

CREATION OF THE COMMERCIAL NODE:
SÖĞÜTÖZÜ, ANKARA

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ABSTRACT

CREATION OF THE COMMERCIAL NODE: SÖĞÜTÖZÜ, ANKARA

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The aim of the study is to discuss and determine the property relations, development patterns and major agents at Söğütözü region in Ankara, where is claimed to be new central business node, developing with ultimate architectural, constructional efforts and highly sophisticated land speculations.

Rapid transformation in characteristic of Söğütözü region from agricultural use to commercial uses at twenty years does not only display contemporary space creation efforts, but also shows tendencies of private entrepreneurs in Ankara. Increasing commercial activities on the land and introduce of new modes of interaction patterns, which are related with the rise of private property in neo-liberal era after 1980, also brings out changing protocols on property ownership patterns.

In this context, Söğütözü case is related with discourses about repositioning of private initiatives on urban issues. However this becomes critical, when reconsidering, the capital city was designed to be modern cradle of republic by the public comprehensive planning initiatives. The current situation at the region is bringing new sets of confronting concepts between comprehensive planning approaches and property capital's space creation methods.

Figuring out basics of space creation agencies and achieving appropriate design guidelines at Söğütözü may not only provide efficient well-growth of the specific sector of the city, but also bring out alternative solutions to achieve urban compromise in Ankara. For that reason, determinations on property formation, physical developments at Söğütözü should be studied in historical context.

Key Words: Comprehensive planning, urban-scale projects, power relations, neo-liberalism, compromise.

ÖZ

MERKEZİ İŞ ALANI ODAĞI YARATIMI: SÖĞÜTÖZÜ, ANKARA

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Bu çalışmanın amacı, üst düzey mimari, inşai gayretler, sofistike arazi spekülasyonlarıyla şekillenen ve Ankara'nın yeni merkezi iş noktası olarak görülen, Söğütözü bölgesindeki mülkiyet ilişkilerini, gelişim süreçlerini, kalıplarını ve aktörlerini irdelemek ve tanımlamaktır.

Söğütözü bölgesinin karakterinin, tarımsal kullanımlardan ticari kullanımlara doğru son yirmi yılda göstermiş olduğu hızlı değişim, sadece günümüz mekan üretim süreçlerini değil, aynı zamanda Ankara'daki özel girişimcilerin eğilimlerine de ışık tutmaktadır. 1980 sonrası neo-liberal etkilerle ilişkili olarak bölgede yükselen ticari faaliyetler ve yeni ilişkiyel biçim sunumları aynı zamanda mülkiyet sahipliği protokollerinin değişimi de açığa çıkartmaktadır.

Bu bağlamda, Söğütözü konusu özel sektörün kentsel konular üzerinde kendini yeniden yapılandırması tartışmaları üzerine odaklanmaktadır. Ne var ki bu durum Başkent'in çok yönlü kamusal planlama inisiyatifiyle cumhuriyetin modern beşiği olmak üzere tasarlandığı düşünüldüğünde kritik bir nokta olarak karşımıza çıkmaktadır. Bölgedeki mevcut durum, çok yönlü kamusal planlama yaklaşımları ve

mülkiyet sermayesinin mekân üretme yöntemleri arasında kavramsal olgu çatışmalarını ortaya çıkarmaktadır.

Mekân üretiminde etkin aktörlerin belirlenmesi ve uygun tasarım girdileri elde edimi, şehrin bu bölgesinin verimli ve iyi gelişimini sağlamakla birlikte kentsel uzlaşı elde edimi noktasında alternatif çözümler çıkartabilir. Bu nedenle Söğütözü'deki mülkiyet oluşumu ve fiziksel oluşumların tanımlanması tarihsel bir süreç içinde incelenmelidir.

Anahtar kelimeler: *kapsamlı kamusal planlama, kent-ölçeğinde projeler, güç ilişkileri, neo-liberalizm, uzlaşı.*

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PLAGIARISM.....	iii
ABSTRACT.....	iv
ÖZ	vi
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	viii
LIST OF FIGURES	xii
LIST OF TABLES.....	xiv
1. INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 AIM OF THE STUDY.....	1
1.2 THE METHOD OF THE STUDY	9
2. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF SÖĞÜTÖZÜ REGION.....	13
2.1 THE PERIOD 1920-50.....	14
2.1.1-Early settlements at Balgat Village, Jahsen Plan and Its Effects.....	14
2.1.2-Establishment of AOÇ	17
2.2 THE PERIOD 1950-80.....	18
2.2.1- Migration to the City and First Settlements at Çukurambar Region.....	18
2.2.2- Uybadin-Yücel Plan and Its Effects on the Region.....	20
2.2.3- Planning Approaches of Ankara Metropolitan Region Regulating Plan 1970- 1990.....	23

2.3	THE PERIOD 80's to 00's	27
2.3.1-	Changes in Ankara City Macroform	27
2.2.2-	Changes in Socio- Economical Composition	35
2.2.3-	Changes in Transportational Network	39
2.2.3-	Formation of Property at the Selected Sector	47
3.	RUSH OF CAPITAL INTO SÖĞÜTÖZÜ	54
3.1	INCREASE IN PRIVATE INTEREST ON URBAN ISSUES	54
3.2	REPRESENTATION IN NEO-LIBERAL ERA	57
3.3	INABILITIES OF CITY CENTERS	61
4.	PHYSICAL ENVIROMENT AT SÖĞÜTÖZÜ	66
4.1	SERVICE SECTOR	68
4.1.1-	Ford-Otokoç Automobile Service Facilities	69
4.1.2-	Renault-Mais Automobile Service Facilities	70
4.1.3-	Varan Tourism Ltd. Intercity Bus Terminal	71
4.1.4-	AŞTİ Intercity Bus Terminal	72
4.2	CONTEMPORARY WORKSPACES	74
4.2.1-	Türk Metal-İş Labor Union Headquarters	74
4.2.2-	Oyak Construction Branch Headquarters	76
4.2.3-	Kozlar Business Center	77
4.3	HEALTH-CARE FACILITIES	79
4.4	RETAILING AND ENTERTAINMENT SECTOR	79
4.4.1-	Armada Business and Trade Center	79
4.4.2-	Ankara Laila Bar&Restaurants (Laila-657)	98

4.5 FURTHER PROPOSALS.....	101
4.5.1- Armada-2 (13784 1-2).....	101
4.5.2- Bayraktar Business Center (13783-1,2).....	102
4.5.1- Otokoç New Proposal.....	103
5 CONCLUSION.....	104
LIST OF REFERENCES.....	110

LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURES

1. Ankara Satellite View 1	6
2. Ankara Satellite View 2	7
3. Söğütözü Satellite View	8
4. Jansen Plan.....	15
5. AOÇ Analyze.....	17
6. District Divisions	21
7. Uybadin Yücel Plan	22
8. AMRRP Söğütözü	24
9. AMRRP.....	26
10. Socio-economic Composition.....	39
11. Main Roads	41
12. Pendulum Effect.....	42
13. Subway and Light Rail Networks	44
14. Junctions at Söğütözü	45
15. Transportation Options	46
16. Traffic Loads.....	46
17. AMRRPR Eskişehir Road.....	48
18. Subdivision Plan 79170-2	51
19. Mania Plan	52
20. Allé Plan.....	53

21. Stately Owned Institutions.....	56
22. Söğütözü Fabric	62
23. Kızılay Fabric.....	62
24. Ulus Fabric.....	63
25. Söğütözü Satellite View.....	67
26. Aşti Aerial View	73
27. OYAK Cons Branch HQ	77
28. Kozlar Office Bld.....	78
29. Armada Preliminary Studies.....	85
30. Armada Organization Schema.....	94
31. Armada Aerial View.....	95
32. Armada Section.....	96
33. Armada Tower.....	97
34. Armada-2 Proposal.....	101
35. Bayraktar Proposal.....	102
36. Otokoç Proposal.....	103
37. Average Land Prices	107
38. 2025 Plan	109

LIST OF TABLES

TABLES

1. National GNP.....	35
2. Ankara 2000 age composition and population projection	36
3. GNP share among district of Ankara	36
4. Population densities in district of Ankara.....	37
5. Socio-economic Status composition.....	38
6. Informations about shopping malls.....	64

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1- AIM OF THE STUDY

Since from 80's, Söğütözü district has become an important node for private investment and alternative commercial activities in Ankara. With urban-scale commercial activities and broad private capital interest, this unique urban land part has become a showcase of contemporary space creation efforts, especially after late 90's. The quick shift in characteristic of Söğütözü region from agricultural use to commercial use has changed not only changed the physical environment, but also brought new sets of study fields about changing property ownership patterns, development strategies and tendencies of private sector. But it's an important point that because of the region's unique location in urban macroform and urban transportation network, the effects of new space creation mechanisms play very critical roles for whole of the city as well as for the recently developing urban sector.

In this context, parallel to the increase in commercial activities on Söğütözü, changing roles of the actors and property relationship patterns after 90's shall be studied in accordance with the discourses about the contemporary space creation efforts as a tool to guide the urban systems, which are important cases in creation of urban form in a capitalist society. Such elegant plots like Söğütözü, which has a potential to become a place of resistance in a city responding to the dynamics of capitalist systems, can be studied by figuring out the property and power relations beneath the physical emergence.

... Ownership patterns of property became a main tool to control surplus production as well as space... Today domination over space is often associated with the concept of rent of land. Truly capitalist production relations offered land or real estate as main element producing space, that is a new role and a new value was attributed to it. But historically it is known that domination over space was not a simply matter of rent, but symbol to control to control property through the medium of space. Therefore the artistic impression of space is an epiphenomenon, if not properly reduced into its political context.

(Günay,1999,224)

...power designs cities, and the rawest form of power is control of urban land...”

(Kostof's 1991,52)

The vast bulk of the world's cities do not go back to such single-minded beginnings. The power that comes of owning urban land is broadly shared , and therefore city form is negotiated and ever-changing design.' explain the power concept in urban development.

(Kostof's 1991,52)

To figure out the recent developments and relationship patterns on the region, previous designing and planning approaches which have formed the capital city of Ankara must have been reconsidered as well as the contemporary circumstances related with neo-liberal movements after 1980. The rise of private initiative on urban issues has taken place in some very critical nodes like this region. This situation may be considered as change of control mechanism in creation of urban environment of capital city of Ankara, which is planned and designed for public realm by the republican state authority. So the rapid private investments and corporate realm at Söğütözü become more critical when considering power of state authority in evolutionary progresses of capital Ankara since 1920.

As known, the main goals of the planning ideas and the power relations beneath the erection of the city of Ankara was to create 'a symbol or a cradle for republican regime' in 'modern world'.(Tankut, 1999,55-121) In this context, the city of Ankara was one the greatest efforts of modern city planning movement. Further the main

acts on urban formations were master plans by the public authorities. As Ünlü states (1999, 29), “ ... the tool, developed to control the development of urban space was named as comprehensive planning . And zoning regulations, which are strong design elements, represent the means for implementing master plans.”. The three previous major master plans (Jansen, Uybadin Yücel, Nazım Planı 1990) were apexing the socialist-modernist utopia of comprehensive planning in the cradle of republican regime. More or less at planning level they achieved their goal at macro levels (Planlama, ISSN 1300-7319,2004/4,22-45). The final macro form of the city first expanded to south at first, then to west, providing mechanisms and infrastructure to get mass plots for institutional-governing facilities and dense housing supplies bounded in small plots for rent mechanisms.

However global waves of liberalist movements after 1980's and abolishment of modernist approaches effected Turkey and its capital elaborately. The redefinition of urban systems and decentralization of cities have taken place in our cities. As Ünlü (1999,70) stated referring to Tekeli (1998,22) “all of the settlements of Turkey ran into transformation process by 1980s. Firstly, the functions of urban and its controlling mechanisms changed. Secondly, housing supply system and transportation modes were changed. Thirdly, the scale of intervention to the development of urban form was changed. Industrial zones began to be decentralized and their co-ordination facilities were centralized. Land use functions in CBD's were transformed from production based facilities to financial services. It results with skyscrapers. By the help of the increasing number in private ownership of car, suburbanization trend was accelerated that high middle income group built their own suburbs in the periphery of cities.”

This transformation process has taken its place in formation of city of Ankara. Absolute governing authority dominating the city has engaged with the liberal economical forces. The results of suburbanization, changing urban systems and export-based liberal economy have erected the places of resistances. Beginning from late 80's till now Söğütözü region has become one of these places of resistances.

Thus, the evolution in Söğütözü region and commercial potential had been predicted in Ankara Metropolitan Region Regulating Plan 1970-1990, current situation clarifies that this region hasn't been considered as an urban land part for high commercial activities. Because of its unique location in Ankara, this region has become one the most attractive sections of city of Ankara for the investors, architects, developers. The private capital has put great effort to create a CBD in this non-prepared unique node. Thus it brought new sets of question both on the future development of the land and macro planning problematic rooting from the previous master plans or planning approaches.

Most of the problems on the land are corresponding with the two major issues. First of these is 'the force of capital in formation of urban form' and the second one is 'readiness of our plans, planners for quite an important constraint'. The general consented matter is that, the space organization mechanisms and urban patterns brought by Uybadin Yücel Plan, which later followed partially by 1970-1990 Plan, could not fulfill the demands of new liberalist accumulation. The other important point is prevention of mass institutional green belt system since from Jansen Plan neglecting the demands of the expanding city and changing economic-political deriving systems. Beginning from late 60's the city of Ankara has grown to the west and this situation has been proposed and suggested by many planners for some reasons. But such kind of unique land parts like Söğütözü have been left on their own fate until late 90's.

In this respect, the process at Söğütözü brings further debates on urban planning, that micro and meso scale planning may cause incremental effects at macro levels. As Ünlü stated (1999,38); "In this sense, the role of urban design on controlling urban development should be defined again and again". Therefore incremental development of Söğütözü can not be regarded as space creation efforts at micro scales because of its location holding the main transportation arters of the city. Rather, urban design attempts for the land can effect the organization of space in all scales. Thus, it focuses on defining a process in which interlocking sets of social and physical would find its repercussion in the ongoing process of construction and reconstruction of cities in each scale.

From this point of view, capital movements promoting the investment, export based life style brought debates on city center-suburb problematic. Well designed erection of recently growing sector, which is very close to the previous city center, carries traces of globalization processes widely observed in many other worlds' cities. Beyond desired well growth, the land also offers an opportunity to solve the efficiency problematic of the city and .Because the land's location at three main junctions, cornering two main arteres, being a pivot point between high-middle income dwelling at west and city center Kızılay, the problem definitions and solutions on Söğütözü can also play an important role in macro scale. The search for acceptable solutions for efficient urban formation of Söğütözü can be a model for some other problematic parts of the city as well.

For such kind of designed compromise on urban form, the aspects influencing the actors and power relations should be projected properly without neglecting the urban system as a dynamic entity. So the changing roles of actors in creation of urban system are also stand as an important issue to intend to. The changing roles also bring changes in the level of intervention. Therefore the intervention between different disciplines of planning agents, property-investment actors is one of the facts of creating of urban form and architectural scope (Günay 1999,3-5).

But beyond the existing form, the set of actions by these actors reflects the power, controlling the urban land. To define the basics of such mechanism or at least its participants seems quite useful when considering the contradiction between the comprehensive planning and current iterative situation, displaying inclination in urban environment, which has been set by legislations and governmental authority in the capital.

Figuring out the facts and set of actions taken by the actors, which have prepared the current situation, can provide appropriate design guidelines for the future well growth of Söğütözü and Ankara.



Figure 1: Ankara Satellite view1



Figure 2: Ankara Satelite view2



Figure 3: Söğütözü Subject Area Satellite View

1.2- METHODOLOGY

The sophisticated architectural articulations, urban-scale commercial facilities and introduce of new modes of consumption are featuring properties of Söğütözü region. Private sector's interest on very unique urban part of the city is bringing new modes of design approaches and organization schemas in planning and designing disciplines. To figure out the basics of recent development on the land, the power relations and design approaches beneath the urban development mechanisms should be derived out in historical context (Ünlü 1999; 5-37).

In this respect the studies have evolved through four main phases. At the first phase the development patterns and major deriving forces beneath the urban development on both capital city Ankara a Söğütözü have been studied. At the second phase, the basics of space creation efforts which are basically depending upon discourses on alternative commercial activities, socio-economical identity, and consumption habits have been taken into consideration. The third phase the iterative situation, physical articulation and architectural existence on the properties at Söğütözü have been studied in order to determine the changing role of actors in urban development. And at the last chapter, further proposal and indication on the land have been mentioned to achieve appropriate design guidelines.

In order to achieve better determinations on the land, the data collection methods and evaluation of the collected data were not only based on codified information. Because the subject area is being a recent developing sector under influence sophisticated economical relations, the studies requires more than literal work progress. Tacit knowledge, personal acknowledgements, interviews have also been studied as well as legal documentations, literature studies and codified data

At second chapter previous design approaches and their effects on creation of urban fabric have been studied briefly. As a modern city creation effort, the basics of Ankara are depending on modernist intellectual aggregation (Günay 1998,?). Although at early period of modern Ankara, public initiative, zoning principals and emergence of early transportation decisions were not reaching the subject zone, these macro decisions were setting the simple-mind beneath urban development pattern. So the literature determinations and studies on early republican era have leaded the study

As known, early planning decisions of Jansen in foundation of Ankara have guided the other comprehensive planning efforts. Uybadin Yücel Plan and Ankara Metropolitan Region Regulating Plan were the two other plans in formation of Ankara, thus Söğütözü region. The proposals and land-use principals brought by these plans have played important roles in property formations. These plans were indicating some important physical developments on the land and current situation. Especially the formation of main transportation arters and public institutions have changed characteristic of the land. So these plans and their effects are studied briefly in second chapter. The legal documentations, Urban Planners Chamber's studies and literal studies on history of Ankara have been reconsidered to examine the period between the years 50 – 80's.

Next, the effects of 're-structuration process' which is one of the major consequences of military coup in 1980 was studied. The period after 80's, the progress Turkey becoming a part of cyberspace of the world was related with key issues in the new era of neo-liberal movements (Tekeli, 1998, 20, 21). The impacts of the new political, economical elaboration have taken place in urban issues. 'urban regeneration movements' and re-structuration processes which have effected the western countries since 70's have become matter of planning praxis in Turkey and its capital city of Ankara. In order to determine impacts of re-structuration progress on previous comprehensive planning decisions about Ankara and Söğütözü, the studies have been carried through four major branches;

Changes in Ankara city macroform have been studied in order to determine the situation of Söğütözü region in macro scale decisions. The basics of the development routes of the city and introduce of new modes of space-creation methods have been studied through, previous thesis on the subject, literal studies, municipality archives, legal documents and field surveys by private initiatives.

Changes in Socio- Economical Composition were on other issue in the subject. The changes in macroform also brought variations in socio-economical balances in the city-scope. For that reason the field surveys prepared by private initiatives and public institutions (like DİE, DPT) are used in this part.

Changes in transportation network and alternation in transportation options should be taken into account which is indeed triggering key point for Söğütözü. Previous planning decisions and municipal archives were studied for this subject.

Formation of property at the selected sector is important case which indicates the architectural erection and commercial potential. To determine the physical and commercial capacity of subject land subdivision plans, legal arrangements and documents were examined.

At third chapter, after the determining evolutionary progress in property formation at Söğütözü, the general property development patterns in Ankara and global examples are reconsidered. In the era of neo-liberalism, the increasing influence of private sectors and corporeal approaches has affected the entire urban space-creation methods and ideologies beneath (Günay, 1999, 296-298). The rise in private initiative on the property has brought several issues to intend to. To determine the new approaches in planning and architectural designing, the literal studies and codified works on identity and corporate realm have been mentioned. Also discourses on the local re-structuration efforts under influence of global economies are reconsidered

At the fourth chapter, urban development patterns at Söğütözü have been studied. For that sake each completed buildings standing on the land and further proposals

were examined one by one. The global examples are compared with the current situation at Söğütözü. The actors, organizational schemas, relations with public agents, inclinations in plans, planning decisions, architectural expressions, political and cultural backgrounds are mentioned. Rent values of the property and economical, political and social affairs are important aspects in power relations. To figure out these relations, the evolving stages in each project were taken into account one by one. For that sake evolutionary process and personal acknowledgement have also played important roles. As the author being a participant in four major projects on the land, personal observations and reliable derivations from some other important actors were used at this phase. The lack of reliable legal data and insufficient legal documentations has also exerted the use of tacit knowledge. So personal acknowledgements, interviews, field surveys have also been studied as well as legal documentations, literature studies and codified data.

At the last chapter, the outcomes of the current situation and further indications are mentioned. The global examples, studies on central business districts and thesis on planning-designing praxises related with private capital are reconsidered. Also the opinions of the actors and further proposals on the Söğütözü have been taken place at this phase.

2. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF SÖĞÜTÖZÜ REGION

It is commonly consented that the power holding the property and constitutional control over the property are the two important facts in formation of urban environment. Evolutionary progresses in ownership patterns and rearrangement of power relations are two utmost facts in urban development. In this context, it is important to determine the basics of changing property ownership patterns related with political will, property rights, planning approaches and power derivation from the land (Günay 1999, 3). Historical background and intellectual accumulation of the societies generates the protocols in formation of property ownership pattern.

The rapid development of the city or at least its specific sections reflects quick shift in urban control mechanism and displays changing dynamics of property-power relations. From this point of view, Söğütözü region as a showcase of urban-scale private projects displays dramatic change of Ankara, which is one of the most extraordinary new city building efforts in modern era. The physical articulation on this recently prospering urban land part infact displays the shifts in confronting concepts in property owning patterns. So it's important to figure out changing roles of the actors and property owners during process of forming the urban land in historical context.

2.1. THE PERIOD BETWEEN 1920'S TO 50'S

2.1.1- Early settlements at Balgat Village, Jansen Plan and Its Effects.

At the early period of the young Turkish Republic, city of Ankara began to prosper around the traditional city center in Ulus, after declaration as capital in 1920. After selection of Jansen Plan in 1928 and its approval in 1932 from the planning competition, which was held by the call of Urban Development Council and Ministry of the Internal Affairs in order to build a concrete physical environment to symbolize the image of the young republic, the city developed through the Yenisehir to south. The city of Ankara formed along Atatürk Boulevard which is a linear route pivoted by two city centers, Ulus and Kızılay. The planning approaches of Herman Jansen and will of legal administrations were indicating modernist approaches in creation of Ankara. General planning approaches of the Jansen plan was showing parallel tendencies with 'garden-city' concept which is an important utopia of modernist idealism. And providence controlled motorways and accessibility principals are also displaying the features of 'planning by road'. Also, zonings, neglecting the commercial facilities, promoting public recreational facilities and exertion of public domain on urban environment are important principals presenting the modernist approaches of Jansen Plan in creation of urban fabric. (Tankut, 1990, 50)

Ankara city form expanded through the cross axial routes along east-west directions and south-west direction. However because of the physical penetrations and squatters zones at east and northern sectors, the southern and western expansion had become more dominant than the other sectors during the time. By establishment of Atatürk Boulevard, Yenisehir (Kızılay) began to prosper. Commencement of large

scale expropriation about 4.000.000 m² and strong will of Urban Development Council and Ministry of the Internal Affairs to apply planning proposal at this recently growing sector had provided controlled growth in Yenisehir. Although misapplications had made some inclinations, Yenisehir and Jansen Plan were regarded as a pioneering modernist case by the republican elite at least at planning levels. (Tankut, 1990, 55-139)

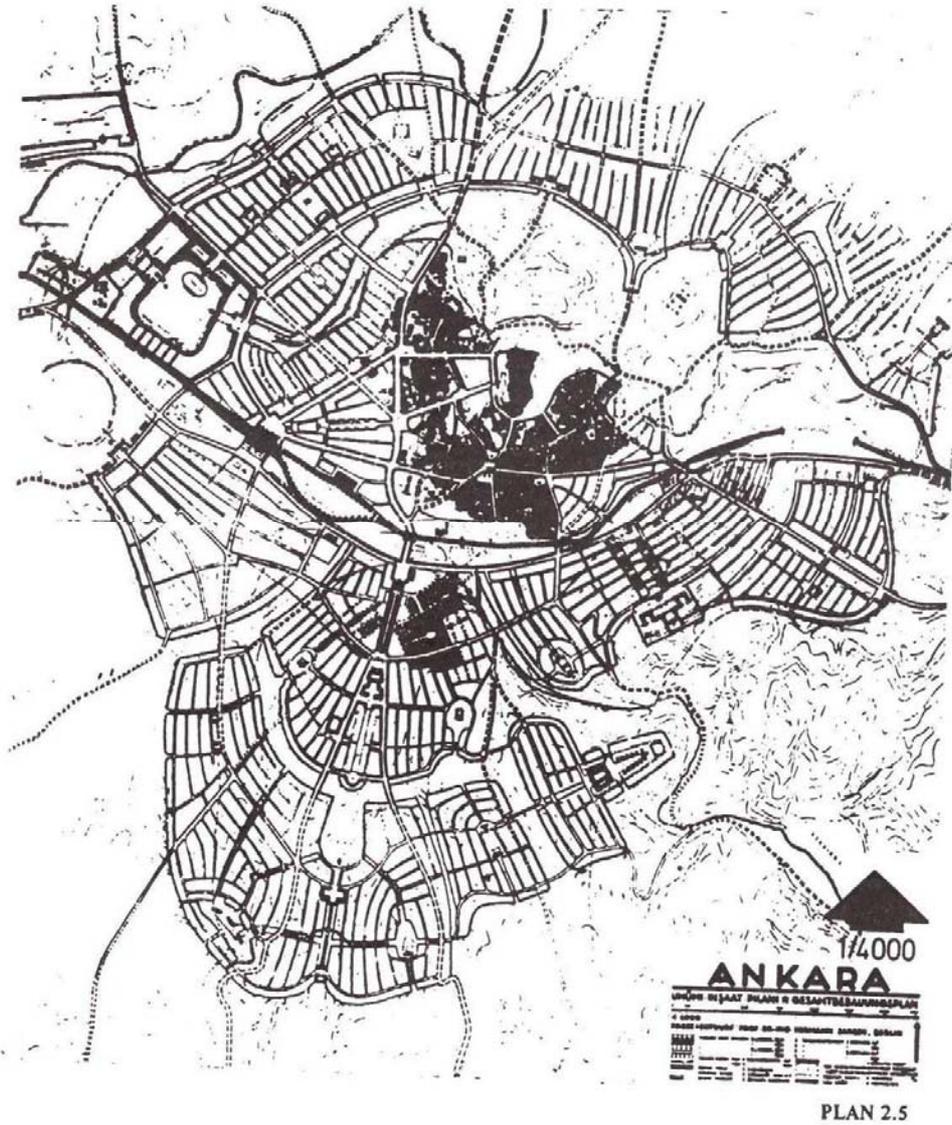


Figure 4: Jansen Plan (Source: Baykan Günay)

However Söğütözü and Balgat regions were out of the concerns at the time. No further developments were proposed these sectors. Jansen Plan did not propose a main road to Söğütözü region. As briefly mentioned above, the plan was commencing Atatürk Boulevard heading through Bakanlıklar and Sefaretler from Ulus as a main shaft along south-north axis, and İstanbul Road focusing to Ulus as a main artery along east-west axis. Because of the distance to the Ankara and not providing a strong transportation network, Söğütözü-Balgat region couldn't join in this 'republican capital building' efforts and kept rural way of life and image until the 1950's.

The migration waves to the city after 20's couldn't reach this spot till to late 40's. So the squatter development, housing problems and changes in political-economical scene didn't take place. So Söğütözü - Balgat region was not quarrelling the problems of the city either. And the land had kept its property pattern until 50's. The reliable information's on the demographical situation of settlement and inhabitants couldn't be derived. But according to the interviews with several natives of Ankara, at the period 20's-50, the only settlement in the region was Balgat Village consisted of about 160-170 households and a few countryside houses.

Söğütözü and Çukurambar regions were fertile agricultural rural land at the time. The general property ownership pattern at those sectors was simply based on agricultural fertility. Even the cadastral property formations were based on power relations in order to grasp fertile lands along Söğütözü River. Several families from Balgat village were holding most of the lands. Armutçular family, Torunlar family, Erbakan family was among these families. Till to late 40's and 50's Söğütözü, Çukurambar region kept the rural characteristic and did not involve in urbanization efforts.

2.1.2 - Establishment of AOÇ.

At the period most of the Söğütözü region was non - residential, fertile agricultural land. Most of the land had been owned by the settlers from Balgat village. During establishment of Atatürk Orman Çiftliği between the years 1925-1937, some parts of the region had been possessed and expropriated by the state at the process. At the time more than 520 hectares of land were transferred into the domain of AOÇ including 160 hectares of lands at Söğütözü- Balgat- Çukurambar regions.

Reliable information couldn't be derived whether the land had been transferred by legal expropriation or AOÇ institution directly formed over non-possessed rural land without expropriation of any private property. Although most of the Söğütözü region had been possessed by AOÇ, the fertile lands cultivating from Söğütözü River kept their cadastral structure later. So it can be derived that the domain of AOÇ formed by limited expropriation over the vacant-lands. In 01.03.1950, after approval of 'law no: 5689, the lands possessed by AOÇ has gained legal protection shield. And barriers between public and private properties were taken their final shape. When compared with whole of the Söğütözü region, pressure over private properties by large pieces of lands under control of public initiative can clearly be observed.

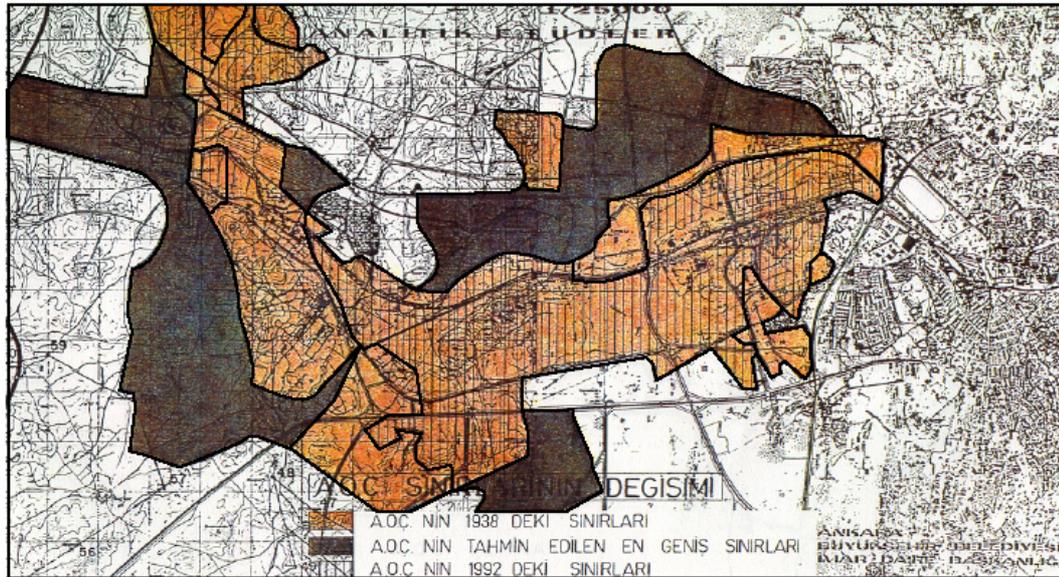


Figure 5: AOÇ Analyze (Source: Baykan Günay)

During the period some parts of the AOÇ land had been opened for public uses. As mentioned before, the biggest economical value of the land was agricultural facilities but beside this, picnic and excursion facilities were brought to Söğütözü. The spot which is called ‘Saklıbahçe’ under the property of AOÇ was one of the most popular resorts of Ankara as it’s today. With surrounding groves of willow trees Söğütözü is an important recreation area of Ankara.

2.2- THE PERIOD BETWEEN 1950-90

2.2.1- Migration to the City and First Settlements at Çukurambar Region.

At 50’s and 60’s the general situation of the urban macroform had appeared different than the proposal brought by the Jansen Plan. The city center Kızılay and Yenışehir had gained more and more power at south. Some specific plots around Yenışehir had grown as the symbol of the modern life style with the dwellings for elites of the republic. However, the peripheries of the city had been covered by the spontaneous squatter developments which were mostly occupied by migrants from the countryside. And conservation suggestions for Ulus and traditional pattern around the citadel had been given up. The republican regime failed to solve the urban-form and dwelling fabric (Ünlü 1999, 85-92).

As a consequence of economic- politic changes following II. World War, by the enhancement of liberalist economies, a new dwelling supply mechanism had emerged: namely ‘Yapsatçılık’, which is a rent tool to obtain more benefit by apartmentalization over the small property and sharing this benefit with the small landowner, had become an ultimate urban fabric creation mechanism. This model was working within inner city zones by creating multi-storey housings, which had solved many problems while creating new sets of problems. And ‘yapsatçı model’ had become the most important devastating fact for giving up ‘garden-city’

approaches proposed by Jansen Plan. By the help of the urban- legislations and public exemptions, ‘yapsatçı’ model using of the small-scale capital on limited plots later on spread through the whole of the country.(Ünlü 1999,?).

On the other hand, the situation at the peripheries was a bit more different. Spontaneous squatter developments and sprawl areas had covered the peripheries of the city. In these sectors of the city two kinds of models had worked: ‘Occupation’ of the land of state and ‘Böl-satçılık’.

At the first one countryside migrants pillaged the land of state and formed their sheltering demands according to their opportunities. Without providence of sufficient infrastructure and without regarding any regulations the immigrants formed their own patterns of life which was so organic, so iterative, and so distinct from the large-scale utopian plans of previous political will of early republic.

The second model ‘Böl-satçılık’ was based on the subdivision of a large scale rural-agricultural land into dwelling-plots by the property-owners. This model also couldn’t be able to bring appropriate infrastructure to the inhabitants at the beginning and moreover the physical scape hadn’t formed so different than squatter developments. But the interesting point is: Most of the property owners have parceled their lands to sell in very satisfying method:’ Grid’. Unlike many sprawls this ‘böl-satçılık’ model had emphasized and fulfilled the socialist-republican utopia at least at the plan level.

At Çukurambar Region, which had become a periphery of the city by expanding beyond Yenişehir to Çankaya, the model of ‘Böl-satçılık’ model had worked. Consisted of low income inhabitants the general urbanscape had formed as low density squatters, single storey houses with deeds of the plots in grid like plans surrounded by agriculture fields. It’s interesting that ‘Böl-satçılık’ model did not spread to Söğütözü. The agricultural value of the properties and developing transportation networks penetrated this sort of development on this sector.

2.2.2- Uybadin-Yücel Plan and Its Effects on the Region

At the period the governments and authority of the state was still the only supreme power leading the city, because still grasping the major and matchless economical and intellectual power to create architectural landmarks, monuments, mass organizations and institutional identities over the land. The two most important of these urban development projects which had effected the Söğütözü district were establishment of Middle East Technical University in 1956 and Maden Tetkik Arama Institute Campus 1967. Also several military divisions allocated at western sectors and proposed industrial facilities along Konya Road had played important roles for emergence of new transportation routes.

The most important feature of Uybadin-Yücel Plan was the new transportation arteries. Eskişehir State Road pivoting from Kızılay has become alternative of İstanbul Road along east-west axis. And Konya Road has become a new artery along north-south axis. And these two main arteries are intersecting at Söğütözü Region. The most significant outcome of this decision is physical division of land into four distinct parts.

The physical separation of four regions has also changed the developments patterns of each region. Bahçeli and some parts of Balgat district facing to Eskişehir Road have later become prosperous districts of 70's and 80's. The 'yapsatçı' model of urban fabric-creation method now used in these sectors as a tool to convert squattered areas as well as scratching on an empty land. On the other hand Söğütözü-Karakusunlar region had continued its statutory, defined, low-income sprawl settlement characteristic. Konya Road stands as a barrier between the city and Söğütözü-Karakusunlar region.



Figure 6: District divisions (Source: Baykan Günay)

Because of Konya Road, Söğütözü and Çukurambar districts had lost their chance to integrate with the city for a while, so they had lost the attractiveness for small entrepreneurs. Moreover the low- income occupants at this area hadn't had enough economical statuses to trigger the investment on their own properties till to late 80's. Basically the land use and zoning principals in Uybadin-Yücel Plan has cut the continuity of the residential growth of Söğütözü and Çukurambar regions, while bringing new industrial opportunities.

For the fact, Çukurambar region was covered with low income dwellings, proposed industrial uses for Söğütözü had made the region more attractive for private capital involved in industrial, commercial sectors. Agricultural character of Söğütözü changed and Söğütözü and Çukurambar regions were separated once again. The industrial uses proposed along the Konya road and public-military campuses along Eskişehir road encouraged the private capital owners. At late 60's several large scale corporates (like Oto-Koç, Renault-Mais) and entrepreneurs (like Muammer Kıraner, Emin Hattat) selected Söğütözü region either for commercial development or personal investment.



Figure 7: Uybadin Yücel Plan

2.2.3- Planning Approaches of Ankara Metropolitan Region Regulating Plan 1970- 1990

In Ankara Metropolitan Region Regulating Plan 1970- 1990 the expansion of the city to west had been encouraged due to the transportation reasons, private car ownership, exponential population increase, industrial-employment tendencies, position of blockading mass pieces of state-institutional lands. Henceforth two main arteries to west corridor that these are Eskişehir State Road and Yenimahalle-Batıkent-Sincan Route had been added to previous arteries Sivrihisar Road and İstanbul Road. The main intersection point had been appointed as Osmaniye Industrial Zone. By formation Söğütözü Caddesi as sub-artery linking to Eskişehir Road, Söğütözü-Çukurambar had been separated once again and formed nearly its current mezo-plan. Söğütözü district formed as squeezed vacant land owned by private possessors, among the public lands. (Planlama,ISSN 1300-7319,2004,22-31)

The determinations and predictions on Söğütözü in AMRPR (1990-404) indicate the high private interest on the unique part of the region. The predictions were based on urban formation of Söğütözü as squeezed vacant land owned by private possessors, among the public lands.

Technical data on Söğütözü in Ankara Metropolitan Regulating Plan Report 1970-1990 (1990, 404) at 1970 is :

The population of the region:	:	2800	person
Gross dwelling area	:	72.33	ha
Gross density	:	39	person/ha
Local scale service area	:	0.63	ha
Required service area	:	4.59	ha
Vacant area suitable for settlement	:	268.55	ha
Income per person per year	:	14.200tl/person/year	
			(low-income)

‘Except the legal plots at north-east the squatters scattered onto the region. There’s no local service available except a primary school.

The proposes at the same plan work on the subject land is

Total area of the region	:	670	ha
Proposed population	:	18000	persons
Brut density	:	300	person/ha

‘Dwelling: Proposed dwelling area is 60 ha, because of institutional uses and closeness of AOC high density has been recommended.

Commercial and Governmental Services: There has been existing 46 ha of governmental land use, besides some commercial uses. As a reason of easy access to city center and governmental functions, Taking part in institutional uses, commercial services, business services, office uses and related services has been considered to be appropriate.

The accordance with the information listed above the 1990 Nazım Planı has been formed for Söğütözü as:



Figure 8: AMRRPR Söğütözü (Source: A-Tasarım archives)

In 1970-90 Plan the areas facing Eskişehir State Road had been spared as public uses mostly. Also most of the land at backwards had been protected as green areas under protection of AOÇ. The massive lands possessed by public initiative, under legal protection squeezes limited private properties at Söğütözü. With its excessive location holding the main transportation networks, Söğütözü region has become a unique urban land part for private sector also. On the other hand very scarce land spared to private uses made Söğütözü more attractive and speculative. However as clearly observable no strategically decisions were taken for the selected region and left as green or agricultural area. So it can be derived that, current speculative situation and concentrated commercial facilities were outcomes of strict public land use principals neglecting the rise of private sectors by the comprehensive plans prepared before.

ANKARA NAZIM PLANI

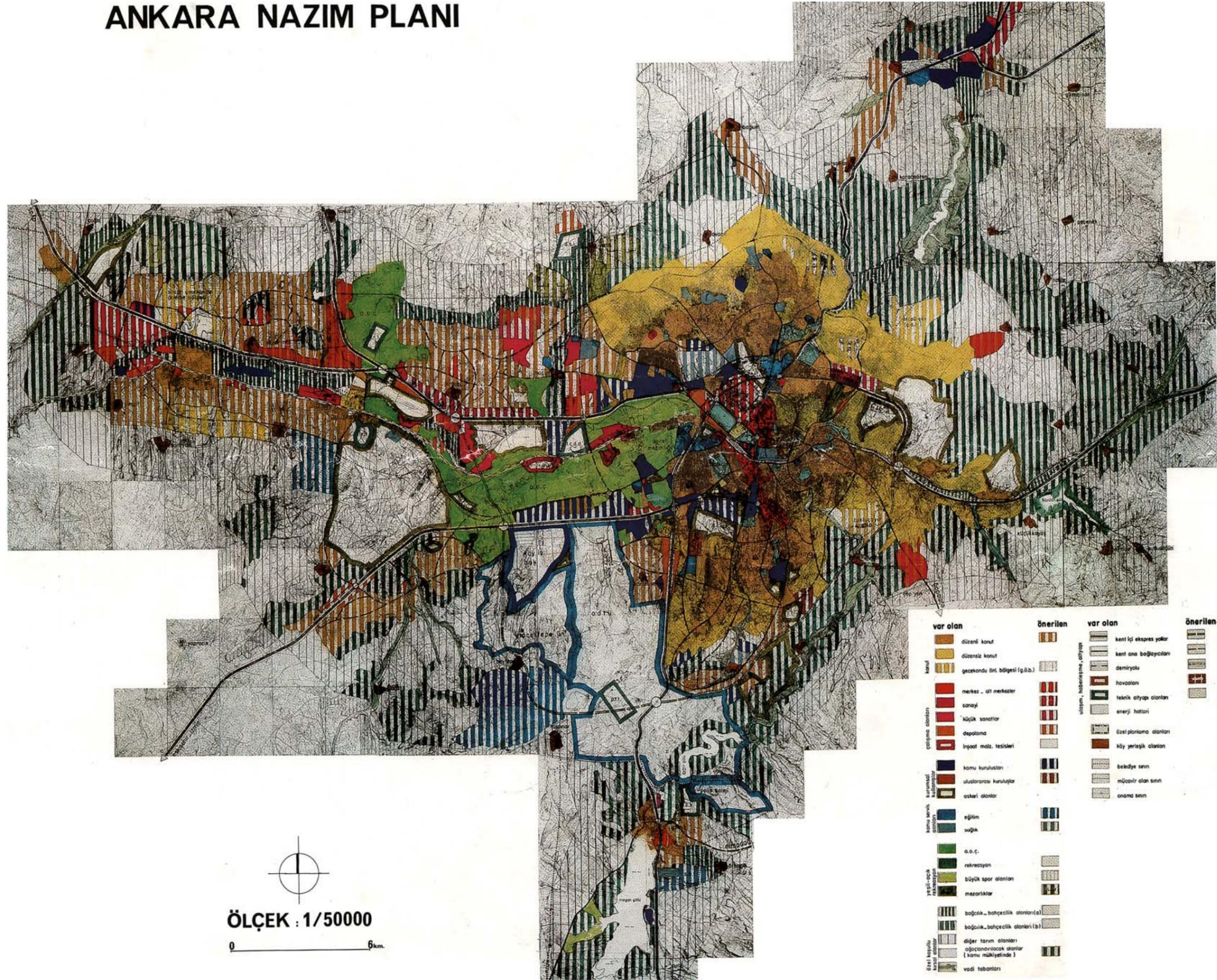


Figure 9: AMRRP 1970-1990

2.3) THE PERIOD BETWEEN 80'S AND 00'S

2.3.1) Changes in Ankara City Macroform

At the last decades Söğütözü region and especially selected site of the region have begun to change elaborately. As explained in previous chapters the historical background and changes in macro form of Ankara have played important roles on formation of Söğütözü. After middle 80's to late 90's the city has expanded nearly in every direction. The decisions behind were the awareness of high density of city centers, disastrous air pollution, providing new housing supplies for the high population projections and creation of urban space by regulating the tendencies of the era (Planlama, 2004/2,56). The proposals brought by 1970-1990 Regulating Plan not only led the city form breach out of the valley which had been dominated by Ulus and Kızılay around Atatürk boulevard, but also created new models for urban fabric and life-styles.

According to 1970 - 1990 Regulating Plans proposed the growth in every directions, but Sincan, Bağlum, Esenboğa, Gölbaşı and Eskişehir Road urban development areas have been indicated as the major matter of the plan and Hasanoğlan, Elmadağ, Yahşihan and Temelli have been considered as further issues for macroform decisions (AMANPR, 43).

But, besides the decisions of Regulating Plan 1970-1990, the emergence of Ankara city macroform after 1980's is also related with "urban regeneration movements" (Hall,1989). Many studies and articles have been written on the topics 'decentralization of cities' (Healey, Davoudi, Tavşanlıoğlu, O'toole, Usher, 1992), 'globalization and the local economies' and 'the new urban contexts' (Healey, Cameron, Davoudi, Graham, Madani, 1995) in western world... The consequences of decaying in nationalist economical policies and free-flow of capital have promoted neo liberal approaches on urban issues and postmodernist approaches in architectural expressions . The influences of abolishment of fordist economies, thus

modernism beginning from mid 1970's in western world had impacted urban issues of Ankara and some major cities of our country also...

Ünlü (1999,69-70) expresses these impacts the neo - liberal trends on Turkey and development of urban form:

Tekeli (1998,20-21) points out the re-structuration process of Turkey in fields of economy, infrastructure and governmental institutions by the first years of 1980's. Turkey's economical model was transformed to an export based from of a mixed economy model. As a result of the institutional renovations Turkey became a part of cyberspace of the world. Besides, free trade and production zones were constituted, and market rationale became dominant in economical rationale...

..., all the settlements of the settlements of Turkey ran into transformation process by 1980's. Firstly, the functions of urban system and its controlling mechanisms changed. Secondly, housing supply system and transportation modes were changed. Thirdly, the scale of intervention to the development of urban form was changed. Industrial zones began to be decentralized and their co-ordination facilities were centralized. Land use functions in CBD's were changed transformed from production based facilities to financial services. It results with skyscrapers. By the help of the increasing number in private ownership of car, suburbanization trend was accelerated that high and middle income groups built their own suburbs in periphery of the city.

However, besides mass housing and large scale transformation projects, small entrepreneurs had continued playing important roles on macroform of Ankara as well as big private and public capital. In this respect the expansion of the city has followed three patterns in the period from early eighties to late 90's:

- i) Organized Developments along West Corridor on Eskişehir Road and İstanbul Road at Eryaman, Konutkent, Ümitköy, Batıkent...
- ii) Apartmentization and regeneration of squattered sections at peripheries but mostly through south, south-west like Çankaya, Yıldız, GOP, Dikmen, Demetevler, İncir...

iii) Sprawl areas at north, north-eastern parts of the city like Keçiören, Karşıyaka, Atapark, Altınpark, Mamak... Later after late 90's these areas have gone to apartmentization process and created their own sub centers as well

At early 80's the city had expanded to south through GOP, Dikmen, Yıldız and partially Esat. The agglomeration of the city had followed north-south axis pivoted by Kızılay and Ulus. However, against some exceptional projects, the developments at these sectors were unable to fulfill the demands of organized development and provide to serve new kind of lifestyles. The apartmentization process simply regenerated homogeneous high density urban-fabric which was an undesired side effect of misapplications of Uybadin-Yücel Plan. The side effects of apartmentization are homogeneous urban fabric and increase in density without regarding infrastructural, transportation and cultural requirements for profitability on small plots (Günay 19??, ?).

On the contrary, the demands of new era brought a search at least in architectural manner. Consequently some exceptional transformation projects had been erected according to the demands of neo- liberalist environment and export-based lifestyles. "Portakal Çiçeği Vadisi", "Ufuk Sitesi", "Çankaya Konakları", "Dikmen Vadisi", "Ansera", "Karum", "Atakule", "Yamaçevleri" can be counted as some these preliminary efforts. But besides these examples, general urban-scape and housing fabric followed pattern of physical agglomeration on small plots by the small entrepreneurs.

After late 80's the expansion through west had been accelerated. The suburbanization has taken place in Ankara. Mass housing projects had been started at Eryaman, Koru Sitesi, Konutkent, Bilkent, Ümitköy, Batıkent etc... The city macroform had changed its traditional linear route along north-south axis and headed to west. Through the guidance of 1970-1990 Regulating Plan and demands of new urban life- styles, large scale construction facilities have taken place to create required housing supplies at western sectors.

At the period, especially at western parts of the city mass housing and big commercial projects had become an important tool for the urban fabric. Relatively as Günay (1999, 220) quoted, Hall (1989,281) figures out the features of “the planning as real estate” as model for such kinds of developments:

“The most distinctive feature of the 1980’s is what could be called planning-as-project, or planning-as-as-real-estate development... Each consist of the mega development of huge site, through the cooperation of public and private capital, and involving major injections of the money from government – huge public works, subsidies linked to private leverage, and tax exemption in the form of enterprise zones – as well as new institutional forms. Some might say that this is urban renewal all over again.”.

The mass housing projects and large scale transformation projects have become important tool for comprehensive planning decisions at 80’s and 90’s. According to Ünlü (1999, 69-71) the urban form development pattern had followed the production of space through total control of the state rather than agglomeration on small plots. The emergence of large scale contractors and funds of state have brought new urban fabric development efforts besides the small entrepreneurs’ efforts, which brings dense and homogeneous growth. Indeed the control of the state was a response to regulate the power of private sector especially in construction sector in liberalist era (Ünlü 1999,68-71)

Besides the emergence of new urban fabric at western sectors, another important point on Ankara macroform is development sectors’ location. Especially housing projects have been put into practice as reveal of idle lands at distant parts, rather than following the pattern of articulation routing from the centers to peripheries. As consented, big governmental campuses and vast public lands protected by law can be counted one of the major reasons for this situation. Large-scale civil settlements could only be constructed beyond these big lands occupied by the state and public institutions along the Eskişehir State Road.

AOÇ, MTA Institute, Şap Institute, GKK, HKK, KKK, EDOK, Ministry of Energy and Natural Sources, (Çalışma ve Sosyal Güvenlik Bakanlığı), Administration of Treasury and Foreign Trade, AŞTİ, ATO, Halkbank, METU Campus, Bilkent Campus, Hacettepe Beytepe Campus, (Çevre Bakanlığı), (Başbakanlık Merkez

binası), (Afet İşleri Genel Müdürlüğü), TOBB Lodumlu plot, (Diyanet İşleri Genel Müdürlüğü), National Security Council, TAEK are some of the important governmental, military and public institutions that were allocated in between Kızılay and western developments along the Eskişehir Road.

On the contrary OSTİM, Aselsan, National Intelligence Service, several military bases, AOÇ facilities are the other important institutions along İstanbul Road from Ulus.

In this respect it can be derived that Ankara city macroform has been fragmented along these two main shafts at east-west direction. And these shafts are connected by three major arteries which are Konya Road, Söğütözü Caddesi, Atatürk Caddesi along north-south axis. The routes to west and fragmented structure of the city represents a sort of “pendulum” in between subcenters at suburban and city centers at Ulus, Kızılay and Kavaklıdere.

Around 2000’s the general situation of Ankara city macroform and the tendencies have been summarized for the private sector in Armada Feasibility Report by AC Nielsen Zet in 2000. According to this report the general tendencies are directing west and south-west developments. The indications of private studies prepared with field surveys had also proven macro predictions brought by comprehensive plans of 1970-90 Ankara Nazım Plan and 2015 Plan, 2025 Plan.

Due to the indications, the city growth pattern is formed as (ACNZ Report, 20-21,2000)

İstanbul Road

The settlements inhabited by the middle income are located along İstanbul Road which is dominating at the western part of the city. The establishment of OSTİM industrial zone is the important point in initiation of the development by middle and low income groups at this sector. This development still continues

Batıkent

Batıkent is a planned development zone. The sectors first established to accommodate the labor for OSTİM have altered the statue by the subway service. The sector is preferred by the people who want to be away from the city centers

Eryaman

Eryaman is the next planned settlement after Batıkent. This region's development is more accurate. By the mass housing projects made by Emlak Bankası and TOKİ for middle income groups, the population at the region is growing. In this respect this new development sector attracts many urban functions around.

Sincan

The Sincan Organized Industrial Zone established at 1990 is an important break point for the development. The Region is going to accommodate large masses with recent subdivision plans prepared for Eryaman.

Oran

The development in this sector had begun with the allocation of parliamentary residences. Known as first suburban development, the region, which had been addressed by middle income groups, have later become an attraction point for high-income communities.

Çankaya

Çankaya where middle and high income groups preferred to settle in, have also become a favorable place for business. Especially Kızılay- Kavaklıdere axis has been preferred by the business sectors and commercial centers. Besides the growth of small business units transformed from dwellings is still continuing in Gaziosmanpaşa which is at the hinterland of the district. But the two most important commercial units in Çankaya are Atakule and Karum. However with the erection of new subcenters around the city the popularity of the centers in Çankaya have decreased at the last decades.

Yıldız

Yıldız once being a slum area is in a great metamorphosis. Of course Çankaya and Oran district at the bounds have played important roles in this development. The high rise luxurious apartments are being constructed to accommodate high-income groups.

Bahçelievler

Bahçelievler at the beginning of the Eskişehir Road is shaping the region with ODTÜ, Hacettepe and Bilkent university campuses. The general social structure is taken shape by the students. The district is also developing alternative high street with shopping, recreation and entertainment places as Tunalı Hilmi in city center.

Eskişehir Road

Eskişehir Road is continuing its development as ‘prestigious axes. Especially high stature dwellings have been established at Ümitköy district beyond ODTÜ and Bilkent campuses. Besides the dwelling developments, public workspaces began to emerge along this axis. Especially Söğütözü junction is presenting a scape like ‘İstanbul-Maslak’ where commercial centers appear on. Also second phase of the subway route going on this axis will make a positive effect.

Development of the City

When we examine the urban development of city of Ankara, it has been observed that some regions achieved a quick development while some others display dullness. In this respect the northern and southern part of Ankara (especially Mamak, Altındağ, Demetevler, and Keçiören) which are defined as ‘places not open for prosperous development’ are suffering heavy squattering process.

While city was growing within the valley, it was get jammed by the time. For development the necessity to open new arteries had become utmost important matter to intend to. The city has grown through west and south directions along Eskişehir and Konya axes. However prohibition of construction on some parts along Konya road has made negative impact on development of the sectors along this axis. In this respect development continues along Eskişehir axis.

By the expansion at Ankara macroform, Söğütözü Region has altered to be an important ‘pivot’ at this ‘pendulum’. In this context Söğütözü region is no more an agricultural land at periphery. The scarce land holding at the main transportation networks and junctions, has become more and more important for private sector.

But against all indicators directing the western corridor it’s an interesting that this scarce land had been left vacant until late 90’s except some service facilities. The leap in development of commercial node is related with the development pattern at western sectors which will be mentioned in next chapters.

2.3.2) Changes in Socio-Economical Composition.

According to Günay (1998,?) the consequences of differentiation in modes of consumption and production are very important for the modes of interaction to share the surplus. The urban-space is an arena of different communities or income groups. Many theories and many political, ideological approaches have built upon this point, thus its effects on urban geography and systems. The changes in economical balances combining with social and cultural aspects are one of the major deriving forces in emergence of the urban systems. Especially the economical relations are also the indicators of power relations which set the basics of urban environment (Günay 1999, 3-5).

From this point of view, for quick physical emergence of Söğütözü at 2000’s, the socio-economic situation of Ankara and composition of different income groups among the different districts is an important issue to intend to. Because of the demanding lifestyles brought by neo-liberalism, production-consumption modes have been changed

According to AcNZ Armada feasibility report (2000,15-17), referring to DIE, Ankara had reached sort of a controlled status at growth and in share of GNP share in Turkey lump sum. By the lowest differentiation rate in share of GNP Ankara had reached stable status among the other metropolises. Besides the average income per family was beyond the average of Turkey, placing at fourth.

Table 1 National GNP

	GNP 1996 mil. TL	Share From Turkey	GNP 1997 mil. TL	Share From Turkey	1996/97
Ankara	1.162.494.467	%7.87	1.971.691.888	%6.84	%69.61
Middle Anatolia	2.423.833.904	%16.41	4.449.124.999	%15.43	%83.56
Turkey	14.772.110.196	-	28.835.883.135	-	%95.20

Cities	Population	House	GNP per person (\$)	GNP per house (\$)	Transform rate (%)
İstanbul	9,198,809	2,471,257	4,708	18,812	107.5
Ankara	3,693,390	933,594	3,512	14,791	65.8
İzmir	3,114,859	859,234	4,344	15,872	90.4
Adana	1,682,483	342,111	3,554	17,955	127.2
Bursa	1,958,529	500,044	3,419	13,919	81.7
Antalya	1,509,616	397,670	3,385	14,263	96.0
Turkey Total	65,957,651	13,909,952	3,021	14,214	95.9

Besides the controlled status at population, the composition of age in Ankara alters the dynamism in population. The juvenile group takes more than % 60 of the total. The projections for 2005 and 2010 do also show the young profile of the composition of age in Ankara. Reconsidering on the young profile, it can be derived that the potential for production and consumption should grow, thus the requirements (AcNZ report 21,2000).

Table 2 Ankara 2000 age composition and population projection

age	pop - 2000	ratio	pop – 2005	pop– 2010
00-04	351,463	9,0	385.149	422.284
05-09	403,927	10,3	440.782	483.281
10-14	421,233	10,8	462.179	506.741
15-19	437,700	11,2	479.297	525.509
20-24	433,611	11,1	475.017	520.817
25-29	389,737	10,0	427.943	469.204
30-34	325,895	8,3	355.193	389.440
35-39	267,462	6,9	295.281	323.751
40-44	211,098	5,4	231.089	253.370
45-49	159,652	4,1	175.457	192.374
50-54	135,936	3,5	149.780	164.222
55-59	124,206	3,2	136.942	150.145
60-64	99,910	2,6	111.265	121.993
65 +	141,277	3,6	154.060	168.914
Total	~ 3,900,000	100,0	~ 4,280,000	~ 4,700,000

The controlled status of growth and share of GNP more or less can give opportunity for controlled growth of different districts. But it is an important point that total share of Ankara is being reducing. In this sense the demand of new lifestyles and urge for urban quality cannot be derived as total issue for the whole of the city; rather this can be explained as imbalanced distribution of income among districts. Therefore the suburbanization process is outcome by the will of high income groups. The distribution of GNP among the different districts is:

Table 3 GNP share among district of Ankara

	GNP 1995 mil. TL	Ankara %	GSYH 1996 mil. TL	Ankara %	1995/96
Altındağ	134.425.745	%20.66	237.586.380	%20.44	%76.74
Çankaya	142.455.172	%21.89	247.199.665	%21.26	%73.53
Etimesgut	24.540.828	%3.77	36.397.135	%3.18	%48.31
Gölbaşı	14.814.899	%2.28	23.502.247	%2.02	%58.64
Keçiören	67.360.619	%10.35	130.717.792	%11.24	%94.06
Mamak	37.042.524	%5.69	69.239.741	%5.69	%86.92
Sincan	28.023.679	%4.31	46.726.954	%4.02	%66.74
Yenimahalle	89.308.472	%13.73	163.279.868	%14.05	%82.83

But the share of the GNP can not clarify the socio-economic status of the subjects. The level of different densities in different sections of the city is another key point. By other words the net income of the each individual is the real indicator for the

physical quality and well growth. The erection of controlled communal sites and basics of the “suburbanization” depend on the balanced low density settlements with high infrastructure providence related with car ownership ...Therefore the controlled density level at peripheries of the city is one of the most important indicators of the socio-economical status.

For Ankara Çankaya is the biggest district with the estimated population of 788.000 subjects. However Keçiören is the densest district with 653.000 subjects. Due to the statistics the population levels Altındağ and Mamak districts at eastern parts have been shrinking ,while densities standing steady. On the contrary western parts of the city show increase in growth , but steady status in density. Etimesgut, Yenimahalle and Sincan districts have shown the greatest increase in population, but these three major districts at western parts have also shown the controlled density levels. Proving the thesis written above, these districts are also nesting the suburban land-parts for high income communities and satellite mass-housing projects for middle-high income groups.

Table 4 Population densities in district of Ankara

	1990	1997	1990-1997	2000	Km ²	Nüfus/km ²
Altındağ	422.668	394,632	-%1.0	383.143	170	2.254
Çankaya	714.33	765,354	%0.9	788.077	307	2.567
Etimesgut	70.8	127,395	%8.4	162.226	101	1.606
Gölbaşı	43.522	49,526	%1.8	52.320	1.111	470
Keçiören	536.168	615,448	%2.0	652.542	199	3.279
Mamak	410.359	405,066	-%0.2	402.822	254	1.586
Sincan	110.118	220,415	%9.9	292.653	364	804
Yenimahalle	351.436	507,242	%5.2	591.232	419	1.411
Total	2.659.401	3.085.078	%2.1	3.285.478	2.925	1.123
Ankara / Turkey	%5.70	%6.50			%3.30	
Ankara Total	3.236.626	3,693,390	%1.9	~ 3.900.000	25.706	

Besides accommodation of high, high-middle income groups at western parts, general socio-economical status of Ankara indicates high standards above Turkey. The high and high-middle status group and the low-income groups are bigger than the usual values. The middle income group is still the dominating group of the entire society but its percentage is lower than the average in Turkey. It can be derived that Ankara has achieved a capitalist status more than the other metropolises (AcNZ Report 13,2000).

Table 5 Socio-economic Status composition (%)

	A	B	C1	C2	D	E
İstanbul	11.4	10.8	28.3	15.1	30.4	4.0
Ankara	12.1	17.6	21.7	13.6	28.9	6.1
İzmir	10.6	12.6	27.5	17.9	27.0	4.4
Adana	4.5	10.5	22.2	14.9	35.1	12.8
Bursa	6.1	8.4	27.1	18.7	35.3	4.4
Antalya	3.9	8.9	13.9	14.2	39.8	19.3
TÜRKİYE	4,7	10,3	16,9	13,8	36,5	17,8

- A ; High socio-economic status
- B ; Middle-high socio-economic status
- C1 ; Middle socio-economic status
- C2 ; Middle-low socio-economic status
- DE ; Low socio-economic status

The composition high income groups among the district do prove heavy suburbanization through the western sections. Also, proliferation of high status at western and southern sections does direct the economical tendencies. This situation brings out the demand for the space to content different modes of consumption originating .

Local Socio-Economic Indexes in Ankara determined by ACNielsen ZET

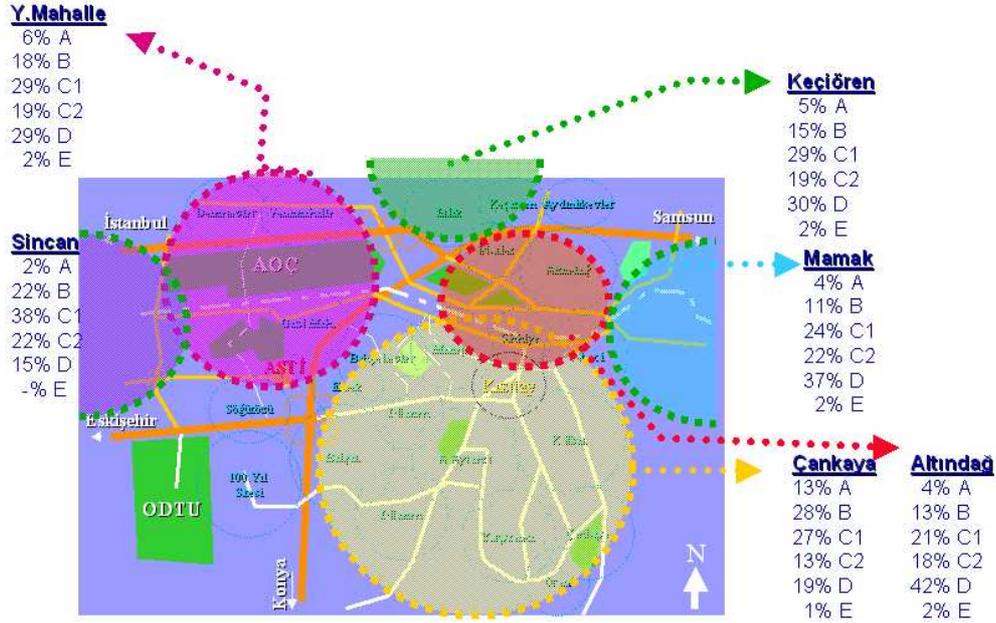


Figure 10: Socio-economic composition (source: A-Tasarım archives)

*Note: Ümitköy, Konutkent and Koru Sitesi have been nominated in Çankaya district...

In this context although Söğütözü is not neighboring any major socio-economic groups, the region stands just in the middle of high income groups at Çankaya and western sectors. This gives Söğütözü region a very abundant hinterland.

2.3.2) Changes in Transportation Network

As previously mentioned before, the city had grown on linear axis along north-south direction according to the proposals of Jansen Plan . The main shaft, namely Atatürk Boulevard is the main axis pivoted by the traditional city center, Ulus and designed commercial and administrative center, Kızılay. Atatürk Boulevard has become main artery of the city and prestigious protocol road of the state.(Tankut 1998,?)

Later on, by Uybadin Yücel Plan, Konya Road has become another important axis to link the proposed industrial zones and promoted the northern- southern developments. And, ODTÜ campus (1956) and some other major governmental institutions did also alter motorized transportation through the west along Eskişehir Road, thus the growth pattern of the city followed this second alternative route along east-west axis. On the other hand, establishment of Ostim organized industrial zone at 1967 had accelerated the expansion to the west and altered the importance of İstanbul Road. Alternative urban development had been emerged through İstanbul Road. This route later cultivated the suburban sectors and new subcenters at Demetevler, Batıkent and Ostim.

These two parallel arteries along east-west direction have been linked to protocol axis (Atatürk Boulevard) at two city centers. Eskişehir Road originates from Kızılay and İstanbul Road originates from Ulus. These two parallel roads, intersecting Atatürk Boulevard at two city centers also has been linked to each other by the sub-arteries . Konya road, Anadolu Bulvarı, Söğütözü Caddesi (links to Çiftlik Caddesi) can be nominated as three most important of these. Besides the horizontal linkage between Eskişehir and İstanbul roads, the parallel sub arteries had been provided to support in between two arteries. Namely Alparslan Türkeş Caddesi, Silahtar Caddesi, Bahriye Üçok Caddesi, Ş Cem Ersever Caddesi, Talat Paşa Bulvarı and Bağdat Caddesi are important support roads at the parallel.

After 80's, expansion in Ankara macroform have affected the transportation network greatly. Proposed planning along the west corridor had nearly changed the entire networking schema and routes. Growth of metropolitan area through the developing sectors, promotion of export-based life-style and private car ownership can be considered as major issues which have formed the current situation.

The two arteries which have leaded the western development have also been strengthened by the allocation of new intercity bus terminal (AŞTİ) at Söğütözü (at close point on the junction of Eskişehir and Konya Road) in 1987-95. The road, Yeni Bulvar had been constructed to support the new terminal right in between main roads. This new route is directly linked to western peripheral motor highway also.



Figure 11: Main roads

Besides the motorways through the west, the railways have played important roles on the growth pattern of Ankara as well. The interrailways and Kayaş Sincan suburban railway are also indicating the west- east direction as well. Along the route, it can obviously observed that large governmental production facilities like AOC, MKE, Fişeksan, TZDK, Traktor Factory, private organized industrial zones like Ostim, Şaşmaz and some important military bases, deployments have taken place.

The general situation of the transportation network system emerged, which have taken shape after 1970-1990 AMANPR, goaled to gain a direct and efficient access to the industrial, governmental, dwelling and military zones. It can be derived that the planning principals are based on the approach “planning by the road” just like the plans before. These approaches had also provided a schema to gain direct network for every possibilities at western suburbs and increased the ‘**pendulum effect**’ on main arteries.

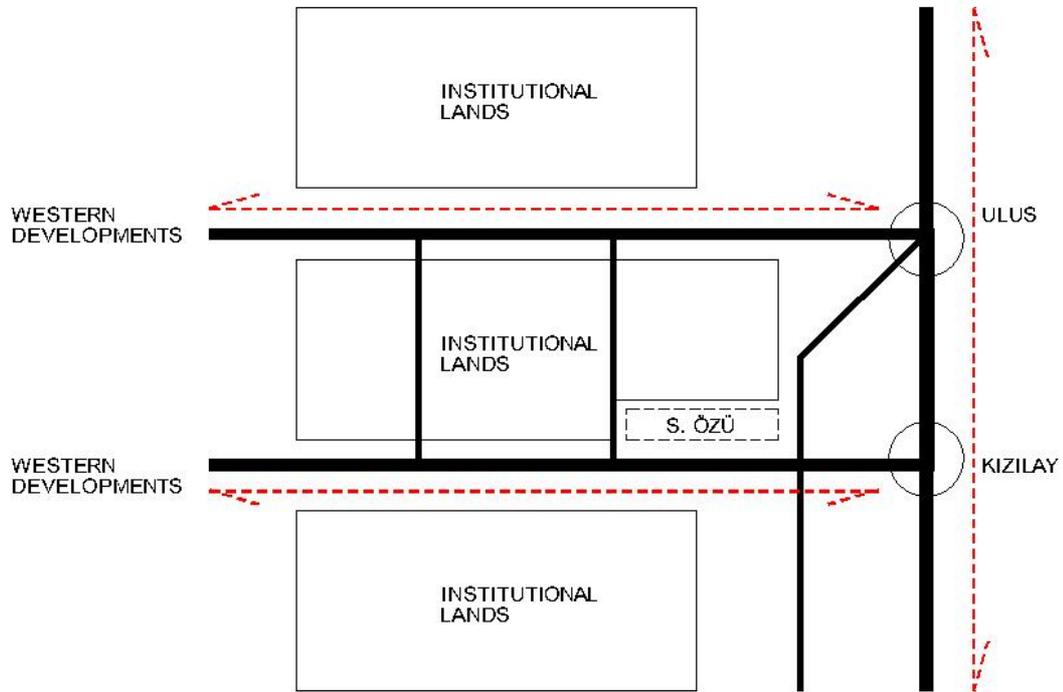


Figure 12: Pendulum effect

At 80's and 90's the transportation network have altered parallel to the great changes of the urban macroform and urban system beneath. The major three outcomes can be nominated as consequence; first of all the suburbanization processes have altered the importance of main roads and peripheral motorways. Secondly by the rise of liberalist moves, private car ownership has increased the traffic loads at main arteries. Thirdly the act of state and municipalities against private car ownership introduced new modes of transportation like subway network and transit junctions...

Similar to the worldwide known examples, increase in private car ownership and urge for transit high speed vehicle access have become the two important consequences of new era for Ankara. As explained before, the expansion pattern in Ankara macroform did also compose socio-economic groups among different

districts, which displays increase in private car ownership at the high and middle income communities preferring western suburbs. In this respect it can be derived that suburbanization process and private car ownership have grown as parallel issues in this era. This situation has increased the loads on main arteries of the city which are linking the suburban sectors and commercial-traditional city centers.

The other issue has become very important parallel to the private ownership, which is parking problem. Dense and homogeneous agglomeration on small plots combining with limited street organization (which were designed for garden city) had raised this problem to the extensive points. The providence of sufficient parking lots was one of the key points at the western developments which most of them were erected by strict policies of TOKİ and municipal regulations to achieve sufficient parking lots. On the contrary southern developments couldn't provide such kind of option for dwellings. That's because most of southern sectors went into transformation process from slum areas into high-mid rise apartments.

Thus increase in load of main and sub arteries had required new alternative solutions. One of the solutions was establishment of subway network which have made a great impact on the transportation system of Ankara. Two alternative routes and systems had been built for subway network at first. '**Metro**' which is linking the western dwellings along the İstanbul Road with Ulus, the Kızılay and the other one is '**Ankaray**' which is linking the eastern sectors with Kızılay and ending at AŞTİ, Söğütözü. However at 2003 these two routes had been decide to be extended. The route of Metro has been extended to Sincan and the route of Ankaray to Ümitköy. The construction facilities are still continuing. Later on some alternative routes are also taken into schedule as well. The commissioned route of Keçiören Subway route serving northern sectors which is linking to Metro at Ulus and proposed Yıldız subway route serving southern sectors which is linking to Ankaray at Kızılay.

As clearly seen the general schema, subway network is simply enforcing the motorways and following the same pattern. The axis of Atatürk Boulevard at north-south direction and two main arteries to west which binds with this axis at city centers.



Figure 13: Subway and Light rail Networks (source: www. ego.gov.tr)

In this general networking schema, Söğütözü region with vacant plots stands on very extensive point. Especially the selected site is standing in between three important junctions, that these are AŞTİ junction which is intersection of Eskişehir Road and Konya Road and Söğütözü junction which is intersection of Eskişehir Road and Söğütözü Street and the junction at intersection of Yeni Boulevard and Söğütözü Street. The other feature of the region is allocation of intercity bus terminal AŞTİ and some big transportation firms here. The region is the first place where most of the visitors from other cities step on. Thirdly by the extension of subway system, Söğütözü will gain very high accessibility combining with other mass transportation facilities like buses and dolmuş.

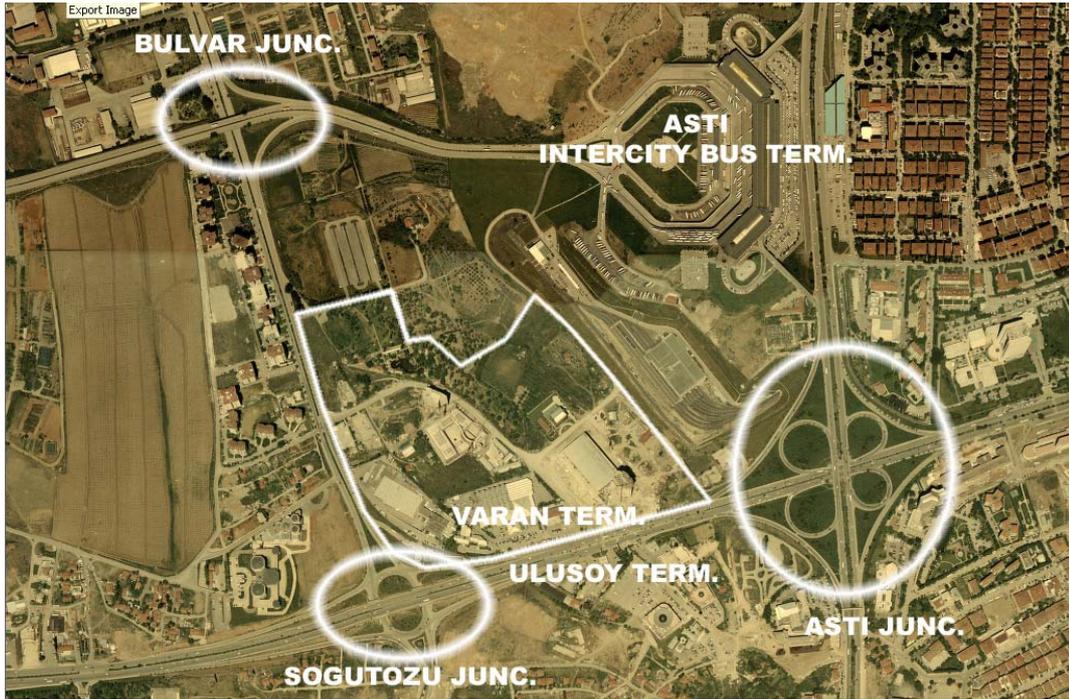


Figure 14: Junctions at Söğütözü

Briefly Söğütözü region has gained a very unique position in urban transportation network. Easiness of direct access to city centers and subcenters at periphery and providing alternative modes of transportation are making the region more attractive for the investment. Basically the region is grasping:

- Transit motorway catchments
- Intercity passenger catchments
- Light-rail and subway catchments
- Mass transportation catchments (like buses and dolmuş).

However, the unique location of the region has a potential to cause disastrous effects on entire general transportation network of the city. Because of the pendulum effect between dwelling zones at west and city centers, this specific location stands as a pivot point at the general transportation schema in both north- south and east-west directions. Even before the commercial developments began to appear on the land, the traffic load projections were indicating high levels on these specific sectors. According to the special study made by METU Faculty of Architecture Urban

Design Studio in 1997 for AOÇ proves heavy traffic load expectation for 2015 and Söğütözü region is indicated as major problem area.

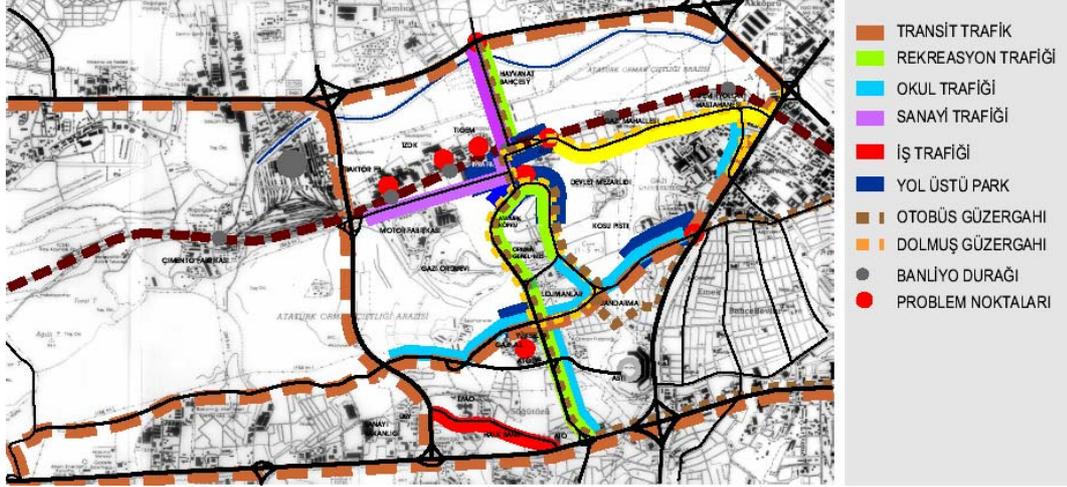


Figure 15: Transportation Options (Source METU Fac of Arch UD Std 1997)

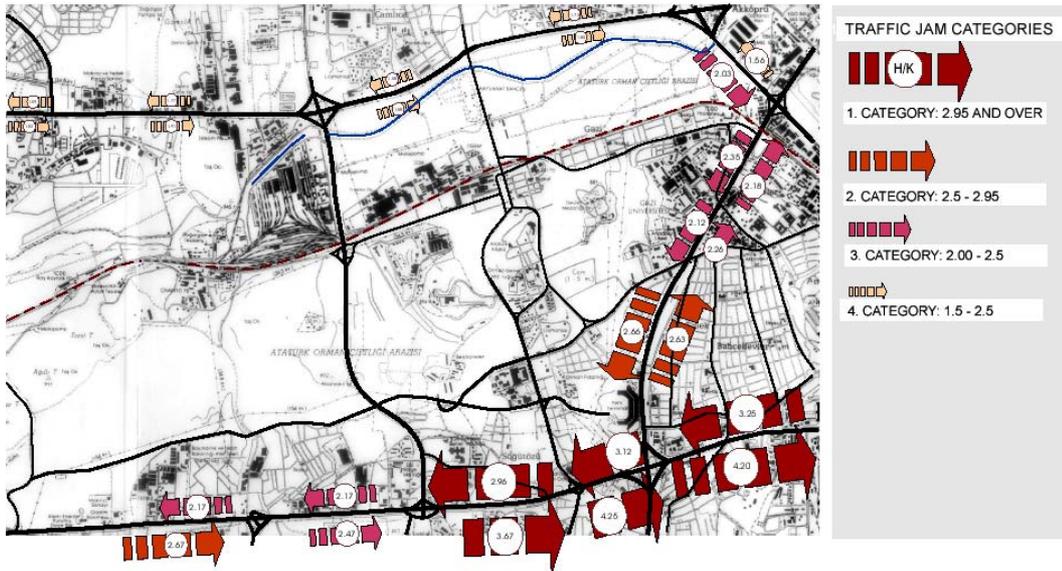


Figure 16: Traffic Loads (Source METU Fac of Arch UD Std 1997)

When considering the fact, recently developing commercial activities at the region, the overall traffic speed may slow down incrementally. And the transit accessibility on Eskişehir Road is expected to perish.

2.3.4-Formation of Property at the Selected Sector of Söğütözü Region

Günay (1999) indicates in the book 'Property Relations and Urban Space' that, the decisions on quality , quantity and form of the property effect aspects of urban fabric. The roots of physical environment are directly related with the physical advantages of the land and the domain of the power over the property. The architectural emergence over the property can also be considered as the reflection of the power relations caused by the cultural and economical values of the community. From this point of view, the formation of private property in the sector and the planning decisions has played important roles for Söğütözü Region.

As briefly explained in the previous chapters the general subdivisions plans and planning efforts has followed three patterns in Ankara till 80's. These three patterns are 'expropriation by the will of state', 'division of large rural-agricultural lands into small plots by the landlords and municipalities', 'legalization of occupied slum areas by the governments'. These three patterns had brought two kinds of physical environment in Ankara that these are vast public lands and large-scale institutional campuses owned by state and dwelling zones consisting small-scale plots owned by the subjects (Ünlü 1999, 59-69).

According to Tekeli (1998,4-15) and Ünlü (1999,59-64), the ideological background affecting the planning theories thus the subdivision plans of Ankara points out the influence of republican elite to gain a modern model city. Combining with the inclinations caused by the economical enforcements and metropolitan trends, these terms had brought homogeneity problematic in civil architecture, consequently stacked private urban space creation systems in vicious circle of small-entrepreneurship (namely yap-satçılık).

Beginning from early 80's this problematic situation on civil development had been broken.. One of the major issues for solutions is macroform desicion brought by Ankara Metropolitan Alan Nazım Plan Şeması Raporu (1970- 1990). The other

issue is approach of “the planning as real estate” which had been used by control mechanism of the state over housing market (Günay 1999,204). These two issues had predicted the demand for suitable, larger properties to contain the neo-liberalist economic system and new ways of lifestyles.

As mentioned in Ankara Metropolitan Alan Nazım Plan Şeması Raporu (1970-1990) (1990, 381-385) the expansion of the city to west had been encouraged due to the transportation reasons, private car ownership, exponential population increase, industrial-employment tendencies, position of blockading mass pieces of state-institutional lands. Henceforth two main arteries to west corridor that these are Eskişehir State Road and Yenimahalle-Batıkent-Sincan Route had been added to previous arteries Sivrihisar Road and İstanbul Road.

In 1970-90 Plans the lands facing Eskişehir State Road had been spared as public uses, institutions, universities and military deployments. Most of the land at backwards had been left as green area belonging to AOÇ, including recreational and educational facilities in part. However the region hadn't been regarded as urban land part until late 90's. But it's clear that the accumulation along the west corridor and private interest on Söğütözü had been underestimated. For that reason this scarce land holding three main junctions had become a focal point for private sector.



Figure 17: AMRRPR Eskişehir Road (Source: Baykan Günay)

Although the private interest had been predicted, particularly Söğütözü Region wasn't regarded as such kind of suitable land for large-scale commercial activities. By the promoted expansion of Ankara city form, this non prepared sector, which is mostly possessed by the private individuals, has become an attraction point for private capital in late 90's as predicted.

Besides macro-scale decisions of Ankara Metropolitan Alan Nazım Plan Şeması Raporu (1970- 1990) the subdivision plans is another important issue for formation of particular land in Söğütözü Region. The final subdivision plans were prepared and revised several times from 1987 to 1992. In 1992 'the final subdivision plan, 79170-2 was approved by Ankara Metropolitan Municipality.

The plan notes and general planning decisions of final subdivision plan displays conscious predictions for private interest on Söğütözü. Except the existing buildings, each plot was planned not smaller than 5000 m². And 'Floor Area Ratios'(FAR) appointed 1.00 for the plots at size of 5000-10000m² and 1.50 for the ones bigger than 10000 m² at general. Only FAR ratios of plots facing Eskişehir Road has been appointed as 1.50 and 2.00 according to their size. Also there is a statement about height limitations in the plan notes.

Generally the land use of selected part of Söğütözü was spared for urban service, except the dwellings zones near Ankara Chamber of Trade (ATO). Most of the private properties facing Eskişehir road were appointed as '**Urban services**'. Physical erection on public properties and green areas were strictly controlled by the plan notes. Also the posses' rights were also strictly controlled on public properties. According to plan notes required parking lots for the buildings should be provided within the plots. No particular urban parking area had been provided. Floor area ratios were designated in between 1 and 1,5. But maintenance, supplementary facilities attached to buildings were not included in these rations.

As clearly observable, the subdivision plans had been also prepared by the design approach of "planning by road". Subdivision plans were simply dividing the

cadastral mass pieces of land into mid-scale plots. Regarding the high accessibility in between two main arteries (Eskişehir State Road and Söğütözü Road), transportation network had formed a spinning grid. On the other hand no special strategic actions had been taken to establish alternative accessibility options and parking problems.

Later on alternative plan had been produced for accessibility. The plan of Raci Bademli is another important work for the site. The allé project was prepared in 21.12.1998, later revised and approved in 05.03.1999. Basically this plan was proposing an alle which would link Eskişehir Road and public recreation area at far end. By providing such kind of allé, it's been goaled to offer one the most beautiful green areas to the common share. Also proposed alle would act as a shaft to gain commercial continuity.

The fourth plan is MANİA Plan which truly limits the developments on Söğütözü. This plan is basically regulates the maximum height of the buildings according to the flight cones of the military and corporate air vehicles. The plan is prepared by General Staff Head Quarters to limit the physical obstacles in approach route of Güvercinlik Military Air Base. According to the plan maximum height appointed to this sector is in between 1009 meters to 989 meter above sea level. With another fact which is helicopter routes in approach of military headquarters, the maximum net building height had been allowed 115-95 meters.

ANKARA TİCARET ODASI
PARSELASYON PLANI
(SÖĞÜTÖZÜ)

PLAN NO: 79170
PLAN NO: 76170
PLAN NO: 81078
P. 119

ANKARA ŞEHİRLERARASI OTOBÜS TERMINALI

PLAN NO: 79170
PLAN NO: 79170-2

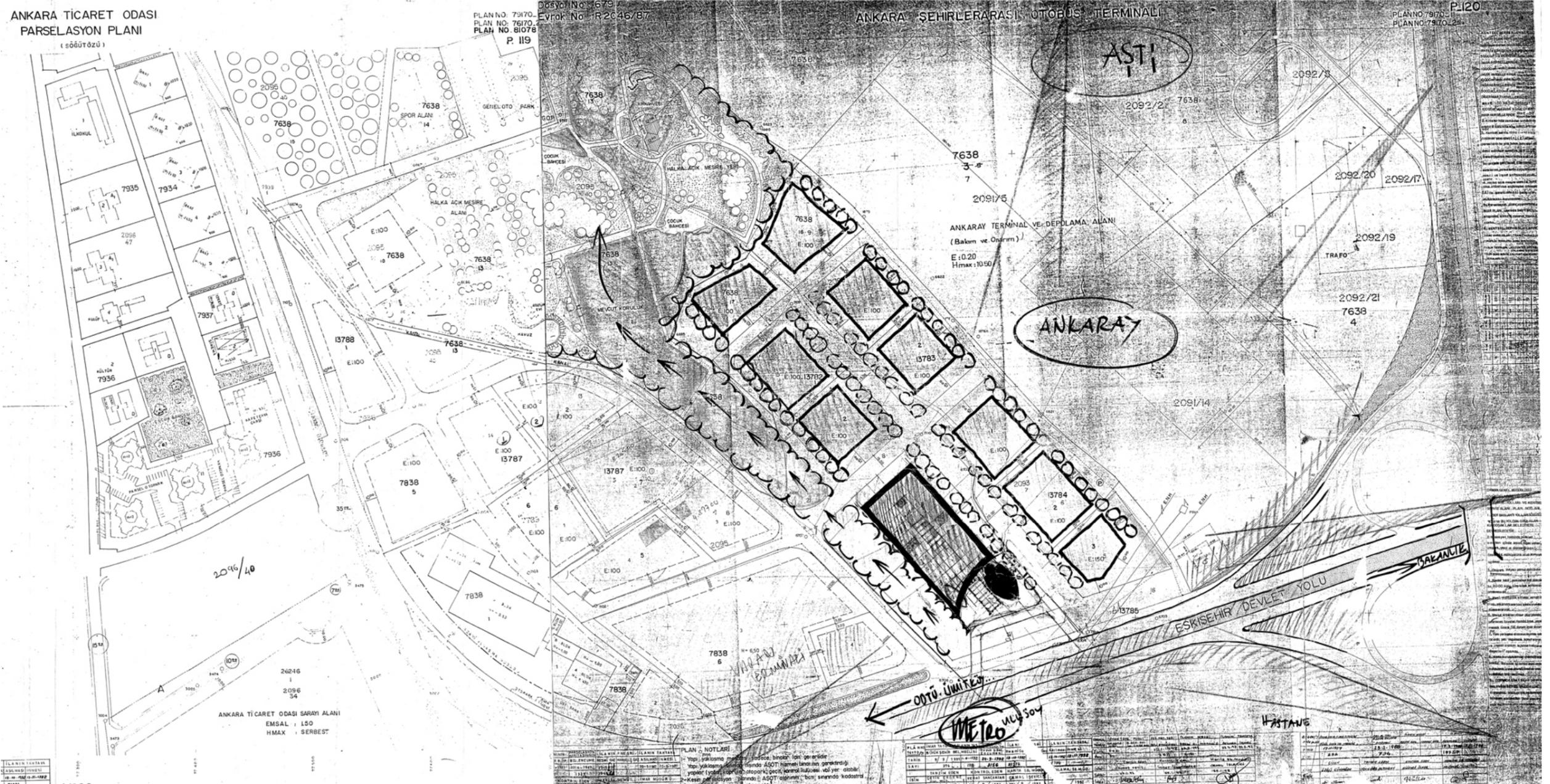


Figure 18: Subdivision Plan 79170-2

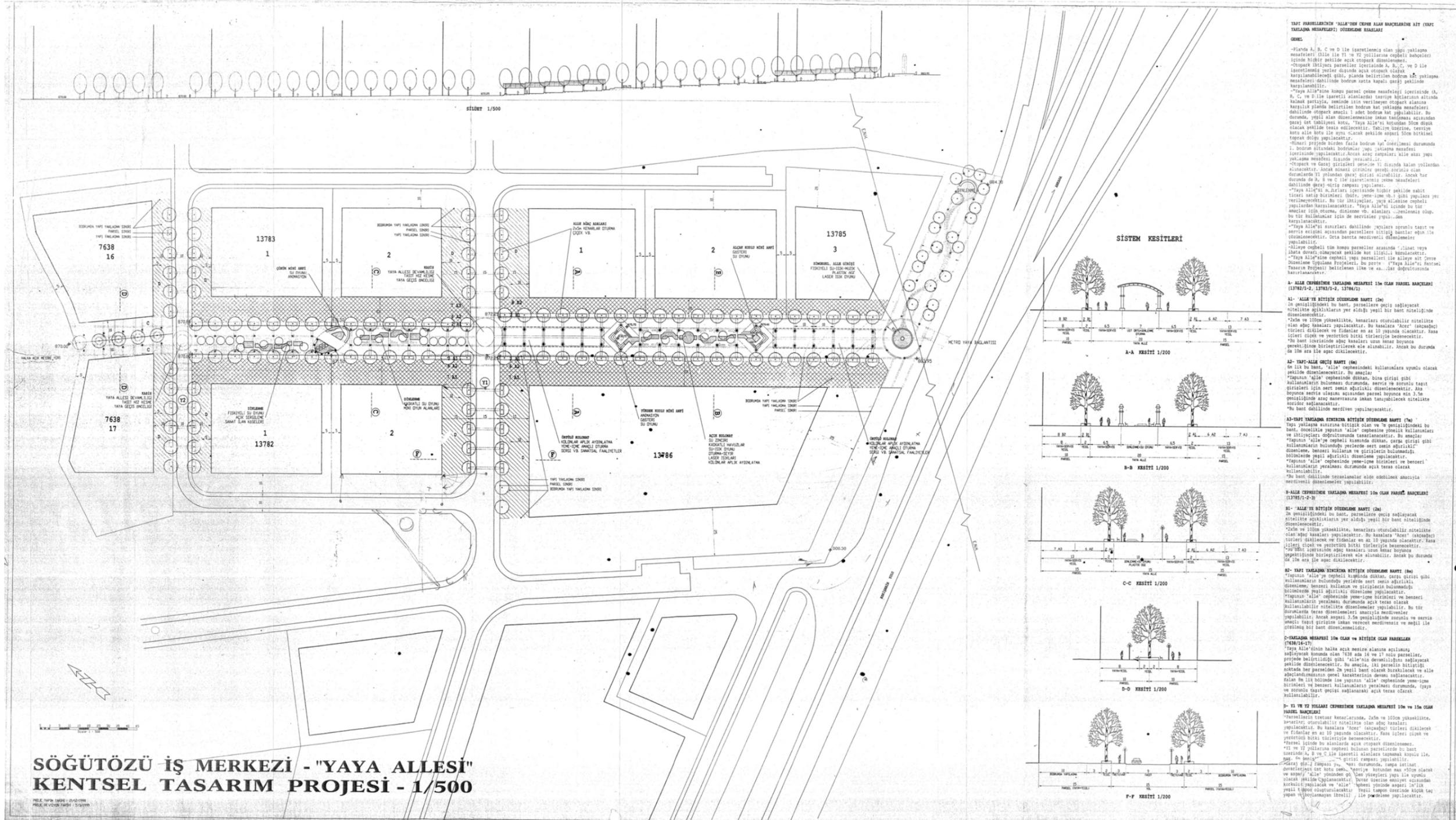


Figure 20: Allé Project

3-RUSH OF CAPITAL

In the previous chapter, the evolution of Ankara macroform and the situation of Söğütözü Region were taken into consideration in historical context. Especially the dramatic changes in macroscale decisions and economical systems after 80's are bringing us greater explanations for the quick development of selected sector at Söğütözü. The introduction of export-based life-style and increase in power of private sector are closely related with the physical emergence at this region after 80's. The transformation process at the period sets the basics of the interest of private capital on Söğütözü.

3.1-INCREASE IN INTEREST ON URBAN ISSUES

Global fact in transformation of vision at 70-80's is consequences brought by transition from state controlled economical systems into post fordist economical systems (Healey, Davoudi, Tavşanlıoğlu, O'Toole, Usher 1992,3-13). The proliferation and variation in service, FIRE and retail sectors have transformed the "business" mentality at all. The economical sphere inherited from Thatcherist-Reaganist policies has re-structured production based approach.

Economical change has been paralleled not only by the physical reshaping of the city. It has been accompanied by an institutional restructuring, the product of both of pressures internal to economic activity (the rise of new firms, new working practices and relationships designed to exploit new market opportunities) and of the deliberate restructuring of the state during years of Margaret Thatcher's Premiership, through strategies of deregulation, privatization and government centralization. (Healey, Davoudi, Tavşanlıoğlu, O'Toole, Usher 1992,4-5)

The restructuration process after 80's are also appears as the abolishment of total control of the state on urban space production the decrease of power of the state in urban space production is related with global circumstances beginning from 1970 which have found reflections in our country after 1980 memorandum (Tekeli

1998,14-23). The basic outcome of this situation is rise of private sectors domain. Yet many debates takes place on level of state control mechanisms, the private entrepreneurs gaining power on urban issues is an important fact.

Besides the advocacy of private property against total control of the state, the debates on rise of private property are directly related with the rights of corporate capital (Günay 1999,175-177). In our country the planning-as-real-estate-development (which was an important feature of 80's) has played critical role at emergence of the private sector especially in construction business. This situation has also made an impact in vision of the building-designing disciplines . Ali Osman Öztürk who is architect of Armada Commercial and Shopping Center at Söğütözü expresses this process in the interview as:

... Especially large-scale housing projects and accreditation systems brought by Emlak Bankası is an important fact for our contractors. Thus the major force was the state at the period, the process had made our contractors gain more power. The contractors realized new ways of earning money different than 'yapsatçılık'. Also both architects and contractors learned to construct the buildings different than the apartments on small plots bounded with strict height and FAR regulations. Our previous generation had understood that large scale projects require large scale supply-service facilities. At the period small-scale entrepreneurs united and large-scale contractors begun to appear. Consequence is 'developer-firms' at international-scale.

Parallel with most of the metropolitan cities of Turkey, effects of liberalization process had forced the recently growing private capital to find suitable places for recently growing service, finance and retail sectors in Ankara. Besides the subcenters at peripheries, some exclusive points have appeared on the urban scape of Ankara. The site at Söğütözü region has become one of the attractive points for the investment. Besides the effects of global economical circumstances, internal facts of Ankara have triggered this situation the quick formation of the city macroform and urban-system have altered value of this land because of five major reasons.

First of all the dwelling development at the far end of the western corridor and public workspaces on Eskişehir Road, Söğütözü Region have altered to be location close to center of gravity of the city from being agricultural land at periphery.

Secondly, emerging transportation network have increased the desirability of the land. Especially marked site is standing at the three major junctions which are linking four important main arteries. Also the extension project of subway system is providing alternative solutions for accessibility of the region. Besides intercity bus terminal and some major transportation firms are allocated at this sector.

Thirdly, Söğütözü is also located in between the dwelling zones where high and middle income groups settled. Related with the high private car ownership fact, high accessibility of the land is very important for the demanding lifestyles of consumer communities. In other words the consumer hinterland of Söğütözü is very high.

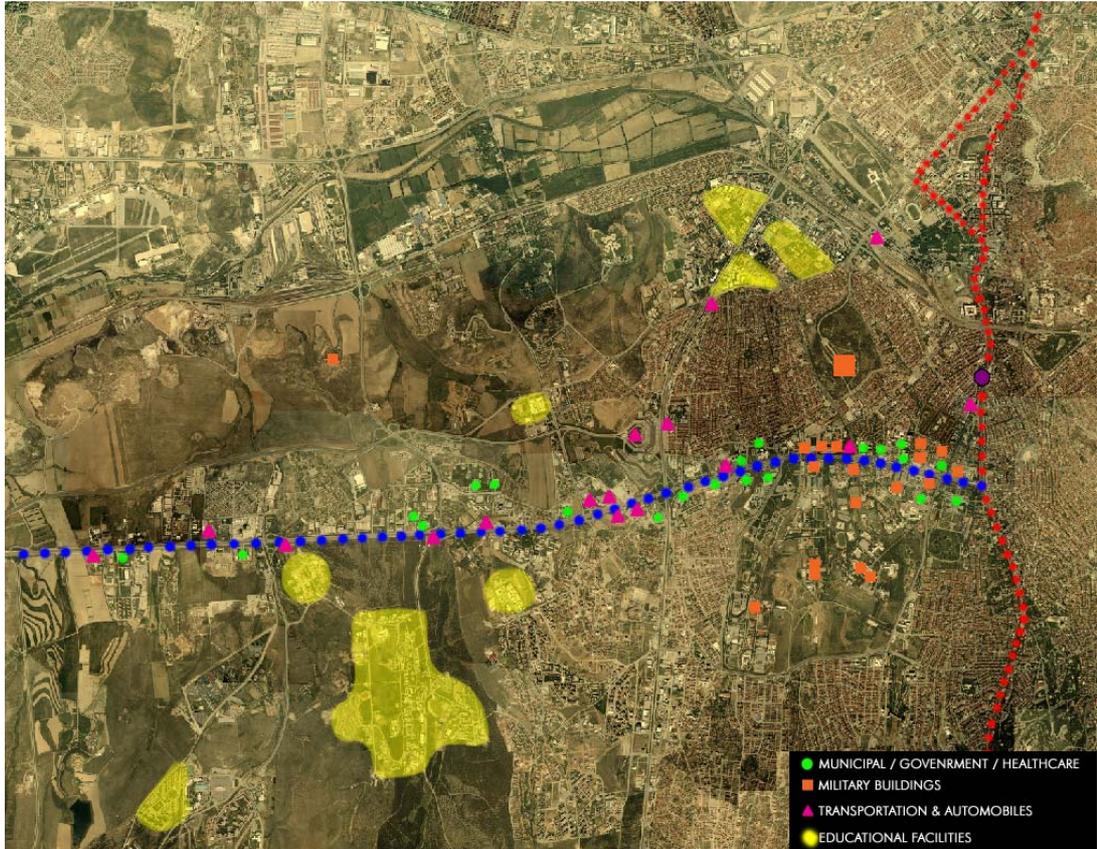


Figure 21: Stately owned institutions (Source: A-Tasarım Archives)

Fourthly, Söğütözü region is very close to production zones (Ostim, Teknokent, Cyberpark...) , to three university campuses (ODTÜ, Bilkent, Çankaya) and to numerous public& military workspaces.

Fifthly , the region is one of the few lands which are/were owned by the private subjects. The most of the lands all along the Eskişehir Road have been occupied by the state and public institutions. Besides the properties of AOÇ and green belts (which are under protection by law) are also blockading civil development. So scarce plots owned by the private subjects is becoming more attractive for the private investments.

And lastly, the subdivision plans offer vacant, mid-scale, less restricted properties which can be easily united. Also the land-use decision is being marked as urban-service which gives ultimate opportunity for the investors because of non-strict definition.

Because of these six major reasons, investment of the private capital on Söğütözü is an outcome of the changes in the urban form and urban systems of Ankara under re-structuration progress .

3.2)REPRESENTATION OF NEO-LIBERALIST ECONOMIES

The period after 80's has also brought the debates on architectural expressions on the property. Parallel to the restructuration process, the transition has taken place in planning approaches and architectural accumulation on the property. Especially the representation problematic and debates on identity have become important issues in architecture and planning disciplines at the period. The emergence of new work-branches, proliferation in levels of interaction, new modes of distribution (service-retail), fragmentalization in production have triggered the postmodernist approaches in architecture and planning. The basics beneath these approaches are closely related with the terms; 'urban re-structuration' or 'urban regeneration'.

Urban regeneration as an idea encapsulates both the perception of city decline (in local economies, in use of land and buildings, in quality of environment and social life) and the hope of renewal, reversing trends in order to find a new basis for economic growth and social well being (Parkinson, 1989). Rebuilding the city, clearing away obsolete buildings and vacant sites, and producing new building forms and designs symbolized the renewal action.

Behind this encompassing notion, which came to describe urban policy in the 1980's, are major changes in economic, social and political organization. These have had significant spatial consequences, both in relative for different urban regions, and in internal organization of cities. Urban regeneration, in its city clearance and rebuilding aspects, has been a response to both the problems and the new demands created by these changes. (Healey, Davoudi, Tavşanlıoğlu, O'Toole, Usher 1992,3)

The basics of these debates also appeared as counter-argument for modernist production of space. According to Günay (1998,?) the critiques of modernist approaches are embedding advocacy of individual's right against the public's rights. The expression of tastes and preferences of the individual does appear as utmost goal of the space creation disciplines at the epoch. From this point of view the ideal of urban re-structuration process is also re-structuration of relationships in between the private and public.

Also representation problems at the new era are related with discourses on communication and level of interaction. This item is ultimately important for workspace requirements of the emerging new service and distribution sectors. As a consequence of separation of financial industries from Central Business District function (production facilities), this and related sectors have searched new central areas to regroup in order to fulfill the demands of fragmented systems. The domain of financial sector over production has been provided by the developing communication systems and technological innovations. Moreover according to Amin and Thrift (1995,93-98) the free flow of information and increase in importance of 'knowledge structure' are nominated as two of the reasons for centralization finance sector to achieve integrity in global economical sphere. In this respect, architectural organizations of the workspace have begun to require more and more technological infrastructure and flexible spaces for alternative

branches. Also another aspect in this issue is creating design symbols to achieve significance in global sphere. With the fact re-grouping of finance and service sector in central areas, the emergence of high rise buildings, skyscraper have become an inevitable solution not only for containing large amounts of white-collars but also for propaganda of private capital. There the construction of high rise workspaces donated with high technologies (or at least image of high technology) provides benefits both in construction of knowledge network and propaganda of new power.

Hence, the representation of capital onto re-establishment of identity and propaganda of private capital has affected the distribution, service and retail sectors. The importance of preferences of the individual has become more and more important at the period, because fragmentazition in production, variation in modes of consumption. The shopping and retailing sectors have altered their importance on social –life. Organized mega-structures for shopping have begun to emerge. Besides the supplementary of desired goods, the organized commercial centers have introduced new modes of consumption and re-generation of culture (Uludağ, 2004) ,(Zuckin 1997,122)

According to Günay (1999,178), referring to Jenks(1990,7) strategically approach of architect is ‘double-coding’ against pluralism-complexity of cultural values in post-modernist epoch, that the architects have begun to conduct the preferences, skills of the clients in their own professions and skills. In this sense new typology in architecture has played important roles on declination in both representation of neoliberalist circumstances and space creation notions. The basic item beneath new notion is creation of efficient space to cultivate alternative consumption modes (to achieve a milieu), which are easily re-productable, easily consumable culture, consumption styles and personal preferences.

In respect to the determinations of Uludağ (2004) on culture reduction into marketable value, the branding and client-oriented marketing has become tool for franchisee chains. According to Karabey (Arrademento Mimarlık 2000/12, 80) the architectural representation have been introduced replica, prototype patterns and

architectural metaphors. To create appropriate relationships between in a triangle of corporate-goods(service)-identities, architects dwelled their space-creation efforts upon perceptive-visual codes.

It's generally consented that, these new consumption modes and notions have become important issues in development of three major sectors which are:

- Retailing sector
- Service sector.
- Finance sector.

And these three branches have brought the concept of '**shopping malls**' and '**mix use complexes**' which includes commercial activities, leisure facilities and entertainment options and sophisticated office uses. Beginning from early 80's , large scale, highly sophisticated, mix use retailing complexes have begun to erect. The basic distinctive point in their typology is their broad contents in leisure opportunities and consumer goods. Because ,the retailing market requires more and more leisure, branding, entertainment to fulfill the accelerating demand of consumer society, these bigger, broader , extensive complexes have been built as a consequence and these mix use buildings have become a public realm in Ankara (Uludag, 2004).

To contain large scale-distinct activities, four issues have become more and more important. First of them is demand of **vacant and big land**. Second one is **big private capital** to invest the big construction facility and technological infrastructure. Third one is **site selection** (location) and high accessibility to gather potential clients as much as possible. And the last one is skilled **profession groups and architects** apt in integrated project management ship.

In this context recent commercial developments at Söğütözü region stands as the final contemporary space creation efforts as a respond to the re-structuration

progress. Both scales of the investment, complexities of the recent mix-use projects and property development patterns are all important items in formation of Söğütözü at neo-liberal era. Henceforth these issues do also provide important design guidelines about architectural organization of urban-scale projects appearing on Söğütözü.

3.3.3) INABILITIES OF CITY IN PROVIDING SUITABLE PLOTS

As previously mentioned, the demand for alternative, bigger, broader commercial activities have bring search for suitable lands which are holding the main arteries. Indeed beyond the representation of capital in urban-scape, the physical erection on vacant land like Söğütözü is related with the ‘desirability of city centers’ for consumer society, thus the capital. Although desirability of city centers is very big topic to study, some specific reasons arise in Ankara case.

According to Günay (1999,204), the size of property is an indicator of physical development above. In this respect, the traditional fabric of Ulus, dense development of Kızılay, even recent developments at Çankaya are not providing large building plots for big projects. Despite some examples, it’s very hard to implant new buildings typologies with profound uses among the strong urban-fabric of city centers. This situation has brought transition of dwelling units into commercial units, in limits of interior design solutions as widely seen all along high-streets like Konur, Tunalı Hilmi, and Köroğlu... So lack of sufficient plots belonging to private subjects has pushed the large scale investments out of Kızılay and Ulus.



Figure 22: Söğütözü Fabric



Figure 23: Kızılay Fabric



Figure 24:Ulus Fabric

Parallel to demand of large building plots, large scale investments demand large scale accessibility and parking lot. In this context the implementation of big urban-scale buildings will make great pressure on traffic network. It's known that ratio of private car ownership in Ankara is around %41 per family and this ratio rises up % 63.9 in A-B-C socio-economical-status profile which is the main consumer and white collar group of Ankara society (ACNZ Report, 2000, 29) . And according to the same report (ACNZ Report, 2000, 39), the survey of consumer habits gives important clues on top consumer groups on private car use and parking problems, that % 45.7 of these groups prefers shopping with their own car. And also according to official web site of EGO (www.ego.gov.tr, 11,05,2004) , which is municipal administration in mass transit, %83 of mass transportation (bus) system of Ankara is using Atatürk Boulevard which is linking Ulus and Kızılay. So suffering traffic and parking problems in city centers appears as considerable factor for choosing vacant nodes holding the main transportation networks

ACNZ report (2000,26) provides recent data on the sizes of shopping malls in our country.

Table 6: Information about shopping malls (Source: AcNZ zet)

Center	Opening date	Location	Gross area (m ²)	Commercial area (m ²)	Units	Parking lots
Akmerkez	18.12.1993	İstanbul	165.000	34.600	246	1.500
Ankuva	1996	Ankara	15.000		70	
Ataköy Galleria	10.10.1998	İstanbul	21.080	42.654	130	2.134
Buttim	02.10.1997	Bursa	55.000	120.000	313	5.250
Kipa	18.11.1999	İzmir	79.826	17.500	85	1.800
M1 Tepe G.Antep	03.1999	Gaziantep	69.545	52.092	71	1.370
M1 Tepe Adana	09.2000	Adana	86.710	36.854	78	2.570
M1 Tepe Bilkent	24.03.1998	Ankara		44.000	17	1.800
M1 Tepe Kartal	01.04.2000	İstanbul	57.000	42.900	35	1.170
Migros Ankara	27.08.1999	Akköprü			125	2.700
Migros - Beylikdüzü	13.12.1997	İstanbul	32.330	63.00	92	1.500
Olivium	01.04.2000	İstanbul	66.000	28.500	61	1.400
Profilo	09.05.1998	İstanbul	100.000	40.900	165	1.000
Vega CarrefourSA	12.04.2000	İstanbul		22.000	90	3.000

Also strict legal regulations are discouraging the re-building efforts. The requirements of developments bylaw is far beyond the availability of the plots which had been formed in garden-city approach. Although these regulations have inclined by time , constructional order and architectural order act as limiting factor in city centers. According to Ünlü (1999,99-101) the homogeneous growth in Ankara is indeed the side effects of misapplication of Uybadın–Yücel Plan by speculative rent groups. However these misapplications and changing dynamics of the Ankara have ossified the built up environment in city centers. In the name of controlling the urban system, Standard Development Bylaw has become the protector of homogeneity in city center.

In that sense strict regulations, conservative planning approaches and polarized politic balances in Ankara makes consensual solutions harder, and require strong architectural and urban thesis. So investing on suitable regions like Söğütözü become more attractive in order avoid the conflicts and achieve consensus between municipalities, legal administrations, public agencies, media, private capital, planning authorities and architects.

4. PHYSICAL ENVIROMENT AT SÖĞÜTÖZÜ

The constructed facilities on Söğütözü after late 90's not only demonstrate the changing urban-dynamics in mezo-levels, but also introducing assertive concepts in our daily-life. The quick emergence of large-scale civil buildings displaying the features of contemporary global examples, have also introduced new kinds of professional activities and integrated collaboration patterns. Urban-scale buildings have also brought new cooperation alternatives between public agencies and rising private capital. Beyond the physical erection on Söğütözü, possession-transfer of the property and investment models on the property have introduced important guides for the space-creation efforts in new era.

In short history of Söğütözü, the architectural development and commercial activities have evolved through four phases. The architectural praxis has evolved through these stages as well. The architectural representation of the property also appears as an indicator of the transforming property relations and activity patterns of actors. The changing economical circumstances have first brought proliferation in service sectors. Later introduce of alternative insurance systems had directly effected health-care facilities and private hospitals had been erected on the land. The third wave has been seen in creation of contemporary workspaces. Although the early examples of new workspaces not directly possessed by private sector, but these semi-public buildings' architectural appearance have provided important guidelines for the current situation.

After three stages, the final phase of the Söğütözü has brought re-definitions on the characteristics of the property. Till to late 90's service and office use characteristic of Söğütözü have evolved into commercial activity. Construction of Armada Shopping and Business Center, which is the biggest complex with broad mix use functions, had not only altered the commercial potential of Söğütözü, but also brought alternative property development patterns on the land. Henceforth interest in mix-use complexes have encouraged new proposal on the land. Several concepts

have been prepared by some important developers and architectural groups. The interest of private sectors on Söğütözü region has grown incrementally, that this land has become one of the new commercial nodes of the city.



Figure 25: Söğütözü Satellite View (Source: A-Tasarım Archives)

Every sectoral development of private capital displayed transformation of spatial domination on the property from state authority to private initiative. But the most distinctive point in early three phases was advocacy of private sectors on small private property. But the final phase and further proposals were indicating the domination of organized corporate capital. Both the urban-scale proposals and mix-use structures are attracting the organized private capital. Possible outcomes indicate conversion in current physical developments, while re-defining the basics of new urban syntax in the era. Moreover the current physical developments reveal efforts to achieve consensus to overcome the confrontation between comprehensive planning attitudes and structural planning requirements.

However, in evaluation of existing environment, prohibitions and lack of legal database have made the reliable data collection impossible. Legal rights and related legal documents couldn't be derived from municipalities and archives. Yenimahalle Municipality Archives, Ankara Metropolitan Municipality Archives, even Çankaya Municipality archives were unable to supply legal information. Most of the files except two recent buildings (Armada, Mesa Hospital) were missing in three major archives. The absence of municipality archive files containing the approved projects, information on legal situations of the building, FAR ratios, information on urban, architectural, constructional rights and provisions of construction, management licenses of existing buildings made achieving reliable, legal information impossible.

But besides insufficiency of legal administrations, the denial of core information by the property owners was also very important. Although some quite reliable data were collected by the author, (yet because some information might affect some current economical relations) some critical information couldn't be published. So the basics of the developments at Söğütözü region had been evaluated through tacit knowledge derived from important persons besides limited reliable legal data.

4.1) SERVICE SECTOR.

Since from 70's, parallel to the proliferation in commercial activities, new facilities have taken place at Söğütözü. The first sector nested in Söğütözü is service sectors, especially which were involved in automotive industries. Two major automobile suppliers built their own large-scale services here. Parallel to increase in private car ownership, service industry and automobile suppliers, these two corporates (Ford-Otosan, Renault) selected this site which is at the junctions of two main arteries. The architectural expressions of these service buildings are carrying industrial existence in modern architecture.

4.1.1) Ford Otosan Automobile Service Facilities (7838-1) :

Since from 1958 one of the leading automobile distributors in Ankara is Oto-Koç Automotive Trading&Ind. Corp. which is investment of Koç Holding. Increasing demand in automotive sector forced the corporation to intend on automotive service sector. In order to establish a large scale service facility 18.000 m² of land at Söğütözü had been borrowed by Koç Holding in 1969.

Before western expansion at 80's did take place, Söğütözü at junction point of southern and western corridors was an attractive location for industrial facilities. After approval of Uybadin Yücel Plan, many industrial facilities had been allocated all along Konya State Road. Also establishment of Middle East Technical University and several other institutional campuses along western corridor had increased importance of Eskişehir State Road. Rent value of Söğütözü increased exponentially since from late 60's.

In early 1970 Oto-Koç administration commenced a private automotive service facility on 18.000 m² of land at Söğütözü and adjucted project design to Nejat Ersin Architectural Workshop Ltd. which was one of the most assertive architectural offices in industrial buildings designing at the era. After two years of design and construction progress Oto-Koç Söğütözü Service Facilities opened in 1972. With 17.800 m² of gross area on 7500 m² of footprint area, the complex was the biggest private existence in the capital city at the time. By erection of service complex Ford Oto- Koç had become the first international brand in Söğütözü. Besides its scale the building itself carries the brutal modernist tastes of industrial architecture.

However the organizational efforts beneath project development and transfer of the property are not clear. Because the files of building were all missing in municipality archives, no information could be derived on legal situation of the existing building and property. Also Koç Holding refused to provide any information about the building. For that reason, appropriate information on property transformation and physical development couldn't be derived. But it's known that Oto-Koç Service Facility was constructed before the final subdivision plan in 1992. For that reason

the construction and management licenses of existing buildings should be temporary licenses. And the built environment should be legalized according to the existing physical situation till 1992.

4.1.2) Renault-Mais Automobile Service Facilities (7838-6)

Increase in vehicle demand in Ankara had also attracted semi public organizations as well as private sector. Because, the state and military forces were the biggest clients in Turkey, Ankara was (and still is) an important market for automobile and service suppliers. Renault Mais Corp., which was found by joint initiatives of two semi-public organizations OYAK and TUKAŞ for distribution and service providence of Renault Automobiles in Turkey commenced a large-scale service complex on 23.000 m² of land right beside Oto-Koç Service Facility in order to grasp a share in the market.

Nejat Ersin who was also architect of Oto-Koç, was selected for architectural design and project work. With the industrial expressions, Renault-Mais Service Facility had become an important building in Turkish architecture after completion in 1973. The overall design quality and introduce of new construction techniques in Renault-Mais Facility had brought new approaches in industrial buildings. Not only with architectural representations, this building and Oto-Koç facility were also two important pioneering examples introducing new typologies in automotive service industry. Both their scale and systems were challenging in their era.

As in Oto-Koç case, the organizational efforts beneath project development and transfer of the property are not clear. Because the files of this building were all missing in municipality archives, so any information could be derived about legal situation of the existing building and property.

4.1.3)Varan Intercity Bus Terminal:

Long before allocation of new intercity bus terminal (AŞTİ) at Söğütözü (at close point to the junction of Eskişehir and Konya Road) in 1987-95, Varan (which is very important firm among traveling agencies) constructed its own terminal at this region. Besides its main purpose of being a regular small bus terminal, the small restaurant and market options attached to building with fine interior solutions had inspired alternative architectural solutions for small intercity travel stations.

The reliable legal data on the building couldn't be derived from the legal administrations. The files which should be kept by Yenimahalle Municipality and Ankara Metropolitan Municipality archives were missing. Most of the information like architects, building rights and deed-property transfer were unable to collect. So, to get information on the physical development, an interview had been arranged in 11.11.2004 with Feridun Atlas who is chief officer of Ankara Varan Terminal Station for thirty one years and worked for Varan LTD. for forty-five years.

Feridun Atlas informed that the previous terminal of Varan Tourism Ltd. was located at the land at Bahçelievler region, on where now National Library stands. At late 1969 after announcement of legal-expropriation of the land, Erol Varuna who was CEO of Varan Tourism at the time and his partners searched for alternative lands for erecting a station facility. The lands at Söğütözü were found suitable. Before the execution of expropriation of the land at Bahçelievler, the plots on Söğütözü had been borrowed by Erol Varuna from one of the natives of Haymana village in 1973. No reliable information about property transfer and the previous possessors could be derived. But Feridun Arslan noticed that, the money they paid for the land was very small.

Before the execution of legal-expropriation at Bahçelievler, construction facilities in Söğütözü had begun in late 1978. After two years, in November 1980 the station opened. Information about architect, architectural project and construction costs couldn't be derived from the property-owners, because the projects and related documents which should be kept by the clients were also missing.

However, it's known that the land was permitted for construction after final subdivision plan in 1992, so the construction and management licenses of the building should be temporary licenses. Thus the initial circumstances of construction rights and architectural rights are still questionable, the present situation of existing situation is quite acceptable in size. Overall closed area of the building (2300 m2) and positioning in the plot is not exceeding the current subdivision plan notes.

The general impact of such facility is exceeding the visionary or architectural expression of the existing building. Varan is one of the leading companies in transportation and travel sector. In that sense the firm is one the most important brands in Söğütözü. But besides being an important brand, this facility is directly linking the region in intercity network. With travel agency, Söğütözü has one of the first gates Ankara. For that reason the positive effect of the traveling sectors

On the contrary the beneficiary situation for Söğütözü is not a mutual relation according to managers of Varan Tourism LTD. The quick expansion of the city has affected the facilities negatively. Feridun Atlas explained that during the time their service capacity had expanded incrementally, but he also noticed, that especially at last years, most of the services were suffering because of the increasing traffic loads, side effects of commercial activities like pollution or parking problems. Feridun Atlas insist on the point that the management and related revenues of the transportation has become more difficult while the current rent of the property had become much more valuable than the revenues of transpiration business.

4.1.4) AŞTİ (Ankara Intercity Bus Terminal)

Aşti is the biggest building complex in Söğütözü region with 128.520 m2 of closed area over 228.520 m2 of project area in 541.241 m2 of land. Aşti site is indeed property of AOÇ which was rented to Ankara Metropolitan Municipality for public uses. Ankara Metropolitan Municipality commenced erection of new intercity bus

terminal at Söğütözü and taken this land in an advance of sharing the benefit with AOÇ (www.tbmm.gov.tr/tutanak/donem20/yil3/bas/b048m.htm, 15,05,2004).

For the architectural project the proposal of Davran EKŞİNAT has been selected from the competition held by municipality in 1985. Construction facilities had begun in 1987, under major contractorship of Ceylan Cons. Corp.. The building complex opened in 31 March 1995. Later on the light rail system (Ankaray) depots, which had been constructed by consortium of AEG, Siemens, Simko, Breda, Yüksel, Bayındır, attached to the complex on 58.000 m² of spared land in 1996.

Re-location of intercity bus terminal has altered the importance of Söğütözü. The region has become a gate of the city. Nearly 150.000 people are visiting the complex per day and this number rises up to 500.000 at festivals, holidays. (www.asti.com.tr, 15.05.2004). For this reason AŞTİ is an important fact in heavy traffic loads at Konya Road and Eskişehir Roads. Besides the complex being the biggest mass on the land, the site of the complex is also acting as physical barrier of the private lands at the region. The public land under property of AOÇ under legal shield is also bordering the private developments on the land



Figure 26: Aşti Aerial View (Source: A-Tasarım Archives)

4.2) CONTEMPORARY WORKSPACES

The next wave was creation of contemporary workspaces. The early examples of sophisticated office buildings have begun to appear on the land. But most of their purposes were not completely private use. Generally these buildings were owned by the semi-public institutions like labor unions, chambers or confederations. However these early examples were carrying the traces of corporate realm, at least in architectural facade designs. The attempt to grasp the public attention by impressive architectural representation had begun.

4.2.1) Türk Metal-İş Labor Union Headquarters.

In 1992 Türk Metal-İş Administration decided to regroup their scattered facilities in a single headquarter building in order to increase efficiency, to erect a prestigious workspace and to create alternative solutions for union services. Several alternative plots had been taken into account. At first the plots in Söğütözü were not considered as prior target. The 200.000 m² of land located at Pursaklar on Esenboğa Airport road which was bought for hotel-guesthouse project for labor-union had been reconsidered for the purpose. But architects involving in headquarter project strongly opposed this idea. And **Cengiz Candemir**, who was (is still) chief of construction department of the union, insisted in Söğütözü. Thesis of Cengiz Candemir (,as chief of architectural department) were depending on four issues: Allocation of intercity bus terminal at Söğütözü, western expansion along Eskişehir Road, high accessibility at junctions of main arteries and vacant, big pieces of plots which are all indicating incremental increase in rent value of the land. Opinion of labor union administration had changed and plots, 13782/1-2, which were belonging to **Emin Hattat** (CEO of Hattatlar Group) were selected for a joint project.

The development on the land was first proposed as joint project with Hattatlar Group and Metal-İş Labor-Union. For both architectural design and project management, a joint organization had been formed for the project. **Cengiz Candemir** was representing Metal-İş Union and **Recai Kutan** was representing Hattatlar Group. But after completion of architectural project and feasibility reports,

Hattatlar Group decided to withdraw from project. The reasons and circumstances of withdrawal couldn't be derived. But labor union paid 5.000.000 TL for two adjacent plots in 23 April 1993 which means very low price for the land at the time. After transferring the deed, architectural design process immediately had begun. By the will of the administration, the plot 13782/1 was used for the building and other plot 13782/2 was left for further proposals.

Architectural project approval progress was not so difficult for the architects, because the project-status was public use. According to municipal regulations, public buildings' project can get construction license by preliminary architectural drawings. So by using such kind of legal right, construction progress started immediately in September 1993. Cengiz Candemir personally informed that the design process was not complete at the beginning of construction.

It's an important note that this building is the first building after final subdivision plan 1992. But as in Varan Tourism case, reliable legal data on the building couldn't be derived from the legal administrations. Most of the files which should be kept by Yenimahalle Municipality, Çankaya Municipality and Ankara Metropolitan Municipality archives were also missing except few legal documents. So it's impossible to investigate the approval circumstances of the project.

After a year of work, except few facilities, the building had been completed and opened in November 1994. Later some renovations and additions were made. But, as a first office building in Söğütözü, the architectural features of Metal- İş Labor Union Headquarters was carrying assertive approaches of the time. The granite claddings and some interior solutions seem important attempts for grasping an identity in urban fabric. With assertive cladding work, Türk Metal-İş Labor Union had become a significant building on the land, till to construction of Armada in 1999 ,which had penetrated the visionary relation of Türk Metal-İş Labor Union with Eskişehir State Road completely.

As a non commercial facility, labor-union headquarter building has become opposing branch in developing commercial character of Söğütözü during the time. It's also known that the current rent value of the property has become more and more valuable by the time. Cengiz Candemir informed that the administration and he were aware of increasing value of their property and commercial potential of Söğütözü region, after erection of Armada. Proposal of the labor union was to erect a hotel and entertainment center which would both serve their own members and Ankara community. Mr. Candemir also informed that against all indications proving his opinions on profitability of Söğütözü, two important facts were discouraging the further developments on properties belonging to labor union. According to him, first of these facts is lack of commercial vision in union's administration.; second one is re-establishment of visionary relation with Eskişehir Road. For these reason he insisted on importance of cooperation with professional management & investment group which will support the union and construction of allé project planned by Raci Bademli which was not completely applied in Armada landscape.

4.2.2) OYAK Construction Branch Headquarters:

OYAK group, which is one of the biggest economical initiatives of Turkish Army, has also involved in construction sector. To organize constructional branches, OYAK commenced to built a headquarter building at Söğütözü in early 90's. The vacant land in Renault-Mais Service Facility area, which was also the property of OYAK, had been selected as project site.

Any information about the construction and design process couldn't be derived from OYAK construction branch. Also as in previous cases, most of the legal documents and approved drawings were missing in municipality archives. Exceptionally, the 'building use license' was found in Yenimahalle Municipality Archives. According to this document architect of the building is Kadir Ünal who worked for OYAK. With 4533 m2 of use area, three storey building was opened in 15.06.1990. And the building was constructed before the approval of final subdivision plan in 1992. Present built environment was accepted as it's existed and the plot was marked as 7838/2 in the plans.



Figure 27: OYAK Cons Branch HQ

General architectural expression of the building is representing the brutal appearance of modernist approaches. Use of brutal concrete and mechanistic modular planning is the most significant features of the building to express institutional identity of the organization under initiative of Turkish Army. Besides exemplary architecture, unique location at Söğütözü Junction, makes OYAK Headquarters one of the most significant buildings at the region.

4.2.3) Kozlar Business Center.

Kozlar Office building is another important contemporary workspace erected on the region. With 23080 m² of closed area, the building is constructed over the plots 13787,1-2 which are at total size of 19878 m². Both the property and the building belong to Kemal Koz & Partners Corp. which is one of the most respected mid-scale contractor firms in Ankara. The construction facilities had also been carried by Kozlar Cons. Ltd. belonging to Kemal Koz.



Figure 28:Kozlar Office Bld.

With two storeys of commercial activities at the ground levels and 12 storey of office use above, the building complex is one of the most important architectural and constructional efforts on the land. The architectural design of the building has been carried by 4M Architecture and Consultancy Corp. which is also a respected office of Ankara. The overall mass organization, use of materials and excessive architectural representation displays high level interest in formalist approaches.

However the managerial and commercial success of the building couldn't follow the positive architectural interpretations. Because of the economical reasons and 'February 2001 crisis' constructional facilities had been delayed several times. The office building couldn't be opened still. Besides the economical reasons, insufficiency in project management is rising as an important issue. As known Kozlar Construction Ltd. is a construction firm based on 'yap-satçı' model. It's a personal observation that lack of professional integrity with expert groups and architects has played important roles in managerial success of the building

4.3) HEALTH CARE FACILITIES

By the late 80's the promotion of private health-care facilities and alternative insurance systems, have been encouraged new private hospitals. Bayındır Private Hospital was an important example of the period in health-care facilities. Later construction of Mesa Private Hospital had begun. However construction of second private hospital had delayed several times, and opened recently. Yet the profitability and project management at this location became questionable, Mesa hospital is an important development on the region.

4.4) RETAILING AND ENTERTAINMENT SECTORS

The emergence of big mix use retailing-leisure complexes and new wave in commercial sector directly attracted the private sector. Because of the unique benefits of Söğütözü region explained in previous chapters, the local entrepreneurs got united to lead the corporeal developments on this land. It's consented point that the developments on the land have entered corporate realm after late 90's. There may be many explanations for such kind of quick shift in development patterns but it's an other consented point that Armada was the startery of such kind of private corporate realm on the private vacant properties of Söğütözü. The current situation and further proposal on the land indicates parallel development patterns which goals to enforce the commercial potential of Söğütözü.

4.4.1) Armada Shopping and Business Center:

At late nineties introduce of new retailing activities and demanding client-habits have increased the interest in large-scale, mix-use commercial facilities. So this situation has attracted private capital owners. At 1997, twenty-three local, private entrepreneurs have gathered to establish '**Söğütözü Construction and Management Corporation**'. The aim of the group is to search suitable lands for investment, bring alternative modes of investment patterns and construct commercial facilities to grasp urban interest. As expressed in speech of **Rifat**

Hisarcıkhođlu (,who is CEO Söđütözü Cons. Man. Corp.) at opening ceremony of Armada, the basic of the firm had been determined to be ‘**private sector power union**’.

The general profile of the investors in the union was local private entrepreneurs. All of the members in the association were in Turkish nationality and respected businessmen of Ankara who are/were participating important duties in chambers and unions. Hence the professions of the members vary, most of them are involved in construction sector and construction material supply sector. Mostly the members also originate from **Rüzgarlı Street, Çıkriçılar Steet** at traditional city center, **Ulus**, that these places still carry **traditional eole in business**.

The union of local private capital gathering to erect organized, large-scale commercial facility on Söđütözü is indeed carrying the investment pattern of local capital to provide reliable status in global economy. Approaches on local property development under global economical circumstances have been evolved to achieve ‘institutional presence’ in order to fulfill user-demands of consumer society, and to attract the global capital (Healey, Cameron, Davoudi, Graham, Madani-Pour, 1995, 93-107).

In the interview, Ali Osman Öztürk expresses the union pattern of local private capital for Söđütözü Corp. as:

As known, the strength and production capacity of private sector is not as brooder or bigger as the ones in developed countries. However cooperation of top businessmen of Ankara is noteworthy. It’s very important because this cooperation represents the will, the growing power and the pioneering efforts of private sector to achieve better status in ‘global’ world. Yet the status and strength of private sector are still questionable in Turkey’s fragile economical system, foundation of Söđütözü Corp was very rational attempt in the right time.

In this context, the private capital owners’ cooperation is reaction against the new economical system influencing our country since 80’s. As an important niche in global world, Ankara capital of Turkey Republic couldn’t be indifferent, thus the local private capital. Indeed the action of private capital owners is survivalist action against the “globalization”.

The concern of the firm was especially focused in specific plots at Söğütözü which offers alternative investment options. The plots belonging to Kıraner family had been taken into account. The agricultural land possessed by Kıraner family had been divided into four plots after the approval of the subdivision plans in 1987 and 1992. These plots were 13786/1-2 and 131783/1-2 as marked on the 65400/1 subdivision plan in P-120 sector of the Present Plan. Later the plan, 657400/1 had been revised two times. The revision numbers are 79170-1 and 2 at 1992. The plan notes brought by 79170-2 subdivision plan were following the general decisions of Regulating Plan on the Söğütözü region. Each of the plots has been appointed for urban service use, which means that most of the alternative commercial activities aren't limited. As written in the plan notes public buildings, commercial centers, tourist facilities, exhibitions, retailing units, health-care facilities, cultural-leisure-recreation activities, dormitories, office buildings are all in content of urban service use.

Also the size of the specific plots brought alternatives also. According to the final subdivision plan, minimum plot area should be at least 5000 m² and the FAR ratios of plots facing to Eskişehir Road had been marked as 1,5 for the plots smaller than 10000 m² and for the ones bigger than 10000 m² ratio has been appointed as 2.00. For all of the plots, the height limit hadn't been determined.

At 1996-1997 these four neighboring plots had been purchased by Söğütözü Corp. from Kıraner Family. The lump sum of four plots was about 36 000 square meters. Sides of the negotiation, the purchase value and contents of the related information on deed transfer had been strictly prohibited to publish. However the average value of the land was about 130-140 \$/m² at the time which means around 5.000.000 \$. The deeds of four neighboring plots had been formed as shared title by the investment group . The share of the property was formed parallel to capital proportions in partnership in Söğütözü Corporation. However it's also prohibited to publish the share of each twenty-three (, later twenty-nine) members.

After transfer of property, investment group had put their all effort in strategic development decisions. The architectural demands of the investment group were to erect a multi-storey shopping mall with high level retailing activities for high

income groups. To fulfill the requirements of contemporary shopping activities in Ankara, the potential and availabilities of the four neighboring plots had been reconsidered again by investor group. According to the proposed functions and current client habits at the time, strategic development decisions on property had been given by the investor group at early stages of the project. Total land and the development projects had been divided into two groups. The plots 13786-1,2 at size of 19000 m² were selected for the shopping mall project. The rest of the possessed land (13783,1-2) had been spared for further extension projects (Arrademento Mimarlık). While achieving such kind of decision, the investor group had used their own will and tacit knowledge without appealing to any expert study or survey. Recent after, fragmenting the investment into two phases, unification of two selected plots had begun. 13786-1,2 were unified to 13786-3 with the Subdivision Plan revision. And new plot had become a subject land for a shopping mall project.

Ali Osman Öztürk indicated that fragmented investment decisions on the land were related with three issues. According to him unified plot 13786-3 has a direct access with Eskişehir Road, so starting the first phase investment from this plot was more benefiting. Secondly the allé project planned by Raci Bademli was dividing the subject land into two parts. Thirdly fragmentation of the investment gives a chance to reconsider and reposition the projects in imbalanced economical status of Turkey.

Following the strategic development decisions, architectural project work had begun. Many of the members of the investor group, but mostly four names, Rıfat Hisarcıklioğlu, Salih Bezci, Sacit Güran, İhsan Ayrancı who were/are major partners of the Söğütözü Construction and Management Corporation had played important roles in project since from beginning of architectural articulation. The general purpose of the building had been decided as to be a shopping mall capable to comprise extensive retailing, leisure and entertainment facilities for high, middle-high income groups. After some negotiations with some other architecture offices, the architectural design project had been adjudicated to A-Tasarım Architecture and Consulting Ltd Co. which was a local and very juvenile architectural office under management of A. Osman Öztürk. The firm had been recommended by Salih Bezci.

Due to the interview with Ali Osman Öztürk, firm selection criterion was based on three important aspects. According to him, portfolio of the office was very important first of all; because of several projects accomplished in shopping mall designing, large scale mix-use buildings and urban projects (like İstanbul Metro Shopping Mall & Residence, TİMKO, İSTOÇ Shopping Mall), A-Tasarım's portfolio had encouraged the entrepreneurs for such kind of project in that scale. Secondly he points out that the capability of architectural office in integrated-interdisciplinary praxis in large-scale projects and urban issues is an ultimate fact. Thirdly close commercial-fellowship are considerable facts for investor groups. As known, like most of the member of Söğütözü Corp., Ali Osman Öztürk is also native of Ankara-Kızılcahamam and familiar to the traditional commercial relations originating to Ulus tradesmen ship. He expresses the terms of adjudication of design work as:

“The architectural visions should breach-out the regular client-architect relations for creation of a space for certain purpose. Rather than bounding themselves in their projects production progress, architects should organize integrated work progress with expert groups to achieve appropriate solutions, especially in such kind of urban-scale buildings. As far as I concern, work methods with specialists and urban design approaches of our office were our two important features for Armada board of directors as well as the good history in our previous works with them. They were looking for the specialist architectural group which can erect international example without disregarding the traditions of Ankara in business life. And since beginning of Armada project, our firm has not only done project work, it has regulated the design-process as if like a pivot in between local balances and contemporary aspects. ”

The pre-studies of design-progress have begun recently after the agreement. However architectural group had not put their efforts to get commercial plan layout just to build a shopping mall at first. The early sketches of the project are involved in urban guide-lines and revealing of constitutional exposition of the commercial being. For that sake the representation of the investment and achieving a significant landmark were set as goals by the architectural group. High rise governmental buildings all along Eskişehir Road and representation of private capital had encouraged assertive formalist approaches also. The decisions of early attempts in mass organization of the project were taken to get impressive perception. At early stages of architectural project a very critical design decision had been proposed by

Ali Osman Öztürk. He proposed an erection of a skyscraper mounted to Eskişehir Road front of shopping mall mass. And this propose had been accepted by the Söğütözü Corp. board of directors at the first preliminary presentation. The purpose of the building had been redefined as mix-use office and commercial center. This important attempt had not only changed scope of activities, but also altered the impact of the project in urban context.

Ali Osman Öztürk explains the impact of critical decisions as:

The demand of the clients were so clear at first; a II. Generation shopping mall. But we focused not only in commercial success of the required task, we mostly put our efforts in creation of a design symbol. By designing a skyscraper, I planned to get diversity and to create a pleasurable attraction point for Ankara. The diversity and attraction of a building are very important because these are essentials for competitiveness of the project. Since from the first sparkling, I believe in “ business tower idea” and it is so strong idea that the clients accepted after a small shock

As known the construction of the tower is more costly than low-storey buildings and rent value of office use is less beneficial than commercial uses. The construction cost is 5/2 despite the rent value as 1/5. But what a high standard skyscraper gives is diversity all among the other commercial examples. In Armada Project, when reconsidering the urban-scale of the building, I’m very proud to propose and design the tower because of achieving an alternation in competitiveness of not only the building, but Ankara .

But beyond the addition of business tower in design, selected general concept had changed architectural expression of the building at all . The concept of “Ship” which is an important icon of the modernism, was used in such kind of postmodernist space-creation effort. A ship on the Anatolian steps was accepted so easily by both investment group and other marketing group because of the several benefits.



Figure 29: Armada Preliminary Studies (Source: A-Tasarım)

The reasons beneath the ship concept are both related with local aspect of Ankara and global circumstances. As one the most important modernist city creation effort, Ankara stands as inheritance of modernist approaches of 20. Century. The history of modern Ankara beginning from 1920 has been weaved as a mesh of intellectual modernist infrastructure and ideology of republic. Despite some deviations in physical environment, the urban pattern and mechanism beneath originates from purpose to erect a modern capital of Turkey Republic (Tankut, 1999,55). And under influence neo-liberal economies, the postmodernist space creation takes its

representational basics from the historical roots and local cultural aspects in order to achieve significant expression among global-scape. And in that sense the local perceptual codes, symbols of the societies, cultural aspects of communities have become both a resource of consumption and tool to achieve identity in globalscape. (Arrademento Mimarlık 2003,100+59,38-50). Especially after 80's, re-production of perceptual codes of the society and clients has been used broadly in order to advocate and develop the rights of corporate capital and private property (Günay 1999, 176).

In this context, 'ship concept' stands as very sensible and wise architectural decision. Because, form of Armada, resembling a ship as an ultimate modernist icon has provided a appropriate symbol which is not confronting modernist fabric of Ankara. Besides, ship concept has also provided easiness in digestion of Ankara community. Also it has taken an urban attraction by achieving a contrast image of ship over a step. It can be derived that architectural group had well read the modernist background and used 'modernism' as a source in 'expression of very postmodernist spaces'

Ali Osman Öztürk explains this phenomenal situation in the interview as:

I can't explain the exact process in my mind while playing with the geometries at early sketches. Indeed a ship concept was neither a direct goal nor our formalist approach. By the time design has evolved through this. It's because maybe most of my employees are from İzmir. But I think something deeper had affected us. As you know like my most of the employees, I've graduated from Middle East Technical University. We have all derived our basics from modernism. When I opened my eyes in Faculty of Architecture Le'Corbusier was there. Modernism had been directly injected in our subconscious. Besides my sympathy in ships as a design object, I concern our professional roots are very important in our works. But no doubt that the benefits were incredible. The building had been swiftly accepted by clients, investors and Ankara community. I think we have done a good work by developing this concept because Armada has become one of the appropriate landmarks of the city. The success in appropriation of a landmark is indeed related with harmony in urban silhouette. And I'm happy that we did not make mistakes like Ritz Carlton in İstanbul and we have achieved a public consensus.

Business tower concept proposal and assertive expression had accelerated the design process and promoted the investors' confidence in the project. Architectural group had boosted the expectations of the investor group. General concept of the project had elaborated from retail use to mix-use. The investors group involved more and more in the project design. The engagement of investor group in architectural project is indeed an outcome of collaborative-integrated working which is very common work pattern in shopping mall projects. Claiming of collaborative working and integrated organization stands as a new approach in design work of Armada.

At 1997 and 1998 architectural and investment group had organized several tours to investigate the well-known shopping malls all around the-world. Besides the trips, the attendance in workshops and congresses of ISCS (International Council of Shopping Malls) which is world wide powerful organization in retailing sector, had provided alternatives for designing and management options. According to Ali Osman Öztürk, the most important benefit of these workshops was the ultimate feed back options and introduce of know-how in alternative modes of retailing. But besides all of these he points out the fact which is recommendation of making the project under coordination of designer group with specialists groups and investment group. He also indicates that during these workshops, the investors realized an important point; design process should be carried out with an consensual decisions of architects, entrepreneurs and managers.

The design of the project had begun officially in July 1997, throughout the decisions of A-Tasarım . But it's an important situation for project design that; Salih Bezci (who is also an architect graduated from DGSA), member of the investment group directly engaged in design work nearly in every step. Mr. Bezci had not only acted as a member of investment group but also involved in the designing process as a major consultant of A-Tasarım. The consultancy of Salih Bezci had provided one to one link between investment and designer group, and accelerated the architectural accumulation and acceptance of the decisions.

However the acceleration the design process was slowed down by the legal obligations, especially in approval of constructional and architectural rights. The

projects presented to Yenimahalle Municipality and Ankara Metropolitan Municipality for construction license had encountered some problems. Mr. Öztürk admits that although most of the legal regulatory administrations had confidence in the project, they hesitated in some cases. Because of the size and the function of the project, the architectural office had driven hard negotiations to overcome the irrelevant demands of Ankara Metropolitan Building Codes while advocating the architectural rights and solutions.

Besides negotiations for architectural rights, another important regulation effected both constructional and architectural rights. MANİA Plan regulating the height of the buildings according to the flight cones of military air vehicles changed the architectural project vastly. The maximum building height had been reconsidered after conferring Turkey Republic General Staff Headquarter and proposed height of the building had been decreased. But because General Staff Headquarter and related headquarters did not commit a clear opinion, the maximum height of the building had drawn 73 meters, instead of existing height of 117.5 meters at building code approval drawings.

In May-June 1999 after getting the construction license, the contraction of the project had begun immediately. Investment group decided to undertake both site management and major contractorship. Söğütözü Construction and Administration Corp. formed a team and appointed Ömer Genç as site manager. On the contrary the design of the project was still under progress. Ali Osman Öztürk admits that the construction process had begun over project level 1/200 without any detailing or system solutions. The current drawings at the time were sufficient for static solutions and concrete construction, but not sufficient for complete building.

In order to achieve better cooperation in project and create innovative solutions especially in interior designing, Söğütözü Cons. & Man. Corp. and A-Tasarım decided to extend the contents of “professional controlling agreement”. A-Tasarım had formed a construction site office in September 1999. This organization at site had become the pivot of all interaction network and performed project management duties at the site. Most of the information network in between most of the actors had

gone through site office of A-Tasarım. Financially the site office was not related one to one with investment group, on the contrary organization was in one to one relation with the investment group, marketing group, site management group, all of the subcontractors, engineering offices and consultants.

Most of the design process ,as-built and shop drawings and legal relations had been carried by A-Tasarım site office. Also the approval of all proposal drawings, shop drawings, built production check, time scheduling of the processes, cost & benefit checks were in tasks of the office. But the tasks of the office extended beyond the architectural-constructional efforts and included marketing decisions, further managerial organization, even advertisement strategies.

After completion of structural cladding, exterior designing and conceptual approaches had been reconsidered. The assistances had been required for further interior detailing. In late 2000 two other important consultancies were engaged in the organizational schema. These were Alkaş Consultancy Ltd. for marketing, branding, shop-mix and GMW Architecture and Consultancy Corp. for interior detailing solution assistance. These groups were both in direct contact with A-Tasarım site office. Although the final designs and solutions were prepared by A-Tasarım, these consultancies had played important roles especially in interior solutions. In the project process investment group gave up the agreement with GMW because of economical circumstances and irrelevant design approaches.

By the early 2001 very critical decisions had been given after burst of ‘February 2001 economic crises. Sudden rise in foreign currencies and devaluation in national currency halted most of the construction facilities and all material purchase for a while. In April 2001 against the economical instability, the investment group decided to keep on the constructional and architectural efforts. So the site team, project management group and marketing assistances restarted the project and re-organized themselves according to the new economical circumstances. The general organizational schema had not changed at all, however demands and economical power of the investment group became more and more influential on the project.

The economical success of investment group in maintaining the construction costs lies beneath their financial independence. Nearly whole of the capital spared for the project was maintained from the self accumulations of the members. Yet it's prohibited to publish the essence of the capital of the member group, it's a known fact that no banking credits and depositions had been acquired from any private or public financial organizations. So this made the investment group immune to the disastrous effects of the imbalanced accreditation system. Indeed it can be derived that such kind of financial independence from economical systems brought many benefits. The stable initiative of the group to complete project had affected the material suppliers and sub-contractors. Most of them were willing to reduce the profit rates in order to carry on their business, get positive references among the sector and reduce their material stocks. Net purchase costs of many materials and workmanship wages were lower than the usual prices.

Besides the powerful self-maintenance of the investment group, some legal rights on customs and tax payments played critical roles in economic crisis. In order to obtain the discounts in custom payments, import goods like cladding materials and mechanical devices had been directly purchased from the manufacturers abroad, rather than getting from the local distributors. Most of the distributors were agreed for material application and were taken into progress as sub-contractors. So this has provided vast benefits for investors. But besides, this situation had also brought alternative benefits for the architectural group. Because they got direct contact with manufacturers abroad and expert groups in the nation. So 'February 2001 economical crises caused many positive effects for the project.

With 125.000 m² of gross closed area over 30.000 m² of land and maximum height of 117.5 meters , first phase of Armada Project had taken place among colossal buildings of Ankara, after three years of construction progress. 16.000 m² glass facade cladding, 17.000 m² of granite cladding, 6000 tons of steel and iron, 54.000 m³ of reinforced concrete, 130.000 m² of gypsum board and large quantities of other finishing materials were used in construction. Besides the use of great quantities of building materials, Armada become 'pioneering smart building' of

Ankara with excessive technological applications, implementation of imported know-how and building quality.

Undertaking such kind of expeditionary construction effort by private sector is very extraordinary attitude in economical crisis. Infact decision of this assertive work is related with expected rent values and commercial potential of Söğütözü. Before the Armada Project, Söğütözü was also an attractive point. And expected rents and feasibilities had encouraged the investment group. But the outcomes were greater than expected. The impact of Armada was so great that the project had changed entire characteristic of the region from service uses to commercial uses. Parallely rent value of the property did alter incrementally. Overall rise of profitability in both retailing sector and real estate is the key point for physical emergence on Söğütözü. Because the case being so speculative, determinations couldn't be based on codified knowledge. So the derived information from key persons involved in Armada Project may provide better point of view, rather than legally declared information. As a member of A-Tasarım Site Office, the personal acknowledgements of the author may provide some information to determine the commercial dynamism and rent values in Söğütözü.

As known average building costs per area of A-Class shopping malls is about 300-400 \$, but the sophisticated business towers may costs exponentially according to maximum height. In Armada this ratio was calculated about 361.32 \$/m² which means approximately 45.000.000 \$ of building cost for 125.000 m² of gross area. But this total sum displays the total costs of investors for structural, mechanical, electrical systems, outer claddings, common places, atriums and urban interiors; the interior designing costs of individual commercial units are not included into this total. Average interior cost of the commercial units of Armada varies between 550 \$/m² and 600 \$/m² which means 20.000.000 \$ approximately. The total sum of the building cost of entire project is about 65.000.000 \$.

As partially mentioned above , it's a consented point that the consequence of 'February 2001 economical crisis' provided many benefits to investors who were powerful enough. Parallely it's a personal observation that the supplementary of

constant capital flow, sharing the building costs, isolation from fluctuations of financial systems and poverty of Ankara in organized retailing sector had strengthened the economical success of Armada and decreased many purchasing costs of investors. First of all most of the material suppliers gave up their marginal profit ratios which may vary between % 35 to % 20 in construction. Also the wages standed stable for a year under high inflation rate of % 62 . In addition, discounts rates in taxes and custom payments which might rise up to % 35 percents in specific import goods, were also significant factors in economical success when reconsidering nominal devaluation rate of Turkish Lira was % 34.67(www.dpt.gov.tr, 11.5.2002). Due to the these facts the cost of the investor group should be less than the total sum calculated by nominal material fees, workmanship wages and legal payments. It's a personal information that the overall building cost was % 76.2 percent of the usual value which means about 34.500.000 \$

Besides the decrease in building costs, Armada project altered the rent value of the properties at Söğütözü. And provided a cumulative benefits to the investors and other property owners. At the beginning of the project the usual value land was 130-140 \$/m2. Immediately, after excavation, land prices shifted incrementally, and nearly doubled in may 1999. Later the prices had gone forward constantly till to burst of economic crisis. The strong confidence of investment, architectural and management groups in Armada project had encouraged other property owners. Insistence in construction of such urban-scale facility had also attracted the interests on Söğütözü. As a consequence efforts of Armada crew had altered the rent values. It's also personal information, that even before effects of economical crisis didn't come to an end, average land prices were about 450-500 \$/m2.; In late 2004 this prices reached up to 900-950 \$/m2 which means % 678.6 shift in rent value of property. When considering the situation in late 2004, average price of Armada Project site is 33.500.000 \$ which is far beyond cumulative profits of 5.000.000 \$ by high risk offshore interest rates in five years.

Ali Osman Öztürk mentioned strong resistance against economical crisis as:

Of course we are unable to discuss some confidential information, but as far as I concern cost Armada should be about 35.000.000 \$. Of course this is a lower than the current value of the existing building about 65.000.000\$ or 70.000.000\$. However I want to mention on high benefits from an other point of view. In a very hard economical circumstances, strong will of the investors to keep on the construction and complete project was outstanding. It's unquestionable that confidence in Armada project has provided greater benefits than expected. Both the investors, project developers, as an architectural group we had taken a great risk and won at the end. Against all negative effects of crisis, will to complete the project encourage many other also. The investors gained bigger profits than expected. A-Tasarım and the other specialist groups had got outstanding experiences and strengthened their position in the sector. Most of the material suppliers continued their existence in an economic survival war, overall benefits of Armada for the sector is greater than the revenues of investors.

The decision to complete the project caused a great pressure on project designers, because every single line and proposals on the project reconsidered again under influence of heavy economic situation. Both investors, architectural group and constructors united around managerial and economical success. For this reason, many of the architectural and constructional proposals were redesigned and redrawn due to the demands of client.

At this stage client demands were so important and expected profits were so critical that the project group had become more and more aggressive to provide economic and disciplinary success. The situation of disastrous economical crisis has made Armada case as if a survival war for both investors, architectural and management group. This was so influencing that several changes have been made on approved projects. Although most of these changes were not about constructional rights, many items about architectural rights had been redesigned and renegotiated with legal administrations again. But most critical decision on urban items was abolishment of the allé project which was designed by Raci Bademli. Nearly whole of the alle project was crippled. The architectural group couldn't be able to advocate the public rights and critical importance of this alle for Söğütözü. Even A. O. Öztürk couldn't explain the further macro benefits of the alle and importance of architectural rights for the future of private investment.

Infact most of the decisions on the project had been derived by the compromises achieved after hard negotiations within the project group. By the construction process, the architectural design process went on parallel with management decisions which were completely formed according to the client habits. The design office of A-Tasarım brought many immediate and as built solutions in the site. One to one correspondence of different expert groups and professional praxises with architectural group had brought many alternative, effective solutions in the process.

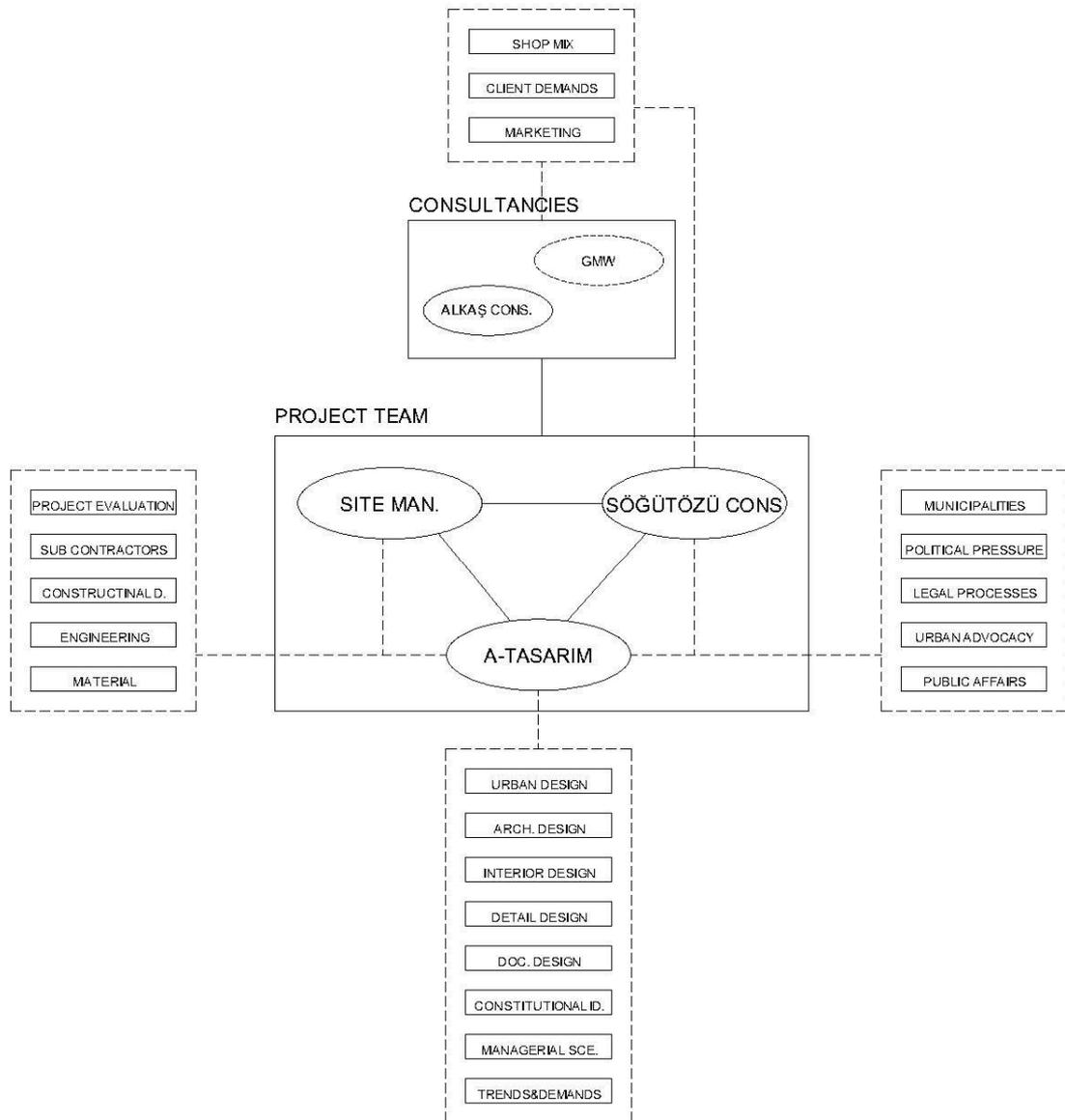


Figure 30: Armada Organization Schema (Source: A-Tasarım)

Also the architectural group had undertaken the advocacy of project in urban context and legal affairs with related constitutions. Moreover in achieving the commercial success of the project, architectural site office in bound with marketing & investment groups had played important roles in choice of location, proper project planning, quality in construction, balanced shop mix, successful marketing and professional administration & management. As an architectural design group, A-Tasarım had become a development partner in Armada Project.

With 150 stores, 22 gastronomy units, 11 movie theaters, a gross market, 2200 closed parking lots, 800 open parking lots, commercial block of Armada opened in 28 September 2002. In opening ceremony, the recent reaction of the Ankara community was great. Extensive interest of the people blockaded transportation network along Eskişehir and Konya Road. More than 7000 cars were parked around the building which means more than twice of provided car parking. Nearly 100.000 people visited the mall at first day according to the information of Armada Management Headquarters. Although the opening day was an exceptional situation, effects and side effects of commercial development at Söğütözü had become influential in our daily life since completion of Armada.



Figure 31: Armada aerial view(Source: A-Tasarım)

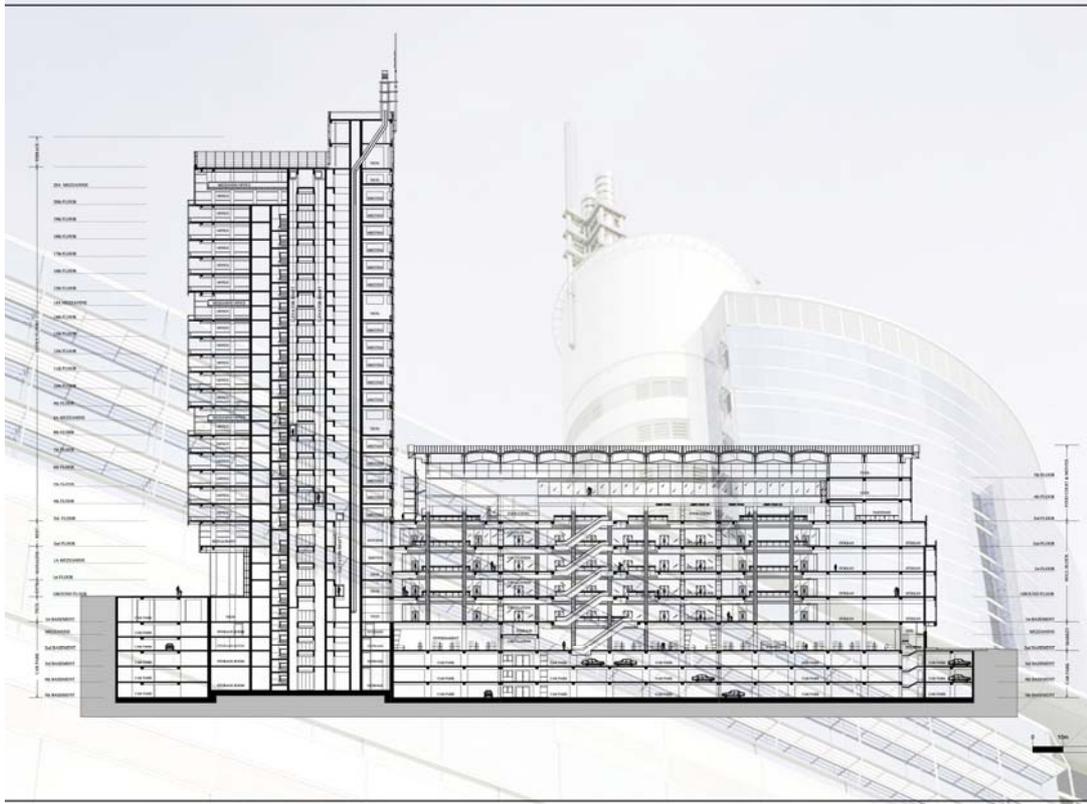


Figure 32: Armada Section (Source: A-Tasarım)

The other block, business tower of Armada had not opened with commercial block. It's known that, there were several respected firms volunteer for the business tower even at early stages of construction progress. But business tower block was not hired or sold and no further contract with any clients had not been formed. By doing that, the investor group planned to get benefit from four points; to benefit from increasing value of workspaces after opening of commercial block; to direct all costs to more profitable field at time; to obtain sufficient time for redirecting the further proposals; to get attention of more prestigious firms...

The opening date of the business tower was announced as March of 2002. However the opening date had been postponed several times. Although the reasons for postponing were based on some technical reasons, it is a personal information that the true reasons beneath were the problems about sharing the tower and getting more share from Armada-2 project. The initiative of private capital blockaded and postponed the private organization on the land, so the business tower couldn't be opened till to march 2004.



Figure 33: Armada Tower (Source: A-Tasarım)

The aggressive attitudes of the investors were also related with unexpected success of the commercial block. Although some economical indicators have been derived by the author, publishment of some information is strictly prohibited. But the awards given to Armada prove the level of success, especially the awards of ISCS in which the design and development success is evaluated. Armada has been awarded as ‘the best shopping mall of the Europe’ and ‘ honorable merit shopping mall of the World’ in 2002. The success of Armada extended beyond Ankara and accepted by the biggest nominator of shopping malls and business-trade centers. The erection of Armada points out a triumphal development in organization of private sector initiatives.

Such kind of urban-scale development has changed both the professional activity patterns and space-creation praxis. As in Armada case this sort of big commercial facilities are also bringing alternative solutions in new liberal waves as well as inheriting their own problematic. But Armada Project and similar projects had

become postmodern symbols of civil-existence in among modern cradle of state authority. Beneath such an outcome, architectural design praxis becoming a pivot between public agencies and private capital has emerged one of the most significant actors in property development.

4.4.2)Ankara Laila Bar & Restaurants (Laila-657)

Beginning from 80's entertainment sector evolved through demands of consumer society. The postmodernist way of space creation has quickly taken place in entertainment sector as well as retailing. New modes of consumption and lifestyles in these sectors become a showcases especially in metropolises and tourist sites. Parallel to retailing sector, entertainment sector used synthesized cultural aspects in easily digestible format as a tool to achieve significance and identity. General space creation efforts are organized to combine of various gastronomy and recreation opportunities by dynamic, easily productable, easily removable conceptual interior designing.

Some significant examples of new entertainment concepts have become a phenomenal icon of new epoch and lifestyles. Laila Bar-Restaurant, which is successor of Pascha Bar, is one of the famous examples in İstanbul. General concept of the Laila is combining elite authentic restaurants with excessive thematic entertainment options by using oriental motives in various interior designs. Laila Bar has become a social club of jet-set and important brand of the consumer society, since it was opened in May 1999. As a consequence of public interest, commercial success of Laila has encouraged Şefik Öztekin, who is CEO of the organization. In order to market and develop 'Laila brand' Şefik Öztekin wanted build a franchising chain in other metropolitan cities of Turkey. Investment partners, Aysan Çelik from Ankara volunteered for Ankara Laila (or Laila-657), which was proposed for the pioneering example of this franchising system.

Infact Ankara was a very conscious decision of Şefik Öztekin. In a brief conversation in March 2003, he mentioned three reasons for first ring of franchise chain in Ankara. First of all he made a determination, that because of being a university city,

entertainment sector in Ankara had put all efforts on university youth between 18-25 age group and neglected the main adult-consumer groups holding own economical freedom which provided a large untouched client potential in Ankara. Secondly such kind of organization in Ankara would be quite good reason to his rivals in the sector who were relating their success with perfect location in Boğaziçi, İstanbul. Thirdly urge for implementing excessive entertainment places in Anatolian cities would be new and harder experience when compared with establishing a franchise in touristic cities like İzmir, Antalya. So he was planning to achieve success by overcoming harder, questionable case of Ankara and to gain profound, new experiences. Furthermore Şefik Öztekin was considering Ankara-Laila as a prototype organization for architectural expression and management basics of proposed franchising chain

For Ankara experience, the plot (7638/18) which was belonging to Söğütözü Foresting Enterprise was offered by Aysan Çelik. Basic reasons for site selection were similar to the other known commercial examples on Söğütözü: High accessibility, proximity to high income groups, large pieces of plots marked as urban service use, increasing commercial activities on the land. Besides these known reason, Aysan Çelik was also interested in three other specific reasons ,which were proximity to Armada Shopping Mall and continuity of entertainment; proximity to groves Saklı Bahçe (AOÇ) recreation facilities and offering a forest scape instead of Boğaziçi view; proximity to universities.

After site selection, the architectural evaluation phase was started. But a divergence had occurred between two partners. Aysan Çelik wanted to work with an office from Ankara and offered A-Tasarım (Ali Osman Öztürk) for the architectural development, on the contrary Şefik Öztekin wanted to work with interior design groups of their own. To overcome the divergence, both of these groups were called to prepare preliminary designs and presented their works in front of partners. Some sort of mini competition was arranged between these architectural groups in March 2003 .

The preliminary sketches of A-Tasarım were found very constitutional and extrovertal works which were carrying traces of heavy permanency of modernism. However the design of younger group, under supervision of Ebru Eşrefoğlu, was found more introverted and eclectic work which was providing combination of temporary tastes. The work of second group was found more accurate for ‘Laila Concept; 1001 nights’

The construction process had begun immediately after firm selection. But it’s known that the design process continued during the construction. Also at some critical points, a very famous interior design organization specialized in bar and restaurant sector, Toner Architectural Office supported the constructional facilities from İstanbul. Consultancy of Toner Architecture was so strong that design approach of young group which won the mini competition against A-Tasarım was interfered several times.

As mentioned above Laila-657 project was not only a regular branch of Laila Bar in Ankara. It was rather a case-study for proposed franchising system and assertion against rivals in the sector. The general organization, consultants, strategies in franchising system was planned in construction progress either. Alkaş Consultancy Ltd. which also worked for Armada, was subjected to franchising and sales; Momentum İstanbul Com & Consultancy Corp. was subjected to marketing and advertisement; Toner Architecture Office was subjected to feasibility studies and architectural control. Parallel to the development schema of Armada, although scale and interaction level of the work was different, the architectural designing and consultancy taken direct position in organization and become a leading force of investment pattern.

Because the goals of the project were so broad, the construction phase lasted more than expected, thus the initial costs. The cost of the building was about 2.5 million dollars. But over all cost of the project should be around 5 or 5.5 million dollars because of average land price (shifted to 450 \$/m² after completion of Armada) for 5600 m². The share in building costs and land prices among the partners couldn’t be

derived. No matter the shares and expected profits, the scale and organization schema is one of the pioneering efforts in Ankara.

Proposed opening ceremony in September 2003 postponed several times. Finally after eight months of construction progress, Ankara Laila opened in 3rd of March 2004. The public interest in Ankara Laila was great. As in opening day of Armada the rush in Söğütözü had locked the entire transportation network at Söğütözü. It's personal observation that nearly 5000 people flocked and Ankara Laila's maximum capacity was 1500 persons.

4.5) FURTHER PROPOSALS:

4.5.1) Armada-2 (13784 1-2)

Armada-2 project is basically second phase of Armada project. Commercial and retailing activities will be extended to the nearing plots 13784/1-2 of Armada with a separate four storey mall block. The retailing, gastronomy, leisure, activities of Armada will be strengthened by the broad entertainment, sports, self-care and commercial facilities. The planning schema, and overall organization of the general building layouts will be different than Armada-1.

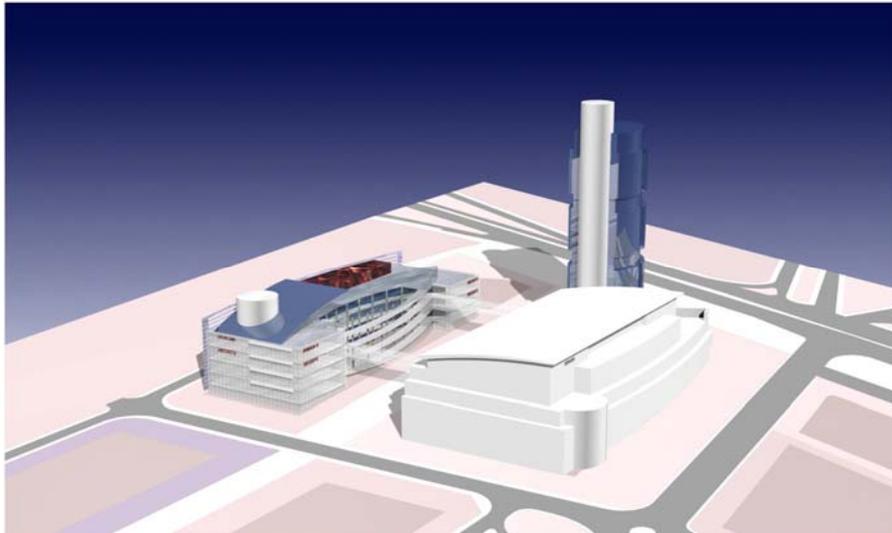


Figure 34: Armada -2 Proposal (Source: A-Tasarım)

The investor groups erecting Armada decided to continue cooperating with A-Tasarım in architectural-urban planning and Alkaş Consultancy in marketing. Because the project is still under progress, thus related economical and political affairs, most of the information on the project couldn't be derived. But the general appearance of the project is indicating the encouraging success of Armada-1 project and increasing private interest on Söğütözü.

4.5.2) Bayraktar Business Center (13783-1,2)

Bayraktar Business Center is a new commercial proposal on Söğütözü. The major project developer firms are Bayraktar Cons. Ltd. and A-Tasarım Ltd. Basic principal of this proposal is three storeys of mall block and twenty-two storeys of business tower. Most distinct feature of this proposal from Armada project is the mall block's management decisions. Rather than separation of mall block into multi commercial units, this mall will grant five major department stores.



Figure 35: Bayraktar Proposal (Source: A-Tasarım)

Because this project is still under designing process, the derived information about property formation and affairs between the property developers are being strictly prohibited to publish. But as in Armada-2 case, this project proposal is also displaying the confidence in commercial potential of Söğütözü.

4.5.3) Otokoç New Proposal

One of the recent proposal on the property of Oto-Koç is removing the whole of the automotive service facilities and building a mix use commercial complex over a 18.000 m2 of land. A-Tasarım Ltd. prepared a preliminary design to the investment group from Ankara for presenting Koç Holding administration. The building proposal is based on four storeys shopping mall block and each twenty-four storey office towers.



Figure 36:Oto-Koç Proposal (Source: A-Tasarım)

Because the economical and managerial agreements aren't completed, the information about property relations and development patterns couldn't be published. The erection of such complex building right cornering Söğütözü junction will possibly increase the private existence on the land and enforce the urban systems.

5) CONCLUSION

As mentioned in previous chapters, property transformation at Söğütözü region has evolved greatly, especially in last twenty years. Through last decades rent value and commercial potential of this sector have altered dramatically. Current physical environment, further proposals and integrated multidisciplinary space creation efforts are all indicating massive private interest on Söğütözü. And Söğütözü has become a showcase of corporate realm as a distinct issue in Ankara urban fabric.

The private interest at Söğütözü has changed the entire characteristic of the region in a short period of time. Increase in rent value of the land, evolutionary progresses in property development patterns, multi-disciplinary solidarity and politico-economic relations have not only restructured physical environment, but also indicated increasing role of private initiative on creation of urban space. However the effects of such enormous private space creation efforts focusing on such small private land become very critical in urban context, because of the unique location of Söğütözü in urban macroform.

It's an expected point that further comprehensive planning decisions are indicating the increase in private interest on Söğütözü. Among proposed macroform in 2025 Ankara Metropolitan Regulating Plan, Söğütözü is standing right on the gravity point of plan schema. Besides, the rough physical determinations, proposed zones and networking schemas are strengthening the importance of Söğütözü. In 2025 Plan, new dwelling regions are proposed at western sectors. Although new transportation routes, railroads, subway networks are planned, İstanbul Road and Eskişehir Road are still two major, matchless arteries linking these western sectors with city centers which means exponential increase in traffic loads of two western shafts, thus the pendulum effect. No other such big main artery has been proposed at the 2025 plan. Also industrial development on Konya road and at some northern sectors is going to be promoted. When reconsidering subcenter formation at

northern and southern peripheries (Keçiören, Demetevler, İncirli, Etlik, Oran, Yıldız) of the city, Konya Road, Söğütözü Street will probably become more and more important. Also parallel to the expected pressure on networks, the physical boundaries of the region are protected. Especially green belt under legal protection shield (namely AOC) has been protected, which means that no action has been taken for the physical pressure on the land and commercial activities.

In this respect it can be predicted that commercial importance of Söğütözü region will increase incrementally. Probable scenarios and current predictions are indicating profitability of investment on properties at the region and private interest. For that reason current situation at Söğütözü is encouraging the both property owners and private entrepreneurs.

The emergence of such sophisticated, architecturally articulated urban-scale buildings with big private capital beneath are all displaying the contemporary features of well-growth of private capital individually. On the other hand, the size and contents of these projects are so big, that such kind of articulations on the land couldn't achieve an efficient compromise at total by disregarding their impacts on urban systems. Large-scale commercial complexes in confrontation with public rights are indeed displaying the rise of property capital in form of corporate realm (Günay 1999, 208-214). In Söğütözü case, it's observable that property capital has followed the same patterns and dictated several confronting issues for its own goodwill, which may cause disastrous effects in urban mechanism.

First of all, the impact of corporate realm on the land is affecting the mechanisms within Söğütözü region. As a very important example, abolishment of allé project which was prepared by Raci Bademli exposes the approaches of private capital. The planned area for the allé had been used for parking demands of Armada. But by this action, the public interference into the region had been cut, thus the interactional pedestrian circulation from Eskişehir Road to Saklıbahçe recreation area. This have also redirected the pedestrian route right into the provided plaza designed in front of Armada which was created to be a urban alcove to attract the clients. Besides,

abolishment of allé can also be regarded as an attempt to blunt the plots at backwards of Armada. However it's also known that the property owners of Armada and their architectural group is planning to revitalize this project in order to link Armada-2 project with urban networks which will be fed by both Eskişehir road and subway station under construction.

Moreover when reconsidering '2025 Ankara Metropolitan Regulating Plan Schema' these disastrous effects may spread for whole of urban mechanisms. As briefly mentioned above Söğütözü is becoming a more and more important in urban macroform. The specific land is bounded with three major transit roads and green area under legal protection shield. This very unique land (in relationship with Eskişehir road dominating western corridor, Konya Road dominating southern sectors and Söğütözü Street recently growing secondary axis along southern axis) has become one the most important attraction point for private investment in Ankara during the time. So the problems of this small land owned by private property capital may exceed its boundaries. Even current situation is providing some clues about problems in urban context.

Two of these facts are about high speculative situation and high property prices. The poverty in privately owned suitable lands was/is so big that with very exceptional property formation in among Ankara urban fabric, the plots at Söğütözü have multiplied their value. The average values at 1980 was about 60-65 \$/m² and the current average land price is about 900-950 \$/m² which means % 1462 of shift in rent value. Such kind of high speculative value of the property brings many other problems also. For instance rejection of small private capital and lower socio economic groups is standing as an important case. Parallel to the determinations of Günay (1999, 209) corporate realm on the property may exclude the groups which can not maintain economical and cultural compensations. As known the three recent completed projects (Armada, Mesa Hospital, Kozlar Office Building) are designed for upper-middle class socio-economic communities by the top businessmen of Ankara. The value of the property is not allowing public penetration in survivalist neo-liberalist economical system that this may also be regarded as a hegemonic

attempt to restructure personal rights of the individuals and public rights of the commune. (Günay 1999,208-214, [www.marxists.org/ archive/ gramsci/ editions/spn/modern_prince/](http://www.marxists.org/archive/gramsci/editions/spn/modern_prince/), 11.11.2004)

\$/m²

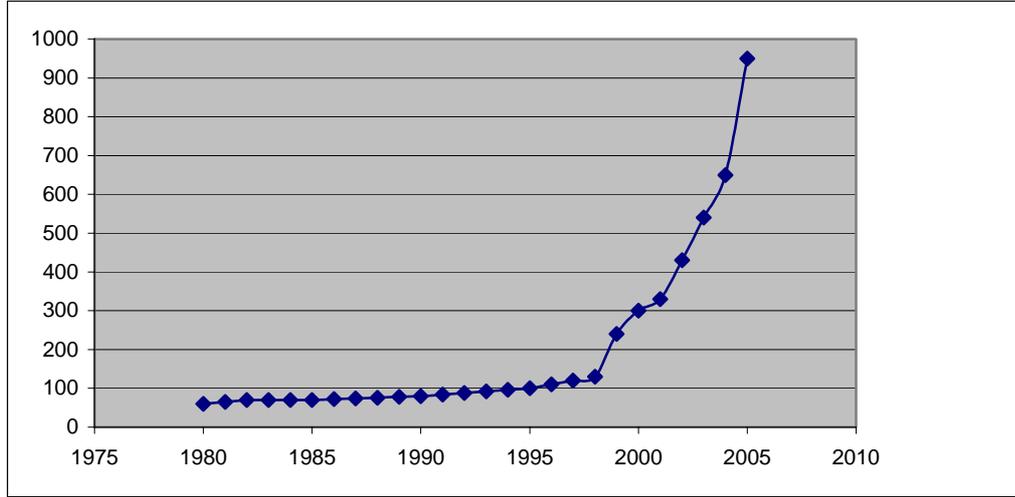


Figure 38: Average land prices.

The profitability of the land may trigger the inclinations to confiscate the legal basis. Although development bylaws can not be applied one to one in design processes of such quite of big buildings, several buildings displays tendencies to overcome some irrelevant limitations about constructional rights and architectural rights. Both insufficiency of current legal regulations and fixed idea on profitability are making urban compromise harder. And complicated private organizations are showing tendencies to use political and economical power to overwhelm the legal limitation, without regarding the urban matters. For instance abolishment of allé project, incrementally increasing heavy traffic loads on Eskişehir Road between Aşti Junction, Söğütözü junction and tendency to confiscate the properties of AOÇ are standing as major issues.

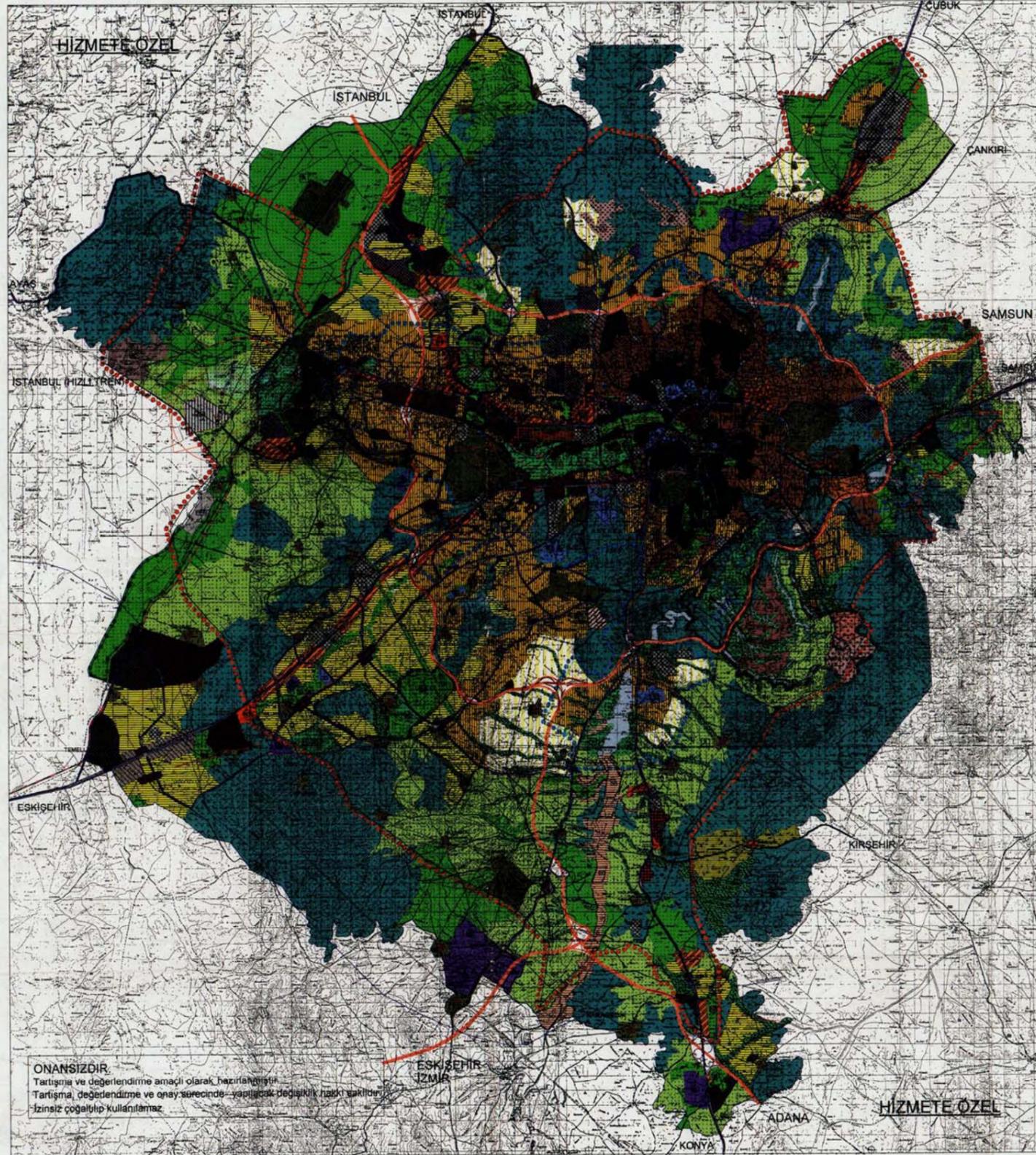
This specific sector of the city has become place of resistances while creating new resistances of place in political, economical, planning paraxial and architectural

manner. For that reason, current situation and further proposals on Söğütözü region stand as an urban matter to intend to.

Basic items beneath these circumstances are in fact related with **deficiency in determining space creation mechanisms of private capital** and **deficiency in handling Söğütözü as urban land part**.

It's a personal observation that, previous comprehensive plans and current planning proposal have underestimated private institutional developments on some specific sectors of Ankara like Söğütözü region. And final subdivision plan prepared for the region in 1992 couldn't provide sufficient infrastructural solutions while creating suitable pieces of land for large-scale investment. Moreover revision plans have been inclined by the private property capital because of economical reason. So Söğütözü region now stands in a critical phase between becoming a declining case and a desired development model. In order to achieve an efficient urban compromise, Söğütözü region should be reconsidered as urban land part. For that reason the public mechanism should be re-established to balance highly sophisticated mechanisms of private property capital.

This work is prepared to figure out the basics of extraordinary property and architectural transformation process shaping Söğütözü. Indications and findings are showing the necessity to establish a legitimize urban design approach and space creation mechanisms without disregarding the existence of private property capital. In order to achieve compromised solution between private rights, public rights and corporeal rights, reconstructing such mechanism and implementing these in concrete form are essential matters for both Söğütözü region and Ankara.



ONANSIZDIR.
Tartışma ve değerlendirme amaçlı olarak hazırlanmıştır.
Tartışma, değerlendirme ve onay sürecinde yapılacak değişiklik hakkı saklıdır.
İzinsiz çoğaltılıp kullanılamaz.

ANKARA 2025 NAZIM PLANI

LEJAND

ARAZI KULLANIMI

MEVZU	ÖNERİ
A-KONUT ALANLARI	
DÜZENLİ KONUT ALANLARI	
BÖLGE KAT NİZAMI PLANI	
DİĞER ONANLI KONUT ALANLARI	
İSLAH İMAR PLANLI KONUT ALANLARI	
G.Ö.B VE UZUZ KONUT ALANLARI	
G.Ö.B	
UZUZ KONUT ALANLARI	
KONUT GELİŞME ALANLARI	
ÖZEL KOŞULLU KIRSAL KON. G. A.	
KÖY YERLEŞİK VE GELİŞME ALANLARI	
B-CALISMA ALANLARI	
M.İ.A. SINIRI	
ALT MERKEZLER	
TOPTANCI HAL	
BÜYÜK ALAN KULLANIM GEREKTİREN KAMU KURULUŞ ALANLARI	
SANAYİ BÖLGELERİ	
ORGANİZE SANAYİ BÖLGESİ	
SANAYİ ALANLARI	
KÜÇÜK SANAYİ ALANLARI	
DEPOLAMA	
KENTSEL ÇALIŞMA VE SERVİS BÖLGELERİ	
KONUT DIŞI KENTSEL SERVİS ALANLARI	
KONUT DIŞI KENTSEL ÇALIŞMA ALANLARI	
SANAYİDEN KENTSEL ÇALIŞMAYA DÖNÜŞTÜRÜLEN ALANLAR	
C-TURİZM ALANLARI	
KONAKLAMA TESİSLERİ ALANI	
TURİZM GELİŞME VE KİNCİ KONUT ALANI	
GÜNÜBÜRLÜK PİNK ALANLARI	
D-KENTSEL SOSYAL DONATI ALANLARI	
BÖLGE PARKI	
FUAR, PANAYIR, FERIA ALANI	
A.Ö.Ç.	
BÜYÜK KENTSEL YEŞİL ALANLAR	
KENTSEL VE BÖLGESEL BÜYÜK SPOR ALANLARI	
HAYVANAT BAHÇESİ	
OLİMPİYAT ALANI	
ÜNİVERSİTE KAMPÜS ALANI	
SAĞLIK TESİSİ ALANLARI	
EĞİTİM SİTELERİ	
REKREASYON ALANLARI	
ELÇLİKLER	
E-TARIM ALANLARI	
TARIMSAL NİTELİĞİ KORUNACAK ALANLAR	
DİĞER TARIM ALANLARI	
F-ORMAN ALANLARI	
ORMAN ALANLARI	
G-AĞAÇLANDIRILACAK ALANLAR	
AĞAÇLANDIRILACAK ALANLARI	
H-DİĞER ARAZI KULLANIM KARARLARI	
ASKERİ ALANLAR	
MEZARLIK	
KENT GİRİŞLERİ	
HOBİ BAHÇELERİ VE HAFTASONU EVLERİ ALANI	

İSİT. YAPIL YASAĞI VE BUGÜNKÜ ARAZI KULLANIMI DEVAM ETTİRİLEBİLİR DOĞAL KARAKTERİ KORUNACAK ALAN

MEVZU	ÖNERİ
SIT ALANLARI	
ARKEOLOJİK SIT	
TARİHİ SIT	
KENTSEL SIT	
DOĞAL SIT	
YAPIL YASAĞI GETİRİLEN ALANLAR	
JEOLOJİK SAĞINÇALI VE JEOTEKNİK ETÜD GEREKTİREN ALANLAR	
SU TOPLAMA HAVZASI KORUMA BANDI	
SU TOPLAMA HAVZASI MUTLAK KISA VE ORTA KORUMA ALANI	
UÇUŞ KENSI	
DOĞAL NİTELİĞİ KORUNACAK ALANLAR	
SAZLIK-BATAKLIK	
VADI TABANLARI	

UULAŞIM VE ALTYAPI

MEVZU	ÖNERİ
AULAŞIM	
KARAYOLLARI	
OTOYOL	
ULUSAL BAĞLANTI YOLLARI	
KENT İÇİ ANA BAĞLANTI YOLLARI	
TERMINAL	
DEMİRYOLLARI	
DEMİRYOLU	
İSTASYON	
RAYLI TOPLU TAŞIMA YOLLARI	
METRO	
ANKARAY	
HAVAYOLLARI	
HAVA ALANLARI	
B-ALTYAPI	
ENERJİ	
BARAJLAR-GÜLETLER	
ENERJİ NAKLİ HATLARI	
TRAFİK YERLERİ	
AKARYAKIT NAKLİ HATLARI (BOTAĞ)	
SU, HANALİZASYON VE ÇÖP	
FİSİSU ARITMA TESİSİ	
KATI ATIK DEPOLAMA ALANI VE TRANSFER İSTASYONLARI	
SINIRLAR	
İDARİ SINIRLAR	
BELEDİYE SINIRI	
MÜDAVİR ALAN SINIRI (PLAN ONAMA SINIRI)	
PLANLAMA SINIRI	
ÖZEL PROJE ALAN SINIRI	
ÖZEL ÇEVRE KORUMA BÖLGESİ SINIRI	

ÖLÇEK: 1/50000



ANKARA BÜYÜKŞEHİR BELEDİYESİ
İMAR DAİRE BAŞKANLIĞI
METROPOLİTEN PLANLAMA ŞUBE MÜDÜRLÜĞÜ



Ö.Faruk ERÇİYES	Şeh. Pl. - İmar Ö. Bşk.	Sinem (BRANLI)	Şeh. Pl.	Yağın KILIÇ	Mimar
Mehmet PAMUKÇUZ	İst. Müh. - Ö. Bşk. Yrd.	Ahmet TAŞIN	Şeh. Pl.	Fevzi ALBAYRAK	Tek. Res.
Gürsel YILDIRIM	Şeh. Pl. Şube Mz.	Süley YARDIM	Y. Şeh. Pl.	Özgü GÜNEŞ	
Sinem DEVECİ	Şeh. Pl.	Emrah BAYRAK	Jenelg. Müh.		
Buğra GÖNÇE	Şeh. Pl.	Fatih ÇAVUŞLAR	Y. Planç. Müh.		
Abdullah KAZANÇ	Şeh. Pl.	Fulya HIZARCIÖZÜ	Ziraat. Müh.		
Dilek MERAL	Y. Şeh. Pl.	Arzu KAYATEKİN	Çevre Müh.		
Semra NİZAMÖLÜ	Şeh. Pl.				
Nesrin REYHAN	Y. Şeh. ve Böl. Pl.				
Ebru ŞEKER	Şeh. Pl.				

Figure 38: Ankara 2025 Plsn

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