and plan modifications. Using correspondence analysis clusters of separate plans and plan modifications are to be seen and sub-categories of plans and plan modifications are determined with respect to spatial, procedural and political characteristics of plans and plan modifications. Correspondence analysis is a descriptive/exploratory technique designed to analyze simple two-way and multi-way tables containing some measure of correspondence between the rows and columns. The results provide information that allows one to explore the structure of categorical variables included in a given dataset. In a typical correspondence analysis, a cross tabulation table of frequencies is first standardized, so that the relative frequencies across all cells sum to 1.0. One way to state the goal of a typical analysis is to represent the entries in the table of relative frequencies in terms of the distances between individual rows and/or columns in a low-dimensional space (Greenacre 1984; Lebart, Morineau, and Tabard, 1977; Carrol, Green, and Schaffer 1986; Hoffman and Franke 1986).

Through correspondence analysis, the main dataset is divided into spatial, procedural and political categories. Spatial categories are further detailed through using measures such as proximity, characteristic, district etc. Spatial characteristics are created based on the location data inherent in the dataset and reconfigured with respect to the spatial and historical development of the city of Ankara. Spatial data is used since it was assumed that at certain level political relations at micro level are constrained by the spatial characteristics of the area where the plan or the plan modification was sought to realize. Legislative data is used to ascertain procedural categories of the dataset. In addition historical records of important political events at local and central government level and

the results of both central and local elections were used to create categories. At this stage Factor Analysis is used to decrease the number of categories to a meaningful number. The main applications of factor analytic techniques are: (1) to reduce the number of variables and (2) to detect structure in the relationships between variables, that is to classify variables. Therefore, factor analysis is applied as a data reduction or structure detection method (Stevens 1986; Cooley and Lohnes 1971; Harman 1967; Kim and Mueller 1978a, 1978b; Lawley and Maxwell 1971; Lindeman, Merenda, and Gold 1980; Morrison 1967; Mulaik 1972; Wherry 1984; Göçer 2001:217; Özdamar, 1998, Morrison, 1976).

Then distributions of plans and plan modifications as well as cross sectional analysis of the data with respect to the derived categories were established to explore the possible patterns within Ankara Case. An in depth scrutiny of all the patterns provided the criteria to chose one experience among 3955 other cases. After the selection of an appropriate case within which political relations might be observed that could represent the whole universe of plans and plan modifications in Ankara between 1985 and 2005, the second phase of the analysis, that is formal social network analysis was conducted.

At this point a specific development plan modification process in the urban fringe of the city of Ankara was selected. The development plan modification was done in a suburban region called *Çayyolu* on public land registered as plot *Çayyolu 907*. The land is very valuable since it is very close to the prestigious new housing areas and the development plan modification transformed part of former green belt area to housing settlement through a very lengthy process that took nearly fifteen years. The whole process of development plan modification does not fully fulfill Turkish laws and planning regulations and it is illegal to some extent but it has been realized. A closer look at the case of *Çayyolu 907* shows that the case shows all the characteristics of the patterns observed in the research universe.

Then, an in depth study of the case of Çayyolu 907 was realized through an in depth archive study to reveal the actors, their positions and affiliations involved in the urban planning process. After ascertaining dominant actors, interviews and a survey were held to explore the types, degree and direction of the relations between various actors involved in the process. A rigorous mapping of all the processes of transfer of land title, planning decision making and judiciary was realized with respect to important dates,

actors and institutions. Interviews are made with the planners and administrative staff at the planning departments of the municipalities and some municipal councilors. Survey was realized with three basic questions in snowball method. Starting with the most accessible actors, respondents are asked three basic questions: throughout urban planning process concerning Çayyolu 907 with whom you were in contact with? What was the characteristic and nature of the relationship between you or some other person you know and another person involved in the process? From 1 to 4 what strength you give to the relationship? After carefully examining the results of the interviews and survey and cross checking the validity of the data worded by the respondents, a dataset matrix for social network analysis is constituted. The dataset then analyzed with the social network analysis software *UCINET* and represented in *NETDRAW* to show network structure, components, sub-groups and certain characteristic of the network like centrality, degree and betweenness of the relationships and groups to justify the hypothesis of this thesis about the political relations within urban planning process at micro level.

The general structure of the research methodology could be followed in the following diagram:

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY OF THE STUDY

RESEARCH PHASE

Conventional Analysis

General Tendency Analysis of the Plans and Plan Modifications in Ankara between 1985-2005

Archive Study

Observations interviews

Correspondance Analysis

Determination of Patterns in the Research Universe

Creation of Spatial Categories

Collection of Legislative Data

Collection of Historical Records for Political Categories

Determination of Selection Criteria for case for Network Analysis

Factor Analysis

Social Network Analysis

Selection of the Case

Mapping of the Process of Selected Case

Archive Study

Interviews and Survey

Determination of Actors and Relations within Case

Construction and Analysis of Network

Construction of Network Structure

Social Networkk Analysis

Figure 3.Research Methodology of the Study

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5.3.2. Categories and Assumptions about Conventional Analysis and Social Network Analysis

5.3.2.1. Categories of Conventional Analysis

As a consequence of archive study and correspondence analysis, certain categories of analysis were set in order to examine the universe of plans and plan modifications in Ankara between 1985 and 2005. Furthermore, in each category and sub-category definitions and assumptions were made. Below listed are these categories.

5.3.2.1.1. Spatial Categories

Although political relations are not always conceptualized as being related with the spatial characteristics of institutional processes like urban planning process, spatial characteristics of the area on which certain planning process happens have some important influences on the political relations. For instance, the quality and characteristics of urban planning process and the type of relations established within that process are rather different on a valuable suburban area than a squatter area. These spatial characteristics could be categorized as meaningful administrative units or boundaries, spatial location or proximity to city center, spatial characteristics of the area, spatial prospect for development and the area coverage of the plan or planning modification.

- **Meaningful Administrative Boundaries and Units:** To some extent some administrative units in space may denote for unique socio-spatial experiences. These may be neighborhoods, villages or districts. Within this study, meaningful administrative units are taken as districts on which district municipalities govern and certain type and level or urban planning process occur. In the case of Ankara, eight metropolitan districts constitute meaningful administrative units both as historical entities and unique socio-economic and cultural structures. Although the number of metropolitan district exceeded 30 after the enactment of the new Law of Greater Municipalities, between 1985 and 2005 there were eight metropolitan districts according to the old Law of Greater Municipalities as: Altındağ, Çankaya, Etimesgut, Gölbaşı, Keçiören, Mamak, Sincan, Yenimahalle. Altındağ represents nearly all aspects of the city of Ankara; historical quarters

tracing back to Neolithic Period, some of the early planned neighborhoods and squatter settlements together, central business district, industrial estates etc. Unlike Altındağ, Çankaya is a symbol of modern lifestyle and prospect for development. Recently it has become the reserve area for suburban development on the out trenches of southwest corridor together with the districts of Yenimahalle, Sincan, Etimesgut and Gölbaşı. On the other hand Mamak and Keçiören, two of both were devoid of displaying an image of a squatter settlement, nowadays becomes an outlet for conservative and Islamic lifestyle and their ideals. Consecutively, classifying plans and modifications according to districts[3] may provide fruitful results.
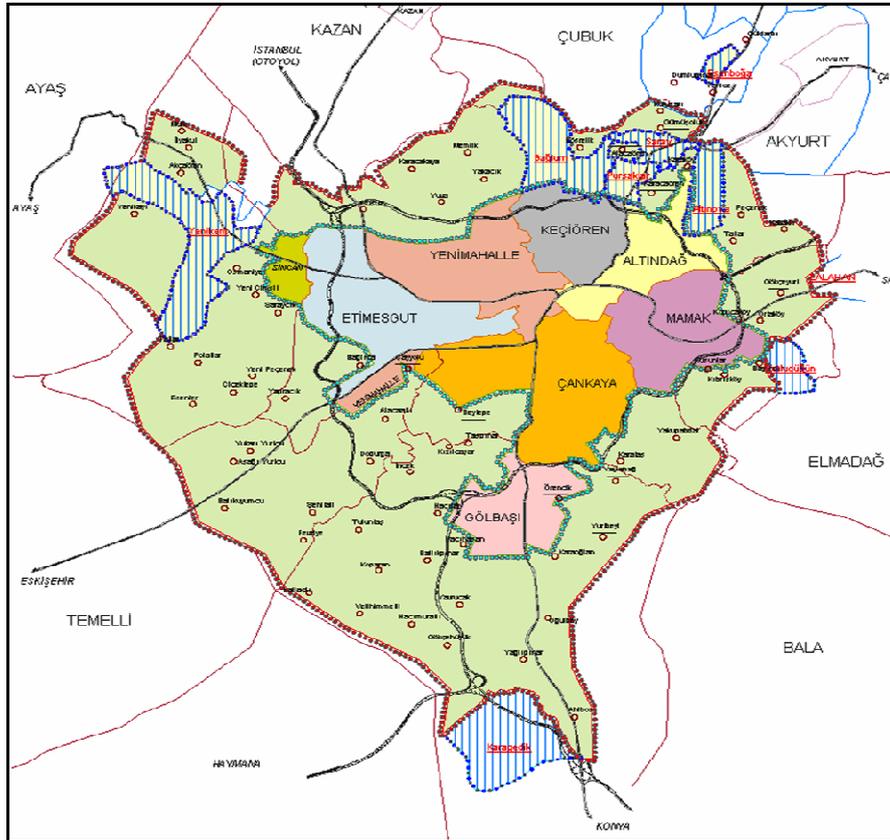
(Web Site of The Greater Municipality of Ankara http://www.ankara-bel.gov.tr)
Map 13. Metropolitan Administrative Boundaries according to Law 3030

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[3] Unfortunately, although cadastral information was gathered about the official numbers of plots and building blocks, they can not be laid on maps to show their exact location since the area coverage of the plans and repetitious enactments of the same plans caused overlapping of plans that made such an effort futile. Therefore instead of using exact locations of plots and building blocks, districts and subjective classification of proximity is used.
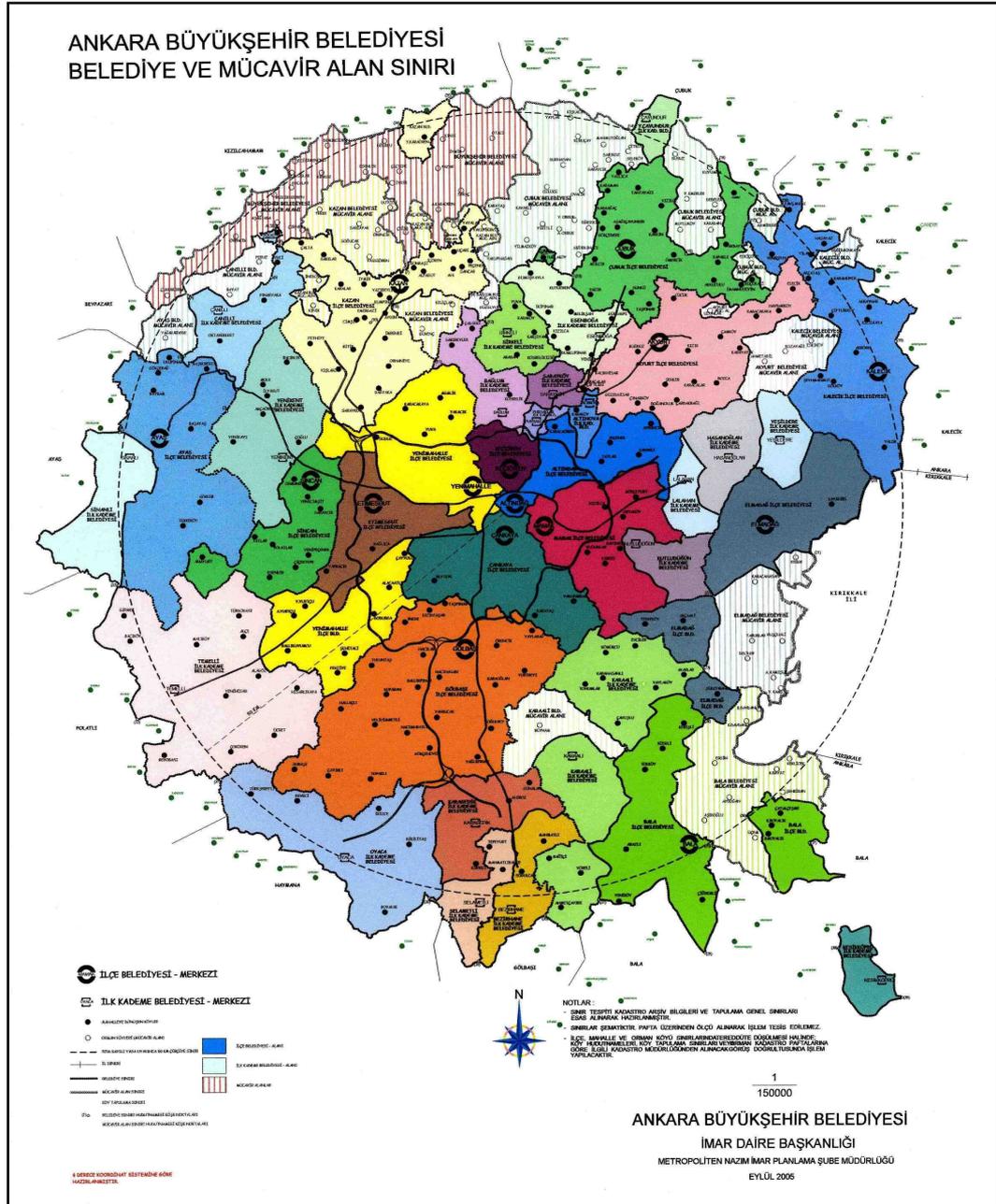
(Web Site of The Greater Municipality of Ankara http://www.ankara-bel.gov.tr)
Map 14. Metropolitan Administrative Boundaries according to Law 5216

- **Spatial Location (Proximity to City Center):** Spatial location of any given
  urban development plan or urban development plan modification is closely
  related with the characteristics of the actors involved in the urban planning
  process. For instance, mostly organized capitalist classes are interested in the

derivation of urban land rent in central business districts, shopping malls and prestigious housing settlements in suburban areas at the outskirts of the city, whereas migrants and petty builders mostly undertake efforts to be influential in the planning processes concerning rehabilitations of squatter areas and planned neighborhoods which are located at semi periphery or the periphery of the city of Ankara. Therefore, it is vital to ascertain the location of the plan or plan modification or the proximity of it to the city center.

Yet, although official documents include the cadastral plot numbers or the building block that may seem to allow precisely determine the location of any given urban development plan or urban development plan modification on a map using appropriate software, pursuing such a route is problematic. Since, plans and plan modifications are not spread throughout Ankara in a mosaic structure. Not only the area coverage of plans are not fixed, there is overlapping of various plans and modifications. A plan may cover the whole city whereas some others may just realized for a single plot located somewhere in that plan covering whole city. In addition, a plan may be located both in the vicinity of the city and at the semi-periphery of the city as a result of its area coverage and the shape of that area.

For this reason, based on the exact locations of each plan and plan modification, a scale of six degree of proximity was developed to allocate each one of the plans and modifications. Based on 1970 land-use and macro form of the city of Ankara, five elliptical rings were defined representing central areas, central neighborhoods, semi-periphery, periphery and fringe of the city and idle areas out of the city. Then, using 1997 and 2005 land use and macro-forms, the growth rates of these rings outwards were calculated and transformed into a proximity coefficient. As a result, the location of any given plan at any given time between 1985 and 2005 is calculated using a function of enacting date, distance of the plan area from centre of the city towards a certain direction and growth rate of the city macro-form. Thus the function can be defined as: $[f(p) = t.p.d.g\,]$ where p stands for proximity of the plan, t for the enacting date, p for the distance from centre, d for the direction angle of the plan and the g for the growth rate of the city macro-form. If the plan area is larger than a neighborhood and their shape is such that covering more that one ring, the location of the plan is determined

through measuring geodesic distance as a line or an array of lines approximated to the nearest ring possible.
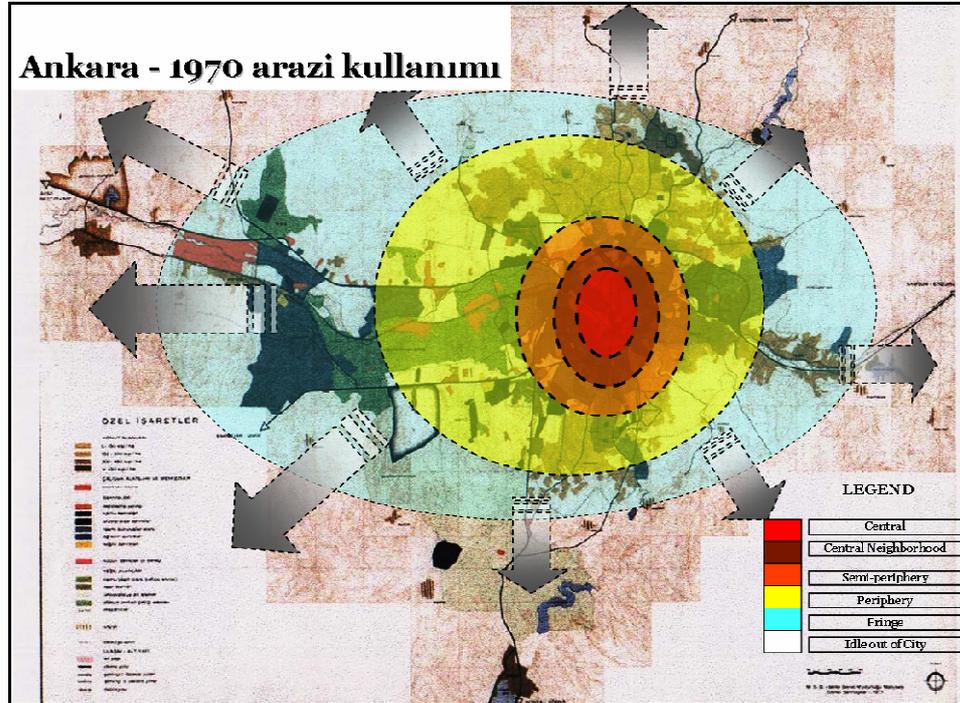
Map 15. Proximity Calculation Model for Urban Development Plans on 1970 City Macro form of Ankara
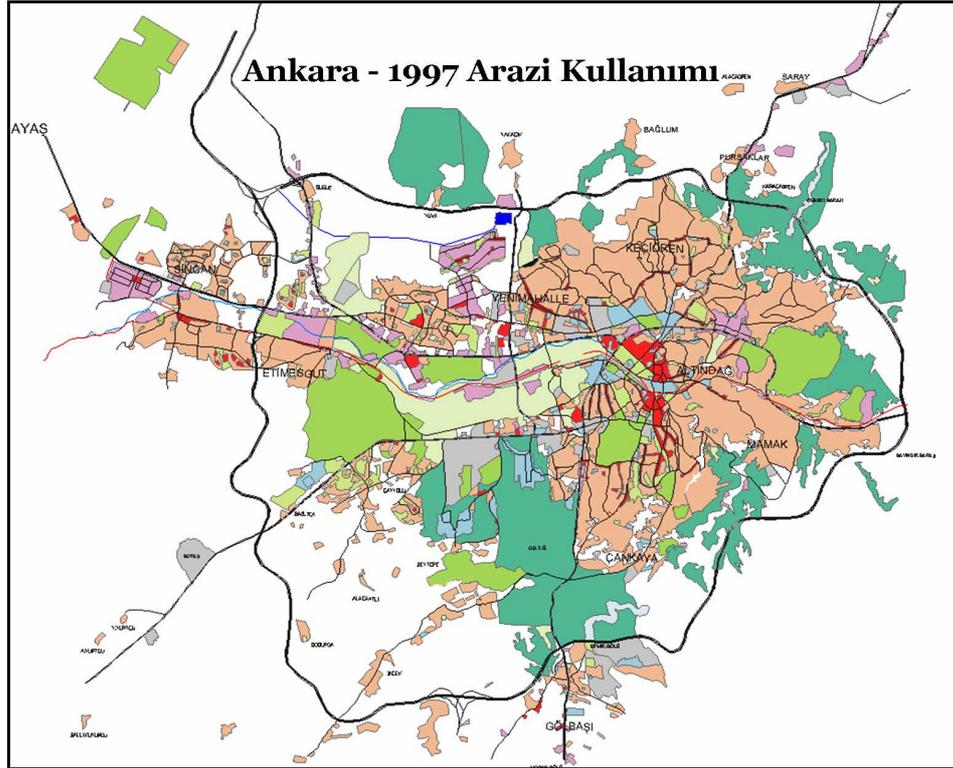
(Chambers of City Planners 2002)
Map 16. 1997 Urban Macro Form of Ankara
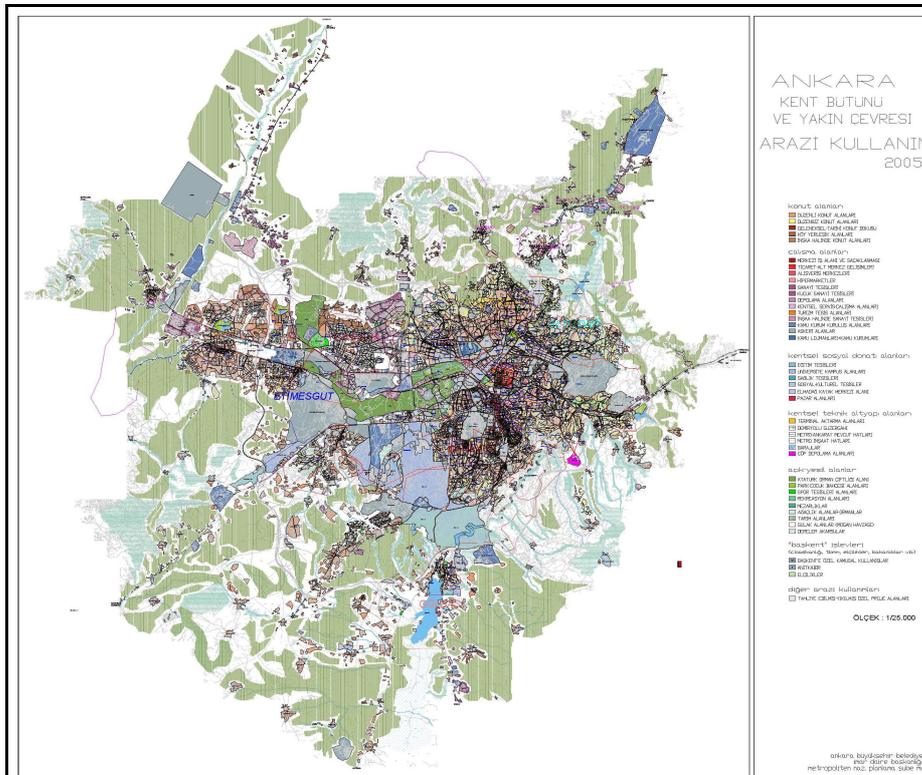
(The Greater Municipality of Ankara Planning Department)
Map 17. 2005 Urban Macro Form of Ankara

- **Spatial Characteristics of the Area:** Alongside location properties of the planning area, characteristics of the area is of importance with reference to the political relations within urban planning process, since every area with different characteristics offers and necessitates different prospect and different relations. Most important of all, every type of area has its own unique profile of landlords, tenants, developers and entrepreneurs. Moreover, the behavior of the bureaucrats and politicians tend to differ with respect to the characteristics of the area. Cooperation and concomitant coalitions change with respect to the characteristic of the area. Clustering of the plans and plan modifications according to the results of correspondence analysis show that, the areas on which plans and modifications realized in Ankara between 1985 and 2005 could be categorized under seven categories. There are plans and modifications realized in central business districts (CBD), planned neighborhoods, and squatter settlements, settlements transformed from squatter settlements, suburbs, historical city center and industrial estates. The characteristic of the area is important since previous studies has shown that, certain type of informal relationships emerge in different fashion in regular settlements, squatters, suburbs, city centre and suburbs. While the urban planning process realized for squatter areas and regular settlements involves clientelistic relations with the lower level brokers, planning process realized for suburbs, central business districts and prospective neighborhoods is based on mostly clientelistic relations between upper level politicians, bureaucrats and brokers. Thus it is also important to evaluate the prospective position of the area related with the planning process.

- **Prospect for Urban Development:** Another important spatial category for classification of the plans and plan modifications is the spatial prospect for development. By convention it may be thought that mostly plans and plan modifications are realized on areas where the possibility of obtaining land rent is the highest. Yet, although in a city of high population growth and under high inflationary conditions land becoming not only a scarce source but also a means for investment, there are some areas with higher prospective position and subject to higher rent than the others (Titman 1985). The prospective position of a certain area is a very complex issue since it is determined as a consequence of unique mixtures of land values and marginal expectations of the citizens (Capozza and Helsley 1989). Yet, at least increase rates of land and housing prices could be taken as an indicator of the prospect for a certain area. In order to

determine the prospective position of the areas where plans and plan modifications are realized, first of sample data about the land prices in each neighborhood throughout last twenty years are obtained through archive study in the General Directorate of Land Register and Cadastral Works. A scale was developed with respect to the rate of increase in land prices in each year.

Table 1. Index for calculation of Prospect for Development for Planning Area

Prospect for Urban Development	Increase in Land Prices per Year (%)
High	More that 50
Moderate	20 – 50
Low	Below %20

- **Area Coverage of the Planning Area:** Lastly, area coverage of the planning area is taken as an important category of spatial analysis. According to the Urban Development Law numbered 3194, the area coverage of the plan was determined through a boundary called *official approval boundary of the plan*. Although the area coverage of the plans and plan modifications can directly be taken as the measure of surface area, this kind of a measure does not allow any research to neither compare plans not relate to political relations. For this reason, legal planning and property units are taken as the measure of area coverage. By using such a method connotations of specific units of area coverage could be understood. Five different sub-categories are constructed under this category as: single plot, several plots, building blocks, neighborhood and citywide. It is assumed that if the area coverage of the plan is a single plot or several plots, it is related with the planning decision and building permits of a specific building or a group of buildings and probability of involvement of large numbers of actors and complex relations within the urban planning process is relatively low. Moreover, it is also assumed that if the area coverage of the plan is a building block or a neighborhood, it is related with much more complex network of

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relations and coalitions of various actors. Plans and plan modifications on city scale are either an indicator of wide spread consensus among citizens or the existence of very powerful actors and certain type of relations.

5.3.2.1.2. Procedural Categories of Urban Planning Process

Political relations within urban planning process at micro scale are shaped through procedures of urban planning process defined in the Law. Some of these procedural categories are also spatial categories, like the scale and type of plans and these categories provide and important means to understand the outlets of political relations and power within institutional structure. In this study, it is assumed that certain social relations are put into spatial processs and became legitimized through some socially accepted sometimes seemingly technical ways and procedures. Although these categories are defined in judiciary and institutional spheres as categories defining urban planning process as an official procedure, as time passes certain legal definitions and procedural steps become bearer of certain types of political relations. For instance, in Turkish case the plan scale of 1/1000 denotes for the prescription of building rights in the form of plot and building boundaries, upper limit of the floor area to be used and the possible revenues to be gained from land rent could be calculated much more precisely. As a result, most of the plans and planning modifications are to be expected at this scale. At this scale struggle, cooperation and collaboration on space become much more visible than the others since all the actors involved in the urban planning process predicate their positions in congruent with their expectations (Ersoy, 2000a, 2000b, 2005).

- **Scale of the Development Plan:** Scale of the development plan is an important indicator of the character of political relations and urban planning process. Like the area coverage of the plan, as the scale goes up, probability of existence of important coalitions and relations between larger groups of actors increase since plans of such scale are related with the change of planning decisions concerning larger areas whereas as the scale goes down visa versa. Although within urban development Law there are mainly two types of urban development plans, namely master development plans and implementation plans, there are various types and scales of these plans. The most common scales of urban development plans are 1/1000 and 1/5000. There are also scales of 1/200 and 1/500 as scales

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of urban design and 1/25 000 and 1/50 000 as upper scale plans. Some scales are devoid of indicating powerful actors and effective relations. For instance master development plans scales 1/2000, involving decisions of both scale 1/1000 and 1/5000, were widely devised by Melih Gökçek, in order to bypass planning powers of the district municipalities of especially ruled by political parties other than his. Similarly, although they have to be prepared as metropolitan development plans, plans of scales 1/25 000 and 1/50 000 are devised by very powerful groups and actors to legitimize illegitimate or illegal housing settlements at the fringe of Ankara.

- **Type of the Plan:** 6th article of the Urban Development Law coded 3194 prescribes that different types of plans should be prepared in according to size of the area they cover and plan goals and objectives. These are *regional plans*, *environmental physical plans* and *development plans*. Urban development plans are categorized in the Law in two types: master plans and implementation plans. They are described in the Article 2 of the "Regulation about Preparation of Development Plans and Its Modifications" (Abacıoğlu 1994, Ulusoy 1999).

Master Development Plan: Master development plans are prepared in consistency with the decisions of regional and environmental physical plan in force and determine general land uses, main zoning types, future population of regions, building densities if necessary, the size, direction and principles growth of different settlements, their transportation system and solutions of problems. In order to become the base of the local plans, they are produced at of 1/2000 and 1/5000 with a detailed report which explains the plan.

Implementation Plan: They are prepared in congruence with the master development plan at force and produced at scale 1/1000 and a whole with a detailed report. It determines lots of different zones, their density, order and road system, the stages of implementation and principles which will be the base of implementation programs and other information in a detailed way.

Revision Development Plan: They are plans which revise the whole or a large portion of a master development plan or implementation plans when existing plans could not cope with the needs or when implementation of a plan create severe problems.

Additional Development Plan: They are plans which are prepared when existing development plans is not sufficient for urban development. They are located adjacent to the existing development plan and they should be consistent with main land use decisions and transportation plan.

Peace meal Plans: They are plans which are prepared when existing plans become insufficient for existing population or when related administrative unit determines the need of opening new settlement areas and determine their boundaries. They are prepared outside boundaries of existing development plans in every type and every scale; in a location without any relation and meet the need of social and technical infrastructure in itself.

Development Plan Modifications: They are changes or modifications which bring local alterations in the size, location, density of land uses or in transportation system within the boundaries of approved development plan without destroying main decisions of the plan by definition.

Similarly, types of plans are important indicators of the political relations within urban planning process. For instance, planning process concerning an implementation plan necessitate establishment of relations at mainly district municipality level, whereas planning process concerning a master development plan probably denotes for a set of relations at the greater municipality level.

- **Previous and Later Plan Decisions of the Planning Area and Characteristics of the Change Brought about by the Urban Development Plan:** Some important patterns could be observed by directly looking at the previous and later planning decisions of the planning areas. For example, transformation of urban parks into housing plots, commercial plots or religious facilities constitute an important pattern displaying signs of certain pressures and relations. Below there are these categories obtained as a result of content and correspondence analysis:

Previous Plan Decisions:

a) Unplanned vacant land out of city

b) Squatter Area

c) Rural Settlement in Fringe

d) Unplanned vacant land in the city

e) Narrower road

f) Industry and service

g) Relatively Lower Building Rights

h) Housing

i) Green Area

j) Public building

k) Commercial

l) Road, square, pedestrian way

m) Schools

n) Smaller plots

o) Historical Quarter

p) Health Facilities

q) Mosque and Religious Buildings

r) Forestation Area

s) Slum

t) Fuel Station

Later Plan Decision:

a) Housing or New Settlement Unit

b) Office Use or Public Buildings

c) Industry

d) University

e) Service area

f) Wider road

g) Higher building rights

h) Green Area

i) Health

j) Schools

k) Commercial

l) Larger plots

m) Mosque

n) Transport facility

o) Sports Area

p) Infrastructure Facility

q) Rehabilitated Historical Quarter

r) Fuel Station

s) Private School

t) Private Hospital

Characteristics of the Change Brought about by the Urban Development Plan:

a) Settlement of vacant land in fringe

b) Regeneration of squatter settlement or squatter amendment

c) Transformation of fringe into office or industry

d) Transformation of inner urban vacant land to industry

e) Transformation of inner urban unplanned land to industry

f) Transport investment

g) Implementation of plan

h) Infrastructure Facility

i) Increase in building rights, legitimization of illegal building modifications

j) Transformation of inner urban vacant land to open space

k) Transformation of inner urban vacant land to housing settlement

l) Open space generation

m) Transformation of/to public buildings

n) Transformation from housing to industry

o) Transformation from housing to commercial ya service area

p) Enlargement or subdivision of plots

q) Transformation of public land to mosque or religious facilities

r) Transformation from mosque to commercial

s) Transformation to housing

t) Transformation of open spaces to other public uses

u) Urban or landscape design

v) Transformation from housing to mosque or religious facilities

w) Transformation from urban park to commercial plots

x) Transformation from housing to schools or health institutions

y) Transformation from school to commercial or housing

z) Transformation from public land to commercial plots

aa) Transformation to Fuel Station

bb) Transformation from commercial to industry

cc) Village Development Plans

- **Enacting Date of Planning Proposal and Time Passed between Proposal and Enacting:** On average the time passed between the hand in of the planning proposal and enacting of it is around 80 days. Any case that took extremely longer or shorter than the average interval might signify the existence of certain relations. For instance, there are cases in which the hand in and enacting of a proposal happened in the same day which is virtually impossible unless a very powerful actor, sometimes a mayor uses his influence to realize such a result. Whereas in some other cases that involve such interventions but took years in total since the case involves more than one planning attempts, some enacted, and lengthy judicial procedures and persistent efforts of influential actors.

5.3.2.1.3. Categories Concerning Political Conditions and Political Relations

Although it might seem irrelevant to gather information about political relations solely looking into the archive data, some categories of information might provide fruitful insights to the understanding of the interaction between urban planning process and formal political structure. Some of these data are also procedural like who handed in the planning proposal or the initiator of the planning process. Whereas, other categories might include information about the results of elections, the name and length of rule of the ruling political party at the central and local governments and the name of the metropolitan mayor. Although the second type of political data seem to be giving a limited sense of political relations by themselves, cross sectional analysis of political scene together with the spatial and procedural data definitely provide the opportunity to check the validity of the theories long pronounced in the works of scholars studying political relations at urban planning process especially in Turkey and Ankara. Striking results might emerge for instance while questioning whether or not both the mayor of the greater municipality and the district municipality belong to the same political party makes any sense in the spatial or procedural characteristics of the urban planning process.

- **Initiator of the Planning Process[4]:** According to the Urban Development Law urban development plans could be prepared in four different ways: municipality have plans prepared by its own planning department, could directly contract planning to private firms, have it prepared for itself by the Bank of Provinces or plans can be prepared and submitted by a private planning bureau to the planning department. In any case, there should be concrete evidence put for the necessity of the plan or plan modification to justify. According to the same Law and Laws, Regulations and Resolutions concerning property relations, any individual, organization or institution might submit a planning proposal or give a petition to the planning authority for necessary plan or plan modification to be prepared by the planning authority (Ünal 1986, Ulusoy 1999). Although in some cases the real initiator of the planning proposal by submitting a planning proposal or making a demand through a petition, in most cases the names of the individuals or institutions are at least involved in the planning process. Therefore, based on the clustering of the data about urban planning process in Ankara between 1985 and 2005, six separate categories are used for classifying initiators of urban planning process as:

  a)   Individuals
  b)   District Municipality
  c)   Metropolitan Municipality
  d)   Other Government Institutions
  e)   NGOs
  f)   Community

- **Ruling Power at Central Government and its type:** It has long been discussed about whether the ruling power at central government and its type is influential on urban planning process. In this study, it is assumed that structure and type of central government have significant effects of urban planning process since Ankara is the Capital City and some elements and actors of National Assembly and central government institutions are a part of urban processes in it. It is also assumed that historically, political parties are rather more influential on urban planning process at central government level and district municipalities than

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[4] Initiator of the planning process is taken as the one who submits planning proposal on his name to the enacting authority. If municipality prepares or submits proposal itself, the person or the organization demanding the change is taken as initiator if there is any. Otherwise, municipality of whatever the institution is taken as the initiator.

greater or metropolitan municipalities since throughout last twenty years metropolitan mayors become significant figures before public opinion than political parties they belong to. For this reason the data categories are selected Below there is a list of all the single party and coalition governments between 1985 and 2005:

Table 2. Ruling Political Parties and Coalitions in Central Government between 1985 and 2005

Ruling Political Party at Central Government	Type	Ruled between
ANAP-I	Single Party	13.12.1983-21.12.1987
ANAP-II	Single Party	21.12.1987-9.11.1989
ANAP-III	Single Party	9.11.1989-23.6.1991
ANAP-IV	Single Party	23.6.1991-20.11. 1991
DYP-SHP-I	Coalition	21.11.1991-25.6.1993
DYP-SHP-II	Coalition	25.6.1993-5.10.1995
DYP	Single Party	5.10.1995-30.10.1995
DYP-CHP	Coalition	30.10.1995-6.3.1996
ANAP-DYP-DSP	Coalition	6.3.1996-28.6.1996
RP-DYP	Coalition	28.6.1996-30.6.1997
ANAP-DSP-CHP	Coalition	30.6.1997-11.1.1999
DSP	Single Party	11.1.1999-28.5.1999
ANAP-DSP-MHP	Coalition	28.5.1999-18.11.2002
AKP	Single Party	23.11.2002-10.07.2004

- Political Party at District Municipality and Metropolitan Mayor: While devising categories for the classification of district municipalities and metropolitan mayors, local elections are taken as the breaking points whereas for metropolitan mayors affiliation with political parties are taken as classification category since after Altınsoy and Karayalçın, who are the first two metropolitan mayors of the period, Melih Gökçek ruled under three different political parties, two of whom closed for being involved in activities found illegal against the constitution and he also ruled independent and the as the head of a political party at the same time

for a while. Below there area categories of district municipalities and metropolitan mayors:

Table 3. Ruling Political Parties in District Municipalities and Mayors in Metropolitan Municipalities

	84-89	89-94	94-95	95-98	98-2001	2001-2004	2004-
Altındağ	ANAP	SHP	CHP	RP	FP	AKP	AKP
Çankaya	ANAP	SHP	CHP	CHP	CHP	CHP	CHP
Etimesgut			RP	RP	MHP	MHP	AKP
Gölbaşı	ANAP	SHP	CHP	CHP	MHP	MHP	AKP
Keçiören	ANAP	SHP	CHP	MHP	FP	AKP	AKP
Mamak	ANAP	SHP	CHP	CHP	FP	AKP	AKP
Sincan	ANAP	SHP	CHP	RP	FP	AKP	AKP
Yenimahalle	ANAP	SHP	CHP	CHP	CHP	CHP	AKP
Pol. Party of Metr. Mayor	ANAP	SHP	CHP	RP	FP	Indep.	AKP
Metropolitan Mayor	Altınsoy	Karayalçın	Karayalçın	Gökçek	Gökçek	Gökçek	Gökçek

6.3.2.2. Formal Network Analysis of A Sample Most Relevant to the General Patterns or Urban Planning Process in Ankara between 1985 and 2005: Çayyolu Parcel 907

After defining certain patterns within the universe of urban development plan and modifications, a specific cluster of urban development plans were selected to in depth analysis. These patterns and the selection criteria of the case will be explained in detail in the next chapter where the observations of conventional study and the network study will be spread out. This cluster revolved around an interesting area at the fringe of the macro-form of Ankara, in a suburban area called Çayyolu, officially named cadastral parcel numbered 907. Çayyolu cadastral Parcel numbered 907 was part of the green belt sought in the 1990 Metropolitan Plan of Ankara. The urban planning process, in which the area was transformed from a forestry area belonging to treasure to a housing area inhabited by high income prestigious housing settlement, was seen to be best to observe the formation of an informal network of relations between around 100 people. Such incidents are so

wide-spread in Turkey that State Audit Court carried out numerous investigations on the transformation of treasury land to the private property through urban planning legitimization (Saner 2001:23). Since, the process of transforming part of the green belt owned by treasure into a privately owned high income housing settlement legitimized through urban planning process involving more than 10 separate urban development plans and plan modifications of various scales and types all of which nearly proposed and enacted at the same day and the whole process took nearly more than 12 years and still not came to an end, covering political periods of a dozen of central governments, district mayors and metropolitan mayors. It is also a well documented example of the transformation of urban fringe into suburban development area by certain groups using all formal and informal means possible.

The case area, parcel 907 of Çayyolu, is located in the south-west development corridor of the macro-form of the city of Ankara and situated close to the prestigious housing areas Çayyolu and Beysukent. The area is very close to the main artery of Eskişehir road, which connects the city to the west. It covers approximately an area of 90 hectares. There are rugged parts in the area and the area is surrounded by three hills. Especially the foot of the hills and the area between them are very suitable for settlement. Formerly the area was defined as a part of the proposed green belt around the city of Ankara in "1990 Development plan of Ankara". The land is publicly owned and belongs to the treasure of the state.

Map 18. Location of Çayyolu 907 Parcel on 1990 Metropolitan Development Plan of Ankara

5.3.2.2.1. Description of the Urban Planning Process Concerning Çayyolu 907 Parcel

Transformation of the Çayyolu 907 parcel into a prestigious housing settlement has been realized as a result of a series of official procedures, comprising of three main phases: change in ownership, change in planning decision and judiciary process. The planning and the judiciary phases started and concurrently carried out hereafter change in ownership consecutively. Based on the archive data a detailed flow of the urban planning process is outlined as:

1. The case starts with a information request of Ministry of Finance Ankara Department's, (who holds the ownership of the parcel as the controller of the national treasury) from Greater Municipality of Ankara Planning Department about Çayyolu parcel 907 and planning decisions about it

(Ministry Of Finance 05.12.1994). But the ministry did not put forward any reason or motive for this request.

2. The Greater Municipality of Ankara Planning Department answered Ministry of Finance in 19.01.1995. According to the official letter, the area has been assigned as "forestation area" and a small "housing area" in "Beytepe Additional Revision Development Plan". 1/5000 development plan was approved by the greater municipality council's 02.04.1991 date and 185th decision. Later on 1/1000 development plan was approved with 04.10.1993 date and 328th and 07.03.1994 date and 127th decisions. Yet, this plan was not implemented.

3. Then, The Ministry of Forestry, who is responsible for the realization and maintenance of the green belt, requested end of the assignment of parcel 907 Çayyolu to its responsibility stating that the area is "close to housing areas and problems may occur in near future about the assignment of the land to the Ministry of Forestry" (Ministry of Forestry 21.07.1995). Legally the area is assigned to the providence of Ministry of Forestry.

4. Later on The Governorship of Ankara asked Greater Municipality of Ankara Planning Department about the situation of the area in existing development plans.

5. The Greater Municipality of Ankara Planning Department answered the information request of the Governorship telling the situation of the area in development plan and giving information that the parcel is within the municipal boundaries (The Greater Municipality of Ankara 29.08.1995).

6. The Governorship again asked information about the area and requested separation of the forestation area and housing area that are defined in "Beytepe Additional Revision Development Plan" (Ankara Governorship 03.06.1996).

7. Governorship repeated its request of separation (Ankara Governorship 18.07.1996).

8. The Greater Municipality of Ankara Planning Department gave the requested information with no mention about separation (The Greater Municipality of Ankara 27.07.1996).

9. Later on, The Ministry of Forestry approved the assignment of the land for purposes other than forestation but asked for the compensation of the

investment made in the area for forestation. It is understood that 6.8 hectares out of 90 hectares was forested and there was approximately two years old pines and cedars in the area (The Ministry of Forestry 04.12.1996).

10. Soon after the decision of the Ministry of Forestry, The Department of Expropriation and Municipal Properties of The Greater Municipality of Ankara made a request to the Ministry of Finance to be assigned for the land for the purpose of "housing and recreational purposes". The Municipal council of The Greater Municipality of Ankara decided to pay the necessary amount of compensation to the Ministry of Finance by the law (The Greater Municipality of Ankara 20.02.1997).

11. On the other side a powerful local businessman, Emin Hattat requested that the parcel 907 Çayyolu should be given to him as a compensation for the loss he had in another part of the city in Demetevler because of Greater Municipality of Ankara in. It is true by court decision that the businessman had a loss because of municipality in Demetevler, The Greater Municipality of Ankara 04.12.1996).

12. The Greater Municipality of Ankara Planning Department submitted the request of Emin Hattat with the request of department of Expropriation and municipal properties that the land to be planned as housing to the municipal council of the Greater Municipality of Ankara (The Greater Municipality of Ankara 13.03.1997).

13. The Ministry of Finance abolished the assignment of The Ministry of Forestry to the Çayyolu 907 parcel and approved the assignment of the greater municipality of Ankara for the land. The land is assigned to the municipality for the use of social housing and recreational purposes according to law (The Ministry of Finance 17.03.1997).

14. The Planning Department of The Greater Municipality of Ankara informed The Greater Municipality Council that the issue of parcel 907 Çayyolu necessitates modification in the 1990 Ankara Metropolitan Development Plan at scale 1/50 000 and asked for the approval of the relevant modification. There was no concrete legal or reason behind the requested modification (The Greater Municipality of Ankara 08.04.1997).

15. Although it is contrary to the Urban Development Law and related Code, without waiting for the approval of The Greater Municipality Council for the 1/50 000 plan modification, The Planning Department of The Greater Municipality of Ankara made another offer to The Greater Municipality Council about the 1/5000 development plan modification in the same day with another official letter. In the development plan modification 14 hectares of recreational area, 25 hectares of housing and 49 hectares of forestation was proposed. Overall density was defined as 100 person/hectares, equal to the density of the surrounding housing areas (The Greater Municipality of Ankara 08.04.1997).

16. The Greater Municipality Council approved the 1/50 000 development plan modification (The Greater Municipality Council 13.05.1997).

17. The approval of the 1/50 000 development plan modification was announced to public in a local newspaper in 26.05.1997.

18. The Greater Municipality Council approved the 1/5000 master development plan modification (The Greater Municipality Council 15.05.1997).

19. The Planning Department prepared geological analysis of the area.

20. The approval of the 1/5000 master development plan modification was announced to public in a local newspaper in 26.05.1997.

21. After the approval of the 1/50 000 metropolitan and 1/5000 master development plan modifications, The Planning Department of the Greater Municipality of Ankara offered 1/1000 implementation plan modification to The Greater Municipality Council. Council endorsed 1/1000 implementation plan. In the 1/1000 Implementation Plan housing amount of housing area increased from %30, which was the decision amount in the master development plan of 1/5000 scale, of the total area to %50. There are different housing cooperatives involved in the process. The implementation plan proposes 1230 housing units to be built in the planning area and such a proposition was uncommon since guidelines for preparation of implementation plans does not prescribe such decisions and such an exact number of housing units mentioned in the implementation plan may indicate the possibility of intervention of the housing cooperatives and their members to the planning process and decision making. The size of the housing units are 200 m² and 300 m²,

sizes of which could be taken as luxury units for the Turkish conditions where the average housing size is around 80 m² (Tezcan 2006:71).

22. The Greater Municipality Council approved the 1/1000 development plan modification (The Greater Municipality of Ankara 01.07.1997). The approval of the 1/1000 development plan modification was announced to public in a local newspaper in 07.08.1997.

23. Soon, The Greater Municipality Council approved a protocol with Emin Hattat and some part of the area has been given to Emin Hattat as a compensation for his loss (The Greater Municipality of Ankara 30.07.1997).

24. On the other hand, The District Municipality of Çankaya went to administrative court with the request of the abolishment of the 1/5000 and 1/50 000 development plan modifications with the reasons: The green areas that belong to public should be conserved, not opened to housing, there is no public interest in turning an important part of the green belt into a housing area, Greater Municipality of Ankara realized a procedure that it does not have any right to do (The District Municipality of Çankaya 17.07.1997).

25. The District Municipality of Çankaya also went to court with the request of the abolishment of the 1/1000 development plan modification with the same reasons (The District Municipality of Çankaya 02.10.1997).

26. The Planning Department of The Greater Municipality of Ankara informed The District Municipality of Yenimahalle that the 1/5000 and 1/1000 modifications were approved by The Greater Municipality Council and asked for the approval of District Council.

27. The District Municipality Council of Yenimahalle approved the development plan modifications that were prepared and approved by The Greater Municipality of Ankara (The District Municipality of Yenimahalle 26.11.1997).

28. The Department of Expropriation and Municipal Properties assigned some of the parcel 907 Çayyolu to two private housing cooperatives and informed The Planning Department about the assignment. These housing cooperatives are S.S. Dorukkent '91 ve S.S. Güven Başkent.

29. The 4th Administrative Court of Ankara refused objection of The District Municipality of Çankaya with the reason that the area in concern was not

in the responsibility of the District Municipality (The 4th Administrative Court of Ankara 12.11.1997).

30. The Planning Department of The Greater Municipality of Ankara requested the assignment of the land to the cooperatives without waiting for the implementation plans to be prepared based on the reason that preparation of the implementation plans may take long time (The Greater Municipality of Ankara 31.12.1997).

31. The 1st Administrative Court of Ankara decided that 1/3 of the area is in the boundaries of The District Municipality of Ankara and the rest in the boundaries of The District Municipality of Yenimahalle.

32. On the other hand the members of the surrounding housing cooperatives objected the transformation of green belt into housing area and made complaints to the Ministry of Environment and then went to court for the abolishment of the 1/50 000 and 1/1000 development plan modifications.

33. At the end of ongoing court procedures the 6th high state council abolished the 1/1000 plan modification.

34. Ankara 4th administrative court abolished the 1/50 000 plan modification in 1999.

35. Ankara 4th administrative court abolished the 1/5000 plan modification in 1999.

36. Ankara 1st administrative court abolished the 1/50 000 and 1/1000 plan modifications in 1999.

37. On the other hand, one of the private housing cooperatives that have been assigned for the parcel 907 had a report prepared by University of Ankara Agricultural Department that the parcel 907 is not suitable for forestation and submitted this report to the court.

38. Ankara 8th administrative court abolished the 1/1000 plan modification in 1999.

39. At the end of all court processes, all the decisions of the administrative courts went to 6th Bureau of The Council of State (Danıştay 6. Dairesi). The Council of State accepted the validity of 1/5000 and 1/1000 development plan modifications and abolished the 1/50 000 development plan modification in 1999.

Result: Today there are four private high income group housing cooperatives in the parcel 907 of Çayyolu with their full residents. The area has turned into a settlement area. However, the judiciary and administrative processes have not yet came to an end. Endless submissions of new planning proposals given by the members of cooperatives to fully legitimize the housing settlements and court decisions legalizing or abolishing plans continues.

The general overview of the administrative processes gave us the impression about the acquisition of an important and large public land into private housing area. After a lengthy and complex urban planning process, the illegitimate transformation of the land into housing has been legitimized. Each and every stage of the process indicates possibility of establishment of informal relations between various actors from beginning to the end. These relations will be discussed in detail in the next chapter on observations on the results of network analysis of the case.
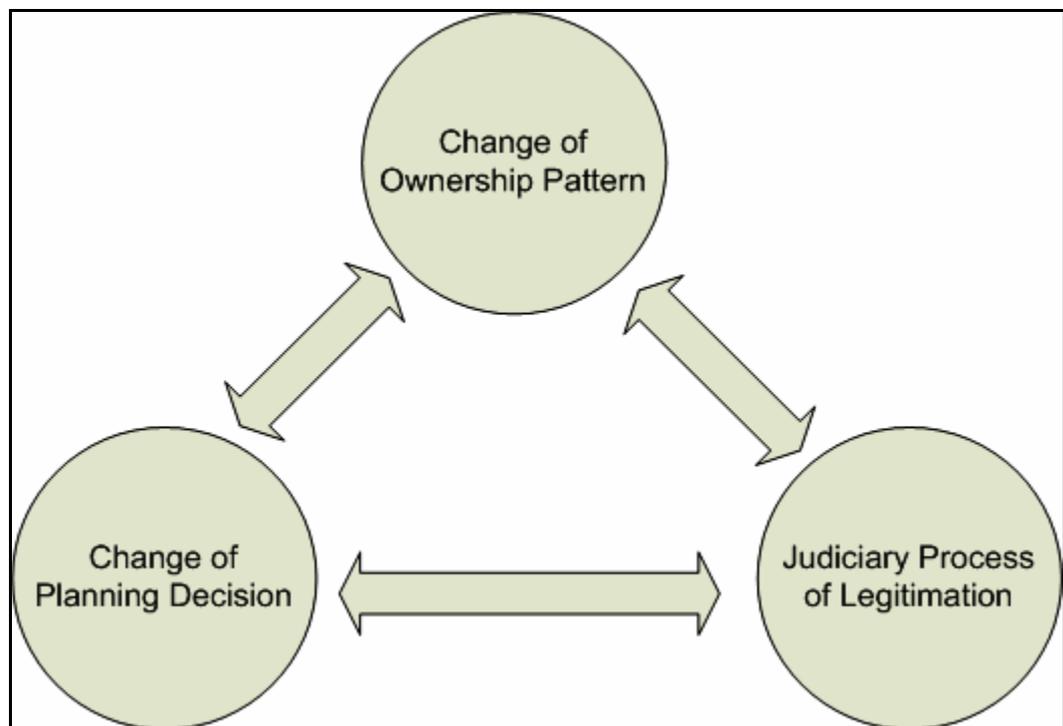
Figure 4. Urban Planning Process concerning Çayyolu 907 Parcel

5.3.2.2.2. Description of Network Analysis Method and Determination of Actors

Social network analysis methods provide some useful tools for addressing one of the most important (but also one of the most complex and difficult), aspects of social structure: the sources and distribution of power. The network perspective suggests that the power of individual actors is not an individual attribute, but arises from their relations with others. Whole social structures may also be seen as displaying high levels or low levels of power as a result of variations in the patterns of ties among actors. And, the degree of inequality or concentration of power in a population may be indexed.

Power arises from occupying advantageous positions in networks of relations. Three basic sources of advantage are high degree, high closeness, and high betweenness. In simple structures (such as the star, circle, or line), these advantages tend to co-vary. In more complex and larger networks, there can be considerable disjuncture between these characteristics of a position—so that an actor may be located in a position that is advantageous in some ways, and disadvantageous in others.

Therefore, social network analysis could be used to unearth the micro level of relations emerged between various actors involved in the planning and implementation process about Çayyolu 907 parcel. In order to do this, network data is to be gathered. First of all the group of actors that were possible to be found are defined among politicians, bureaucrats, entrepreneurs and land owners etc. By this way 98 individuals were defined as to be involved in the planning process of Çayyolu 907 parcel.

Then, first the position of each of them were evaluated based on the data in the archives. Archive data helped to locate key actors to start with a random tree research between different actors. The research started with 5 key persons. A structured interview is realized. Each of them was interviewed and asked questions about the planning of Çayyolu 907 parcel. They have been asked to answer questions below:

1. During planning process name individuals you dealt with or give information about the relationships you have witnesses in the last month/ year/ five years.
2. Rank them with respect to how influential they were on planning process and type of their relationships with the other individuals you listed.
3. What was the degree of these relationships: number them from strongest (5) to (1).

Based on the names given by the first interviewees, further individuals were found and being interviewed. As a result, a matrix is obtained showing the connections, weight of these connections and their directions between various actors during the planning process of Çayyolu 907 Parcel.

Table 4. Actors observed in the Urban Planning Process of Çayyolu 907 Parcel, their Positions, Type and Scale

ACTOR – POSITION	NICK	TYPE	SCALE
Ankara Head of Finance	AD	bureaucrat	Local
Lawyer Cahit Meço	AV1	lawyer	Local
Lawyer İsmail Orcan	AV2	lawyer	Local
Lawyer Mehmet Ali Eser	AV3	lawyer	Local
Businessman	B1	businessman	Local
Businessman	B2	businessman	Local
The Ministry of Environment	BAK	politician	Central
Mayor of The Greater Municipality of Ankara	BB	politician	Local
Member of the Urban Development and Public Works Commission of the Greater Municipality Council	BBİK	politician	Local
Head of the Urban Development and Public Works Commission of the Greater Municipality Council	BBİKB	politician	Local
Member of the Greater Municipality Council	BBM1	politician	Local
Member of the Greater Municipality Council	BBM2	politician	Local
The Greater Municipality of Ankara Director of the Expropriation and Municipal Properties Dept.	BED	bureaucrat	Local
The Greater Municipality of Ankara Director of the Public Works Dept.	BFD	bureaucrat	Local
The General Secretary of the Greater Municipality of Ankara.	BGS	bureaucrat	Local
Assistant to the General Secretary of the Greater Municipality of Ankara.	BGY	bureaucrat	Local
The Greater Municipality of Ankara Juristical Advisor	BHM	bureaucrat	Local
The Greater Municipality of Ankara head of Cadastral Affairs Branch in Planning Dept.	BHŞ	bureaucrat	Local
The Greater Municipality of Ankara Director of the Planning Dept.	BİD1	bureaucrat	Local
The Greater Municipality of Ankara Director of the Planning Dept.	BİD2	bureaucrat	Local
The Greater Municipality of Ankara Assistant to the Director of the Planning Dept.	BİDY1	bureaucrat	Local
The Greater Municipality of Ankara Assistant to the Director of the Planning Dept.	BİDY2	bureaucrat	Local
The Greater Municipality of Ankara Head of Implementation Planning Branch in Planning Dept.	BİŞ	bureaucrat	Local
The Greater Municipality of Ankara Ass. To the Head of Implementation Planning Branch in Planning Dept.	BİŞY	bureaucrat	Local
Provincial Head of Public Works	BM	bureaucrat	Local
Real Estate Agent	EM1	real est. ag.	Local
Real Estate Agent	EM2	real est. ag.	Local
Real Estate Agent	EM3	real est. ag.	Local
Entrepreneur-1	ENT1	businessman	Local
Entrepreneur-2	ENT2	businessman	Local
Cadastral Engineer in Planning Dept. in the Greater Municipality of Ankara	H	technocrat	Local
Judge of 8th Administrative Court	H1	judge	Local
Member of 6th Bureau of The Council of The State	H2	judge	Local
Secretary of 6th Bureau of The Council of The State	H3	judge	Local
Head of Dorukkent Housing Cooperative	K1	landowner	Local

Head of Güven Başkent Housing Cooperative	K2	landowner	Local
Maffia-1	MAF1	mafia	Local
Maffia-1	MAF2	mafia	Local
Member of Environment Commission of The National Assembly	MÇK	politician	Central
The Ministry of Finance General Director of National Real Estate General Directory	ME	bureaucrat	Central
Member of Parliament	MİL1	politician	Central
Member of Parliament	MİL2	politician	Central
The Ministry Of Forestry Deputy Directorate of General Directorate of Forestry	O1	bureaucrat	Central
The Ministry Of Forestry Assistant Deputy Directorate of General Directorate of Forestry	O2	bureaucrat	Central
The Ministry Of Forestry Directorate of General Directorate of Forestry Head of Forestry Branch	O3	bureaucrat	Central
Academician in the University of Ankara Faculty of Agriculture	ÖĞ1	academician	Local
Academician in the University of Ankara Faculty of Agriculture	ÖĞ2	academician	Local
Private Planner	PP	Pri. planner	Local
Planner in Planning Dept. in the Greater Municipality of Ankara	ŞP1	technocrat	Local
Planner in Planning Dept. in the Greater Municipality of Ankara	ŞP2	technocrat	Local
Planner in Planning Dept. in the District Municipality of Yenimahalle	ŞP3	technocrat	Local
Mayor of the District Municipality of Yenimahalle	YB	politician	Local
Head of the Urban Development and Public Works Commission of the District Municipality Council of Yenimahalle	YİKB	politician	Local
Director of Planning Dept. of The District Municipality of Yenimahalle	YİM	bureaucrat	Local
Head of Yenimahalle 2nd Region Land Register	YT	bureaucrat	Local

During interviews, various impressions about the relations between actors were narrated by the respondents. Considering the validity of the information given by the respondents, only the relations and actors that are repeatedly worded by three or more respondent are accepted as valid as a general assumption and a rule. By doing this, information with high possibility of being wrong, misinformed or invalid is eliminated. By such elimination, over hundred relation and actors have been eliminated from the social network analysis. On the other hand, if an important actor can not be reached for interview for instance Melih Gökçek, this rule was increased up to ten repetitions. In such cases, only the relations and actors that are repeatedly worded by ten or more respondents are accepted as valid as a general assumption and a rule

Furthermore, based on the information given by respondents, the type of relations between actors involved in the urban planning process of the Çayyolu 907 parcel are classified under five different categories based on content analysis of the information given by respondents. For instance, responses involving notions like *bribe, extortion, cronyism, nepotism, patronage, graft, embezzlement* are coded under illegal exchange.

Since the results of interviews displays complex sets of relationships between actors, by this way a clearer picture of the relationships between the actors could be framed.

Table 5. Types of Relations Observed in Urban Planning Process of Çayyolu 907 Parcel

Personal Acquaintance	A
Coercion	B
Reciprocal Exchange	C
Personal Influence	D
Illegal Exchange	E

As a result the a matrix obtained showing mutual relationships, their direction, their strength and character, which allow a network model to be established for the case of Çayyolu 907 Parcel as a representative of the network of relationships in the city of Ankara happening through urban planning process, aimed at obtaining substantial gains from urban land.

Table 6. Model Matrix of Relations between Actors involved in Urban Planning Process of Çayyolu 907 Parcel

	O1	O2	O3	ME	YT	AD	BİDY1	BFD	BHM	BED	BGY	BİD1	BHŞ	...
O1	■	D3	C3	D3	C1	B2					B2			
O2	D3	■	C4	B3	C2									
O3			■											
ME	D3	B3		■	C2	B2						B1		
YT					■		B1						B1	
AD	B2					■	D1	D1		B2				
BİDY1					B1	D1	■			D1		B2	C2	
BFD						D1		■	D2	B2				
BHM								D2	■					
BED						B2	D1	B2		■				
BGY							C2				■			
BİD1				B1	B1		B2					■		
BHŞ													■	
...														■

In the matrix above, the direction of the relationship is from row to the column. The conjuncture of any row with any column represents the direction, characteristics and strength of the relationship from the actor at the row to the actor at the column. The self inflicted relations are excluded from the matrix and relationships with mutual direction, i.e. from actor A to actor B at the same time from actor B to actor A, are shown in the matrix symmetrically.

After construction of this matrix, representing all the observed relations between the actors involved in the case of Çayyolu 907 Parcel, the matrix was analyzed with the network analysis software UCINET (Borgatti, Everett and Freeman 2002).

To understand the structure of the network and its participants, the locations of actors in the network are evaluated. Measuring the network location is finding the centrality of a node. These measures give insight into the various roles and groupings in a network: who are the connectors, mavens, leaders, bridges, isolates, where are the clusters and who is in them, who is in the core of the network, and who is on the periphery? The network is analyzed with three most widely used individual centrality measures: Degree Centrality, Betweenness Centrality, and Closeness Centrality (Blau and Metron 1981; Bonacich 1987; Borgatti and Everett 1999; Burt 2000; Cook 1982; Cross and Parker 2004; Cross, Borgatti and Parker 2002). Brief summaries of these and some other related concepts are to be found below:

Degree Centrality: Social network analysts measure level of activity for a node, i.e. an actor, by using the concept of degrees, which could be described as the number of direct connections a node has. Sometimes an actor may have the most direct connections in the network, making him/her the most active node in the network. He/she is a 'connector' or 'hub' in this network. Common wisdom in personal networks is "the more connections, the better" (Valdis 2002). Yet, this is not always so and the important point is where those connections lead to, how they connect the otherwise unconnected and the position of the actor with respect to the accessibility of other actors through him. In order to realize such an inquiry, social network analysts devise complex mathematical procedures and software that make these procedures easy to calculate like UCINET and Pajek Such centrality, calculated solely looking into the number of ties of a node is called degree centrality. But, degree centrality is not sufficient to interpret the character of the position of an actor in a given network (Borgatti, Everett and Freeman 2002).

Betweenness Centrality: An actor in a network may have few direct connections with other members, less than the average in the network. Yet, in many ways, he/she may have one of the best locations in the network. For instance he/she may be located between two important constituencies or actors and plays the role of a 'broker' in the network. He/she may play a powerful role in the network but, he/she may be single point of failure. Without him/her, some other powerful actors or sub-groups would be cut off from information and knowledge in a cluster or the whole network. A node with high betweenness has great influence over what flows in the network. A node like this holds a lot of power over the outcomes in a network (Cross and Parker 2004; Cross, Prusak and Borgatti 2001; Fernandez and Gould 1994; Friedkin 1991; Krackhardt and Stern 1988; Laumann 1973; Podolny and Baron 1997).

Closeness Centrality: Sometimes some actors in a network may have fewer connections than the ones with more central positions, yet the pattern of their direct and indirect ties may allow them to access to all the nodes in the network more quickly than anyone else. They have the shortest paths to all others, i.e. they are close to everyone else. They are in an excellent position to monitor the information flow in the network. They have the best visibility into what is happening in the network. Such actors may determine the brokers of all levels in a network and their closeness centrality indicates the dependence of any network of relations to the existence of middle level brokers (Nieminen 1973; Nohria and Eccles 1992; Morgan, Neal and Carder 1996; Monge, Edwards and Kirste 1983; Milardo 1982; Hansen 2002; Freeman, White and Romney 1989).

> **Network Centralization:** Individual network centralities provide insight into the individual's location in the network. The relationship between the centralities of all nodes can reveal much about the overall network structure. A very centralized network is dominated by one or a few very central nodes. If these nodes are removed or damaged, the network quickly fragments into unconnected sub-networks. A highly central node can become a single point of failure. A network centralized around a well connected hub can fail abruptly if that hub is disabled or removed. Hubs are nodes with high degree and betweenness centrality. A less centralized network has no single points of failure. It is resilient in the face of many intentional attacks or random failures -- many nodes or links can fail while allowing the remaining nodes to still reach each other over other network paths. Networks of low centralization fail gracefully (Valdis 2002).

Network Reach: The paths in a network are not equal. More and more research shows that the shorter paths in the network are more important. Friedkin (1991), Burt (2000)

and other researchers have shown that networks have horizons over which we cannot see, nor influence. They propose that the key paths in networks are 1 and 2 steps and on rare occasions, three steps. In other words, actors who could reach to other actors in less than three steps in a given network are in a more central position than the others and the accessibility of actors and a network is very valuable information. For instance, if all the actors in a network could reach to any other in less than three steps, the network is very strong and accessible within itself.

5.4. Conclusion

In this chapter, overall methodology of the study is explained with assumptions and methods of the study. In the next chapter, observations are to be presented on conventional analysis of the plan and plan modification universe of the city of Ankara between 1985 and 2005 and a social network analysis of the selected case in this universe, Çayyolu 907 Parcel which is amongst the best fitting cases to the patterns explored in the universe.

CHAPTER 6

PORTRAYAL OF THE PATTERNS AND POLITICAL RELATIONS IN URBAN PLANNING PROCESS IN ANKARA BETWEEN 1985 – 2005

6.1. Introduction

Early 80's did not only marked the beginning of an era of liberalization, deregulation, privatization and decentralization in every sphere of life after a brief interruption of democratic rule by a military coupe, but also introduced fundamental transformations in spatial practices of urban space in Turkey. As the capital city and a symbol of planned urban development, Ankara was amongst the most effected cities by the new era. At the end of two decades the city of Ankara turned from a proto-metropolis into an uncontrolled focus of sprawl.

Under heavy influence of the combined forces of the capitalist urbanization and a rapidly liberalizing state apparatus, Ankara turned into a spatial experiment of the liberalization project and new spatial practices. Large urban infrastructure projects, rehabilitation of squatter settlements, uncontrolled urban sprawl, increasing building and population densities, retrogressing city centers and nearly all urban activities became related with a rent-seeking activity. This rent-seeking activity is legitimized through urban planning process itself. Contrary to the institutionalized and hierarchical, comprehensive planning tradition of Ankara, a new incremental experience of planning emerged. This new planning experience not only legitimized the acquisition of urban land and land rent but also fundamentally changed the political relations affiliated with urban land. In a way urban planning process became both bearer of the political relations and interests in urban land rent, but also became the arena where struggles related with or inclined to be related with the urban space became visible. The political relations related with urban planning process have also transformed with the changing framework of urban planning

process. It could be said that, the characteristics of the network of relations between actors involved in urban planning process have also changed.

The aim of this chapter is to present a portrayal of the urban development plans and urban development plan modifications with respect to spatial, procedural and political characteristics in Ankara between 1985 and 2005 and to exemplify the nature and characteristics of the network of relations existent in urban planning process.

6.2. Conventional Statistical Analysis of the Urban Development Plans and Urban Development Plan Modifications in Ankara between 1985 and 2005.

6.2.1. General Trends[5]

In the last two decades, urban development in the city of Ankara was handled through over 5000 separate urban development plans and urban development plan modifications. This unique experience shows that, under certain forms of capitalist urbanization, urban space is continuously re-configured through the mechanisms of urban planning process, in which certain networks of political relations established and dissolved. Through these urban development plans and modifications, the overall effect of state-society and state-market relations top down on urban space and incremental effects of the network of relations established in urban planning experience on the greater whole could be evaluated together.

First of all, the general influence of the neo-liberal and neo-conservative tendencies on urban development plans and modifications could be easily seen by looking at the distribution of plans throughout years. Out of two important peaks, the number of plans and plan modifications per year remained nearly unchanged. In the second half of 80's and 90's when two separate conservative metropolitan mayors came to power, backed up by the central governments of their political parties, the number of plans and modifications increased upwards and made a peak. In late 80's, the corporatist coalition of liberal government and organized capital created a new type of political mobilization

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[5] Throughout this chapter analysis of the plans and modificaitons will be presented in tables and the most prominent values will be shown from black to lighter tones of grey.

based on the exploitation of urban land rent through large infrastructure investments and urban development plans and modifications. Altınsoy, the first metropolitan mayor of Ankara, with a much liberal attitude started large urban projects and exploitation of the inner parts of the city through urban development plans and modifications. On the other peak, Gökçek, who was rather conservative compared to Altınsoy, opened urban land to the exploitation as a means for populism and political mobilization both for himself and for his political party (Graph 1). This was the result of changing circumstances for the capital city in a globalizing world. Failing to integrate into the global network of cities, Ankara became marginalized and conservative, ever more vulnerable to the pressures of political influences in spatial practices, resulting in a fragile urban economy based on rent – seeking activities. Yet, the nature of these two peaks was fundamentally different and will be elaborated upon further within this chapter.

Basically, although the number of urban development plans and urban development plan modifications seems to dramatically decrease between two peaks, this does not necessarily denotes for a decrease in the level of activities concerning land speculation and derivation of urban land rent. On the contrary, in the early 1990's the number of urban development plan modifications decreased because of large urban projects covering large areas and. The number of urban development plan modifications necessary to transform large areas in the vicinity of urban macro form is lower than the number or urban development plan modifications necessary to transform central business districts and neighborhoods around them since in that case hundreds of modifications may be needed to transform single parcels of land. Similarly, although just after Melih Gökçek's coming to power the number of development plans increased dramatically, after a while the number of plans decreased drastically. Since at the beginning of his term he established alliances with the groups in squatter settlements and used urban development plan modifications as a means for gaining their support through increasing the building rights defined in amendment plans and transforming public land into mosques. But when his term has advanced he started to establish alliances with the large capital holding construction firms and the members of the capitalist classes and through this alliances large chunks of land started to be transformed into suburban developments and other uses via relatively lower number of urban development plans and modifications.
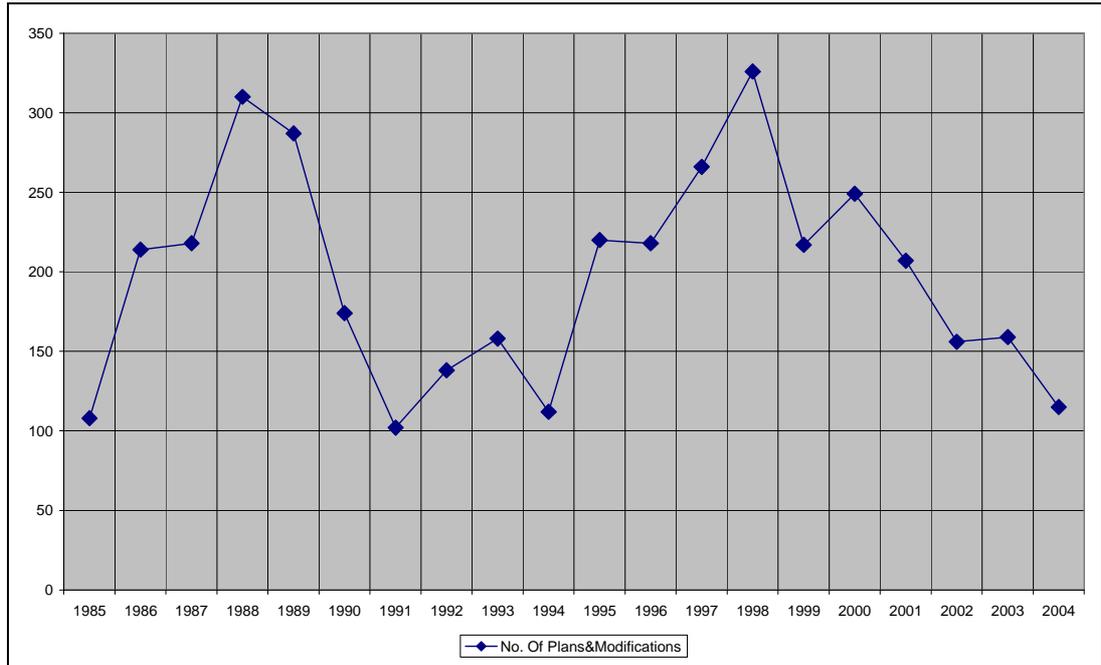
Graph 1. The Distribution of Urban Development Plans & Plan Modifications in Ankara between 1985 and 2005.

Between 1985 and 2005, when looked into the number of urban development plans and modifications, it can be seen that, most of them were realized in districts of Çankaya, Keçiören and Yenimahalle (Table 7, Graph 2). The reason for this can be explained as Çankaya and Yenimahalle are both on the main axis of urban macro – form and sprawl. Moreover, Çankaya had been the symbol of prosperous living throughout Republican history. Keçiören, on the other hand is a district formerly known as inhabited by squatter settlements. But, in the last decade or so it has become known for rehabilitation of squatter settlements into a conservative life style and settlement type. But, when the populations of the districts are taken into account, the no. of people per plan or modification shows a different scene. The density of plans and modifications increase in Yenimahalle, Çankaya and Etimesgut. That justifies the hypothesis that the number of plans and modifications increase on the main axis of urban development and sprawl since Etimesgut is both on the development axis of the city of Ankara and displays a variety of lifestyles from conservative-Islamist to middle class and to high income gated communities.

Table 7. The Distribution of Urban Development Plans & Plan Modifications in Ankara between 1985-2005 with respect to Districts.

DISTRICT	Frequency	Percent	Population	Pop/Freq.
Altındağ	452	11,4	407101	900,6659
Çankaya	1261	31,9	769331	610,096
Etimesgut	213	5,4	169615	796,3146
Gölbaşı	27	,7	62602	2318,593
Keçiören	540	13,7	672817	1245,957
Mamak	301	7,6	430606	1430,585
Sincan	184	4,7	289783	1574,908
Yenimahalle	971	24,6	553344	569,8702
Çankaya-Yenimahalle	5	,1		
Total	3954	100,0		
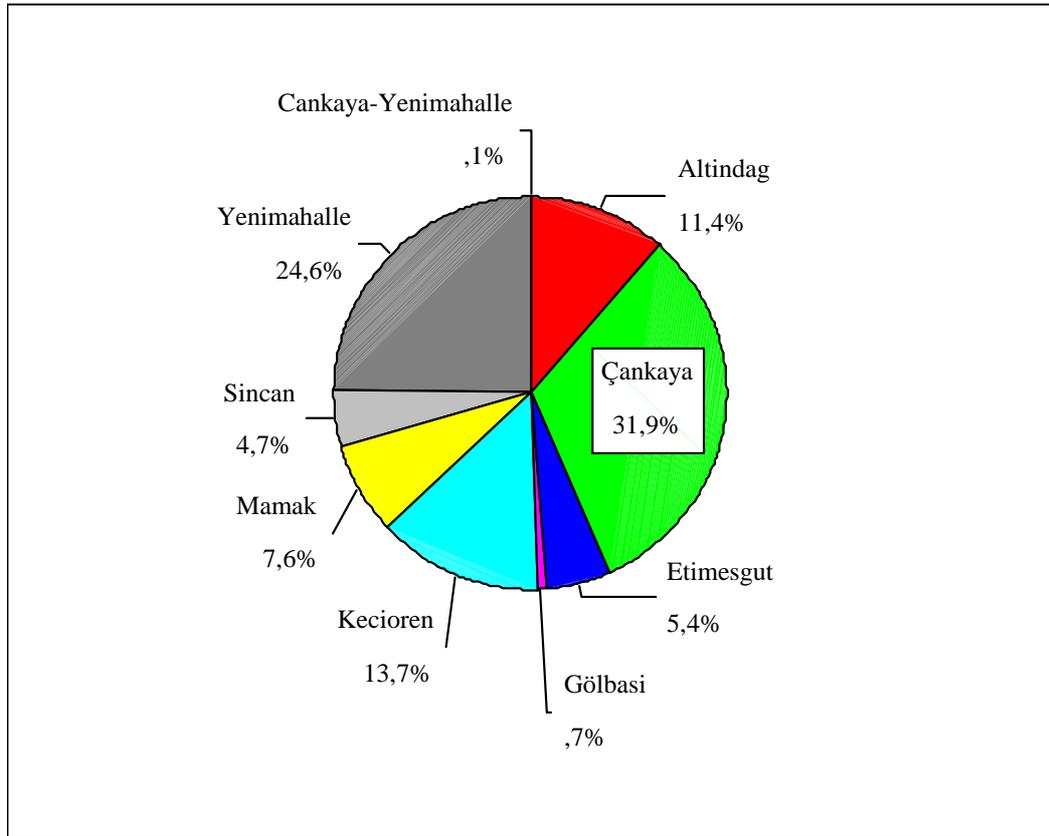
Graph 2. The Distribution of Urban Development Plans & Plan Modifications in Ankara between 1985-2005 with respect to Districts.

When the proximity of the plans and modifications are examined, it can be seen that most of them were realized in central neighborhoods, semi periphery and periphery of the city (Table 8, Graph 3). This tendency confirms that, most of the plans and plan modifications are carried out in planned sections of the city, in areas where squatter amendment plans did not provide viable building rights for the market mechanisms and in areas where peripheral locations of the city were reserved for future development and suburbanization. Further study may strengthen this inference. Indeed, the characteristic of the area on which the plan or modification is realized, confirms this observation. Most of the plans and modifications are realized for suburban development, in planned neighborhoods and in squatter settlements (Table 9, Graph 4).

Table 8. The Distribution of Urban Development Plans & Plan Modifications in Ankara between 1985-2005 with respect to their Proximity to City Centre.

PROXIMITY	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Central	183	4,6	4,6
Central Neighborhoods	**941**	**23,8**	28,4
Semi-periphery	**967**	**24,5**	52,9
Periphery	**1089**	**27,5**	80,4
Fringe	623	15,8	96,2
Idle out of City	151	3,8	100,0
Total	3954	100,0	
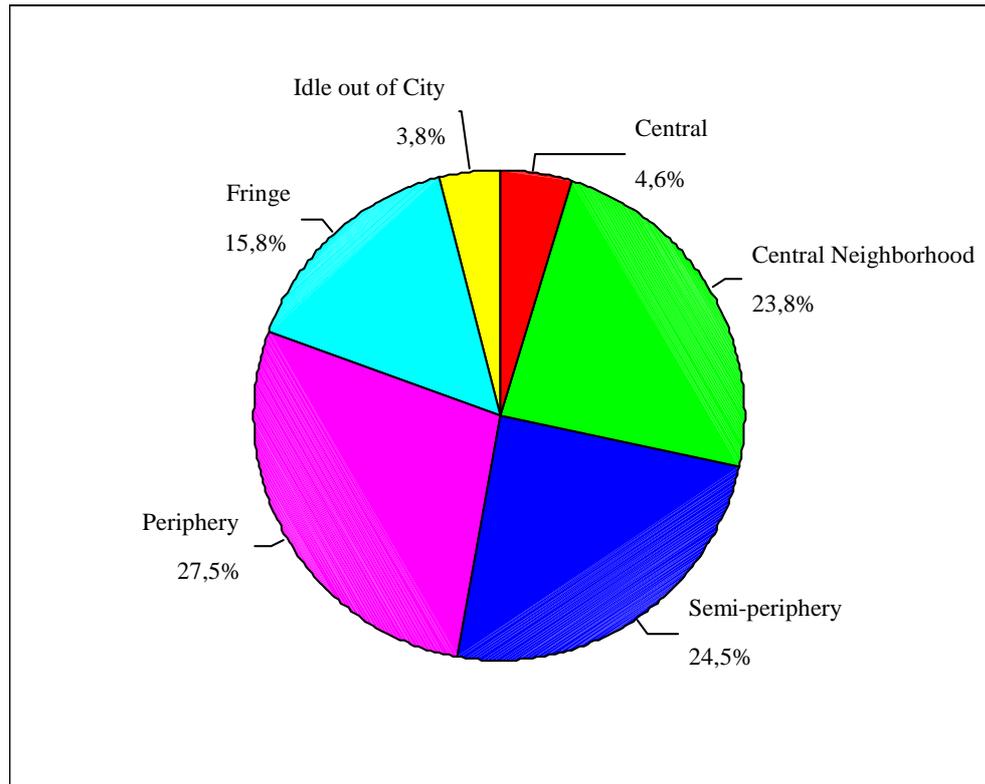
Graph 3. The Distribution of Urban Development Plans & Plan Modifications in Ankara between 1985-2005 with respect to their Proximity to City Centre.

Table 9. The Distribution of Urban Development Plans & Plan Modifications in Ankara between 1985-2005 with respect to the Characteristic of the Area on which the Planning Activity is Concerned.

CHARACTERISTIC OF THE AREA	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
CBD	184	4,7	4,7	4,7
Planned Neighborhood	1249	**31,6**	**31,6**	36,2
Squatter Settlement	135	3,4	3,4	39,7
Settlement Transformed from Squatter Settlement	897	**22,7**	**22,7**	62,3
Suburb	1367	**34,6**	**34,6**	96,9
Historical City Center	122	3,1	3,1	100,0
Total	3954	100,0	100,0	
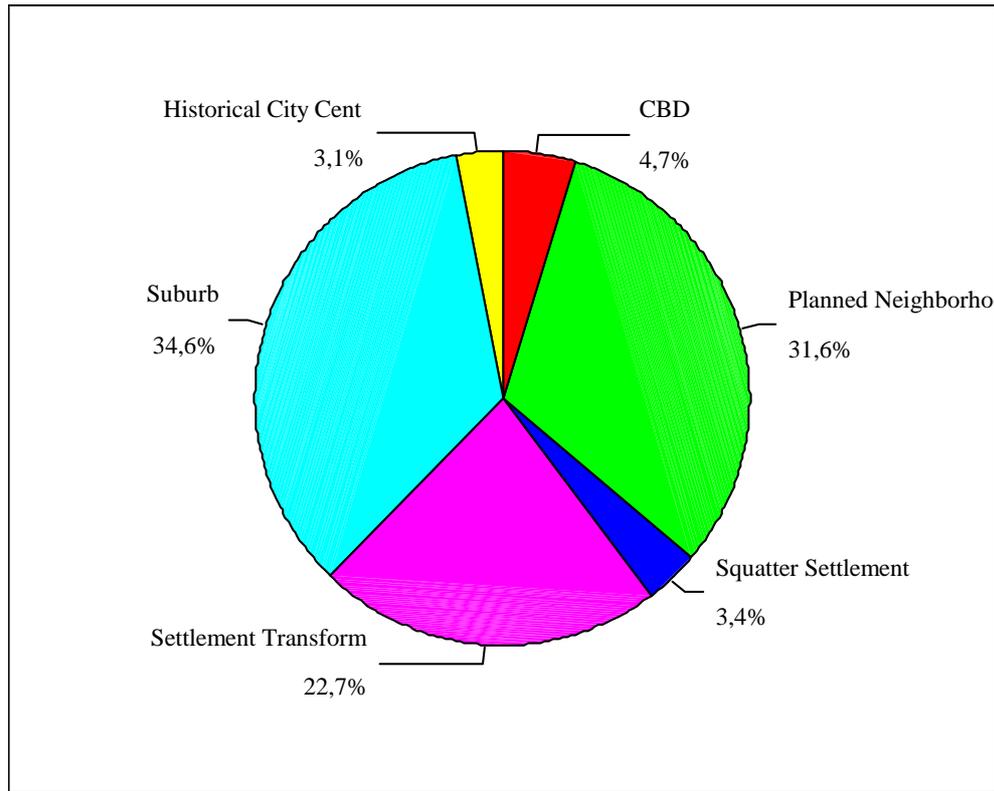
Graph 4. The Distribution of Urban Development Plans & Plan Modifications in Ankara between 1985-2005 with respect to the Characteristic of the Area on which the Planning Activity is Concerned.

The distribution of the plans and modifications with respect to the prospect of the planning areas for development shows that most of the plans and modifications were realized in areas where prospect for urban development is high or moderate (Table 10). This is quite confirmative of the common wisdom, though cross sectional analysis will help further elaboration on the subject.

Table 10. The Distribution of Urban Development Plans & Plan Modifications in Ankara between 1985-2005 with respect to Prospect for Development.

PROSPECT	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
High	1759	44,5	44,5
Moderate	1555	39,3	83,8
Low	640	16,2	100,0
Total	3954	100,0	

A heavy portion of the plans and modifications are realized in scales 1/1000 and 1/5000 (Table 11). Since plans and modifications of scale 1/1000 indicates focus on building rights, it could be said that one of the most prominent aims of the plans and modifications realized in the city of Ankara between 1985 and 2005 is to directly derive urban land rent through changing building rights and permissions. According to Urban Development Law and The Law of Greater Municipalities, this was also perceived as the fastest way to submit and enact a planning proposal since according to Urban Development Law after the enactment of 1/5000 master development plans by greater municipality councils, 1/1000 urban development plans are to be prepared and approved by both district municipality council and greater municipality council which in turn makes bureaucratic procedure more complex. Although high rate of 1/1000 plans may indicate the dissuasive effect of longer and harder bureaucratic procedures concerning 1/5000 scaled master development plans, further evidence suggests that the main focus of plans and modifications was to derive urban land rent at micro scale, through changes of building rights and permissions in the fastest way possible rather than deriving larger revenues through altogether changing layout of urban space. This was also related with the perception of planning regulations and urban layout by the ordinary citizen and the difficulty of constituting larger political coalitions and durable relations to change urban space fundamentally.

The distribution of the plans and modifications in Ankara between 1985 and 2005 with respect to the legal types of plans also gives strength to this argument. Most of the plans and modifications are enacted in the form of implementation plan modification at scale 1/1000 (Table 12). According to Urban Development Law Implementation plan modifications are realized to change the exact measures of building rights and urban design elements like the size and shape of a building plot. In addition, the high rate of peace meal plans and modifications shows that most of the 1/5000 master development plans and modifications are realized at the fringe or periphery of the city where any legal planning activity does not exist. Such plans and modifications could be taken as a sign of suburbanization and sprawl of the macro – form of the city of Ankara. The area coverage of the plans and modifications also confirms the interest on deriving land rent on building scale and from suburbanization. Most of the plans and modifications were either realized on one or few plots or neighborhood scale. While the high rate of single and several plots indicates that rent-seeking activities are organized at and focused on plot scale, relatively high rate of neighborhood scale planning areas indicates coalitions

of middle and high income groups to benefit from suburbanization and sprawl (Table 13, Graph 5).

Table 11. The Distribution of Urban Development Plans & Plan Modifications in Ankara between 1985-2005 with respect to Scale of the Development Plan.

SCALE	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
200	1	,0	,0
500	8	,2	,2
1000	3289	83,2	83,4
2000	54	1,4	84,8
5000	584	14,8	99,5
25000	6	,2	99,7
50000	12	,3	100,0
Total	3954	100,0	

Table 12. The Distribution of Urban Development Plans & Plan Modifications in Ankara between 1985-2005 with respect to the Type of the Development Plan.

TYPE OF PLAN	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Implementation Plan	72	1,8	1,8
Implementation Plan Modification	**2828**	**71,5**	73,3
Master Development Plan	166	4,2	77,5
Master Development Plan Modification	**366**	**9,3**	86,8
Additional Implementation Plan or its Modification	14	,4	87,2
Additional Master Plan or its Modification	6	,2	87,3
Revision Implementation Plan or its Modification	53	1,3	88,6
Revision Master Plan or its Modification	62	1,6	90,2
Peace meal Plan or its Modification	**275**	**7,0**	97,2
Conservation Plan or its Modification	5	,1	97,3
Upper Scale Plans	7	,2	97,5
Urban Design	1	,0	97,5
Village Site Plan	15	,4	97,9
Squatter Improvement Plan or its Modification	51	1,3	99,2
Peace meal and Master Development Plans Together	2	,1	99,2
Additional and Revision Plans Together	10	,3	99,5
Implementation and Master Plans Together	2	,1	99,5
Parcellation Plan	11	,3	99,8
19	8	,2	100,0
Total	3954	100,0	

Table 13. The Distribution of Urban Development Plans & Plan Modifications in Ankara between 1985-2005 with respect to Area Coverage of the Development Plan.

AREA COVERAGE	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Single Plot	**2014**	**50,9**	50,9
Several Plots	**802**	**20,3**	71,2
Building Blocks	247	6,2	77,5
Neighborhood	**878**	**22,2**	99,7
City	13	,3	100,0
Total	3954	100,0	
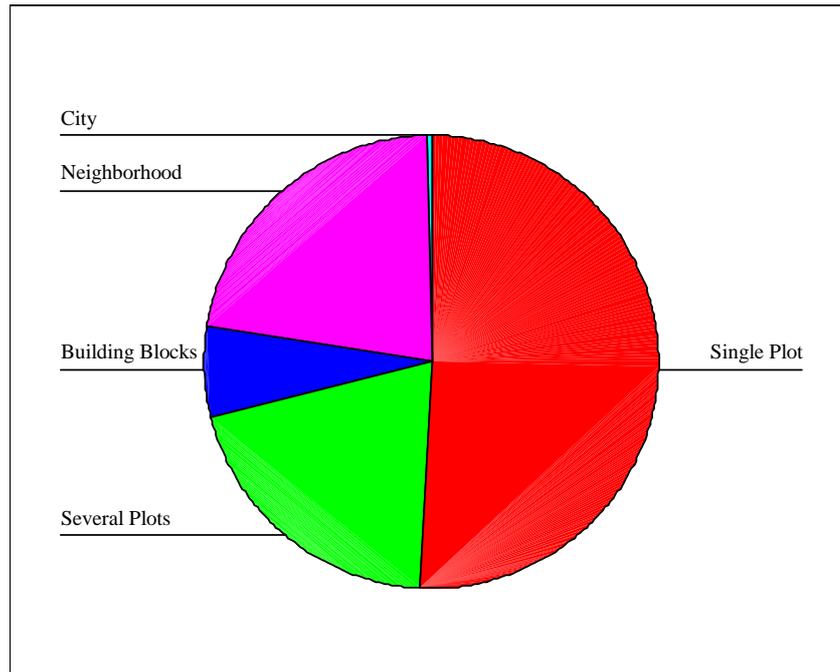
Graph 5. The Distribution of Urban Development Plans & Plan Modifications in Ankara between 1985-2005 with respect to Area Coverage of the Development Plan.

Previous and latter planning decisions of the areas on which plans and plan modifications are realized and the characteristics of the change introduced by plans an modifications on specific areas shows that, predominant portion of the plans and modifications were realized to increase the building rights or the legalize or legitimize illegal or illegitimate buildings such as building a housing unit one or two storey higher than the allowance of building rights prescribed in the official development plans (Table 14, Graph 6; Table 15, Graph 7; Table 16, Graph 8). Transformation of rural settlements into housing, industry, commercial uses as a result of suburban development and sprawl is another striking pattern. Moreover, transformation of open spaces and green areas into infrastructure facilities and uses like religious facilities was also an important observation to note. These observations also show a tendency towards increasing building rights within city macro – form and manipulation of suburban development through urban development plans and modifications. Yet, rise in the number of plans and modifications that increase densities in the city and cause uncontrolled suburbanization and urban sprawl resulted in insufficient infrastructure and administrations struggling to cope with demands for infrastructure used urban open spaces for infrastructure facilities. A typical example of these kinds of plans could be seen in the installation of electrical

transformators in urban parks and kindergartens to serve increasing electricity demands of the citizens and the plans realized to legitimize these installations.

Table 14. The Distribution of Urban Development Plans & Plan Modifications in Ankara between 1985-2005 with respect to Previous Planning Decision before Enactment of the Proposal.

PREVIOUS PLANNING DECISION	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Unplanned vacant land out of city	199	5,0	5,0
Squatter Area with Improvement Plan	129	3,3	8,3
Rural Settlement in Fringe	**282**	**7,1**	15,4
Unplanned vacant land in the city	29	,7	16,2
Relatively Narrower Road	70	1,8	17,9
Industry or Service Area	26	,7	18,6
Relatively Lower Building Rights	**1775**	**44,9**	63,5
Housing	263	6,7	70,1
Green Area or Open Space	**674**	**17,0**	87,2
Public Building or Publicly Owned Land	134	3,4	90,6
Commercial	70	1,8	92,3
Road Network	161	4,1	96,4
School	33	,8	97,2
Relatively Smaller Plots	33	,8	98,1
Historical Corner	19	,5	98,6
Health	5	,1	98,7
Mosque or other Religious Facilities	9	,2	98,9
Forestation Area	38	1,0	99,9
Slum Area	3	,1	99,9
Fuel Station	2	,1	100,0
Total	3954	100,0	

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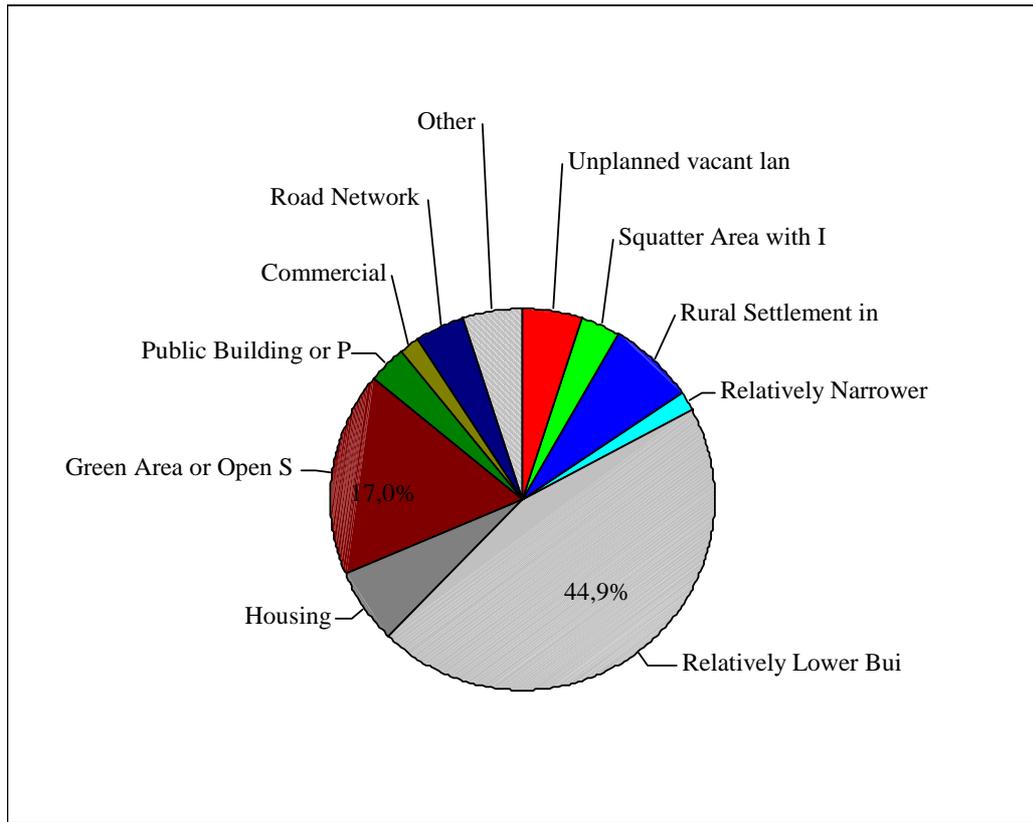
Graph 6. The Distribution of Urban Development Plans & Plan Modifications in Ankara between 1985-2005 with respect to Previous Planning Decision before Enactment of the Proposal.

Table 15. The Distribution of Urban Development Plans & Plan Modifications in Ankara between 1985-2005 with respect to Enacted Planning Decision after the Enactment of the Proposal.

LATER PLANNING DECISION	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Housing or Settlement Unit	512	12,9	12,9
Office Use or Public Building	165	4,2	17,1
Industry	135	3,4	20,5
University	25	,6	21,2
Service Area	23	,6	21,8
Relatively Wider Road	70	1,8	23,5
Relatively Higher Building Rights or Change in Permit	1775	44,9	68,4
Green Area or Open Space	139	3,5	71,9
Health	40	1,0	72,9
School	112	2,8	75,8
Commercial	69	1,7	77,5
Relatively Larger Plots	34	,9	78,4
Mosque or Religious Facilities	175	4,4	82,8
Transport Facility	143	3,6	86,4
Sports Area	32	,8	87,2
Infrastructure Facility	413	10,4	97,7
Rehabilitation of Historical Corner	16	,4	98,1
Fuel Station	53	1,3	99,4
Private School	19	,5	99,9
Private Hospital	4	,1	100,0
Total	3954	100,0	
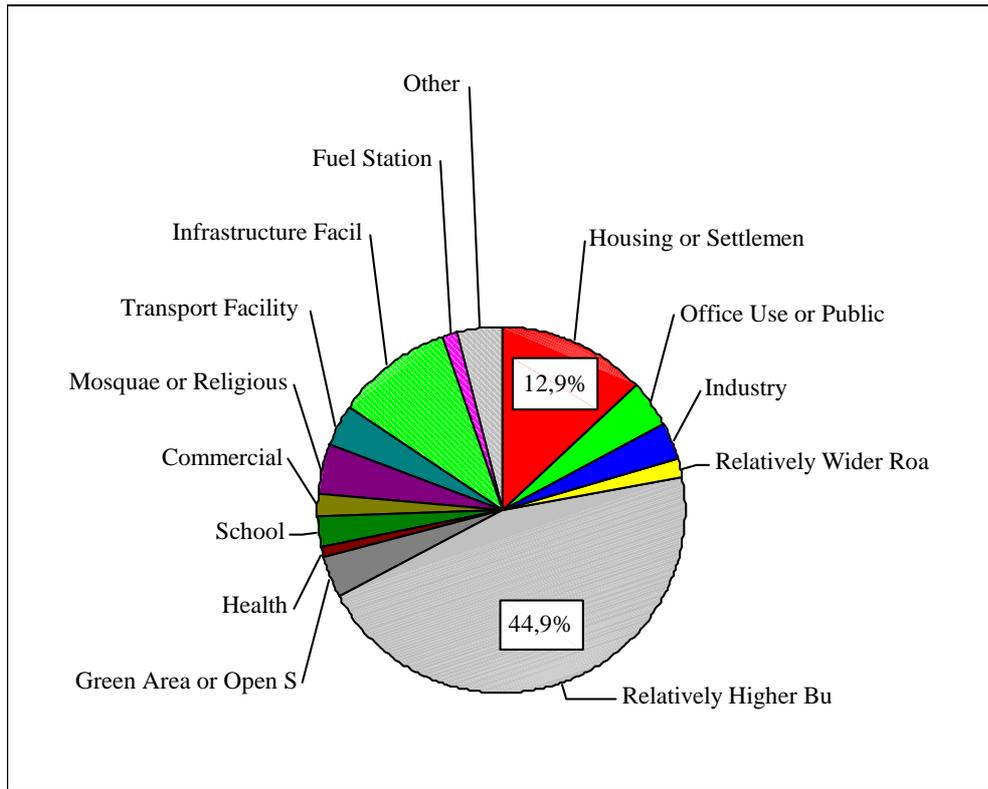
Graph 7. The Distribution of Urban Development Plans & Plan Modifications in Ankara between 1985-2005 with respect to Enacted Planning Decision after the Enactment of the Proposal.

Table 16. The Distribution of Urban Development Plans & Plan Modifications in Ankara between 1985-2005 with respect to the Characteristics of the Change Brought about by the Plan.

CHARACTERISTIC OF THE CHANGE	Frequency	Percent	Cum. Percent
Settlement of Vacant Land in Fringe	**343**	**8,7**	8,7
Improvement or regeneration of Squatter Area	124	3,1	11,8
Transformation of Fringe into Office or Industry	88	2,2	14,0
Transformation of inner urban vacant land to industry	8	,2	14,2
Transformation of inner urban unplanned land to industry	4	,1	14,3
Transport Investment	**215**	**5,4**	19,8
Plan Implementation	10	,3	20,0
Infrastructure Investment	**413**	**10,4**	30,5
Increase building right legitimization of illegal building	**1775**	**44,9**	75,4
Transformation of inner urban vacant land to open space	1	,0	75,4
Transformation of inner urban vacant land to settlement	13	,3	75,7
Green Area or Open Space Generation	126	3,2	78,9
Regulation or Building of Public Buildings	149	3,8	82,7
Transformation from housing to industry	33	,8	83,5
Transformation of housing to commercial or service area	41	1,0	84,5
Enlargement or subdivision of plots	33	,8	85,4
Transformation of public land to religious facilities	127	3,2	88,6
Transformation from mosque to commercial	2	,1	88,6
Transformation to Housing	70	1,8	90,4
Transformation of Open Spaces to Other Public Uses	145	3,7	94,1
Urban or Landscape Design	28	,7	94,8
Transformation from Housing to Mosque	48	1,2	96,0
Transformation from Open Space to Commercial	10	,3	96,3
Transformation from Housing to School or Health	35	,9	97,1
Transformation from School to Housing Or Commercial	1	,0	97,2
Transformation from Public Land to Commercial	38	1,0	98,1
Transformation to Fuel Station	52	1,3	99,4
Transformation from Commercial to Industry	4	,1	99,5
Village Site Development	18	,5	100,0
Total	3954	100,0	

Other
11,4%

Transformation of Op
3,7%

Transformation of pu
3,2%

Regulation or Buildi
3,8%

Green Area or Open S
3,2%

Increase building ri
44,9%

Settlement of Vacant
8,7%

Improvement or regen
3,1%

Transformation of Fr
2,2%

Transport Investment
5,4%

Infrastructure Inves
10,4%
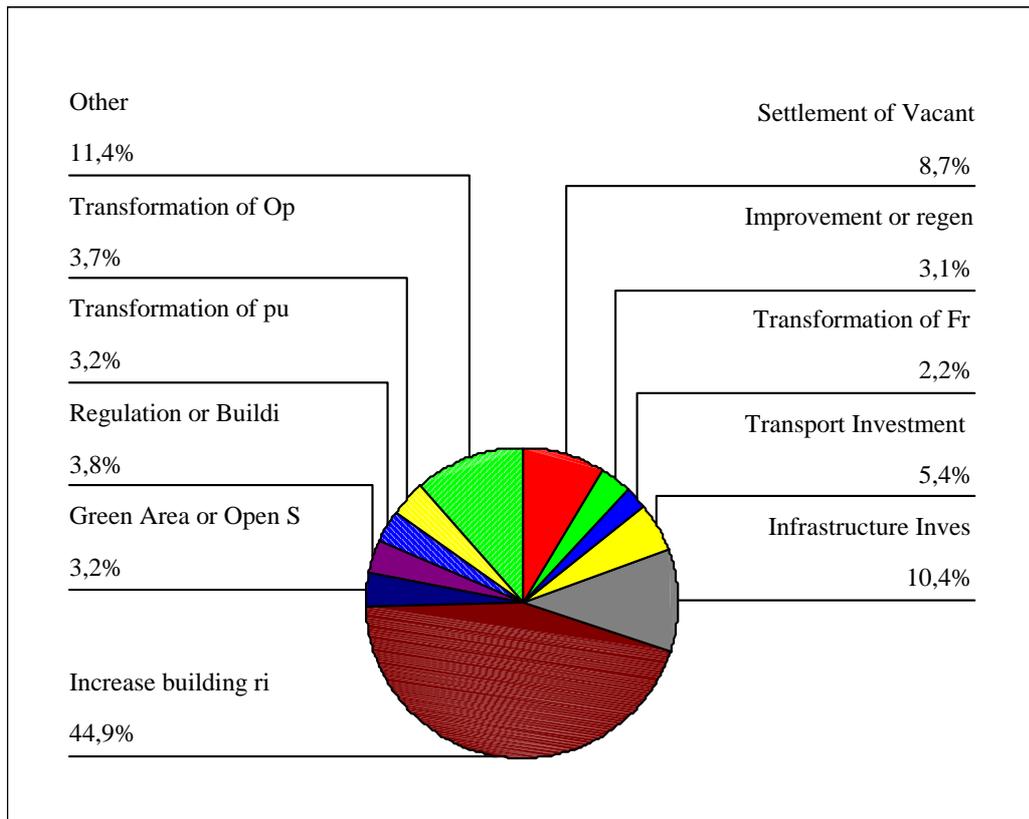
**Graph 8. The Distribution of Urban Development Plans & Plan Modifications in Ankara between 1985-2005 with respect to the Characteristics of the Change Brought about by the Plan.**

Observations on the initiators of the plans and modifications also justify the hypothesis that a significant portion of the plans and modifications are initiated by directly individuals. Although it is not possible to distinguish whether these individuals initiate planning process for themselves or as a representative of a greater whole, the high portion of the plans and modifications initiated by district municipalities support the thesis that initiation of plans are mostly affiliated with single buildings and particular gains of individuals since district municipalities had the power to prepare and approve implementation plans concerning building rights. Relatively low portion of plans and modifications initiated by greater municipality is because it could only directly initiate master development plans rather than implementation plans. Although the number of plans initiated by metropolitan municipalities is low, the scale and coverage of the master development plans that are under authority of metropolitan municipalities allow them to yield a greater power base and constitute larger coalitions with various groups.

Whereas in some cases holding planning power to determine building rights may also cause conflicts among district municipalities and various interest groups. A significant share of other government institutions as initiators of plans and modifications again indicates the demands for infrastructure facilities provided by other than municipalities in Turkish context like electricity and telephone (Table 17, Graph 9).

Table 17. The Distribution of Urban Development Plans & Plan Modifications in Ankara between 1985-2005 with respect to the Initiator of the Planning Proposal.

INITIATOR OF THE PLAN	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Individual	1425	36,0	36,0
District Municipality	1076	27,2	63,3
Metropolitan Municipality	521	13,2	76,4
Other Government Institutions	676	17,1	93,5
NGO	83	2,1	95,6
Community	173	4,4	100,0
Total	3954	100,0	
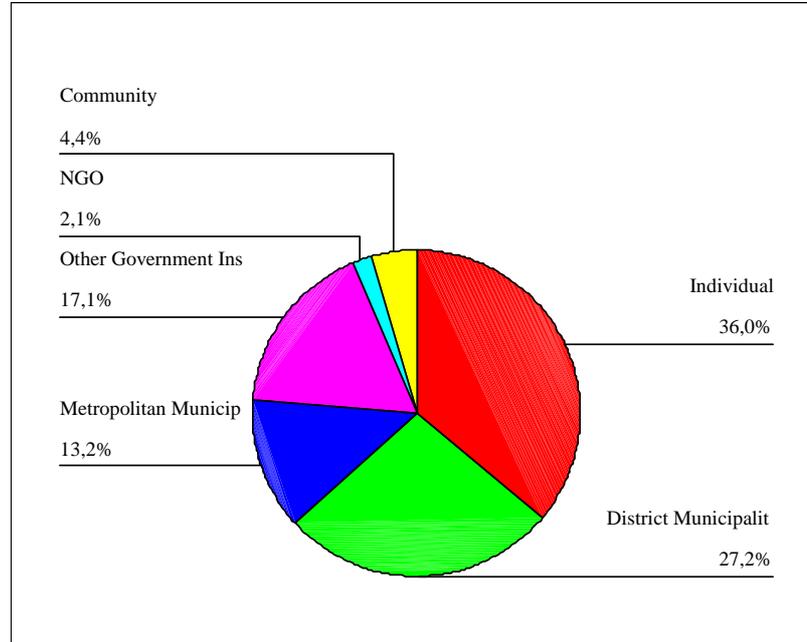
Graph 9. The Distribution of Urban Development Plans & Plan Modifications in Ankara between 1985-2005 with respect to the Initiator of the Planning Proposal.

Another important variable observed throughout the study, time between proposal and enacting of any plan or modification shows that most of the plans and modifications are enacted in less than 100 days, which is close to the average value. Yet, a close inspection of the individual cases shows important deviations from the average. Some plans and modifications were enacted in the days that are proposed or it took years for them to be enacted. In such cases, the possibility of the existence of an inhibiting force, an actor or an institution, or a dispute over the change brought by the plan is evident (Table 18).

Table 18. The Distribution of Urban Development Plans & Plan Modifications in Ankara between 1985-2005 with respect to the Length of the Enacting Process of Proposals.

TIME PASSED BETWEEN PROPOSAL – ENACTING (Days)	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
0-49	1591	40,2	40,2
50-99	1250	31,6	71,9
100-149	510	12,9	84,7
150-199	230	5,8	90,6
200-249	144	3,6	94,2
250-299	96	2,4	96,6
300-349	72	1,8	98,5
350-399	39	1,0	99,4
400-449	22	,6	100,0
Average	**87**		
Total	3954	100,0	

The relationship between the ruling political party in central government and the number of plans and modifications is rather vague. A significant portion of the plans and modifications were realized when Motherland Party was in power in eighties and a coalition government at the beginning and at the end of nineties, according to the days passed under the rule of a government for a plan to be enacted (Table 19 – 20). Yet the differences were not as significant as to derive conclusions about the relationship between the number of urban development plans and modifications enacted and any specific central government. The political implications of central governments would possibly be more indicative when they are cross analyzed with the ruling political parties in district municipalities and the greater municipality. But, when the type of the central government is analyzed overall, a slight difference between coalition governments and

single party rule government was observed. Under the rule of coalition governments, the number of plans respective of the length of their rule is higher than the single party rule governments (Table 21). This is congruent with the hypothesis that, coalition government provide more suitable circumstances for the constitution of local coalitions and Networks than single party rule governments under which certain interest groups are tried to be mobilized using land rent and tensions increase. Yet, the significance of this hypothesis will also be tested cross sectional.

Table 19. The Distribution of Urban Development Plans & Plan Modifications in Ankara between 1985-2005 with respect to the Ruling Political Power in Central Government.

RULING POLITICAL PARTY	Frequency	Percent	Length of Rule (Day)	Plan/Length
ANAP-I	**545**	**13,8**	1469	2,695413
ANAP-II	**571**	**14,4**	689	1,206655
ANAP-III	259	6,6	591	2,281853
ANAP-IV	39	1,0	150	**3,846154**
DYP-SHP-I	228	5,8	582	2,552632
DYP-SHP-II	384	9,7	832	2,166667
DYP	12	,3	25	2,083333
DYP-CHP	62	1,6	128	2,064516
ANAP-DYP-DSP	47	1,2	114	2,425532
RP-DYP	313	7,9	367	1,172524
ANAP-DSP-CHP	484	12,2	560	1,157025
DSP	97	2,5	137	1,412371
ANAP-DSP-MHP	**593**	**15,0**	1270	2,141653
AKP	320	8,1	769	2,403125
Average	282,42857			2,1149609
Total	3954	100,0		

**Table 20. The Distribution of Urban Development Plans & Plan Modifications in Ankara between 1985-2005 with respect to Cross tabulation of Ruling Power in Central Government and Type of Government.**

CENTRAL GOVERNMENT	TYPE OF GOVERNMENT		
	Single Party Government	Coalition Government	
ANAP-I	545		545
ANAP-II	571		571
ANAP-III	259		259
ANAP-IV	39		39
DYP-SHP-I		228	228
DYP-SHP-II		384	384
DYP	12		12
DYP-CHP		62	62
ANAP-DYP-DSP		47	47
RP-DYP		313	313
ANAP-DSP-CHP		484	484
DSP	97		97
ANAP-DSP-MHP		593	593
AKP	320		320
	1843	2111	3954

Table 21. The Distribution of Urban Development Plans & Plan Modifications in Ankara between 1985-2005 with respect to the Type of the Ruling Political Power in Central Government.

TYPE OF GOVERNMENT	Frequency	Percent	Length of Rule (Day)	Plan/Length
Single Party Government	1843	46,6	3830	0,481201
Coalition Government	2111	53,4	3853	0,547885
Total	3954	100,0	100,0	

With respect to the distribution of plans and modifications according to the political parties of district mayors, it could be said that, a significant portion of the plans were realized when Motherland Party and Social Democrats were in power in district municipalities (Table 22). This could be taken as an indicator of the power of grassroots in manipulating urban planning process in the early 80's since these parties were dominantly in power till the early 90's. Yet, after 90's because of both transformation in politics from cleavage politics to image politics and weakening of the political parties as

machines for manipulating urban space, seemingly powerful political parties could not be successful in urban planning process as before.

Table 22. The Distribution of Urban Development Plans & Plan Modifications in Ankara between 1985-2005 with respect to the Political Party of District Mayor in Power.

POLITICAL PARTY OF DISTRICT MAYOR	Frequency	Percent	No. Of Times in District Rule	Plan/No. Of Rule
NOT ESTABLISHED	37	,9	2	18,5
ANAP	**896**	**22,7**	8	**112**
SHP	**717**	**18,1**	8	**89,625**
CHP	**1232**	**31,2**	16	**77**
MHP	250	6,3	4	62,5
RP	273	6,9	5	54,6
FP	280	7,1	5	56
AKP	269	6,8	11	24,454545
Total	3954	100,0	100,0	

On the other side, this scene about the power of political parties at districts in manipulating urban planning process manifested itself in increasing powers of mayors in urban planning process. When looked into the number of plans realized in each Mayor's term, it can be seen that within Altınsoy's, Karayalçın's and Gökçek's first terms under Welfare Party was significantly high in numbers (Table 23). But, according to the number of plans realized per day of term, two terms of Gökçek and Altınsoy comes to fore. This can be interpreted as although relatively the number of plans realized in a term of a metropolitan mayor do not change much, after 90's with the help of his personality and changing circumstances of politics both at the central and local spheres, Gökçek gained more power in manipulating urban planning process than the other mayors. This shows that a mayor with personal talents under appropriate political conditions could benefit from urban space for his own purposes. Yet, when he became independent and came to power when a single party of his own is at the power in central government, his influence diminished. These points will be further elaborated later in cross sectional analysis.

Table 23. The Distribution of Urban Development Plans & Plan Modifications in Ankara between 1985-2005 with respect to the Metropolitan Mayor in Power.

METROPOLITAN MAYOR AND HIS POLITICAL PARTY	Frequency	Percent	Length of Rule (Day)	Plan/Length
ALTINSOY- ANAP	867	21,9	1825	0,477808
KARAYALÇIN- SHP	850	21,7	1825	0,476712
GOKCEK-RP	847	21,4	1380	0,584783
GOKCEK-FP	736	18,6	1095	0,69863
GOKCEK-INDEPENDENT	536	13,2	275	0,432727
GOKCEK-AKP	101	3,0	1095	0,475799
Total	3954	100,0		

6.2.2. Cross Sectional Analysis of the Urban Development Plans and Modifications in Ankara between 1985 and 2005

General trends about spatial characteristics of the urban development plans and modifications in Ankara between 1985 and 2005 reveals that, there has been a tendency for plans and modifications to be realized in districts that are on the axis of sprawl, in central neighborhoods, squatter settlements and suburbs, on areas where prospect for development is high. The urban planning process is concerned with micro level changes in building rights and legitimization of illegal buildings. In terms of political relations, the success of both the hegemonic projects and their political mobilization mechanism was in a way related with the middle and high income groups having interest or living in south-west corridor of the urban macro form of Ankara. Further elaborating cross sectional analysis some deductions could be made.

In Ankara, the urban macroform could be pictured as concentric rings. At the centre of thes rings there is the central businnes district surrounded by a ring of planned regular hosing neighborhoods. Out of these planned neighborhoods at the semi – periphery and periphery of the macroform, a ring of squatter settlemens and apartment buildings transformed from squatter settlements through squatter amendment plans are located. At the outskirts in the fringe of the urban macroform, there suburban developments (Table 24). Yet this concentric structure is not homogeneous. Geographically in some places squatters, planned neighborhoods and suburban development are embedded. This

structure is influential on the distribution on the plans in districts with respect to their proximity to the city centre. When the distribution of the districts of plans and modifications with regards to their proximity to center is examined, districts could be classified under three branches (Table 25, Graph 10). In the first group there are districts like Altındağ, Mamak and Keçiören all of which include urban development plans and modifications realized in semi-periphery and periphery and central neighborhoods at the same time. In these districts the potential for suburbanization is low compared to other districts since the socio-economic structure consists of low income groups of squatter settlements. As marginalized conservative groups, residents of squatter settlements and apartments transformed from squatter settlements as a result of squatter amendment plans, they tried to gather urban land rents in central neighborhoods and then turned their attention to squatter settlements located mostly in semi-periphery and periphery. The second group of districts involves the ones that are located on the main sprawl axis west and southwest of the macro – form, namely Yenimahalle, Sincan, Etimesgut and Gölbaşı. Within this group, in Yenimahalle and Gölbaşı and maybe to a certain extent Etimesgut, high income groups used increasing land rents and started suburban developments from the early 80's. Yet, the character of this suburbanization differs. In Etimesgut and Sincan a new type of suburbanization based on the marginalization of conservative and Islamist groups can be observed just like in Altındağ and Keçiören but in a much more marginalized fashion since encounters with the high income groups' increased fundamentalist behavior throughout two decades. On the other hand, Çankaya district constitutes a unique class by itself as it involves plans and modifications realized nearly in any level of proximity to the city center. The distribution of urban development plans and modifications in districts with respect to the characteristics of the planning area also verifies this hypothesis (Table 26, Graph 11). Yenimahalle, Etimesgut, Gölbaşı and Sincan comes the fore with high share of plans realized in suburban areas, whereas Çankaya and Keçiören specialized in plans realized in planned neighborhoods and settlements transformed from squatter settlements. Here, the district of Altındağ seems to be distinctive with highest level of plans and modifications realized in settlements transformed from squatter settlements.

Table 24. The Distribution of Urban Development Plans & Plan Modifications in Ankara between 1985-2005 with respect to Cross tabulation of Proximity of Plan Area to City Center and Characteristics of the Plan Area.

PROXIMITY TO CITY CENTER	Characteristics of the Area						
	CBD	Planned Neighborhood	Squatter Settlement	Settlement Transformed from Squatter Settlement	Suburb	Historical City Center	Total
Central	**183**					52	183
Central Neighborhoods		**937**	2	1			941
Semi-periphery	1	239	109	**587**	25		967
Periphery		73	23	291	**678**		1089
Fringe			1	16	**590**		623
Idle out of City				2	**144**		151
Total	184	1249	135	897	1437		3954

Table 25. The Distribution of Urban Development Plans & Plan Modifications in Ankara between 1985-2005 with respect to Cross tabulation of Districts of Plans and their Proximity to City Centre.

DISTRICT	Proximity to the City Center						
	Central	Central Neighborhoods	Semi-periphery	Periphery	Fringe	Idle out of City	Total
Altındağ	50	122	135	98	23	**24**	452
Çankaya	133	**424**	**288**	238	165	13	1261
Etimesgut		1		132	**77**	3	213
Gölbaşı				3	16	8	27
Keçiören		**285**	**215**	30	9	1	540
Mamak		99	142	40	9	11	301
Sincan				**134**	40	10	184
Yenimahalle		10	187	**414**	**279**	**81**	971
Çankaya-Yenimahalle					5		5
Total	183	941	967	1089	623	151	3954
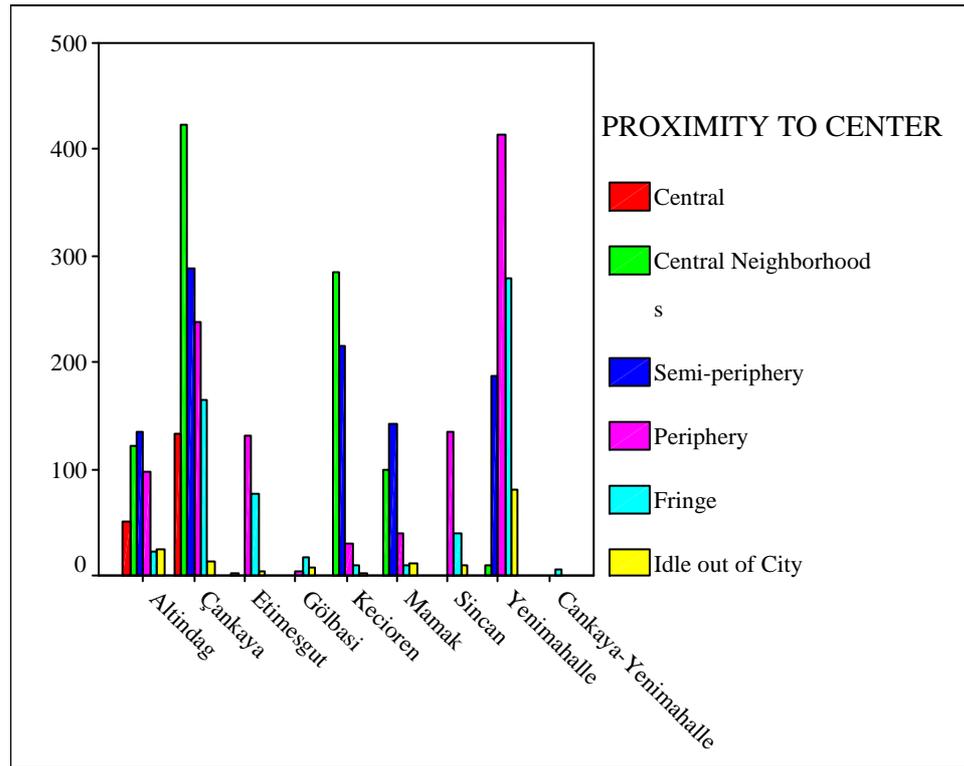
Graph 10. The Distribution of Urban Development Plans & Plan Modifications in Ankara between 1985-2005 with respect to Cross tabulation of Districts of Plans and their Proximity to City Centre.

Table 26. The Distribution of Urban Development Plans & Plan Modifications in Ankara between 1985-2005 with respect to Cross tabulation of Districts of Plans and the Characteristics of the Area of the Plan.

DISTRICT	Characteristics of the Plan Area						
	CBD	Planned Neighb.	Squatter Settlement	Settlement Transformed from Squatter Settlement	Suburb	Historical City Center	Total
Altındağ	51	144	**45**	161	36	**52**	452
Çankaya	**133**	**478**	**35**	**342**	**272**		1261
Etimesgut		22		20	155		213
Gölbaşı					25		27
Keçiören		**315**	16	**173**	36		540
Mamak		104	15	136	39		301
Sincan		36	6	12	119		184
Yenimahalle		150	18	53	**750**		971
Çankaya-Yenimahalle					5		5
Total	184	1249	135	897	1437	52	3954
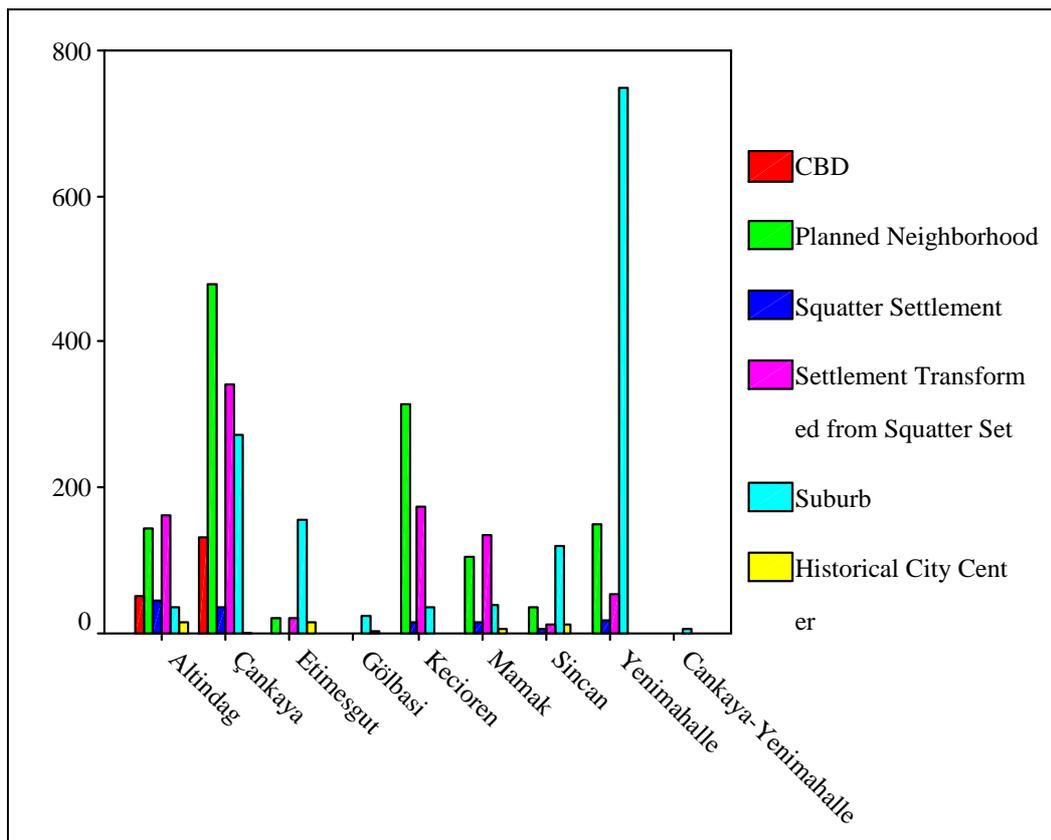
Graph 11. The Distribution of Urban Development Plans & Plan Modifications in Ankara between 1985-2005 with respect to Cross tabulation of Districts of Plans and the Characteristics of the Area of the Plan.

The prospect of the planning areas in districts shows that in some districts plans and modifications were realized in mostly highly prospective areas like Çankaya and Yenimahalle (Table 27, Graph 12). Yet, in some districts like Altındağ and Mamak, the planning activities are condensed around moderately prospective areas since these districts are the districts in which squatter settlements are dominant and the quality of urban environment is low. Keçiören, in this respect constitutes and interesting example for, although it is also a district predominantly inhabited by squatter settlements, high share of plans and modifications realized in it were in prospective locations. This could be related with the high concentration of conservative groups and Keçiören becoming the symbol of conservative life style in the last decade. The new conservative middle classes forming in Keçiören has created a new type of prospect, somehow even much more prestigious than the ones in south-west corridor of the urban macro form. Since such prospective environments suitable for conservative life style has been much more scarce

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than any other part of the city such areas created a base for unique political relations. This can be followed in Melih Gökçek's attempts to legitimize certain projects of him in Keçiören like transforming public land into mosque and mosque + commercial units and opening up of large urban parks in which certain life style has been emphasized, increase of building rights in emerging prosperous neighborhoods transformed from squatters and his legitimization of such projects through urban development plans. Naming of some parks with Melih Gökçek and current prime minister's selection of residence in this district could be taken as symbols of this transformation.

Table 27. The Distribution of Urban Development Plans & Plan Modifications in Ankara between 1985-2005 with respect to Cross tabulation of Districts of Plans and the Prospect of the Plan Area for Development.

DISTRICT	Prospect of the Plan Area for Development			
	High	Moderate	Low	Total
Altındağ	70	237	145	452
Çankaya	912	329	20	1261
Etimesgut	24	110	79	213
Gölbaşı	3	22	2	27
Keçiören	288	205	47	540
Mamak	14	201	86	301
Sincan		92	92	184
Yenimahalle	448	354	169	971
Çankaya-Yenimahalle		5		5
Total	1759	1555	640	3954
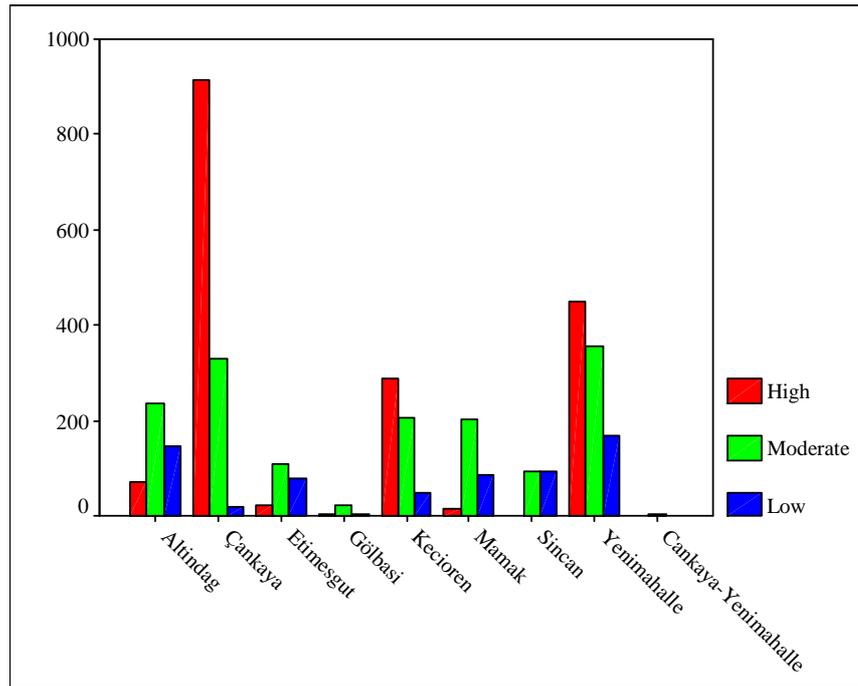
Graph 12. The Distribution of Urban Development Plans & Plan Modifications in Ankara between 1985-2005 with respect to Cross tabulation of Districts of Plans and the Prospect of the Plan Area for Development.

Another interesting point is related with the distribution of prospective position of plans throughout years. It can be said that, although in 80's higher share of the plans were realized in areas with high prospect, after early 1990's, higher share of the plans were realized in moderately prospective areas (Table 28, Graph 13). This could be possibly explained with the effects of sprawl on the land market. As the time passes, ongoing suburbanization increased individual motives to get higher revenues from urban land rent in moderately or low prospective areas. Enlargement of urban macro form also increased expectations of land rents from any part of the city and extended individual marginal waiting times to get these rents. As a part of rent – seeking activity, buying a piece of land in relatively cheaper locations and waiting for its building rights to increase through urban development plan modifications became a common process. Such a process has also been fed with the promises of the politicians and expectations has always been used and manipulated by certain political mobilization strategies.

Table 28. The Distribution of Urban Development Plans & Plan Modifications in Ankara between 1985-2005 with respect to Cross tabulation of Prospect for Development for the Plan Area and Enacting Date.

ENACTING DATE	PROSPECT FOR DEVELOPMENT			
	High	Moderate	Low	Total
1984-1989	**684**	272	181	1137
1989-1994	**235**	226	125	586
1994-1995	31	**71**	20	122
1995-1998	254	**330**	111	695
1998-2001	302	**358**	128	788
2001-2004	213	**242**	67	522
2004-	40	**56**	8	104
Total	1759	1555	640	3954
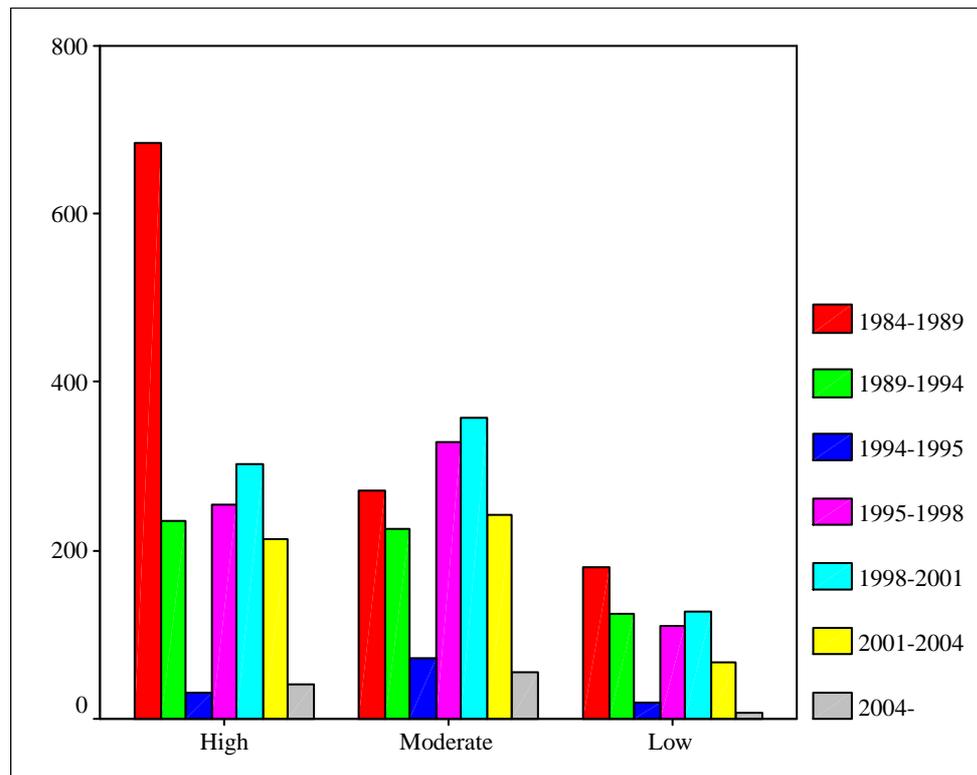
Graph 13. The Distribution of Urban Development Plans & Plan Modifications in Ankara between 1985-2005 with respect to Cross tabulation of Prospect for Development for the Plan Area and Enacting Date.

The distribution of plans in different districts with respect to scale and type of plans and the area coverage of the plans shows that there is a general tendency in all districts towards realization of plans in 1/1000 scale and as implementation plans, indicating that directly building conditions and rights are in concern (Table 29 – 30 – 31, Graph 14). Moreover, area coverage of plans in districts shows that actors and interest groups pursuing to intervene in urban planning process rather prefers to act individually to organize in small units or network coalition building between powerful actors at neighborhood scale. This is a sign of the existence of small coalitions between petty builders (müteahhit) and landowners on the one side and powerful coalitions between large capital owners and power holders on the other side. A slight deviation in the share of master development plans could be observed in the districts that are on the main development axis especially Yenimahalle District. In Yenimahalle % of the master development plans is rather high than other districts. Some of the most prestigious new suburban areas like Konutkent, Çayyolu and Ümitköy are in the boundaries of this district and high number of peace meal plans[6] indicates organization of high income groups as housing cooperatives to derive treasury land and to get most of building rights and urban land rent.

Table 29. The Distribution of Urban Development Plans & Plan Modifications in Ankara between 1985-2005 with respect to Cross tabulation of Districts of Plans and the Scale of the Development Plan.

DISTRICT	Scale of the Plan							
	200	500	1000	2000	5000	25000	50000	Total
Altındağ	1	6	398	3	41	2	1	452
Çankaya		1	1076	29	149	1	5	1261
Etimesgut			172	2	39			213
Gölbaşı			16		11			27
Keçiören			456	2	81	1		540
Mamak			252	1	43	2	3	301
Sincan			147	6	31			184
Yenimahalle		1	772	11	184		3	971
Çankaya-Yenimahalle					5			5
Total	1	8	3289	54	584	6	12	3954

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[6] According to Urban Development Law, peacemeal plas are the plans prepared and enacted on areas where there is no valid development plans. It necessitates very strong arguments or influence to enact such plans and existence of such plans in most cases indicated existence of a powerful intervening actor or interest group behind the urban planning process.
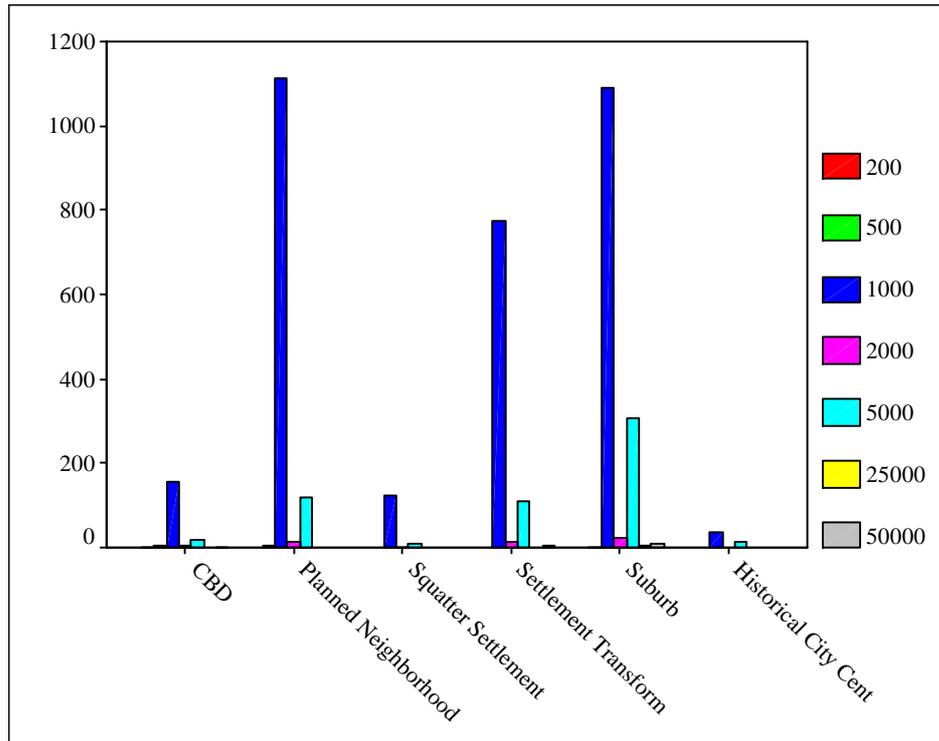
Graph 14. The Distribution of Urban Development Plans & Plan Modifications in Ankara between 1985-2005 with respect to Cross tabulation of Characteristics of Plan Area and Scale of the Plan.

Table 30. The Distribution of Urban Development Plans & Plan Modifications in Ankara between 1985-2005 with respect to Cross tabulation of Districts of Plans and the Type of the Development Plan.

Type of Plan	District								
	Altındağ	Çankaya	Etimes	Gölba.	Keci.	Mamak	Sincan	Yenimah.	Total
Implementation Plan		4	6	2	3	9	3	45	72
Implementation Plan Modification	361	950	151	10	412	224	132	588	2828
Master Development Plan	15	35	12	6	6	16	8	66	166
Master Development Plan Modification	28	129	18	4	67	18	22	77	366
Additional Implementation Plan or its Modification	2	5	1		4			2	14
Additional Master Plan or its Modification					2			4	6
Revision Implementation Plan or its Modification	15	5		1	13	2		17	53
Revision Master Plan or its Modification	2	10	8	1	5	5	2	29	62
Peace meal Plan or its Modification	7	95	11	3	15	16	6	122	275
Conservation Plan or its Modification	5								5
Upper Scale Plans	2	3				2			7
Urban Design	1								1
Village Site Plan		2	2			1	9	1	15
Squatter Improvement Plan or its Modification	7	15	2		12	6		9	51
Peace meal and Master Development Plans Together		1						1	2
Additional and Revision Plans Together		1	2			1	1	5	10
Implementation and Master Plans Together								2	2
Parcellation Plan	1	5			1	1	1	2	11
Total	452	1261	213	27	540	301	184	971	3954

Table 31. The Distribution of Urban Development Plans & Plan Modifications in Ankara between 1985-2005 with respect to Cross tabulation of Districts of Plans and the Area Coverage of the Development Plan.

DISTRICT	Area Coverage of the Plan					
	Single Plot	Several Plots	Building Blocks	Neighborhood	City	Total
Altındağ	245	68	20	116	3	452
Çankaya	731	248	92	189	1	1261
Etimesgut	78	60	6	68	1	213
Gölbaşı	3	11		13		27
Keçiören	281	152	29	78		540
Mamak	142	44	20	93	2	301
Sincan	73	18	12	80	1	184
Yenimahalle	461	201	68	236	5	971
Çankaya-Yenimahalle				5		5
Total	2014	802	247	878	13	3954

The distribution of all the plans and modifications in different districts with regards to the changing planning decisions and characteristic of the change shows interesting details about the socio-economic characteristics of the urban development of districts. First of all, in all the districts planning decisions prior to the realization of plans and modifications the highest share is taken by relatively lower building rights concerning buildings (Table 31). Similarly, in all the districts planning decisions introduced by new plans and modifications brings increase in these building rights (Table 32, Table 33). Thus, it can be said that in all districts, a greater portion of plans and modifications realized concerning increase in building rights at micro scale. Yet, there is a slight exception to this in districts of Altındağ and Gölbaşı. In Altındağ planning decisions concerning green areas and open spaces and in Gölbaşı rural settlement character taken as a previous planning decision is higher than relatively lower building rights as previous planning decision. The low levels of urban land rent insufficient to transform the low spatial quality created by squatter settlements and squatter amendment areas may caused transformation of green areas and open spaces into some other uses. On the other hand in Gölbaşı, suburbanization turned rural villages into suburban settlements in the last decade.

When looked at the later planning decisions, in all districts housing use is predominant. It can be said that green areas and open spaces are transformed into housing use. In districts like Çankaya, Etimesgut, Gölbaşı and Yenimahalle, this transformation occurred mostly in fringe of the urban macro – form in the form of suburbs. In districts like Mamak and Keçiören, this transformation occurred in squatter areas and settlement units transformed from squatters. Indeed, such a trend is evident in these districts since the housing market is left to market mechanisms and petty builders and petty builders try to increase their share of the land rent through urban development plan modifications. Another important transformation is the transformation of green areas and open spaces into mosques and religious facilities in Keçiören and Sincan. Although this transformation could also be observed in all other districts, the share of this kind of plans compared to other districts is relatively higher. The spread of conservatist – Islamist lifestyle in these districts could be taken as the reason for this transformation. On the other side in Keçiören, there are also a significant number of parks and open spaces generated by conservative municipal mayors as displays of conservative life style.

Another important trend is the transformation of green areas, open spaces and public uses into infrastructure facilities in districts like Altındağ, Çankaya, Mamak and Yenimahalle, where the low quality of urban infrastructure created by squatter settlements and squatter amendment plans necessitate land for additional infrastructure facilities. For instance, there were numerous cases in which a pumping station or a transformation unit are built in front of a school or a part of a park and legitimized by an urban development plan modification.

All of these patterns can be seen in the cross tabulation of previous and latter planning decisions (Table 34, Table 35).Transformation of squatter areas in to housing units, transformation of rural settlements in fringe and out of city into housing and industrial use, changes in public buildings, increase in road sizes and transportation investments about road network, transformation of greem areas and open spaces into other public uses, mosques and infrastructure facilities, and most important of all increase in building rights and legitimization of illegal or illegitimate buildings or parts of buildings can be identified as the most striking patterns.

Table 32. The Distribution of Urban Development Plans & Plan Modifications in Ankara between 1985-2005 with respect to Cross tabulation of Districts of Plans and the Previous Planning Decision Before the Proposal.

| PLANNING DECISION BEFORE	District								Total
	Altındağ	Çankaya	Etimesgut	Gölbaşı	Keçiören	Mamak	Sincan	Yenimahalle	
Unplanned vacant land out of city	22	55	14	1	13	16	10	68	199
Squatter Area with Improvement Plan	44	51	1		1	23	4	5	129
Rural Settlement in Fringe	8	85	25	16	18	10	14	101	282
Unplanned vacant land in the city	5	4	2		4		1	13	29
Relatively Narrower Road	6	17	3	1	18	6	1	18	70
Industry or Service Area	1	2	3		2	2	2	14	26
Relatively Lower Building Rights	112	693	108	6	253	115	67	421	1775
Housing	41	55	9	1	62	20	17	58	263
Green Area or Open Space	144	134	36		95	77	45	143	674
Public Building or Publicly Owned Land	12	49	2	1	19	3	4	44	134
Commercial	8	19	3		11	4	7	18	70
Road Network	23	53	6		17	12	7	43	161
School	1	8			7	7	3	7	33
Relatively Smaller Plots	3	19			2			9	33
Historical Corner	14	1			4				19
Health					2	1	1	1	5
Mosque or other Religious Facilities	1	2			3	1		2	9
Forestation Area	5	13	1	1	7	4	1	6	38
Slum Area		1			2				3
Fuel Station	2								2
Total	452	1261	213	27	540	301	184	971	3954

Table 33. The Distribution of Urban Development Plans & Plan Modifications in Ankara between 1985-2005 with respect to Cross tabulation of Districts of Plans and the Later Planning Decision After the Enactment of the Plan.

PLANNING DECISION LATER	District								Total
	Altındağ	Çankaya	Etimesgut	Gölbaşı	Keçiören	Mamak	Sincan	Yenimahalle	
Housing or Settlement Unit	55	170	29	14	47	39	22	131	512
Office Use or Public Building	19	68	2		20	6	10	40	165
Industry	31	7	12	2	1	7	4	71	135
University	1	16	2	1				5	25
Service Area	3	11	2				2	5	23
Relatively Wider Road	6	17	3	1	18	6	1	18	70
Relatively Higher Building Rights or Change in Permit	112	693	108	6	253	115	67	421	1775
Green Area or Open Space	18	31	5	1	39	11	11	23	139
Health	14	6			4	5	2	9	40
School	34	17		1	15	20	7	18	112
Commercial	9	10	6	1	11	3	7	22	69
Relatively Larger Plots	3	19			2			10	34
Mosque or Religious Facilities	11	26	8		60	15	21	34	175
Transport Facility	23	50	5		11	9	8	37	143
Sports Area	3	9			17		1	2	32
Infrastructure Facility	92	93	26		22	58	15	107	413
Rehabilitation of Historical Corner	11	1			4				16
Fuel Station	7	6	5		10	7	3	15	53
Private School		9			4		3	3	19
Private Hospital		2			2				4
Total	452	1261	213	27	540	301	184	971	3954

**Table 34. The Distribution of Urban Development Plans & Plan Modifications in Ankara between 1985-2005 with respect to Cross tabulation of Districts of Plans and the Characteristic of the Change brought about by the Plan.**

CHARACTERISTIC OF CHANGE	District								
	Altındağ	Çankaya	Etimesgut	Gölbaşı	Keçiören	Mamak	Sincan	Yenimahalle	Total
Settlement of Vacant Land in Fringe	9	129	26	14	32	15	7	106	343
Improvement or regeneration of Squatter Area	44	47	1		1	21	4	6	124
Transformation of Fringe into Office or Industry	17	4	8	2	1	5	3	48	88
Transformation of inner urban vacant land to industry		2	2	1				3	8
Transformation of inner urban unplanned land to industry	1		2		1				4
Transport Investment	30	68	8	1	29	15	8	56	215
Plan Implementation		1				4	1	4	10
Infrastructure Investment	92	94	26		21	58	16	106	413
Increase building right legitimization of illegal building	112	693	108	6	253	115	67	421	1775
Transformation of inner urban vacant land to open space								1	1
Transformation of inner urban vacant land to settlement	13								13
Green Area or Open Space Generation	20	27	1	1	36	8	11	22	126
Regulation or Building of Public Buildings	5	53		1	20	14	10	46	149
Transformation from housing to industry	9	2	1			1	2	18	33
Transformation of housing to commercial or service area	4	11	6	1	5		2	12	41
Enlargement or subdivision of plots	3	19			2			9	33
Transformation of public land to religious facilities	11	17	7		43	5	18	26	127
Transformation from mosque to commercial		2							2
Transformation to Housing	7	19	6		16	2	3	17	70
Transformation of Open Spaces to Other Public Uses	43	30	1		31	15	9	16	145
Urban or Landscape Design	11	3			5	4		5	28
Transformation from Housing to Mosque		9	1		17	9	4	8	48
Transformation from Open Space to Commercial		3			2	2		3	10
Transformation from Housing to School or Health	8	8	1		8	1	2	7	35
Transformation from School to Housing Or Commercial					1				1
Transformation from Public Land to Commercial	4	11	1		6		6	10	38
Transformation to Fuel Station	6	6	5		10	7	3	15	52
Transformation from Commercial to Industry	3	1							4
Village Site Development		2	2				8	6	18
Total	452	1261	213	27	540	301	184	971	3954

Table 35. The Distribution of Urban Development Plans & Plan Modifications in Ankara between 1985-2005 with respect to Cross tabulation of Characteristics of Plan Area and Characteristic of the Change.

CHARACTERISTIC OF THE CHANGE BROUGHT BY PLAN	CHARACTERISTIC OF THE AREA						
	CBD	Planned Neighborhood	Squatter Settlement	Settlement Transformed from Squatter Settlement	Suburb	Historical City Center	
Settlement of Vacant Land in Fringe	2	20	1	41	**275**	4	343
Improvement or regeneration of Squatter Area		40	3	**64**	17		124
Transformation of Fringe into Office or Industry		5		2	**56**	25	88
Transformation of inner urban vacant land to industry				2	4	2	8
Transformation of inner urban unplanned land to industry	1	1			1	1	4
Transport Investment	14	**76**	8	44	72	1	215
Plan Implementation		1		2	5	2	10
Infrastructure Investment	10	92	16	**151**	144		413
Increase building right legitimization of illegal building	94	**644**	63	389	574	11	1775
Transformation of inner urban vacant land to open space					1		1
Transformation of inner urban vacant land to settlement	3	7	2			1	13
Green Area or Open Space Generation	9	**60**	8	17	32		126
Regulation or Building of Public Buildings	6	51	6	27	**59**		149
Transformation from housing to industry		7	1	5	17	3	33
Transformation of housing to commercial or service area	2	11	3	6	**19**		41
Enlargement or subdivision of plots	2	**18**	1	5	7		33
Transformation of public land to religious facilities	2	**41**	5	**44**	35		127
Transformation from mosque to commercial	2						2
Transformation to Housing	4	**21**	3	**23**	19		70
Transformation of Open Spaces to Other Public Uses	15	**62**	12	30	26		145
Urban or Landscape Design	11	10		1	6		28
Transformation from Housing to Mosque		**18**	1	**17**	12		48
Transformation from Open Space to Commercial		6			4		10
Transformation from Housing to School or Health	2	**14**	1	9	9		35
Transformation from School to Housing Or Commercial		1					1
Transformation from Public Land to Commercial	4	**14**		12	7	1	38
Transformation to Fuel Station	1	**27**	1	4	18	1	52
Transformation from Commercial to Industry		2		2			4
Village Site Development					**18**		18
	184	1249	135	897	1437	52	3954

The distribution of plans and modifications in districts with respect to political variables such as initiator of the plan and the ruling political power in central government, district and metropolitan municipalities shows interesting details. First, it could be seen that generally in all districts plans are initiated by individuals, district municipalities and other government institutions (Table 36, Graph 15). This is no coincidence keeping high percentage of 1/1000 scaled implementation plans and the inclination to focus on tangible benefits obtained through increase in building rights and the plans realized for the infrastructure facilities whose investments are made by other government institutions in mind. Moreover, the percentage of plans initiated by community, i.e. religious communities is relatively high in districts like Keçiören and Sincan. Considering the limitations of this study and the informal influences of these groups, it can be said that a significant influence was inflicted by religious communities on urban planning process.

The distribution of plans in districts according to the type of central government also confirms the general trend that under coalition governments in nearly all districts the number of plans realized is higher than under single party governments. Yet, Çankaya district constitutes an exception to this trend which could easily be related with the urban development potential and prospective position of it. The potential urban land rent to be gathered is do high that under single party governments certain interest groups focused more on obtaining rent in Çankaya rather than other districts (Table 37 – 38, Graph 16).

Table 36. The Distribution of Urban Development Plans & Plan Modifications in Ankara between 1985-2005 with respect to Cross tabulation of Districts of Plans and the Initiator of the Plan.

DISTRICT	Initiator of the Plan						
	Individual	District Munici.	Metropol. Munici.	Other Gov. Institutions	NGO	Community	Total
Altındağ	139	102	69	128	4	10	452
Çankaya	427	449	161	178	20	26	1261
Etimesgut	12	126	39	24	4	8	213
Gölbaşı		15	9	2	1		27
Keçiören	179	171	41	74	15	60	540
Mamak	119	49	40	77	1	15	301
Sincan	82	19	27	34	1	21	184
Yenimahalle	467	145	130	159	37	33	971
Çankaya-Y.mah.			5				5
Total	1425	1076	521	676	83	173	3954
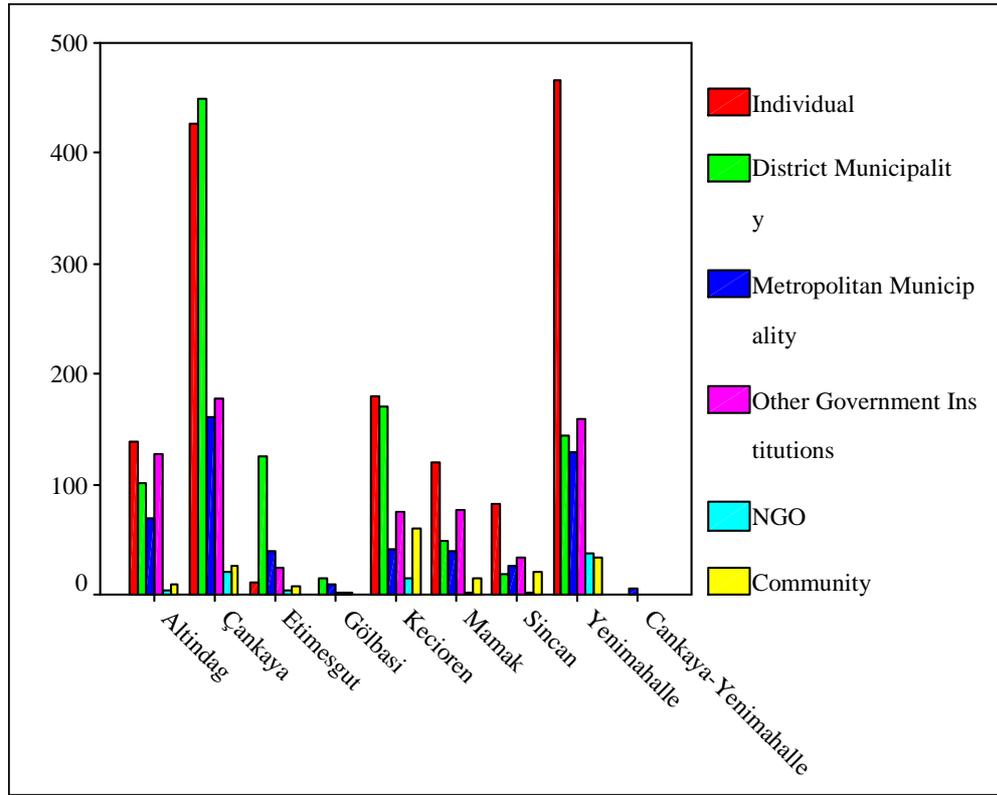
Graph 15. The Distribution of Urban Development Plans & Plan Modifications in Ankara between 1985-2005 with respect to Cross tabulation of Districts of Plans and the Initiator of the Plan.

Table 37. The Distribution of Urban Development Plans & Plan Modifications in Ankara between 1985-2005 with respect to Cross tabulation of Districts of Plans and Type of Government in Central Government.

District	Type of Central Government		
	Single Party Government	**Coalition Government**	**Total**
Altındağ	165	**287**	452
Çankaya	**730**	531	1261
Etimesgut	38	**175**	213
Gölbaşı	11	**16**	27
Keçiören	260	**280**	540
Mamak	124	**177**	301
Sincan	58	**126**	184
Yenimahalle	455	**516**	971
Çankaya-Yenimahalle	2	**3**	5
Total	1843	2111	3954
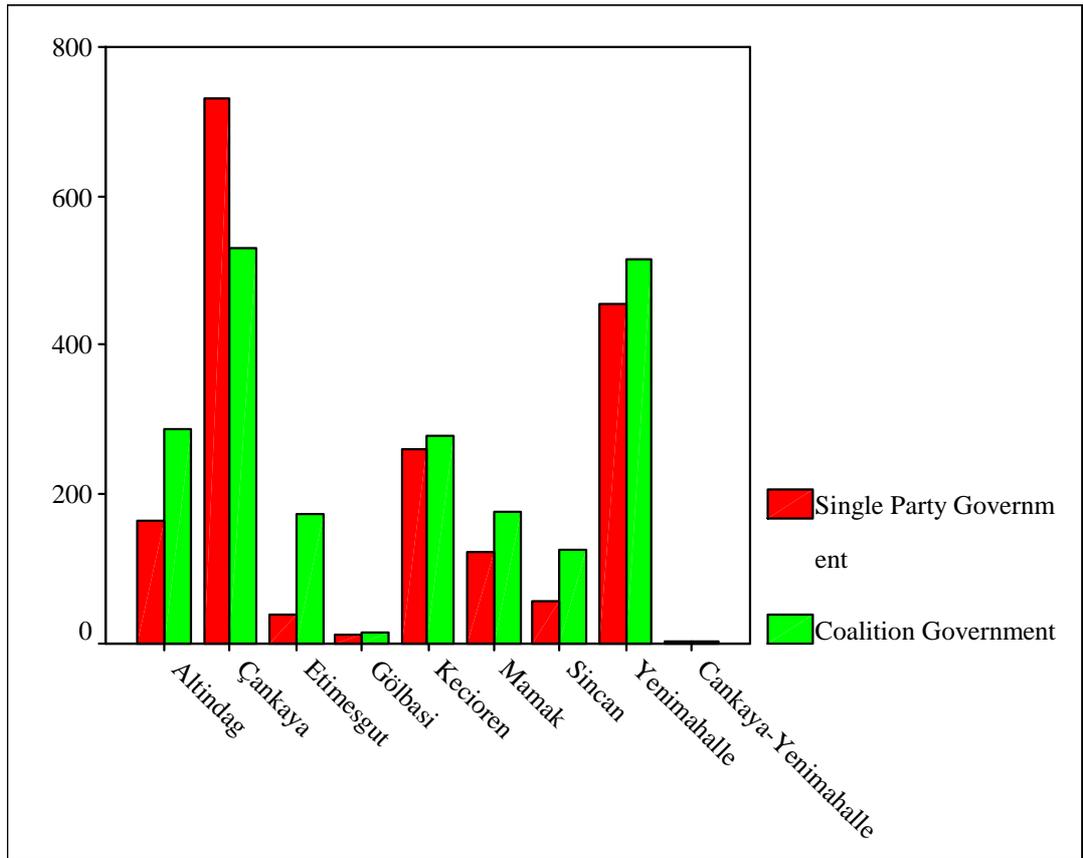
Graph 16. The Distribution of Urban Development Plans & Plan Modifications in Ankara between 1985-2005 with respect to Cross tabulation of Districts of Plans and Type of Government in Central Government.

Table 38. The Distribution of Urban Development Plans & Plan Modifications in Ankara between 1985-2005 with respect to Cross tabulation of Characteristic of Change and Initiator of Plan.

CHARACTERISTIC OF THE CHANGE BROUGHT BY PLAN	INITIATOR OF THE PLAN						
	Individual	District Municipality	Metropolitan Municipality	Other Government Institutions	NGO	Community	
Settlement of Vacant Land in Fringe		182	105	22	34		343
Improvement or regeneration of Squatter Area		102	20		2		124
Transformation of Fringe into Office or Industry		56	30		2		88
Transformation of inner urban vacant land to industry		8					8
Transformation of inner urban unplanned land to industry		3		1			4
Transport Investment		65	149		1		215
Plan Implementation		9	1				10
Infrastructure Investment		7	81	325			413
Increase building right legitimization of illegal building	1179	524	36	1	35		1775
Transformation of inner urban vacant land to open space			1				1
Transformation of inner urban vacant land to settlement		13					13
Green Area or Open Space Generation		87	39				126
Regulation or Building of Public Buildings		1	3	145			149
Transformation from housing to industry	32		1				33
Transformation of housing to commercial or service area	22		19				41
Enlargement or subdivision of plots	33						33
Transformation of public land to religious facilities			2			125	127
Transformation from mosque to commercial			2				2
Transformation to Housing	55	10	3		2		70
Transformation of Open Spaces to Other Public Uses		1	1	143			145
Urban or Landscape Design		8	8	5	6	1	28
Transformation from Housing to Mosque			1			47	48
Transformation from Open Space to Commercial	10						10
Transformation from Housing to School or Health			1	34			35
Transformation from School to Housing Or Commercial	1						1
Transformation from Public Land to Commercial	37				1		38
Transformation to Fuel Station	52						52
Transformation from Commercial to Industry	4						4
Village Site Development			18				18
	1425	1076	521	676	83	173	3954

The distribution of plans and modifications with reference to the political parties of district municipality mayors and metropolitan mayors shows that the power base of urban planning process shifted from the scale of districts to metropolitan scale. Although the number of plans realized is higher in 80's and early 90's, in district municipalities by ANAP, SHP and CHP, after early 90's, except for the examples like MHP in Keçiören and RP in Altındağ, both of which have powerful radical political bases, the manipulating power polarized in metropolitan municipality level (Table 39 – 40). This could be clearly followed in the increase in the number of plans realized under Gökçek's rule for more than twelve years. In districts like Altındağ, Etimesgut, Gölbaşı, Mamak, Sincan and Gölbaşı the highest number of plans were realized under Gökçek's rule. Whereas, in Çankaya, Keçiören and Yenimahalle highest number of plans were realized under Altınsoy's and Karayalçın's rules (Table 41, Graph 17). This is also a direct result of the development direction of the city of Ankara's macro – form. In early 80's and 90's the city macro – form enlarged first through increasing densities in planned neighborhoods of districts like Çankaya, Keçiören and Yenimahalle and sprawling to their vicinities. The power base of the first liberal wave and social democratic rule was maintained through the mobilization of certain interest groups living in these districts based on the share on urban land rent distributed through urban planning process. However, in the last decade under a conservative political atmosphere, the political bases of conservative parties and politicians like Gökçek, have been mobilized in and around districts where there is land whose potential has not been exploited yet especially on the development axis of the macro – form of Ankara and there are rather conservative residents of squatter settlements and squatter amendment areas who expects to get their share of the urban land rent like the ones did in districts like Çankaya and Yenimahalle in the past.

The decreasing effectiveness of district municipalities in urban development plans and urban development plan modifications could also be related with two other factors. First of all, beginning with 1994 local elections, right wing and conservative political parties started to gain power in local governments. Since the power structure of such parties in Turkey tend to be more centralist than social democratic parties, the power base of decision making shifted from district level to the metropolitan level. On the other side, the Law numbered 3030 caused a strong metropolitan municipality to emerge as both a political level and a significant actor for public services. This was reflected in the Law as, any decision of district municipalities including planning decisions should be

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approved by the council of the greater municipality[7]. Later on with the new Law regulating greater municipalities, the greater municipalities became the ultimate authority.

Table 39. The Distribution of Urban Development Plans & Plan Modifications in Ankara between 1985-2005 with respect to Cross tabulation of Political Party of District Municipality and Enacting Date.

POLITICAL PARTY OF DISTRICT MUNICIPALITIES	ENACTION INTERVAL							
	1984-1989	1989-1994	1994-1995	1995-1998	1998-2001	2001-2004	2004-	
NOT EST.	3	28	6					37
ANAP	895				1			896
SHP	219	471	26	1				717
CHP	14	77	46	375	418	278	24	1232
MHP			11	112	73	49	5	250
RP		10	33	207	23			273
FP					271	9		280
AKP					2	186	75	269
	1137	586	122	695	788	522	104	3954

Table 40. The Distribution of Urban Development Plans & Plan Modifications in Ankara between 1985-2005 with respect to Cross tabulation of Districts of Plans and Ruling Political Party in District Municipality.

DISTRICT	Ruling Political Party in District Municipality (No. of Plan/ no. of term)								
	Not Est.	Anap	Shp	Chp	Mhp	Rp	Fp	Akp	Total
Altındağ	0,00	9,88	8,75	1,00	0,00	27,60	21,40	3,82	452
Çankaya	3,00	43,13	31,38	40,50	1,25	1,00	0,00	0,09	1261
Etimesgut	15,50	0,50	0,50	0,00	23,00	14,80	0,00	0,73	213
Gölbaşı	0,00	0,00	0,00	0,00	4,75	0,00	0,40	0,55	27
Keçiören	0,00	23,13	7,75	0,31	33,50	0,00	16,60	6,45	540
Mamak	0,00	7,00	5,63	4,63	0,00	1,00	10,40	6,27	301
Sincan	0,00	0,88	5,38	0,63	0,00	9,20	6,80	4,00	184
Yenimahalle	0,00	27,50	30,25	29,75	0,00	1,00	0,40	2,36	971
Çankaya-Yenimahalle	0,00	0,00	0,00	0,19	0,00	0,00	0,00	0,18	5
Total	37	896	717	1232	250	273	280	269	3954

[7] Though there was also an item telling if the council of the greater municipality does not approve the decision of district municipality, the district municipality may put the decison into force by taking 2/3 majority vote, in process such an item could not be put into process because of case laws.

Table 41. The Distribution of Urban Development Plans & Plan Modifications in Ankara between 1985-2005 with respect to Cross tabulation of Districts of Plans and Metropolitan Mayor.

DISTRICT	Metropolitan Mayor						Total
	Altınsoy-Anap	Karayalçın-SHP	Gökçek-RP	Gökçek-FP	Gökçek-Independent	Gökçek-AKP	
Altındağ	73	84	**120**	**123**	51	1	452
Çankaya	**350**	**340**	208	201	135	27	1261
Etimesgut	4	33	**78**	**50**	39	9	213
Gölbaşı	1		1	**10**	**15**		27
Keçiören	**178**	66	**142**	81	64	9	540
Mamak	49	51	55	**75**	**58**	13	301
Sincan	5	**45**	**49**	36	33	16	184
Yenimahalle	**207**	**248**	194	160	136	26	971
Çankaya-Y.mah.					**5**		5
Total	867	867	847	736	536	101	3954
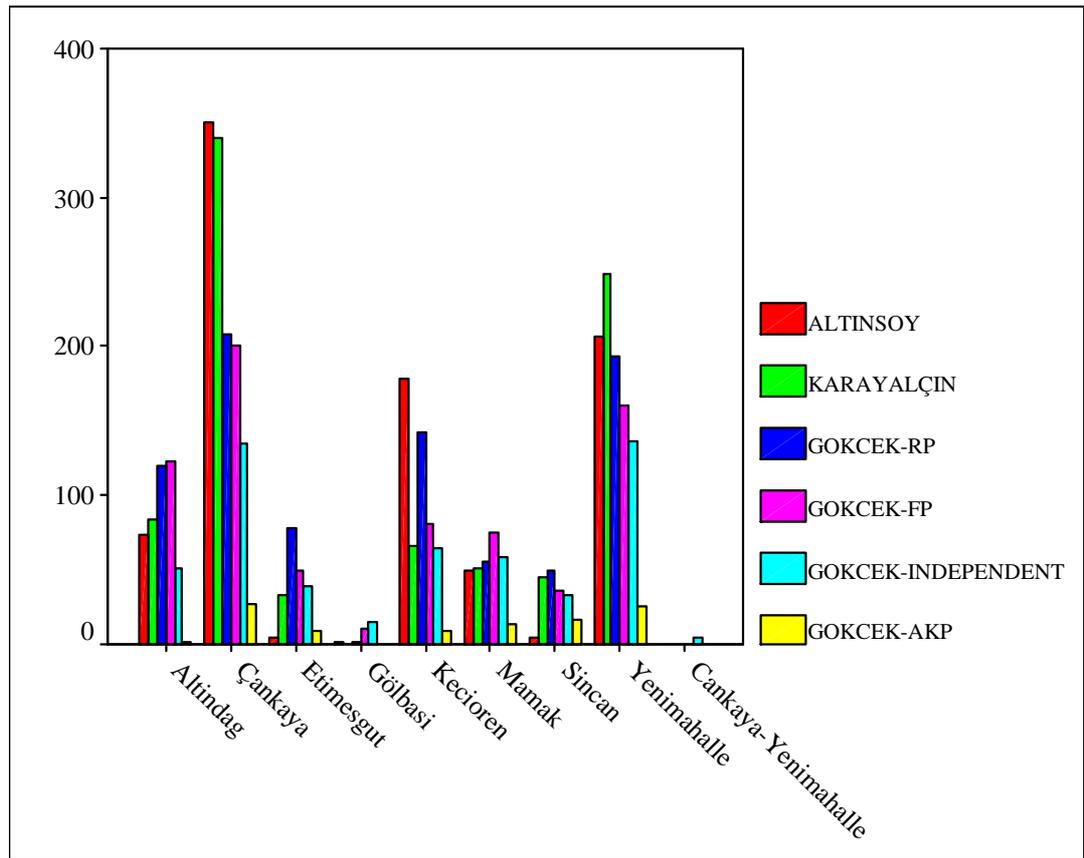
Graph 17. The Distribution of Urban Development Plans & Plan Modifications in Ankara between 1985-2005 with respect to Cross tabulation of Districts of Plans and Metropolitan Mayor.

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The distribution of plans with respect to cross tabulation of political party of district mayor and characteristic of the planning area shows that, throughout two decades there was a relationship between the characteristic of the political party and characteristic of the area. Unlike ANAP, under whom rule plans realized focused in planned neighborhoods and suburbs, under the rule of social democrats (SHP, CHP) and nationalists (MHP), plans were significantly clustered around suburbs and settlements transformed from squatters. On the other side, even within continuums of the same political party[8] (RP, FP and AKP), deviations could be observed. For instance under the rule of RP and AKP, plans were realized in suburban and squatter areas whereas under FP rule plans were realized mostly in planned neighborhoods and settlements transformed from squatter areas. Actually, this scene is a result of the power bases and socio – economic structure of the districts ruled by various political parties (Table 42).

Table 42. The Distribution of Urban Development Plans & Plan Modifications in Ankara between 1985-2005 with respect to Cross tabulation of Characteristics of Plan Area and Political Party of the District Mayor.

CHARACTERISTIC OF THE AREA	POLITICAL PARTY OF DISTRICT MAYOR							
	NOT EST.	ANAP	SHP	CHP	MHP	RP	FP	AKP	
CBD		72	42	57	1	4	6	2	184
Planned Neighborhood	8	417	257	278	73	63	78	75	1249
Squatter Settlement		45	28	23	3	23	7	6	135
Settlement Transformed from Squatter Settlement	1	103	95	308	62	89	138	101	897
Suburb	19	247	288	565	107	86	42	83	1437
Historical City Center		12	16	1		8	9	2	52
	37	896	717	1232	250	273	280	269	3954

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[8] Political parties RP and FP, which were established by the same Islamist cadres and had the same grassroots, closed by The Constitutional Court based on their illegal activities against constitutional rule of secularism. AKP is also taken as the continum of the same political line since it was established by younger generations of the RP and FP cadres.
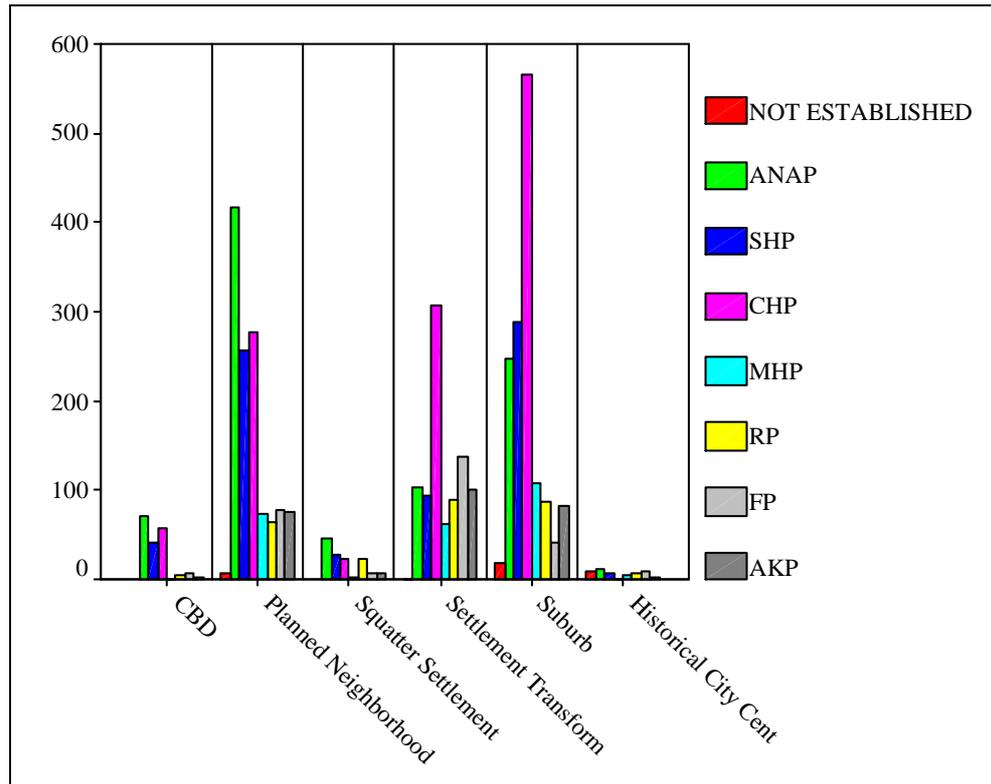
Graph 18. The Distribution of Urban Development Plans & Plan Modifications in Ankara between 1985-2005 with respect to Cross tabulation of Characteristics of Plan Area and Political Party of the District Mayor.

This pattern was also justified by the distribution of prospective positions of plans under various political parties. Under the rule of ANAP, SHP and CHP a significant share of the plans were realized in highly prospective areas. Whereas under the rule of conservative parties such as MHP, RP, FP and AKP, higher share of the plans were realized in moderately prospective areas (Table 43). This is also related with the structure, behavior and ambitions of the political bases of conservative parties in Ankara since, in the last decade squatter resident and marginalized conservative groups were mobilized by these parties through using, among lot of other things, potential of urban land rent created by urban planning process.

Table 43. The Distribution of Urban Development Plans & Plan Modifications in Ankara between 1985-2005 with respect to Cross tabulation of Prospect for Development for the Plan Area and Political Party of District Municipality.

POLITICAL PARTY OF DISTRICT MUNICIPALITIES	PROSPECT FOR DEVELOPMENT			
	High	**Moderate**	**Low**	
NOT ESTABLISHED	4	10	23	37
ANAP	**509**	**225**	**162**	896
SHP	**350**	**251**	**116**	717
CHP	**674**	**466**	**92**	1232
MHP	**98**	**115**	**37**	250
RP	**23**	**151**	**99**	273
FP	**45**	**176**	**59**	280
AKP	**56**	**161**	**52**	269
	1759	1555	640	3954
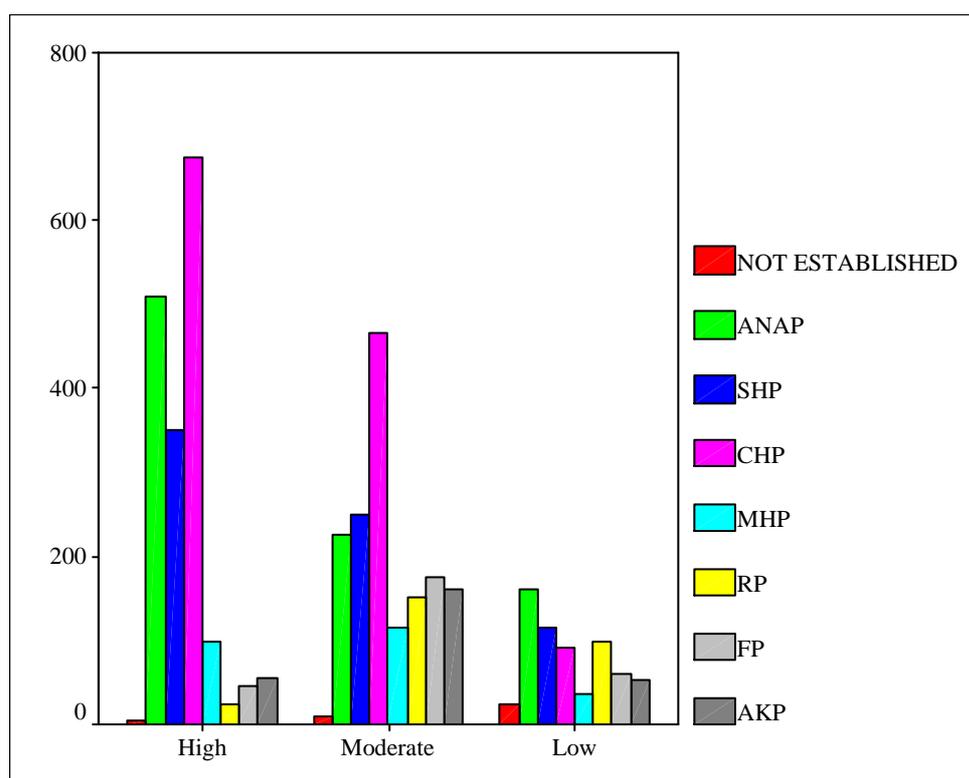
Graph 19. The Distribution of Urban Development Plans & Plan Modifications in Ankara between 1985-2005 with respect to Cross tabulation of Prospect for Development for the Plan Area and Political Party of District Municipality.

When the distribution of plans with respect to cross tabulation of metropolitan mayor at power and proximity of the planning area to the city center is examined, again trends previously observed are also verified. Although under the rules of Altınsoy and Karayalçın, the highest share of plans are realized in central neighborhoods in planned regular neighborhoods, in Gökçek's rule, majority of the plans were realized in semi – periphery and periphery in suburban areas and settlements transformed from squatters (Table 44, Graph 20).

Table 44. The Distribution of Urban Development Plans & Plan Modifications in Ankara between 1985-2005 with respect to Cross tabulation of Proximity of Plan Area to City Center and the Metropolitan Mayor.

| PROXIMITY TO CITY CENTER	METROPOLITAN MAYOR						
	Altınsoy-Anap	Karayalçin-SHP	Gökçek-Rp	Gökçek-Fp	Gökçek-Independent	Gökçek-Akp	Total
Central	70	57	28	18	10		183
Central Neighborhoods	289	234	170	140	98	10	941
Semi-periphery	213	186	221	198	126	23	967
Periphery	174	236	281	207	154	37	1089
Fringe	100	136	127	137	104	19	623
Idle out of City	21	18	20	36	44	12	151
Total	867	867	847	736	536	101	3954
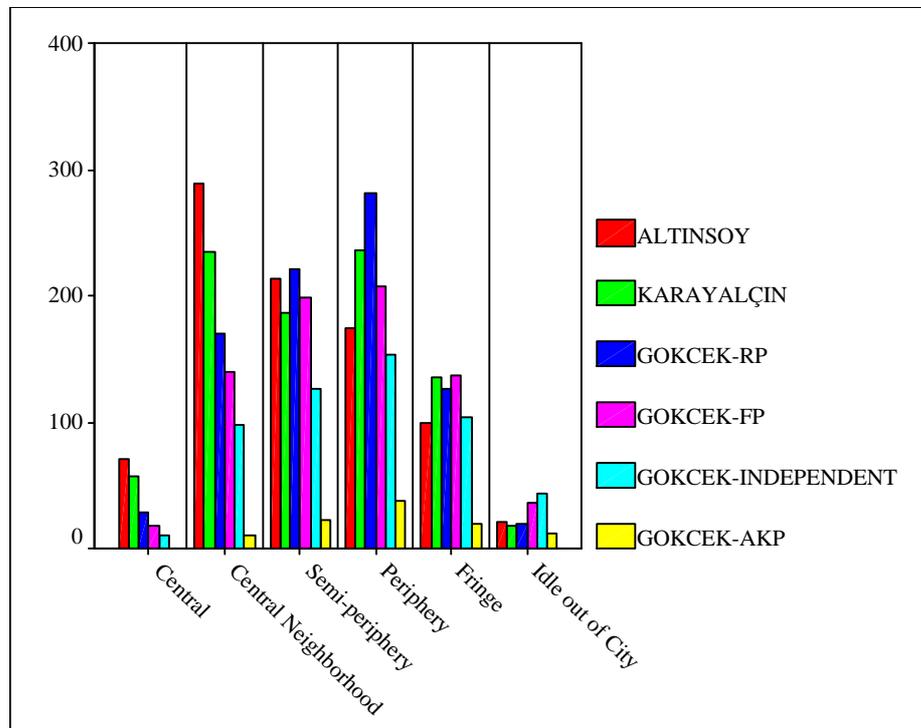
Graph 20. The Distribution of Urban Development Plans & Plan Modifications in Ankara between 1985-2005 with respect to Cross tabulation of Proximity of Plan Area to City Center and the Metropolitan Mayor.

Often, it is argued that, if the political parties of different levels of elected bodies are from the same political party, partisan attitude cause ease of relations and shortening of bureaucratic and decision making processes. Same is often pronounced for urban planning process. Indeed data shows that there is meaningful relationship between whether or not central government, political party of district municipality and metropolitan municipality are from same political party and the number and characteristics of urban development plans and modifications (Table 46 – 47 – 48). Yet, Gökçek's position poses an exception. Because of his political reputation, coming from ultra nationalist origins to liberalist side of politics and then to Islamist political wing and his boss like personality, even if the political party of he district municipality and Gökçek is the same, that did not make sound difference. This was also a result of the polarized power structure emerged in the last decade or so concerning concentration of planning power at metropolitan scale.

Table 45. The Distribution of Urban Development Plans & Plan Modifications in Ankara between 1985-2005 with respect to Cross tabulation of Ruling Power in Central Government and Political Party of District Government.

| CENTRAL GOVERNMENT	POLITICAL PARTY OF DISTRICT MAYOR								
	Not Est.	ANAP	SHP	CHP	MHP	RP	FP	AKP	Total
ANAP-I	3	534		2				6	545
ANAP-II	1	361	204	5					571
ANAP-III	5		218	36					259
ANAP-IV			34	5					39
DYP-SHP-I	19		177	32					228
DYP-SHP-II	9		84	159	40	92			384
DYP				7	2	3			12
DYP-CHP				20	12	30			62
ANAP-DYP-DSP				41	2	4			47
RP-DYP				166	41	106			313
ANAP-DSP-CHP				281	60	38	105		484
DSP				53	10		34		97
ANAP-DSP-MHP		1		270	66		141	115	593
AKP				155	17			148	320
Total	37	896	717	1232	250	273	280	269	3954

Table 46. The Distribution of Urban Development Plans & Plan Modifications in Ankara between 1985-2005 with respect to Cross tabulation of Ruling Power in Central Government and Metropolitan Mayor.

CENTRAL GOVERNMENT	METROPOLITAN MAYOR						
	Altınsoy-Anap	Karayalçin-Shp	Gökçek-Rp	Gökçek-Fp	Gökçek-Independent	Gökçek-Akp	Total
ANAP-I	545						545
ANAP-II	322	249					571
ANAP-III		259					259
ANAP-IV		39					39
DYP-SHP-I		228					228
DYP-SHP-II		92	292				384
DYP			12				12
DYP-CHP			62				62
ANAP-DYP-DSP			47				47
RP-DYP			313				313
ANAP-DSP-CHP			121	363			484
DSP				97			97
ANAP-DSP-MHP				276	317		593
AKP					219	101	320
Total	867	867	847	736	536	101	3954

Table 47. The Distribution of Urban Development Plans & Plan Modifications in Ankara between 1985-2005 with respect to Cross tabulation of Metropolitan Mayor and Type of Central Government.

METROPOLITAN MAYOR	TYPE OF GOVERNMENT		
	Single Party Government	Coalition Government	Total
ALTINSOY	867		867
KARAYALÇIN	547	320	867
GOKCEK-RP	12	835	847
GOKCEK-FP	97	639	736
GOKCEK-INDEPENDENT	219	317	536
GOKCEK-AKP	101		101
Total	1843	2111	3954

**Table 48. The Distribution of Urban Development Plans & Plan Modifications in Ankara between 1985-2005 with respect to Cross tabulation of Political Party of District Municipality and Metropolitan Mayor.**

POLITICAL PARTY OF DISTRICT MUNICI.	METROPOLITAN MAYOR						
	Altınsoy-Anap	Karayalçin-Shp	Gökçek-Rp	Gökçek-Fp	Gökçek-Independent	Gökçek-Akp	Total
NOT ESTABLISHED	3	33	1				37
ANAP	851	44			1		896
SHP	7	698	19				717
CHP		86	448	387	274	30	1232
MHP			138	59	52	1	250
RP			241	26			273
FP				264	16		280
AKP					193	70	269
Total	867	867	847	736	536	101	3954

6.2.3. Patterns of Urban Development Plans and Modifications in Ankara between 1985 and 2005

Social world consists of unlimited possibilities for the constitution of social networks. Social network analysis is one way of interpreting these social relations among many. Social network theory argues that in any given social universe, the existence, establishment and dynamics of the social networks are complex phenomena. Because the density, centrality and power balance as well as the number of actors, relations and their degrees, directions are inconsistent and incalculable and up to the changing circumstances to a certain extent. Any social network analysis attempt could not possibly grasp the very nature of any given social network, but took a picture of relations at a certain moment at a certain place. Although that picture may not fully represent the social network, social network analysts try to solve this problem of representation through certain sampling techniques and try to isolate part of a universe of social networks that represents the nature of the social networks in that universe in the best way possible (Borgatti and Cross, 2003:434; Emirbayer and Goodwin, 1994: 1417; Fiskel, 1980: 33; Freeman, White and Romney, 1989:27; Friedkin, 1986:104)

One way of representing the nature of networks in a given universe is to detect and define certain patterns of characteristics that are affiliated with the possibility of existence of certain kinds of relations. By this way, the degree of representativeness of a certain sample increases.

Examination of the universe of urban development plans and urban development plan modifications shows certain patterns that allow setting certain criteria for the representation of the network of relations in the universe. These patterns could be followed between two different break points in early 1980's and early 1990's with reference to the spatial, procedural and political characteristics of the plans. These patterns could be seen as:
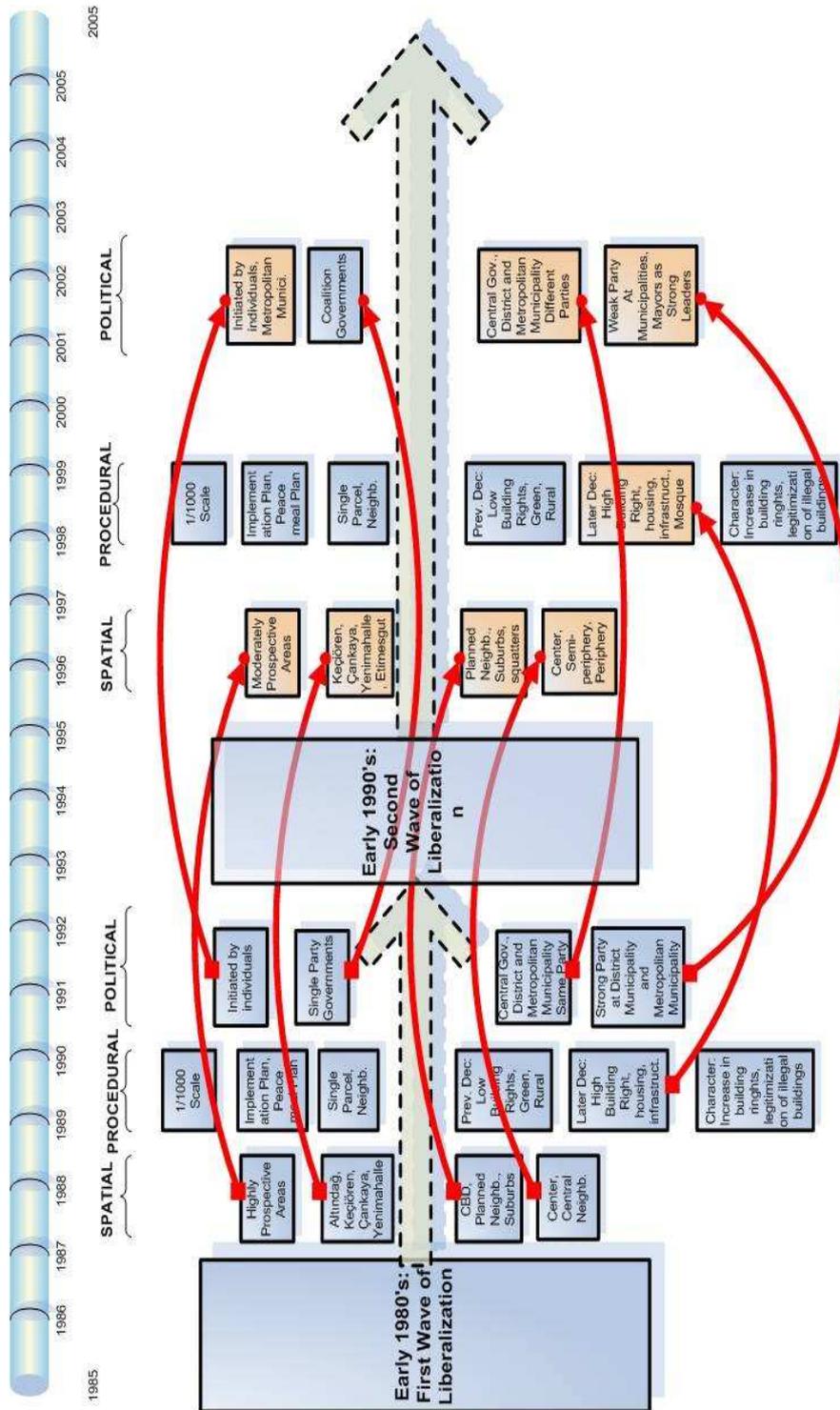
Figure 5. Patterns of Urban Development Plans and Urban Development Plan Modifications in Ankara between 1985 and 2005

In the last two decades, there were two main breaking points in the patterns of urban development plans. Early 1980's and early 1990's were marked by two waves of liberalization, of which first one is market oriented whereas the second one was oriented towards conservatism. In both periods majority of the urban development plans and urban development plan modifications were realized as 1/1000 implementation plans covering single plots or neighborhood scale in order to increase building rights, legitimize illegal and illegitimate buildings, transforming rural settlements green areas, open spaces and public land into housing, industry and commercial uses in planned neighborhoods, suburbs and settlements transformed from squatters at semi – periphery and periphery of the urban macroform. Plans that were proposed and enacted in the same day or that took years constituted examples of urban planning process experiences in which existence of certain types of relations was evident in both periods.

On the other hand, the two periods were different to some extent. In 1980's plans were realized in highly prospective areas, in relatively old districts like Altındağ, Keçiören, Çankaya and Yenimahalle in rather concentrated around center, surrounding neighborhoods and periphery, whereas after 1990's majority of plans were realized in relatively newer districts on the development axis of the urban macroform on west and southwest like Keçiören, Yenimahalle, Çankaya, Etimesgut, Gölbaşı in settlements transformed from squatter settlements and suburbs in and around the fringe of the urban macroform. Moreover in 1980's majority of the plans were initiated by individuals, under single party governments in central government, where political parties of central government, district municipality mayors and metropolitan mayors are same and powerful at local level. On the other hand, after 1990's, together with individuals, district municipalities and metropolitan municipalities came to fore as initiators of urban planning process unde coalition governments at central government and under circumstances where political parties of central governments, district municipality mayors and metropolitan mayors were rarely the same accompanied by strong mayorship at metropolitan level.

According to these patterns, as briefly outlined earlier in chapter 4, a case study was chosen that could represent the political relations and nature of social network involved in the universe of urban development plans and modifications, in the best way possible. This case study was chosen as a series of plans and modifications revolved around a cadastral parcel in the south west of the urban macro form of Ankara that belongs to

treasury. The urban planning process has been going on for more than twelve years sufficient to portrait enduring network of relations concerning this parcel. The urban planning process is congruent with the spatial, procedural and political characteristics of the patterns elaborated in the universe of plans. The parcel is on the fringe of urban macro form in suburban area and the plan concerning it transformed part of a green belt that belongs to treasury into suburban housing settlements. The whole process involved a series of urban development plans and modifications nearly all of which proposed and enacted in the same day and proposed by individuals. The whole process of urban planning concerning Çayyolu 907 parcel is a good example of enduring relations through years, confirming existence of certain types of informal relationships between actors involved in urban planning process.

6.3. Social Network Analysis of Çayyolu 907 Parcel
6.3.1. General Structure of Social Network of Çayyolu 907 Parcel

In this study, as outlined in chapter five, social network analysis of all the relationships, their characteristics, directions and degrees between actors involved in the urban planning process of Çayyolu 907 parcel was examined, in order to reveal certain informal relationships between them, concerning acquisition of land, realization of the planning process and derivation of urban land rent. The network under scrutiny is an informal network and has a dynamic nature. Although the time interval, within which the structure of this informal network is observed, is longer than ten years and some actors have nor persisted throughout this period, the general structure of the network involve persistent features to be observed. For this respect, general structure of the network, sub-groups, cliques, components, ego networks and core actors were analyzed to deduce some conclusions about the structure of informal relationships within urban planning process in Ankara between 1985 and 2005.

In this study, based on the network data matrix showing direction, degree and type of relations between various actors a network model was drawn using UCINET/NETDRAW software (Table 50) (Borgatti, Everett and Freeman, 2002). In order to see the general outline of the network, it is modeled in *spring embedding* mode of the software, allowing representation of the actors within a virtual location map, showing central actors in more central places respective of their position, power, centrality and relations (Figure 6). After constitution of the network in spring embedding

mode, two attributes have been assigned to the actors with respect to their type, scale and type of relations between them. In addition, using *principal component* feature of the software, a principal component analysis of the network and its representation in graphical terms were realized showing the most dominant actors and parts of the network (Figure 7). Type of actors and relations were shown with different colors and the scale of actors was represented in different shapes. Moreover, using composite centrality analysis, size of the nodes in the network model that were used to represent actors shows how central any actor is in the network. Through this way it becomes easier to interpret the relative positions of the actors and the general structure of the network.

6.3.1.1. Network Structure

The network model of the urban planning process of Çayyolu 907 parcel shows unique features concerning structure and dynamics. First of all, most of the actors involved in the network are local actors. Although there are actors from central government in relatively central positions, most of the actors from central government are in the peripheral positions. Respective power levels of the actors from central governments in central positions in the network will be elaborated upon later, which may provide certain important elements with respect to the relationship between urban planning process and informal social network structure. It can be deduced from the network structure that, although urban planning process of the Çayyolu 907 Parcel was mediated at certain points by actors from central government, urban planning process has been predominantly realized by local actors bearing in mind that at certain point it may be blurred whether or not an actor is local since some influential actors may be influential at national scale though their base of operations is local, like metropolitan mayors. Nevertheless, within this study, actors, whose rights and responsibilities were designated at local level by the law, were accepted as local actors. Similar problem arise when defining central actors in a city like Ankara as the Capital city. Since actors from central government are also local actors, it may again be difficult to distinguish them. Yet, again within this study, actors, whose rights and responsibilities were designated at central government level by the law, were accepted as central actors. Because, it is one of the assumptions of this study that informal relations like clientelism emerge as an addendum to the formal positions and formal roles. Although the network under examination is a network of informal relations, the sole existence of this informal network is based on the realization of a certain particularistic end using formal mechanisms and dialectically

speaking formal defined role of any actor a priory sets the conditions of informal relations of that actor.

Among eleven types of actors of namely bureaucrats, technocrats, politicians, businesspersons, judges, landowners, academicians, real estate agents, mafia, private planners and lawyers, bureaucrats, politicians and landowners were in central positions in the network. Since the urban planning process under examination concerned transformation of treasury land of green belt into private property and housing settlements bureaucrats were extensively involved in the acquisition and planning of the area. In fact, interviews with the planners of the planning department of The Greater Municipality of Ankara reveals that the innovative mind of a specific bureaucrat initiated the whole process in the planning Department of The Greater Municipality of Ankara. An interviewee from the Planning Department notes that:

> "…most of the urban development plan modifications realized in this Department was initiated by Mr. …we do not know why and how but even the incident of Çayyolu 907 Parcel was his idea. His relationships with the outside helped him utilize his ideas relatively easily. After the beginning of the process and acceptance of the idea by lots of people from politicians to high-level bureaucrats and even real estate agents everything gone out of control. That is why so many people including him tried to force us to draw the plans necessary for Çayyolu 907 Parcel contrary to our belief in public interest."

It is evident that urban planning process of Çayyolu 907 parcel was initiated by bureaucrats as mediators and then the number and type of actors involved in the process increased dramatically.

On the other side, looking into the type of relations between actors, it can be said that, dominant relations in this network is personal acquaintance, coercion and reciprocal exchange. This may be explained with the high number of bureaucrats and politicians and their central positions in the network. Generally bureaucrats working in the same sector or involved in the same routine bureaucratic procedure do know each other well and could easily establish alliances. At the same time coercion in the bureaucracy exerted by higher level bureaucrats to lower levels or by politicians to higher level bureaucrats is a common experience. At the beginning of the establishment of the network, relations predominantly based on personal acquaintance and coercion between actors may have provided the necessary conditions for reciprocal exchange relations or

clientelistic relations between actors. This is not to say that there has been a hierarchy between different types of relations or to say that different types of relations emerged consecutively but throughout twelve years, within lifespan of the network, at some stages certain types of relation determined the structure and conditions of relations of the network. To sum up, general structure of the network of relations in Çayyolu 907 Parcel urban planning process reveals that bureaucrats, politicians and landowners were predominant in the network through personal acquaintance, coercion and reciprocal exchange.
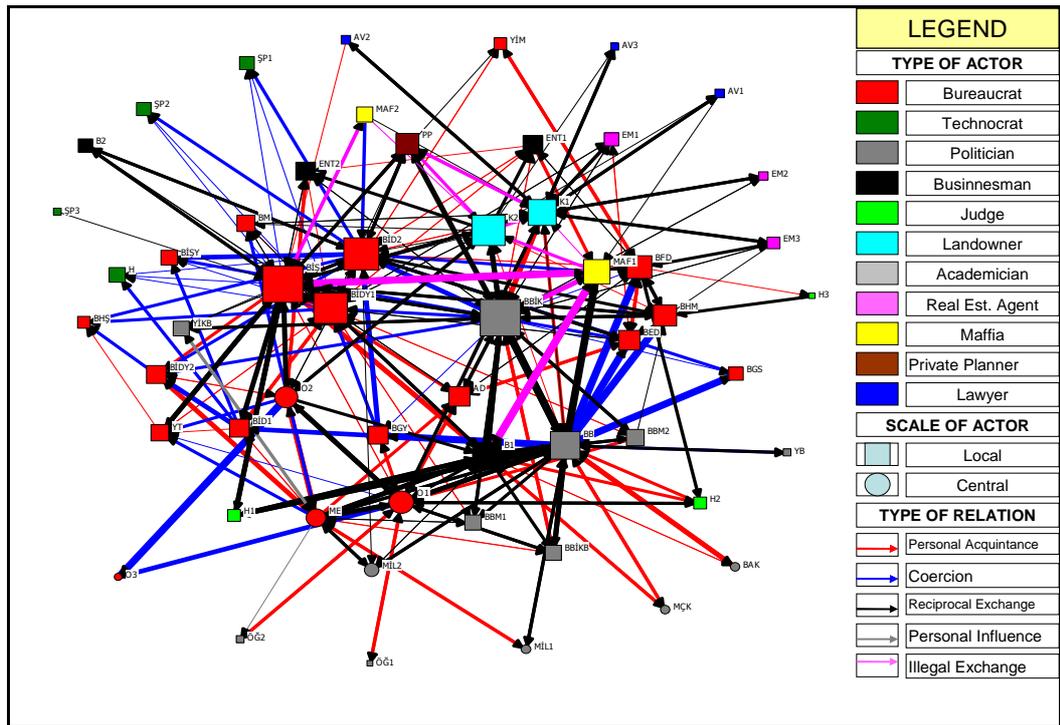
Figure 6. Social Network of Relations between actors in Çayyolu 907 Parcel Case between 1992- 2007
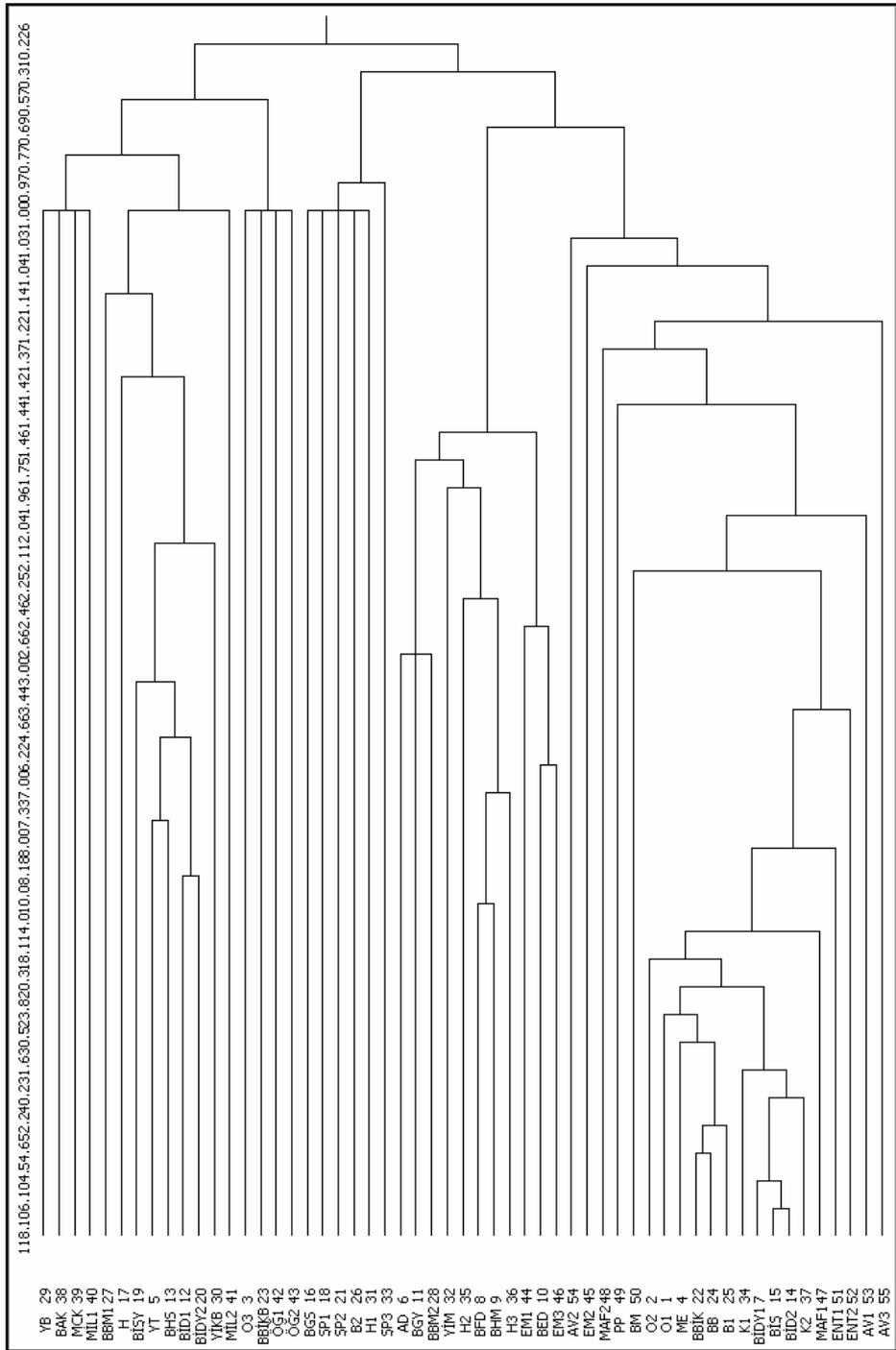
Figure 7. N-plex Clusters in the Network of Çayyolu 907 Parcel

6.3.1.1. Cliques and Sub-groups

The exploration of the cliques and sub-groups in the network reveals that there are 89 cliques within. Principle component analysis of these components shows that among these cliques there are six of the most prominent ones. Three of these sub-groups involve nine most influential members of the network. The first component of this kind (Clique1) includes a metropolitan mayor, a businessperson, a high level bureaucrat in ministry of forestry and another high level bureaucrat in ministry of finance (BB, B1, O1, ME). Second of these components (Clique2) include middle level bureaucrats of The Planning Department of the Greater Municipality of Ankara and a landowner (BID2, BIDY1, K2). Third of these sub-groups (Clique3) include a low level bureaucrat in the Planning Department of The Greater Municipality of Ankara and, who also initiated the urban planning process and a member of the The Greater Municipality Council, who was also a member of the Urban Development and Public Works Commission of the Council (BİŞ, BBİK). Among these three sub-groups, clique1 and 3 is the most prominent parts of the network (Figure 8).

The principle components of the network were also parallel to what interviewees told about the relations within the urban planning process of Çayyolu 907 Parcel. According to declarations of the interviewees the bureaucrat (BİŞ) who initiated the urban planning process had some close acquaintance also with a member of the urban development commission of the Greater Municipality Council (BBİK). These two actors maintained necessary relations and linkages. between most of the other actors in the network in order to realize and fulfill necessary procedures for both acquaintance of the land and transformation of the areas from green belt into housing. On the other hand, members of the clique2 were also mentioned by the interviewees. It has been declared that the mayor (BB) and other high level bureaucrats of the central government (O1, ME) were in reciprocal exchange relationship for other issues including urban planning process of the Çayyolu 907 Parcel. Yet, in this issue, the exchange relationship between mayor and high level bureaucrats was initiated and mediated by clique1. The businessperson (B1) in this sub-group on the other hand used the exploitation of the Çayyolu 907 Parcel as an opportunity for compensation of his loss caused by the Greater Municipality in another part of the city. The actors included in clique3, on the other hand consisted of planning bureaucrats of the greater municipality (BID2, BIDY1) and a landowner (K1), who, as also the head of a housing cooperative established on Çayyolu 907 Parcel, trying to

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secure building rights for the land he and the members of the cooperative bought from the Greater Municipality of Ankara.

When the blocks and cut points of the network was analyzed, while trying the key persons keeping network as a whole, similar results were get. According to the result of the data, mayor (BB), low level planning bureaucrat (BİŞ) and one of the high level bureaucrats of the ministry (O1) was shown as the cut points (Figure 9) These actors are the most powerful and central actors of the network. Later on personal positions of these actors will be explored. The network of actors having more than three relations shows these actors (Figure 10).
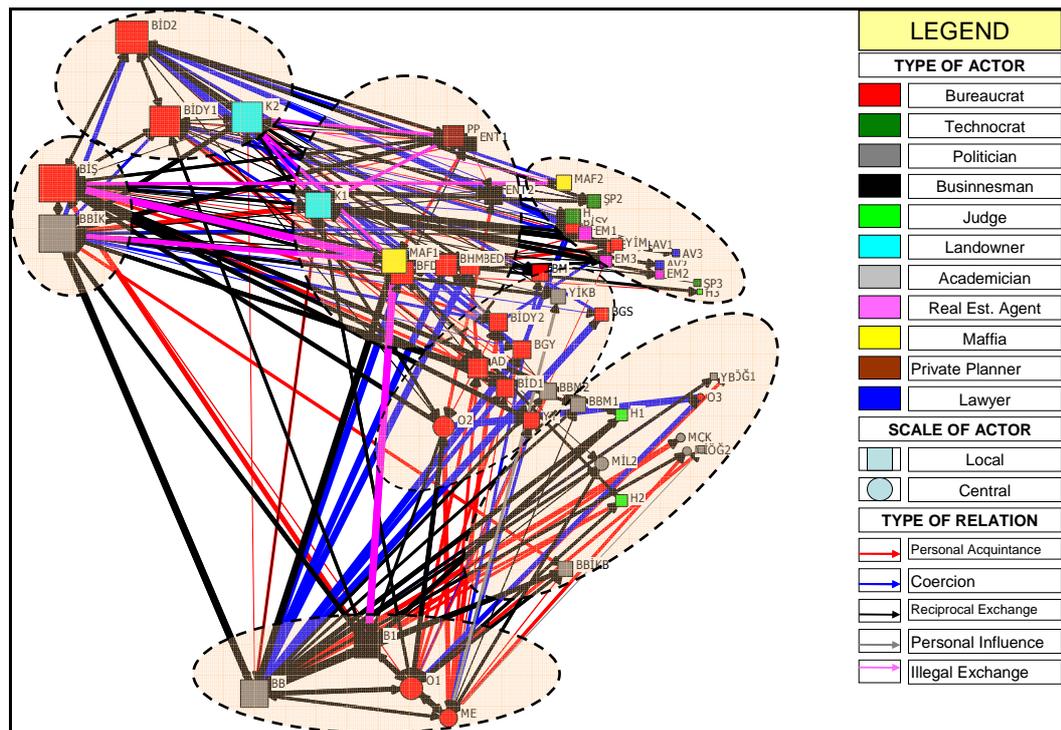
Figure 8. Principle Components of Social Network of Relations between actors in Çayyolu 907 Parcel Case between 1992- 2007
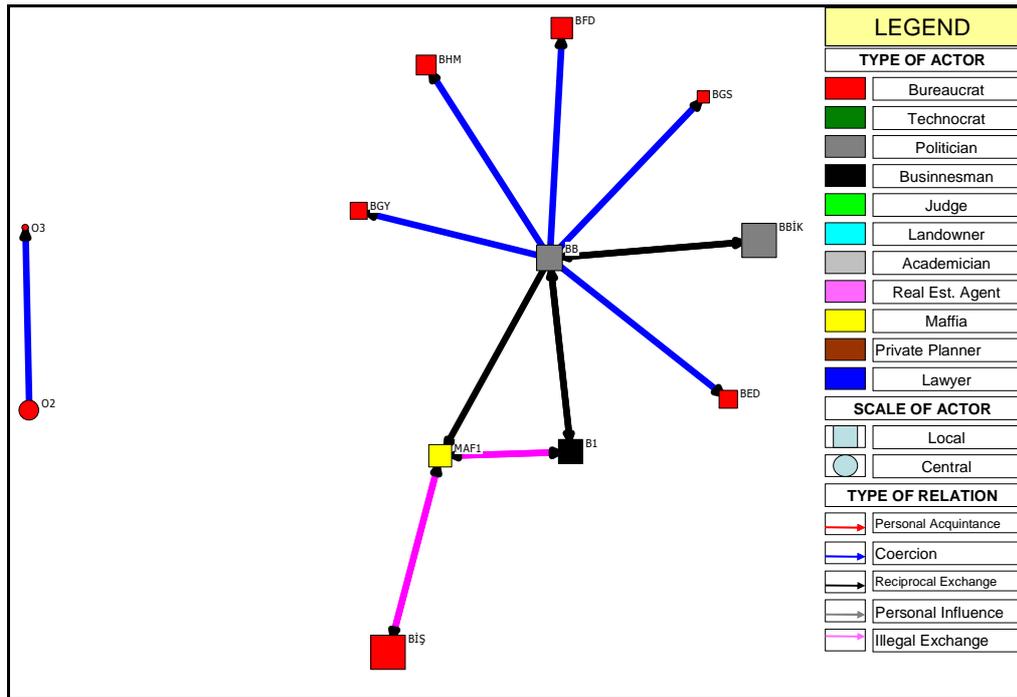
Figure 9. Actors having more than three connections in Network of Çayyolu 907 Parcel.

CLICQUES OF ÇAYYOLU 907 PARCEL SOCIAL NETWORK

1: BİD2 BİŞ BBİK K1 K2 MAF1
2: BİD2 BİŞ BBİK K1 K2 PP
3: BİDY1 BİD2 BİŞ BBİK K2 PP
4: BHM BİD2 BİŞ BBİK K2
5: BİD2 BİŞ BİDY2 BBİK
6: BİD2 BİŞ BBİK YİKB
7: BFD BHM BİD2 BİŞ BBİK
8: O2 BİD2 BİŞ BİDY2
9: O2 BİD2 BİŞ K2
10: BİDY1 BİD2 BİŞ H
11: BİDY1 BİD2 BİŞ ŞP1
12: BİDY1 BİD2 BİŞ ŞP2
13: BİDY1 BİD2 BİŞ B2
14: BİD2 BİŞ K1 K2 MAF2
15: YT BİDY1 BİD1 BİŞ
16: O1 O2 YT BİŞ
17: AD BFD BİŞ BBİK
18: AD BİDY1 BİŞ BBİK
19: O1 AD BİŞ
20: BİDY1 BİD1 BİŞ H
21: BİD1 BİŞ BİDY2
22: O1 O2 BİŞ B1
23: O1 BİŞ K1
24: BİDY1 BİŞ BBİK B1
25: BİŞ BBİK B1 MAF1
26: BİŞ B1 H1
27: BFD BİŞ YİM
28: BİDY1 BİŞ YİM
29: BİŞ K1 K2 BM
30: BİDY1 BİŞ K2 BM
31: BİDY1 BİŞ BBİK K2 ENT2
32: O2 BİŞ K2 ENT2
33: BİŞ K1 AV2
34: O1 O2 O3
35: O1 ME BBİKB BB B1
36: O1 O2 ME B1
37: O1 ME AD
38: O1 O2 ME YT
39: O1 ME ÖĞ2
40: ME YT BİD1
41: ME BİD1 BİDY2
42: ME BİD1 BB
43: O2 ME BİDY2
44: ME BB BBM1
45: ME BB MİL1

46: ME BB B1 MİL2
47: BFD BED BİD2 BBİK
48: AD BFD BED BBİK
49: BFD BED BBİK BB
50: BFD BED BBİK EM3
51: BİDY1 BED BİD2 BBİK
52: AD BİDY1 BED BBİK
53: BİDY1 BED BBİK EM1
54: BİDY1 BGY BİD2 BBİK
55: BGY BBİK BB
56: O1 BGY BB
57: YT BİDY1 BHŞ
58: BİDY1 BHŞ BİD2
59: BHŞ BİD2 BİDY2
60: BİD2 BGS BBİK
61: BGS BBİK BB
62: BİDY1 BİD2 BİŞY BBİK
63: BİDY1 BİD1 BİŞY
64: BBİK BBİKB BB B1
65: BFD BHM BBİK BB
66: BHM BBİK BB BBM2
67: BHM BBİK BB K2
68: BBİK BB B1 MAF1
69: BBİK BB BBM1
70: BBİK BB K1 K2 MAF1
71: O1 BB B1 H2
72: O1 BB BBM2
73: O1 BB K1
74: BB B1 H1
75: BFD BB H2
76: BB B1 BAK
77: BB B1 MÇK
78: BİDY1 BBİK BBM1
79: BİDY1 BBİK BBM2
80: BFD BHM H3
81: BBİK K1 EM1
82: BBİK K1 EM2
83: BBİK K1 EM3
84: BİDY1 BİD2 BBİK K2 ENT1
85: BİDY1 BBİK K2 ENT1 ENT2
86: BİD2 BBİK K2 MAF1 ENT1
87: BFD BİD2 BBİK ENT1
88: K1 K2 MAF1 AV1
89: K1 K2 AV3
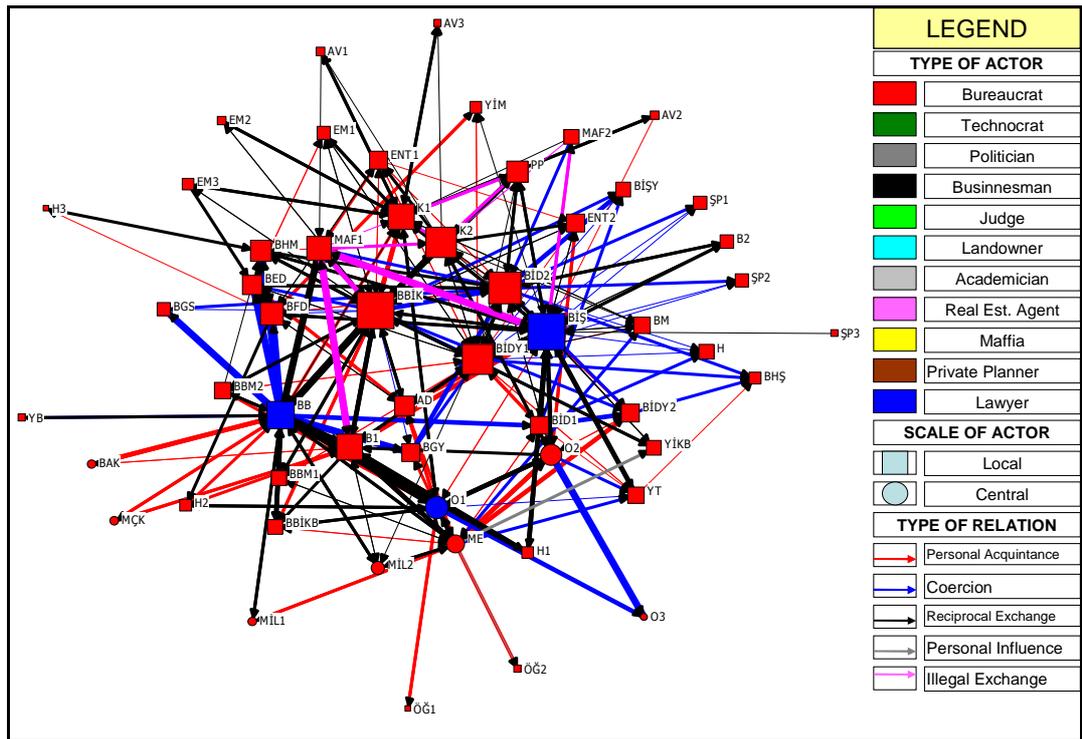
Figure 10. Blocks and Cut points of the Çayyolu 907 Parcel Network

6.3.2. Centrality Analysis of the Çayyolu 907 Parcel Network

Although analysis of the cliques in the network of informal relations within urban planning process of Çayyolu 907 parcel shows that there are certain actors at the centre of the network through whom the interaction between all the actors are realized, such an analysis is not sufficient to show the relative positions of these actors with respect to each other. Centrality measures of degree, betweenness and network, will tell a lot more about the actors and relations involved in this network.

The degree centrality approach argues that there is a direct connection with the number of connections of an actor and his power within a network. Yet what if two actors have the same number of relations, does that make hem equally powerful? For instance there may be two actors having same number of relations but one may be connected to peripheral actors related to the network with only the connection they have with him whereas the other one is to central actors with much more connections. Yet, again does this makes any actor more powerful than others? Since the one connected with the ones

in the periphery have more power on them then the one connected with the ones in the centre (Hanneman, 2005).

Bonacich argues that both centrality and power directly related with function of the connections of the actors in one's neighborhood (Bonacich 1987: 1177). The more connections the actors in one's neighborhood have, the more central you are. The fewer the connections the actors in your neighborhood, the more powerful you are. According to Bonacich's index, two separate power measures were made on the network in order to show respective power and centrality levels of the actors. In the first one tendency of actors for being in the core of the network was calculated. In the second one power levels of actors were calculated according to power index developed by Bonacich (Table 51 – 52).

Table 49. Core Values of Actors in the Network of Çayyolu 907 Parcel.

ACTOR	CORE VALUE		ACTOR	CORE VALUE
BB	**0.497**		YB	0.046
BBİK	**0.413**		YT	0.042
B1	**0.395**		YİKB	0.042
BİŞ	**0.269**		EM1	0.042
MAF1	**0.217**		EM3	0.042
ME	0.197		B2	0.038
O1	0.185		EM2	0.036
K1	0.182		AV2	0.029
H1	0.164		BED	0.028
O2	0.154		AV1	0.027
BBİKB	0.134		BM	0.026
K2	0.133		BGY	0.022
BBM2	0.110		BİD1	0.022
PP	0.107		ÖĞ1	0.017
BİDY1	0.106		ÖĞ2	0.017
AD	0.090		AV3	0.017
BİD2	0.090		ŞP3	0.012
BAK	0.087		YİM	0.010
MÇK	0.082		BGS	0.008
MİL2	0.082		BİDY2	0.007
BHM	0.072		H3	0.007
MİL1	0.064		O3	0.000
H2	0.063		BHŞ	0.000
ENT1	0.053		H	0.000
BBM1	0.052		ŞP1	0.000
BFD	0.051		BİŞY	0.000
ENT2	0.050		ŞP2	0.000
MAF2	0.047			

Table 50. Bonacich Power Values of Actors involved in Çayyolu 907 Parcel.

ACTOR	POWER LEVEL	NORMAL		ACTOR	POWER LEVEL	NORMAL
BB	63.000	27.254		YT	5.000	2.163
BBİK	52.000	22.495		BGY	5.000	2.163
BİŞ	46.000	19.900		B2	5.000	2.163
B1	32.000	13.843		MİL2	5.000	2.163
BİD2	31.000	13.411		EM1	5.000	2.163
ME	30.000	12.978		ENT2	5.000	2.163
O1	28.000	12.113		BBM1	4.000	1.730
BİDY1	26.000	11.248		H2	4.000	1.730
K1	25.000	10.815		BAK	4.000	1.730
O2	23.000	9.950		MÇK	4.000	1.730
K2	19.000	8.219		MİL1	4.000	1.730
MAF1	16.000	6.922		BİDY2	3.000	1.298
BFD	14.000	6.056		YİKB	3.000	1.298
BİD1	11.000	4.759		YİM	3.000	1.298
AD	10.000	4.326		EM2	3.000	1.298
H1	9.000	3.893		BM	3.000	1.298
PP	9.000	3.893		AV1	3.000	1.298
BED	8.000	3.461		AV2	3.000	1.298
BBİKB	8.000	3.461		BGS	2.000	0.865
BBM2	8.000	3.461		YB	2.000	0.865
BHM	7.000	3.028		H3	2.000	0.865
ENT1	7.000	3.028		ÖĞ1	2.000	0.865
EM3	6.000	2.596		ÖĞ2	2.000	0.865
MAF2	6.000	2.596		AV3	2.000	0.865
				ŞP3	1.000	0.433
				O3	0.000	0.000
				BHŞ	0.000	0.000
				H	0.000	0.000
				ŞP1	0.000	0.000
				BİŞY	0.000	0.000
				ŞP2	0.000	0.000

Two different analysis of the centrality shows interesting results. First of all although both core values and Bonacich index shows that the metropolitan mayor (BB) and the member of urban development and public Works commission of the Greater Municipality Council (BBİK) are the most powerful actors in the network, actors of

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lower ranks following them differs according to two indexes. According to core values, businessperson (B1), lower rank bureaucrat in the planning department of the greater municipality (BİŞ) and the mafia (MAF1) are the actors who have highest number of relationships (Table 53). Yet, Bonacich index shows a relatively different result. Lower rank bureaucrat (BİŞ) is more powerful than businessperson (B1) and though the head of planning department of the greater municipality (BID2) do not have as many relations as other actors he is more powerful than the following actors in the network (Table 54).

In both cases, the mayor of the greater municipality (BB) comes to the fore as the most powerful, most central actor with respect to degree centrality and Bonacich power index. Yet, actors having second rank power and centrality differs. It seems that although bureaucrats have less connections with powerful actors, they are more powerful than some of the actors with more connections then them. This explains their power in urban planning process of Çayyolu 907. Although they may not have direct connections with such as mayor himself, their position in the network make them crucial for the existence of the network. For example although the mayor is the most powerful actor in this network he did not started this urban planning process and most of his power comes from his position as a monopoly since there is not any other actor having similar authority like him in the network and his position and technical knowledge prevents him to start and maintain such a process but exploit such a process in the best way possible.

On the other hand, degree centrality values of each type of relations between actors in the network also shows interesting details. First of all, with respect to personal acquaintance, the most central actors in the network is different than the Bonacich power index (Table 55, Figure 11). Although still metropolitan mayor has the central position, following central positions are filled by high level bureaucrats of the ministry of forestry and Finance. Moreover, with respect to coercion, it can be said that, metropolitan mayor (BB) and the head of planning department (BID2) of the Greater Municipality are equally central (Table 56, Figure 12). Yet, although mayor is not forced by any other actor, BID2 is forced by other actors in the network. According to coercion, mayor (BB) is connected to bureaucrats of the metropolitan municipality with uni-directed coercive power, whereas other bureaucrats of the metropolitan municipality are imposed upon coercion by the higher level bureaucrats and exerted coercion on lower level bureaucrats. Here, an explicit power relationship between actors could be seen. Interestingly, one of the most central actors who started urban planning process (BİŞ) is exposed to minimum

level of coercion. Thus, it can be argued that he, as the initiator and one of the most central actors of the network, is predominantly connected to the network with other types of relations. The reason for this scene could easily be understood when centrality of the reciprocal exchange relationships (i.e. clientelism) is examined. Together with the mayor of greater municipality, BİŞ is located at the centre of the network (Table 57, Figure 13). Ineffectiveness of personal influence in the network also confirms that clientelism is the predominant type of relationship in the network (Table 58, Figure 14).

On the other side, examination of the degree centrality of the illegal exchange relationship shows that mafia, landowners and bureaucrats of the municipality are in the most central positions (Table 59, Figure 15). Interviews show that there was illegal exchange relationship especially between BİŞ and Maf1, between landowners, private planner and BBİK. In the enacting of planning proposals in the same day and high level of coercion on the bureaucrats of the municipality, it could be said that such relations were influential.

To sum up, it could be said that the informal network of Çayyolu 907 Parcel is based on mainly reciprocal exchange relations and coercion. Yet, looking at the heterogeneity and density of different types of relations, it can be said that reciprocal relationships were established between actors of rather similar type and centrality than coercion and illegal exchange. The strength of reciprocal exchange relation is higher than other relationships.

Table 51. Degree Centrality of Personal Acquintance

		Degree	NrmDegree	Share
1	O1	11.000	6.790	0.068
2	O2	6.000	3.704	0.037
3	O3	0.000	0.000	0.000
4	ME	12.000	7.407	0.074
5	YT	3.000	1.852	0.019
6	AD	8.000	4.938	0.049
7	BİDY1	9.000	5.556	0.056
8	BFD	6.000	3.704	0.037
9	BHM	1.000	0.617	0.006
10	BED	5.000	3.086	0.031
11	BGY	2.000	1.235	0.012
12	BİD1	4.000	2.469	0.025
13	BHŞ	1.000	0.617	0.006
14	BİD2	3.000	1.852	0.019
15	BİŞ	9.000	5.556	0.056
16	BGS	0.000	0.000	0.000
17	H	0.000	0.000	0.000
18	ŞP1	0.000	0.000	0.000
19	BİŞY	0.000	0.000	0.000
20	BİDY2	6.000	3.704	0.037
21	ŞP2	0.000	0.000	0.000
22	BBİK	6.000	3.704	0.037
23	BBİKB	3.000	1.852	0.019
24	BB	10.000	6.173	0.062
25	B1	8.000	4.938	0.049
26	B2	0.000	0.000	0.000
27	BBM1	1.000	0.617	0.006
28	BBM2	3.000	1.852	0.019
29	YB	0.000	0.000	0.000
30	YİKB	0.000	0.000	0.000
31	H1	0.000	0.000	0.000
32	YİM	3.000	1.852	0.019
33	ŞP3	0.000	0.000	0.000
34	K1	6.000	3.704	0.037
35	H2	4.000	2.469	0.025
36	H3	1.000	0.617	0.006
37	K2	2.000	1.235	0.012
38	BAK	4.000	2.469	0.025
39	MÇK	4.000	2.469	0.025
40	MİL1	2.000	1.235	0.012
41	MİL2	0.000	0.000	0.000
42	ÖĞ1	2.000	1.235	0.012
43	ÖĞ2	2.000	1.235	0.012
44	EM1	1.000	0.617	0.006
45	EM2	0.000	0.000	0.000
46	EM3	0.000	0.000	0.000
47	MAF1	2.000	1.235	0.012
48	MAF2	0.000	0.000	0.000
49	PP	0.000	0.000	0.000
50	BM	1.000	0.617	0.006
51	ENT1	6.000	3.704	0.037
52	ENT2	4.000	2.469	0.025
53	AV1	0.000	0.000	0.000
54	AV2	1.000	0.617	0.006
55	AV3	0.000	0.000	0.000
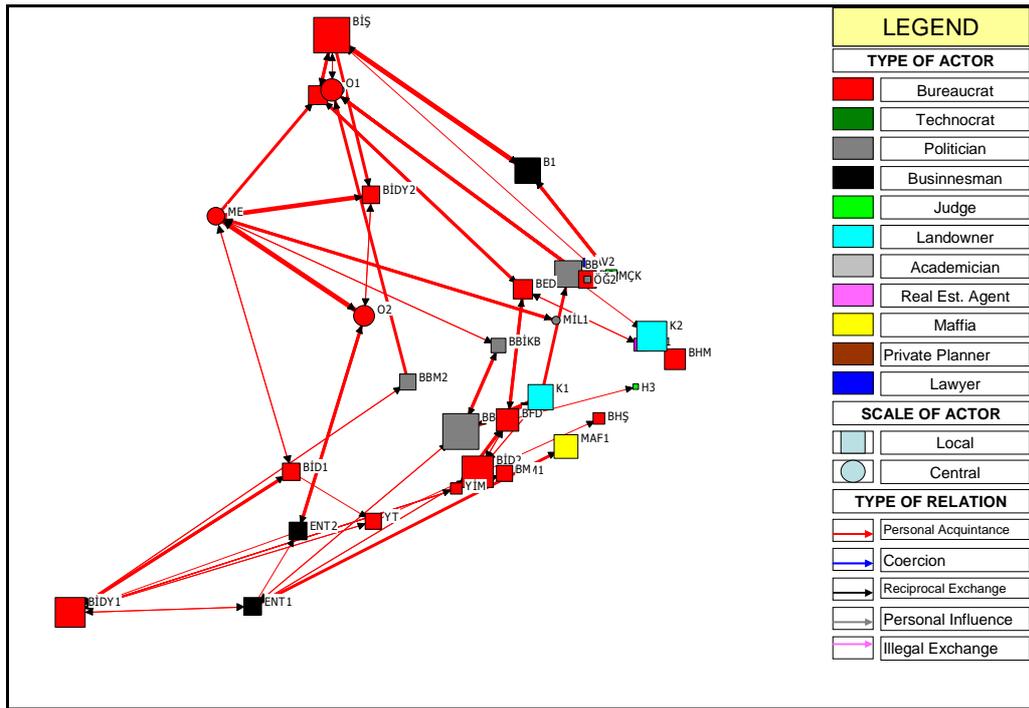
Figure 11. Principal Components of Personal Acquaintance in the Network of Çayyolu 907 Parcel.

Table 52. Degree Centrality of Coercion

		Degree	NrmDegree	Share
1	O1	4.000	1.852	0.021
2	O2	6.000	2.778	0.032
3	O3	7.000	3.241	0.037
4	ME	4.000	1.852	0.021
5	YT	5.000	2.315	0.026
6	AD	0.000	0.000	0.000
7	**BİDY1**	**10.000**	**4.630**	**0.053**
8	BFD	5.000	2.315	0.026
9	BHM	5.000	2.315	0.026
10	BED	6.000	2.778	0.032
11	**BGY**	**10.000**	**4.630**	**0.053**
12	**BİD1**	**10.000**	**4.630**	**0.053**
13	BHŞ	6.000	2.778	0.032
14	**BİD2**	**25.000**	**11.574**	**0.132**
15	BİŞ	3.000	1.389	0.016
16	BGS	7.000	3.241	0.037
17	H	5.000	2.315	0.026
18	ŞP1	4.000	1.852	0.021
19	BİŞY	8.000	3.704	0.042
20	BİDY2	9.000	4.167	0.047
21	ŞP2	4.000	1.852	0.021
22	**BBİK**	**14.000**	**6.481**	**0.074**
23	BBİKB	0.000	0.000	0.000
24	**BB**	**25.000**	**11.574**	**0.132**
25	B1	0.000	0.000	0.000
26	B2	0.000	0.000	0.000
27	BBM1	0.000	0.000	0.000
28	BBM2	0.000	0.000	0.000
29	YB	2.000	0.926	0.011
30	YİKB	0.000	0.000	0.000
31	H1	0.000	0.000	0.000
32	YİM	0.000	0.000	0.000
33	ŞP3	0.000	0.000	0.000
34	K1	0.000	0.000	0.000
35	H2	0.000	0.000	0.000
36	H3	0.000	0.000	0.000
37	K2	0.000	0.000	0.000
38	BAK	0.000	0.000	0.000
39	MÇK	0.000	0.000	0.000
40	MİL1	0.000	0.000	0.000
41	MİL2	0.000	0.000	0.000
42	ÖĞ1	0.000	0.000	0.000
43	ÖĞ2	0.000	0.000	0.000
44	EM1	0.000	0.000	0.000
45	EM2	0.000	0.000	0.000
46	EM3	0.000	0.000	0.000
47	MAF1	2.000	0.926	0.011
48	MAF2	2.000	0.926	0.011
49	PP	0.000	0.000	0.000
50	BM	2.000	0.926	0.011
51	ENT1	0.000	0.000	0.000
52	ENT2	0.000	0.000	0.000
53	AV1	0.000	0.000	0.000
54	AV2	0.000	0.000	0.000
55	AV3	0.000	0.000	0.000
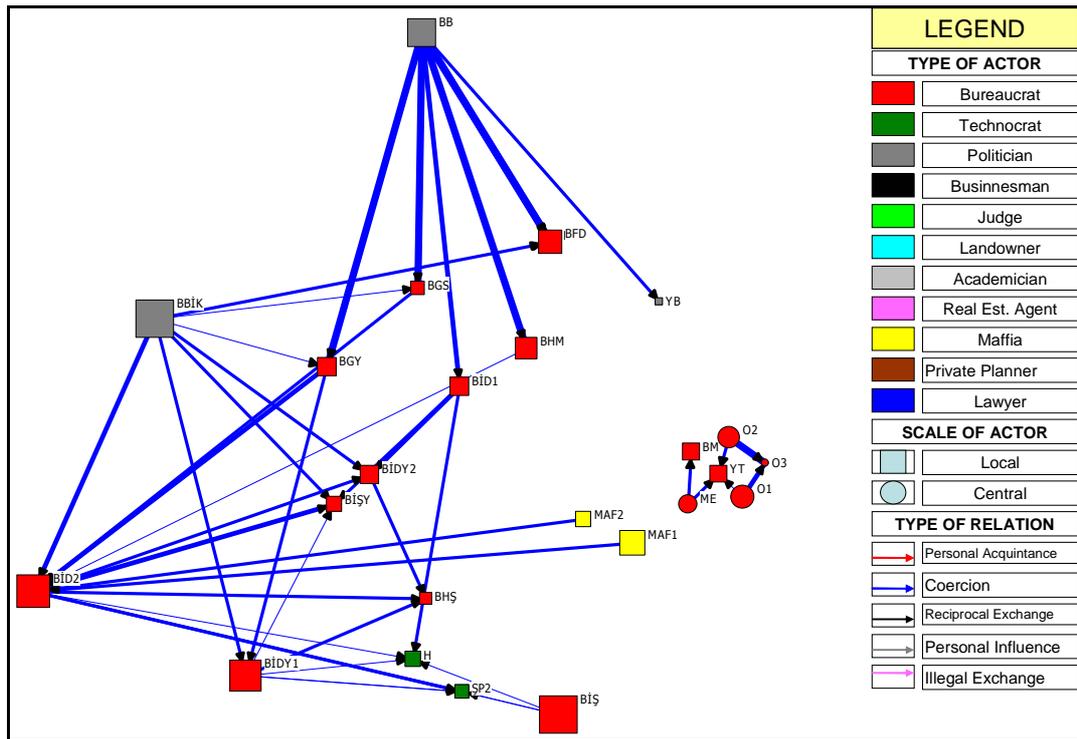
Figure 12. Principal Components of Coercion in the Network of Çayyolu 907 Parcel

Table 53. Degree Centrality of Reciprocal Exchange

		Degree	NrmDegree	Share
1	O1	17.000	7.870	0.048
2	O2	11.000	5.093	0.031
3	O3	0.000	0.000	0.000
4	ME	11.000	5.093	0.031
5	YT	3.000	1.389	0.008
6	AD	4.000	1.852	0.011
7	BİDY1	13.000	6.019	0.037
8	BFD	10.000	4.630	0.028
9	BHM	11.000	5.093	0.031
10	BED	4.000	1.852	0.011
11	BGY	0.000	0.000	0.000
12	BİD1	3.000	1.389	0.008
13	BHŞ	0.000	0.000	0.000
14	BİD2	16.000	7.407	0.045
15	**BİŞ**	**34.000**	**15.741**	**0.096**
16	BGS	0.000	0.000	0.000
17	H	0.000	0.000	0.000
18	ŞP1	0.000	0.000	0.000
19	BİŞY	0.000	0.000	0.000
20	BİDY2	0.000	0.000	0.000
21	ŞP2	0.000	0.000	0.000
22	**BBİK**	**29.000**	**13.426**	**0.081**
23	BBİKB	7.000	3.241	0.020
24	**BB**	**34.000**	**15.741**	**0.096**
25	**B1**	**22.000**	**10.185**	**0.062**
26	B2	5.000	2.315	0.014
27	BBM1	5.000	2.315	0.014
28	BBM2	5.000	2.315	0.014
29	YB	2.000	0.926	0.006
30	YİKB	4.000	1.852	0.011
31	H1	9.000	4.167	0.025
32	YİM	1.000	0.463	0.003
33	ŞP3	1.000	0.463	0.003
34	K1	19.000	8.796	0.053
35	H2	4.000	1.852	0.011
36	H3	2.000	0.926	0.006
37	K2	15.000	6.944	0.042
38	BAK	0.000	0.000	0.000
39	MÇK	0.000	0.000	0.000
40	MİL1	2.000	0.926	0.006
41	MİL2	6.000	2.778	0.017
42	ÖĞ1	0.000	0.000	0.000
43	ÖĞ2	0.000	0.000	0.000
44	EM1	4.000	1.852	0.011
45	EM2	3.000	1.389	0.008
46	EM3	6.000	2.778	0.017
47	MAF1	5.000	2.315	0.014
48	MAF2	1.000	0.463	0.003
49	PP	8.000	3.704	0.022
50	BM	4.000	1.852	0.011
51	ENT1	3.000	1.389	0.008
52	ENT2	4.000	1.852	0.011
53	AV1	4.000	1.852	0.011
54	AV2	2.000	0.926	0.006
55	AV3	3.000	1.389	0.008
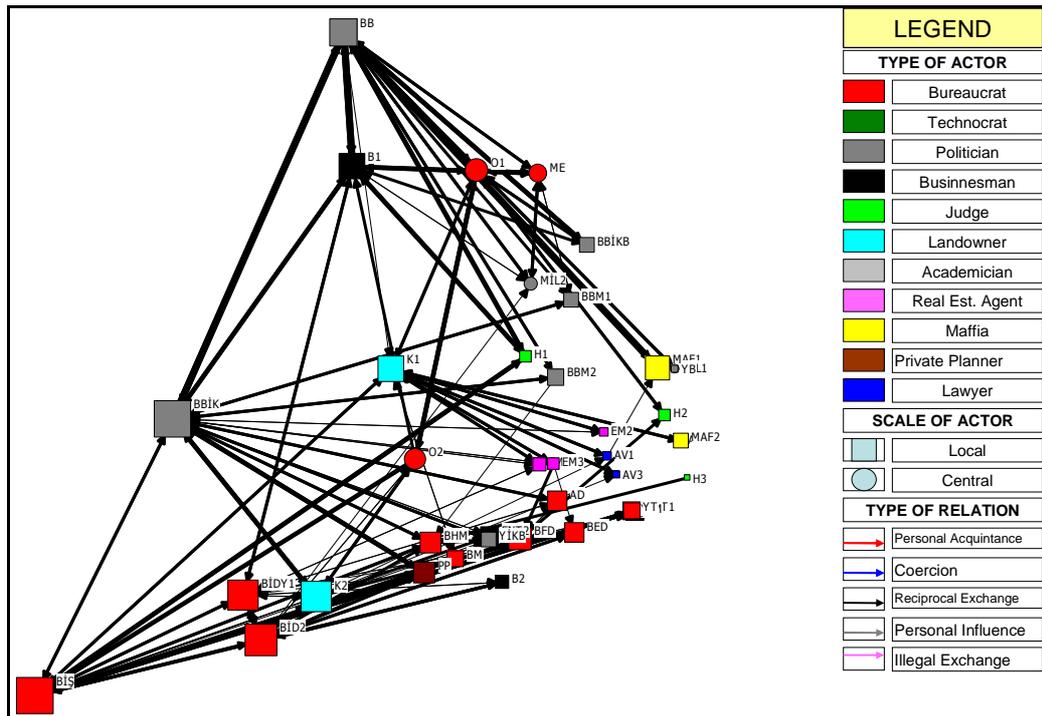
Figure 13. Principal Components of Reciprocal Exchange in the Network of Çayyolu 907 Parcel.

Table 54. Degree Centrality of Personal Influence

|		Degree	NrmDegree	Share
1	O1	0.000	0.000	0.000
2	O2	0.000	0.000	0.000
3	O3	0.000	0.000	0.000
4	**ME**	**3.000**	**2.778**	**0.500**
5	YT	0.000	0.000	0.000
6	AD	0.000	0.000	0.000
7	BİDY1	0.000	0.000	0.000
8	BFD	0.000	0.000	0.000
9	BHM	0.000	0.000	0.000
10	BED	0.000	0.000	0.000
11	BGY	0.000	0.000	0.000
12	BİD1	0.000	0.000	0.000
13	BHŞ	0.000	0.000	0.000
14	BİD2	0.000	0.000	0.000
15	BİŞ	0.000	0.000	0.000
16	BGS	0.000	0.000	0.000
17	H	0.000	0.000	0.000
18	ŞP1	0.000	0.000	0.000
19	BİŞY	0.000	0.000	0.000
20	BİDY2	0.000	0.000	0.000
21	ŞP2	0.000	0.000	0.000
22	BBİK	0.000	0.000	0.000
23	BBİKB	0.000	0.000	0.000
24	BB	0.000	0.000	0.000
25	B1	0.000	0.000	0.000
26	B2	0.000	0.000	0.000
27	BBM1	0.000	0.000	0.000
28	BBM2	0.000	0.000	0.000
29	YB	0.000	0.000	0.000
30	**YİKB**	**2.000**	**1.852**	**0.333**
31	H1	0.000	0.000	0.000
32	YİM	0.000	0.000	0.000
33	ŞP3	0.000	0.000	0.000
34	K1	0.000	0.000	0.000
35	H2	0.000	0.000	0.000
36	H3	0.000	0.000	0.000
37	K2	0.000	0.000	0.000
38	BAK	0.000	0.000	0.000
39	MÇK	0.000	0.000	0.000
40	MİL1	0.000	0.000	0.000
41	MİL2	0.000	0.000	0.000
42	ÖĞ1	0.000	0.000	0.000
43	**ÖĞ2**	**1.000**	**0.926**	**0.167**
44	EM1	0.000	0.000	0.000
45	EM2	0.000	0.000	0.000
46	EM3	0.000	0.000	0.000
47	MAF1	0.000	0.000	0.000
48	MAF2	0.000	0.000	0.000
49	PP	0.000	0.000	0.000
50	BM	0.000	0.000	0.000
51	ENT1	0.000	0.000	0.000
52	ENT2	0.000	0.000	0.000
53	AV1	0.000	0.000	0.000
54	AV2	0.000	0.000	0.000
55	AV3	0.000	0.000	0.000
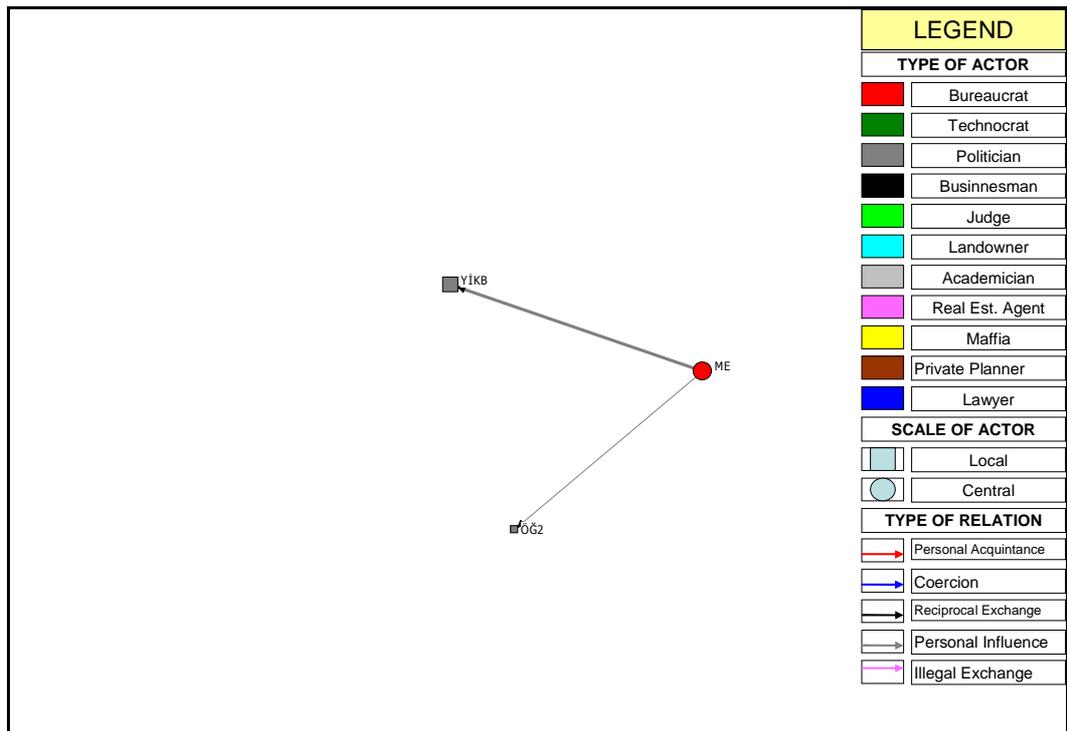
Figure 14. Principal Components of Personal Influence in the Network of Çayyolu 907 Parcel.

Table 55. Degree Centrality of Illegal Exchange

		Degree	NrmDegree	Share
1	O1	0.000	0.000	0.000
2	O2	0.000	0.000	0.000
3	O3	0.000	0.000	0.000
4	ME	0.000	0.000	0.000
5	YT	0.000	0.000	0.000
6	AD	0.000	0.000	0.000
7	BİDY1	0.000	0.000	0.000
8	BFD	0.000	0.000	0.000
9	BHM	0.000	0.000	0.000
10	BED	0.000	0.000	0.000
11	BGY	0.000	0.000	0.000
12	BİD1	0.000	0.000	0.000
13	BHŞ	0.000	0.000	0.000
14	BİD2	0.000	0.000	0.000
15	**BİŞ**	**6.000**	**2.778**	**0.130**
16	BGS	0.000	0.000	0.000
17	H	0.000	0.000	0.000
18	ŞP1	0.000	0.000	0.000
19	BİŞY	0.000	0.000	0.000
20	BİDY2	0.000	0.000	0.000
21	ŞP2	0.000	0.000	0.000
22	**BBİK**	**3.000**	**1.389**	**0.065**
23	BBİKB	0.000	0.000	0.000
24	BB	0.000	0.000	0.000
25	**B1**	**4.000**	**1.852**	**0.087**
26	B2	0.000	0.000	0.000
27	BBM1	0.000	0.000	0.000
28	BBM2	0.000	0.000	0.000
29	YB	0.000	0.000	0.000
30	YİKB	0.000	0.000	0.000
31	H1	0.000	0.000	0.000
32	YİM	0.000	0.000	0.000
33	ŞP3	0.000	0.000	0.000
34	**K1**	**5.000**	**2.315**	**0.109**
35	H2	0.000	0.000	0.000
36	H3	0.000	0.000	0.000
37	**K2**	**7.000**	**3.241**	**0.152**
38	BAK	0.000	0.000	0.000
39	MÇK	0.000	0.000	0.000
40	MİL1	0.000	0.000	0.000
41	MİL2	0.000	0.000	0.000
42	ÖĞ1	0.000	0.000	0.000
43	ÖĞ2	0.000	0.000	0.000
44	EM1	0.000	0.000	0.000
45	EM2	0.000	0.000	0.000
46	EM3	0.000	0.000	0.000
47	**MAF1**	**14.000**	**6.481**	**0.304**
48	**MAF2**	**3.000**	**1.389**	**0.065**
49	**PP**	**4.000**	**1.852**	**0.087**
50	BM	0.000	0.000	0.000
51	ENT1	0.000	0.000	0.000
52	ENT2	0.000	0.000	0.000
53	AV1	0.000	0.000	0.000
54	AV2	0.000	0.000	0.000
55	AV3	0.000	0.000	0.000
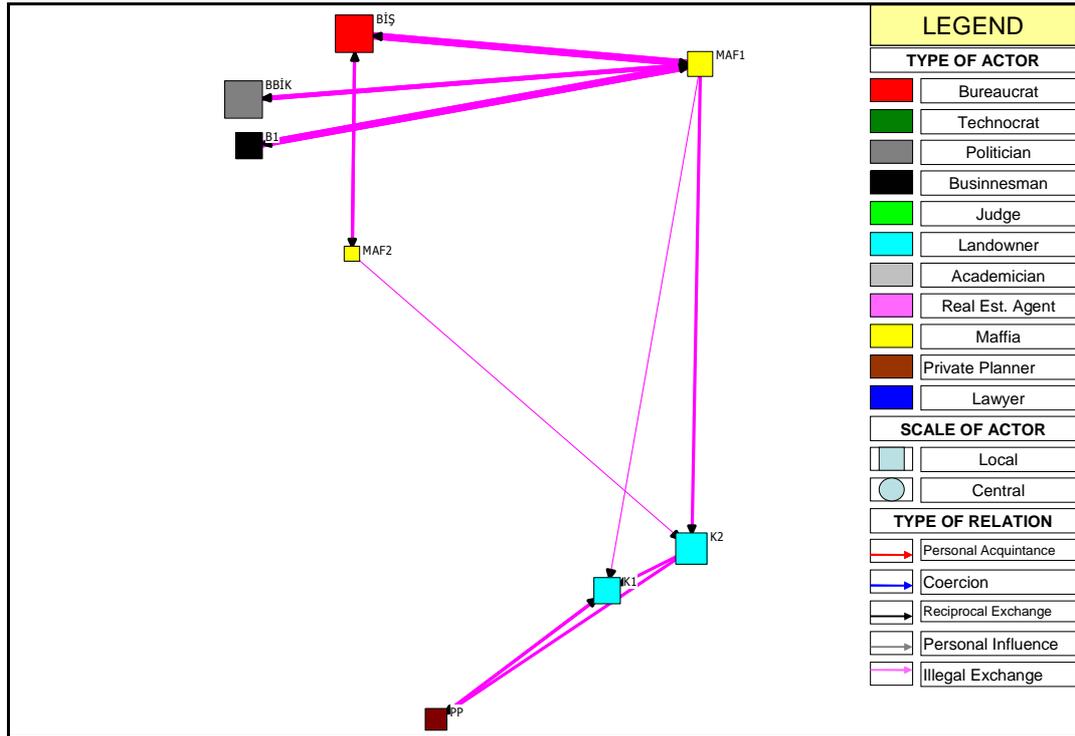
Figure 15. Principal Components of Illegal Exchange in the Network of Çayyolu 907 Parcel.

Table 56. Network Centralization of Relations within Çayyolu 907 Parcel Network

	NETWORK CENTRALIZATION (%)	HETEROGENEITY (%)	DENSITY	NORMALIZATION (%)
PERSONAL ACQUINTANCE	5,8	4,01	0.0451	2,23
COERCION	10,35	6,33	0.0320	4,60
RECIPROCAL EXCHANGE	13,23	4,7	0.1037	2,90
PERSONAL INFLUENCE	2,78	38,39	0.0010	37,36
ILLEGAL EXCHANGE	6,32	16,82	0.0128	15,28

Betweenness centrality of the network of Çayyolu 907 Parcel confirms previous deductions about the centrality and dynamics of the network. Betweenness centrality of the low level planning bureaucrat in the Greater Municipality of Ankara (BİŞ) took a more central place then the mayor of the greater municipality (BB) and other powerful actors like member of the urban development and public works of the greater

municipality of Ankara (BBİK), landowner (K1), and O1 (Table 53). This finding again shows that existence of BİŞ is vital for the existence of this network.

Table 57. Betweenness Centrality of the Actors in the Çayyolu 907 Parcel Network

ACTOR	BETWEENNESS 1	BETWEENNESS 2
BİŞ	488.456	17.067
BB	405.261	14.160
BBİK	398.836	13.936
K1	334.929	11.703
O1	297.416	10.392
BİDY1	287.592	10.049
BİD2	263.459	9.205
MAF1	174.759	6.106
BİD1	113.616	3.970
ENT1	101.158	3.535
MİL2	96.052	3.356
BBM2	71.267	2.490
BBM1	58.523	2.045
BİDY2	26.892	0.940
ENT2	25.207	0.881
BBİKB	20.869	0.729
YİKB	13.601	0.475
MAF2	13.277	0.464
MİL1	10.671	0.373
ÖĞ2	9.801	0.342
BİŞY	8.799	0.307

6.3.3. Ego Networks of Actors in the Network of Çayyolu 907 Parcel

If variations in the attitudes of individuals in a network are to be explored in detail, an examination of close environment of them is to be studied.

> Describing and indexing the variation across individuals in the way they are embedded in "local" social structures is the goal of the analysis of ego networks. "Ego" is an individual "focal" node. A network has as many egos as it has nodes. Egos can be persons, groups, organizations, or whole societies. "Neighborhood" is the collection of ego and all nodes to whom ego has a connection at some path length. In social network analysis, the "neighborhood" is almost always one-step; that is, it

includes only ego and actors that are directly adjacent. The neighborhood also includes all of the ties among all of the actors to whom ego has a direct connection. The boundaries of ego networks are defined in terms of neighborhoods (Hanneman, 2005).

Examination of egonets of the mosst central actors of the Çayyolu 907 Parcel network reveals interesting details about the power structure of the network. For instance ego network of the businessperson (K1) shows that, he is linked to a diverstity of actors. In his close neighborhood, he is linked to the network with very powerful actors and although he does have fewer connections to the network than some other actors, the actors he have links with and the diversity of the relations he has were more diverse than other actors. This may be ascribed to his use of every relation possible to get a part of the Çayyolu 907 Parcel as a compensation for his loss (Figure 16).

Ego network of the mayor of the greater municipality (BB) shows interesting features on the other hand. He has strong coercive power on bureaucrats of the greater municipality (Figure 17). Yet, his linkage to the network is provided mainly by his relations with the two other central actors of the network B1 and BBİK. It can be said that at certain level, reciprocal relations between very powerful relations maintained the network. Yet, interestingly, there is no relationship between BB and BİŞ, who initiated the urban planning process.

When looked at the ego network of BBİK, it can be seen that although he has very diverse relationships with especially most of the central actors and bureaucrats of the greater municipality, his main source of power directly comes from his strong relationship with the mayor himself (Figure 18). This parallel with the statements of interviewees that he derives his power from his close acquaintance with the mayor. In fact, later on he became the deputy mayor of the greater municipality of Ankara.

Ego network of the head of planning department of the greater municipality displays unique features (Figure 19). There is too much force on him coming from bureaucrats of higher rank. He seems like trying to balance out coercion with his relations of reciprocal exchange and personal acquaintance. He simply tries to secure his position through constituting the network of relations for his part. Interviewees declares that, although he is not amongst the ones who exploit the urban planning process for their own favor, he tried to secure his side benefits such as being in the executive board of one of the

municipal firms through conducting the coercive force exerted upon him downwards so that stages of urban planning process is realized and trying to balance out this coercive power through his other connections with such as BİŞ.

Last, ego networks of landowner (K1), member of mafia (MAF1) (Figure 20 – 21) and higher level bureaucrats (O1, ME) (Figure 22 – 23) shows that landowners and mafia are related with some key members of the network through illegal exchange relations, whereas higher level bureaucrats are connected to the network through personal acquaintance and reciprocal exchange relationships.
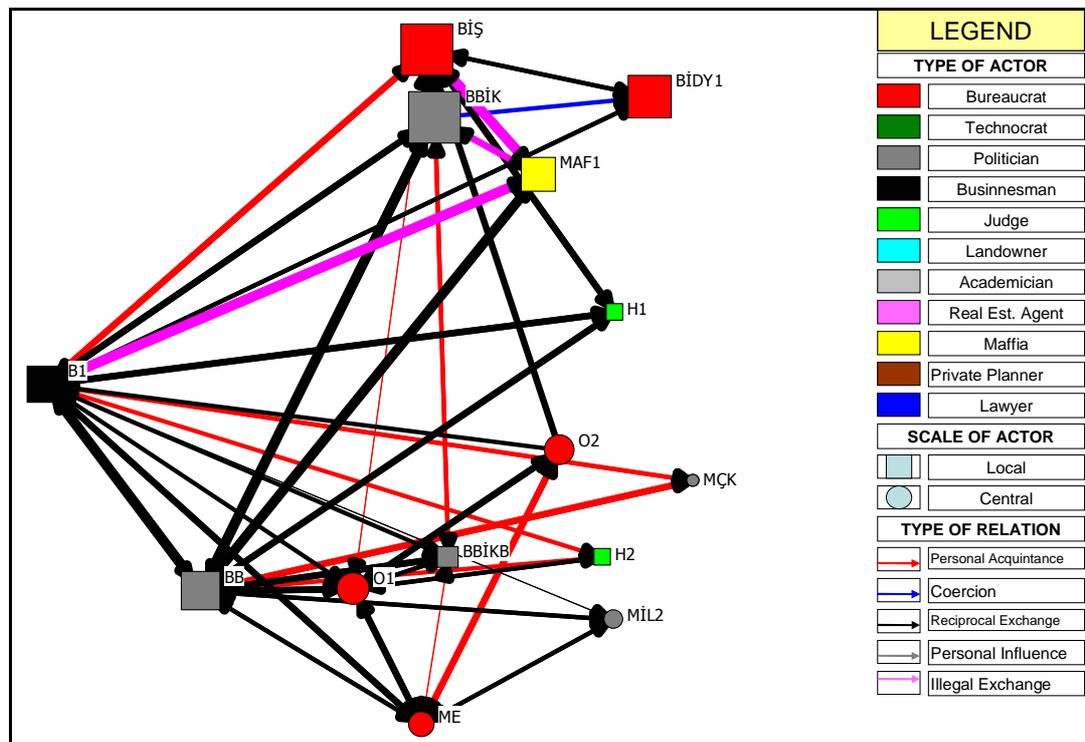
Figure 16. Ego Network of Actor B1
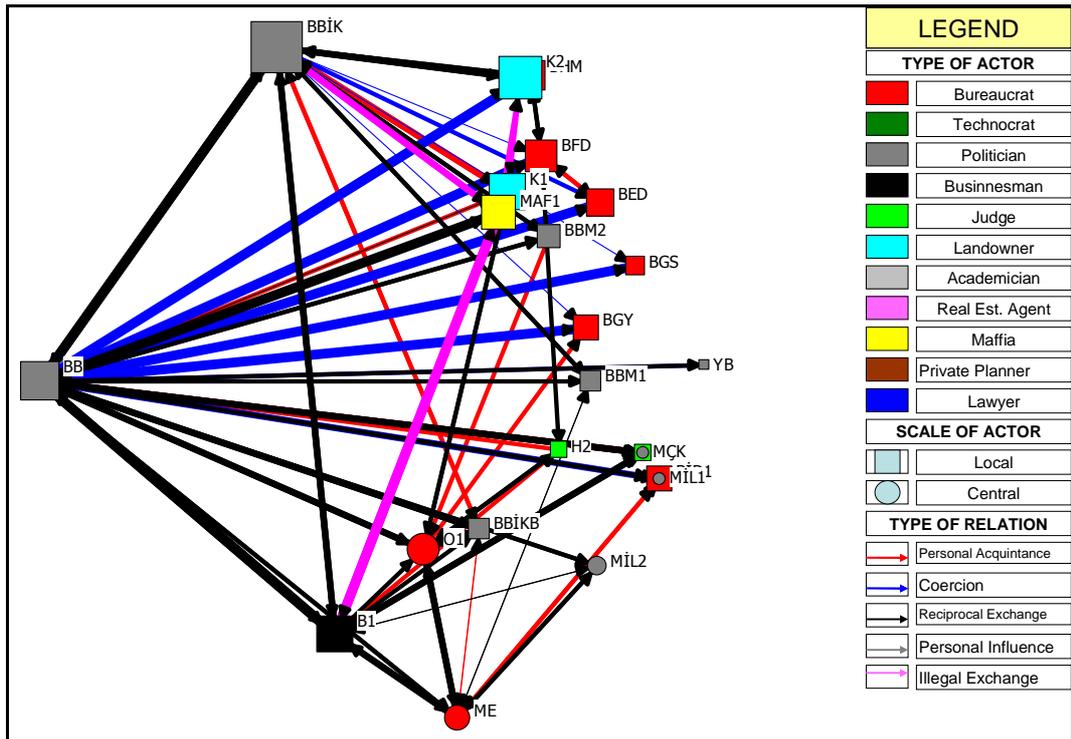
Figure 17. Ego Network of Actor BB
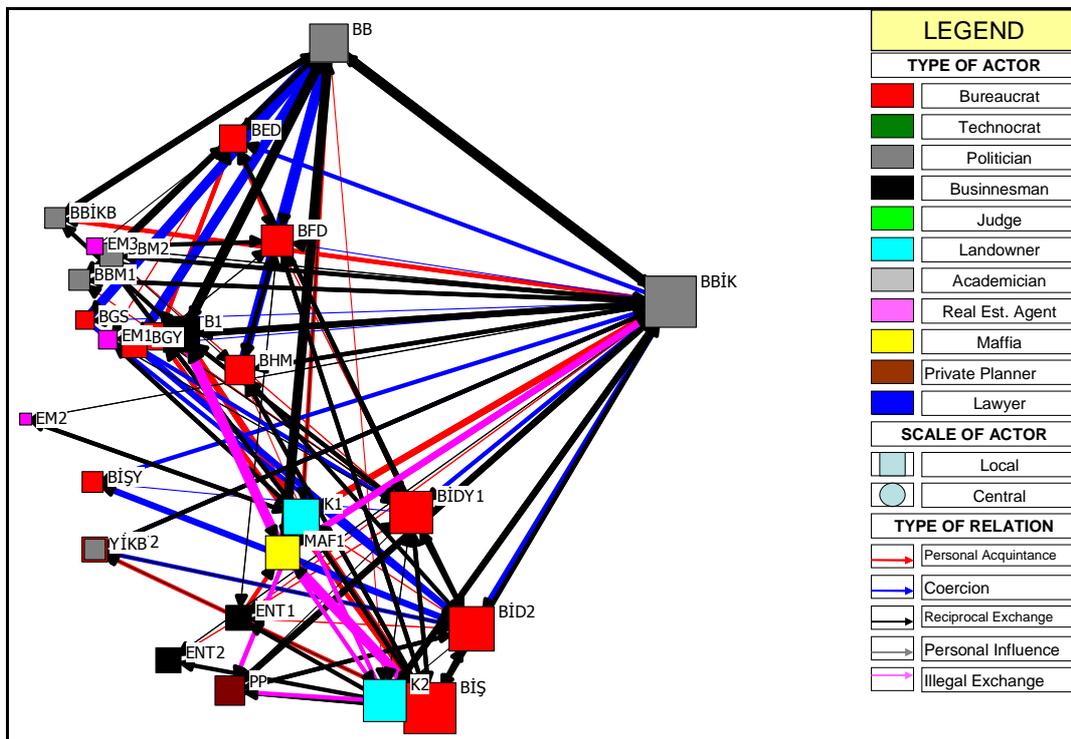
Figure 18. Ego Network of Actor BBIK
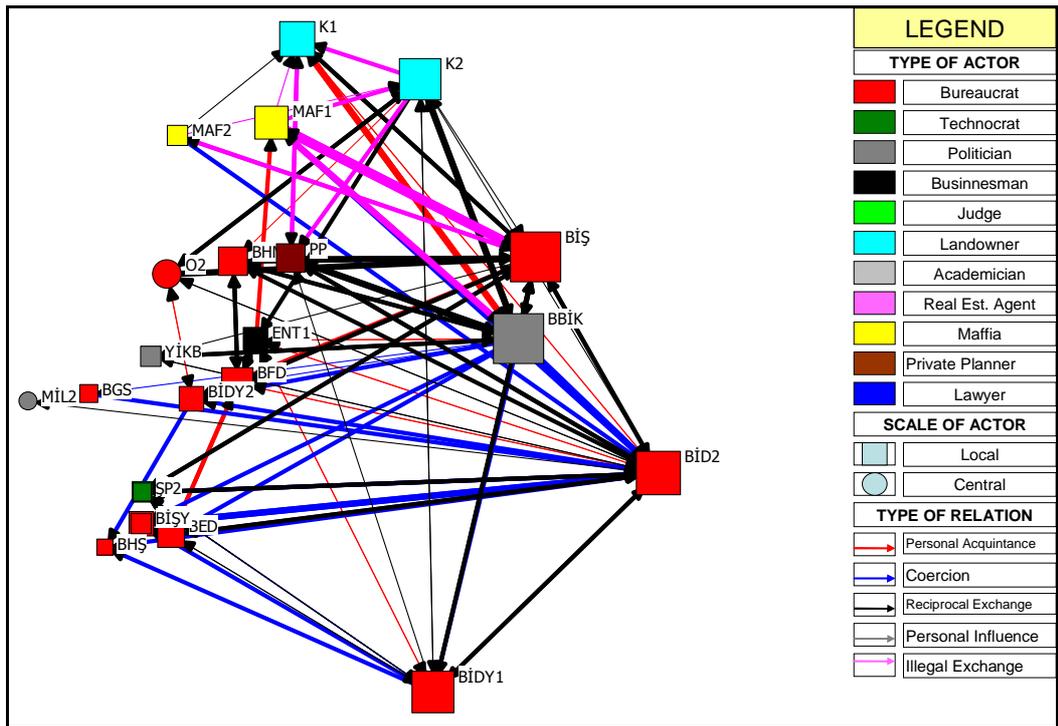
Figure 19. Ego Network of Actor BID2
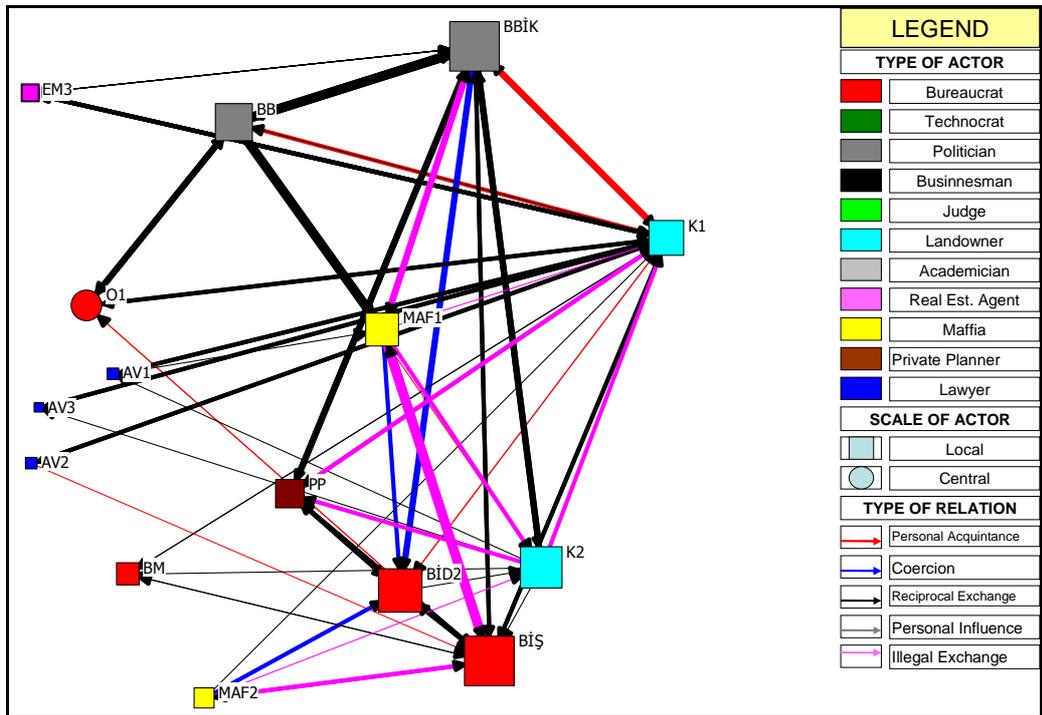
**Figure 20. Ego Network of Actor K1**
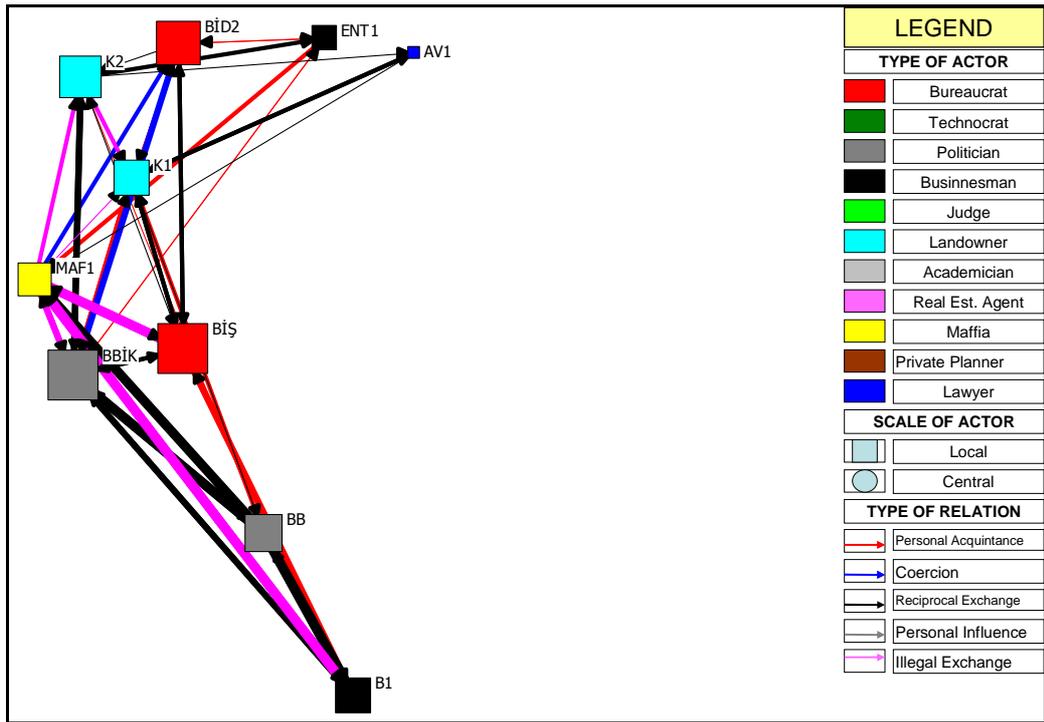
Figure 21. Ego Network of Actor MAF1
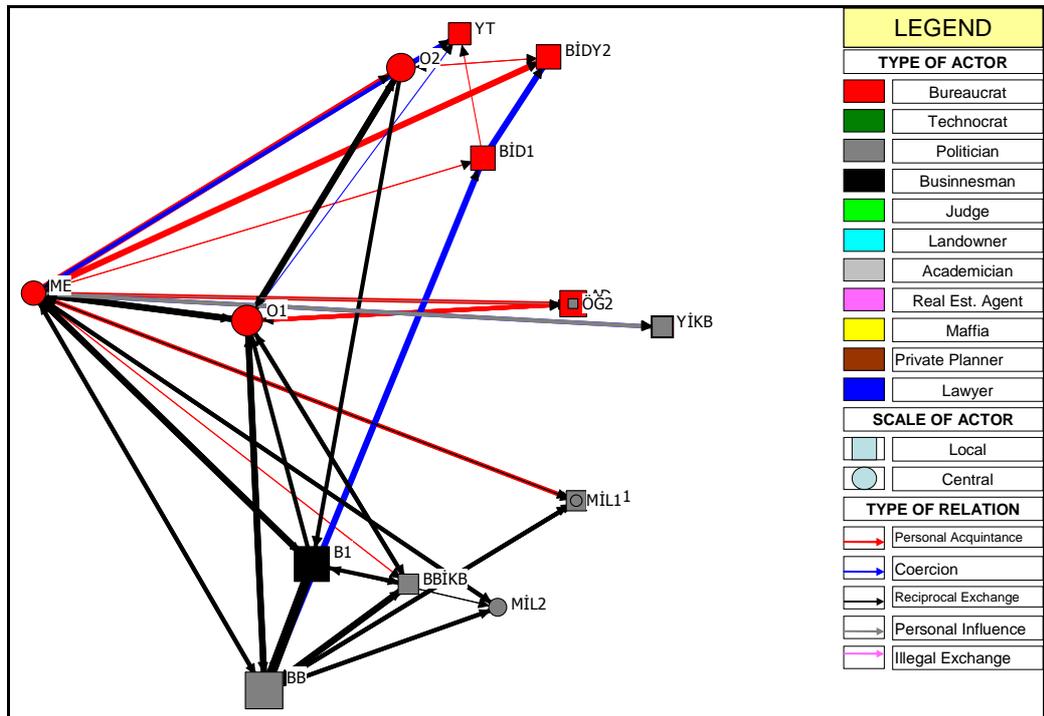
Figure 22. Ego Network of Actor ME

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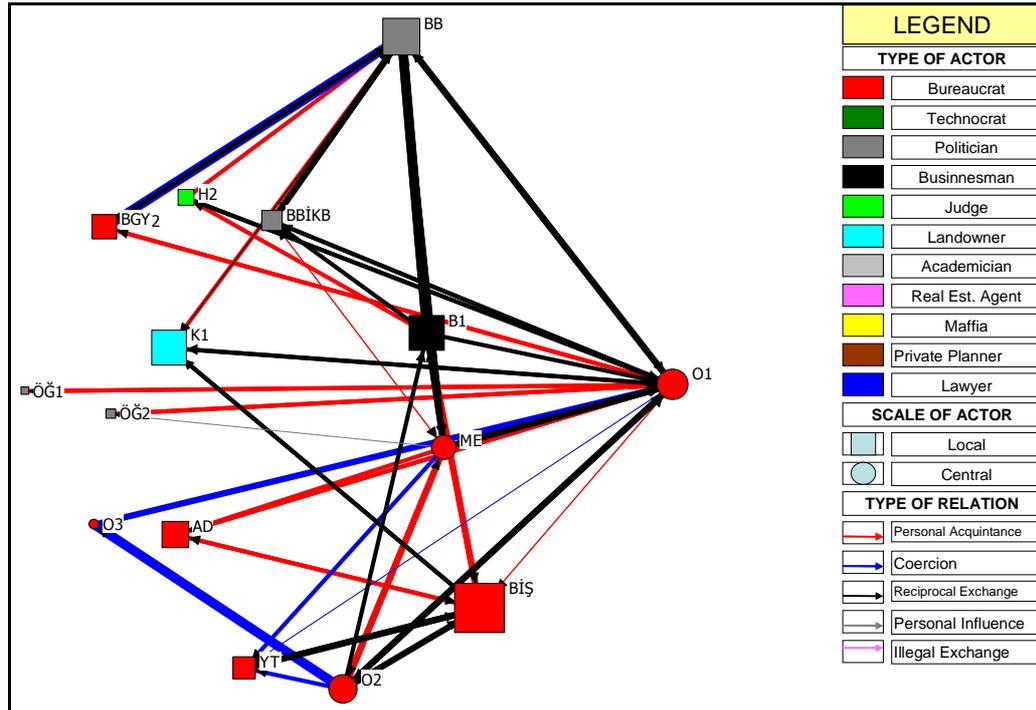
Figure 23. Ego Network of Actor O1

6.3.4. Network Behavior Patterns in Çayyolu 907 Parcel

It could be said that the network of Çayyolu 907 Parcel realized by the urban planning process of the same parcel gave some clues about the nature and dynamics of urban planning process in Ankara between 1985 and 2005. Urban planning process in Çayyolu 907 parcel case was realized through an informal network between mainly local politicians, local bureaucrats and interest groups that try to exploit the possible land rent raised as a result of the urban planning process. Metropolitan mayor and some other local politicians are at the center of this network. They are connected to local bureaucrats with coercive force. There is a key group of actors who are related to both central actors and peripheral actors with illegal exchange. The network made such an urban planning process possible. Thinking in historical terms, it can be hypothesized that, the urban planning process is initiated by a planning bureaucrat in the greater municipality of Ankara who has necessary affiliations to realize such a process. After the initiation of the process new connections emerged between high level bureaucrats of related ministries to transfer the land from treasury to municipality and then private property. These new

connections triggered new ones and new actors are entered into the network such as landowners, real estate agents, mafia etc. Later on bureaucrats and politicians of the greater municipality have been involved in the network. Some of the high level politicians and bureaucrats tried to manipulate and exploit the process for their interest, some of them tried to balance coercion on them with their connections and some remained in the periphery, mostly exerted coercion upon. Planners in this network are nearly completely powerless, only fulfilling the minimum requirements of the Urban Development Law.

This case shows that, although it can be theorized that, under capitalism, urban planning process is a means for balancing over or under accumulation and the process of planning is mainly manipulated by the capitalist classes, it is the local bureaucrats as brokers of the network who in the first place realized such transformations in spatial structure. The network unfolds, relations flourish between increasing number of actors while time passes and the possibility of derivation of urban land rent increases. Although very powerful actors are involved in the process while time passes, still maintenance and key linkages were provided by brokers at various levels. To conclude, the network structure can be modeled as a power pyramid, in which a group of powerful actors are on top and connected with the other actors through brokers using different types of relations (Figure 24).

In this pyramid, there are three main parts. The first part consisted of the most central and powerful actors of the network banded together dominantly by reciprocal exchange and personal acquaintance between them. The second part is constituted by mainly bureaucrats from central government and local government which were mostly coerced to be involved in this relation. In the third part there are key bureaucrats, landowners, mafia and entrepreneurs. The third part is the part which brings first and the second parts together through bureaucrats and entrepreneurs as brokers. Although in the acquisition of land and urban planning procedure actors in the first and second parts of the pyramid was influential, in the judiciary processes, all three parts of the pyramid was influential.
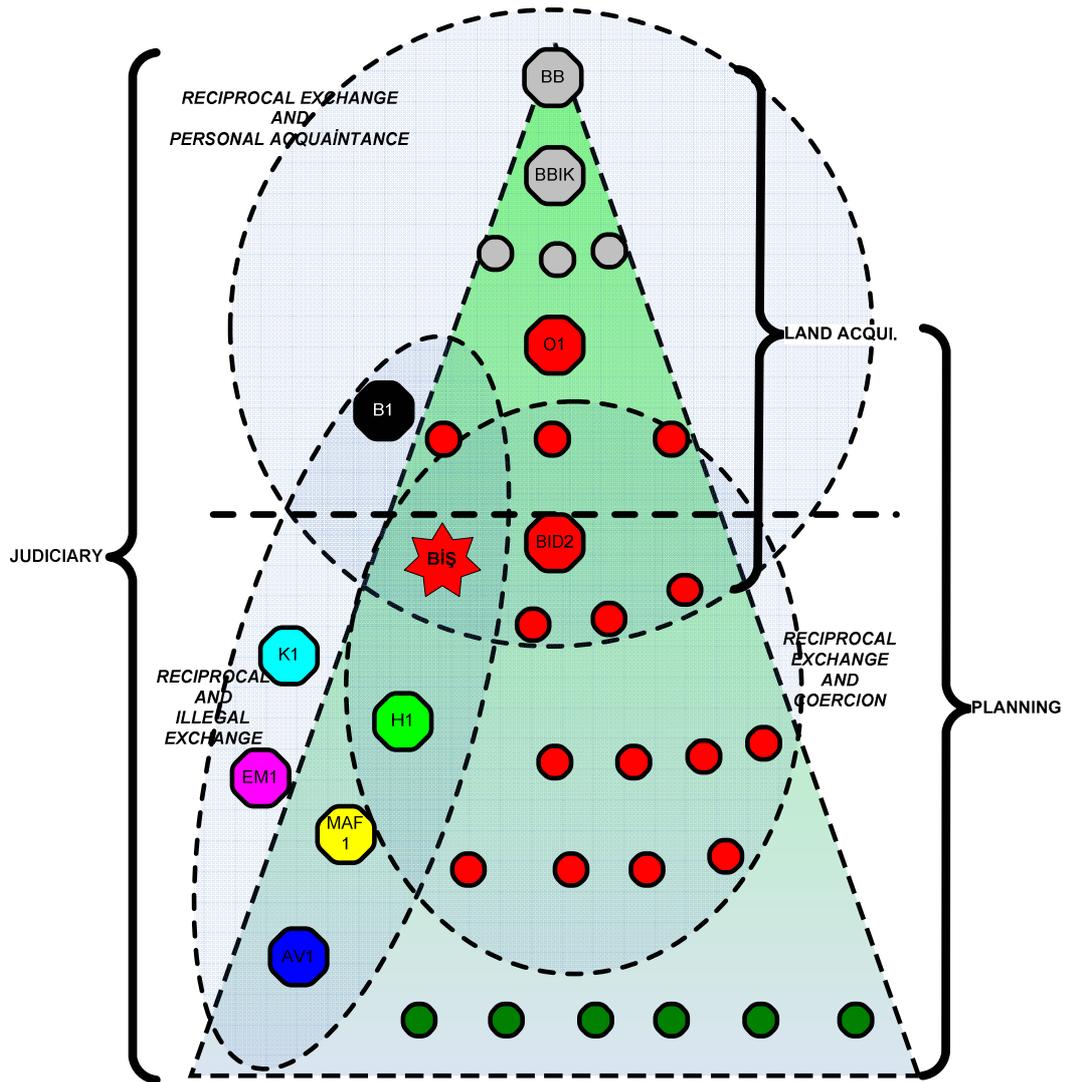
Figure 24. Pyramid of Nework of Relations in urban planning process of Çayyolu 907 Parcel.

6.4. Conclusion

In this chapter, the overall patterns of urban development plans and urban development plan modifications in Ankara between 1985 and 2005 has been examined and a selected case, Çayyolu 907 Case and the informal social relations revolving around the case was analyzed. The examination of the research universe and an in-depth review of a selected case provided important insights to the micro level political relationships within urban planning process in Ankara in the last two decades. The dynamics of urban planning

under a decentralized local government system without an overall upper scale development plan proved to have valuable insights to the nature of informal political networks associating urban planning process.

It can be said that, each separate hegemonic project's political mobilization mechanism reflected in urban space through urban planning process in a similar pattern to a certain extent though under different circumstances in the city of Ankara. At the beginning, the demands and pressures of individuals concerning derivation of urban land rent through increases in building rights in single parcel or at most building block scale have been used by these political mobilization mechanisms. These demands mostly concentrated around central business district, planned sections of the city and squatter amendment areas. Legitimization of such demands through urban planning process resulted in changes in implementation plans realized through small scale coalitions and alliances established between patrons and brokers. Such small networks have been temporary in nature for all actors of the relationship, though it may gain permanent features for some actors like petty builders.

Yet, while time passes, the number of actors involved in such coalitions grew larger, and the ambitions, interests, motivations and expectations of the actors increase. This growing scale of informal relations are mostly organized by skillful brokers and patrons. Not only the size of the informal networks increase but, the persistency of the network and the bureaucratic procedures of urban planning related with it became much more complex. In a way the urban planning process and the bureaucratic mechanisms related with it became a means for the persistence of the network. In such a case, very influential actors like mayors became closely affiliated with these networks and the large unplanned prospective areas around the urban macro form have become the target of such formations. A complex mix of variables including the structure of the central government, the political career and leadership abilities of the mayor and his influence on the council, the structure of the emerging classes to be mobilized by urban land rent became important pieces of the full picture. To sum up, the more intricate the relations between the political mobilization mechanisms and the informal networks of relations revolving around urban planning process get, the less the number of urban development plans and modifications but higher the returns from urban land rent since the areas covered by urban development plans comprise of very large pieces. Such processes could easily be followed in the cases of Mehmet Altınsoy and Melih Gökçek. Though in the

case of Altınsoy, the coalitions were formed around large urban projects, in the case of Gökçek, these coalitions were formed around the personality of Gökçek and his alliances with large construction firms and capital holders.

In a way, without nearly any limitation and control on urban development, the informal network of relations became persistent through urban space and urban planning process. But, still out of such uncontrolled development and sprawl, the structure and scope of these networks gained a systematic fashion to a certain extent for the derivation of urban land rent. Yet, with the changes in local and central political spheres, the extent and organization of these informal networks deteriorated to a certain extent and the actors and the relationships between them changed through time.

In the examined case, Çayyolu 907 Parcel, in-depth analysis of the social network also has shown important findings. First of all, it can be said that although the local politicians are at the top of patron-client pyramid and have the central positions with respect to the power of actors they are in relation with, local bureaucrats and local businesspersons as brokers has the highest number of and diverse relationships sustaining the overall structure of the network. The powerful actors are linked with reciprocal exchange relationships and weak actors like planners are linked with coercive relationships. The analysis of the Çayyolu 907 Parcel case shows that how brokers start and maintain the persistence of the informal network of relations through urban planning process whereas, powerful patrons use the network to establish strong alliances with other powerful actors and capital holders. Various illegal and illegitimate relationships also emerged in the network and through passing time the lengthy urban planning process itself and court decisions became a source of legitimization for the network and the transformation envisaged.

By looking into such analyses, it can be decided whether or not the assumptions defined at the beginning of this study could be justified. In the next chapter, an evaluation of the findings are to be hold together with a general summary of the study itself.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

The relationship between powerful groups and local authorities is subject of scrutiny in various theories. As far as peripheral countries are concerned, one of the common assumptions of these theories is that, in addition to formal mechanisms of representation, specific groups find their way to the corridor of power through informal channels of representation. One of the distinctive mechanisms for this respect is patron-client relations. The literature also places emphasis on the difficulties of identifying this kind of relations and mechanisms as they are often deemed to be neither legal nor morally acceptable. Unless micro level of political relations is closely observed, it may not be possible to give a convincing picture of how these mechanisms work in practice.

Although there is not too many work on this issue, one of the key areas of such relations involving clientelism and corruption is that of urban planning. It would not be an exaggeration to claim that the field or urban planning has long been dominated by the rent seeking groups and they are highly effective in using formal as well as informal channels to put pressure on the planning processes in manipulating plans in their favors. But as mentioned above, it is highly difficult to show the ways in which such mechanisms work in local authorities.

The hypothesis of the study are explored through understanding how the political relations has manifested themselves in the urban planning process at micro level through the relationships established between a vast array of actors in the city of Ankara during the period between 1985 and 2005. The general patterns of urban planning process with reference to the interplay between spatial elements, urban planning procedure, formal and informal political structure; the relationships between various actors and their interaction on spatial practice of Ankara was the main concern.

The selection of the case and the period were based on a rationale with respect to three main justifications as mentioned at the beginning of this study. Firstly, increasing emphasis on the market forces under neo-liberal globalization has created a new policy framework within which metropolitan cities like Ankara have turned to be target of wide spread rent seeking activities revolving around urban land. In turn, field of urban planning has become an important medium in the distribution of urban rent. Secondly, Increasing power of market forces and logic of capital companied by deregulation of planning processes created new type of relations in the local politics of the city. Indeed, the findings of the study justified that these assumptions were in fact relevant for Ankara. Especially in urban planning process, increasing significance of local actors and emergence of local networks of political relations in order to fill the gap produced by the inefficiency of the existing local representation mechanisms proved that Ankara and the period in concern was appropriate to study the political relations at micro scale. Thirdly, compared to other metropolitan cities, Ankara has been considered a city with a long term planning tradition starting from the early years of republic. In this respect, the clear break in the planning history of the city of Ankara from a hierarchically planned city to an uncontrolled development and sprawl caused Ankara to become one of the most interesting cities of inquiry to portray the political relations in planning process in terms of conjuncture, socio-economic structure, planning history and local government experience between 1985 and 2005.

As mentioned in the introduction, the main problem of such studies is to operationalise the concept and the claims through empirical work as the nature of such relations as clientelism and corruption makes them difficult to study. In order to overcome such methodological problems, two-steps analysis is employed in the evaluation of the empirical material. In the first phase, all planning decisions involving plans and plan modifications between 1985 and 2005 were examined. Approximately 5000 decisions were taken into consideration to find out certain common and distinctive characteristics of these decisions by employing conventional statistical analysis. Based on these patterns, one of these modification decisions involving a precious area in the development corridor of Ankara is taken as a case study. After the selection of this case, a social network analysis of the relations between various actors involved in the urban planning process was realized to test the hypothesis of the thesis. Within social network analysis, network characteristics, which suited best to the patterns explored in the first phase, were subjected to further in – depth network analysis.

Although political relations are not always conceptualized as being related with the spatial characteristics of institutional processes like urban planning process, spatial characteristics of the area on which certain planning process happens have some important influences on the political relations. For instance, the quality and characteristics of urban planning process and the type of relations established within that process are rather different on a valuable suburban area than a squatter area. These spatial characteristics could be categorized as meaningful administrative units or boundaries, spatial location or proximity to city center, spatial characteristics of the area, spatial prospect for development and the area coverage of the plan or planning modification.

Within this study, meaningful administrative units are taken as districts on which district municipalities govern and certain type and level or urban planning process occur. Since it is nearly impossible to determine exact location of each urban development plan or modification, based on the exact locations of each plan and plan modification, a scale of six degree of proximity was developed to allocate each one of the plans and modifications. In addition, clustering of the plans and plan modifications according to the results of correspondence analysis show that, the areas on which plans and modifications realized in Ankara between 1985 and 2005 could be categorized under seven categories. There are plans and modifications realized in central business districts (CBD), planned neighborhoods, and squatter settlements, settlements transformed from squatter settlements, suburbs, historical city center and industrial estates. In addition, in order to determine the prospective position of the areas where plans and plan modifications are realized, first of sample data about the land prices in each neighborhood throughout last twenty years are obtained through archive study in the General Directorate of Land Register and Cadastral Works. A scale was developed with respect to the rate of increase in land prices in each year. Lastly, five different sub-categories are constructed under this category as single plot, several plots, building blocks, neighborhood and citywide.

It is assumed that certain social relations are put into spatial processes and became legitimized through some socially accepted sometimes seemingly technical ways and procedures. Although these categories are defined in judiciary and institutional spheres as categories defining urban planning process as an official procedure, as time passes

certain legal definitions and procedural steps become bearer of certain types of political relations. Although within urban development Law there are mainly two types of urban development plans, namely development plans and implementation plans, there are various types and scales of these plans.

In addition, some important patterns could be observed by directly looking at the previous and later planning decisions of the planning areas. For example, transformation of urban parks into housing plots; commercial plots or religious facilities constitute an important pattern displaying signs of certain pressures and relations. On average the time passed between the hand in of the planning proposal and enacting of it is around 80 days. Any case that took extremely longer or shorter than the average interval might signify the existence of certain relations.

Although it might seem irrelevant to gather information about political relations solely looking into the archive data, some categories of information might provide fruitful insights to the understanding of the interaction between urban planning process and formal political structure. Some of these data are also procedural like who handed in the planning proposal or the initiator of the planning process. Whereas, other categories might include information about the results of elections, the name and length of rule of the ruling political party at the central and local governments and the name of the metropolitan mayor. Although the second type of political data seem to be giving a limited sense of political relations by themselves, cross sectional analysis of political scene together with the spatial and procedural data definitely provide the opportunity to check the validity of the theories long pronounced in the works of scholars studying political relations at urban planning process especially in Turkey and Ankara. Striking results might emerge for instance while questioning whether or not both the mayor of the greater municipality and the district municipality belong to the same political party makes any sense in the spatial or procedural characteristics of the urban planning process.

Moreover, based on the clustering of the data about urban planning process in Ankara between 1985 and 2005, six separate categories are used for classifying initiators of urban planning process as individuals, district municipality, metropolitan municipality, other government institutions, NGO's, community. In this study, it is assumed that structure and type of central government have significant effects of urban planning

process since Ankara is the Capital City and some elements and actors of National Assembly and central government institutions are a part of urban processes in it.

While devising categories for the classification of district municipalities and metropolitan mayors, local elections are taken as the breaking points whereas for metropolitan mayors affiliation with political parties are taken as classification category since after Altınsoy and Karayalçın, who are the first two metropolitan mayors of the period, Melih Gökçek ruled under three different political parties, two of whom closed for being involved in activities found illegal against the constitution and he also ruled independent and the as the head of a political party at the same time for a while.

The result of conventional statistical analysis verified the above hypothesis about the relationship between political mobilization mechanisms and urban planning process. It has been observed that, the small scale spatial practices concerning the increase of building rights and legitimization of illegal extensions were used especially in whole urban macro form as the main means. On the other hand at the outskirts of the macro form, large construction companies together with other fractions of capital organized to realize large scale modifications. Although the characteristic of change brought about by the urban planning process has changed over time, the general patterns of urban planning process followed the development pattern of the urban macro form with certain visible deviations which denote for the existence of certain interventions into the urban planning process. These are persistency over time, short intervals of official approval, certain forms of transformations like transformation of public land into private one and involvement of certain actors.

In the last two decades, the capital city of Ankara has become a place where a unique mixture of various relations between different actors and institutions with various motives was put into spatial processes through these partial planning efforts. These partial plans have become the means for micro-level political relationships to form and to take shape in order to use urban land for different purposes. For this reason, through examining these partial planning activities in the last two decades of Ankara, one could get a clear picture of how the political facet of urban planning process is formed. When partial planning efforts were examined, it can be seen that, partial planning efforts in and around the central business district, in planned neighborhoods were mostly aimed at obtaining extra development rights more than the development rights specified in the

official plans, or for legitimization of illegal developments through modifications in development plans in especially single plot scale. On the other hand, in the belt, surrounding planned parts of the macro-form from the north, east and south, where there are squatters or neighborhoods emerged as a result of amendment plans, a different picture come to fore. At these areas, especially on the fringes of Keçiören, Altındağ and Mamak Districts, partial planning efforts were formed around a range of different motives from gaining extra development rights to projects aiming at transformation of squatter settlements to the conservative groups trying to form their own communal space. In these parts of the city, sometimes a nationalist-conservative social structure and a new life style other than the one foreseen with the republican era have begun to form neighborhoods clustered around Külliye's and mosques of various Islamic groups.

On the western corridor of the urban macro-form, a different scheme could be seen. Starting with the decentralization of some of the government buildings to the both sides of the Eskişehir intercity highway, a new trend emerged for upper-middle and high income groups to form proto-suburban settlements on the same road. Later on this development spread to the surrounding villages. The land prices increased drastically and some parts of the former green belt, which has been foreseen in the Ankara 1990 Master Plan, were transformed into high-income housing settlements. Some parts of the green belt, which was consisting of valuable public land, has been transferred to high-income groups and turned into such housing settlements.

These transformations in urban macro form were closely associated with changes in the interaction between local political structure and urban planning process. The period, which was taken as the main focus of the study between 1985 and 2005, have witnessed two neo-liberal trend that has been put into process both in central and local government levels at the beginning and at the end. Indeed, the neo-liberal transformation that has brought changes in the institutional structure at the local level was influential in determining the period under scrutiny. The period between these two neo-liberal phases was period of turmoil involving coalitions in central government that were sometimes in contradiction with the local governments. It is important to explore the general political trends and structure in determining the nature of the relationships that has been established through partial planning efforts since various authoritative agents are used by various political interests in the central government and local government levels. General political scheme has been closely scrutinized for this reason.

For this respect, although these two period have common characteristics, there are also distinguishing features. The urban development plans and urban development plan modifications were equally distributed among different districts in Altınsoy period. Whereas, in Gökçek's term, plans were concentrated in districts like Keçiören and Altındağ where squatter settlements have been transformed into apartment buildings and a new conservative life style was created. Especially spread of the conservative life style under the rule of Welfare Party in the second half of 1990's was very influential on behavior of Gökçek. When closely inspected, it was seen that some patterns could be observed in which public land was transformed into religious facilities and formation of conservative housing settlements. However, out of such divergences, in both periods, after the establishment of substantial coalitions among different stake holders, realization of urban development plans and urban development plan modifications on the main development axis of Ankara towards south-west and west concerning large areas was common. In fact, it can be said that although the introduction of a new mechanism of political mobilization after the local elections, although at the beginning the mechanisms was selective about derivation of urban land rent and mostly small sized coalitions were established between actors, after a while large coalitions were established between various stake holders to pursue possibilities of rent. For this purpose it was interesting to see how the same areas were subjected to urban planning process in both periods involving a large group of actors.

The findings of the study produced fruitful results with respect to the effects of neo-liberal policies of the city of Ankara. In the case under scrutiny, it could be seen that within certain forms of capitalist urbanization urban space is continuously re-configured through urban planning process and within this re-configuration certain networks of political relations may be established and dissolved. In the city of Ankara similar processes was observed. Above all, when the distribution of urban development plans and urban development plan modifications were examined, the influences of neo-liberal and neo-conservative trends could easily be followed. Although the number of enacted urban development plans and urban development plan modifications was fluctuating generally, there emerged two peaks. These two peaks corresponds to two different neo-liberal experiment in municipalities one at the second half of 1980's and the other in the middle of 1990's. In a period in which the central government and metropolitan municipality belonged to the same political party, Mehmet Altınsoy and Melih Gökçek

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ruled Ankara. In the period of Altınsoy, alongside with the strategies of central government that aims to mobilize large capital holders through liberal, corporatist stance, large urban infrastructure projects became the means through urban land rent was exploited. Large infrastructure projects were realized via urban development plans and urban development plan modifications and with the coalitions and partnerships, a redistribution of urban land rent was realized through increasing urban development rights

On the other hand, in the other peak, in the term of Gökçek, who was a representative of much more conservative liberal stance, urban development plans and urban development plan modifications were used for populism and creation of a conservative life style. In both peaks, majority of the urban development plans and urban development plan modifications were realized mostly in central business districts and planned neighborhoods around it. These urban development plans were rather small scale changes in especially single parcels, allowing small coalitions and partnerships to be established. The decrease of the number of urban development plans and urban development plan modifications was on the other side a display of derivation of urban land rent. On the contrary, such a fall denotes for much more comprehensive exploitation of the urban land rent especially in the fringe and establishment of larger coalitions and networks of rent seeking. In a way, in these two peaks two new political mobilization mechanisms were established and by the time pass the networks emerging found new and better ways of exploitation of urban land rent.

At this point, a specific development plan modification process in the urban fringe of the city of Ankara was selected. The development plan modification was done in a suburban region called Çayyolu on public land registered as plot Çayyolu 907. The land is very valuable since it is very close to the prestigious new housing areas and the development plan modification transformed part of former green belt area to housing settlement through a very lengthy process that took nearly fifteen years. The whole process of development plan modification does not fully fulfill Turkish laws and planning regulations and it is illegal to some extent but it has been realized. A closer look at the case of Çayyolu 907 shows that the case shows all the characteristics of the patterns observed in the research universe.

The general overview of the administrative processes gave the impression about the acquisition of an important and large public land into private housing area. After a lengthy and complex urban planning process, the illegitimate transformation of the land into housing has been legitimized. Each and every stage of the process indicates possibility of establishment of informal relations between various actors from beginning to the end.

Then, an in depth study of the case of Çayyolu 907 was realized through an in depth archive study to reveal the actors, their positions and affiliations involved in the urban planning process. After ascertaining dominant actors, interviews and a survey were held to explore the types, degree and direction of the relations between various actors involved in the process. A rigorous mapping of all the processes of transfer of land title, planning decision making and judiciary was realized with respect to important dates, actors and institutions. Interviews are made with the planners and administrative staff at the planning departments of the municipalities and some municipal councilors. After carefully examining the results of the interviews and survey and cross checking the validity of the data worded by the respondents, a dataset matrix for social network analysis is constituted. The dataset then analyzed to show network structure, components, sub-groups and certain characteristic of the network like centrality, degree and betweenness of the relationships and groups to justify the hypothesis of this thesis about the political relations within urban planning process at micro level.

After defining certain patterns within the universe of urban development plan and modifications, a specific cluster of urban development plans were selected to in depth analysis. This cluster revolved around an interesting area at the fringe of the macro-form of Ankara, in a suburban area called Çayyolu, officially named cadastral parcel numbered 907. Çayyolu cadastral Parcel numbered 907 was part of the green belt sought in the 1990 Metropolitan Plan of Ankara. The urban planning process, in which the area was transformed from a forestry area belonging to treasure to a housing area inhabited by high income prestigious housing settlement, was seen to be best to observe the formation of an informal network of relations between around 100 people. Since, the process of transforming part of the green belt owned by treasure into a privately owned high income housing settlement legitimized through urban planning process involving more than 10 separate urban development plans and plan modifications of various scales and types all of which nearly proposed and enacted at the same day and the whole process took nearly

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more than 12 years and still not came to an end, covering political periods of a dozen of central governments, district mayors and metropolitan mayors. It is also a well documented example of the transformation of urban fringe into suburban development area by certain groups using all formal and informal means possible.

The case area, parcel 907 of Çayyolu, is located in the south-west development corridor of the macro-form of the city of Ankara and situated close to the prestigious housing areas Çayyolu and Beysukent. The area is very close to the main artery of Eskişehir road, which connects the city to the west. It covers approximately an area of 90 hectares. There are rugged parts in the area and the area is surrounded by three hills. Especially the foot of the hills and the area between them are very suitable for settlement. Formerly the area was defined as a part of the proposed green belt around the city of Ankara in "1990 Development plan of Ankara". The land is publicly owned and belongs to the treasure of the state.

Transformation of the Çayyolu 907 parcel into a prestigious housing settlement has been realized as a result of a series of official procedures, comprising of three main phases: change in ownership, change in planning decision and judiciary process. The planning and the judiciary phases started and concurrently carried out hereafter change in ownership consecutively.

Social network analysis is used to unearth the micro level of relations emerged between various actors involved in the planning and implementation process about Çayyolu 907 parcel. In order to do this, network data is to be gathered. First of all the group of actors that were possible to be found are defined among politicians, bureaucrats, entrepreneurs and land owners etc. By this way 98 individuals were defined as to be involved in the planning process of Çayyolu 907 parcel.

Then, first the position of each of them were evaluated based on the data in the archives. Archive data helped to locate key actors to start with a random tree research between different actors. The research started with five key persons. A structured interview is realized. Based on the names given by the first interviewees, further individuals were found and being interviewed. As a result, a matrix is obtained showing the connections, weight of these connections and their directions between various actors during the planning process of Çayyolu 907 Parcel. During interviews, various impressions about

the relations between actors were narrated by the respondents. Considering the validity of the information given by the respondents, only the relations and actors that are repeatedly worded by three or more respondent are accepted as valid as a general assumption and a rule.

Furthermore, based on the information given by respondents, the type of relations between actors involved in the urban planning process of the Çayyolu 907 parcel are classified under five different categories based on content analysis of the information given by respondents. These are personal acquaintance, coercion, reciprocal exchange, personal influence and illegal exchange. For instance, responses involving notions like bribe, extortion, cronyism, nepotism, patronage, graft, embezzlement are coded accordingly. Since the results of interviews displays complex sets of relationships between actors, by this way a clearer picture of the relationships between the actors could be framed.

As a result the a matrix obtained showing mutual relationships, their direction, their strength and character, which allow a network model to be established for the case of Çayyolu 907 Parcel as a representative of the network of relationships in the city of Ankara happening through urban planning process, aimed at obtaining substantial gains from urban land.

Social network analysis revealed interesting results. First of all it could be said that a clientelistic pyramid of network relations were observed. On the top of this pyramid were local politicians and middle and higher level local and central bureaucrats whereas other private actors and lower level bureaucrats are positioned in relatively lower positions. Yet, the cross cutting relations between actors from various levels give this pyramid a network quality. At the top the bonds between actors are mostly reciprocal exchange and personal acquaintance relations whereas at the middle and base coercion and illegal exchanges became prominent. Land acquisition is handled mostly in upper levels but, planning and judiciary processes have been realized in middle and lower levels. The most interesting information about the network or pyramid was about actors maintaining the vital positions in the intersection points. Some important brokers and businesspersons maintain the balance of the network and substantially gain from the network. The network analysis reveal that although there is a hierarchy between actors related with the network, the existence of the network is dependent upon middle level

brokers rather than high level actors. This is a very important result verifying the importance of brokerage in the informal relations concerning urban planning process.

To conclude, examination of micro level political relations embedded in urban planning process produced interesting results for both the urban political arena and urban planning process. First of all, it can be said that at least the political relations concerning the redistribution of income through spatial practices caused certain relations to gain persistence over time and through political and bureaucratic mechanisms of urban planning process. Addenda quality of informal relations at micro level within urban planning process causes certain networks of relations to become observable and persistent. By such a mix of formal and informal relations sitting on spatial practice and political mobilization strategies, inquiry into urban planning process provided justifications that urban political sphere can be taken as an independent area of study revolving around the political relations related with the continuous struggle to derive land based benefits.

On the other hand, the results of the conventional study and social network study revealed that, within and incremental environment of urban socio-spatial system, in a specifically defined time period providing the necessary circumstances for the emergence and flourish of certain type of relations urban planning process can become a process in which various actors form an informal network of relations that prevails through time, although the type, number, involvement of actors and the direction, type and degree of relations among them change over time in a complex fashion. It can be argued that the use of such networks as a means for political mobilization and an image representing ever increasing opportunity to gain urban land rent cause such networks to become even durable than the existing formal cadres. That can be taken as a clue that informal relations may become much more durable than expected instead of fading away. Yet, it is true that further inquiries are needed to elaborate upon the relationships and actors in order to fully grasp the nature of such network structures related with urban land and land rent.

Throughout this study, findings of the two phase analysis validate the hypothesis set at the beginning of the study. First of all the hypothesis that, urban planning process is not a solely technical procedure immune to the political influences, but on the contrary a predominantly political process by its nature and this political process is closely related

with the dominant political mobilization mechanism and its reflection in space is justified for different respects. First of all it has been revealed that throughout urban planning process certain parts of the process was manipulated by various actors and the relationships established between them. Such manipulations sometimes cause distortions in urban development plans and illegal and illegitimate results to emerge. The heavy influence of the politicians and upper level bureaucrats on the process and relatively marginal position of the planners as the people who prepare the plans also show the increasingly political nature of the process.

Findings of the study also justified the supporting hypothesis of the study. First of all, it has been revealed that there established various relations between the actors involved in the urban planning process and these relationships are a complex mixture of formal and informal ones. Secondly, especially the case of Çayyolu 907 parcel has shown the existence of a slack rent-seeking network which was organized by a local bureaucrat and involved urban planners, local politicians, bureaucrats, land developers, landlords, entrepreneurs, professionals, judges, real estate developers, heads of housing cooperatives, private planners etc. Moreover, urban macro form and the specific conditions of the city of Ankara as a city transforming from a planned one to an uncontrolled sprawl also influenced the structure and dynamics of the network. The network itself is not monolithic but consisted of sub-hierarchies, cliques and components which gave it a structure of a power pyramid at the same time. The operation of the network structure is in a way made possible by the opportunities provided by the urban planning system itself. Finally the hypothesis about the existence of patron-client relations, incubating growth machines, coalitions, and partnerships and corruption, bribery, nepotism, clientelism, favoritism, populism etc. since the operation of the network is based on relations of personal acquaintance, reciprocal exchange and illegal exchange relationships mainly.

The examination of the micro level of political relationship embedded in urban planning process in the city of Ankara between 1985 and 2005 has revealed very important results. The general scene has shown that without existence of a mechanism to control the unlimited use of local planning power, the unleashed forces of capitalist urbanization create its own mechanisms together with the formally defined ones to derive urban land rent wherever possible. Although such a structure is illegal and illegitimate to some extent, it is still an integral part of the capitalist system as a whole. The informal

networks of rent seeking are used by various fractions of the capitalist classes as well as the urban poor and the working class as a part or political mobilization mechanisms. Yet, the general direction of the mechanism is mostly defined by politicians and the capital holders who are in coalition with politicians.

Yet, it is unfortunate to see that all these rent seeking networks could not realize the emergence of a sustainable and healthy urban space but a dead-end in itself. Although by their very nature these networks represent the very dynamic and lively nature of the urban land and construction markets, the whole purpose of these networks at the end of the day turns out to be the ultimate gains from land in the form of the number of housing and commercial units to be sold but not for instance preservation of say ecologically sensitive areas for the future of the city. This in turn caused drastic problems for the city as can be seen in the insufficiencies of infrastructure system and the water shortage faced in 2007. In these networks planners (at least some of them) who from time to time try to exert the importance of issues like sustainability pushed to marginality and they are least effective in the formation of urban space. Further studies showing the deeper relationships between such as land developers and these networks may reveal ways of overcoming such situations.

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The Greater Municipality of Ankara Dept. of Expropriation and Municipal Properties Official Letter No:9207 Date:18.11.1997.

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APPENDICES

A. CURRICULUM VITAE

PERSONAL INFORMATION

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EDUCATION

Degree	Institution	Year of Graduation
MA	University of Kent Urban Studies	2001
MSc.	METU Urban Policy Planning and Local Governments	1999
BA	METU City and Regional Planning	1996
High School	Kurtuluş High School, Ankara	1991

WORK EXPERIENCE

Year	Place	Enrollment
2007- Present	The Special Provincial Administration of Ankara	Head of Strategy Development Directorate
2006-2007	The Special Provincial Administration of Ankara	Coordinator of Strategic Planning Office
2005-2006	The Ministry of Culture and Tourism	Culture and Tourism Specialist
1998-2004	The Planning Department of Greater Municipality of Ankara	Project Manager, Urban Planner
1997-1998	The Expropriation and Municipal Estates Department of Greater Municipality of Ankara	Project Manager, Urban Planner

FOREIGN LANGUAGES

Advanced English

PUBLICATIONS

1. Contribution to the Book *Restructuring of Local Governments*, METU (1997).

2. "Clientelistic Relations in Urban Sphere", in book of papers of 5th National Congress of Social Sciences in 1999.

3. Contribution to the Report of "Special Commission on Local Governments" of 8th National Development Plan, State Planning Agency of Turkey (2001).

4. Contribution to the Book Pedestrians and Pedestrian Accessibility in Kızılay, Ankara Branch of National Chambers of Architects (2003).

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6. "Mayors as the Mediators of Political Mobilization and Urban Planning in Metropolitan Areas: Cities of City Bosses" in book of papers of World Urbanism Day Colloquium, Chambers of City Planners (2003).

7. "On Possible Contributions of Applications based on Development Rights to Conservation and Rehabilitation of Historical Urban Areas", together with M. İpek YALÇIN, in book of papers of 27th World Urbanism Day Colloquium, Chambers of City Planners (2003).

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12. "79 Years of Ataturk's Forest Farm and Seeking Policies Towards Farms's Conservation" together with Eser ATAK, Planning 2004/3, National Chambers of City Planning.

13. Contribution to the book How the Ataturk's Forest Farm should be Conserved? Provincial Coordination Council of Turkish Association of Engineers and Architects (2005).

14. "The Use of Geographical Information Systems in Urban Planning and Power Relations: The Case of The Greater Municipality of Ankara" in the book *Restructuring of Turkish Public Administration in Information Age-I*, eds. Ahmet Nohutçu, Asım Balcı, Beta Press 2007.

15. "A Historical Look Towards the Concept of Urban Transformation that Became and Ideological Means: The Case of Ankara", in book of papers of 30th World Urbanism Day Colloquium, Chambers of City Planners (2003).

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18. "Hands-on Evaluation of Provincial Strategic Planning Process: The Experience of Ankara Special Provincial Administration" in the book Restructuring of Turkish Public Administration in Information Age-II, eds. Ahmet Nohutçu, Asım Balcı, Beta Press 2007.

HOBBIES

Classical Turkish Music, reed flute, literature, social sciences, philosophy, poetry, weight training, rowing, comics.

B.TURKISH SUMMARY

Özünde kent planlama süreci sırasında kurulan ve bir anlamda hem bu sürecin gerçekleşmesini sağlayan hem de bu süreç aracılığıyla kurumsallaşan çok farklı aktörler arasındaki siyasal ilişkileri incelemek amacıyla yola çıkan bu çalışmada yanıt bulunmaya çalışılacak olan temel araştırma sorusunun çıkış noktası bir kaç başlıkta ele alınabilir. Bunlar sırasıyla; kentsel politikanın ayırt edici özelliklerine ilişkin kuramsal ve yöntemsel olarak anlamlı bir açıklama getirmek, profesyonel kent planlama deneyimi ile kent kuramını bir araya getirerek mikro düzeyde aktörler arasındaki ilişkileri ve bu ilişkilerin olası sonuçlarını anlamak ve bu yolla siyaset bilimi ve kent planlaması için yeni bir kavrayış sağlayabilmek olarak ifade edilebilir. Bu çalışmanın ele aldığı temel araştırma sorusu şu şekilde tanımlanabilir: kent planlama pratiği içerisinde mikro düzeyde çok farklı aktörler arasında kurulan enformel siyasal ilişki ağları hakim hegemonik projelerin siyasal mobilizasyon stratejilerinin bir parçası olarak mekanın şekillendirilmesine nasıl ve neden yardımcı olur ve bu mekanizmayı anlamak kentsel siyasetin asıl doğasını yakalamaya nasıl yardımcı olur? Dolayısıyla bu çalışma sosyal bilimlerin bir çok alanının kesişiminde yer alan disiplinler arası bir çabayla da ilişkili hale gelmektedir. Bu alanlar kent planlama kuramı, kent siyaseti kuramı ve kollamacılık (clientelism) ve enformel siyasal ilişkilerle ilgili sosyal bilim kuramları olarak sıralanabilir.

Çalışmanın doğrulamaya çalıştığı ana sav, kent planlama pratiğinin siyasal etkilere bağışık salt bir teknik bir prosedür değil ama tam tersine doğası gereği ağırlıklı olarak siyasal bir süreç olduğudur. Bu siyasal süreç hakim siyasal mobilizasyon stratejileri ve bu stratejilerin mekana yansıyış biçimi ile yakında ilişkilidir. Bu ana sav altı yan savla da desteklenmektedir. Bunlar:

Destekleyici Sav 1. Kent planlama pratiği iç içe geçen formel ve enformel sosyal ve siyasal ilişkiler aracılığıyla gerçekleşmektedir. Bu formel ve enformel ilişkilere dayalı olarak kent planlama pratiğine dahil olan farklı aktör ve kuruluşlar birbirleriyle farklı düzeylerde ilişkilidir.

Destekleyici Sav 2. Kent planlama pratiği sırasında; kent plancıları, kent işletmecileri, bürokratlar, siyasetçiler, arazi geliştirenler, arazi sahipleri, girişimciler, profesyoneller ve diğer ilişkili yurttaşlar bazen aralarından çıkan belirgin bir birey tarafından bir araya getirilebilirler ve arazide özel çıkarlar arayan bireylerin oluşturduğu gevşek dokulu bir ağ şeklinde örgütlenebilirler (imar ağları ya da arazi geliştirme ağları).

Destekleyici Sav 3. Bu ağların işleyişleri ve iç devinimleri içlerinde bulundukları metropolitan alanın tarihsel ve mekansal karakteristikleri ile var olan planlama mevzuatı tarafından sınırlanır ve şekillendirilir.

Destekleyici Sav 4. Bu imar ağları yekpare yapılar değildir. İç içe geçen ya da ayrışan alt-hiyerarşiler, ağlar, hizipler ve alt unsurlar içerebilirler.

Destekleyici Sav 5. Bu ağlar formel kurallar ve ilişkiler tarafından sınırları çizilen kurumsal bir çevrede var olur ve işlerler. Ancak, alt hiyerarşiler ve ağlar belirgin enformel ilişki ve pratiklerin özel amaçlar doğrultusunda kullanıldığı özel noktalar etrafında kümeleşirler.

Destekleyici Sav 6. Bu imar ağları patron adamı ilişkileri, kuluçka halindeki büyüme makineleri (growth machine), koalisyonlar ve ortaklıklardan oluşabilirler ve yolsuzluk, rüşvet, akraba kayırma, kollamacılık ve popülizm gibi pratiklerle ilişkilenebilirler. Bu faaliyetlerin özgün bileşimi içinde bulunulan metropoliten alanın tarihi ve koşulları tarafından belirlenir.

Kent planlama literatüre gözden geçirildiğinde kent planlama pratiği ve mikro düzeyde bu pratiğin içine işlemiş olan siyasal ilişkilerin genel hatlarını çizmek için çok sayıda çalışma yapılmış olduğu görülmektedir. Böylesine bir çaba içinde bazı yazarlar hipotezlerini doğrulamak için daha çok aktörler ve siyasal ilişkilere odaklanarak görüşmeleri, öykücülüğü ve formel ağ analizi tekniklerini kullanmışlardır. Öte yandan, diğer bazı yazarlar ise kent planlama pratiğinin prosedürsel yönleri ve var olan siyasal system üzerindeki yansımaları üzerinde durmuşlardır. Yine de her iki yaklaşım da sıklıkla kent planlama pratiğinin siyasal boyutuna ilişkin kuramların geçerliliğini doğrulayacak kapsamlı kanıtları ortaya koyamamaktadır. Açıkçası, mikro düzeyde kent planlama pratiği içerisindeki siyasal ilişkilerin daha belirgin bir resmini elde edebilmek

için her iki yaklaşımın tümevarımcı ve tümdengelimci yaklaşımlarını birleştiren daha yenilikçi bir yöntem yaklaşımı gerekmektedir. Böylesine bir çaba, yukarıdan aşağıya yöntemin ve ağ analizi benzeri yöntemlerin bir arada kullanılması koşuluyla mikro düzeyde siyasal ilişkilerin anlaşılması için daha iyi bir çerçeve sunmakla kalmayacak, aynı zamanda kent planlama kuramına da katkıda bulunacaktır.

Bu sebeple, bu çalışmada ardışık iki aşamalı bir yöntem izlenmiştir. İlk aşamada, Ankara Kentinde 1985 ve 2005 yılları arasında kent planlama pratiği evreninin alışılageldik bir istatistiksel analizi yapılmıştır. Bu analizde, kent planlama sürecinin tüm aşamaları, özellikle de siyasal özellikleri kapsamlı bir şekilde incelenmeye çalışılmış ve belirgin davranış biçimleri ve ilişki kalıpları araştırılmaya çalışılmıştır. Bu kalıplara dayalı olarak, evrenin özelliklerini yansıtan özgün bir kent planlama pratiği örneği seçilmeye çalışılmıştır. Örnek olayın seçiminden sonar çalışmanın savlarını doğrulamak için kent planlama pratiği içerisinde var olan çok farklı aktörlerin aralarında kurulan ilişkileri incelemek amacıyla sosyal ağ analizi uygulanmıştır. Sosyal ağ analizi içerisinde ağ özellikleri göz önüne alınarak derinlemesine çözümlemeler ortaya konmaya çalışılmıştır.

Bu analizlerin tümü Ankara Kenti örnek seçilerek gerçekleştirilmiştir. Bu anlamda araştırmanın amacı, Ankara Kentinde 1985 ve 2005 yılları arasında çok farklı aktörler arasında kurulan ilişki ağlarının mikro düzeyde kent planlama pratiği içerisinde siyasal ilişkilerin kentilerini nasıl ortaya koyduklarını keşfetmek olarak ifade edilmiştir. Temel sorun mekansal unsurlar, kent planlama prosedürü ve formel ve enformel siyasal yapı arasındaki ilişkilere atıfla kent planlama pratiğinin genel örüntülerinin belirlenmesi ve bu doğrultuda çok farklı aktörler arasındaki ilişkilerin ve etkileşimin Ankara Kentinin mekansal şekillenmesi üzerindeki etkilerini tespit etmek olmuştur.

Örnek kentin ve dönemin seçiminde dört önemli sebep etkili olmuştur. Herşeyden once, küreselleşme olarak adlandırılan sürecin tüm etkileri tüm Türkiye'De yerleşme hiyerarşisini ve kentleri derinden etkilemiş, bunlar arasında başkent Ankara üzerinde sarsıcı değişimlere sebep olmuştur. Bu da Ankara Kentini her zamankinden daha değerli bir araştırma objesi haline getirmektedir çünkü, küreselleşme ile birlikte yerel düzeyin küreselleşmenin asıl bileşenleri olarak yeniden tanımlanması ile birlikte yerellikler daha fazla öne çıkmaya başlamış, bu koşullar altında ulus-devletin mekansal yansıması olan başkentin nasıl baskılar altında kaldığı ve nasıl dönüşümlere uğradığı büyük önem kazanmaya başlamıştır. Bu dönüşüm beklenebileceği gibi Ankara kentinde kent

planlama pratiğine de yansımaktadır. Ankara kenti gelişen küresel sisteme ve dünya kentleri ağı olarak adlandırılan sisteme eklemlenememenin sorunlarını derinlemesine yaşamaktadır. İkinci olarak, hem keüreselleşme sürecinin etkileriyle hem de çağdaş bir kent olma önündeki sorunlarla karşı karşıya gelen Ankara kenti aynı zamanda yerel siyasal temsil krizi de yaşamaktadır. Kentin sosyo-mekansal olarak üst gelir gruplarının yaşadığı banliyöler ve yeni orta sınıf yaşam tarzı ile gecekonduların ve gecekondular etrafında oluşan yaşam biçimleri arasında yarılması, var olan temsil mekanizmalarını etkisiz kılmakta, oluşan temsiliyet vakumunu dolduracak katılım mekanizmaları da oluşturulamamıştır. Üçüncü olarak, Ankara Kentinin tarihi olarak planlı kentsel gelişme ve kontrolsüz kentsel yayılma ve imar arasında yaşadığı çelişki Ankara Kentini araştırmaya değer kılmaktadır. Son olarak, bu çalışma aynı zamanda 1980'li yıllarda gerçekleştirilen yerelleşme reformunun sonuçlarının ve oluşturulan iki düzeyli metropoliten yönetim ve planlama sisteminin değerlendirilmesi için de bir fırsat sunmaktadır. Bu reform 2004 yılı sonunda yürürlüğe giren yeni bir reform ile son bulmuştur. Özetle, Başkent Ankara özellikle 1985 ve 2005 yılları arasında konjonktür, sosyo-ekonomik yapı, planlama tarihi ve yerel yönetim deneyimi açılarından planlama pratiği ve siyasal ilişkileri incelemek açısından çok ilginç ve önemli kentlerden birisi halini almıştır. Bütün bu unsurlar Ankara'nın kent planlama pratiğine de yansımıştır.

Bu çalışmada, araştırma analiz birimi olarak imar planları ve imar planı değişiklileri alınmıştır. İmar planları ve imar planı değişiklikleri yalnızca ozalit belgeler olarak değil, imar planı teklifinin tesliminden onayına ve hatta yapılaşmanın oluşmasına kadar geçen sürede gerçekleştirilen bir karar verme süreci olarak ele alınmıştır. Bir anlamda imar planları ve imar planı değişiklikleri kent planlama sürecinin görünen yasal ve prosedürel yüzü olarak araştırma nesnesi olarak kabul edilmişlerdir. Kent planlama pratiğinin aşamaları ise yasal prosedürel adımlar olarak kabul edilmiştir çünkü, siyasal ilişkiler yasal belgelerde izlerini bırakmaktadır. 1985 yılında yürürlüğe giren İmar Kanunu tüm imar planlarının hazırlanmasına, değerlendirilmesine ve uygulanmasına ilişkin hükümleri getirmektedir. Kanuna göre arazinin herhangi bir sebeple kullanımını içeren tüm faaliyetlerin bir imar planında tanımlanması gerekmektedir. Araziyi daha önceden imar planlarında belirlenmiş amaçlar dışında kullanma teşebbüsü var olan imar planlarının değiştirilmesini gerekli kılmaktadır. Eğer onaylı bir imar planı yoksa önerilen faaliyete uygun bir plan hazırlanmalı ve Kanunda tanımlanan süreçle yürürlüğe girmelidir. Ancak, Kanun imar planlarının gereksiz ve özel amaçlar için değiştirilmesini kesinlikle yasaklasa da özellikle Ankara Kentinde parçacı planlama faaliyetleri ve var olan imar

planlarında yapılan değişiklikler çok yaygın bir uygulama halini almıştır. Bu anlamda parçacı imar planlarının ve imar planı değişikliklerinin göreli olarak bazı ilişkilerin oluşumu ve gelişmesi için enformel ve tampon bir mekanizma oluşturdukları söylenebilir. Ancak, bu ilişkiler planlama kararlarına örtülü bir şekilde de olsa yansımakta ve resmi belgelerde izlerini bırakmaktadır.

Bu sebeplerle, 1985 ve 2005 yılları arasında Ankara Kentinde kent planlama süreci içerisindeki siyasi ilişkileri incelemek için imar planlarının onaylanma süreci araştırma birimi olarak seçilmiştir. Ankara için bu seçim çok anlamlıdır çünkü 1985 ile 2005 yılları arasında Ankara kentinde beş bini aşkın imar planı ve imar planı değişikliği onaylanmış ve yürürlüğe girmiştir. Bu imar planlarının ve imar planı değişikliklerinin incelenmesi kent planlama pratiği ile ilişkili olan mikro siyasal ilişkiler sisteminin ve tüm ilişkilerin ortaya konması için önemli bir araç olarak kullanılabilir.

Geçen son yirmi yılda Başkent Ankara çok farklı aktörler arasında kurulan çok farklı ilişki ağlarının özgün bir bileşiminin kent planlaması yoluyla kentsel mekana yansıdığı bir yer halini almıştır. Bu ilişkiler her zaman var olmuştur. Ancak, son yirmi yılda bu ilişkiler daha fazla çeşitlenmiş ve etkileri artmıştır. Özellikle parçacı imar planlama faaliyetleri mikro düzeydeki siyasal ilişkilerin biçimlenmesinde ve kentsel araziyi çok farklı amaçlarla kullanmasında en önemli araçlardan birisi halini almıştır. Bu sebeple son yirmi yılda gerçekleştirilen parçacı planlama faaliyetlerini inceleyen birisi Ankara Kentinde kent planlama pratiğinin siyasal yüzünün nasıl şekillendirildiğini anlayabilir.

Son yirmi yıldaki parçacı planlama çalışmaları incelendiğinde, merkezi iş alanı içindeki ve çevresindeki ve planlı alanlardaki parçacı planlama faaliyetlerinin çoğunluğunun onaylı planlarda belirlenmiş olan imar haklarından daha fazla imar hakkı elde etmek ya da yasadışı ya da gayri meşru yapılaşmaları meşrulaştırabilmek, yasallaştırabilmek için özellikle parsel ölçeğinde gerçekleştirildiği görülebilir. Öte yandan, kent makro formunun planlı kesimlerini dört bir yandan saran gecekondulardan ve gecekonduların ıslahıyla oluşmuş alanlardan oluşan kuşakta farklı bir durum söz konusu olmaktadır. Bu alanlarda, özellikle de Keçiören, Altındağ, Mamak, Çankaya ve Yenimahalle İlçelerinin çeperlerinde parçacı planlama çalışmalarının amacı fazladan imar hakları elde etmekten kendi cemaat mekanlarını yaratmaya çalışan muhafazakar grupların faaliyetlerine kadar çok geniş bir yelpazeye yayılmaktadır. Kentin bu kesimlerinde bazen milliyetçi-muhafazakar ve buna bağlı olarak cumhuriyet döneminde öngörülenden farklı yeni bir

yaşam tarzı farklı İslami grupların Külliye ve Camilerinin etrafında yeni yaşam çevrelerinin oluşmasının yolunu açmaktadır.

Kent makro formunun batı ve güney batı koridorunda ise daha farklı bir oluşum gözlenmektedir. Eskişehir Devlet Yolunun her iki yanına bazı devlet kurum ve kuruluşlarının desantralize olması ile başlayarak, orta ve üst gelir gruplarının bu yolun üzerinde banliyö yerleşmeleri oluşturmaları yönünde yeni bir eğilim belirmiştir. Daha sonraları bu tür eğilimler bölgedeki köylere de sıçramıştır. Arazi fiyatlarının da yükselmesiyle birlikte Ankara 1990 Nazım Planında öngörülen ve hazine arazilerinden oluşan yeşil kuşağın bazı kesimleri üst gelir gruplarına ait konut alanlarına dönüştürülmeye başlamıştır.

Tüm bu dönüşümler 1985 ve 2005 yılları arasında yürürlükte bulunan önemli bazı yasal düzenlemelerin oluşturduğu ortamda gerçekleştirilmiştir. Bu yıllar arasında metropolitan alanda belediyelerin kurumsal yapısını ve kent planlama sürecini ilgilendiren üç önemli Kanun bulunmaktadır. Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kanunu ve Belediye Kanunu belediyelerin belirlenmiş yasal sınırlar içerisinde nasıl işleyeceğini belirlemektedir. 1985 yılında yürürlüğe giren 3194 Sayılı İmar Kanunu ise açıkça plan yapmaya yetkili tüm kurum ve kuruluşlar ile plan tanımlarını, plan hazırlama, değerlendirme ve uygulama yöntemlerini belirlemektedir. Kent planlama pratiği açısından en önemli Kanun İmar Kanunu gibi gözükse de kimi zaman yasal boşluklar ve ayrıntı eksikliği gibi sebeplerle Belediye Kanunu ve diğer kuruluşların Kanunları da etkili olabilmektedir. Örneğin, belediye meclis üyeleri yasal olarak açıkça teknik plan kararları üretme hakkına sahip olmasalar da, bir çok durumda plan kararları meclis üyeleri tarafından şekillendirilmekte ve onaylanmaktadır. Çünkü, ne İmar Kanununda ne de ilgili mevzuatta plancıların hakları ve sorumluluklarına ilişkin açıklık bulunmamaktadır. Dolayısıyla, Türkiye'de kent planlama pratiğinin yasal çerçevesinin beklenenden çok daha fazla belirsiz ve karmaşık olduğu söylenebilir.

The period, which was taken as the main focus of the study between 1985 and 2005, have witnessed two neo-liberal trend that has been put into process both in central and local government levels at the beginning and at the end. Indeed, the neo-liberal transformation that has brought changes in the institutional structure at the local level was influential in determining the period under scrutiny. The period between these two

neo-liberal phases was period of turmoil involving coalitions in central government that were sometimes in contradiction with the local governments. It is important to explore the general political trends and structure in determining the nature of the relationships that has been established through partial planning efforts since various authoritative agents are used by various political interests in the central government and local government levels. For this reason, it is important to have a close look on the general political scheme.

Genel olarak araştırmanın ilk aşaması, yani Ankara Kentinde imar planı ve imar planı değişiklikleri evreninin 1985 ve 2005 arasında alışılagelen istatistiksel analizi, her plan ve plan değişikliğindeki mekansal, prosedürel ve siyasal değişkenlerin dikkate alınarak gerçekleştirilen bir eğilim araştırması ile başlamıştır. Bu amaçla, Ankara Büyükşehir Belediyesi ve bağlı ilç belediyelerinden çoğunlukla arşiv belgelerinin toplandığı bir ikincil analiz gerçekleştirilmiştir. Bu arşiv çalışması yaklaşık dört yıl sürmüş ve yalnızca belediyelerin planlama biimleri ile sınırlı kalmamış gerekli görülen yerlerde belediye meclislerinin ve bakanlıkların arşivlerine kadar uzanmıştır. Dört yıl süren bu araştırma boyunca yalnızca notlar alınmakla da kalınmamış, yer yer planlama birimlerindeki çalışanlarla ve belediye meclis üyeleriyle görüşmeler yapılarak bu görüşmeler elde edilen arşiv materyalinin sınıflandırılmasında kullanılmıştır.

Arşivlerden gerekli bilgi ve belgeler toplandıktan sonar, Ankara Kentinde 1985 ve 2005 yılları arasında teklif edilen ve önerilen tüm imar planı ve imar planı değişikliklerinin farklı niteliklerini içeren bir temel veri tabanı oluşturulmuştur. Beş binden fazla imar planı ve imar planı değişikliği için bilgi toplanmış ama, bunlardan 1045'i için öngörülen tüm alanlarda ve başlıklarda yeterli ve tutarlı bilgi bulunamadığından bu örnekler veri tabanında çıkarılmıştır. Bunun yanı sıra diğer bir önemli analiz tekniği elde edilen verileri daha iyi sınıflandırabilmek için kullanılmıştır. Karşılıklılık (correspondence) analizi kullanılarak her bir imar planı ve imar planı değişikliğinin hangi kümeler ve kümelenmeler içerisinde yer aldığı ve mekansal, prosedürsel ve siyasal değişkenlere bakıldığında imar planı ve değişiklikleri açısından ortaya çıkan alt kategoriler belirlenmiştir. Resmi arşivlerde bulunan ham veri üzerinden karşılıklılık analizi yapılarak tekrarlanan terim ve ifadeler üzerinden imar planı ve imar planı değişikliklerinin kümelenmesi incelenmiştir.

Karşılıklılık analizi yoluyla ana veri tabanı mekansal, prosedürel ve siyasal kategorilere ayrılmıştır. Mekansal kategoriler ayrıca yakınlık, karakteristik, ilçe gibi değişkenler kullanılarak ayrıntılandırılmıştır. Mekansal karakteristikler veri tabanında bulunan konum bilgisi kullanılarak oluşturulmuş, Ankara Kentinin mekansal ve tarihi göz önüne alınarak yeniden düzenlenmiştir. Mekansal veri kullanılmıştır çünkü belli bir düzeyde mikro düzeydeki siyasal ilişkilerin imar planı ya da imar planı değişikliğinin gerçekleştirildiği alanın karakteristik özellikleri tarafından şekillendirildiği varsayımında bulunulmuştur. Bunun yanı sıra toplanan verideki bürokratik mekanizmalara ilişkin unsurlar kullanılarak veri tabanının prosedürel alt başlıkları ayrıntılandırılmıştır. Ayrıca, yerel ve merkezi hükümet düzeyinde önemli tarihi siyasal olaylar ve seçim sonuçları siyasal alt kategoriler oluşturulmakta kullanılmıştır. Bu aşamada faktör analizi kullanılarak elde edilen kategori sayısı anlamlı bir düzeye indirilmeye çalışılmıştır.

Daha sonar, Ankara örneğinde imar planı ve imar planı değişikliklerinin farklı kategorilere gore dağılımı ve elde edilen verinin çapraz kesit analizi belirgin olası örüntülerin tespit edilmesinde kullanılmıştır. Elde edilen bütün örüntülerin derinlemesine gözden geçirilmesi 3955 örnek olay arasından tüm evreni en iyi şekilde temsil eden bir örneğil seçilmesi için gerekli olan ölçütü belirmede faydalı olmuştur. Ankara Kentinde 1985 ve 2005 yılları arasında yapılan tüm imar planı ve imar planı değişiklikleri esnasında kurulan siyasal ilişkileri temsil etme kapasitesine sahip bir örnek olayın seçilmesinden sonar, araştırmanın ikinci aşaması yani formel sosyal ağ analizi yürütülmüştür.

Bu aşamada Ankara Kentinin çeperinde gerçekleştirilmiş öagün bir imar planı değişikliği süreci derinlemesine araştırma için seçilmiştir. Bu imar planı değişikliği Çayyolu olarak adlandırılan banliyö bölgesinde Çayyolu 907 parsel olarak tapuya kayıtlı hazine arazisi üzerinde gerçekleştirilmiştir. Çayyolu 907 parsel var olan onaylı imar planlarında yeşil kuşağın bir parçası olarak görünmektedir. Arazi çok değerlidir çünkü yeni oluşan prestijli yeni banliyö konut alanlarına çok yakındır. Yapılan plan değişikliği ile on beş yıl süren çok uzun bir planlama süreci sonunda arazi yeşil kuşak kullanımından konut kullanımına dönüştürülmüştür. Tüm bu planlama süreci Türk imar planlama mevzuatına göre bazı açılardan yasa dışı ve gayri meşru olmasına rağmen gerçekleştirilmiştir. Çayyolu 907 parsel örneğine yakından bir bakış bu örneğin araştırma evreninde gözlemlenen örüntüleri temsil ettiğini göstermektedir.

Ardından Çayyolu 907 Parsel örneğine ilişkin olarak aktörleri, konumlarını ve kent planlama pratiği içerisinde yer alan aidiyetlerin kaynağını gösterbilmek için derinlemesine bir arşiv çalışması gerçekleştirilmiştir. Baskın aktörler belirlendikten sonra süreçte yer alan farklı aktörler arasındaki ilişkilerin türleri, derecelerini ve yönlerini ortaya çıkarmak amacıyla görüşmeler yapılmıştır. Mülkiyet dönüşümüne, plan kararlarının üretilmesine ve yargıya ilişkin tüm süreçler titizlikle açıklanmıştır. Bu süreçlerde belediyelerin planlama birimlerindeki plancılar ve idari personel ile yerel meclis üyeleriyle görüşmeler gerçekleştirilmiştir. Bu araştırmada görüşülen deneklere kartopu yöntemi ile üç soru sorulmuştur. En fazla erişilebilir aktörlerden başlanarak aktörlere şu sorular sorulmuştur: Çayyolu 907 parsel planlama süreci boyunca kimlerle temasınız oldu? Sizinle o kişi arasında ya da planlama sürecinde yer alan diğer kişiler arasında kurulan ilişkinin doğası ve karakteristiği neydi? Bu ilişkiye (bir en düşük ve dört en güçlü olmak üzere) birden dörde kadar nasıl bir derece verirsiniz? Görüşmelerin ve yapılan bu araştırmaların sonucunda ve denekler tarafından verilen cevapların geçerliliği çapraz olarak sorgulanarak sosyal ağ analizi için bir veri tabanı matrisi hazırlanmıştır. Bu matris daha sonra sosyal ağ analizi yazılımları olan UCINET ile analiz edilmiş, analiz sonuçları NETDRAW grafik programında temsil edilmiştir. Elde edilen sonuçlarla ağ yapısı, bileşenler, alt gruplar ağın merkezilik, derece ve arasındalık gibi bazı özellikleri incelenmiş ve bu çalışmanın kent planlaması içerisindeki mikro düzey siyasal ilişkilerin kanıtlanması için kullanılmıştır.

Çalışmanın sonuçları en başta Ankara Kentinde neo-liberal politikaların etkilerini ortaya koymak bakımından oldukça anlamlı sonuçlar üretmiştir. İncelenen örnek kapitalist kentleşmenin belli formları içinde kentsel mekanın sürekli olarak kent planlama pratiği aracılığıyla yeniden şekillendirildiğini ve yeniden şekillendirme sürecinde bazı siyasal ilişki ağlarının da kurulup çözülebildiğini göstermektedir. Ankara Kentinde de benzer süreçler yapılan araştırma sonucunda incelebilmiştir. Her şeyden önce imar planlarının ve imar planı değişikliklerinin yıllara göre dağılımı incelendiğinde neo-liberal ve neo-muhafazakar akımların etkisi rahatlıkla izlenebilmektedir. 1985 ve 2005 yılları arasında plan ve plan değişikliklerinin sayısında iki önemli zirve yaşanmış, bu zirveler dışında plan değişikliklerinin sayısı aynı düzeyde seyretmiştir. Bu iki zirve noktası 1980'lerin ve 1990'ların ikinci yarısına, belediye yönetiminde iki ayrı neo-liberal uygulama dönemine denk düşmektedir. Merkezi hükümette de kendi partilerinin bulunduğu bir dönemde Mehmet Altınsoy 1980'lerde, Melih Gökçek ise 1990'larda bu artış dönemlerinde belediye başkanlığı yapmışlardır. Altınsoy döneminde, iktidardaki liberal hükümetin

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korporatist politikaları doğrultusunda oluşan siyasal mobilizasyon politikalarının büyük sermaye sahiplerini hedef alan stratejileri aracılığıyla oluşan kentsel rantın büyük altyapı projeleri ile sömürülmesi sonucunda bu tür bir dönüşüm yaşanmıştır. İmar planları ve imar planı değişiklikleri ile büyük altyapı projeleri gerçekleştirilmiş, özellikle kent merkezinde ve kent merkezi etrafında belli aktörler arasında kurulan ortaklıklarla imar hakları arttırılarak kentsel rantın paylaşımı sağlanmıştır. Diğer yandan Altınsoy'a göre daha muhafazakar bir liberalliği uygulamaya koyan Gökçek'in döneminde ise imar planı ve imar planı değişiklikleri kentsel rantın popülist amaçlarla ve Gökçek'in muhafazakar partisinin amaçları doğrultusunda kullanımı sonucunda plan ve plan değişikliği sayısında artış yaşanmıştır. Her iki dönemde de imar planı ve imar planı değişikliklerinde yaşanan zirve noktalarında yapılan değişikliklerin özellikle kent merkezi ve etrafındaki planlı alanlarda parsel düzeyinde yapılan değişikliklerden oluştuğu ve bir anlamda göreli olarak az sayıda aktör arasında kurulan değişiklikleri içerdiği söylenebilir. Plan değişikliklerinin sayısının azalması ise bu anlamda kensel ranttan faydalanılmadığı anlamına gelmemekte, tam tersine, yapılan imar planı ve imar planı değişikliklerinin daha çok aktörün işbirliği ile kentin çeperindeki büyük arazilerde az sayıda ama kapsamlı değişiklikler haline geldiğini göstermektedir. Bir anlamda bu iki zirve noktasında belli siyasal mobilizasyon mekanizmaları mekanda örgütlenmiş, zaman geçtikçe de kentsel ranta el koymanın daha etkin yolları keşfedilmiştir.

Bu anlamda bu iki dönem ortak noktalara sahip olmakla birlikte belli anlamlarda da farklılaşmaktadır. Altınsoy döneminde yapılan değişiklikler kentin gelişmeye açık ilçelerinde dengeli bir şekilde dağılmaktayken Gökçek zamanında yapılan plan değişiklikleri sayısında zirve yaşandığı dönemlerde değişikliklerin özellikle Keçiören, Altındağ gibi ıslah imar planları yoluyla gecekondu dönüşümlerinin yaşandığı ve yeni muhafazakar bir orta sınıfın ortaya çıkmaya başladığı alanlarda yoğunlaştığı görülmektedir. Özellikle Refah Partisi döneminde yaşanan İslamcı yaşam biçiminin yaygınlaşması Gökçek'in 1990'lardaki tavrında etkili olmuştur. Yapılan plan ve plan değişiklikleri incelendiğinde kamusal alanların dinsel alanlara dönüştürülmesi ve muhafazakar yaşam biçiminin yaygın hale geldiği konut alanlarının kentin çeperinde oluşturulması gibi tipik uygulamalar ağırlık kazanmaktadır. Ancak bu farklılıklar dışında her iki dönemde de gerekli koalisyonlar oluştuktan sonra Ankara Kentinin ana gelişme aksı olan güney batı aksı üzerinde büyük alanlarda yapılan imar planı ve imar planı değişikliklerinin her iki dönemde de ortak olduğu görülmektedir.

Bu durum 1985 ve 2005 yılları arasında yapılan imar planlarının ve imar planı değişikliklerinin İlçelere göre dağılımı incelendiğinde de belirginleşmektedir. Yapılan değişikliklerin daha çok Çankaya, Yenimahalle ve Keçiören ilçelerinde yoğunlaştığı görülmektedir. Çankaya ilçesinin cumhuriyetin kuruluşundan beri kentin en gelişmeye açık ve rantın yüksek olduğu alanlarını içermesi, Yenimahalle ilçesinin Ankara Kentinin batı gelişme aksı üzerinde yer alması ve Keçiören İlçesinde 1990'lar ve sonrasında ortaya çıkan muhafazakar yaşam tarzının baskısı bu yoğunlaşmada etkili olmuştur. Bu ilçelerin nüfuslarına oranla yapılan değişiklikler dikkate alındığında bu ilçelere Etimesgut da eklenmektedir. Etimesgut İlçesi de sözü edilen muhafazakar yaşam tarzının ve gelişme aksı üzerinde yer alması sebebiyle artan kentsel rantın etkileriyle imar planı ve imar planı değişikliklerinde fazlalaşmanın yaşandığı bir ilçe olmuştur.

Yapılan imar planı ve imar planı değişikliklerinin konum olarak kent merkezine yakınlığı dikkate alındığında değişikliklerin daha çok kent merkezi, kent merkezinin etrafındaki planlı mahalleler ve bu mahallelerin dışındaki çevrede gerçekleştiği görülmektedir. Bu sonuç değişikliklerin sayısının daha çok rantın yüksek olduğu alanlarda ve küçük alanlarda farklı amaçlarla yoğunlaştığını göstermesi açısından anlamlıdır. Kent merkezindeki ticari ranttan ve planlı alanlardaki konut rantından faydalanmak için yapılan imar hakkı artışları ve bu alanların çevresinde yer alan gecekondu kuşağının dönüşümünü sağlamak için gecekondu ıslah imar plan kararlarında yapılan değişikleri bu planların temelini oluşturmaktadır. Yine de yukarıda da ifade edildiği gibi bu parçacı yapı iyi örgütlenmiş bir enformel ilişkiler ağından daha çok farklı aktörler arasındaki geçici ortaklıklara işaret ediyor olabilir. Gelecekte yapılacak çalışmalarda araştırma evreninde hangi plan değişikliklerinde hangi aktörlerin etkili olduğuna ilişkin yeni bir ağ analizi gerçekleştirilebilirse bu anlamda da sonuçlara varılabilir.

Yapılan imar planlarının ve imar planı değişikliklerinin plan türüne ve plan ölçeklerine göre dağılımı da yukarıda ifade edilen resmi doğrulamaktadır. Yapılan değişiklikler daha çok 1/1000 ölçekteki uygulama imar planları ve uygulama imar planı değişiklikleri ile 1/5000 ölçekli nazım imar ve nazım imar planı değişikliklerinden oluşmaktadır. Yürürlükte mevzuata göre herhangi bir plan değişikliğinin en hızlı ve en az bürokratik işlemle gerçekleştirilebilmesi için 1/1000 ölçekte gerçekleştirilmesi gerekmektedir. Çünkü ilçe belediyesince hazırlanan plan ya da plan değişikliği Büyükşehir Belediyesince de onaylandıktan sonra yürürlüğe girmektedir. 1/5000 ölçekli plan ve değişikliklerde bu süreç daha da karmaşıklaşmakta ve bürokratikleşmektedir. Yapılan

1/1000 ölçekli değişikliklerin daha çok tek parsel, birkaç parsel ya da ada ölçeğinde yoğunlaşması da bu eğilimi güçlendirmektedir. Kimi zaman büyük alanları kapsayan 1/1000 ölçekli değişiklikler bulunmakla birlikte genel eğilimin bu yönde olması yapılan değişikliklerin daha çok parsel ölçeğinde imar haklarının arttırılmasına ve kaçak yapılaşmaların meşrulaştırılmasına yönelik olduğu sonucu çıkarılabilmektedir. 1/5000 ölçekli değişiklikler ise daha çok kentin çeperindeki ve dışındaki alanlarda banliyöleşme sonucunda ortaya çıkmaktadır.

Yapılan imar planı ve imar planı değişikliklerinin gerçekleştiği alanlardaki önceki ve sonraki plan değişiklikleri ile yapılan plan ve plan değişiklikleri ile getirilen değişikliğin karakteristiği incelendiğinde ise bu eğilimlerin iç dinamikleri daha iyi anlaşılmaktadır. Bu anlamda belirgin değişiklik formları gözlenebilmektedir. Öncelikle yapılan plan ve değişikliklerin çok büyük bir kısmının imar haklarının arttırılması ya da kaçak yapılaşmaların yasallaştırılması amacıyla gerçekleştirilmiş olduğu görülmektedir. Bunun yanı sıra kentin çeperindeki kırsal alanların konut, sanayi ve ticaret kullanımlarına dönüştürülmesi, kamusal alanların, özellikler de yeşil ve açık alanların konut, ticaret ve dinsel tesislere dönüştürülmesi ve gecekondu ıslah alanlarındaki ıslah imar planlarında belirlenmiş imar haklarının arttırılması için yapılan imar planları ve imar planı değişiklikleri çok önemli yer tutmaktadır. Bu değişikliklerin sonucunda kentin altyapısında bir çok yetersizlik ortaya çıkmış ve bu anlamda gerçekleştirilen trafo alanları gibi imar planı değişiklikleri de belirgin bir yer tutmaktadır.

İmar planı ve imar planı değişikliklerinin hangi aktörler tarafından gerçekleştirildiğine bakıldığında ise yine yukarıda anlatılan eğilimlerin desteklendiği görülmektedir. Yapılan değişikliklerin büyük bir kısmı bireyler ve ilçe belediyeleri tarafından başlatılmış değişikliklerdir. Büyükşehir belediyesi tarafından başlatılan değişikliklerin sayısı düşük olmakla birlikte mevzuata göre bunun sebebinin Büyükşehir belediyelerinin daha büyük alanları kapsayan 1/5000 ölçekli değişiklikleri yapma yetkisinde olması olduğu açıktır. Ancak bu durum Büyükşehir belediyelerine daha büyük alanlarda daha fazla aktörle ortaklıklar kurarak daha geniş bir siyasal taban oluşturabilme şansını tanımaktadır. Bunların yanı sıra diğer devlet kuruluşları, özellikle de altyapıya ilişkin kuruluşlar tarafından başlatılan plan ve plan değişiklikleri ise yapılan değişikliklerin altyapı üzerinde yarattığı baskıyı göstermek açısından oldukça anlamlıdır.

Yapılan imar planı ve imar planı değişikliklerinin teklifinden onayına kadar geçen süre incelendiğinde ise, ortalama olarak yapılan planların yüz günün altında bir süre içerisinde gerçekleştirilmiş olduğunu göstermektedir. Ancak, yapılan derinlemesine bir inceleme bir çok planda ve plan değişikliğinde bu süreden önemli sapmalar olduğunu göstermektedir. Kimi zamanlar planların anı gün içerisinde teklif edilip onaylandığı ya da onaylanma sürecinin yıllar sürebildiği gözlemlenmektedir. Böylesine durumlarda getirilmek istenen değişikliğin ardında çok baskın bir hızlandırıcı etkinin bulunduğu, ya da getirilen teklif üzerinde yaygın tartışmanın bulunduğu sonucu çıkarılabilmektedir.

Siyasal verilere bakıldığında da plan değişikliklerinin dağılımı açısından ilginç sonuçlara varılmaktadır. Özellikle merkezi hükümetteki iktidarlara bakıldığında plan değişiklikleri ile iktidarlar arasında ilginç ilişkiler gözlemlenmektedir. Örneğin yapılan değişikliklerin çok büyük bir kısmının 1980'li yılların başında ANAP hükümetlerinin iktidar olduğu dönemlerde yapılmış olduğu görülmektedir. Bunun bir istisnasını 1990'ların sonundaki ANAP-DSP-MHP koalisyonu oluşturmaktadır. Öte yandan yapılan plan değişikliklerinin merkezi hükümet türüne göre değişimi incelendiğinde ise daha farklı bir durum ortaya çıkmaktadır. Görev süreleri de dikkate alınarak yapılan incelemede koalisyon hükümetleri dönemlerinde tek parti hükümetlerinden daha fazla ve yoğun imar planı ve imar planı değişikliğinin gerçekleştirilmiş olduğu görülmektedir. Burada tek parti hükümetleri dönemlerinde bazı aktörlerin ve çıkar gruplarının dışlanabildiği, koalisyon hükümetleri dönemlerinde ise kentsel rantın dağıtımı için daha yaygın bir siyasal taban oluşturulabildiği savı ortaya atılabilir.

İlçe belediyelerinde iktidarda olan siyasal partilerin imar planları ve imar planı değişiklikleri ile olan ilişkisine bakıldığında ise yine ilginç sonuçlara ulaşılmaktadır. 1980'lerin ve 1990'ların başında ANAP ve Sosyal Demokratların hem merkezi hükümette hem de ilçe belediyelerinde etkili oldukları görülürken 1990'ların ikinci yarısından itibaren köklü siyasal partilerin tabandaki etkisinin de azalmasıyla birlikte bu yapı bozulmaya uğramıştır. Burada ilçe belediyelerinin imar planları ve imar planı değişikliklerinin yapılmasındaki etkisinin azalması söz konusu değilse bile, siyasal partilerin geleneksel siyasal mobilizasyon kanalları üzerinden planlama sürecini etkileme kapasitesinin geçen zaman içerisinde azaldığı söylenebilir.

Öte yandan Büyükşehir belediyelerine bakıldığında ise Büyükşehir belediye başkanlarının belirgin siyasi figürler olarak ortaya çıktıkları izlenebilmektedir. Her bir

belediye başkanının döneminde gerçekleştirilen imar planlarının ve imar planı değişikliklerinin sayısı incelendiğinde Altınsoy, Karayalçın ve Gökçek'in ilk dönemlerinde plan değişikliklerinin sayısının arttığı ancak görev süresinin yapılan plan değişikliği sayısına oranı incelendiğinde en fazla değişikliğin Gökçek ve Altınsoy dönemlerinde gerçekleştirildiği görülmektedir. Gökçek'in dört ayrı siyasal yönelimle üç ayrı dönem iktidarda olduğu da düşünülürse bu üç belediye başkanı arasında en fazla Gökçek'in değişen siyasal koşullar ve siyaset yapma biçimi karşısında imar planı ve imar planı değişikliklerini etkin bir araç olarak kullandığı söylenebilir. Ancak, Gökçek'in dört ayrı döneminde de farklılıklar görülmektedir. Gökçek'in ilk döneminde yani Gökçek Refah Partisinin bir üyesi iken plan değişikliklerinin sayısı çok artmış, Gökçek Fazilet Partisinde iken, daha sonra bağımsız bir belediye başkanı iken ve son olarak AKP üyesi iken plan değişikliklerinin sayısı sürekli olarak düşmüş, ancak planların kapsadığı alan büyümüş, konumları farklılaşmıştır. Bir anlamda Büyükşehir belediye başkanı olarak Gökçek'in imajı gelişmiş, imar imalı ve değişikliklerini daha etkin kullanmaya başlamış, kurduğu ortaklık ve koalisyonlar genişlemiştir.

Görülebileceği gibi araştırmanın ilk aşamasında derinlemesine araştırma yapmak için gerekli örnek olayın seçilebilmesi için gerekli örüntüler tespit edilmiştir. Seçilen örneğin daha fazla aktörü içermesi ve belirgin enformel siyasal ilişkilerin gözlemlenebilmesi için kentin dışında banliyö alanlarında gerçekleştirilen, uzun zaman alan, bir çok plan ve plan değişikliğini kapsayan, kamusal alanların özel kullanımlara dönüştürülmesini getiren ve genellikle kişiler tarafından başlatılmış bir örneğin seçilmesi incelenecek ilişkilerin ortaya çıkarılması anlamında önemli örüntüler olarak görünmektedir. Çayyolu 907 parsel örneği bu anlamda araştırma evrenindeki kalıpları yansıtmaktadır. Süreç yaklaşın 15 yıldan beri devam etmektedir ve hazine arazisinin özel kullanıma dönüşümünü getiren yer yer gayri meşru mekanizmalar kullanarak işleyen bir ilişkiler ağını örneklemektedir.

Çayyolu 907 Parsel örneğinin sosyal ağ analizi de ilginç sonuçlar vermektedir. Öncelikle söz konusu imar planlama sürecinin içine dahil olan aktörler arasındaki ilişkiler ağının ağ yapısına bakıldığında neredeyse aktörlerin çoğunluğunun yerel aktörler olduğu görülmektedir. Ağ içerisinde merkezi siyasal alandan ya da merkezi hükümet düzeyinde aktörler bulunsa da bu akörlerin sayısı azdır ve konumları göreli olarak merkezi değildir. Hangi aktörün merkez hangi aktörün yerel olduğunu Ankara gibi bir başkentte belirlemek zor olsa da yapılan analizde planlama sürecinin yer yer merkezi aktörler aracılığıyla olsa da ağırlıkla yerel aktörler arasında kurulan ilişkilerle

yürütüldüğünü göstermiştir. Bu aktörler arasında bürokratlar, politikacılar, teknokratlar, yargıçlar, iş adamları, arazi sahipleri, akademisyenler, emlakçılar, özel planlama büroları ve mafya yer almakta, bu aktörler arasında en fazla politikacılar, bürokratlar ve arazi sahipleri süreç üzerinde etkili olmaktadır. Aslında yapılan görüşmeler sonucunda da tüm bu sürecin aslında Büyükşehir belediyesindeki bazı bürokratlar tarafından başlatılıp aracılık edildiğini göstermiştir.

Bunun yanı sıra, aktörler arasındaki ilişkilere bakıldığında ise hakim olan ilişkilerin kişisel yakınlık, karşılıklı alış veriş ve zorlama ilişkisi olduğu söylenebilir. Bu durum ise süreçte yer alan çok fazla sayıda siyasetçi ve bürokratın varlığı ile açıklanabilir. Genellikle aynı alanda uzun yıllar birlikte çalışan bürokratlar aralarında kişisel ilişkiler geliştirebilmekte, bu tür ilişkiler planlama bürokrasisinde çok önemli bir kaynağa dönüşmektedir. Yine üst düzey bürokratların ve siyasetçilerin daha alt düzeylerdeki bürokratlar üzerinde baskı kurması ise yine sık rastlanılan bir durumdur. Muhtemelen Çayyolu 907 Parsel örneğinin gerçekleştirilmesinin başlangıç aşamalarından temel bazı ilişkilerin kurulmasında baskı ilişkileri ve kişisel yakınlık ilişkileri etkili olmuş, ancak zaman geçtikçe aktörler birbirini tanıdıkça karşılıklılık ilişkileri ve kollamacı ilişkiler ağırlık kazanmaya başlamıştır. Burada farklı tür ilişkiler arasında belli bir ardışıklık olduğu ya da bir hiyerarşi olduğu iddia edilmese de kimi zaman ilişkiler ağının yürütülmesinde bazı tür ilişkilerin daha baskın olduğu görülmektedir.

Yapılan ağ analizi sonucunda ağ yapısının aynı zamanda farklı iktidar düzeylerinde kurulan alt grup ve hiyerarşileri içerdiği de görülmektedir. Bu ilişkilerin en önemlisi en üst düzeyde Büyükşehir belediye başkanı ile merkezi hükümet ve bürokrasiden güçlü aktörler arasında kurulan alt grup tarafından oluşturulmaktadır. Daha alt düzeyde Büyükşehir belediye meclisinin imar komisyonu gibi önemli bazı düzeylerdeki aktörler arasındaki ilişkilerin önemli bir düzey oluşturduğu görülmektedir. Bu düzeyler dışındaki aktörler arasında da önemli alt gruplar oluşsa da en önemli ortaklıklar bu gruplar arasında kurulmaktadır. Burada en çarpıcı sonuç Büyükşehir belediye başkanının ilişkide bulunduğu insanların konumları ve iktidarları açısından ağın en güçlü aktörü olmasına rağmen ilişkilerinin sayısına bakıldığında ağın en merkezi konumunda bulunmamasıdır. Ağın en merkezi konumunda bulunan aktör Büyükşehir belediyesindeki bir aktördür. Buradan Büyükşehir belediyesinin daha önceden kurulmuş bir karmaşık ilişkiler ağına daha sonradan dahil olduğu ve bu ilişkiler ağının aslında aracılar tarafından işler halde

tutulduğunu göstermektedir. Bu aracılar olmasa belki de bu ağ aracılığıyla kurulan ilişkilerin niteliği de değişecektir.

Yapılan bu iki düzeyli araştırma sonucunda Ankara Kentinde 1985 ve 2005 yılları arasında yapılan tüm imar planları ve imar planı değişiklikleri dikkate alındığında araştırmanın başında ortaya konan savların da doğrulandığı görülmektedir. Araştırmanın bulguları gerçekten de kent planlama süreci bir çok aktörün etkili olduğu ve bu aktörler arasında kurulan ilişkiler ağının planlama sürecini siyasal bir sürece dönüştürdüğünü göstermektedir. Bu siyasal ilişkiler bir yanıyla merkezi hükümet düzeyindeki siyasal mobilizasyon mekanizmaları tarafından şekillendirilirken aynı zamanda da kendi yapısı içerisindeki aracılar vasıtasıyla ayakta tutulmaktadır. Bu rant arama ağları bir yandan mekandan kaynaklı ve mekandan beklenen rantlar aracılığıyla, bir yandan da bu rantları elde etmek için verilen mücadeleyi temsil eden planlama sürecinin prosedürleri ve bürokratik mekanizmaları aracılığıyla kalıcı hale gelmekte, etkisi artmakta ve aktörler arası ilişkiler derinleşmektedir. Hatta bu yolla rant arayan bu ağlar giderek gelişmekte, öğrenmekte ve daha fazla ranta el koymak için planlama sisteminin olanaklarını kullanmaya başlamıştır. Önceden parsel ölçeğinde bir rant arayışı söz konusu iken daha sonradan ağın genişlemesiyle birlikte kentin çeperinde rant beklentisi yüksek alanlarda büyük alanların dönüşümü yoluyla çok daha büyük rantların elde edilmesi süreci başlamıştır. Bir anlamda çalışma bu ağların planlama sisteminin formel yapısı ile birlikte var olduğunu ve mikro düzeyde aslında kentsel mekanın şekillendirilmesinde asıl etkili olanın bu mekanizmalar olduğunu göstermektedir.